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THE SPHINX UNRIDDED

*The sphinx and related composite creatures.
A motif of political-religious legitimization
during the dynamical period of cultural changes appearing
in the Late Bronze (1600-1200 BC) and the Early Iron Age (1200-800 BC)
in the Eastern Mediterranean*

PART I. TEXT

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ARTS AND PHILOSOPHY OF GHENT UNIVERSITY

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BY NADINE NYS

THE SPHINX UNRIDDED SAMENVATTING - ABSTRACT

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De sfinx is een gekend motief uit de Oudheid, dat ook vandaag nog tot de verbeelding spreekt. Met name in Egypte lijkt het samengestelde wezen alomtegenwoordig. Maar bij nader onderzoek blijkt dat de sfinx ook in andere regio's, met name Mesopotamië, de Levant, het Egeïsche Gebied en Anatolië vaak voorkomt, en dit niet alleen in allerlei verschillende media (in muurschilderingen, op zegels, als decoratie op rituele objecten en meubels, op juwelen, als figurine of levensgroot monument, als amulet, ...) maar ook in compleet verschillende contexten (samen met godheden of hun symbolen, met koninklijke figuren, op of nabij sarcofagen en in graftombes, met dieren en met andere samengestelde fantastische wezens, ...). Vermoedelijk bestond het motief eerst in Egypte en raakte het zo verspreid over grote delen van het Middellandse Zeegebied. Vragen die men zich kan stellen zijn dan natuurlijk of het wezen verschillende betekenissen en functies heeft, of deze betekenis(sen) en functie(s) in elke regio gelijkaardig zijn of integendeel grote verschillen vertonen en of er sprake is van interculturele beïnvloeding op grote of kleinere schaal.

The sphinx has been a well-known motif from antiquity onwards till the present day. Especially in Egypt it seems to appear everywhere, but also in other regions around the Mediterranean (Mesopotamia, Levant, Anatolia and the Aegean) the sphinx was a popular motif. It can be found on wall-paintings, on seals, on ritual objects and furniture, on jewellery, or it can be admired as a tiny figurine as well as an enormous monument, or as a protective amulet. Moreover, the sphinx is present in very diverse contexts, e.g. near divinities, near royal figures, on or near sarcophagi and in tombs, with animals or other fantastic creatures,

Probably the motif was used first in Egypt from which it was distributed across large parts of the Mediterranean area. This phenomenon, of course, begs different questions; e.g. did the creature have one clear meaning and function or did it have several and were these meaning(s) and function(s) the same in every region? Did the motif and its function and meaning evolve mainly through influences by other regions or was it only through local customs and traditions?

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PART 1 - TEXT

1 INTRODUCTION

*"There are various eyes. Even the Sphinx has eyes:
and as a result, there are various truths,
and as a result, there is no truth."*
Friedrich Nietzsche

The word "sphinx" almost immediately and spontaneously evoked images of the Great Sphinx in Giza (St.M. Nr. Eg. 1), or, maybe, of the Theban sphinx, connected with the Oedipus-myth, and dating from a much later period¹. Although these almost iconic images aroused endless questions over the ages concerning their origin and concerning the question who or what they represent, they are by no means the only mysterious of all images of sphinxes. Sphinxes appear to have been very popular, both in various regions and different periods, in fact, until today (Fig. 1), as in a variety of types and used media; they have been depicted in bronze, stone, silver, gold, ceramic or painted either standing, recumbent, seated, striding, trampling, on two legs, and even upside down (mostly held in those cases by a Master of Animals). Their sizes varied, from very small amulets in the shape of sphinxes, to the monumental sphinx of Giza. This, of course, raises the question what role monumentality played in the perception of the sphinx and how it may have influenced the meaning of the creature (cf. 11.1. Importance of Media and Size).



FIG. 1: BANKSY'S 'SPHINX', NEW YORK, 2013
FROM NYC "BETTER OUT THAN IN" SERIES:
OCTOBER 22, MIXED MEDIA SCULPTURE, 127 X
137,16 CM; ORIGINAL STREET WORK.

¹As Ilberg 1895: 217-218 points out.

Sphinxes appear alone or in a wide variety of contexts, not only in Egypt, but also in other, adjacent, regions of the Ancient Near East (Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant, Anatolia, the Aegean): on thrones, tombs, jewellery, vases, coins, walls, and a variety of other artefacts. This variation in appearances seems to suggest that all these sphinxes had different meanings (who or what do they represent or symbolize) and functions (what is their task, why are they there). So, the question must be asked if there are indeed differences or, perhaps more important, similarities between meaning and function throughout the ages and throughout the different regions. Moreover, this also raises the question if one specific meaning perhaps related to one specific function.

Although the sphinx has been studied before (cf. 2.2.2. Status Quaestionis), none of these studies focussed specifically on the combination of these two aspects, meaning and function. Some studies directed their attention on the listing of types (Roeder 1909 for the Egyptian sphinx; Desenne 1957, Demisch 1977) or the stylistic characteristics (Ilberg 1909-1915 for the Aegean sphinx; Desenne 1957), others devoted their attention also to the evolution and distribution of the motif of the sphinx (Demisch 1977). The catalogue *Wege der Sphinx* (Winkler-Horaček (ed.) (2011) investigated how this distribution over a large area occurred and how it influenced the iconography of the sphinx. Rösch-Van der Heyden (1999) aimed at giving an overview of the iconography and the meaning of the sphinx, but focussed her attention on a later period (from the Middle Ages onwards). Roeder and Ilberg discussed meaning and function from respectively the Egyptian and Aegean sphinxes, but did not connect the two aspects with each other. Demisch also looked at functions of sphinxes, but his study was too extensive, in place (Asia, Europe, America and Australia), in time (from the very first sphinxes till the sphinxes from the 20th cent.), and even in overall objective (showing evolution and distribution of the motif throughout the ages, giving an overview of local types and their meaning, arriving at some general meanings, defining archetypes, and cataloguing sphinxes by their functions).

1.1 THE AIM OF THIS STUDY

With this study, I use iconographical research of some aspects (meaning and function) of one widespread motif, the sphinx, to come to a better understanding of the (religious, political, and cultural) ideas and conventions of different regions². The overall objective of this paper is to determine which meanings the sphinx can have, i.e. what or who it represents, in each region separately (Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant, Egypt, Anatolia and the Aegean) and if this (these) meaning(s) can be connected to different functions (why it is there, what is its task)³. Then, the combination of meaning and function in the various regions will be compared to see whether they are the same in the different regions, or if there are remarkable differences. With this methodology, I try to give the motif of the sphinx a place in a social, religious, and/or cultural framework.

1.2 ICONOGRAPHY IN ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeology as well as iconography have the same object: the understanding of meaning. While iconographical research has been problematic within the archaeological field, both disciplines can help each other to obtain their common goal⁴. Iconography is defined in several ways according to the disciplines it is used in, but, in the end, it functions as a medium for communication in the spheres of cult, religion and politics (or power). Hence, iconography should be understood as a type of language that conveys meaning, and as such, is a component of the so-called archaeology of the mind, i.e., cognitive archaeology (cf. 2.2.1. Art-history and Archaeology).

1.3 DEFINING THE SUBJECT OF THIS STUDY

The main object of this study are the "standard" sphinxes, i.e. the creatures with lion-bodies and human heads⁵. But ramsphinxes (lion-bodied with ram-head), bullsphinxes (human-headed with body of a bull) and griffins (lion-bodied with head of a bird of prey) are, occasionally, also taken up in this investigation. Some of the other, closely related composite creatures, as e.g. the griffin, often are depicted in the same contexts as the human-headed, lion-bodied creatures,

² For the difference between "meaning" and "function": 2.1. Goal and Research Questions.

³ Some studies, e.g. in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, refer to the male sphinx as "he", to the female type as "she". But in this thesis, the sphinx, be it male or female, will be referred to as "it".

⁴ For a short overview of the problems between the iconographical research and archaeology: Ben-Shlomo 2010: 5-8. For a more detailed overview: 2.2.1. Art-History and Archaeology.

⁵ Creatures with human-heads and lion-bodies will be called either "standard sphinxes", or "sphinxes" in this study.

and moreover also appear to have the same function(s) as the "standard" sphinx. The same can be said about the so-called *Aladlammu* or *Lamassu*, the colossal human-headed winged bulls or lions which are primarily known as gate watchers, and are, because of this function, or because of the singularity of the image or context in which they are depicted, sometimes taken up in this research⁶. Other examples are the Minoan and Late Minoan griffins, who often appear in interesting contexts, and seem to have been more popular than the "standard" sphinxes in this period. However, conclusions reached and analyses made within this research, are only based on the human-headed creature with lion-body, with or without wings. Therefore, when in this research, the word "sphinx" or the term "standard sphinx" is used, only the human-headed, lion-bodied creatures are included, unless specified differently.

1.4 TIME-PERIOD AND REGIONS

The inclusion of Egypt in this study was obvious, because of the great number of sphinxes and their visibility. The location of Egypt, on the Mediterranean, then, was the set-off point for the other regions included in this study. The focus was directed towards the eastern Mediterranean, more specifically to the Aegean, the Levant, Syro-Mesopotamia and Anatolia. These cultures, although different in nature, were, during long periods, in contact with each other in various ways. The variety of cultures, and the fact that they exchanged not only goods, but also ideas, made them ideal for a study of a widespread motif. The only set-back was that there would be too much material to be analysed and studied, which would result in a cluttered investigation and, ultimately, in conclusions that were too general. Therefore, it was necessary to restrict the investigation in time.

During the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600-ca. 1200 BC), there existed many powerful civilizations in the Near East – Kassites, Mitanni, Phoenicians, Ancient Egyptian New Kingdom (starting with the 18th Dyn), Hittites, Minoans and Mycenaeans. This period of stability, however, was followed by the invasion of the Sea Peoples and the collapse of these civilizations resulting in the beginning of the era of nation-states in the Early Iron Age (ca. 1200-ca. 800 BC). Given that a period with great changes and turbulence, both cultural and political, may add interesting aspects concerning the iconographical study of the widespread sphinx motif, it is decided that this doctoral research will be restricted to this intriguing time-lapse: the transition between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age (ca. 1600-ca. 800 BC).

⁶ Pappi 2009: 643.

1.5 THE STRUCTURE OF THIS STUDY

In Chapter 2, the purpose of this paper and the research questions are defined, the methodology is set out (with a note to the benefits iconographical research can give archaeological investigations), the way in which the material was collected and catalogued is determined, and time-period and geographical regions to which this study is restricted is laid out. Chapter 3 then gives some general information about composite creatures in the different regions and the roles they could play. An overview of the types of sphinxes included in the study (sphinx, griffin, ram-sphinx and bull-sphinx) is presented, and the most frequently used imagery of sphinxes in every region is listed. Some attention is also given to the human-headed lions, which appear in every region and which most authors define as sphinxes. After a paragraph about the origin of the sphinx, the actual study begins, with Chapters 4-7 dedicated to the sphinxes in each region. Chapter 8 highlights some key motifs and themes, Chapter 9 gives an overview of the possible effects of international relations on the imagery of the sphinx. Chapter 10 brings together the findings about meaning and function of the sphinxes from the four regions. Chapter 11 gives the conclusion with paragraphs dedicated to the used media, the size of the artefacts, the regional characteristics, the functions, the meanings, both apart and in connection with context. The last paragraph is a table with an overview of the different meanings and functions sphinxes could have had in all the regions. To finish, there is an addendum which focusses on some unique key images.

1.6 WHAT IS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY

This research aims to determine different meanings and functions the sphinx can have in respectively Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant, Egypt, Anatolia and the Aegean, and, subsequently, the possible relation that may exist between those two aspects. Furthermore, this doctoral study will answer the question if the same meanings and functions – and the connection between these two – occur in all regions, or if they are mainly regional.

However, as Ben-Shlomo points out:

"Similar to linguistic entities (words, phrases, texts, ...), iconographic representations can have various meanings which are determined by the context in which they were found. In fact, when devoid of its context, which often occurs in actual excavation, representations are practically almost stripped from their specific meaning and can only be very generally and universally interpreted⁷."

⁷ Ben-Shlomo 2010: 9.

1.7 WHAT IS NOT INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY

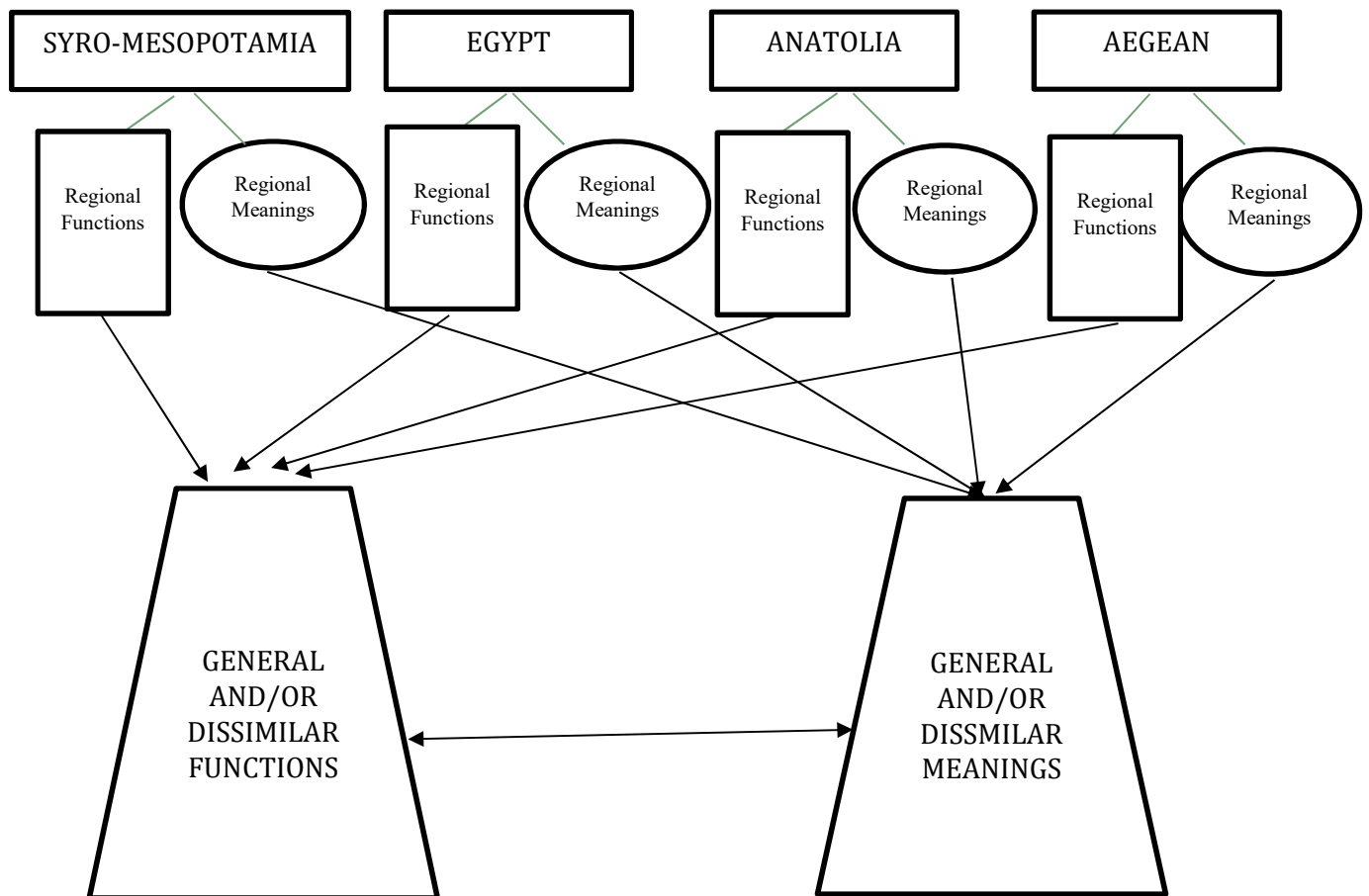
The subject of this doctoral thesis does not include how different types are possibly connected with certain meanings and functions, or detailed stylistic characteristics, and only superficial attention shall be devoted to the distribution of the motif over the different areas or how this affected the iconography of the sphinx (cf. 10. The Effect of Intercultural Relations).

This research is not meant to be the final study about sphinxes in the eastern Mediterranean, thus, the findings in this thesis should be the starting point for more detailed studies about the motif of sphinxes in the various regions.

2 CONDUCTING THE INVESTIGATION

2.1 GOAL AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As with all iconographic studies, the study of the sphinx and its relatives can give some insight into the religious and political beliefs of the cultures that had adopted the motif into their imagery, and into the relationships between these cultures⁸. However, the most important objective of this study is to find out which different functions the sphinx could hold in all the different areas. Subsequently, the meaning of the sphinx while performing these functions will be tackled, and we will try to uncover if there are significant dissimilarities and/or similarities between the different regions and if and how the meanings correlate with the functions (cf. STF I – Flowchart Classification⁹).



STF I - FLOWCHART CLASSIFICATION.

⁸ Porada 1987: 3.

⁹ The abbreviation "STF" stands for Schemes, Tables and Flowcharts.

"Meaning" and "function" (or "use") can be quite confusing terms, but there is an important distinction between the two, as was pointed out by Talalay in 1993:

*"Use and function [...] refer to the basic or general purpose for which an object [or image] was designed or employed. For example, the basic or general use (or function) of a small, clay anthropomorphic image may have been as a doll, a votary, a gaming piece, or a charm. These terms are distinct from an object's meaning. Meaning refers to what is intended or signified or understood to be expressed by an object [or image], and is not only more complex than use, but often less accessible to archaeologists. For example, a figurine may be used as a votive offering, but the meaning embodied by the object may refer to the cosmological or mythological concerns of a given group, the way in which the group perceives the human body, and/or social attitudes toward gender"*¹⁰

This definition makes it clear that "meaning" can be an allusive thing, as it is both culturally defined and (in some cases) even arbitrary. Talalay, however, emphasizes that the distinction between the two is analytically important, and therefore, in this study, an attempt will be made to make this distinction.

The research questions can then be defined as follows¹¹:

- Which meanings could the sphinx have in respectively Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant, Egypt, Anatolia and the Aegean during the time-period from ca. 1600 til 800 BC?
- Is/Are there (a) specific function(s) related to these meanings?
- Do accompanying motifs have an influence on the meanings/functions? Do contexts play a dominant role here?
- Are there remarkable similarities/differences in meanings throughout the different regions?
- Are there remarkable similarities/differences in functions throughout the different regions?

By answering these questions, a step will be made towards obtaining more information, not only about the meanings and functions of the sphinxes in the different regions and their differences and similarities, but also about the question of international relations and exchanges

¹⁰ Talalay 1993: 38.

¹¹ Although other related composite creatures, more specifically the criosphinx (a creature with a ram's head instead of a human's) and the Hierakosphinx (or griffin, with an eagle or falcon head) have been occasionally considered, the focus mainly rests with the "standard" sphinx, i.e. the creature composed of a lion body and a human head. This sphinx can have wings or not, and can be either male or female. In the Aegean area, more attention has been given to the griffin, because it was by far the most popular and interesting creature used in the imagery of the Minoan period.

PART 1 – 2. CONDUCTING THE INVESTIGATION

in the field of imagery and iconography in general. Of course, one study of one motif can never offer conclusive results but can only serve as one piece of a very large puzzle. A very small piece, but one that is, however, essential to construct the complete picture and to stimulate further research.

PART 1 – 2. CONDUCTING THE INVESTIGATION

2.2 METHODOLOGY

2.2.1 ART-HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY – SOME BACKGROUND INFORMATION

As an art-historian, I have always had a profound interest in iconography, although, both as an art-historian and as an archaeologist, I am deeply aware of the specific problems iconographical analyses pose¹². In fact, the problems begin with the term "iconography", itself, that has a different meaning for art-historians and for archaeologists. Art history sees iconography as a method to unlock the different meanings the images can have for the beholder. For archaeologists, iconography is a type of (pictorial) language, i.e. a culturally defined symbol system¹³. Some of the more general problems are, or can be, primarily, that the iconographer only looks at the images and does not include context or other (written) sources into his investigation. Secondly, that he or she looks with a 'present-day' eye and, thirdly, that he or she assumes (often starting from a certain prejudice) certain ideas or theories without looking beyond the works of art and artefacts. These problems arise mostly if the art-historian has a lack of general knowledge about the culture which he investigates, and, perhaps most importantly, if he lacks knowledge of existing conventions, ideologies and cultural ideas. On all those fields, the research of the archaeologist can help, but it was only during the last three or four decades that many art-historians realized (again, finally) how much they can benefit from the research of archaeologists (and of the research of other, related and/or relevant disciplines) and, in fact, how much they rely on the other's expertise to make sense of the ancient worlds they are trying to understand. Two of the most influential of these art historians are Othmar Keel, the founder of the so-called Freiburg School, who with his book from 1992 *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden* brought iconography again to the forefront by showing how important iconographical research could be for understanding a culture, and Marian Feldman, who demonstrated with her article from 2014, *Beyond Iconography*, that meanings of motifs can be discovered and thus can clarify certain aspects of cultures, be it political, religious or social¹⁴. Because, after all, both art-historian and archaeologist are interested in facts and meaning¹⁵. Conversely, the archaeologists came to realize that art-historians, among them iconographers, can help in defining and understanding societies and cultures of which they analyse the visual material. As Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968), father and founder of the

¹² For a short overview of the problems with iconographical research within the archaeological field: Ben-Shlomo 2010: 5-8.

¹³ Ornan 2005: 8-9; Ben-Shlomo 2010: 4.

¹⁴ Keel 1992; Feldman 2014. In this context an article by Susan D. Gillespie must be mentioned: Gillespie 2002.

¹⁵ Panofsky 1955: 22-23; Gillespie 2002.

iconographical analyses, stated: “*archaeological research is blind and empty without aesthetic re-creation, and aesthetic re-creation is irrational and often misguided without archaeological research*”¹⁶. Because of this realisation, no iconographer today would dare to state what German art-historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann wrote (and truly believed) in 1764 when he wrote his book *The History of Art*:

"Die Geschichte der Kunst soll den Ursprung, das Wachsthum, die Veränderung und den Fall derselben, nebst dem verschiedenen Stile der Völker, Zeiten und Künstler, lehren, und dieses aus den übrig gebliebenen Werken des Alterthums, so viel möglich ist, beweisen"¹⁷.

The fact that archaeologists and art-historians ignored each other for so long, is a direct result of the evolution of both disciplines¹⁸. When the first archaeologists in the late 17th and early 18th centuries started to excavate ancient sites, their sole objective was to uncover as many treasures as possible, without any regards to the location, origin, and even function or meaning of the objects. This changed with the Age of Reason, as the Enlightenment is often called, but the focus was now primarily on the classical, that is Greek, art and was mainly concerned with its notion of the “ideal”¹⁹. This period was followed by a time when excavations were only conducted to establish the truth of the Bible. Only in the early 19th cent., science became important in the archaeological discipline and this evolution made collaboration on a wider scale between archaeologists and art-historians possible for the first time²⁰. Yet again, the collaboration between the two disciplines underwent some changes in the next decades, because the focus of attention of the art-historians also changed dramatically throughout time.

Where in previous periods the attention of the art-historian was focused mostly on the individual artist, during the last decades the insight came that man-made images could be “*a register of broad social, ideological and psychological structures*”²¹. Art-historians who analysed objects and images iconographically, only then realised that archaeology, together with other related disciplines and sciences, such as sociology and anthropology, could shed light on functions of objects and images and thereby facilitate the discovery of meaning²².

¹⁶ Panofsky 1955: 19.

¹⁷ Winckelmann 1764: X.

¹⁸ For more information on the history of archaeology: Ascher 1961; Binford 1962; Binford 1968; Martin 1971; Clarke (ed.) 1972; Hogarth 1972; Morgan 1973; Coles 1979; Dunnell 1980; Daniel 1981; Deagan 1982; Dunnell 1982; Renfrew 1982; Bintliff 1984; Cleere (ed.) 1984; Green 1984; Renfrew 1984; Yengoyan 1985; Hodder 1986; Binford 1987; Bernstein 1983; Trigger 1989.

¹⁹ Trigger 1989: 55-61.

²⁰ Trigger 1989: 73-109.

²¹ Trigger 1989: 148-206; Fernie 1999: 17, 21.

²² Trigger 1989: 244-288.

Thus, although Winckelmann had been very influential in the 19th cent., coinciding with the growth of archaeology (he has been called “The Father of Art-history” and “The Father of Archaeology”), the notion grew among iconographers, that the form of art was a result of the used material and technique, and perhaps more important, of the function the work of art would have had. And, in the early 20th cent., art-historians added a new focus point to their research: that of possible interrelationships, of potential influences.

But the collaboration between the two disciplines created some new dangers: the archaeological data can be so rich, that it can trivialize the work of the iconographer; in accordance with this, the theoretical, social and political framework can doom so large that the individual object gets lost in the abundance of background information. When this happens, the attention gets directed towards the general, and the individual gets lost. And the starting point of every iconographical research always must be the individual object, albeit in context and in relation with other contemporary and relevant materials.

And so, perhaps because the work methods of archaeologists and those of art-historians differed too much, or, perhaps because the work of the iconographers got lost in the mass of archaeological data, the mid-20th cent. again brought a shift in iconographical research: the focus of the art-historian again was directed towards the stylistically and iconographical analyses of the objects²³. Yet, evidence from all parts of culture remained included. For the first time, also, the attention was focussed on the social function of art. On top of this, most researchers, be it art-historians or philosophers of art, recognized that the main essence of art was to communicate, whether it be an emotion, a concept, an idea, or a notion. Or, as Berlejung writes: *"images and texts are signs and carry meaning"*²⁴. And thus, it was thought that the attention of the iconographer had to be focussed less on the object itself, and more on social, religious and political contexts. This ultimately led to the birth of cognitive archaeology, also called the archaeology of the mind, which draws on results from, among others, cognitive anthropology, biological anthropology, philosophy, cognitive psychology, archaeology and iconography²⁵.

Yet again, new problems arose: archaeology often looked for evolution, which it could use as a method of classification, but such method gives, among others, a deceptively simple orderliness and forgets that e.g. styles can develop differently according to techniques that are

²³ Fernie 1999: 17-19, 164; Berlejung 2010: 1.

²⁴ Berlejung 2010: 1.

²⁵ Gillespie 2002.

used, or that several styles may exist simultaneously within the same region or in different regions²⁶.

Because the notion of evolution had become so popular, art-historians started to classify works of art and even artefacts into schools or under style-aspects, but became much too rigid in this classification. However, the belief that the schools or styles could reflect a chronological sequence lived on in much of the art-historical writing of the 20th cent. (cf. Demisch 1977 and, in a lesser degree, Dessenne 1957; *infra*).

Another difficulty emerging from the collaboration between archaeologists and art-historians was raised by Erwin Panofsky; he pointed out that iconographers and archaeologists use a very different approach. While for the archaeologist the objects are things that help him to investigate and understand the site he is excavating, which degrades them to merely a source of information, e.g. regarding chronology, these objects are the things to be investigated themselves for the art-historian²⁷. Both agree, however, that all man-made objects are tools of communication²⁸. Or as Hägg says:

"In some cultures, the intention of the patron is expressed in a more or less elaborate 'pictorial programme', the aim of which is to convey, through the combination of art and architecture (and sometimes inscriptions), an intellectual and emotional message to the spectator/visitor²⁹."

Panofsky argues that the intention of the creator or the "client" is the main source for the origin of this means of communication, but I think sometimes (often?) this applies only to art of more recent periods. When the investigated object belongs to a culture and/or period of which the beholder knows nothing except what he has learned out of books and out of archaeological and other relevant research of documents and materials, written or visual, the meaning of the artwork, or, more broadly, the man-made object, often cannot be retrieved completely.

And here lies the main problem of the art-historian methods that have been used through the ages; they are almost always developed from a Western viewpoint and based on Western-oriented ideas and attitudes.

I am sure that it is the most important problem when conducting an iconographical investigation of objects coming from distant cultures and times; the investigator has none whatsoever interior

²⁶ Trigger 1989: 289-369; Fernie 1999: 170-171, 179.

For more information on "A Theory of Style": Ackerman 1962.

²⁷ Porada 1982: 501; Panofsky in Fernie 1999: 186.

²⁸ Panofsky 1955: 12; Fernie 1999: 190.

²⁹ Hägg 1985: 209.

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knowledge of beliefs, thoughts, ideas, etc. except for what has been found in texts, documents, archaeological remains, and so on. He can be aware of all that, but he never experienced it. And this can be a major problem, even more so when dealing with art objects, because

“Great art gives us an interpretation of life, which enables us to cope more successfully with the chaotic state of things and to wring from life a better, that is, a more convincing and more reliable meaning”³⁰.

or

“Art is a reflection of the rest of society, formed by its philosophy, religion and politics”³¹.

Or, even more simply and general stated by Renfrew:

"No-one could doubt that all representations are symbols”³².

Therefore, investigations like this one must be carried out with the utmost care regarding prejudices and pre-supposed ideas, hypotheses and knowledge. One needs “the expertise of the eye” (and this eye is never “innocent”) and interpretation (which will always be coloured by the experience, live, knowledge, culture of the one who does the interpretation)³³. Especially when talking about intention and reception of the artefact, this Western-oriented eye will stand in the way of a not-biased answer, because art-historians must reconstruct everything based on intuition. Or, as Panofsky points out:

“Our estimate of those intentions is inevitably influenced by our own attitude, which in turn depends on our own individual experiences as well as our historical situation”³⁴.

And this intuition may easily prove wrong, when one must reconstruct or “use the imaginative participation” with images from the ancient Near East³⁵. As Keel points out, and Van Dijk mentions in her dissertation, ancient Near Eastern imagery was...³⁶

...“not intended to be viewed, like paintings of nineteenth or twentieth-century European art (Sehbild), but rather to be read (Denkbild)”³⁷.

Keel meant that all ancient Near Eastern imagery was symbolical in one way or another. And of course, this does not facilitate the attempt to understand it and to find the correct meaning.

³⁰ Hauser 1959, in Fernie 1999: 206.

³¹ German art historian Paul Frankl quoted in Fernie 1999: 15.

³² Renfrew 1994: 8.

³³ Panofsky 1955: 16; Morgan 1985: 6-7; Fernie 1999: 20-21, 181; Zouzoula 2007: 15.

³⁴ Panofsky 1955: 13.

³⁵ Gombrich 1982: 21.

³⁶ Van Dijk 2011: 5.

³⁷ Keel 1997: 7; Zouzoula 2007: 34.

However, as Gillespie points out, many of these "cultural and personal biases [...] can be compensated for with sufficient critical reflection and sensitivity to cross-cultural differences"³⁸.

Feldman also points out that "the meaning" does not exist, because meaning is dynamical, relational and situational³⁹. Gillespie specifies that there exist different levels of meaning or types of meaning, starting from the formal level (which is most subject to changes through cultural and historical contexts), through the conventional level, to the structural level⁴⁰. These levels coincide with the three stages of Panofsky's method.

I believe the "iconological" method described by Panofsky still has many merits while investigating a complex subject, as the sphinx will prove to be (because it appears in cultures that are basically different from each other and because it appears in a wide variety of contexts). Panofsky's method not only focusses on the main motif, but includes every other motif and/or theme, because he realised that a motif on its own never could reveal its true meaning⁴¹. This would only surface when the total picture was included. The motif on itself says less to nothing, only context and accompanying motifs can give it meaning, because, in Panofsky's view, and I think everyone nowadays will agree with this, a work of art, or even a man-made object, is a mirror of a period, a culture and a society.

Basically, Panofsky's method comprises three stages, which are still found useful in contemporary times⁴²:

1. The first one is to recognize the natural subject matter; to recognize this depends a lot on practical experience, which in the case of images belonging to a culture which existed a couple of thousand years ago, as said before, can already be difficult in some instances. Take e.g. an image of 13 men sitting around a table, a well-known subject in our Western tradition.
2. The next step is to define the conventional subject matter, which can only be known when one has enough knowledge about the practices, beliefs, conventions, and so on of

³⁸ Gillespie 2002.

³⁹ Feldman 2014: 348.

⁴⁰ Gillespie 2002: 2.2. Levels of Meaning in Iconography.

⁴¹ Wright 1995a: 342-343; Nijhowne 1999: 11; Gillespie 2002: Zouzoula 2007: 34, Ben-Shlomo 2010: 7-8.

See also the still excellent and relevant works: Panofsky 1939; Panofsky 1955.

⁴² Keel 1992: 272-273. See also Feldman 2014: 338-339.

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the culture to which the image belongs. Our Western image of 13 men sitting around a table would be identified immediately as a depiction of the Last Supper.

- For the last step, identifying the intrinsic meaning, something that is called "synthetic intuition" by Panofsky comes into play. Opponents of the iconological method sometimes refer to this stage as merely guessing, but that is not the case (cf. *infra*). In this step, every effort is taken to include every piece of possible applicable information one has obtained, not only about the picture investigated (e.g. context, period, ...), but also of other similar images, of contexts, relevant texts, and so on. This is the point where the art-historian will ask questions like, why is this image produced the way it is, why is the focus on the picture on this or that element, or why are some objects shown in every detail while some remain vague? This last step literally is a synthesis of every bit and piece of available information, both in and outside the picture.

This theory led Panofsky in 1939 to the following scheme (STF II):

OBJECT OF INTERPRETATION	ACT OF INTERPRETATION	EQUIPMENT FOR INTERPRETATION	CONTROLLING PRINCIPLE OF INTERPRETATION
1. Primary or natural subject matter – (A) factual, (B) expressional -, constituting the world of artistic motifs.	Pre-iconographical description (and pseudo-formal analysis).	Practical experience (familiarity with objects and events).	History of style (insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, objects and events were expressed by forms).
2. Secondary or conventional subject matter, constituting the world of images, stories and allegories.	Iconographical analysis in the narrow sense of the word.	Knowledge of literary sources (familiarity with specific themes and concepts).	History of types (insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, specific themes or concepts were expressed by objects and events).
3. Intrinsic meaning or content, constituting the world of "symbolical" values.	Iconographical interpretation in a deeper sense 'Iconographical synthesis).	Synthetic intuition (familiarity with the essential tendencies of the human mind), conditioned by personal psychology and "Weltanschauung".	History of cultural symptoms or "symbols" in general (insight into the matter in which, under varying historical conditions, essential tendencies of the human mind were expressed by specific themes and concepts).

STF II – PANOFSKY'S SCHEME OF INTERPRETATION.

Although Panofsky's method has received much critique during the years, it seems most critiques resulted ultimately into mere advancements, improvements and modifications of his

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theory⁴³. I therefore still believe that Panofsky's method, although it has its weak points, has great value, and that it should be the starting point of each iconographical research.

However, with each step, and with every conclusion, one has always to bear in mind, that, ...

"... in the end, there is no single, exclusive meaning to a work; but rather the richly woven layers of meaning which, with a blending of idea and idiom, form a composite iconography"⁴⁴.

⁴³ It would lead too far to go into these critiques in detail. There were e.g. researchers who thought some steps could only result in pure guessing, and others who were afraid that the intuition could never be relied upon to come to correct meanings in the third step. Ultimately, however, most critiques kept Panofsky's method as a foundation for their own method, and only tried to improve it by making some adjustments or modifications. For some critiques on Panofsky's iconographical method and some new ideas on iconography: Moxey 1986; Hart 1993; Gillespie 2002; Bohnsack 2008; Woodfield 2008; Woodfield 2009; Ben-Shlomo 2010: 5-8; Popescu 2010; Meijer 2011; Lorenz 2016; Fornacciari 2017.

⁴⁴ Morgan 1985: 19.

2.2.2 STATUS QUAESTIONIS

Several monographs about the sphinx already exist, one published in 1957, written by Dessenne, one by Demisch published in 1977, one published in 1999 by Rösch-von der Heyden, and one edited by Winkler-Horaček and published in 2011, plus two extensive articles about the Egyptian and the Greek sphinx, written by respectively Roeder and Ilberg and published in 1909-1915 in the *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*⁴⁵. Next to these, a catalogue connected to an exhibition about the (Egyptian) sphinx in Brussels in 2006 was published as well⁴⁶. These studies are incredibly helpful to investigate the motif of the sphinx, but all also have their own perspectives, mainly because of the period the investigation was conducted in, or the method that was used, or of the goal that was pursued. The main publications (Dessenne, Demisch, Winkler- Horaček and the catalogue) will be described here in detail, while the other ones will only be summarized briefly.

Roeder's article, written in 1909 is, in fact, a listing of types, meanings, functions, etc. of the Egyptian sphinx, a methodology of course required by the kind of publication the article was intended for (encyclopaedia/lexicon)⁴⁷. He starts by making it clear that he sees the origin of the sphinx in Egypt⁴⁸. The Egyptian sphinx, a lion with a human-, falcon- or ramhead (i.e. the "real" sphinx, the griffin and the ram-sphinx) is mostly male; female sphinxes occurred only on specific occasions and when they became more popular in later periods, it was only under the influence of Greece⁴⁹. Next, he tackles the origin and the meaning of the sphinx⁵⁰. He distinguishes the sphinx as a representation of a god or a king, as a representation of the king, as a representation of a god, and, finally, the sphinx acting as a guard. Lastly, he mentions the sphinx without any specific meaning, that is, the sphinx used as a purely decorative motif.

The methodology Roeder uses, mainly the listing of different types, meanings and functions of the sphinx, is required by the format he is working in, but the result is rather confusing and very repetitive.

The article written by Ilberg in 1909-1915 about the Greek sphinx also published in the *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* is less important to this

⁴⁵ Roeder 1909: 1298-1338; Ilberg 1909-1915: 1338-1408; Dessenne 1957a; Demisch 1977; Rösch-von der Heyde 1999; Winkler-Horaček 2011.

⁴⁶ *Sfinx* 2006.

⁴⁷ Roeder 1909: 1298-1408.

⁴⁸ Roeder 1909: 1298-1301, 1306-1309.

⁴⁹ In this paper, the sphinx, be it male or female, will always be referred to as it.

⁵⁰ Roeder 1909: 1301-1305.

investigation, because it deals mainly with the sphinx in periods later than the ones this study is concerned with⁵¹. Ilberg points out that the sphinx (and griffin) originated in Egypt and from there found its way into the iconographies of Syria and the Near East and finally through the Hittites into the imagery of Greece, and not the other way around⁵². With this he corrects the idea that Furtwängler had proposed in his article about griffins that was published in the same lexicon and that will be analysed later in this study⁵³. He then defines the different meanings and functions of the sphinx (*Die Symbolik der Sphinx*): the main guarding function of the Egyptian and Syrian sphinxes respectively (a fact that is not completely true) and four types of Greek sphinxes: decorative, apotropaic (e.g. on or nearby tombs), Demons of Death and those who only bring calamity, chaos and disaster.

Ilberg's summary is very general and is focused mostly on the distribution of the sphinx and the way it adapted itself on its way through different regions, cultures and periods⁵⁴.

Dessenne approaches the subject of the sphinx with a comparative method, based only on typology, a typical mid-20th century art history method. In his introduction, he indicates that he is aware of the weaknesses of this method⁵⁵. Dessenne also states the reason why he conducts his investigation; there simply exists no monograph about the sphinx and one is needed. He refers to the few existing articles or essays that have been published about the motif, e.g. the extensive articles by Roeder and Ilberg in 1909-1915 (cf. supra), and one in the *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, published in 1928 and written by Eckhard Unger⁵⁶. Then there were some authors who had mentioned the sphinx, mostly regarding its origin (cf. 3.3. The Origin of the Sphinx). For Dessenne it was clear that researchers each had their own view, based on their own theories and hypotheses and seen through the eyes of the archaeology and art history of their time. This was the main reason he wanted to investigate the motif of the sphinx⁵⁷. He

⁵¹ Ilberg 1909-1915: 1338-1408.

⁵² Ilberg 1909-1915: 1338.

⁵³ Furtwängler 1884-1890b.

⁵⁴ Ilberg 1909-1915: 1407-1408.

⁵⁵ Dessenne 1957a: 10-11: The first one of these difficulties is inherent in the method itself; to conduct a comparative research one must look for resemblances, and this approach will always be subjective. The second difficulty is the fact that forms are alive: they can disappear and appear again without showing what happened with them in the meantime.

⁵⁶ Roeder 1909: 1298-1408; Ilberg 1909-1915: 1338-1408; Unger 1928: 336-339. Unger defines the sphinx as a (winged) lion with a human-head. He has some facts wrong; e.g. he dates the first seated sphinx and the first griffin to the New Kingdom and the Middle Kingdom respectively, while there are already amulets in the shape of seated sphinxes during the Middle Kingdom (ca. 20th -17th cent. BC) and there exists a relief of a (trampling) griffin found in the Temple of Sahure in Abusir, dated to ca. 2500 BC (E.g. St.M. Nr. Eg. 19: Amulet Female Sphinx; Temple of Sahure: St.M. Nr. Eg. 5: Griffin Trampling Enemies).

⁵⁷ Dessenne 1957a: 10.

worked from the hypothesis that, since composite animals appear in every civilisation, they must have some things in common. So, his focus point was to look for these similarities. And to begin this investigation, he first had to have a clear definition of what was meant by the word sphinx:

“Le sphinx est un être composite formé d’un corps de lion et d’une tête humaine⁵⁸.”

Of course, he acknowledges that there are also secondary aspects, like having wings or human hands, etc., but for him the fusion between lion body and human head is the most important, essential and defining feature of the sphinx.

His investigation is categorized per time-period, region and chronologically. Each time-period he starts with a short introduction followed by some types of sphinxes. The first period he addresses e.g. is the Egyptian Old Kingdom. Dessenne mostly uses drawings and, to say the least, some of these drawings are rather vague (cf. Fig. 2). But of course, for his purpose, establishing a catalogue based on typologies, these images are adequate.

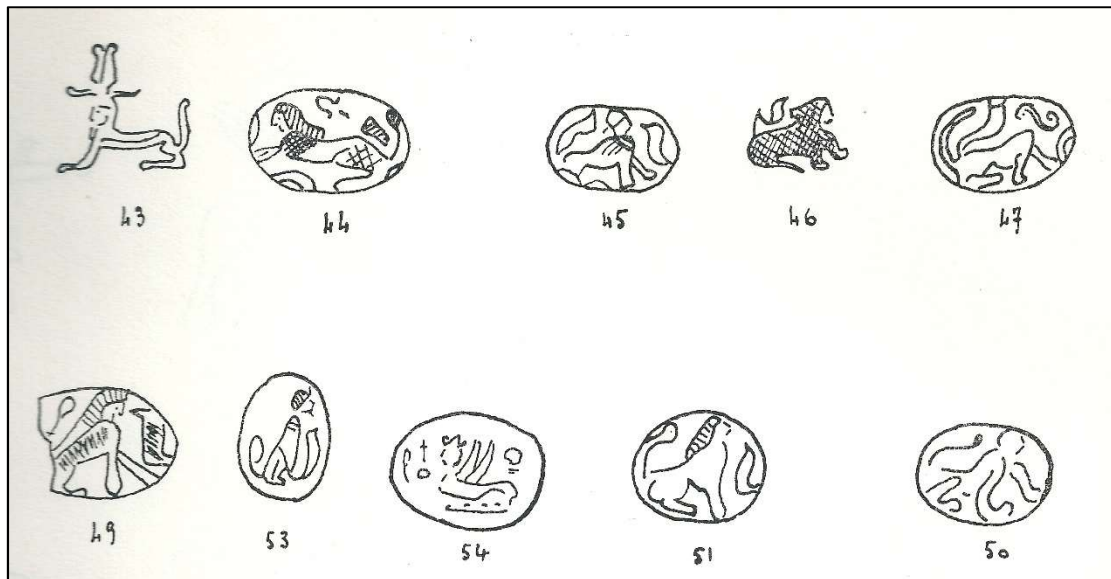


FIG.2: DETAIL OF PLATE V (DESENNE 1957A).

Through his investigation, Dessenne came to some remarkable conclusions, some which have proved right, and others wrong, during time⁵⁹. It is not possible to repeat here all the conclusions Dessenne reached; only the most important ones will be touched upon, together with some that have been proven wrong. The first thing that draws the attention is that Dessenne

⁵⁸ Dessenne 1957a: 11.

⁵⁹ Dessenne 1957a: 175-206.

sees the Egyptian sphinx as a sort of prototype, i.e. sphinxes from all other regions are compared with the Egyptian sphinxes. From this it is obvious that he sees Egypt as the place of origin of the sphinx⁶⁰. Yet he does not see Egypt as the centre of diffusion for the motif of the sphinx, as he thinks this role was taken up by Syria. Then Dessenne wonders why the Syrians took over this, mostly religious, Egyptian symbol. He subscribes this to the fact that sphinxes had a guarding and apotropaic function and this from a very early stage onwards. Since the 5th Dyn., the sphinx was called *Rwty*, which means God-Lion and relates to Atum, the creation god, who was also thought to be responsible for lifting the soul of the dead king from his pyramid to the heavens. This association still existed in the *Books of the Dead* (cf. 6. The Sphinx in Egypt) from the New Kingdom. In this relation, the sphinx had a guarding function, which is attested for in the *Story of Sinuhe*, a piece of Egyptian literature that was written at the start of the 20th cent. BC⁶¹. In this famous poem, sphinxes guard the gate of the palace of Sesostri I and are called *seshep-ankh*, i.e. living statues⁶². Then, under the reign of Thutmose I in the New Kingdom, the sphinx is called Harmachis, which can mean not only Horus-of-the-Horizon, but also Horus-in-the-City-of-the-Dead (cf. 3.3. The Origin of the Sphinx and 5. The Sphinx in Egypt)⁶³. This makes Dessenne conclude that the sphinxes guarded the City of the Dead providing them with an apotropaic function, which was used abundantly in the amulets shaped like sphinxes that were thought to guard and protect their owners.

Although the inhabitants of the region of Syro-Mesopotamia took over the guarding and apotropaic motif of the sphinx from the Egyptians, they soon changed its appearance by giving it very visible wings, and often showing it seated. This adapted sphinx was in its turn taken over by the Egyptians, especially during the Hyksos Period (ca. 1630-1540 BC) and, as claimed by Dessenne, it was this modified sphinx-motif that was spread to other regions, through an abundance of sphinx images on hundreds or even thousands of scarabs which were spread out over the Near East. The Hyksos also were the first to specify the headdress of the sphinx. From this period onwards, the sphinx appears with the white, red or double-crown, according to

⁶⁰ Dessenne 1957a: 175-176.

⁶¹ The Story of Sinuhe:

Synopsis: When the official Sinuhe accompanies prince Sesostri I to Libya he learns in secret of the death of pharaoh Amenemhet I. Sinuhe immediately flees to Canaan, where he, and later his sons, become very important chiefs. But as an old man, Sinuhe wants to return home. He then receives an invitation from Sesostri I and thus can spend the rest of his life in his home country and, after his death, is laid to rest in a beautiful tomb.

For more information about this poem: e.g. Bullock s.d.; Gardiner 1916; Parkinson 1997.

⁶² Gardiner 1916: 147.

⁶³ Dessenne 1957a: 176-177.

period and context. With this, it not only became more complex in appearance, but also in meaning, as the royal symbol of authority and power.

Dessenne points out that the image of the sphinx became only popular in Syro-Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Period (ca. 1500-1100 BC)⁶⁴. But he assumes wrongly that the sphinx disappeared from the Syro-Mesopotamian imagery as soon as the motif of the “Sun-God in a Boat” disappeared, i.e. from ca. 2000 BC. This, of course is not correct. It is true, however, that, as he also points out, images of sphinxes were very rare during the 1st Dynasty of Babylonia, although they did appear (e.g. St.M. Nr. Mes. 22: Investiture Zimri-Lim); the reason for this could be that the Babylonians used other animals as guards (e.g. lions, bulls and human-headed bulls, ...). Dessenne specifies that it was also only from approximately 1550 BC that the sphinx was being shown as a guardian of the Tree of Life and, later still, of thrones⁶⁵. But a Hittite seal dating from the 17th BC and found in Boğazköy shows a pair of sphinxes flanking a Sacred Tree (St.M. Nr. An. 10).

Demisch on the other hand used ca. 600 images of sphinxes in his *Die Sphinx: Geschichte ihrer Darstellungen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, published in 1977, to show the evolution and distribution of the motif throughout the ages (from the first sphinxes of Egypt and Syro-Mesopotamia until those of the 19th and 20th centuries)⁶⁶. He did not focus on the Near East, but investigated sphinxes from a wide geographical area (Asia, Europe, America and Australia). He recognized that this wide geographical and chronological range meant that he could not use all images of sphinxes, so he chose either the ones with an artistic or cultic meaning or those that were very specific. He also realised that, because of the sheer abundance of material, his study would remain superficial. But because his main intent was to give an overview of the local types and their meaning, and through these some more general meanings of the sphinx in every region and period, this superficiality posed no problem. Through the overview, he wanted to define archetypes of the sphinx, although he realised that, because of the differences between the sphinxes from the different regions, it would not be easy to define such archetypes, if they existed at all. Then, through these possible or probable archetypes he wanted to categorize the

⁶⁴ Dessenne 1957a: 175, 177-181.

⁶⁵ Dessenne 1957a: 175, 177-181.

⁶⁶ Demisch 1977.

sphinxes by their functions. Of the 23 chapters in the book, 8 fall outside the scope of our investigation⁶⁷.

Demisch defines the sphinx, whose place of origin in the 3rd mill. BC is either Egypt or the Near East, as a composite creature with the body of a lion and the head of a man⁶⁸. This lion-sphinx can have a male or a female head and can have wings (= dreigliedrigen Sphinx). When this winged lion-sphinx wears a horned crown, Demisch calls it a "viergliedrige Sphinx". The following distinctions between types of sphinxes can be made (mentioned are only those that are of importance to this investigation):

- lion-sphinx, bull-sphinx
- male and female sphinxes
- "zweigliedrige" sphinx (human-head, lion- or bull-body)
- "dreigliedrige" sphinx (human-head, lion- or bull-body, bird-wings)
- "viergliedrige" sphinx (human-head, lion- or bull-body, bird-wings, bull-horns)
- "mehrgliedrige" creature (e.g. with animal protome on breast)

After the introduction (p. 11-15) that gives information about the different types of sphinxes, the differences between the regions, the distribution, the origin of the name and the related creatures, Demisch dedicates a chapter each to the Egyptian, Near Eastern, Cretan and Mycenaean, and the Greek sphinxes respectively. In the last chapter, he summarizes his investigation by looking at the different meanings and functions or the different motifs with which or contexts in which it was depicted (as a guard, as a companion of a god or goddess, as a demon of death, the Theban sphinx, the sphinx in animal friezes, the Sacred Tree, the Sun, the Egyptian double-sphinx Aker)⁶⁹. He starts, not surprisingly, with the sphinx acting as a guard in different contexts (on or nearby temples, altars, palaces, thrones, tombs, graves, sarcophagi and on amulets and ritual objects). Then he talks about the relation between sphinxes and divine epiphanies, followed by the relation between the hybrid creature and death (Demons of Death). After a sub-chapter about the sphinx from Thebes, he mentions animal- or

⁶⁷ These eight chapters are: Die Sphinx der Etrusker und der Römer, Die Sphinx im ersten Jahrtausend nach Christus, Die Sphinx der romanischen Kunst und der Gotik, Die islamitische Sphinx, Die Sphinx von der Renaissance bis zum Klassizismus, Das 19. und das 20. Jahrhundert, Sphinxverwandschaft jenseits des Vorderen Orients und in Übersee, Das biblische Viergetier.

⁶⁸ Demisch 1977: 11-12.

In the Near East, this sphinx can be replaced by the bull-sphinxes (head of man on bull-body) that has the same (guarding) function as the lion-sphinxes; in Egypt, the sphinx can have human hands.

Although Demisch is not sure about the place of origin of the sphinx, he is inclined to favour Egypt above the Near East.

⁶⁹ Demisch 1977: 221-235.

sphinx-friezes, and then the Sacred Tree. At last there are two sub-chapters about the relation between the sphinx and the sun and about Aker, the Egyptian double-sphinx, respectively⁷⁰.

In 1999 Wiebke Rösch-von der Heyde published a monograph on the sphinx, based on her dissertation *Das Sphinx-Bild im Wandel der Zeiten. Vorkommen und Bedeutung*. In my view, the content of this monograph does not live up to the expectations raised by the title of the work and gives only a rather limited view on the images of the sphinx throughout the ages. However, as stated by the author in the preface, the results were exactly what she intended to achieve with her investigation, which focusses on sphinxes from the Middle Ages onward. But the problem is that the division she makes between the different functions and/or aspects of the sphinx, sometimes are based on very limited source-materials and facts and seem to be much generalised⁷¹. The work by Wiebke Rösch-von der Heyde is in fact irrelevant for this investigation.

From the 19th of October 2006 till the 25th of February 2007 an exhibition with the title "Sfinx. De wachters van Egypte" (*Sphinx. The Guardians of Egypt*) was held in the Cultural Centre of the Dutch Bank ING in Brussels. For this exhibition, a beautiful catalogue under the same name was published cataloguing 197 objects of which a major part depicts a sphinx (78). The catalogue comprises eight contributions by different researchers, of which six focus on images of sphinxes⁷².

Although the catalogue "Sfinx. De wachters van Egypte" is a beautiful publication and certainly more comprehensive as one might expect because of the relatively small-scale exhibition, it is foremost directed to a broader audience and thus more popular than scientific in its approach.

The most recent monograph about the sphinx is also a catalogue edited by Lorenz Winkler-Horaček and published in 2011 on the occasion of an exhibition of the plaster collection (Abguss-Sammlung) belonging to the Freie Universität in Berlin. In *Wege der Sphinx. Monster*

⁷⁰ The relevant conclusions of Demisch will be mentioned in the appropriate places.

⁷¹ E.g. on page 115 she states: "Der in ihr [Gizeh Sphinx] wohnende Gott nannte sich Harmachis-Chephren-Ra-Atum, als er sich dem späteren Thutmoses IV (18. Dyn.) in einem (Tag-)Traum offenbarte". For this context-laden statement she only gives the following sources: "Anm. 2: R. von Österreich, Eine Orientreise, Wien, 1881.I, 221 ff.; Lange 1952, 44-45, Bonnet, 269-70: Harmachis; 560-64: Orakel; 764 (Sphinx) und 835-838: über den Traum von Thutmosis IV."

⁷² Warmenbol starts with a general piece about different types of sphinxes in Egypt (Warmenbol (ed.) 2006: 13-35.). The two following contributions are focussed on Great Sphinx of Giza: Stadelmann researches the history of the monument (37-53), and Zivie-Coche researches the connection between the sphinx of Giza and the cult dedicated to the Sun-god Harmachis (55-79).

Sourouzian explains about the processional roads leading to temples, the dromos, and the sphinxes that were part of it (99-121). Oedipus and the sphinx are discussed by Baum-von Felde (161-177). De Putter researches the material royal sculptures depicting sphinxes were made of (81-97).

Zwischen Orient und Okzident. Eine Ausstellung der Abguss-Sammlung Antiker Plastik des Instituts für Klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin, the authors by no means have the intention to treat every aspect of every sphinx known⁷³. The main object of their investigation is to get an idea of how the imagery of the sphinx got distributed over such a large area and how its iconography changed accordingly. The study reveals something about

"...den dynamischen Prozess auf dem das Mischwesen auf seinem Weg durch die antiken Kulturen unterworfen ist. [...] Es ist ein lebendiger Prozess von Einflüssen und Rezeption, von Ablehnung und neuen Ideen⁷⁴."

This study is carried out by a wide range of specialists on different fields – Egyptology, Near Eastern Archaeology, Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Classical Archaeology, and Religious Studies – a variety that can only be welcomed with open arms in the study of both iconography and archaeology as it guarantees an open and broad view on finds and images.

The catalogue is divided into two parts. The first treats the sphinx respectively in ancient Egypt and in 2nd mill. BC Anatolia, then goes through ideas about and concepts of composite creatures in the Near East and ends with the different meanings of these creatures in Northern Syria⁷⁵. The second part deals with the assimilation of the composite creatures in Greece and ends with an overview of the sphinx in Etruria and Rome⁷⁶. In between the two parts, there is a contribution by editor Lorenz Winkler-Horaček (*Wege der Sphinx: Von Ägypten und Vorderasien nach Griechenland*) which joins everything together; this essay shows how meaning and ideas connected to the sphinx in Egypt and the Near East influenced the motif and its meaning in Minoan, Mycenaean and Archaic Greece.

Some interesting hypotheses are made, e.g. by Alessandra Gilibert, when she states the difference between the functions of Hittite male and female sphinxes; while the latter act not only as gate-guards but also as overseer of ritual religious and/or political proceedings, the male ones are only depicted as companions of gods⁷⁷. Also interesting is a question phrased by

⁷³ For a review of this catalogue: Nys 2011.

⁷⁴ Winkler-Horaček 2011: 1.

⁷⁵ Dubiel: *Pharaoh – Gott – Wächter: Sphingen im alten Ägypten*; Gilibert: *Die anatolische Sphinx*; Gräff and Ritter: *Mischwesen in Babylonien und Assyrien*; and Ritter: *Die andere Sphinx – Torwächter und Schutzwesen*; Gilibert: *Die nordsyrische Sphinx*.

⁷⁶ Winkler-Horaček: *Fremde Welten oder die Wildnis im Angesicht der Zivilisation: Sphingen und Tiere im archaischen Griechenland*; Schröder: *Kontexte und Bedeutungsfelder rundplastischer Löwen und Sphingen im frühen Griechenland*; Winkler-Horaček: *Vom Bild zum Mythos, vom Mythos zum Bild: Der "geflügelte Menschenlöwe" und die Sphinx von Theben*; and Renger: *Ödipus vor der Sphinx im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Einführende Bemerkungen zu einer mythischen Konstellation in Text und Bild*; Schröder: *Ausblick: Die Sphinx in etruskischer und römischer Zeit*.

⁷⁷ Gilibert 2011a: 39-49.

Winkler-Horaček when he asks if Greek sphinxes can indeed be called Demons of Death, the so-called *Keren*, as e.g. Rösch-von der Heyde does in her study of the sphinx from 1999⁷⁸. Rösch-von der Heyde takes this identification for all sphinxes that are depicted following, grabbing, holding and attacking men and distinguishes them by this means from the Theban sphinx. Winkler-Horaček, however, warns against this identification and points out that, in contrast to the *Keren*, sphinxes are substantial, corporeal creatures that are not above things and that e.g. can be hunted, which is impossible with the 'real' Demons of Death. He claims it is only the savage nature of the sphinx that is a result of its feline-like character that makes it dangerous to both gods and men.

Although the catalogue *Wege der Sphinx* gives an in-depth investigation of the motif of the sphinx, it has its shortcomings, the main ones being the lack of co-operation between the diverse contributors and the absence of a concluding chapter that gives a summary of all the findings, hypotheses and statements that were made in all the different chapters. This, however, does not minimize its significance, both for the investigation of the iconography of the sphinx and for the iconographical research of the motif in general.

2.2.2.1 SUMMARY STATUS QUAESTIONIS

Of course, all these studies had their own specific merits. In the earliest articles on the sphinx, Roeder and Ilberg identified for the first time the sphinx as a composite creature consisting of a human head combined with a lion-body, a definition that will remain to this day, although Roeder immediately points to the existence of ram-sphinxes and griffin, which are taken on in practically all later studies of the sphinx, as are the bull-sphinxes. Roeder classifies sphinxes into different types, i.e. recumbent, seated, trampling, crouching, striding, with human hands...., and then ascribes four different identifications to the sphinx (cf. *supra*)⁷⁹. These, however, are not very clearly defined and overlap each other greatly. Moreover, he does not attach any function to these meanings of the sphinxes, although he sees a lot of them as merely decorative. For Ilberg, sphinxes have mainly a guarding function as they have an apotropaic character, or are otherwise also used only decorative. Ilberg, however, focusses primarily on the distribution of the motif throughout the different regions, cultures and periods⁸⁰.

The study of the sphinx executed by Dessenne in 1957 is based entirely on typology, as his goal is primarily to make a list of themes and one of forms as a possible starting point for more

⁷⁸ Rösch-von der Heyde 1999: 7; Winkler-Horaček 2011: 163.

⁷⁹ Roeder 1909.

⁸⁰ Ilberg 1909-1915.

detailed studies on the motif⁸¹. Regarding function, he also sees only a guarding one, but he understands that the more complex the motif becomes, e.g. when the sphinx is wearing an Egyptian royal crown, the more complex it also becomes in meaning.

Demisch not only wanted to define archetypes of the sphinx connected to a certain function, but also show the distribution and evolution of the sphinx-motif throughout the ages (from the very first sphinxes till those of the 20th cent.) and spread over an enormous geographical region (Asia, Europe, America and Australia)⁸². For the Aegean sphinxes, he tries to connect aspects of the different types of sphinxes with contexts (e.g. as winged pair on a tomb or altar), but unfortunately, he does not do the same for the other regions.

While the study by Rösch-von der Heyde and the exhibition-catalogue from Brussels both have their merits, they are less relevant for this study⁸³. Much more relevant is the exhibition-catalogue *Wege der Sphinx* from 2011 published by the Freie Universität in Berlin⁸⁴. Although it is focussed primarily on the distribution of the sphinx-motif and the change in iconography that was connected to this, it yields some interesting new insights in functions the sphinx can have (cf. supra)

The next table (STF III – Overview Major Publications about the Sphinx) gives a clear insight in the different publications that already exist, citing their main positive points and shortcomings which show the gaps that still occur in the study about the motif of the sphinx. It will make clear also which aspects of the imagery this study will focus on.

⁸¹ Dessenne 1957a.

⁸² Demisch 1977.

⁸³ Rösch-von der Heyden 1999; Warmenbol (ed.) 2006.

⁸⁴ Winkler-Horaček (ed.) 2011.

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STF III – OVERVIEW MAJOR PUBLICATIONS ABOUT THE SPHINX							
PUBLICATION	TYPE OF PUBLICATION	REGIONS	METHODOLOGY/GOAL	ILLUSTR.	DEFINITION SPHINX	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
Roeder 1909	Encyclopedia	Egypt	Listing of types, meanings, functions Origin Meaning	Image: 4 Drawing: 4	= lion with human-, falcon, or ram-head	Sphinx representing ... - King, God or both Sphinx acting as guard	Sphinx used decoratively Confusing & Repetitive
Ilberg 1909-1915	Encyclopedia	Aegean (Greece!)	Origin Stylistic characteristics (esp. wings) Meaning and function	Image: 18 Drawing: 12		Sphinx has apotropaic function Sphinx acting as - Guard - Demon of Death Sphinx bringing chaos	Sphinx used decoratively Mostly later periods Very general
Dessenne 1957	Monograph	Near East Egypt Aegean	Comparison based on typology to form an - inventory of themes - inventory of forms	Mostly drawings	= lion with human head	Sphinx has apotropaic function Sphinx acting as guard	Egyptian sphinx is mostly religious as it guards the City of the Dead
Demisch 1977	Monograph	Asia Europe America Australia	Show the evolution and distribution of the motif throughout the ages (until the 20 th century) Give an overview of the local types and their meaning to come to some more general meanings Define archetypes Cataloguing sphinxes by their functions	Ca. 600	= lion with human head = bull with human head (Near East) = lion or bull with human head and wings = lion with human head and human hands (Egypt)	Sphinx acting as - Guard - Demon of Death - Companion of god(dess) Sphinx bringing chaos (Theban) Sphinx in animal friezes Aker Importance accompanying motifs (i.e. Sacred Tree, Sun) Importance contexts	Superficial Too great an assignment
Rösch- V.d. Heyden 1999	Monograph	Egypt Etruria-Rome	Give an overview of the iconography and the meaning of sphinxes mostly from the Middle Ages and later	Ca. 30		Sphinx acting as - Guard Sphinx used in allegorical sense - Poser of riddles - Women - Wisdom	Sphinx is symbol of a country and its culture (myth, religion, history, art, science) Egyptian sphinxes are allegorical symbols of wisdom Not well-founded conclusions
<i>Sfinx</i> 2006	Exhibition Cat.	Egypt	Give information about some aspects of the Egyptian sphinxes	78		Sphinx on processional barks Relation sphinx-Horus-Sun Sphinxes on dromoi	More popular than scientific Too restricted in its intention
Wege der Sphinx 2011	Exhibition Cat.	Egypt Near East Anatolia Greece Etruria-Rome	Give an idea of how the sphinx got distributed over a large area and how this changed its iconography	Ca. 150		Intercultural influences both on motif and meaning of sphinx Difference between Hittite male and female sphinxes	Restricted by its format and thus the working-material Not really giving a conclusion

2.2.2.2 CONTRIBUTION OF THIS THESIS

From this overview, it becomes clear that the sphinx is a very interesting motif not only because it existed from a very early period onwards till today, but moreover because it can be encountered in a widespread region throughout basically different cultures. This overview also makes it clear that the study of the sphinx is far from complete. Many studies have focussed on the evolution and distribution of the sphinx throughout the different areas and therefore this study will not focus on this aspect of the motif, although there will be a short chapter summarizing all the general findings concerning the intercultural relations and their possible impact on the iconography of the sphinx. And although in previous studies much attention has been given to the shapes and types of the sphinxes (e.g. in pair, recumbent, winged, female, with human hands, ...), and, in a lesser degree, to their meaning (identification as a god or a king), no study thus far has been focussed on the combination of all the aspects of the sphinx-motif (context, type and surrounding motifs) to determine the different meanings (besides a god or a king) and different functions (besides a guarding one) a sphinx could have. This is a severe lack in the study of the sphinx, because it is only through the consideration of all the aspects concerning a motif, that a more definite meaning and more nuanced functions can be found. Therefore, this study will focus not on every detail surrounding the sphinx or the nuanced differences in its iconography (there is too much material to do this), but on the combination of wide-ranging aspects, more precisely used media (e.g. relief or sculpture), size (e.g. monumental or teeny), type (e.g. with human-hands), surrounding motifs (e.g. the Sun-god) and contexts (mainly religious or political) to try to determine the different meanings and/or functions it can have.

2.2.3 COLLECTING AND PROCESSING THE MATERIAL

Due to the lack of literary sources on sphinxes, except for a mention here and there, this research was confined to the abundant visual material. Because of the large quantity of material, it was impossible to see the actual objects in real life and even to include all of them; therefore, the study material consists of images, drawings and photographs of the objects that were gathered from a multitude of sources: from publications and websites of museums, libraries and universities or other trustworthy sources (e.g. www.hittitemonuments.com; www.gettyimages.be), or out of specialised or academic books, papers, journals, essays, and so on. These images constitute the primary sources. Secondary sources are articles and books or monographs that give attention to the motif of the sphinx in one way or another (cf. 2.2.2. Status Quaestionis) or deal with one or a limited number of sphinx images (e.g. Garstang 1928).

I like to stress here that it was impossible to include all known images of sphinxes in this investigation; there are e.g. much more Near Eastern seals and scarabs and Egyptian scarabs with depictions of sphinxes and there is an abundance of recumbent sphinxes representing various pharaohs in Egypt, which have been left out of the research. As the main objective was not only to have as much variety in the imagery and/or contexts as possible, but also to show the popularity of one motif in a region, first of all as many images as possible were collected from various regions, and from different periods. When this collection presented a promising diversity of images, with regard to contexts, time periods, iconographical motifs and details, the catalogues of each region were put together which reflected all sorts of variations and also showed the popularity of some of the imagery in each region (e.g. the recumbent sphinx in Egypt).

The first difficulty was that the original context and/or function of many images was unknown. As Nijhowne stresses (albeit only for seals, but in my view, it is correct for all kinds of media)

[this]"removal from the context in which they were made and used has limited the kind of interpretation that has been possible concurring what seal composition may have meant"⁸⁵.

Yet, these images have been taken up in the investigation, because the main objective was to gather enough diverse material so it would be possible to see similarities and differences and through these, if possible, determine the meaning(s) and/or function(s) of the sphinx.

⁸⁵ Nijhowne 1999: 11.

The first, and most important task to start with, was to arrive at a definition of the sphinx (cf. 3. The Sphinx and its Relatives) and thereby outline exactly which creatures would be taken up in the investigation and which not (cf. supra). To reach this definition, it was important to look at the composite creatures of the Ancient Near East and see what meaning and function they had, which different types of sphinxes existed, where the origins of the creature lay, which types of sphinxes were to be included into the investigation and on what period and regions the study had to focus (cf. 2.3. Chronology and Geography).

To come to (a) well-founded conclusion(s), it was necessary to work as logically as e.g. Gardin pointed out in his excellent work on *Archaeological constructs* published in 1980, but which is often forgotten when working on analysing images with the result that some steps are skipped because the researcher starts from some prejudiced hypotheses.

The archaeological constructs from the title are defined by Gardin as

*“any written text presented as a distinct unit in the archaeological literature – article, book, lecture, etc., with the appended illustrations – for the purpose of presenting the results of a survey or excavation, the contents of a collection, the interpretation of a monument or group of monuments, or the lessons that may be drawn from any data with respect to the history and ways of life of ancient men”*⁸⁶.

Gardin distinguishes between four levels of working with archaeological remains (STF IV: Archaeology Methodology Graphic: a, b, c and d), be it monuments, architecture, men-made objects and works of art to come to profound propositions, theories or hypotheses. It is obvious that Gardin started for his working-method with the iconological approach of Panofsky (cf. supra).

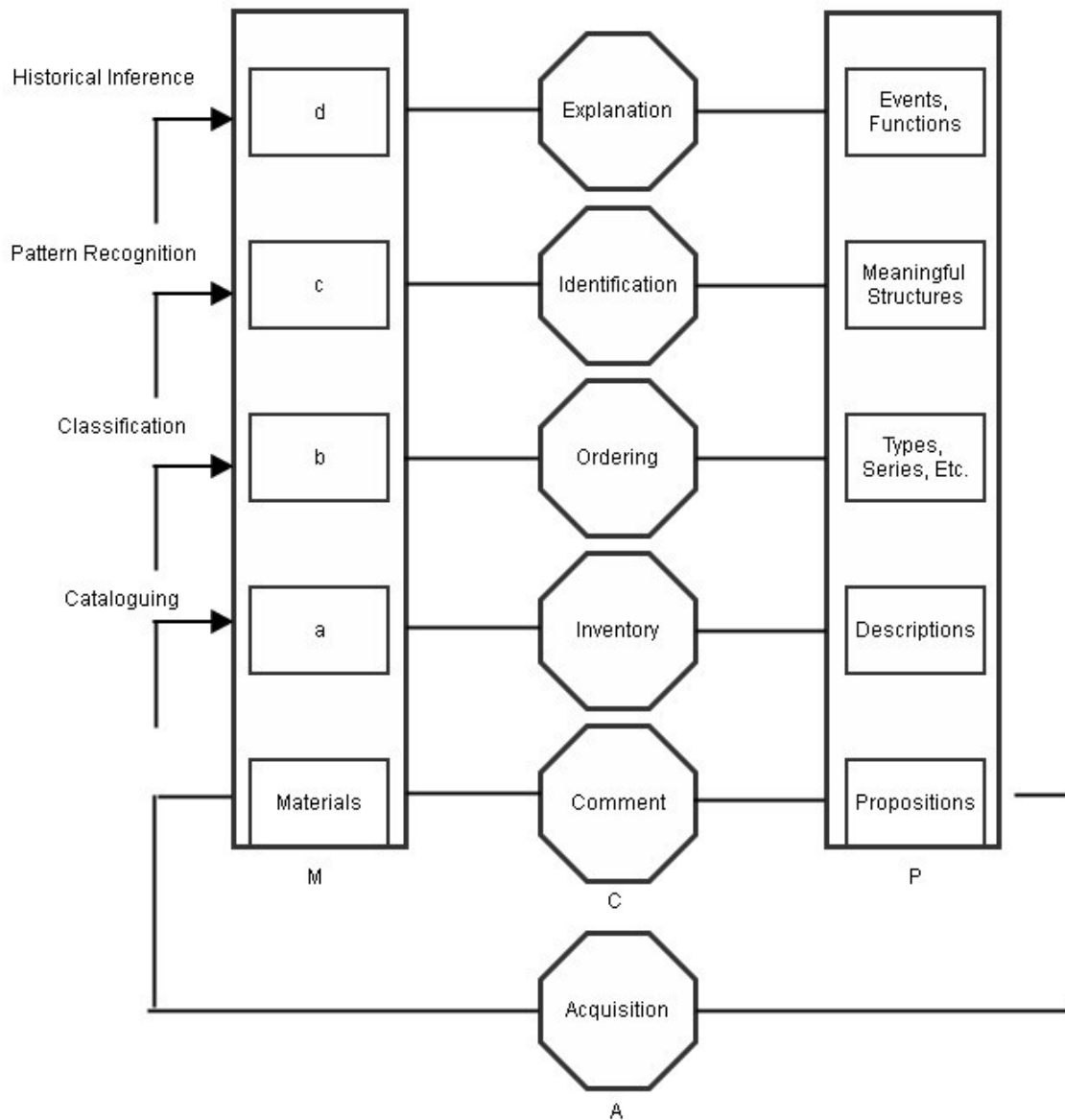
Zouzoula, in her excellent work on *The Fantastic Creatures from Bronze Age Crete*, works following the same method; this means she first tries to, what she calls "recontextualise", i.e. categorise the material, then she describes the object itself and gives an accurate description of the occurring motifs⁸⁷. While her aim is to notice evolutions and variations in iconography, she describes these changes in her conclusion. She believes that the iconography can help to understand function(s) of motifs and objects, but only when context and medium are taken into consideration. She states, and I think in most cases I must agree, that e.g. a motif on a wall can not always be interpreted in the same way as the same motif on a seal.

⁸⁶ Gardin 1980: 13.

⁸⁷ Zouzoula 2007: 35-38.

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So, basically, this investigation is based generally on Panofsky's iconological method (cf. 2.2.1. Art-history and Archaeology – Some Background Information), although some steps will be more important than others, merely because this study is not dealing with pictures belonging to our own culture, but to cultures that have ceased to be a long time ago.



STF IV - ARCHAEOLOGY METHODOLOGY GRAPHIC.

When the material had been gathered (A, Acquisition), the main task was to systematically catalogue it, per region and period (a, Inventory)⁸⁸. Because this research focusses on the period between 1600 and 800 BC (cf. 2.3. Chronology and Geography), two different catalogues (working material and comparison material) seemed the most efficient way to do this. Most

⁸⁸ Gardin 1980: 7-8.

important is the catalogue of the research period (hereafter referred to as “Catalogue”; Cat.Nr.); this one is divided into the four regions on which the investigation is directed (Syro-Mesopotamia & Levant, Egypt, Anatolia and the Aegean) and per region a division is made by context, albeit a dubious one: between political and religious images (Political, Religious and Miscellaneous). More information about this division has been made into a table (13.10. STF LIX – Images in Context) that enlists the images as they are presented in the Catalogue, this means, as belonging dominantly to a political or to a religious context and with which (accompanying) motif(s) this context is made clear or even accentuated⁸⁹.

Although this division may seem ambiguous at first glance, it soon turned out every picture had one sphere, political or religious, that prevailed. With(in) each image, three main elements were analysed: the sphinx itself, accompanying motifs or elements, and location (where the image was found or – probably – used). The following criteria were listed to categorize an image as political or as religious:

Political

- The sphinx:
 - o Iconographical:
 - Pose: e.g. in Egypt: recumbent; trampling;
 - Position, stature, (relative) size
 - Attributes of kingship or rulership (a.o. sceptre, crown, clothes, Sun-disk or winged sun, throne, rosette, ...)
 - o Context:
 - War scene
 - Hunting scene
- Accompanying motifs/elements: texts, inscriptions
- Location:
 - o On a public building, city wall or city gate
 - o In a palace
 - o On the throne of a king/ruler
 - o On royal garments
 - o On seals (without explicit religious motifs)

⁸⁹ For a summary of the archaeological investigations of religion and religious practices in the Near East: Laneri 2015.

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Religious:

- The sphinx
 - Iconographical
 - Pose: offering or worshipping
- Accompanying motifs/elements:
 - Texts, inscriptions, dedications
 - Divine attributes
- Location:
 - In or near a Temple
 - Near a god statue
 - In a tomb or on a sarcophagus
 - On an altar
 - On weapons or vases (apotropaic)
 - On throne of god

This resulted in the following table which served as a major guideline for cataloguing the images (STF V).

STF V – USED CRITERIA POLITICAL & RELIGIOUS					
POLITICAL			RELIGIOUS		
<i>SPHINX</i>	<i>ACCOMPANYING MOTIFS/ELEMENTS</i>	<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>SPHINX</i>	<i>ACCOMPANYING MOTIFS/ELEMENTS</i>	<i>LOCATION</i>
Iconographical Pose Position Stature (Relative) Size Context War scene Fighting scene Hunting scene	Texts Inscriptions Crown/Sceptre War-chariot Hunting-chariot Master of Animals	Public building Palace Royal throne Royal garments Seals (no rel. motifs)	Iconographical Pose Divine attributes Context Religious ritual Worshipping scene	Texts Inscriptions Dedications Divinity Divine attributes Divine symbols Mistress of Animals	Temple God statue Tomb Sarcophagus Altar Cult stand Weapons Vases God throne Seals (rel. motifs)

I am aware of the problems of this categorization, but it facilitated the working process and it made comparisons between different areas easier. Most of the time, the division was based on the iconography of the sphinx-motif itself, on the surrounding motifs, and on the context where the object was found or the possible use it would have had (if these were known). Although the division remains in some cases uncertain, it soon became clear it was helpful for handling

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the material; it permitted to see which iconography was spread out over the different regions the most and which remained local.

The second catalogue (named hereafter “Study Material”; St.M. Nr.) lists the images belonging to the period before (Preceding 1600 BC) and following the research period (After 800 BC) and is running from the oldest images dating from the early 3rd mill. BC till approximately the 17th cent. BC and then from approximately the 8th cent. BC until ca. 400 BC, also listed per region and chronologically. These images are foremost important for comparison in regard with the overall evolution of the representation and function of the sphinx.

The main Catalogue and the Study Material give the same information about each image/object; a small depiction, the title, the type of object, date, finding and/or production place, dimensions, material, iconographic description of the motives, place where it is kept now, museum number (if applicable) and a bibliography for more information about the object (STF VI - Catalogue and Study Material Information)⁹⁰.

	<i>CAT.NR. AEG. – TITLE</i>
	TYPE:
	PRODUCTION PLACE:
	FIND SPOT:
	DATE/PERIOD:
	DESCRIPTION:
	INFORMATION:
MUSEUM	
MUSEUM NUMBER	
MATERIAL/TECHNIQUE	
SIZE	

STF VI – CATALOGUE AND STUDY MATERIAL INFORMATION.

After categorizing the material, it was immediately classified in several ways (b, Ordering)⁹¹. One way was to divide the sphinxes per type (3.2.3 STF X - Basic Types of Sphinxes; 13.8. STF LVII - Types of Sphinxes Before 1600 BC; 13.9. STF LVIII - Types of Sphinxes 1600-800 BC): is the sphinx recumbent, seated or standing/striding; does it have a beard, and/or wings, and/or does it wear a headdress, is the sphinx female or male, etc.?

Then, a perhaps more important step was what Gardin calls the “Pattern recognition” (c, Identification)⁹². In this stage poses and attitudes of the sphinx were the focus of attention as were the surrounding motifs (the most common/popular of which are explained in a supplement: 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs) and, if possible, the geographical attributions, the location and the context (STF XV, STF XIX, STF XXII and STF

⁹⁰ The iconographic description of the objects will, however, be in most cases not be in full detail, because this has been done already for a great part by Dessenne 1957a and Demisch 1977, and it would lead this research too far.

⁹¹ Gardin 1980: 8, 10.

⁹² Gardin 1980: 10-12.

LXXV – Sphinxes (1600-800 BC – Sphinxes in Context). The following accompanying themes were registered: Animals/Men/Mythological Creatures, Kings/Queens/Royal Symbols, Divinities/Religious or God-Symbols, Supporting/Guarding, Controlled by/Controlling, Attacked by/Attacking. Some of these motifs were described more in detail later (cf. 8. Some Key Motifs & Themes).

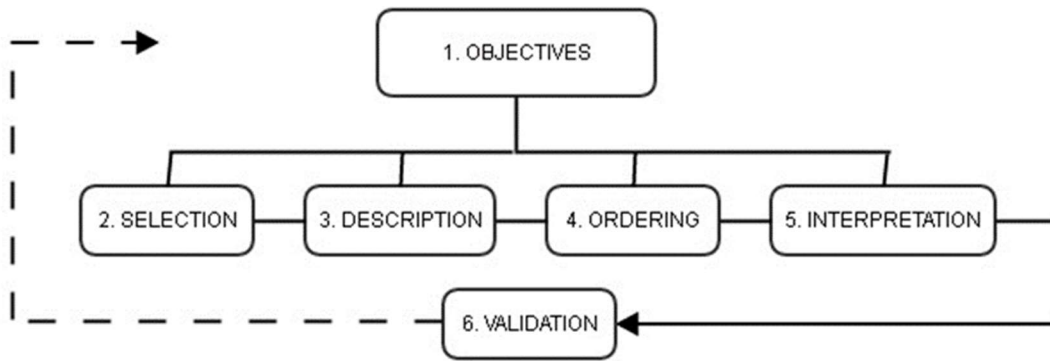
STF XXXIV and STF LX (- Objects with Sphinxes & - Contexts and Used Media) detail the form in which the images occur: is the image a mural, a sculpture, painted or engraved on ceramics or on a seal, or on a piece of furniture, is it a relief on a wall or is it an amulet?

After typifying the material in these ways, it was attempted to make some analyses that could perhaps clarify the different functions of the sphinx, first in each region separately and per timeframe (cf. 4. The Sphinx in Syro-Mesopotamia & the Levant, 5. The Sphinx in Egypt, 6. The Sphinx in Anatolia and 7. The Sphinx in the Aegean), and then synthesised for all regions together (d, Explanation; cf. 10. The Meanings and Functions of the Sphinx). Before making this analysis, however, some more research was done into some interesting iconographic themes in which the sphinx often plays a part (cf. 8. Some Key Motifs & Themes), and into the possible effect of intercultural relations on the iconography of the sphinxes (cf. 9. The Effect of Intercultural Relations on the Iconography of the Sphinx).

Some very interesting images with remarkable iconography got a separate chapter, included after the conclusion (cf. 12. Addendum – Key Pieces Related to Sphinx & Griffin),

In general, the overall organisation of the study is then as follows (cf. STF VII): When the objectives of the research are stated (cf. 2. Conducting the Investigation, more specifically 2.1. Goal and Research Questions and 2.3. Chronology and Geography), the material is selected, described and ordered (cf. Catalogues and Study Materials of the four regions + resp. The Sphinx in Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant, in Egypt, in Anatolia and in the Aegean). After that it is time for analyses to come to an interpretation (10. The Meanings & Functions of the Sphinx); once these analyses are made, they can be validated against the objectives that were used at the start of the investigation.

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STF VII - GENERAL STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY⁹³.

The Conclusion (11. Conclusion) then, will pay attention to iconographic differences between the regions, important sphinxes and/or themes in each region and their accompanying motifs, widespread and possible unique contexts and functions.

⁹³ Gardin 1980: 135-146.

2.3 CHRONOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

2.3.1 GEOGRAPHY

While the main objective of this investigation is to see whether the meaning and function of the sphinx differ throughout different regions (cf. *infra*), although perhaps the iconography may have many similarities, it was obvious to cover a relatively large region into this study, namely Mesopotamia (MP 1.A), Syria and the Levant (MP 1.B), Anatolia (MP 2), Egypt (MP 3), and the Aegean (MP 4)⁹⁴.

These regions have all been considered purely geographically, not political or economical, and not divided into their different stages in history or into their subdivisions (e.g. North, Central and Southern Levant), because, in the context of this study, this would have been too complex⁹⁵. Therefore, Syro-Mesopotamia & the Levant refers to the core areas of north-western and north-eastern Syria, modern Iraq, south-western Iran, south-eastern Turkey, and the lands which border the eastern Mediterranean shores: Israel, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine and Syria⁹⁶. Although the island Cyprus is by some researchers regarded as part of the Levant, here Cyprus has been included as part of the Aegean region, that comprises the Greek mainland, and, next to Cyprus, also the islands of Crete, Rhodes, Euboea, Corfu, Chios, Aegina, Samos and Thera⁹⁷. The region Egypt refers to the area in the valley of the Nile stretching from the delta on the south Mediterranean coast through Nubia to the Sudan. The region Anatolia comprises not only the plateau between the Mediterranean sea and the Black Sea (the peninsula of Asia Minor), but also the geographical (not political) area of Urartu, i.e. the region around Lake Van, situated between ancient Anatolia itself, Mesopotamia, the Iranian plateau and the Caucasus Mountains (a region which in modern day Turkey is called the Eastern Anatolia Region). Images have been included based on their (probable) production place.

⁹⁴ Maps and Plans are listed under the abbreviation "MP".

⁹⁵ In recent years, the term "Syro-Palestinian" is gradually replaced by the more political and culturally neutral (neither national nor biblical) terms "Levant" or "Levantine": Levy 2016: 8.

⁹⁶ Sasson 1995: xxvii.

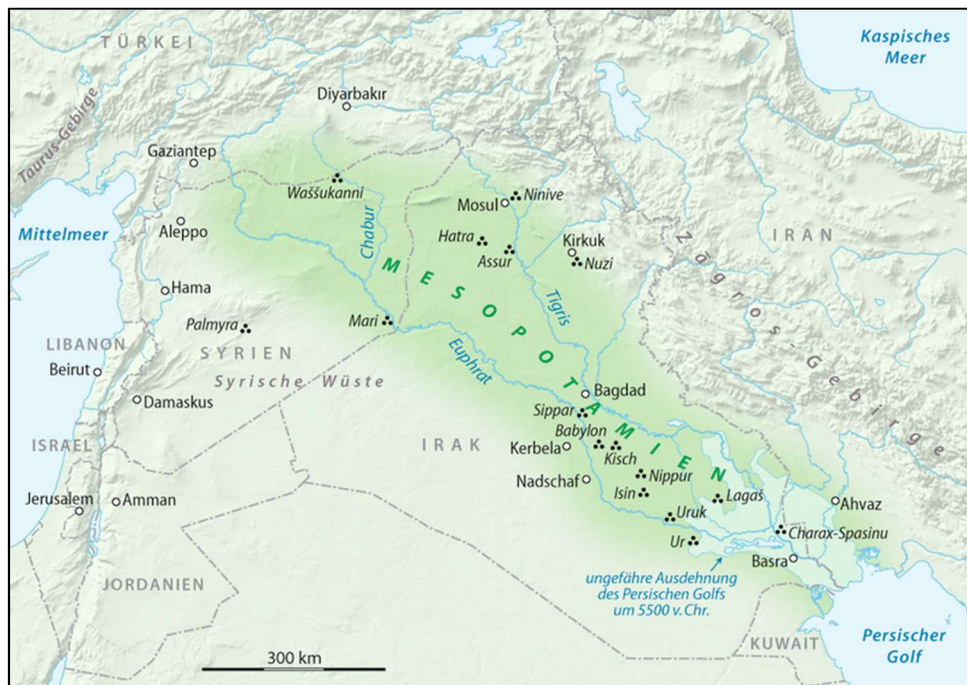
Sasson 1995: xxvi-xxvii: refers for the definition of the "Ancient Near East" to Webster's *New Geographical Dictionary* (1984): "An extensive region comprising the countries of SW Asia (Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, ...)", and, for the United States Department of State, ..., also embraces Egypt, Sudan and Libya." Sometimes also "Iran, both ancient and modern, is included". The essays in the four volumes of *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, focus on "the core areas of Egypt, Syro-Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia". He has also "included essays on Aegean and Anatolian cultures commonly neglected by both classicists and near eastern specialists, such as those of Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes," ...

⁹⁷ Sasson 1995: xxvii; Suriano 2014.

PART 1 – 2. CONDUCTING THE INVESTIGATION

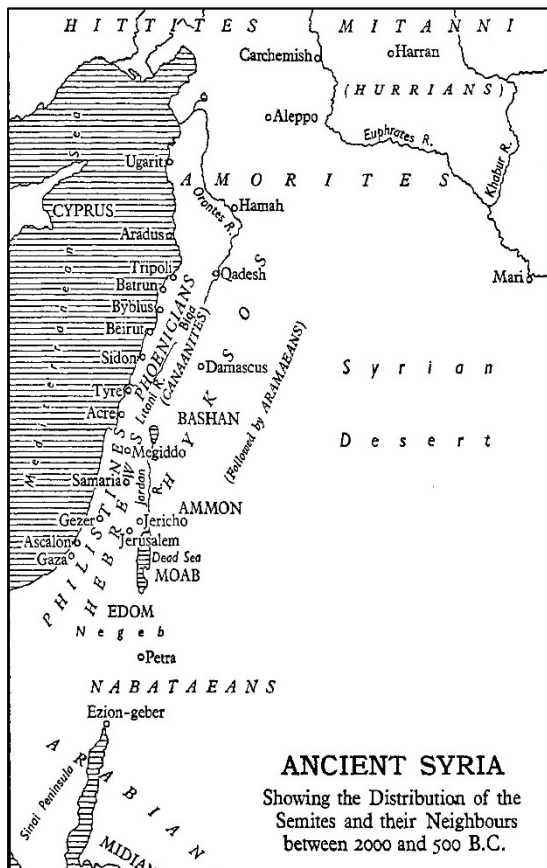
This large region, however, forced upon the research a restriction in time, because it soon became evident that gathering all images of sphinxes, and sometimes griffins and Criosphinxes of every region throughout all periods would be an unmanageable task. However, because of the connotations of change and evolution in many areas, the transitional stage of the Late Bronze (ca. 1600-1200 BC) into the Early Iron Age (ca. 1200-800 BC) immediately presented itself as the most obvious choice.

Although this restriction in time reduced the total number of images, the quantity of images was still impractical to handle. Therefore, I regard this study as the first step toward more detailed research, because I truly believe the images of sphinxes can give a clear insight into different cultures and their ideas about politics, religion, and life.

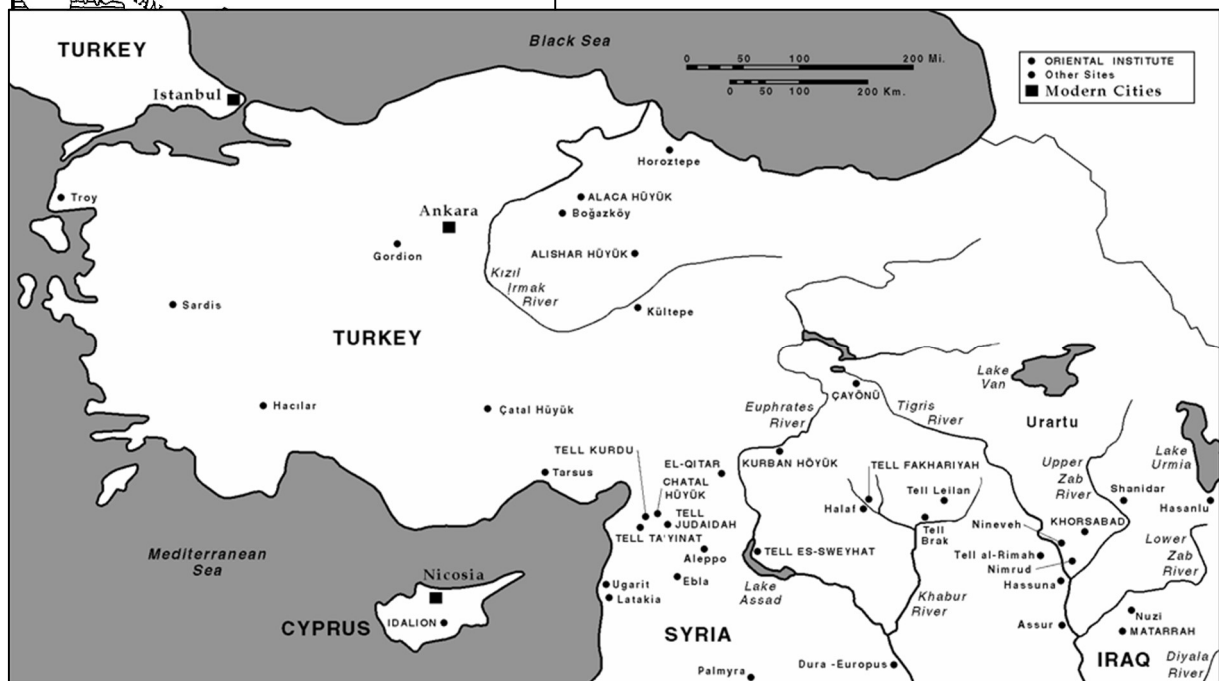


MP 1A: SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA.

PART 1 – 2. CONDUCTING THE INVESTIGATION



MP 1B: SYRIA & THE LEVANT.



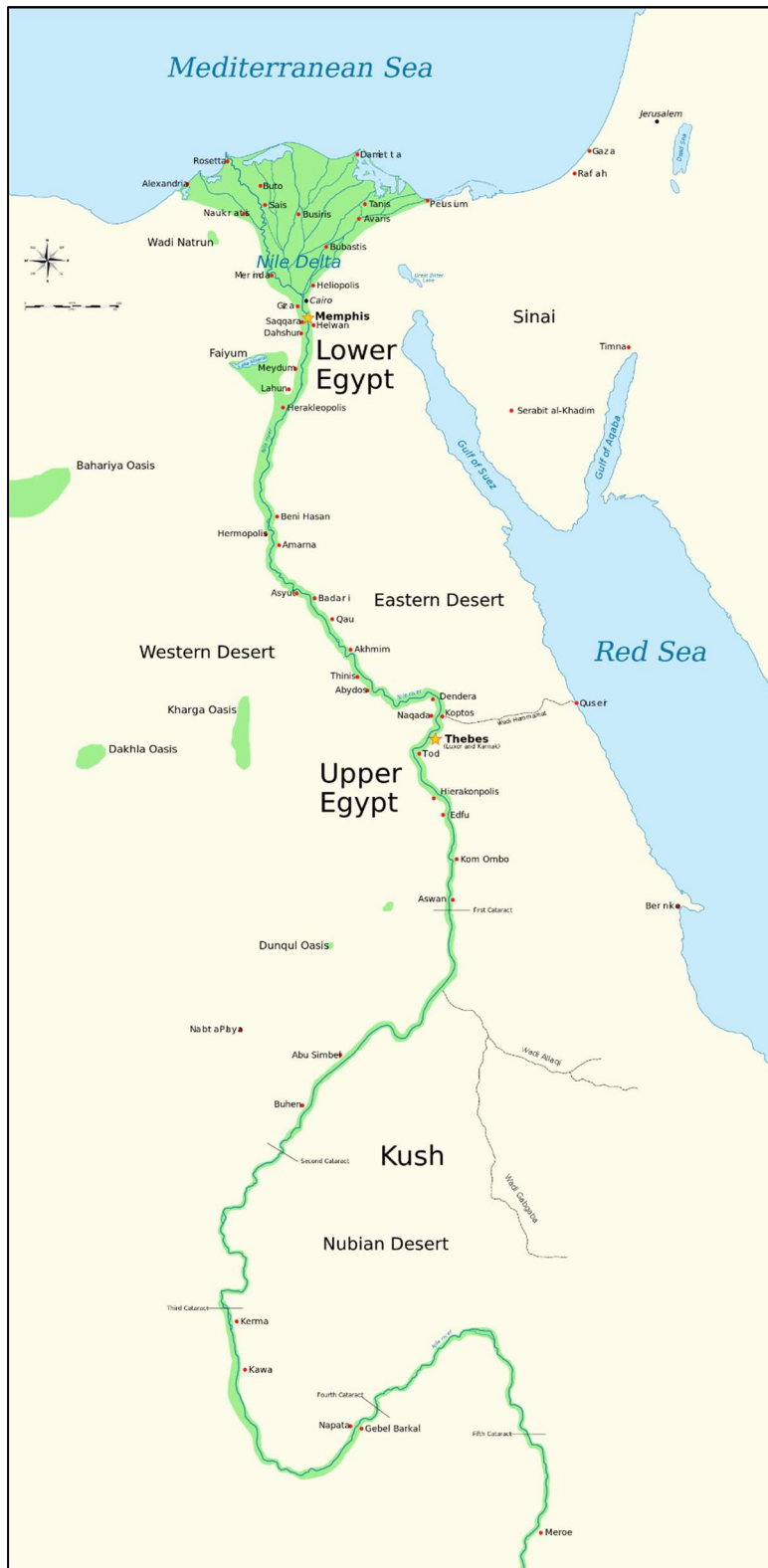
MP 2A: ANATOLIA.

PART 1 – 2. CONDUCTING THE INVESTIGATION



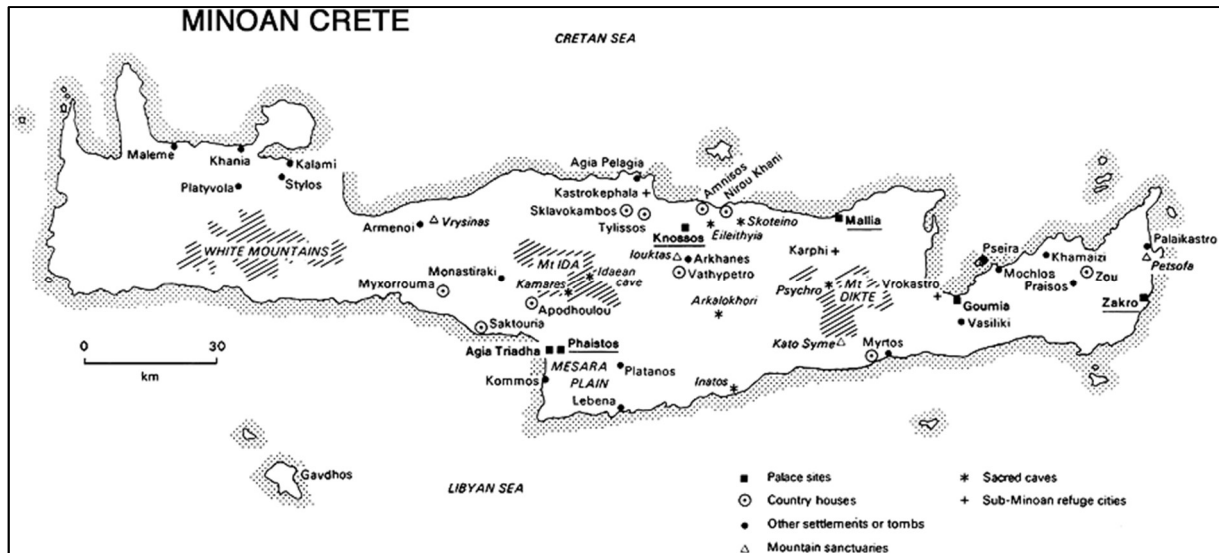
MP 2B: ANATOLIA- HITTITE EMPIRE.

PART 1 – 2. CONDUCTING THE INVESTIGATION

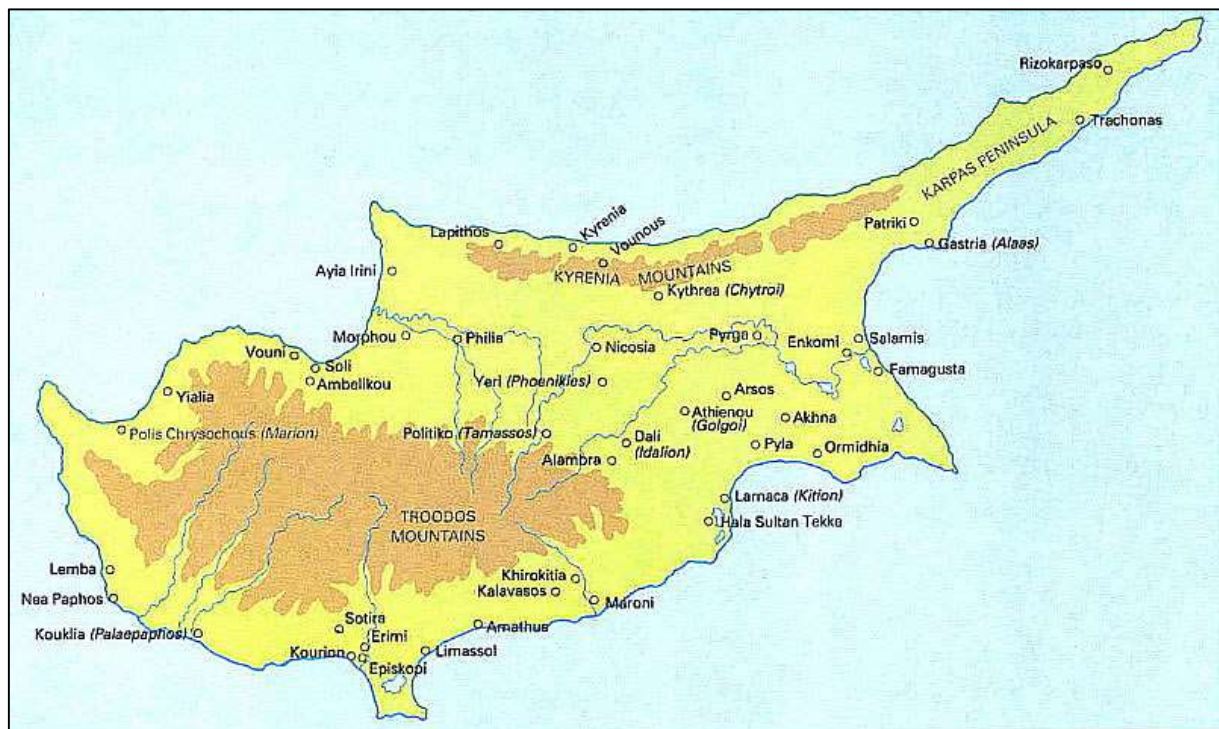


MP 3: EGYPT.

PART 1 – 2. CONDUCTING THE INVESTIGATION



MP 4A: MINOAN CRETE.



MP 4B: CYPRUS.

PART 1 – 2. CONDUCTING THE INVESTIGATION



MP 4C: THE AEGEAN.

PART 1 – 2. CONDUCTING THE INVESTIGATION

2.3.2 CHRONOLOGY

± BC		MESOPOTAMIA	NORTHERN SYRIA	SOUTHERN LEVANT	EGYPT	ANATOLIA	CRETE	GREECE		
2800	EARLY BRONZE	EARLY DYNASTIC II 2700-2550	EARLY SYRIAN 5300-2000	CANAANITE PERIOD	EARLY DYNASTIC 3000-2675		EARLY MINOAN 3000-2000	EARLY HELLADIC 2800-2100		
2700					OLD KINGDOM 2675-2130					
2600										
2500		EARLY DYNASTIC III 2550-2350								
2400										
2300		AKKADIAN PERIOD 2350-2150			ELITE TOMBS 2350-2050					
2200		NEO- SUMERIAN 2150-2000								
2100										
2000										
		MIDDLE BRONZE				OLD SYRIAN 2000-1530 AMORITE DYN			MIDDLE KINGDOM 1980-1630	KARUM PERIOD 2050-1700
1900	OLD ASSYRIAN/ BABYLONIAN 2000-1600 AMORITE DYN		HURRITE/ MITANNI	2 ND INTERMED.	Proto- Palatial					
1800										
1700				OLD HITTITE 1700-1500	Neo- Palatial		EARLY MYCENAEAN 1550-1500			
1600										
	LATE BRONZE		KASSITE 1600-1180	PERIOD 1600-1450	NEW KINGDOM 1540-1075			LATE MINOAN 1500-1330		PALATIAL PERIOD 1500-1400 POST-
1400			MIDDLE ASSYRIAN/ BABYLONIAN 1150-1080	HITTITE PERIOD 1450-1190			EGYPTIAN DOMINATION 1550-1150	HITTITE PERIOD 1500-1180		
1300		Post- Palatial								
1200		SUB-								
1100	IRON AGE	NEO- ASSYRIAN 1080-612	LUWIAN/ ARAMEAN PERIOD 1050-934	PHILISTINE & ISRAELITE PERIOD 1150-700	3 RD INTERMED. 1075-660	NEO HITTITE 1180-750	PROTO- GEOMETRIC 1050-900			
1000			NEO-SYRIAN PERIOD 934-610				GEOMETRIC 900-750			
900										
800										
700		NEO- BABYLONIAN 612-539	NEO- BABYLONIAN 609-539	NEO- ASSYRIAN/ BABYLONIAN 700-550	LATE PERIOD 660-330	LYDIAN/ PHRYGIAN 750-550	ARCHAIC 800-480			
600										

PART 1 – 2. CONDUCTING THE INVESTIGATION

2.3.3 RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE 2ND MILL. BC

	SOUTHERN MESOPOTAMIA – ELAM	NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA	SYRIA AND THE LEVANT	ANATOLIA	EGYPT	GREECE	CRETE/CYCLADES
<i>Middle Bronze</i>	ISIN-LARNA CA. 2000-1760 BC OLD BABYLONIAN CA. 2000-1600 BC	AMORITE DYN. OLD ASSYRIAN CA. 1920-1740 BC	OLD SYRIAN CA. 2000-1530 BC DESTRUCTION OF MARI CA. 1760 BC	KARUM PERIOD CA. 2050-1700 BC OLD ASSYRIAN TRADING COLONIES CA. 1975-1725 BC	MIDDLE KINGDOM CA. 1980-1630 BC 12 TH DYNASTY CA. 1980-1800 BC 13 TH DYNASTY CA. 1800-1640 BC	MIDDLE HELLADIC CA. 2100-1500 BC	MIDDLE MINOAN IA PROTOPALATIAL CA. 2000-1900 BC MIDDLE CYCLADIC CA. 2000-1625 BC MIDDLE MINOAN IB-II OLDPALATIAL CA. 1900-1700 BC EARTHQUAKE CA. 1700 BC MIDDLE MINOAN IIIA-B & LATE MINOAN IA NEOPALATIAL CA. 1700-1550 BC
				OLD HITTITE CA. 1700-1500 BC	2 ND INTERMEDIATE HYKSOS CA. 1640-1550 BC NEW KINGDOM CA. 1540-1075 BC 18 TH DYNASTY CA. 1550-1295 BC 19 TH DYNASTY CA. 1295-1185 BC 20 TH DYNASTY CA. 1185-1070 BC		LATE CYCLADIC CA. 1625-1100 BC VOLCANIC ERUPTION (THERA) CA. 1520 BC LATE MINOAN IB-IIIC CA. 1500-1170 BC START MYCENAEAN INFLUENCE POSTPALATIAL CA. 1520-1170 BC SUB MINOAN CA. 1100-1000 BC
<i>Late Bronze</i>	DESTRUCTION OF BABYLON CA. 1595 BC MIDDLE BABYLONIAN KASSITE CA. 1600-1180 BC MIDDLE BABYLONIAN CA. 1150-1180 BC	HURRITE/MITANNI CA. 1600-1450 BC HITTITE PERIOD CA. 1450-1190 BC LUWIAN/ARAMEAN PERIOD CA. 1050-934 BC	MIDDLE SYRIAN CA. 1550-1200 BC DESTRUCTION OF QATNA CA. 1340 BC BATTLE OF QADESH CA. 1275 BC TREATY OF QADESH CA. 1260 BC	RAID ON BABYLONIA CA. 1595 BC HITTITE PERIOD CA. 1500-1180 BC EXPANSION INTO SYRIA NEO-HITTITE CA. 1180-750 BC		LATE HELLADIC/ EARLY MYCENAEAN CA. 1550-1325 BC SHAFT GRAVES CA. 1525-1325 BC LH IIA: 1525-1450 BC LH IIB: 1450-1425 BC LH IIIA: 1425-1325 BC LATE MYCENAEAN/ LH III B CA. 1325-1200 BC	
<i>Early Iron</i>	NEO-ASSYRIAN CA. 1180-612 BC NEO-BABYLONIAN CA. 612-539 BC	NEO-ASSYRIAN CA. 1180-612 BC	KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL & JUDAH CA. 932-721/587 BC	KINGDOM OF URARTU CA. 850-635 BC LYDIAN/ PHRYGIAN CA. 750-550 BC	3 RD INTERMEDIATE CA. 1075-660 BC NEW CAPITAL TANIS	PROTO-GEOMETRIC GEOMETRIC ARCHAIC	FINAL DESTRUCTION KNOSSOS CA. 1170 BC INVASION DORIANS CA. 1100-1000 BC

PART 1 – 3. THE SPHINX AND ITS RELATIVES

3 THE SPHINX AND ITS RELATIVES

3.1 COMPOSITE CREATURES

When one wants to speak of the hybrid creatures of the ancient Near East, the major difficulty one encounters, is the fact that there rarely exists a direct correlation between texts and images⁹⁸. The lion-demon of Syro-Mesopotamia e.g. (cf. *infra*), cannot be identified in texts, although he is common in images. This, of course, makes it harder to correctly recognize the hybrids that are depicted. Many images of them, however, and fortunately, have been acceptably identified.

The composite creatures of the ancient Near East are often called "monsters" but this term did not mean for the ancient people what it means for us now, as becomes clear when one studies these creatures. For them a monster was not always the frightful and negative being that we see in popular culture today, but a more ambiguous creature that could do both good and evil. The first thing to do is then to try to define what monsters in the Ancient Near East stood for. Or as Lada-Richards says (as cited by Zouzoula):

"How can one actually define a 'monster'? As a being of vast size, terrifying, malevolent or wild, overwhelmingly strong? As an imaginary creature, combining incongruous elements from more than one essential category of being (e.g. human/animal, mortal/immortal)? As something rare and extraordinary? As something which deviates from the normal course of nature? As a potent or a marvel, a sign which 'demonstrates' (Lat. monstrum), warns about or presages divine will?⁹⁹".

The origin of composite creatures remains unclear, but in general, the term describes beings that are composed of parts of humans and of one or more animals¹⁰⁰. Often hybrids consist of a human body and an animal head (like many gods in Egypt). But the opposite exists also, i.e. an animal body with a human head. The sphinx, composed of a lion body and a human head, belongs to this latter type of fused creatures. Some researchers make the following distinction: monsters are beings on four legs, while demons are creatures on two legs and are always human-bodied; they are not necessarily malevolent towards humans¹⁰¹.

⁹⁸ Westenholz 2004b: 13.

Cf. 13.1. STF L – Types of Composite Creatures with Lion-Parts gives an overview of the most common hybrid creatures (with lion-parts) in every region.

⁹⁹ Zouzoula 2007: 10.

¹⁰⁰ Demisch 1977: 12-13, 40, 43; Kákósy 1982: 145; Hornung 1995: 1714-1715; Westenholz 2004b: 13.

¹⁰¹ Green (1993-1997: 247) states that the distinction between monsters and demons only is a recent one.

PART 1 – 3. THE SPHINX AND ITS RELATIVES

Possibly, these hybrid beings were created by men to manipulate, through magic, uncontrollable phenomena, such as diseases, accidents, the weather, and misfortunes in general¹⁰². The reason for this was that when dangers are visualised, they do seem to be more controllable and less unpredictable than when they are abstract.

The first composite creatures appeared both in Egypt and in Syro-Mesopotamia at the beginning of the 3rd mill. BC¹⁰³. Some of these creatures suggest that there already existed intense contacts between the two cultures, as can be seen in Figure 3.



FIG. 3 A: DETAIL NARMER PALETTE, EARLY 3RD MILL. BC, EGYPT, CAIRO, EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, CG 14716.

FIG. 3 B: DETAIL CYLINDER SEAL CLAY IMPRESSION, EARLY 3RD MILL. BC, SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA, PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, MNB1167 N2.

In the next four paragraphs only some general information about composite creature in each region will be given, and, in Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant, Anatolia and the Aegean, only those hybrid creatures that appear with sphinxes will be mentioned. In Egypt, where the sphinx is only rarely depicted together with a composite creature (once with a griffin – on the Axe of Ahmoses Cat.Nr. Eg. 3), and once with the goddess Bastet – on a relief from a temple in Abydos Cat.Nr. Eg. 72) some attention will only be given to Aker, a double-headed sphinx¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰² Porada 1987: 1; Zouzoula 2007: 1-3.

¹⁰³ Demisch 1977: 16; Zouzoula 2007: 91.

¹⁰⁴ For more information about Bastet: 13.1. STF L.

3.1.1 SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA & THE LEVANT

3.1.1.1 GENERAL

It is presumed that the composite creatures in Syro-Mesopotamia only came into existence together with the first visual arts, but they remained relatively rare until ca. 1900 BC¹⁰⁵. Before visual arts existed, there were ideas and stories of frightening and awe-inspiring animals like the scorpion or the snake, but in the visual arts the frightening aspect had to be made clearer, and therefore other animal and/or human parts were added to the awe-inspiring animals so that they became geniuses, monsters or demons¹⁰⁶. The body parts from animals were not chosen randomly, but symbolized some supernatural power. The most common were the serpent, the lion and the eagle. Lions e.g., and specifically their bodily strength, were always closely associated with depictions of rulers and leaders¹⁰⁷. The monster, as it was thus created, was somewhat abstract¹⁰⁸. It seems that on some occasions composite creatures in a way split off from the deity they were associated with, once this latter became anthropomorphized; it then could either be the deity's enemy or his attendant¹⁰⁹.

Unger and Porada suggest that the more human the composite being is, the more benevolent toward humans it will be, and likewise, the more animal parts a mixed creature has, the more dangerous, because it then will bring diseases and (natural) disasters on mankind¹¹⁰. Unger distinguishes two types: the ones that only exist for a short while (the unwinged bull-centaur is of this kind; cf. *infra*), and the ones that are taken over in later periods.

Porada sees five phases of development of these creatures in Syro-Mesopotamia (STF VIII – Five Development Phases of Composite Creatures)¹¹¹:

1. In the first phase (Late Ubaid-Uruk Period: late 5th-early 4th mill. BC), the creatures were being shaped, i.e. features or characteristics of different animals were brought together to form composite creatures.

¹⁰⁵ Unger 1927: 197; Wiggermann 1992: 148; Wiggermann 1993-1997: 226.

For more information on the Mesopotamian composite creatures in general: Sonik 2013.

¹⁰⁶ Demisch 1977: 43; Porada 1987: 1; Westenholz 2004b: 13; Zouzoula 2007: 2.

Demisch (1977: 43) postulates that Near Eastern composite creatures are either geniuses or demons and are thus not separated from the gods.

¹⁰⁷ Benzel, Graff, Racik and Watts 2010: 36.

¹⁰⁸ Green 1993-1997: 246; Wiggermann 1993-1997: 225.

¹⁰⁹ Westenholz 2004b: 14.

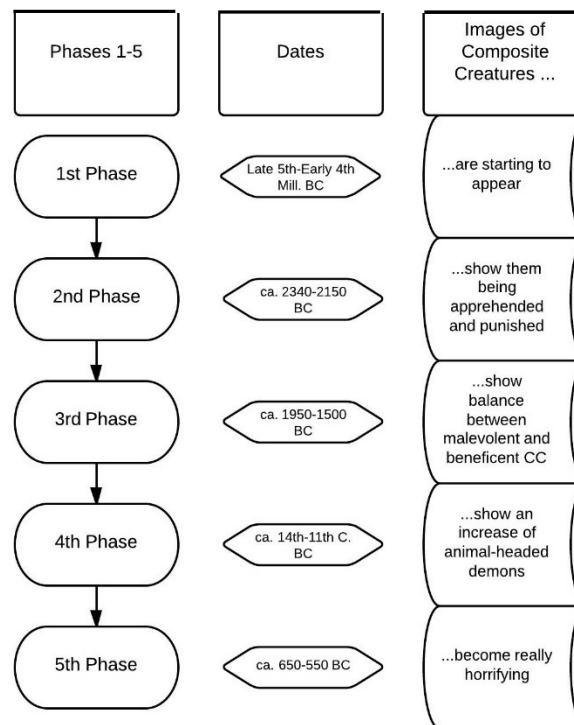
¹¹⁰ Unger 1927: 197; Porada 1987: 1; Westenholz 2004b: 14.

¹¹¹ Porada 1987: 1-2.

PART 1 – 3. THE SPHINX AND ITS RELATIVES

2. The second phase (Akkadian Period: ca. 2340-2150 BC) brought these composite creatures into narratives on cylinder seals in which they were being apprehended and punished¹¹².
3. In the third phase (Old Babylonian Period: ca. 1900-1550 BC) there appear more beneficent composite creatures to balance the malicious ones.
4. The fourth phase (Mittanian, Kassite and Middle-Assyrian Period: ca. 14th-11th cent. BC) shows a proliferation of animal-headed demons.
5. In the fifth phase (Neo-Babylonian Period: ca. 650-550 BC) especially the images of the demons *Lamaštu* and *Pazuzu* become horrifying.

This last phase corresponds with the view that came into being during the 1st mill. BC that pictured the Underworld populated with terrifying demons against which one could (try to) protect oneself by using magic¹¹³.

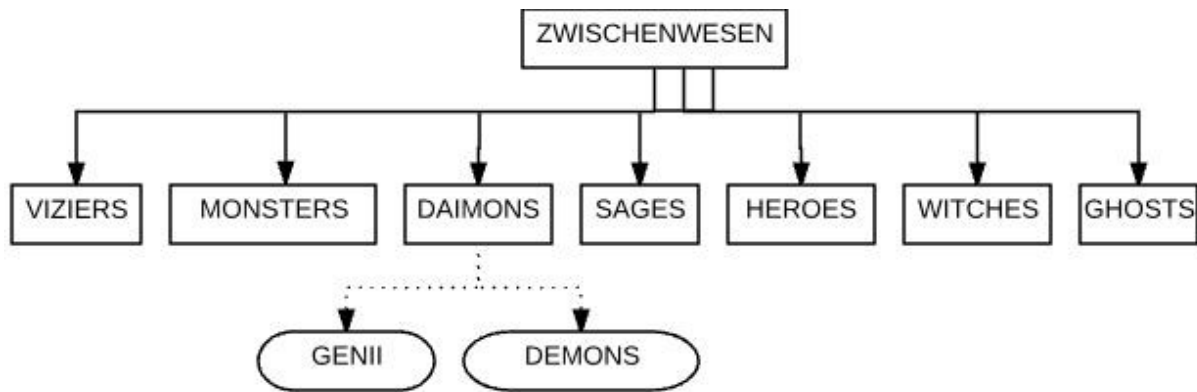


STF VIII - FIVE DEVELOPMENT PHASES OF COMPOSITE CREATURES ACCORDING TO PORADA

¹¹² Cylinder seals had next to their practical function also a magical one; they were used as amulets, attested by the often-inscribed text that wishes the bearer of the amulet a long and prosperous life: Reiner 1987: 27.

¹¹³ Black and Green 1992: 63, 124-128.

All the subtypes of creatures in the following flowchart (STF IX) belong to the “in-between” beings, or as Sonik calls them *Zwischenwesen*, to indicate that they neither belong to the world of the gods nor the realm of men¹¹⁴. Sonik defines the term like this: “*Supernatural or fantastic entities existing between humans and their gods*”. Sphinxes and griffins certainly belong to this category. Sonik constructed the taxonomy to make it easier to organise and assess the inhabitants of the supernatural landscape.



STF IX- TAXONOMY OF SYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN IN-BETWEEN CREATURES ACCORDING TO SONIK.

The divine viziers, or Akkadian *sukkallu* were the messengers of the god, while the sages, the wise men, were identified as the *Apkallū*. The term *eṭemmu* referred to ghosts of dead humans and *kaššāp(t)u* was used to indicate a sorcerer or sorceress. All these subtypes are relatively easy to identify, but the last three subtypes, heroes, daimons and monsters, are not so easily defined; probably because they could take on different functions and could hold positions with or against the gods¹¹⁵. Therefore, they can be identified as a monster, a genius, a demon, or they can be described with the more abstract term “composite creature”, or *Mischwesen*¹¹⁶. For Sonik the term monsters, a primary subcategory of *Zwischenwesen*, indicates those creatures that operate only on a cosmic level and interact primarily with gods and, sometimes, heroes; its partner term *daimons* then refers to those creatures who intermingle mainly with humans and the natural world while following the command of gods. *Daimons* can either be beneficent or malevolent against humans. A genius is the secondary category of in-between creatures that is

¹¹⁴ Sonik 2013: 103-104, 113-115.

¹¹⁵ As the heroes are less important for this paper, they will not be discussed. For more information about Mesopotamian heroes: Sonik 2013: 104-105.

¹¹⁶ Sonik 2013: 106, 109-110, 114.

protective towards humans, while demons are hostile or even destructive in their attitude against men.

This taxonomy of Sonik seems logical and indeed useful when encountering an in-between creature either in texts or on images, but is not that important for this study. It is, however, certain that both sphinx and griffin belong to the primary category of *daimons*, that they are either malevolent or beneficent, although it will not be always possible to identify them correctly, because they can appear in both functions (cf. 4.4. Function and Meaning in Syro-Mesopotamia & the Levant; 11.5. Analyses Functions-Meanings-Contexts).

Monsters and *daimons* were in some way or another associated with gods, but while the gods were responsible for the cosmic order, the monsters only accentuated the actions of the gods and implemented their will, while at the same time they represented the unpredictable¹¹⁷. Monsters are not gods, nor evil spirits, and although they are immortal, they can be killed. The difference between the anthropomorphic gods and the monsters was formulated clearly in the Late Early Dynastic (ca. 2500-2350 BC) and Akkad Period (ca. 2350-2150 BC) through their relationship: monsters could be the servants of the gods or they could be their enemies¹¹⁸. And they had the same relationship with men: they could help them, or they could harm them. They were represented to make it possible to manipulate them. Literary sources make it clear that most monsters were malevolent when they acted alone. As servants of the gods, however, monsters functioned as guards of palaces, temples and houses¹¹⁹. In this capacity, they were benevolent creatures who warded off evil and combatted the evil demons/spirits (*utukku*). But they could also function as executioners of the will of the gods, as they wanted to punish someone. Monsters then inflicted e.g. diseases or brought (natural) disasters.

In the art of Syro-Mesopotamia, the Levant and Iran the composite creatures appear on reliefs and cylinder seals as Masters of Animals as early as the Late Uruk Period, though only on glyptic art, and as servants of the gods from the Late Early Dynastic Period onwards, where they enhanced the powers of their divine masters¹²⁰. At that time, they also start to appear in the battles between gods and monsters, a motif which was meant to highlight the power of the

¹¹⁷ Wiggermann 1993-1997: 225; Westenholz 2004b: 14; Sonik 2013: 104.

Green 1993-1997: 248, 250 has a rough chronology of the appearance of monsters in the visual arts and of the contexts they functioned in.

¹¹⁸ Ebeling 1938: 107; Porada 1987: 1; Wiggermann 1993-1997: 228; Green 2000: 258.

¹¹⁹ Ebeling 1928: 120-121; Ebeling 1938: 112; Black and Green 1992: 63; Green 1993-1997: 246; Westenholz 2004b: 14.

¹²⁰ Green 1993-1997: 246-264; Wiggermann 1993-1997: 231-233; Green 2000: 258.

gods. In the Akkad Period, the composite creatures act as guardians, while in the Old Babylonian and later art the main function of the creatures is again to ward off evil. On cylinder seals from the 14th till the 11th cent. BC (Mitanni, Kassite and Middle Assyrian Periods) scenes with hybrids together with people can be seen for the first time¹²¹.

The Near Eastern composite creatures represented an otherworldly region (that was also home to the sphinx)¹²². It seems that because they stood outside the normal order they were unpredictable and they could be threatening. When they became rebellious they had to be defeated and subdued. So, the role and function of the composite creatures in Syro-Mesopotamian art seems to have fluctuated through time from evil to beneficent.

Different wingless composite creatures get wings from the Old Babylonian Period onwards (ca. 2000-1500 BC), and the sphinx could be one of these, although it is assumed that foreign influence played a major part in this change of iconography (cf. *infra*)¹²³. With wings, earth-bound animals were transformed into supernatural beings, thus creatures with wings always belonged to a mythical world.

¹²¹ Green 1993-1997: 246-264; Wiggermann 1993-1997: 231-233; Green 2000: 258.

¹²² Demisch 1977: 43; Black and Green 1992: 63; Wiggermann 1992: 153; Green 1993-1997: 246-264; Wiggermann 1993-1997: 227; Huxley 2000: 124-125; Sonik 2013: 106.

¹²³ Wiggermann 1993-1997: 241; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 32, 36; Buchholz 2006: 192.

3.1.1.2 THE LION- & BULL-CENTAUR

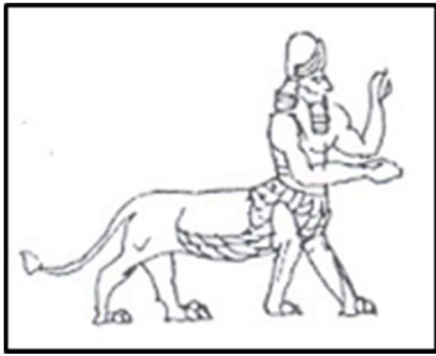


FIG. 4 : LION-CENTAUR.

In the Middle and Neo-Assyrian art (ca. 1150-612 BC), a creature with head, upper body, arms and hands of a man, and lion-body and -legs (often, however, the legs of a bull and sometimes the legs of a horse), and in many instances wearing a horned cap is regularly shown on seals¹²⁴. Occasionally it has the tail of a scorpion. This lion-centaur is called *urmahlullû* and is defined as a sphinx by many authors¹²⁵. These centaurs are often shown hunting or attacking other animals or even sphinxes (e.g. St.M. Nr. Mes. 62). The composite being, when it has a lion or bull-body, is occasionally taken up in this investigation (e.g. St.M. Nrs. An. 12, 17).

Unger claims that the winged lion-centaur with bearded head and horned helmet first appears on a Kassite cylinder seal (ca. 1300 BC), between the spade-symbol of Marduk and a palm tree¹²⁶. The hybrid thus seems to be related to the god. A curious iconography can be seen on a Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian cylinder seal (7th or 6th cent. BC): while a winged griffin attacks a winged sphinx, the griffin in its turn is attacked by a winged and crowned centaur with a scorpion-tail (St.M. Nr. Mes. 62).

The winged bull-centaur is best known as "door-decoration" of the Assyrian kings, as was his counterpart, the winged lion-centaur (Cat.Nrs. Mes. 20, 22)¹²⁷. The unwinged bull-centaur was relatively rare and only appeared in art for a short time. E.g. on a seal of king Lugalanda of

¹²⁴ The centaur originally was a combination of man and horse, and existed only in this form in Greece. It was said to be the offspring of Ixion (the would-be lover of Hera) and a cloud produced by Zeus.

In Mesopotamia and Anatolia, however, there existed a type of centaur that combined the torso and head of a man with the body and feet of a lion, and occasionally of a bull. Images of both can be found from the late 2nd mill. BC through the 1st mill. BC, but the lion-type centaur is restricted to the northern regions of Mesopotamia, while the other can be found both in northern and southern Mesopotamia: Buxton 1994: 206; Bianchi 2004a: 18; Westenholz & Bianchi 2004: 28.

¹²⁵ Unger 1927: 198; Black and Green 1992: 51, 119.

For more information on the (Greek) centaurs: Roscher 1890-1897: 1032-1088.

¹²⁶ Unger 1927: 198.

An image of this seal, although too small to define the shown hybrid as being a centaur, can be seen here: Koldewey 1913: 262, Abb. 191.

¹²⁷ Unger 1927: 197, 200.

Lagash (24th cent. BC), the hybrid is engaged in a fight with a lion (Fig. 5). It is not clear, however, which of the two symbolises the king, although most probably it would be the lion. The face of the bull already has some human features and a beard.



FIG. 5: SEAL IMPRINT LUGALANDA OF LAGASH, 24TH CENT. BC, CLAY IMPRINT, PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, AO 13219.

3.1.1.3 THE SCORPION-MAN



FIG. 6: SCORPION-MEN WITH LION-LEGS, CA. 743-646 BC, JASPER, 2,8 X 0,7 CM, LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, 1841,0726.182.

In general, one could say that the scorpion-people can be either supportive, protective or frightening¹²⁸. Its protective function is attested e.g. in the 1st mill. BC, when it was depicted, together with other hybrids as e.g. the bull-man (cf. *infra*) in the Temple of Ashur. The frightening aspect no doubt, has derived from images of the scorpion, in which the tail of the animal, the most dangerous part, was always emphasised. While images of scorpions appeared from very early onwards, they were only used as a religious emblem when the animal was depicted on Late Kassite *kudurrus* as a symbol of the goddess Išhara¹²⁹.

The type of scorpion-man that is depicted on Cat.Nr. Mes. 105 is of the frightening kind and is the same as can be seen on Figure 6. Scorpion-people, with bearded human-head, often wear

¹²⁸ Black and Green 1992: 161; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 24-25; Westenholz 2004b: 15.

For a more detailed study of the scorpion-people: Nys 2013; Nys 2014; Nys 2015.

¹²⁹ Black and Green 1992: 160-161.

An example of a religiously connotated scorpion can be seen on a *kudurru* of King Melishihu II, dating from ca. 1202-1188 BC, momentarily in the Musée du Louvre in Paris (Sb 22).

the horned cap, suggesting their divinity. The type shown here has the hindquarters, legs and claws of a bird (although the creature depicted on Fig. 6 has lion-legs) and the tail of a scorpion. Scorpion-hybrids appear from ca. 2500 BC in art, but they reach their height of popularity only during the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods (ca. 1180-539 BC). Often the scorpion-hybrid assists Shamash, the Sun-god who represents the bright light of the sun, although on the relief from Aleppo (Cat.Nr. Mes. 105), it takes part in a religious procession and is one of the companions of the Weather-god. In the Babylonian *Epic of Creation*, the *Enuma Elish*, the scorpion-man is identified as one of Tiāmat's soldiers and even children, but in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, it is indeed connected to the sun¹³⁰.

¹³⁰ Black and Green 1992: 161; Zouzoula 2007: 136; George 2000; Lambert 2007: 37-59; Nys 2014: 216-217.

3.1.2 EGYPT

3.1.2.1 GENERAL

For the Egyptians, composite creatures were not only imaginary, they believed them to be real creatures living in the wild¹³¹. There also existed a big difference between the monstrous creatures, e.g. the demons, which were excluded from the human cosmos, and the theomorphic ones that represented the king or queen¹³².

In Egypt, the animals that were feared most lived in the Nile river and valleys, e.g. the serpent, crocodile and the male hippopotamus¹³³. Because some of these animals, and others too, often appear together with the sphinx or are related directly or indirectly to the composite creature (like the lion), they are dealt with here in some detail. The male hippopotamus, was feared because of its gluttony, by which it could destroy whole crops; as such, it was regarded as a representation of disorder. The female, however, was associated with, among others, the concept of fertility¹³⁴. Amulets in the form of hippopotamuses were common among (pregnant) women and figurines with hippopotamus-heads were given to the king as guide on his last voyage to and through the Underworld¹³⁵. The white hippopotamus was also sometimes identified as the evil Seth, the opponent and murderer of Osiris (cf. 5.4. Function and Meaning of the sphinx in Egypt)¹³⁶. This identification explains the scenes of hippo hunts that are sometimes depicted inside Old Kingdom tombs¹³⁷. The crocodile also often was connected to Seth and was therefore seen as an enemy of the gods; the crocodile too was regarded as greedy and its horrendous strength induced awe¹³⁸. Because of this connection to Seth, the *Horus myth*, depicted in reliefs in the Temple at Edfu, presents Horus attacking the enemies of the Sun-god who are shown in the form of crocodiles and hippopotamuses.

However, when basking in the sun, the crocodile seemed to pay its respect to the Sun-god and therefore, and because it attacked fish that also were regarded as enemies of the Sun-god, several crocodile cult centres existed in Egypt. Sobek, one of the creator-gods and a god of

¹³¹ Fischer 1986: 848-849; Zouzoula 2007: 14.

¹³² Szpakowska 2009: 799.

¹³³ Porada 1987: 2; Zouzoula 2007: 2.

¹³⁴ Te Velde 1975: 982; Störk 1982: 501-506; Lurker 1996: 64; Wilkinson 1996: 71; Owusu 1999: 279.

¹³⁵ E.g. Hippopotamus-head Amulet, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 10.130.2310: <http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/548224>.

E.g. Wooden figure of a hippopotamus headed creature, London, British Museum, EA 50699: http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/aes/w/hippopotamus-headed_figure.aspx.

¹³⁶ Lurker 1996: 109; Wilkinson 1996: 71, 219.

For more information on Seth: Höfer 1909-1915: 725-784.

¹³⁷ Lurker 1996: 63; Wilkinson 1996: 71.

¹³⁸ Te Velde 1975: 981; Lurker 1996: 43, 117-118; Wilkinson 1996: 71, 105, 218-219; Owusu 1999: 269.

fertility, could be depicted both as a man with a crocodile's head or as a crocodile itself; his chief cult centre was in Kom Ombo in Upper Egypt. Despite its complex meaning, only one image showing a crocodile together with a sphinx has been found (St.M. Nr. Eg. 34) and one where a ram-headed sphinx is shown next to a crocodile (St.M. Nr. Eg. 32).

3.1.2.2 AKER

An apotropaic function was carried out by Aker, the double-headed lion or double-lion that guarded the order of the world and the entrance to the Underworld and that in later periods got replaced by the double-headed sphinx (cf. 5.4. Function and Meaning of the Sphinx in Egypt; Cat.Nrs. Eg. 57, 73, 87)¹³⁹. One head would face the east where the sun would rise, the other would face west, where the sun would set. The place where the sun would rise every morning, was also the place where Osiris-Sokar merged with Re and so was reborn¹⁴⁰. Aker had in fact two aspects: next to being an old earth-god, he also guarded the entrances to the Underworld. Demisch argues that the guarding function of the sphinx came forth from the guarding function of Aker. Sometimes the lion-Aker is depicted carrying the solar bark (as is the sphinx-Aker, e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 87). The night trip of the sun-bark, that passes Aker in the 5th hour, is regarded as the passing of the sun through the body of Aker. The sun-rise then is the appearance of the sun from Aker. Aker, both the lion one and the sphinx one, only appears in a funerary environment, e.g. in tombs, on sarcophagi and in the *Book of the Dead* and is also mentioned in the *Book of the Dead's* predecessor, the *Pyramid texts* (255a. "Stand at the doorway of the horizon; open the double doors of ꜥbh.w)¹⁴¹.

¹³⁹ For more information on Aker: Wiedemann 1890: 103; Kristensen 1917: 109-120; Hornung 1975a; Demisch 1977: 231-235; Lurker 1996: 24, 77; Wilkinson 1996: 69; Owusu 1999: 53; Warmenbol 2006: 15.

¹⁴⁰ Demisch 1977: 231-232; Warmenbol 2006: 15.

¹⁴¹ The *Pyramid Texts* are found on walls of burial chambers and pyramids from the Old Kingdom; they contain spells, incantations and texts to protect the pharaoh in his life after death: Demisch 1977: 231; Lurker 1996: 99; Wilkinson 1996: 219.

For the complete text: *The Pyramid Texts*, Translation by Samuel A. B. Mercer (1952): <http://www.sacred-texts.com/egy/pyt/pyt10.htm>.

3.1.3 ANATOLIA

3.1.3.1 GENERAL

The composite creatures of Mesopotamia (cf. *supra*) swerved out during time to other regions nearby, e.g. Iran, Syria and Anatolia¹⁴². The Mesopotamian lion-demon (*ugallu*) e.g. was transported to Anatolia by merchants of the Old Assyrian Period, but it never became as popular as in its land of origin and sometimes showed some little transformations in its iconography. On the Hittite reliefs of Yazilikaya e.g., dating from the 13th cent. BC, the lion-demon (e.g.) has wings, lion-ears and uplifted arms (Fig. 7).

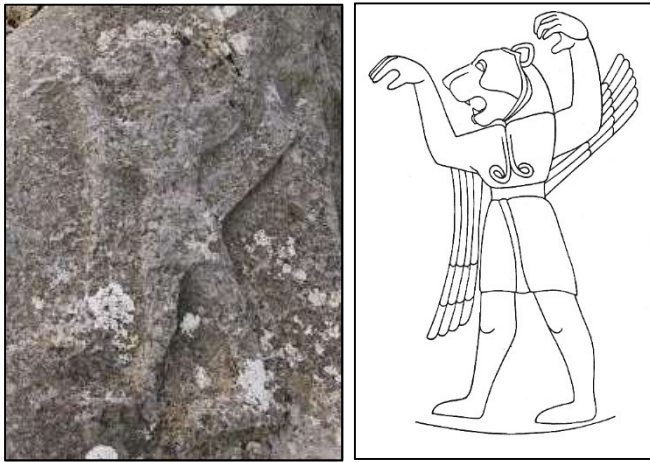


FIG. 7 A: LION-HEADED DEMON, RELIEF, 13th cent. BC, TURKEY, YAZILIKAYA.
FIG. 7 B: LION-HEADED DEMON YAZILIKAYA, DRAWING.

Other hybrids imported from Syro-Mesopotamia into Anatolian imagery, however, griffin and sphinx among others, became canonical classical images, but, next to them, there existed many composite creatures, especially in the Iron Age Kingdom of Urartu, composed from diverse body-parts of random animals¹⁴³. An example of these can be seen on a fragment of a belt, decorated with a wealth of the most fantastic creatures (Fig. 8).

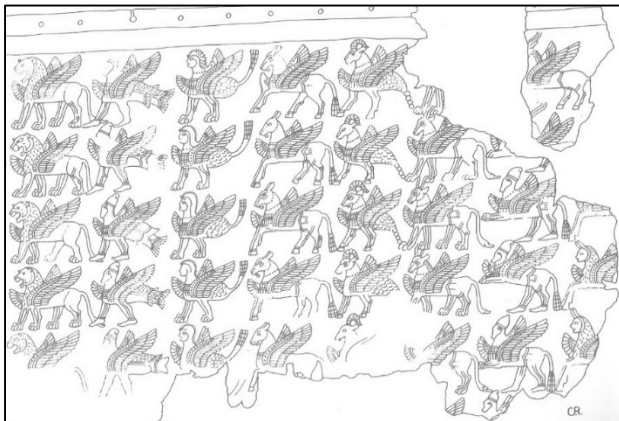


FIG. 8: BELT WITH ROWS OF FANTASTIC WINGED CREATURES (DETAIL DRAWING), 780-700 BC, BRONZE, 27 X 16 CM, URARTU, JERUSALEM, BLMJ142.

¹⁴² Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 28; Westenholz 2004b: 16.

¹⁴³ Westenholz 2004b: 16, 98.

The belt, probably meant as an apotropaic object, shows rows of the most varied fantastic creatures, including four bearded and winged sphinxes (with lion's forepaws, human hind legs and a bull's tail). Next to them there are, among others, winged two-legged horses with human feet and double fish-tails, two-legged winged goats with bodies covered with feathers and tails of scorpions, winged bulls with lion's hind legs, two-legged cats with human legs and bodies of a snake, ...

3.1.3.2 LION-CENTAUR

In Anatolian beliefs, all these demons and genies were outer worldly creatures, living in a supernatural world, which was also inhabited by the gods, which made them not exactly their equals, but raised them to a level higher than that of ordinary men¹⁴⁴. One of these was the centaur, a creature with a human-head, human upper body with clearly visible shoulders (which differentiates it from the sphinx) and with arms, and with the lower part of a lion or a bull¹⁴⁵. Anatolian centaurs are mostly winged. Two images of centaurs have been included as Study Material (St.M. Nrs. An. 12, 17), because in the catalogue there is an equestrian object (Cat.Nr. An. 12) on which a sphinx is attacked by a centaur (Fig. 9).



FIG. 9: ATTACKING LION-BODIED CENTAUR, (DETAIL OF CAT.NR. AN. 12), 10th-9th cent. BC, HORSE-BLINKER BRONZE, ANATOLIA, URARTIAN, BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, 1981.83.

¹⁴⁴ Demisch 1977: 41.

¹⁴⁵ Zouzoula 2007: 24.

In Mesopotamia, a seal dating from the 7th-6th cent. BC shows a griffin, who is attacking a sphinx, and is at the same moment attacked by a centaur (St.M. Nr. Mes. 62). This centaur, however, has a scorpion-tail.

3.1.4 AEGEAN

3.1.4.1 GENERAL

Until the publication of the relevant recent study by Zouzoula in 2007, there was also relatively little known about role, function and meaning of specific composite creatures in the Aegean¹⁴⁶. The Aegean was heavily influenced by Near Eastern art and ideas, as was Anatolia, although both adapted the imagery following their own needs. It seems, however, that while the Anatolians looked at the hybrid creatures primarily as attendants and even replacements of divinities, in the Aegean, griffins and sphinxes were regarded mainly as dangerous beings, that had to be controlled at any time¹⁴⁷. Yet, the Minoans also often saw them not primarily as monsters, but merely as creatures that acted supernatural and unnatural because they took over the role of human beings and added animal powers to the actions they performed¹⁴⁸. They then ward off the evil from the human being whose role they have taken over and thus protect him.

The word "demon" had many meanings for the people of the Aegean although in general it meant creatures who were nearer to gods than to humans¹⁴⁹. Although they were thought to be supernatural, Minoans and Mycenaeans probably believed that hybrids existed (as the Egyptians believed in their gods and in the monsters described e.g. in the *Book of the Dead*). These demons found their origins in animals that had specific traits that rendered them superior to man (e.g. the strength of a lion). In time, these animals became more and more anthropomorphic and then were regarded as demons. The bull, e.g. is a great example of this process of anthropomorphism (cf. 3.2. Different Types of Sphinxes – 3.2.3.3. Bull-Sphinxes).

Eventually, a demon could be taken up by religion, e.g. when the good and bad he brought to humans was very radical, it then became a god (with animal features). In later times, the gods are completely anthropomorphic; the animals now become either humanized or act as a holy animal of a god (e.g. the eagle with Zeus, the owl with Athena)¹⁵⁰. These holy animals have preserved some of their demonic nature; e.g. they can act as humans and they can speak to them.

¹⁴⁶ Some general information on Minoan hybrids: Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2007; Blakolmer 2016: 63.

Judith Weingarten has published some articles on the Minoan Genius: Weingarten 1985; Weingarten 1991; Weingarten 2010; Weingarten 2013; Weingarten 2015.

¹⁴⁷ For more information on the origin of the Aegean griffin: Furtwängler 1884-1890b: 1742, 1745; Frankfort 1936/1937; Cameron 1976: 108; Mayor 2001: 16, 26; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 34; Zouzoula 2007: 17-18, 275; Marinatos 2009: 23; Morgan 2010a: 304; Blakolmer 2016: 64.

¹⁴⁸ Porada 1987: 3-4.

¹⁴⁹ Wunsch 1916-1924: 936-937, 940, 949; Zouzoula 2007: 14.

¹⁵⁰ Wunsch 1916-1924: 950.

Although some animals were superior to men, man could control them because he could influence their free will (e.g. in his role as Master of Animals; cf. *infra*)¹⁵¹. He then could use the powers of the animal for his own benefit. This, however, could only be achieved by using a specific kind of magic. But sometimes the superiority of an animal was so complete, that it always retained its free will and could choose between hurting and helping men. These animals, or animal-demons had to be controlled by specific words and gestures. These religious rituals and proceedings were the correct method to deal with gods with animal features. Animal-demons stood between the animals and the gods with animal features. They were monsters, thus chaotic, although not necessarily violent, and always remained outsiders: they belonged to no existing class.

Demonic animals and animal-demons were feared not only because of the harm they could do as a predator, but mostly because they were thought to bring diseases to people¹⁵². The dog and wolf were two such animals. At the same time, people expected to be helped by them on specific domains (e.g. fertility, prosperity, ...). To this end, the fertile (chthonic) snake was a welcome house-guest.

As the animal was often envied because of its superior naturel powers, men tried to incorporate these powers in different ways, e.g. by wearing their hides or severed heads, by eating them, or by using parts of the animals in (medicinal) ointments or potions¹⁵³. Another way of using the powers of the animal was to make it into an image and images of animal(s) (demons) were carried around functioning as amulets. In this way, the strength of the animal (demon) became the strength of the wearer of the amulet. Also, while for the Greeks man was the measure of all things, creatures with both human and animal body-parts could be regarded as a synthesis of rational and passionate behaviour. When reason had the upper hand the animal instincts were held in check, but when passion prevailed, man could act like a wild beast.

Composite creatures in the Aegean could be composed with easily identifiable parts of existing animals (e.g. Chimaera, a fire-spitting hybrid and Cerberus, a dog-like creature with 3 heads and 3 muzzles, which emphasize his greed and gluttony; cf. 7. The Sphinx in the Aegean)¹⁵⁴. Sometimes, however, the parts had been transformed in such a way that they were barely recognizable and in other cases, elements used to compose a hybrid did not exist in the natural

¹⁵¹ Wunsch 1916-1924: 937, 943-946; Buxton 1994: 205-206; Bianchi 2004a: 19; Zouzoula 2007: 2.

¹⁵² Wunsch 1916-1924: 943-946, 949; Buxton 1994: 205-206; Bianchi 2004a: 19; Zouzoula 2007: 2.

¹⁵³ Wunsch 1916-1924: 949; Buxton 1994: 206; Bianchi 2004a: 19; Zouzoula 2007: 2.

¹⁵⁴ Wunsch 1916-1924: 941.

world¹⁵⁵. Animal-demons mostly possess real, natural qualities, although often a bit exaggerated, but in some instances, they are represented as some sort of super-natural beings, as when e.g. the Theban sphinx can speak the language of men, or when the eagle, with his sharp eyes, can see directly in the sun without going blind¹⁵⁶.

3.1.4.2 MINOAN GENIUS/DEMON

The Minoan Genius/Demon was inspired by Taweret, who was an important deity in Egypt¹⁵⁷. The genius is often depicted acting as a cult servant in libation scenes in Minoan and Mycenaean art holding a jug or a vessel with liquid meant for purification- and lustration-rituals (this jug is a typical Minoan feature that didn't exist in Egypt)¹⁵⁸. The Genius thus can probably be related to fertility and therefore is what is often called a "ritual monster", i.e. a monster that is connected to specific rites. It is however not certain what sort of rites he took a part in: funerary rituals, fertility ceremonies, rites of passage into adulthood, or renewal of kingship are only some of the possibilities. The first Minoan seals depicting the Genius, coming from both the

¹⁵⁵ E.g. the iron feet the Bull of Aëtes has in some versions of the story of Jason, the leader of the Argonauts and the husband of Medea. Aëtes was the king of Colchis, a region located on the east coast of the Black Sea. Blakolmer 2016: 66-67 has defined four spheres or realms where animals and mythical creatures from the Aegean can occur: the sphere of real activities, the realm of deities, a mythological sphere, or the "realm of the improbable".

¹⁵⁶ Wunsch 1916-1924: 941-942.

¹⁵⁷ Taweret, the "Great One", protector of fertility and childbirth and connected with purification rites, was composed of parts of the female hippopotamus and the crocodile, often with the hind legs of a lion and a lion's mane at the back of her neck. From approximately the New Kingdom onwards (or even earlier), Taweret was also sometimes depicted with a lion's head. That she was important for the Egyptians and their culture might be attested by the fact that even queen Tiye, wife of Amenhotep III, who let herself also be depicted as a sphinx (Cat.Nr. Eg. 65), and even a trampling sphinx (Cat.Nr. Eg. 64), was depicted as Taweret: Evans 1935b: 433-435; Baurain 1985: 99; Weingarten 1991: 4-6; Lurker 1996: 119; Wilkinson 1996: 71; Owusu 1999: 119; Hagen and Hagen 2005: 185; Zouzoula 2007: 18, 94, 145; Benzi 2009: 10.

Although she was generally seen in a protective role, Taweret always carried a sort of knife or sword, and this item was not meant only figuratively; she could attack and devour humans; she was malevolent as well as beneficent: Weingarten 1991: 14.

For the different functions of the Egyptian Taweret: Weingarten 1991: 10-11.

Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: 147-148.

¹⁵⁸ Evans 1921: 19; Evans 1935b: 431-446; Crouwel 1970: 24; Poursat 1976: 467-468; Baurain 1985: 102-103, 111; Weingarten 1985: 168; Crowley 1989: 51; Weingarten 1991: 12, 14; Rehak 1992: 48; Rehak 1995a: 215; Zouzoula 2007: 3, 18, 94, 101, 144, 300, 325-326; Benzi 2009: 9-10; Hitchcock 2009: 97-99; Marinatos 2009: 24-25; Crowley 2010: 79; Weingarten 2010: 97; Weingarten 2013: 371; Blakolmer 2016: 65.

Weingarten, however, argues that one must make a distinction between the Taweret of the Middle Kingdom, which was an apotropaic demon, and the goddess of later times. It was the apotropaic demon who stood as a model for the Minoan Genius: Weingarten 1991: 3-4.

For more information about the arrival and reception of the Egyptian Taweret in Minoan Crete: Weingarten 2013.

For a very convincing argumentation of the transformation of the Egyptian Taweret into the Minoan Genius: Weingarten 1991.

For a discussion about the gender of the Genius: Hitchcock 2009.

For more information about the connection between the Genius and the libation- or purification-rituals: Rehak 1995a: 217-219.

For more information about the connection between the Genius and sacrifice: Rehak 1995a: 219-221.

Hieroglyphic Deposit (A) and the Phaistos Sealing Deposit (B-C) and dating to Middle Minoan IIB, already show him holding this jug (Fig. 10).

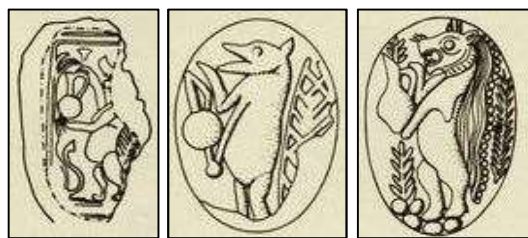


FIG. 10 A, B & C: SEALINGS WITH MINOAN GENIUS.

In other scenes, the genius is depicted with animals, e.g. a bull or a lion, and it is generally thought these animals were meant as sacrifices in religious rituals. But on some images, mostly from mainland Greece, the Minoan genius is depicted as a protector of e.g. a man fighting a lion¹⁵⁹. Baurain claims that the Minoan Genius is based on the Taweret that appears in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* and can thus also be connected to the Minoan funerary beliefs and rites. Van Straten argues that the basic function of the Minoan Genius changes according to the deity it serves; on the other hand, Rehak claims the motif of the genius became more complex in Late Bronze, and its functions grew (e.g. it comes to play a role in palatial ideology). The Genius is subservient to the gods, and is superior to both animals and men. At first it resembles the hippopotamus-shaped Egyptian goddess closely, but from the Neopalatial Period onwards, the body of the genius became slender, the head changed into that of a lion or a donkey, and this type became the most popular. Sometimes also, he had lion feet¹⁶⁰. The Minoans didn't make a distinction between the lion-headed or the hippopotamus-headed variant of the genius¹⁶¹. The Minoan Genii played an important role in the religious iconography of Minoan society. Proof of this can be seen e.g. on an impression of stamp seal, found in Thebes, where an enthroned goddess is flanked by both 2 griffins and 2 genii (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 32). The Minoan genii are holding a libation jug while the griffins standing behind them seem to have a mere guarding function. The fact however, that both these creatures flank the woman on the throne seems to indicate that she is in fact a goddess, a *Potnia Theron*, i.e. a Mistress of Animals¹⁶².

¹⁵⁹ Crouwel 1970: 25; Van Straten 1970: 33; Baurain 1985: 111-114; Rehak 1995a: 215, 229; Zouzoula 2007: 162.

¹⁶⁰ For an overview of Aegean Composite Creatures with lion-parts: 13.1. STF L – Types of Composite Creatures.

¹⁶¹ Evans 1935b: 431; Weingarten 1991: 10; Rehak 1995a: 223-224 + 231 nr. 74; Zouzoula 2007: 145.

¹⁶² See also 7. The Sphinx in the Aegean – 7.4. Function and Meaning.

For more information on the Aegean Mistress of Animals or 'Potnia Theron': Younger 1995a: 153-154; Barclay 2001. For more information on the Master/Mistress of Animal motif: 8.3. Sphinx/Griffin/Criosphinx Under Control.

3.1.5 GENERAL CONCLUSION COMPOSITE CREATURES

Porada and Zouzoula point out that the character of the composite creatures in Syro-Mesopotamia did not remain constant and shifted their meaning based on the context they were depicted in or figures, objects and symbols that accompanied them, and I think this is correct, not only for Syro-Mesopotamia, but for the entire ancient Near East and the Aegean¹⁶³. Thus, they can symbolise life as well as death. Porada also states that the looks of a creature, e.g. when it has bared teeth or hideous claws, does not necessarily mean it is dangerous, because these features can also be used to defend instead of attack. Or, as Zouzoula says, "*the role of a composite creature is not absolutely defined by its features*"¹⁶⁴.

Zouzoula, in her thesis on *Fantastic Creatures in Bronze Age Crete* defines hybrids like this, and again this definition can be applied to the whole ancient Near East and the Aegean: the monster (of classical/ancient times) can be best defined as

*"an unearthly, powerful and extraordinary being, whose presence and/or actions may be benevolent, malevolent, or even both depending on the circumstances. Monstrosity is not associated with a creature's evil character or role (...), but is attributed to its appearance, which is abnormal (due to tremendous size and/or added excrescences) or hybridised"*¹⁶⁵.

Throughout all periods and regions, the function of the composite creatures can range from embodiments of evil, misfortune, death and the supernatural through being symbols or servants of the gods and being apotropaic to being minor deities themselves¹⁶⁶. E.g. in Syro-Mesopotamia the Bull-man (cf. 3.2. Different Types of Sphinxes – 3.2.3.3. Bull-sphinxes) was the companion of the Sun-god Shamash/Utu; the winged lion was the attribute of the love and war goddess Inanna/Ishtar. Their protective function is often attested by inscriptions on figurines or reliefs depicting the hybrids and found at the entrances of buildings.

¹⁶³ Porada 1987: 2; Zouzoula 2007: 2.

¹⁶⁴ Zouzoula 2007: 2.

¹⁶⁵ Zouzoula 2007: 11.

¹⁶⁶ Westenholz 2004b: 14-15; Zouzoula 2007: 4.

PART 1 – 3. THE SPHINX AND ITS RELATIVES

3.2 DIVERSE TYPES OF SPHINXES

3.2.1 DIFFERENT CHARACTERISTICS

3.2.1.1 BASIC DEFINITION

A sphinx is a composite creature consisting of a lion-body with a human-head, sometimes called androsphinx¹⁶⁷.

3.2.1.2 VARIATIONS

But there can be variations; the Criosphinx has a ram-head, the Hierakosphinx (or griffin) has a falcon-, hawk- or eagle-head¹⁶⁸. In the Ancient Near Eastern art there also exist creatures that have a bull-body combined with a human-head, and often they seem to have had the same meaning and function as the average sphinx (cf. Different Types of Sphinxes – 3.2.3.3. Bull-Sphinxes)¹⁶⁹. Why these related composite creatures are sometimes taken up in this investigation is explained in the introduction to this research (1. Introduction).

Sphinxes can have a female or male head, they can have wings and/or a beard and in some cases human-hands or –arms¹⁷⁰. There is, however, only one female griffin (discovered in a tomb in Beni Hassan: Figs. 35B and 60) but, as Roeder claims, there exist no female ram-sphinxes, and, also stated by Roeder, the latter never have wings. This, however, is uncertain. In Fort Shalmaneser in Nimrud (northern Iraq) a lot of ivory plaques with winged ram sphinxes were found (among plaques with depictions of griffins and human-headed sphinxes) which are very Egyptian in character but of which the origin is not known¹⁷¹.

¹⁶⁷ Unger 1928: 336-337; Dessenne 1957a: 11; Demisch 1977: 11; Kákósy 1982: 145; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 35; Sourouzian 2006: 99; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 148-149, 163.

In this paper, the sphinx, be it male or female, will always be referred to as it.

The term androsphinx will not be used in this paper, the "standard" type of sphinx will simply be called "sphinx". To see all the different poses and attributes of the sphinx in relation to the different regions: STF X – Basic Types of Sphinxes; 13.3. STF LVII – Types of Sphinxes Before 1600 BC; 13.9. STF LVIII – Types of Sphinxes 1600-800 BC.

¹⁶⁸ Coche-Zivie 1984; Fischer 1987: 14-15, 17; Hornung 1995: 1715; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 163.

It may be noted here that the creatures of which parts were used to compose (bull-)sphinxes and griffins later became the symbols of the four evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke and John: man, lion, bull and bird: Wyatt 2009: 30.

¹⁶⁹ Demisch 1977: 12-13; Black and Green 1992: 47, 110-111; Van Dijk 2011: 158-164.

¹⁷⁰ Roeder 1909: 1307-1308, 1337; Unger 1928: 337; Coche-Zivie 1984: 1139; Fischer 1987: 14, 17; Wyatt 2009: 30; Dubiel 2011: 5, 10-12; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 165, 167.

¹⁷¹ For more information about the ivories from Fort Shalmaneser: Barnett and Davies 1975; Mallowan 1978; Imay 1983; Hermann 1986; Herrmann 1989; Herrmann 1992; Hermann, Coffey and Laidlaw 2004; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2013; Aruz and De Lapérouse 2014.

When sphinxes are depicted with human-hands or arms, they are depicted offering or worshipping¹⁷². However, I have found two exceptions to this rule; once an Aegean human-armed sphinx is depicted strangling a goose (St.M. Nr. Aeg. 18), a very untypical imagery. The second exception can be seen on a ceremonial axe that was found in the tomb of queen Aahhotep, the wife of pharaoh Ahmoses I, who reigned in the 16th cent. BC: the sphinx shown here does not offer vessels with water or food as usual, but a human head (Cat.Nr. Eg. 4). This suggests strongly that the artefact was not made in Egypt but came from abroad. The fact that the sphinx is offering, however, means that there exists something that is higher than itself¹⁷³.

In a few cases the wings of the sphinx are of the butterfly-type, or they end in an animal-head¹⁷⁴. Other sphinxes have tails that end in a snake-head or a scorpion¹⁷⁵. And there are one or two sphinxes that have an animal-head (protome) sticking out of their chest¹⁷⁶. There are also two creatures that combine a lion-body with a Bes-head¹⁷⁷. These latter sphinxes also appear in the Levant, which gives some more variations: Hathor-sphinxes (which also appear in Anatolia, e.g. Cat.Nrs. An. 6, 11; St.M. Nrs. An. 2-3), sphinxes with the head of adolescents or with a more lionesque head, and sphinxes with an Asian hair-dress and a beard.

There is a big variety in hair- and headdresses too: in Egypt, one often sees the *Nemes* surmounted by a *Uraeus* (cf. 5. The Sphinx in Egypt & 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs); other sphinxes wear a sun-disk or a crown or cap, with or without horns and a few sphinxes have a hair dress with Hathor-curls¹⁷⁸. All these sphinxes can be represented in three different main poses: recumbent, seated/crouching, or standing/striding (cf. 3.2.3. STF X - Basic Types of Sphinxes).

¹⁷² Fischer 1987: 14.

¹⁷³ Demisch 1977: 26.

¹⁷⁴ E.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 5: Sphinx with Butterfly Wings.

For all different types and/or positions of tails and wings: infra.

¹⁷⁵ Coche-Zivie 1984: 1139.

Snakes didn't only symbolize evil powers, but also the idea of regeneration and of time and eternity: Hornung 1995: 1714.

¹⁷⁶ E.g. Cat.Nr. An. 13: Zincirli Eastern Orthostatic Sphinx.

Dessenne 1957a: 94, fig. 226.

¹⁷⁷ E.g. St.M. Nr. Mes. 70: Master of Animals with Pair of Bes-headed Sphinxes.

¹⁷⁸ For all possible head-dresses see 13. Supplements - STF LII-LV.

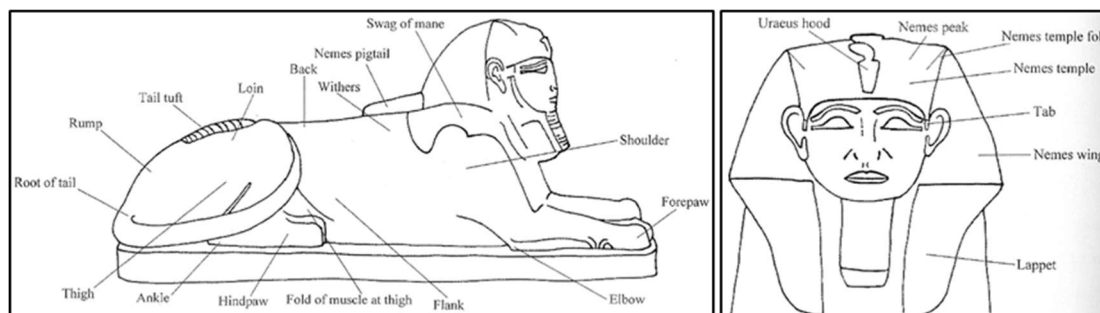


FIG. 11: BASIC TYPES OF SPHINX – ANATOMY.

3.2.2 SPHINXES IN THE DIFFERENT REGIONS

After studying the material, it soon became clear that especially the iconography of the sphinx itself has certain aspects that are common in every region involved in this research, and that characteristics of e.g. the Minoan sphinx made their way into the iconography of the Egyptian sphinxes.

Now, ancient Egypt is known for its rigorous holding on to a canonical set of images. If they were influenced by a foreign iconography, it may be assumed that other regions in the Mediterranean took over imagery from other areas as well. This seems obvious, and it is not very difficult to unearth. Detailed studies have been done thoroughly, among others by Dessenne, Demisch, and by a group of scientific researchers in 2011, so this study will rely on their conclusions in that matter¹⁷⁹. Meaning and function of the sphinxes, however, will be the focus of this doctoral thesis. Because, while the meaning of the Egyptian sphinxes overall looks relatively straight-forward, this is by no means the case in the other regions in the Ancient Near East.

One of the most obvious reasons for this was the political organization of the countries. In all regions of the Ancient Near East, the king has a status above that of the common people and his main functions and characteristics seem to be that he is firstly legitimatised by the gods, and that he is responsible for maintaining cosmic order and for enhancing fertility and prosperity¹⁸⁰. But the Egyptian pharaoh was omnipotent and appeared to be a sort of superhuman, whereby he was also thought to be on an almost equal level with the gods. In Egypt, also, the king is responsible for the cosmic order, but here being king is being divine, although the person of the

¹⁷⁹ Dessenne 1957a; Demisch 1977; Winkler-Horaček (ed.) 2011.

¹⁸⁰ Schmitt 2001: 35-36.

king himself remains human¹⁸¹. Several studies (e.g. by Unger, Wiedemann, Westenholz, etc.) have postulated that the sphinx in Egypt represents the king and is the manifestation of his superhuman qualities, while the griffin stands for his more violent aspect¹⁸². Both hybrids symbolise authority and power always connected with the might of the pharaoh and thus also having religious implications because of his religious descentance (5. The Sphinx in Egypt). When the pharaoh was depicted as a sphinx the goal was to emphasize his divine character and to demonstrate his superhuman strength¹⁸³.

In general, the rulers in Syro-Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Aegean also had a function as an intermediary between gods and people, but they always remained closer to humans than to gods. In Mesopotamia, Syria and the Levant and in Anatolia, the king is not a god himself, but he is chosen by the gods and he receives his power from them; therefore, these powers must be constantly renewed and ensured through rituals¹⁸⁴. Through his function as intermediary between gods and humans the ruler is responsible for cosmic order, prosperity and fertility. These last two can be represented by flowers, often the lotus, or by representing the king or ruler as a stylized tree, the so-called Sacred Tree, that is an axis connecting heaven and earth. However, the exact meaning of this symbol is not known, although in Egypt the celestial tree can represent the solar god Ra-Herakhty (cf. *infra*)¹⁸⁵.

Of course, this mediating function of the rulers or the lack thereof, would have had an impact on the iconography of the ruler. The sphinx images in other regions as far as is known rarely or even never depict a specific ruler or king. Therefore, it is obvious that it represented or symbolized sometimes the concept of rulership or kingship, or sometimes even complete other things, be it human, divine, natural or supernatural, ...¹⁸⁶. During the research for this investigation, the need was felt to dedicate a separate chapter to the sphinx related to the concept

¹⁸¹ Schmitt 2001: 11-13, 130.

¹⁸² Wiedemann 1890: 104; Roeder 1909: 1300-1302; Unger 1928: 337; Demisch 1977: 11-12 (although he is not quite sure); Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 35; Zouzoula 2007: 143.

¹⁸³ Sliwa 1974: 97, 101.

¹⁸⁴ Macqueen 1996: 115-116; Schmitt 2001: 2-6, 15-16, 17-21, 29-34; Sigris 2004.

¹⁸⁵ Lurker 1996: 118-119; Black and Green 1992: 170-171; Wilkinson 1992: 117.

Lambert 1987: 37: Lambert does not agree with the names “Tree of Life”, or “Sacred Tree” to define the stylized palm tree that so often appears in images from the 3rd mill. BC onwards.

Lurker 1996: 118-119; Black and Green 1992: 170-171; Wilkinson 1992: 117: In the Sumerian religion, the Sacred Tree was the representation of the god Tammuz, responsible for food and vegetation, but in general the Tree of Life symbolized the creative power of a cosmic-divine entity. At the very least, however, the presence of a tree marks a place with a sacred or ritual function. Therefore, the Tree of Life will be referred to in this research as Sacred Tree, to emphasize its sacral function.

¹⁸⁶ An excellent, though relatively limited, study on this subject was published recently: Winkler-Horaček (ed.) 2011.

of rulership or, more specifically, kingship, outside of Egypt, and late during the writing of this study, a start was made with such a chapter. Soon, however, it became clear that this subject was so interesting, specific, and complex, that it necessitated more detail. Therefore, it was decided, that following this thesis, a separate article would be written wherein the conclusions of this research would be summarized and then complemented by a thorough research into the relation between sphinx images and the concept of rulership and kingship.

3.2.2.1 EGYPT

In the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdom, the most common type of sphinx in sculpture is the recumbent bearded type (tail draped around the body), wearing the *Nemes*-headdress decorated by a *Uraeus* (Fig. 41)¹⁸⁷. In the Old Kingdom, the standing or striding sphinx can only be seen on reliefs and murals and sphinxes (or griffins) trampling enemies appear from the 6th Dyn. onwards and they gain popularity during the New Kingdom and later periods¹⁸⁸. These are representations showing the ruler with divine aspects. The motif of the sphinx with a captive or trampling an enemy is one of the most impressive images of ruler-ship symbolism; it stands for the idea that the king is supposed to maintain, guard and defend the cosmic order (cf. 8.1. Sphinx/Griffin/Criosphinx Trampling...). In the minor arts, the seated sphinx can also be seen from the 6th Dyn. onwards, although this motif never becomes very popular in Egypt¹⁸⁹.

A new type of sphinx in the Middle Kingdom is the Hyksos-sphinx, called like this because it usually wears an inscription mentioning the name of the Hyksos king Apepi or was found in Tanis¹⁹⁰. This type of sphinx has lion-manes and –ears instead of the usual *Nemes*. During the Hyksos period, there were few winged sphinxes, because the Hyksos knew that the Egyptian sphinx was mostly unwinged and they wanted to preserve its symbolic meaning: both divine and pharaonic. Often these Hyksos sphinxes are striding, but the recumbent position can be seen as well.

¹⁸⁷ E.g. St.M. Nr. Eg. 1: Great Recumbent Sphinx.

Roeder 1909: 1299, 1306, 1313; Dessenne 1957a: 14-16, 21; Coche-Zivie 1984: 1140-1143; Dubiel 2011: 5.

¹⁸⁸ E.g. St.M. Nr. Eg. 6: Sphinx Trampling Enemies.

Roeder 1909: 1299; Demisch 1977: 30; Fischer 1987: 16-17; Rösch-von der Heyde 1999: 3; Schmitt 2001: 11-13; Dubiel 2011: 12-14.

¹⁸⁹ E.g. St.M. Nr. Eg. 19: Amulet Female Sphinx.

Dessenne 1957a: 14-16, 21; Coche-Zivie 1984.

¹⁹⁰ Dessenne 1957a: 21, 38-40, 178-179; Coche-Zivie 1984; Fischer 1987: 14; Dubiel 2011: 4.

The New Kingdom sphinxes often are of the traditional male type lying down, but there are a few variations¹⁹¹. Often these sphinxes have wings, but because these are folded up close to the body, they are barely visible. Some of the recumbent sphinxes are female and of these a few are of the Tanis-type, meaning they have lion-manes and –ears¹⁹². In various cases, the recumbent sphinxes have human-hands and are offering something to the Gods or are worshipping¹⁹³. In a few cases this offering sphinx is of the oriental type instead of the Egyptian, but these variations occur only during the 18th Dyn¹⁹⁴.

The traditional type of sphinx striding or trampling an enemy can also be seen during this period, although now this sphinx too can be female¹⁹⁵. The sphinx representing Queen Tiye has a female head on, in fact, the body of a lioness (with nipples, breasts were only added later by the Greeks)¹⁹⁶. A curious sphinx is to be seen on a relief of Erment: the seated sphinx has a female Nubian head¹⁹⁷.

3.2.2.2 SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA & THE LEVANT

As in Egypt, the sphinx appears for the first time in the Syro-Mesopotamian art around the middle of the 3rd mill. BC. but only on seals¹⁹⁸. These sphinxes differ on several elements from the contemporary ones in Egypt: they are striding and they have a natural beard, not an artificial Osiris-type of beard (cf. 3.2.4. Human-headed Lions)¹⁹⁹.

During the first centuries of the 2nd mill. BC, there comes an art into being that is mostly called Syrian²⁰⁰. This art is prone to foreign influences since the Syrian coast is located on the cross-roads between the Aegean, Egypt and Babylonia. The integration of diverse foreign motifs into Syrian art begs the question if the Syrians understood everything correctly²⁰¹. In Syria, the sphinx appears only in glyptic art, but it now often has wings. The winged type will become

¹⁹¹ Roeder 1909: 1308; Dessenne 1957a: 98-113; Coche-Zivie 1984; 1140-1143; Dubiel 2011: 5, 10-12.

¹⁹² E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 24: Recumbent Bearded Sphinx Hatshepsut.

¹⁹³ Fischer 1987: 14.

E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 63: Recumbent Offering Sphinx Amenhotep III.

¹⁹⁴ E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 43: Winged Female Sphinx with Queens's name.

Demisch 1977: 27.

¹⁹⁵ E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 35: Arm Panel Striding Sphinx Trampling Enemies; Cat.Nr. Eg. 65: Pair of Striding Sphinxes Queen Tye.

¹⁹⁶ Roeder 1909: 1309.

¹⁹⁷ Cat.Nr. Eg. 92: Sphinx with Nubian Head. Gubel disagrees with defining the head as Nubian: Gubel 1998.

¹⁹⁸ Dessenne 1957a: 17-18.

¹⁹⁹ E.g. St.M. Nr. Mes. 1: Striding Bearded Sphinx with Animals and Bird-Man.

Hornung 1995: 1726; Leprohon 1995: 275.

Cf. 3.3. The Origin of the Sphinx.

For more information on the symbolism of the royal false beard: Hendrickx, De Meyer and Eyckerman 2014.

²⁰⁰ Dessenne 1957a: 24-25, 27.

²⁰¹ Dessenne 1957a: 28-29; Westenholz 2004a: 129.

widespread in the eastern world, in Greece and in the Aegean. Typical also for the so-called Syrian sphinx is that it is mostly represented seated. Possible motifs are lone sphinxes, pairs of confronting sphinxes and sphinxes with their front paw resting on an animal.

In the Babylonian art, again the sphinx is rarely seen; one big exception is the sphinx on the mural in the palace of Mari depicting the investiture of Zimri-Lim²⁰². Early Bronze sphinxes are mostly depicted seated, while in the Assyrian art they are shown standing on their hind legs. When it is depicted, the sphinx is now the main motif. Neo-Babylonian sphinxes are mostly shown striding.

In the Levant the first sphinxes that have been found are all in a “foreign” style; either egyptianizing (e.g. a ring with hieroglyphs and *Uraei*; ca. 2300-2200 BC; a seal depicting the ruler as a sphinx; ca. 19th-18th c. BC), or in the so-called Old-Syrian style (a pair of seated sphinxes facing each other; 18th-17th c. BC)²⁰³. A golden bowl found in Ugarit and dating from the 14th c. BC is typical for Late Bronze International Style art; it shows a mixture of forms and motifs from Mesopotamian, Egyptian and Aegean art²⁰⁴. The pair of sphinxes on the bowl flank a Sacred Tree with lotus flowers and papyrus and their wings are bowed in a way that is characteristic for Aegean iconography. The first “real” Levantine sphinx can be seen decorating the throne of a ruler, probably the king of Meggido (14th-12th c. BC)²⁰⁵. This motif, sphinxes on thrones, recurs a number of times²⁰⁶. Other sphinxes in the Levant are mostly alone, not in pairs and can appear with other animals, offering, or on an altar or a sarcophagus.

3.2.2.3 THE AEGEAN

In the Minoan and Cypriote cultures, the sphinx appears relatively late; one of the oldest examples of a Minoan sphinx is shown on the so-called Archanes seal²⁰⁷. This sphinx, with its long hair and beard, looks more oriental than Egyptian.

On Crete and on the Greek mainland, winged sphinxes appear for the first time only during the middle of the 16th cent. BC²⁰⁸. Greek sphinxes are typically of the so-called three-element type:

²⁰² St.M. Nr. Mes. 22: Investiture Zimri-Lim.

Dessenne 1957a: 33-34, 58, 85, 92, 177.

²⁰³ St.M. Nr. Mes. 12; St.M. Nr. Mes. 19; St.M. Nr. Mes. 25.

The seal depicting the ruler as a sphinx was most probably made in the Levant: Teissier 1995: 26.

²⁰⁴ Cat.Nr. Mes. 6.

²⁰⁵ Cat.Nr. Mes. 7.

²⁰⁶ Cat.Nr. Mes. 96; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 50, 54.

²⁰⁷ St.M. Nr. Aeg. 2: Recumbent Sphinx Archanes.

Dessenne 1957a: 44-45, 77.

²⁰⁸ Dessenne 1957a: 125, 132; Demisch 1977: 76-78.

a lion-body with the wings of a bird and the head of a (often female) human. From the 5th cent. BC onwards, there appear sphinxes with female breasts. Sphinxes can be seen standing, strided, seated and recumbent. Although the Greek sphinxes are influenced by Near Eastern imagery, they stood a bit on their own in that they had slightly different meanings from the ones in the other regions. This can be accounted for by the fact that the Greeks had their own ideas and attitude towards gods and demons.

Evans claims that the sphinx that was found in the Ivory Deposits from Knossos (Fig. 12 A) will become the prototype of all sphinxes throughout the Hellenic world²⁰⁹. It has the crest on the head, the notched pattern on the plumes, the spirals both in its hair and on its wings and, above all, is female. The only problem with this sphinx is that Evans based his restoration sketch on one fragment that was found: the plumed crest of the hybrid (Fig. 12 B).

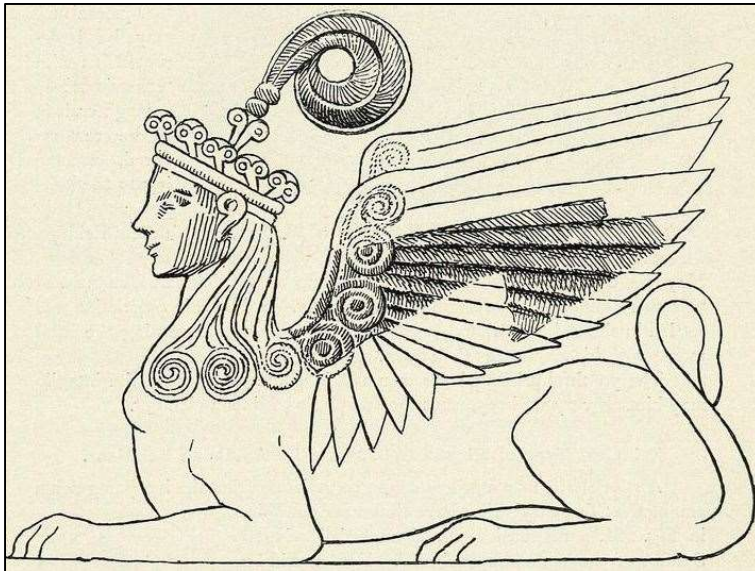
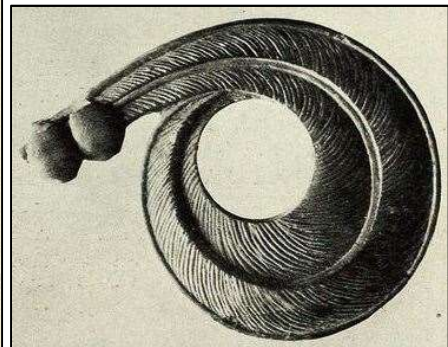


FIG. 12 A: RESTORATION SKETCH OF FIGURINE OF IVORY SPHINX.

FIG. 12 B: PLUMED CREST, IVORY, KNOSSOS PALACE.



3.2.2.4 ANATOLIA

The oldest Anatolian sphinxes are shown on some seals and look different from their counterparts in e.g. Egypt; they have only one lion-foot, two hooves and one human-foot (cf. 3.2.4. Human-headed Lion). They are all depicted in a religious-mythological context. Later sphinxes show some foreign influence, e.g. Hathor-curls, or wings²¹⁰. Anatolian sphinxes can stand, sit or lie down, and they can have beards or not, although the female sphinx becomes very popular almost from the beginning (ca. 18th cent. BC). Of course, the most famous

²⁰⁹ Evans 1930: 415-418.

²¹⁰ St.M. Nr. An. 2: Female Sphinx with Hathor-style Curls; St.M. Nr. An. 4: Winged Sphinx.

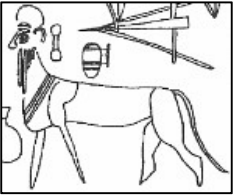

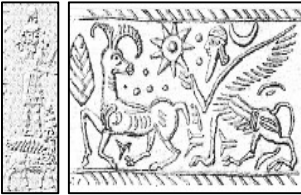


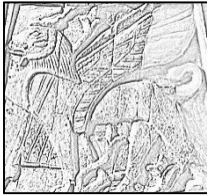



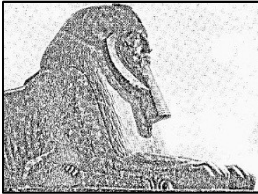
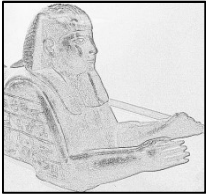








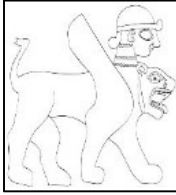




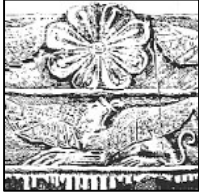



Anatolian sphinxes are the ones that are executed in a monumental style, an imagery that soon will influence the Assyrian sphinxes²¹¹.

Table STF X presents a general overview of the most popular, i.e. most frequently appearing, types of sphinxes (here called basic types of sphinxes) found in each region, without going too much in detail.

²¹¹ E.g. Cat.Nr. An. 3: Pair of Gate-Sphinxes.

PART 1 – 3. THE SPHINX AND ITS RELATIVES

3.2.3 STF X – BASIC TYPES OF SPHINXES

SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA							
	BASIC TYPE	WINGED BULL-SPHINX	CONQUERED/ IN FIGHT	WITH SACRED TREE	SUPPORTING	CRIOSPHINX	GRIFFIN
EGYPT							
	BASIC TYPE	TRAMPLING	LION-MANES	HUMAN-ARMS	SUPPORTING	CRIOSPHINX	GRIFFIN
ANATOLIA							
	BASIC TYPE	WINGED	CONQUERED	FEMALE WITH SACRED TREE	SUPPORTING	WITH LION-PROTOME	GRIFFIN
AEGEAN							
	WINGED	WINGED BULL-SPHINX	CONQUERED	WITH ROSETTE	SUPPORTING	WITH ANIMALS	GRIFFIN

STF X shows a rough general overview with different kinds of sphinxes that exist or are prominent in each region. Some points are noteworthy, e.g. that in Egypt the basic type of sphinx is the one that is lying down, while in other regions it is more often shown standing, striding or seated. In Egypt, standing or striding sphinxes often were the ones that were depicted on the boat of the Sun-god²¹². Also in Egypt, sphinxes with human hands and arms occur regularly as do sphinxes with lion-manes, while they are scarce in other regions (and then often only seen in "egyptianizing" images), or mostly even non-existent. Bull-sphinxes exist in Syro-Mesopotamia and the Aegean, but not in Egypt and Anatolia, while in the latter area sometimes sphinxes have a (lion)-protome on their chest, which sphinxes in other regions never have. Criosphinxes can be seen in Syro-Mesopotamia and Egypt, but not in Anatolia and the Aegean. Female sphinxes exist in Egypt and are popular in the Aegean, while they are relatively scarce in Anatolia and even more so in Syro-Mesopotamia. Sphinxes fighting or conquered occur in every region except Egypt, but in this region, the trampling sphinx is a popular motif. Griffins occur in every region.

It is clear from this overview that there exist numerous variations on the basic type of sphinx. But as becomes clear, in every region there exist numerous differences in the iconography of the basic sphinx, often in small details as the rendering of the ears or paws, which, however, are often unclear in photographs. Tails and wings, e.g. are often more easy to see. The outline of diverse (poses of) tails and/or wings (in so far as they can be clearly seen) in the different regions can give a better idea of the deviations of only two small parts of the creature that existed throughout the areas and time-periods (13. Supplements - STF LI; also in 13. Supplements the different head-dresses can be seen: STF LII-LV)²¹³.

If these different types of tails and wings had any special meaning, is impossible to know without thorough analysing. Therefore, the following observations are only general.

Some researchers suggest a raised tail indicates action²¹⁴. Probably, however, sometimes it was merely a fact of aesthetic or practical considerations. On some images, at least, this is obvious. On Cat.Nr. Aeg. 13 e.g., the tail is awkwardly bent downwards and this is clearly because the available space does not allow anything else. Another example can be seen on Cat.Nr. Aeg. 31, where the curves of wings and tail counter-balance each other beautifully.

²¹² Coche-Zivie 1984: 1143.

²¹³ Images found in Fort Shalmaneser are not included here.

²¹⁴ Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 167.

As could be expected, the variation in (shapes and poses) of tails and wings in Egypt is relatively speaking the smallest (16). The Egyptians were after all known for their rigid rules about the execution of images, and therefore many of the recumbent sphinxes are shown with the tail curled around the right side of their hind-quarter. But even then, there can be some slight variations (e.g. St.M. Nrs. Eg. 1, 21, 27; Cat.Nr. Eg. 54).

From the 16th cent. BC onwards, there does appear some change; on one seal, e.g., the tail is held up straight (Cat.Nr. Eg. 10). Most variations, however, appear during the 14th till 12th cent. BC, where tails can curl in all sorts of shapes (e.g. Cat.Nrs. Eg. 38, 74, 83) or held up high (e.g. Cat.Nrs. Eg. 10, 37, 46, 66) and wings are more explicitly present (e.g. Cat.Nrs. Eg. 37, 38, 66). Later, there seems to be a return to conventionality, until the 7th or 6th cent. BC (St.M. Nrs. Eg. 46, 54, 56).

The most variation in (poses and shapes of) tails as well as in wings can be seen in the Aegean (37). Tails can be held up straight (e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 2), close to the body (e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 105), curled into a kind of spiral (e.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 2), in an S-shape (e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 27), an inverted question-mark (e.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 29), or even an elegant ampersand (e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 89). Wings can be held completely spread out (e.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 5), or can resemble those of a butterfly (e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 3); they can be small and rather straight and angular (e.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 11) or large and more rounded (e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 50).

In Syro-Mesopotamia, 29 variations were found of which some are very interesting. On a seal from the 2nd mill. BC (St.M. Nr. Mes. 15) a pair of sphinxes is probably involved in a religious procedure, and while their tail is nothing extraordinary (curled upwards), on the spot where it is attached to the body, a small Sacred Tree is growing. The meaning of this iconography, however, is not clear.

A second interesting deviation can be seen on a seal dating from the 11th or 10th cent. BC (Cat.Nr. Mes. 12). The sphinx here has, instead of the tail of a lion a bird-tail (and instead of lion-paws, it has eagle-claws). The next interesting tail is one ending in a bird-head (Cat.Nr. Mes. 110), a deviation that also appears a couple of times on Anatolian images (Cat.Nrs. An. 13, 14). A variation on this deviation is a wing of a sphinx that ends in a bird-head (St.M. Nr. Mes. 74).

The remainder of variations in tails in Syro-Mesopotamia lies in the pose and the length: held downward (St.M. Nr. Mes. 1), close to the body (St.M. Nr. Mes. 10), first curved upward and

then straight downward (Cat.Nr. Mes. 90), curved to form an almost perfect circle (Cat.Nr. Mes. 38), curved upward over the back (St.M. Nr. Mes. 4), curved into a spiral (St.M. Nrs. Mes. 24, 64) or an S-form (Cat.Nrs. Mes. 89, 103), or even curled around the right hind-quarter, in real Egyptian tradition (St.M. Nr. Mes. 57).

15 variations of wings were found in Syro-Mesopotamia; wings can be depicted almost geometrically rigid (Cat.Nrs. Mes. 89, 95, 109; St.M. Nrs. 102) or very dramatically curled and ending in the head of a bird of prey (St.M. Nr. Mes. 74) or they can be shown completely outstretched (Cat.Nr. Mes. 122; St.M. Nr. Mes. 36; perhaps even a bit reminiscent of the butterfly wings of the Aegean sphinx shown in St.M. Nr. Aeg. 3): other wings are relatively short and unobtrusive and held upwards (St.M. Nrs. Mes. 21, 48, 64). Three other sphinxes have wider and/or longer wings that more dominate the image (Cat.Nr. Mes. 103; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 46, 63). The wings of two sphinxes are beautifully curved upward (Cat.Nrs. Mes. 101-102), while one sphinx has some rather squarely executed wings that are very reminiscent of those of some Egyptian sphinxes from the 18th Dyn. (Cat.Nr. Mes. 90; Cat.Nr. Eg. 38); probably then it is not a coincidence that both these sphinxes also date from the 14th cent. BC.

In total 14 variations on tails and/or wings can be seen on the Anatolia sphinxes. Next to the two sphinxes with tails ending in a bird-head (Cat.Nrs. An. 13, 14), there is also one sphinx whose tail ends in a scorpion; at least, that is what it says on the website of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, where this seal is kept (St.M. Nr. An. 15), although it is not clear on the image itself. However, I believe it to be true, because the body of this sphinx also more resembles the body of a scorpion than that of a lion, not only in its shape, but also in the way it is rendered.

The tails of other Anatolian sphinxes can, as in the other regions, be curved above the back (e.g. St.M. Nrs. An. 1, 6), held downward behind the body (e.g. Cat.Nr. An. 9), curled in a way so it seems to end in a circle (e.g. St.M. Nr. An. 11), held straight upward (Cat.Nr. An. 11), or simply curled in an elegant fashion (Cat.Nr. An. 12).

Anatolian sphinxes have wings ranging in size from the small and unobtrusive kind (e.g. Cat.Nrs. An. 4, 15; St.M. Nr. An. 16); through the wide expanded type (e.g. Cat.Nr. An. 12), to the long extenuated rectangular ones (e.g. St.M. Nr. An. 14).

3.2.3.1 GRIFFINS

Many scholars think the griffin originated in Syria in the 2nd mill. BC; it apparently had some religious significance and it is believed it possessed magically protective forces²¹⁵. This origin however cannot be correct, if Demisch is right in identifying the creature trampling an enemy in the Temple of Sahure in Abusir and dated to ca. 2500 BC is indeed as he claims a griffin (St.M. Nr. Eg. 5)²¹⁶. The fact that this creature has wings, seems to support this hypothesis, because sphinxes in Egypt didn't have this type of wings so early²¹⁷. Other authors even date the first Egyptian griffins to the Pre-dynastic period, like e.g. on the so-called Oxford Palette or Little Hierakonpolis Palette, now kept in the Ashmolean Museum of Art (Fig. 13), of which the iconography can be called "an iconic celebration of rulership"²¹⁸.



FIG. 13: LITTLE HIERAKONPOLIS PALETTE & DETAIL, CA. 3100 BC, NAGADA IIC/D-IIIa ARTEFACT, SCHIST, 42,5 X 22 CM, HIERAKONPOLIS, OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM OF ART, E 3924.

Griffins are composed of a lion-body with a hawk-, falcon- or eagle-head and mostly also wings. On the Hierakonpolis Palette, the wings are held parallel to the body. Moreover, griffins sometimes have bird-feet as well but these types are only taken up sporadically in this

²¹⁵ Furtwängler 1884-1890b: 1742; Frankfort 1936/1937: 120; Demisch 1977: 30; Black and Green 1992: 99, 101; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 33, 185.

Although a lot of images of griffins have been taken up in this research, they have not been searched as consistently as the images of sphinxes; it has been tried to take the most unique, remarkable, or those that could be identified as being griffins without a doubt.

²¹⁶ The next griffins found in Egypt, also trampling enemies, date from the 19th cent. BC and are the only griffins found in Egypt in the period preceding our period of investigation (St.M. Nr. Eg. 22).

²¹⁷ Wyatt 2009: 29-30.

²¹⁸ Dessenne 1957a: 12; Zouzoula 2007: 92; Wyatt 2009: 29, Morenz 2013: 139.

The palette is a so-called semiophore, an object of meaning. For more information on semiophores: 12.1. Investiture Zimri-Lim – 18th cent. BC (St.M. Nr. Mes. 22).

research²¹⁹. At first, the griffin sometimes had tendril-like horns on its head (*antennae*), which were later replaced by a crest²²⁰.

In Egypt, the griffin appears representing the king in his Horus-shape trampling enemies for the first time during the 5th Dyn. (St.M. Nr. Eg. 5; cf. 8. Some Key Motifs & Themes), a role that is later taken up by the sphinx²²¹. Yet, as Zouzoula claims, in later periods the hybrid got more disassociated from the king when it acted as a defender of the ruler as it destroyed his enemies. It seems that, however, the Egyptian griffin was not part of popular belief, but was merely an official symbol, pointing at the military aspect of the king's functions, a status which it obtained through its connection with the Egyptian War-god Montu.

Griffins in the ancient Near East have a crested head, those in Greece usually have spiralling curls. The griffins are invincible, because they combine the wild power, swiftness and speed of the lion with the mighty power and piercing vision of the biggest bird of prey, the eagle. Yet, Dessenne e.g., sees a hierarchy between the sphinx and the griffin and claims the sphinx is the superior one, because its head is human.

An example of a griffin with bird-claws instead of lion-feet can be seen on a Middle Assyrian seal where it is depicted together with a griffin-demon (*Apkallū*) fighting over a calf (Fig. 14)²²². The griffin-demon clearly has a beneficial function.



FIG. 14: GRIFFIN-DEMON FIGHTING WITH GRIFFIN WITH BIRD-CLAWS OVER A CALF, MIDDLE ASSYRIAN PERIOD, CA. 12TH-11TH C. BC, CYLINDER SEAL, CHALCEDONY, 4,2 X 1,65 CM, NEW YORK, THE MORGAN LIBRARY & MUSEUM, SEAL NO. 608.



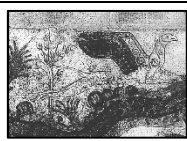




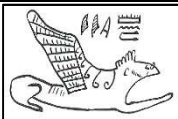

















²¹⁹ E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 12.

²²⁰ Evans 1921: 712-713; Morgan 2010: 303.

²²¹ Evans 1928b: 785; Frankfort 1936/1937: 112; Dessenne 1957a: 16, 212-213; Demisch 1977: 14; Wilkinson 1996: 61; Owusu 1999: 25; Zouzoula 2007: 93, 137; Wyatt 2009: 30; Morenz 2013: 132, 138.

²²² Frankfort postulates that the winged griffin-demon is an apotropaic force: Frankfort 1936/1937: 108, 120.

The griffin-demon, a human-bodied creature with a bird-head, -neck and -wings, appears first on Middle-Assyrian seals. It was the most popular of the hybrid creatures with bird features and it got its most familiar form on Middle Assyrian seals in the late 2nd mill. BC. Its most famous representations, however, come from the palace of the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II (ca. 883-859 BC), where it is clear the hybrid takes part in royal/religious rituals. The griffin-demon also frequently acts as a guardian of the sacred tree and/or transmits its power to the ruler: Frankfort 1936/1937: 108; Black and Green 1992: 86, 100, 101, 163-164; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 32, 34.

STF XI - GRIFFINS			
SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	EGYPT	ANATOLIA	AEGEAN
 St.M. Nr. Mes. 22 18 th cent. BC	 St.M. Nr. Eg. 5 26 th -25 th cent. BC		 Cat.Nr. Aeg. 16 16 th cent. BC
 Cat.Nr. Mes. 2 15 th cent. BC	 St.M. Nr. Eg. 22 19 th cent. BC		 Cat.Nr. Aeg. 18 16 th -15 th cent. BC
 Cat.Nr. Mes. 5 14 th cent. BC	 Cat.Nr. Eg. 4 16 th cent. BC		 Cat.Nr. Aeg. 23 16 th -15 th cent. BC
 Cat.Nr. Mes. 8 13 th cent. BC	 Cat.Nr. Eg. 5 16 th -15 th cent. BC		 Cat.Nrs Aeg 6, 24 15 th cent. BC
 Cat.Nr. Mes. 9 13 th cent. BC	 Cat.Nr. Eg. 80 13 th cent. BC		 Cat.Nr. Aeg. 24 15 th cent. BC
 Cat.Nr. Mes. 100 10 th cent. BC	 St.M. Nr. Eg. 46 7 th -4 th cent. BC		 Cat.Nr. Aeg. 26 14 th cent. BC
 Cat.Nr. Mes. 34 9 th -8 th cent. BC	 St.M. Nr. Eg. 48 7 th -4 th cent. BC	 Cat.Nr. An. 9 9 th cent. BC	 Cat.Nr. Aeg. 29 13 th cent. BC
 St. M. Nr. Mes. 62 7 th -6 th cent. BC		 Cat.Nr. An. 14 9 th cent. BC	 Cat.Nr. Aeg. 36 12 th -11 th cent. BC

Syro-Mesopotamian griffins undoubtedly stood for physical power, because they combined body-parts of the strongest animals of the sky and the land²²³. The Syro-Mesopotamian name for the griffin is unknown, but sometimes *kuribu* is suggested: the name used for a protective genius with non-human features. Alongside this uncertainty, its function and meaning also are unclear. But, although its appearance often looks frightful, and although it is often depicted attacking other animals, this by no means ensures that it was a frightful and threatening creature.

While there were (probably) griffins depicted on the mural showing the Investiture of Zimri-Lim (St.M. Nr. Mes. 22; cf. 12.1.), most of the images of griffins in Syro-Mesopotamia appear during the Kassite period (ca. 1600-1180 BC) and later, till right into the Persian Period (ca. 540-335 BC). In this last period, the imagery was completely under the influence of the Ionic-Greek art. The griffin can appear on its own (e.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 8) or as part of a pair, and its function and/or meaning seems to be very divers. From seemingly purely as a guardian of a deer (Cat.Nr. Mes. 2), through flanking/guarding a palmette or Sacred Tree (Cat.Nr. Mes. 5), controlling a human being (Cat.Nr. Mes. 34) or being controlled by a Master of Animals (St.M. Nr. Mes. 73), attacking a sphinx (while in its turn it is being attacked by a centaur; St.M. Nr. Mes. 62), being attacked by a Hero (Cat.Nr. Mes. 9) to prominently be present on a cult stand (Cat.Nr. Mes. 101). While some of these most probably are religious images (without a doubt Cat.Nr. Mes. 101, and possibly in some part Cat.Nr. Mes. 5, but also perhaps St.M. Nr. Mes. 73), the meaning of the other images is not so clear. Probably, during the Old-Babylonian Period (ca. 2100-1595 BC), the griffin had some religious significance, while it was than often depicted with other creatures belonging to gods²²⁴. Its precise function, however, remains unclear, although generally it is assumed to have magically protective powers. Later images also pose riddles of their own, e.g. a Neo-Babylonian seal where the griffin is being attacked by a centaur while attacking a sphinx. The Middle-Assyrian seal where a winged griffin with crested head is attacked by a Hero (Cat.Nr. Mes. 9) fits into the seals with hunting motif, a very popular motif from the middle of the 2nd mill. BC onwards. The hunter can either represent the ruler or king, sometimes with divine features, or a Hero, as is possibly the case here.

The Egyptian griffin was the embodiment of the powerful forces that were invincible and in this function, it is depicted on ritual knives and weapons and on Horus-steles²²⁵. Its primary function was to destroy the enemies of the king. For the Egyptians, a griffin was not a real

²²³ Furtwängler 1884-1890b: 1747; Bisi 1965; Metzger 1985: 315; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 33.

²²⁴ Black and Green 1998: 101; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 185; Zouzoula 2007: 216.

²²⁵ Wiedemann 1890: 105; Roeder 1909: 1301; Frankfort 1936/1937: 110, 112, 120; Eggebrecht 1977: 895-896; Fischer 1987: 14, 17.

living creature, but a specific, official symbol. Griffins could not only represent the pharaoh as Horus, but also e.g. Amun and Thot in their fighting aspect. Moreover, the griffin could also be the executer of the will of the Sun-god. It was identified as "*'achech*", which, used as a hieroglyph, stood for "greatest speed, rapidity" and in general, it was considered as a symbol of power, as can be seen e.g. on the Axe of Ahmoses I, a pharaoh reigning from ca. 1550-1525 BC (Cat.Nr. Eg. 4; cf. 12.2.)²²⁶. Another type of griffin, with a hawk-head, instead of an eagle-head, dating from the 13th cent. BC, was found as a pair guarding the second hall of the temple in Abu Simbel (Cat.Nr. Eg. 80). The next image of a griffin, dating from the 3rd Intermediate or even Late Period, was found on a coffin, and can thus be connected to death and/or the Afterlife (St.M. Nr. Eg. 46). The last depiction of an Egyptian griffin, also dating from a later period, reveals little or nothing about its meaning or function, because the creature, which is lying on a pedestal with a ramp, is difficult to identify (St.M. Nr. Eg. 48).

Already in the Old Kingdom, the griffin was the personification of the victorious ruler²²⁷. This is attested for in the relief from Abusir, when this creature is indeed a griffin (cf. supra; St.M. Nr. Eg. 5), where a griffin is trampling an enemy. The same iconography still exists in the Middle Kingdom (St.M. Nr. Eg. 22) and even in the New Kingdom (Cat.Nr. Eg. 5). During the New Kingdom, a period wherein the griffin was very popular, it often appeared on magical wands (used apotropaically during childbirth), and in the Late Period it was regarded as the mightiest of all animals and as a symbol of justice²²⁸.

The Hittite art, heavily influenced by Old-Babylonian and Assyrian images, but also by Egyptian iconography, didn't reveal images of griffins. The two that were found belong to the Neo-Hittite period (ca. 1180-750 BC). Both images show griffins taking part in religious rituals or processions where they seem to be regarded as associates or companions of the Weather-god (Cat.Nrs. An. 9, 14). In contrast with the Syro-Mesopotamian, Egyptian and Aegean griffins, who could be both aggressors and protectors, the Anatolian creatures seem to have always been subservient²²⁹.

²²⁶ Furtwängler 1884-1890b: 1743-1744; Wyatt 2009: 30.

In the Middle Kingdom, the griffin was known as "*zaget*"; it was believed to be connected to the sun-god Ra and was primarily seen as a protector: *Sfinx* 2006: 183.

²²⁷ Furtwängler 1884-1890b: 1742-1743; Frankfort 1936/1937: 120; Dessenne 1957a: 16; Lurker 1996: 55-56; Zouzoula 2007: 93.

²²⁸ Szpakowska 2009: 802-803.

²²⁹ Tamvaki 1974: 290.

The griffin most probably arrived in the Aegean through the Near East (e.g. Frankfort thinks its origin lies in Syria, and so does Cameron (cf. *supra*), while Blakolmer claims it was imported from the Levant), but it was only taken over as a form without its meaning (as was the sphinx; cf. 3.3. The Origin of the Sphinx)²³⁰. Despite this, Mayor thinks the griffin took a special place for the inhabitants of the Aegean and was not seen as belonging with the other composite creatures, a group in which the Centaurs, the Minotaur and even the sphinx had their place. The people of the Aegean thought the griffins lived in the mountains, together with other dangerous creatures (e.g. the snake-haired Gorgon; cf. 7. The Sphinx in the Aegean). In later periods, all these creatures served different gods, e.g. the Wine-god Dionysus, the War-goddess Athena and the Sun- and War-god Apollo were connected to, among others, griffins²³¹.

The griffin, considered to be related to both the hunt and warfare, both ways to maintain the cosmological order, was so popular, especially from the Neopalatial Period onwards (1750-1500 BC) when it was taken up in the monumental art of the palaces, that it became by far the most common depicted monster in the Aegean²³². This popularity might have been the result of the association of the creature with the female deity (Potnia Theron; cf. 12.3. Sphinx/Griffin/Criosphinx Under Control...)²³³. And, contrary to the sphinx, the griffin is rarely depicted as a female. Because the griffin originally lacked meaning (according to Furtwängler, but e.g. Evans (cf. *infra*) disagrees with this most strongly, it was not regarded as a mythical being, but through its popularity, it soon became part of myths surrounding different gods (e.g. Apollo). Some classical authors mention the griffin, mostly in relation with gold from the land of the Scythians (the northern coast of the Black Sea and all the lands north-east of Europe); e.g. Herodotus (ca. 484-425 BC) calls them the "gold-guarding griffins" (*Histories* IV 13-27), and even earlier Aeschylus (ca. 525-455 BC) places them in the same area and lets Prometheus warn against them and other dangers that are lurking in this far-away land in his *Prometheus Bound* (790-809)²³⁴.

²³⁰ Furtwängler 1884-1890b: 1742, 1745; Cameron 1976: 108; Mayor 2001: 16, 26; Westenholtz 2004a (ed.): 34; Zouzoula 2007: 17-18, 275; Marinatos 2009: 23; Morgan 2010a: 304; Blakolmer 2016: 64.

²³¹ For detailed information about all the aspects of the god Apollo: Furtwängler 1884-1890c.

For detailed information about all the aspects of the goddess Athena: Furtwängler 1884-1890d.

²³² Furtwängler 1884-1890b: 1767-1768; Dessenne 1957b: 208; Delplace 1967: 49; Tamvaki 1974: 288; Barclay 2001: 380, nr. 46; Mayor 2001: 16, 26; Morgan 2005b: 168; Zouzoula 2007: 150, 152, 217; Arnold and Counts 2010: 19-20.

More information on the coming into existence and development of the Greek griffin: Akurgal 1992.

²³³ Aruz, however, argues that the association of the griffin with a female goddess is questionable: Aruz 1995b: 41-42.

²³⁴ Westenholtz 2004a (ed.): 34; Zouzoula 2007: 42; <http://classics.mit.edu/Herodotus/history.4.iv.html>.

"790. Then, crossing the surging sea you will come to the Gorgonian meadows of Kisthene where the three ancient daughters of Phorcys live. They are shaped like swans and, between them, they have one eye and one tooth. Neither the sun, during the day, nor the moon, during the night, sees them. Near them are their three winged sisters.

800. These are the snake-haired Gorgons who hate mankind so much that the mortal who looks at them dies. I tell you this and warn you of it most strongly. Be very careful of them!

And now listen to yet another, more fearsome spectacle.

Stay clear of the Gryphons. These are Zeus' sharp-beaked hounds and they do not bark. Stay clear also of the one-eyed Arimaspians people who are mounted on horses and who live around the floods of Pluto's stream, a stream of gold. After that you will come to a far-off country of swarthy people who live near the waters of the sun, near the river Aethiop"²³⁵.

Later Roman authors also talk about griffins. Pliny the Elder (23-79 AD) in *Naturalis historia* (Book VII, Ch. 2) equally stresses the connection between griffins and the gold from the Scythian mines and claims they fight over the gold with the Arimaspi, a one-eyed people, who live in the north:

"In the vicinity also of those who dwell in the northern regions, and not far from the spot from which the north wind arises, and the place which is called its cave, and is known by the name of Geskleithron, the Arimaspi are said to exist, whom I have previously mentioned, a nation remarkable for having but one eye, and that placed in the middle of the forehead. This race is said to carry on a perpetual warfare with the Griffins, a kind of monster, with wings, as they are commonly represented, for the gold which they dig out of the mines, and which these wild beasts retain and keep watch over with a singular degree of cupidity, while the Arimaspi are equally desirous to get possession of it. Many authors have stated to this effect, among the most illustrious of whom are Herodotus and Aristaeus of Proconnesus"²³⁶.

In his *Hellados Periegesis* (Description of Greece: 1.24.6) Pausanias (ca. 110-180 AD) describes griffins as "beasts like lions, but with the beak and wings of an eagle" and similarly connects them with gold and with the one-eyed people: "they fight for the gold with the Arimaspi beyond the Issedones. The gold which the griffins guard, ..., comes out of the earth; the Arimaspi are men all born with one eye"²³⁷.

Furtwängler postulates that the griffin appears as a wild and fast animal (a predator), that is perhaps comparable to the lion. And, again as Furtwängler and Frankfort state, during the Mycenaean period (ca. 1550-1060 BC), it was only used ornamental²³⁸. Both these statements are wrong, as can be proven by some images depicting a griffin dating from the Mycenaean period; e.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 23 shows two griffins pulling a chariot in which a goddess and another

²³⁵ <https://bacchicstage.wordpress.com/aeschylus-2/prometheus-bound/>.

²³⁶ <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0137%3Abook%3D7>.

²³⁷ Zouzoula 2007: 42; <http://www.theoi.com/Text/Pausanias1B.html>.

²³⁸ Furtwängler 1884-1890b: 1745; Frankfort 1936/1937: 106.

woman, probably deceased, are seated²³⁹. The griffin now seems to be connected to a funerary context (it may ensure a safe passage into the Underworld), and is by some scholars called "an angel of death", a messenger of the Underworld, or a guide for the dead in finding their way to the Afterlife²⁴⁰. Here it surely is neither aggressive nor decorative, nor is the one on a stamp seal dating from the 15th cent. BC on which a winged griffin is shown held by a priest with a rope (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 24). Another image where a griffin is shown pulling a chariot with two passengers has been found on a vase discovered in a 13th cent. BC tomb in Enkomi (Cyprus; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 29). On a golden ring impression coming from Thebes, the griffin clearly shows its guarding function, as it watches over a kind of ceremony with a goddess sitting on a throne, while in front and behind it stand two Minoan Genii (cf. 3.1.4.2. Minoan Genius/Demon) holding a libation cup (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 32)²⁴¹. When the griffin was thought by the Aegeans to be only decorative or mere dangerous, it would not have been depicted in such a prominent place on such a clearly religious image.

In 1957 Dessenne already named the following compositions in which Minoan and Mycenaean griffins appear: two confronted griffins; two griffins back to back; griffins attacking another animal; griffins with a Master or Mistress of Animals; griffins driving a chariot; griffins as guardians of the throne; griffins as guardians of a pillar; griffins as guardians of a tree; griffins with other animals; griffins lead on a rope (by a priest)²⁴². From this list, it seems the griffin mostly had a strong religious connotation.

A very interesting picture, dating from the 11th cent. BC and found in Lefkandi, depicts two griffins standing over (guarding? feeding? fighting?) a nest containing two little birds (or most likely two baby-griffins; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 36). The meaning of this iconography, however, and perhaps unfortunately, remains a mystery until this day, although both Tamvaki and Zouzoula think the griffins are feeding their babies²⁴³. In the Early Greek art, the griffin appears again calm, and, again, as Furtwängler thinks, in the archaic Greek art, it is used as a general symbol of divine power and as a powerful protector of the divine²⁴⁴. This last function is attested for

²³⁹ The same iconography can be seen on a sarcophagus found in Hagia Triada (Crete) and dating from the Late Minoan Period: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 26 (cf. 12.4. Goddess/Chariot Drawn by Griffins); Watrous 1991: 291.

Cameron 1976: 459-460 + Fig. 53 claims there has been found a wall painting in Knossos too showing the same iconography. The griffins drawing the chariot here were first mistaken for goats.

For more information on the Minoan larnax: Watrous 1991.

²⁴⁰ Frankfort 1936/1937: 121; Zouzoula 2007: 315-316.

²⁴¹ Rehak 1995a: 223 nr. 74; Rehak 1995b: 103, 105; Younger 1995a: 179 nr. 162; Zouzoula 2007: 273.

²⁴² Dessenne 1957b.

²⁴³ Tamvaki 1974: 291; Zouzoula 2007: 14, 71.

²⁴⁴ Furtwängler 1884-1890b: 1754, 1759; Rehak 1995a: 216.

on e.g. a golden and silver bowl, dating from ca. 675-625 C BC found in Cyprus, showing sphinxes and griffins together flanking lotuses (St.M. Nr. Aeg. 32). But when Furtwängler states that griffins never are depicted in fights or attacking in this period, he again is wrong; an Oinochoe e.g. from the 6th cent. BC shows griffins together with sphinxes attacking a deer (St.M. Nr. Aeg. 94).

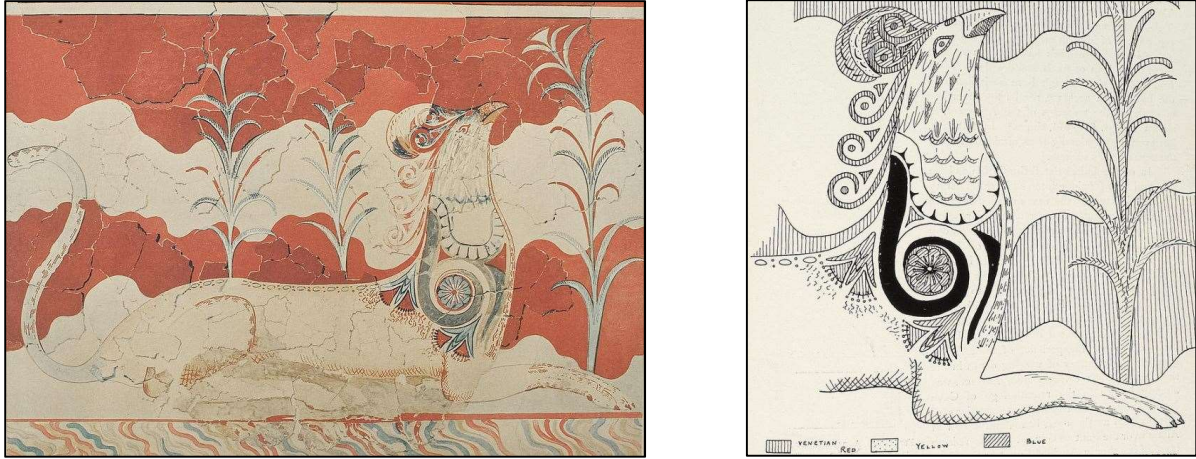


FIG. 15: RECUMBENT GRIFFIN (DETAIL CAT.NR. AEG. 6), CA. 1450 BC, MURAL KNOSSOS PALACE, THRONE ROOM.

The last six images of griffins from the Aegean, are also very interesting. Four of them were discovered in the Throne Room in Knossos (Fig. 15; Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 6, 25), the fifth and sixth one in buildings in Thera (Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 16-17). The hunting griffin from Thera (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 16) is winged, and full of action while it shoots through the (egyptianizing) landscape in pursuit of some game (cf. 12.3. Hunting Griffin)²⁴⁵. The other griffin in Akrotiri (Cat.Nr Aeg. 17), found in building Xeste 3, stands behind a goddess connected to the (ritual) act of crocus- (and thus saffron-) gathering, a ritual most probably connected to initiation rites (cf. 7. The Sphinx in the Aegean: 7.2. 1600-800 BC)²⁴⁶. Marinatos (along with others) has convincingly argued that this mural, together with the other murals that accompany it, are part of a complex religious iconological scheme, most probably connected to initiation rites and coming of age²⁴⁷.

²⁴⁵ Watrous 1991: 297.

²⁴⁶ For more information about the decoration of clothing with crocuses: Rehak 2001; Rehak 2001: 5; Rehak 2004.

²⁴⁷ Marinatos 1985; Hallager and Hallager 1995: 547; Laffineur 2001: 388-389; Nugent 2005: 9-12; Zouzoula 2007: 201-202, 275.

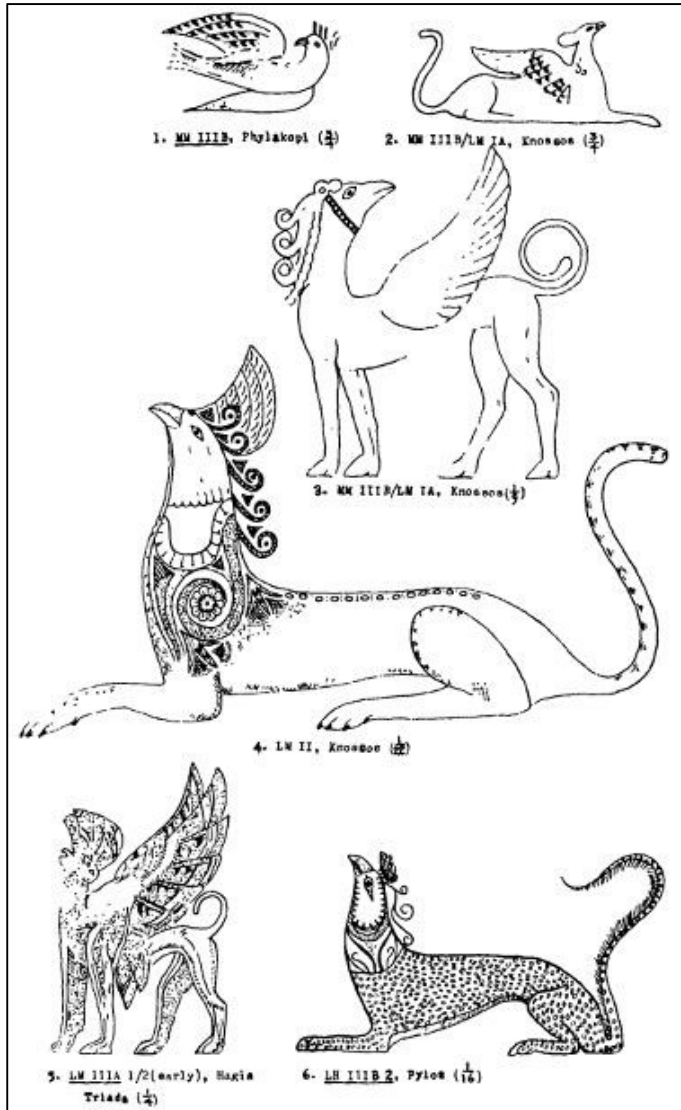


FIG. 16: MINOAN AND MYCENAEAN GRIFFINS ON FRESCOS.

1. Griffin, Skirt Motif, Phylakopi, MM IIIB
2. Griffin, Skirt Motif, Knossos, MM IIIB/LM IA
3. Griffin, Fresco, Knossos, MM IIIB/LM IA
4. Griffin, Fresco Throne Room, Knossos, LM II
5. Griffin, Larnax, Hagia Triada, LM II
6. Griffin, Hall 46, Pylos, LH III B

Cameron believes the griffin tied with a leash to a column in Knossos (Fig. 16 nr. 3; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 18) has a more dog-like body, while he sees "power and grandeur" in the griffins from the Throne room in Knossos (Fig. 16 nr. 4; Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 6, 25)²⁴⁸. He thinks these griffins are creatures one can believe in, as are those from the Hagia Triada larnax, who, despite also having the dog-like body, look as if they can pull a chariot with two occupants (Fig. 16 nr. 5; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 26). The griffin of Pylos (Fig. 16 nr. 6), on the other hand, for him, is only a two-dimensional image of an exotic and therefore decorative and unbelievable creature, also with dog-like body: it is depicted without wings and with the spots of a leopard on its body.

The pairs of griffins found in Knossos, are also wingless, and yet lie statically, almost majestically, next to respectively a throne, and a door to a shrine (cf. 7. The Sphinx in the Aegean – 7.2. 1600-800 BC); therefore, Evans considers them to be the central religious

²⁴⁸ Cameron 1976: 494-497.

features of the room²⁴⁹. Recently, a reconstruction of the throne room in Avaris has been made, dating from the 15th cent. BC, that appears to be almost a replica of the throne room in Knossos, which dates from the same period (cf. Fig. 79; 7. The Sphinx in the Aegean: 7.2. 1600-800 BC)²⁵⁰.

A remarkable similar griffin to the one in the Throne room in Knossos, and from an even earlier date (17th or 16th C BC), has been found in Turkey, Alalakh (Tell Atchana) (Fig. 17). The main difference with the griffin from Knossos is that the Turkish one is winged, the reason of which is yet unknown. The griffin was found among other Minoan influenced frescoes, e.g. a bull's head and a double axe²⁵¹.

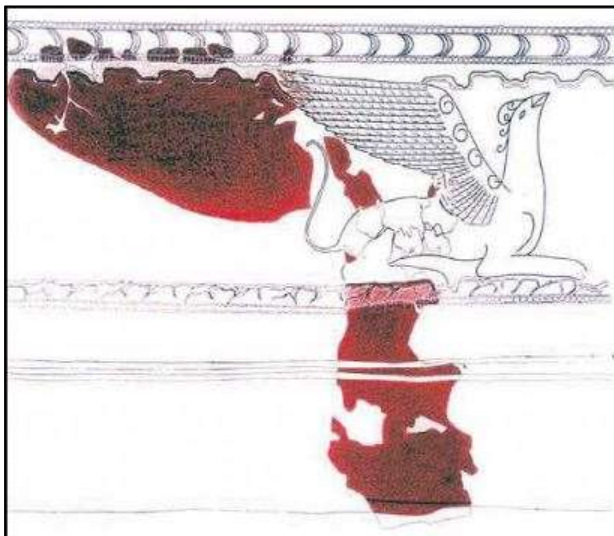


FIG. 17: RECONSTRUCTED GRIFFIN, 17th-16th cent. BC, TURKEY, ALALAKH.

The griffins in the Throne room of Knossos (and the other griffins found in the Palace), could be related to the Minoan goddess (according to Evans and in strong contrast with Furtwängler; cf. supra)²⁵². For Evans, e.g. the griffins tied to a column depicted on a mural in the same palace, represent the goddess in her aniconic shape (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 18) and assist or even replace her in rituals related to the passing of the deceased into the Elysian Fields²⁵³. This last thesis

²⁴⁹ Evans 1921: 4; Evans 1935b: 910.

²⁵⁰ Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: 131.

²⁵¹ Cline and Yassur-Landau 2013: 41-42.

²⁵² Furtwängler 1884-1890b: 1767-1768; Evans 1899/1900: 35-42; Evans 1928b: 785-786; Hood 2005: 65; Zouzoula 2007: 271-272.

For some detailed information on Minoan thrones: Rehak 1995b: 97-99.

For more information about the Minoan Goddess: Watrous 1991:295-296; Marinatos 2007a.

For an in-depth study of Minoan frescoes, although perhaps slightly out-dated: Cameron 1976.

²⁵³ Evans 1930: 154; Evans 1935b: 412; Marinatos 2009: 23.

Aniconism is "a religious practice where a divine representational image as the focal cultic symbol is lacking": Hitchcock 2010: 107.

Evans bases on his study of the iconography of the so-called Ring of Nestor, who, in the opinion of many scholars, has proven to be a fraud²⁵⁴.

Yet, if the restauration by Papageorgiou of the fresco in the Shrine of the Frescoes in Mycenae is correct (Fig. 18), Evans' hypothesis that the griffin is associated with a goddess, although perhaps not specifically the Minoan one, could be true.

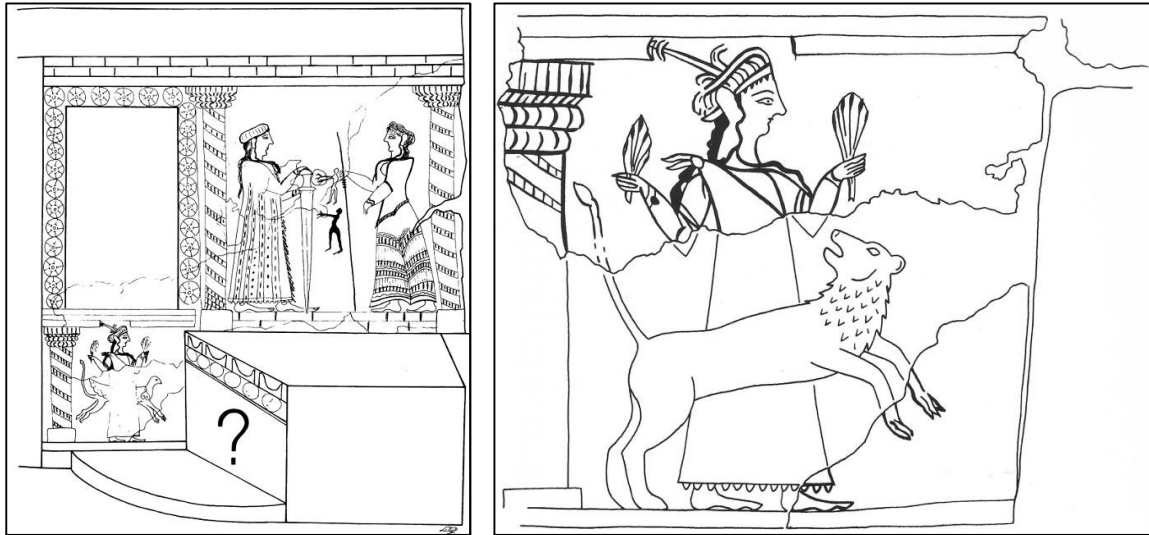


FIG. 18 A: RECONSTRUCTION DRAWING BY PAPAGEORGIOU OF THE FRESCOES INSIDE THE SHRINE OF THE FRESCOES, MYCENAE, 13th cent. BC.

FIG. 18 B: RECONSTRUCTION DRAWING BY REHAK OF THE FRESCOES INSIDE THE SHRINE OF THE FRESCOES, MYCENAE, 13th cent. BC.

Before the platform stands a female figure, with both her hands raised in which she holds acorns of corn²⁵⁵. At first glance, this figure represents a priestess or adorant who comes to offer grain. But behind her were found some fragments of an animal, e.g. a leonine tail and two paws with claws. These most probably belong to either a lion, as reconstructed by Rehak 1992 (based on the yellow colour of the remains; Fig. 18 B), or a griffin, as reconstructed by Papageorgiou (Fig. 18 A), and this rather complicates the identification of the female figure, because both creatures usually identify a goddess and suggest power and prestige. Morgan suggests that the female figure is a *"permanent reminder of the bringing of offerings – in this case grain – as well as a manifestation of the goddess associated with the griffin. She is life-giving, holding grain"*²⁵⁶.

²⁵⁴ It is now almost certain the ring of Nestor is not authentic (e.g. Marinatos et Al. 2011).

²⁵⁵ Laffineur 2001: 389-390; Morgan 2005b: 168; Chapin 2014: 45-48 + fig. 1.27.

For a more detailed analysis of the female figure and of the animal accompanying her: Rehak 1992: 50-57.

For an analysis of the complete scene: Rehak 1992.

²⁵⁶ Morgan 2005b: 168.

Evans saw a direct relation between Egyptian and Minoan griffins, and argued that the latter are heavily indebted to Egyptian prototypes (Fig. 19), contrarily to Crowley, who sees a heavy influence by Mitannian iconography²⁵⁷. Evans then stresses the importance of the fact that griffins have the head of a hawk, because of course this bird for the Egyptians was the embodiment of the sun; Figures 20 E-F suggest this relation by the markings around the eyes of the bird. The Minoans, however, changed these markings that suggested radiating lines immediately into attractive spirals falling over neck and shoulders (e.g. Fig. 19 J).

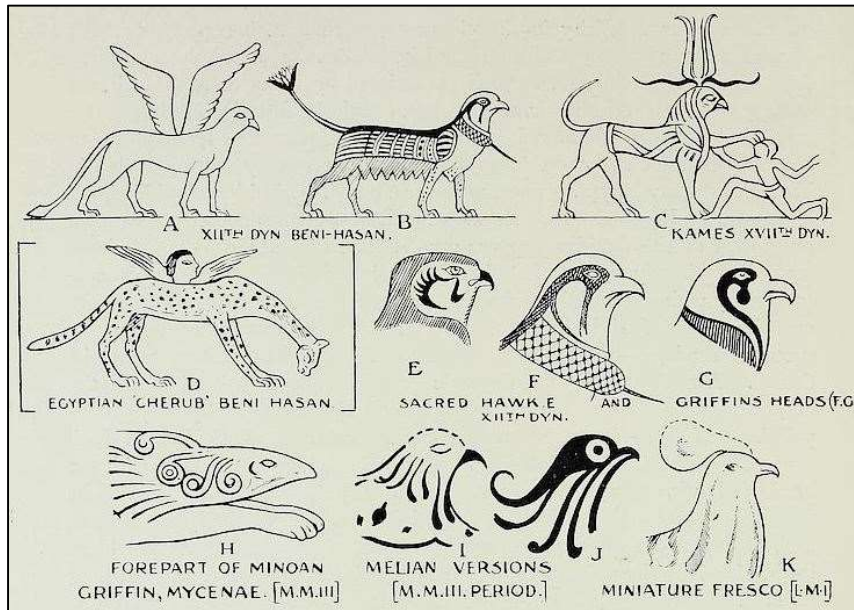


FIG. 19: EGYPTIAN GRIFFINS AND MINOAN DERIVATIVES.

Zouzoula argues that the griffin might have been taken over from both sources, but sees an immediate change in the iconography of the hybrid creature, as is attested on two seals from the MM IIB Phaistos Sealing Deposit depicting the first Minoan griffins (Fig. 20)²⁵⁸.



FIG. 20 A & B: FIRST MINOAN GRIFFINS, MIDDLE MINOAN IIB, SEALS, PHAISTOS SEALING DEPOSIT.

Evans calls the creatures (labelled *Seref* and *Saha*) found in the Twelfth Dynasty Tombs in Beni Hasan the prototypes for the later Aegean griffins (Figs. 19 A-B); they both have hawk heads and a tail ending in a lotus-flower, but, while the first one (Fig. 19 A) has a male lion-body, the

²⁵⁷ Evans 1921: 709-711; Crowley 1989: 182.

²⁵⁸ Zouzoula 2007: 97-98; Morgan 2010a: 310.

other one has the body of a lioness (Fig. 19 B; cf. Fig. 59)²⁵⁹. He then pronounces the female one (Fig. 19 B) the most dangerous because it, "*being a female, threatened to produce other monsters as horrid as itself, with a facility unknown to other hybrids*". Evans appoints them a guarding function and sees in them also an image of the king (as in Fig. 19 C where the griffin attacks an enemy); he also supports the hypothesis that the name *Seref* (and the attributes it is surrounded with) could point to a relation with the Hebrew *Seraphim* (serpents or a type of angels) and the *Cherubim* (Fig. 19 D; probably originally a form of *Lamassu* – cf. 4. The Sphinx in Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant), who both have a guarding and serving function²⁶⁰.

For Evans – and other scholars have the same idea – the Minoan griffin was characterised by the characteristic spirals (Figs. 19 H-I), the crest on the head (Fig. 19 K), the fact that the creature had an eagle's head instead of that of a hawk (Fig. 19 G), and notchings on the feathers of its wings (cf. 7. The Sphinx in the Aegean – 7.2. 1600-800 BC; Fig. 45; Cat.Nr. Eg. 4)²⁶¹. The eyes of the eagle gave it a piercing vision.

But, of course, there were exceptions. One of these can be seen on a sword inscribed with the name of Kamose, a pharaoh of the Twelfth Dynasty, where the griffin, slaying an enemy, has indeed the head of a hawk (Fig. 19 C)²⁶². Here, still according to Evans, the creature impersonates Montu, the falcon-god of war, and wears an elaborate crown with ibis-feathers on horns; the feathers define the wearer as the *ka* of the king²⁶³. In later periods (LM) the crest on the heads evolved into peacock plumes (e.g. Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 5, 7, 25).

Like Evans, and contrary to the view of the classical authors, Cameron, Morgan and Westenholz see the Greek griffin in a purely positive role, namely as protector of young warriors²⁶⁴. For Zouzoula, the main function of the Aegean griffin lies in guarding "doorways", both real and symbolic ones, e.g. at the transition from childhood to adulthood, or at the passage of the soul from this life to the next, or at the epiphany of the absent goddess.

Morgan further claims that the general function of the griffin consisted of two aspects: it functioned as a predator or as a protector²⁶⁵. Both aspects appear in Thera (West House and

²⁵⁹ Evans 1921: 709-710.

²⁶⁰ This theory is however outdated: Lemaire 2014.

²⁶¹ Evans 1921: 549-550, 712; Evans 1928b: 785-786; Cameron 1976: 108.

Cf. 12.2. Axe Ahmoses I.

²⁶² Evans 1921: 712-713.; Morgan 2010a: 304, 317.

²⁶³ For the meaning of the *ka* of a person: 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs.

²⁶⁴ Cameron 1976: 108; Morgan 1988: 53; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 36; Zouzoula 2007: 276.

²⁶⁵ Morgan 2005b: 168, 170; Morgan 2010a: 313.

For more information about (the griffin in) hunting scenes: Morgan 2010: 314-321; cf. 9.3. Hunting Griffin.

Xeste 3: Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 16-17), and they are complementary: "*It is the most powerful who is ablest to protect*"²⁶⁶."

Morgan summarizes the function of griffins as follows: it guards divinities, it is related to royals and has solar associations, and it is connected to pillars and chariots²⁶⁷. This summary makes it clear that griffins could play an important role in both political and religious contexts; which is the reason they, when demonstrating this important role, have been taken up in this research.

²⁶⁶ For more information on griffins in Post-Minoan art: Reed 1976.

²⁶⁷ Morgan 2010a: 313.

3.2.3.2 RAM-SPHINXES

In Egypt, the ram was regarded as a symbol of fertility, together with the bull, and was worshipped as such in e.g. Elephantine²⁶⁸. The local Theban fertility-god Amun ("the hidden one") who later was united with the sun-god Ra could appear as a ram (Fig. 21); the creator-god Khnum ("the father of fathers, the mother of mothers") who moulded gods and people on a potter's wheel was depicted as a man with a ram's head (Fig. 22)²⁶⁹.

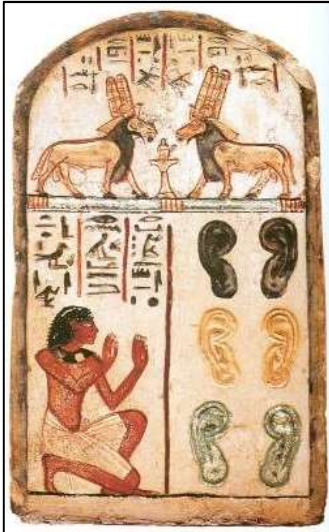


FIG. 21: STELE OF BAY, DEDICATED TO AMUN, NEW KINGDOM, 19TH-20TH DYN., LIMESTONE, 24,5 CM, DEIR EL-MEDINA, HATHOR-TEMPLE.



FIG. 22: KHNUM, FIGURE, LATE PERIOD, CA. 660-330 BC, BRONZE, 13 X 3,5 X 4,8 CM, LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, EA11040.










In Egyptian art, one must distinguish between two types of rams; the one with the horns stretching out horizontally depicts images connected with the solar aspect of the ram, or the earlier ram gods such as Khnum. The ram that represents Amun has down-curved horns.

²⁶⁸ Eberhard 1975a; Te Velde 1975: 982; Lurker 1996: 25-26, 74, 99-100; Wilkinson 1996: 61; Owusu 1999: 53, 67, 291.

An example of Khnum moulding a goddess can be seen in the Temple complex in Dendera:

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:DendaraMamisiKhnum-10.jpg>

²⁶⁹ Eberhard 1975a; Eberhard 1975c: 950-954; Lurker 1996: 25-26, 65, 74, 100; Owusu 1999: 53, 67, 103.

STF XII - RAM-SPHINXES			
SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	EGYPT	ANATOLIA	AEGEAN
	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 60 15th-14th cent. BC</p>		
	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 77 13th cent. BC</p>		
	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 82 13th-12th cent. BC</p>		
 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 31 9th cent. BC</p>	 <p>St.M. Nr. Eg. 32 9th-4th cent. BC</p>		
 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 42 9th-8th cent. BC</p>	 <p>St.M. Nr. Eg. 36 8th cent. BC</p>		
 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 44 9th-8th cent. BC</p>	 <p>St.M. Nr. Eg. 47 7th-4th cent. BC</p>		

Although three images with ram-sphinxes have been found in Syro-Mesopotamia, all of them dating to the 9th or 8th cent. BC, two of them are depicted on what could be called "egyptianizing" images and belong to the hoard of ivory plaques found in Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud (Iraq). The only thing that speaks against an Egyptian origin of these images is the fact that all these ram-sphinxes are winged, while the creature is never winged in Egypt.

The first image, found in Arslan Tash, Syria, is an exception as it shows a pair of winged ram-sphinxes, with downward-curved horns, guarding a typical Syro-Mesopotamian symbol, namely a Sacred Tree (Cat.Nr. Mes. 31). One of the two pictures found in Fort Shalmaneser shows a single ram-sphinx striding through a lotus flower-field (Cat.Nr. Mes. 42). The last image shows two recumbent ram-sphinxes with human hands and arms which they hold in a worshipping pose. Above each sphinx there is a lotus-flower (Cat.Nr. Mes. 44).

In Egypt, a total of six ram-sphinxes has been found, of which one is rather unique (St.M. Nr. Eg. 32). On a stamp-seal, found in the temple of Amun-Ra in Menroe (Sudan), a ram-headed sphinx, wearing an Egyptian wig topped with a sun-disc and a *Uraeus* (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs), is lying next to a crocodile (cf. 3.1. Composite Creatures – 3.1.2.1.). This last animal, although sometimes seen as connected to Seth, and therefore an enemy of the gods, was also thought to have a special reference for the sun-god (e.g. when it was basking in the sun). Therefore, it seems proper that the Amun-Ra god of Meroe was closely associated with a crocodile, which explains this image completely.

The oldest ram-sphinx is in fact only a fragment (15th-14th cent. BC) of a colossal statue (namely the head; Cat.Nr. Eg. 60) that probably originally was placed in the Temple of Mut in Karnak. During the Middle Kingdom, when Thebes became the capital of the land, the city-god Amun became the most important of the national gods and had got Mut, a mother-goddess and the Lady of the Earth, as his wife. It would have been only fitting then that her husband was represented in her temple. The second instance where ram-sphinxes appear is in a Dromos next to the road to the Amun-temple in Karnak (Cat.Nr. Eg. 77). The ram-sphinxes shown here are an appearance of the god Amun-Ra and are there to give protection both to the temple and to the pharaoh (Amenhotep III), who is represented by a small figurine standing between the front paws of each ram-sphinx. The next criosphinx, dating from the 13th or 12th cent. BC, is shown on a scarab that was probably used as an amulet (Cat.Nr. Eg. 82). In front of this ram-sphinx, wearing an elaborate crown, is depicted a *Maat*-feather, while a sun-disc is shown in the background (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs). The wearer of the

amulet thought that these depictions not only guaranteed him the protection of the gods Ra and Amun, but that it would also bring truth and order into his life.

From the tomb of king Piankhy in Sudan (Nubia) and dating to the 8th cent. BC, comes a pendant with a seated ram-headed sphinx on top of what appears to be a column (or pillar? Djed-pillar: cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs). Most probable this pendant (St.M. Nr. Eg. 36) was worn as an amulet that could protect the owner against evil.

The last ram-headed sphinx dates from the 7th till 4th cent. BC (St.M. Nr. Eg. 47). This small figurine (5,8 x 8,2 cm) shows a ram-sphinx wearing again the sun-disc topped with *Uraeus* (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs) and is thus without a doubt a representation of the god Amun-Ra.

In all, it can be stated that Egyptian ram-sphnxes, contrary to their human-headed counterparts, never depicted the pharaoh²⁷⁰.

²⁷⁰ Roeder 1909: 1302.

3.2.3.3 BULL-SPHINXES

In **Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant**, the bull was usually regarded as the animal of a weather-deity, e.g. Adad, and, more specifically, from the Old Babylonian Period onwards (ca. 2000-1600 BC), of the storm-god²⁷¹. It was, however, also related to the moon-god Nanna, who was referred to in his nightly form as the "Young Bull of Heaven". Bull-sphinxes often wear a divine crown. Because the bull was a strong symbol of fertility, it appeared already in the iconography of the 7th mill. BC.



FIG. 23: BULL-MAN (DETAIL SEAL), DRAWING.

The raised striding bull-man (Sum.: *gud-alim*; Akk. *kusarikku*), who appears in Syro-Mesopotamian art as early as the first half of the 3rd mill. BC, has a human torso and a human head with bull-horns and -ears, and the lower body part of a bull²⁷². While, however, there was used only one term for both the bull-man and the wild bison, scholars now believe, the bull-man in fact consists of, not the lower part of a bull, but that of a bison. The correct term for it then should be bison-man, but the more general known bull-man will be used hereafter. While the bison lived not in Syro-Mesopotamia itself, but in the mountainous regions to the east of it, it got associated with the Sun-god who shows himself every morning on the eastern horizon²⁷³. That the bull-man had a protective function is already attested in the 3rd mill. BC, when it was depicted in the temple of Enlil – who was sometimes described as "wild bull" -, together with other fantastic creatures, to ward off evil²⁷⁴. And although in literary texts the hybrid is described as both malevolent and beneficent, the protective function was its most important

²⁷¹ Ward 1910: 409 nr. 32; Karageorghis 1971: 261; Demisch 1977: 223; Mazar 1982: 32; Black and Green 1992: 40, 47, Ben-Shlomo 2010: 181.

Example of a Winged Bull: Cat.Nr. Mes. 14.

For detailed information about the bull-motif, not only in Mesopotamia and the Levant, but also in Egypt and Anatolia: Van Dijk 2011.

²⁷² Ward 1910: 414; Black and Green 1992: 49; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 26-27; Westenholz 2004b: 13, 15; Porter 2015: 242, 245-246.

²⁷³ Black and Green 1992: 49; Westenholz 2004b: 13, 15.

²⁷⁴ Black and Green 1992: 49, 76, 82; Porter 2015: 245-246.

one. In ritual texts, one of the described ways to protect the inhabitants of a house from all kinds of evil was to bury small figurines of bull-men on both sides of the gates; to give these figurines even more power, there could be an inscription written on them: "go out death, enter life"²⁷⁵.

In the late 2nd mill. BC the bull-man got to his final stage of development and became a minor god himself when he received the title: "Bull-the-Son-of-the-Sun-God"²⁷⁶. His bull-horns were transformed into the divine horned head-dress. Because of this relation, he was often depicted supporting the sun-disc.

The guarding function at gates was also taken up by bull-sphinxes, who appeared in abundant numbers in the Neo-Assyrian period (9th cent. BC). More than 120 statues of gate-guards are already found and most of them represent bull-sphinxes, with bearded (Assyrian) human-heads and the big wings of a bird of prey, often wearing a horned cap or crown, known to be a symbol of a god²⁷⁷. This type of sphinx differs greatly from previous depictions of sphinxes, not only by its composition (bull- instead of lion-body), but also because of its size and scale and because it is part of the architecture, just like the sphinxes that can be seen on reliefs²⁷⁸. The winged bull-sphinxes are always shown flanking gates or entrances to palaces and temples. That they have a strong guarding and protective function is attested on Cylinder A of the Esarhaddon inscriptions:

- "40. ...and I hung at its gates.
 Bull-divinities and colossi of stone
 which, according to their position,
 turn the breast of the enemy,
 which protect the path, render inviolable
 45. *the way of the king, their builder,*
 to the right and left I caused them to take
 *their positions*²⁷⁹."

Perhaps these *Aladlammū* are to be considered as different from the "standard" sphinxes; the colossal winged bulls with bearded and moustached human heads and wearing horned caps (or, during the Aechemenid Period, often an indented crown like that of the king), have, however, been taken up in this investigation also because of their apotropaic, protective and assisting

²⁷⁵ Black and Green 1992: 48-49; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 26-27; Westenholz 2004b: 13, 15.

²⁷⁶ Cook 1894: 126; Wunsch 1916-1924: 940; Demisch 1977: 230; Lurker 1996: 35-36; Wilkinson 1996: 57; Owusu 1999: 289; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 27; Westenholz 2004b: 14; Wyatt 2009: 31.

²⁷⁷ Unger 1928: 339; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 36; Ritter 2011: 67-68; Van Dijk 2011: 249-250.

²⁷⁸ E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 105: Man, with Sphinx, Scorpion-man and Lion.

²⁷⁹ Harper 1893. Esarhaddon was an Assyrian king who ruled from ca. 681 till about 669 BC.

function (Cat.Nr. Mes. 21, St.M. Nrs. Mes. 38, 67; in this function, they can be compared to the *Lamassu*, the protective female creatures (e.g. Cat.Nrs. Mes. 22-23)²⁸⁰.

One pair of *Aladlammū* is composed of parts of four different creatures: bull, bird, man and fish (fish scales on belly, breast and neck, ending in a fish-head that is part of the head-dress of the creature)²⁸¹. The scales could possibly refer to a being that is known as the Fish-garbed figure (*Apkallū*), who also stood at doorways in Assyrian palaces and temples to magically protect the building and its inhabitants against all kinds of evil²⁸². Through his connection with Enki, the water-god, the fish probably also symbolized wisdom and was generally regarded as a sign of beneficence.

In the 4-elements sphinx the powers of earth, sky, mountain and sea come together, and probably are a reference to the creatures of the water and the land that were thought to bring chaos and threaten the divine order. In Syro-Mesopotamian mythology these creatures worked separately (e.g. Scorpion-man, Fish-man, Bull-man) and were part of the army of Tiamat that was conquered by the god Mardok. He didn't destroy the power of these creatures however, but put them to its own use, e.g. as gate-guards (Gate of Apsu).

CAVEAT

The difference between a human-headed bull (e.g. St.M. Nrs. Mes. 1, 21, 22) and a bull-sphinx is not clear, although there are some authors who make this difference (Fig. 24 B)²⁸³. Demisch e.g. states that one can only speak of a bull-sphinx if the human-headed bull is wearing a sort of crown (horned crown or cap), as is the case in Fig. 24 A. For him, this crowned bull-sphinx probably represents the ruler as a creature that is closely related to the gods but on the meaning of the non-crowned human-headed bulls, as depicted on Fig. 24 B, he does not elaborate his

²⁸⁰ Demisch 1977: 44-45; Black and Green 1992: 51, 86, 88; Ritter 2010.

Sometimes the colossal figures at the entrances of the palaces had lion-bodies in stead of those of a bull (e.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 20); the bull-bodied creatures also were taken up into the investigation because of their protective and apotropaic function that is comparable to that of some of the human-headed, lion-bodied sphinxes.

²⁸¹ Ritter 2011: 70-72.

Cat.Nr. Mes. 22: Nimrud Palace *Lamassu*.

²⁸² Black and Green 1992: 82-83.

²⁸³ Ward 1910: 409 nr. 33; Demisch 1977: 41, 43-44; Black and Green 1992: 51; Van Dijk 2011: 70; 243.

E.g. St.M. Nr. 1: Striding Bearded Sphinx with Animals and Bird-Man.

The human-headed bull also differs from the bull-man (supra), as is attested by a seal dating from the second half of the 3rd mill. BC (Akkadian Period), now in the collection of the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem (BLMJSeal 319). On this seal both a bull-man and a human-headed bull are engaged in a mythical combat-scene: Westenholz 2004a: 73. For an image of this seal: Westenholz 2004a: 73 fig. 27.

point. Fact is that the human-headed bull first appeared as an animal in need of protection (mostly from a hero), but that it soon became its opponent.

The pair of human-headed bulls on Fig. 24 B flanks a sort of plant (perhaps a Sacred Tree) and is accompanied by a bull-man on the left and a man on the right, who both, with a dagger, stab a lion-headed eagle attacking the human-headed bulls. The lower register shows grazing cattle with two deer and two birds.

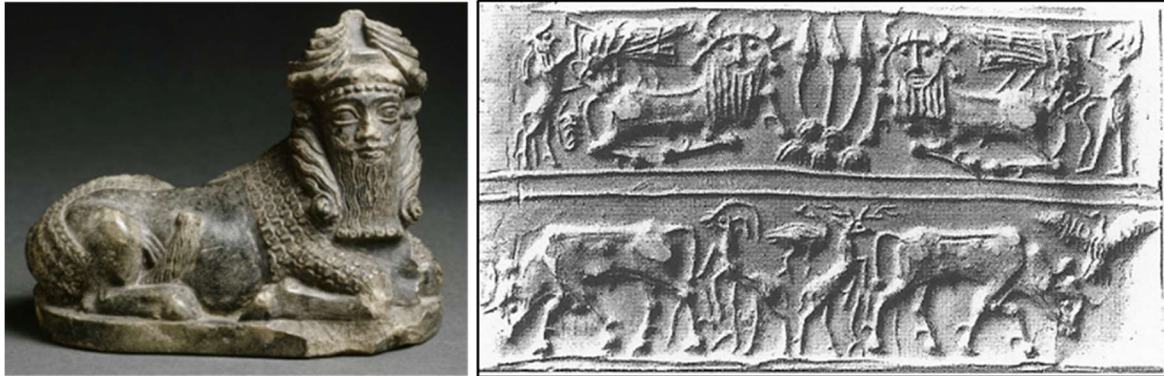


FIG. 24 A: RECUMBENT BULL WITH MAN'S HEAD

FIG. 24 B: HUMAN-HEADED BULLS FLANKING SACRED TREE.

Although there have not been found any bull-sphinxes in **Egypt** (as in Anatolia, although there has been found one bull-centaur (St.M. Nr. An. 17)), the bull was a very important animal in Egypt²⁸⁴. Both the kings and the god Amun carried the title "Bull of his Mother". Kings were also referred to by the formula "Bull of Power". In the *Pyramid Texts* (cf. 3.1.2.2. Aker), the bull is regarded as a cosmic animal that possessed the power of life and that was referred to as "The Bull of Ra". The sun and moon each are even sometimes called the "Bull of Heaven". Therefore, bull cults were very popular. During the New Kingdom, many pharaohs bore epithets such as "Strong Bull of Horus" or "Mighty Bull", but rarely, or never, in this later period the king is depicted as a bull²⁸⁵. By this time, it seems the lion has replaced the bovine. In earlier periods, however, this was the case, as can be seen on the Predynastic *Narmer Palette*, where, on the lower region of the backside a raging bull, depicting the king, is attacking an enemy (Fig. 25)²⁸⁶.

²⁸⁴ Ben-Shlomo 2010: 181-182; Van Dijk 2011: 22-26, 57, 96-98, 122-125, 149, 153-157, 217-220, 232-235.

²⁸⁵ Van Dijk 2011: 105; Hendrickx, De Meyer and Eyckerman 2014: 131.

For more information about the relation between king and bull: Van Dijk 2011: 96-106; Hendrickx, De Meyer and Eyckerman 2014: 136-137.

²⁸⁶ Van Dijk 2011: 97-98; Allan 2014: 55, 61.

For more information on the iconography of the Narmer Palette: Allan 2014.



FIG. 25: NARMER PALETTE (BACKSIDE DETAIL), PREDYNASTIC, CA. 31ST CENT. BC, SILTSTONE, 64 X 42 CM, CAIRO, EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, CG 14716.

As said before, only one winged bull-centaur was found in **Anatolia** and bull-sphinxes were completely absent. Yet, the bull was certainly important in Neolithic Anatolia, as the murals with bulls and the bucrania on the walls of many buildings in Chatal Hüyük attest. However, because of the lack of bull-sphinxes, there is no need here to go further into the importance of the bulls in Anatolian culture²⁸⁷.

In the earliest periods in the **Aegean**, bulls were regarded as river-gods²⁸⁸. After a while, these bulls were given a human-head, with which they became a bull-sphinx. Finally, these were given a human-body. Eventually, all that was left of the animal were only the horns. Thus, first there was an animal, then an animal-demon or -god with animal features, and finally there was a complete humanized god.

That the bull was an animal with a specific symbolic meaning in Minoan society, may be attested by the abundant numbers of bull-figurines, bull-heads, and bull-leaping scenes etc. found in the Minoan palace of Knossos and by the fact that tribute bearers from Keftiu (Crete) are depicted bringing bull-rhytons and bull-figurines to the Egyptian elites (as shown on reliefs and murals in their tombs; cf. Fig. 84)²⁸⁹. In general, bulls were symbols of power, social and

²⁸⁷ For more information about the bull in Anatolia: Van Dijk 2011: 12-17, 50-53, 87-89, 108, 112-114, 144-148, 165-170, 201-202, 213-214, 236-237.

²⁸⁸ Cook 1894: 126.

²⁸⁹ Evans 1928b: 738 fig. 471 + 746 fig. 482.

Examples in the Catalogue and Study Material: Bull: ST.M. Nrs. Aeg. 22, 40, 53, 94; Bull-sphinx: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 14, St.M. Nr. Aeg. 121.

For more information about the bull in Minoan rituals: Cameron 1976: 148-155; Younger 1983; Younger 1995b.

For more information about bull-leaping and bull-games: Evans 1930: 203-232; Tamvaki 1974: 277-282; Younger 1976; Younger 1983; Marinatos 1993: 218-220; Younger 1995b, Van Dijk 2011: 223-228.

For another example of a mural depicting the bringing of a bull-rhyton to the Egyptian elite: Aruz, Benzel and Evans 2008: 273 fig. 87.

For more information about the image of the bull used in political propaganda: Hallager and Hallager 1995.

Matić argues strongly against the identification of Keftiu with Minoans: Matić 2015.

political, and of fertility²⁹⁰. In Cyprus, they were depicted already in the 3rd mill. BC, in Minoan Crete they saw their height of popularity especially during the 2nd mill. BC. It was Evans who as one of the first saw the bull as a religious animal, closely related to the Minoan goddess; the bull-leaping then would be a ritual in honour of this goddess²⁹¹.



FIG. 26 A: BULL-HEAD RHYTON, CA. 1600-1500 BC, SILVER, GOLD, AEGEAN, GREECE, MYCENAE, GRAVE CIRCLE A, GRAVE IV, ATHENS, NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM.

FIG. 26 B: BULL-HEAD RHYTON, CA. 1550-1450 BC, STEATITE, SHELL, RED JASPER, ROCK CRYSTAL, 30,6 CM (WITHOUT HORNS), AEGEAN, CRETE, KNOSSOS, HERAKLION MUSEUM.

Although the bull often appears in Greek art, many of these images are purely pastoral and lack any symbolism whatsoever. Next to this, however, the bull also was a very common "animal of ritual"²⁹². But there are many exceptions that seem to point to the existence of a religious reverence for the animal, dating probably to as early a period as the Prepalatial (ca. 3000-1900 BC): e.g. seals with bull-worshippers and bucrania, e.g. so-called Horns of Consecration placed in shrines and on roofs of buildings and tombs (and more specifically on larnakes: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 26), e.g. the famous bull-head rhyton found by Schliemann in Mycenae or the one discovered by Evans in Knossos: (Fig. 26)²⁹³.

The bull-leaping contests, attested by many depictions in Minoan culture, could possibly be a preamble to the sacrifice of the bull, and it seems that the introduction of the motif of the bull-man coincided with the first bull-sacrifices²⁹⁴. The violent Minotaur is the offspring of the bull that Poseidon sent out to help king Minos and Pasiphae (daughter of Helios, the Sun); this Bull-man has a bovine-head and upper-body combined with a human lower-body (e.g. St.M. Nr.

²⁹⁰ Evans 1928b: 649; Karageorghis 1971: 261; Cameron 1976: 90, 149; Hallager and Hallager 1995; Ben-Shlomo 2010: 181-182.

²⁹¹ For more information about the relation between the Minoan goddess and the bull(-leaping sport) according to Evans: Evans 1935a: 19-47.

²⁹² Blakolmer 2016: 63.

²⁹³ Cook 1894: 121; Watrous 1991: 293; Zouzoula 2007: 75.

For the rosette between the Mycenaean bull's horns: 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs.

For more information on 'The Cult of the Bull' in the Mycenaean period: Cook 1894: 120-132.

²⁹⁴ Rehak and Younger 2001: 437; Zouzoula 2007: 285.

Aeg. 123), which makes him very different from the Oriental bull-man (who has an upright bovine lower-body combined with human-arms and –head; cf. Fig. 27)²⁹⁵.



FIG. 27: THESEUS KILLING THE MINOTAUR (DETAIL ST.M. NR. AEG. 123).

Yet, Malten sees an oriental origin of the bull-man and thinks it must be regarded as a monstrous figure, while Westenholz thinks the Minotaur is the analogue of the Near Eastern bull-man²⁹⁶. Malten also believes the bull-man evolved from a bull that in early days represented a sort of sun-god, but had lost this connection during time. Some scholars, however, believe the bull-man of the Minoans to be only a man wearing a mask; if this is the case, it is clear the Minoans hoped hereby to appropriate some of the powers of the animal to use them in rituals²⁹⁷. By putting on the masks, they became entities that mediated between the humans and the gods. Or, as Karageorghis puts it:











"The idea of entering into a direct association with the god by putting on the divine image led to the invention of masks which were worn during religious rituals²⁹⁸."

²⁹⁵ Cook 1894: 124; Buxton 1994: 205; Zouzoula 2007: 20, 75-76.

²⁹⁶ Malten 1928: 135; Karageorghis 1971: 261; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 27.

²⁹⁷ Rehak and Younger 2001: 437.

²⁹⁸ Karageorghis 1971: 261.

STF XIII - BULL-SPHINXES			
SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	EGYPT	ANATOLIA	AEGEAN
 <p>St.M. Nr. Mes. 22 18th cent. BC</p>			 <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 14 13th cent. BC</p>
 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 106 10th-7th cent. BC</p>			
 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 21 9th cent. BC</p>			
 <p>St.M. Nr. Mes. 34 8th cent. BC</p>			
 <p>St.M. Nr. Mes. 38 8th cent. BC</p>		 <p>St.M. Nr. An. 17 8th-7th cent. BC (Winged Bull-Centaur)</p>	
 <p>St.M. Nr. Mes. 66 6th-4th cent. BC</p>			 <p>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 121 6th-5th cent. BC</p>
 <p>St.M. Nr. Mes. 67 6th-4th cent. BC</p>			

In the Aegean, bull-sphinxes are rare; only two images have been found, of which one seems to be a copy of a Syro-Mesopotamian bull-sphinx on a ring dating from the 6th-4th cent. BC and part of the so-called Oxus-treasure²⁹⁹. Both bull-sphinxes are unmistakably Persian (typical "Persian" heads), are winged and are wearing a crown. The oldest Aegean bull-sphinxes date from the 13th cent. BC and are shown as a pair on a vase, flanking a Sacred Tree (a typical Syro-Mesopotamian motif; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 14). It seems both Aegean images of bull-sphinxes are heavily influenced by Syro-Mesopotamian iconography.

In Anatolia, bull-sphinxes are non-existent, but one image of a winged bull-centaur has been found (St.M. Nr. An. 17). This probably was part of a throne. The next drawing is an attempt by Barnett to reconstruct what he thinks a divine throne of which the bull-centaur would have been part (Fig. 28)³⁰⁰. Remarkable is the fact that Barnett considers the decorations of the bull-centaurs and griffin on the throne as relatively unimportant. This is the reason he placed them in a register below the gods standing on a bull.

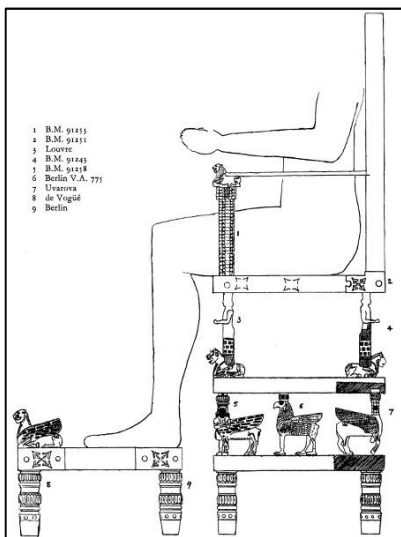


FIG. 28: WINGED BULL-CENTAUR (ST.M. NR. AN. 17) AS DECORATION ON THRONE (RECONSTRUCTION BY R.D. BARNETT).

The image of a Syro-Mesopotamian bull-sphinx dating from the 10th-7th cent. BC is interesting (Cat.Nr. Mes. 106). A male god, with Ishtar standing behind him, tries to hold a winged bull-sphinx down by its horns, while a hero stands with one foot on the back of the creature. Above the bull-sphinx fly a bird and another creature (griffin-like) in the sky. This image might refer to the fact that some researchers believe that the bearded and crowned bull-sphinx that is mostly

²⁹⁹ The Oxus-treasure consists of ca. 170 gold and silver objects dating to the Achaemenid Persian period, which makes it the most important surviving collection of its kind (6th cent. BC). The collection got its name from the location where it was found, namely the banks of the river Oxus in modern Tajikistan:

http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/articles/o/the_oxus_treasure.aspx.

³⁰⁰ Barnett 1950: 30-31.

known in Syro-Mesopotamia as *Lamassu* was in origin an evil and hostile creature, both towards men and gods³⁰¹. But after the gods had tamed it and got it under control, they could use its powers for themselves and e.g. use the creature as guard near entrances of palaces and temples. Therefore, the *Lamassu* is sometimes shown in hunting and fighting scenes, or with a god or a hero standing on its back. In a text with a description of the Palace of Esarhaddon (680-669 BC) in Nineveh a creature is mentioned (*Aladlammu*), which seems to have had the same function: keeping off the enemy and guard and protect the king. The next bull-sphinx that was found wears a high horned crown (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs) and was probably part of the architecture (St.M. Nr. Mes. 34), where it might have had this guarding function for which Syro-Mesopotamian bull-sphinxes are mostly known, as did the last three Syro-Mesopotamian bull-sphinxes that were taken up in this investigation (cf. supra) (Cat.Nr. Mes. 21, St.M. Nrs. Mes. 38 and 67).

³⁰¹ Unger 1927: 198; Black and Green 1992: 86, 88, 115; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 36; Ritter 2011: 69-70, 72-73.

3.2.4 HUMAN-HEADED LIONS

Although few authors make a distinction between the sphinx and the human-headed lion, I think, in some cases, there is one, at least in Mesopotamia, although it is only minimal. However, this distinction may be crucial to answer the question about the origin of the sphinx-motif. Therefore, a separate paragraph will be dedicated here to these images of human-headed lions of which there are not that many (Mesopotamia: 12; Anatolia: 1; Egypt: 2; Aegean: 5), and a second paragraph will be devoted to the motif of the Sun-god in his God-boat and his relation to the human-headed lion.

3.2.4.1 HUMAN-HEADED LIONS IN SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA

Human-headed lions are called sphinxes by Demisch and most other authors, and in the 3rd mill. BC in Mesopotamia, their type is often shown with the mythological so-called God-boat scenes in Akkadian Syro-Mesopotamia, which suggest undoubtedly the relationship that existed between this creature and the Sun(-god) (St.M. Nrs. Mes. 3, 5-11; Fig. 29).

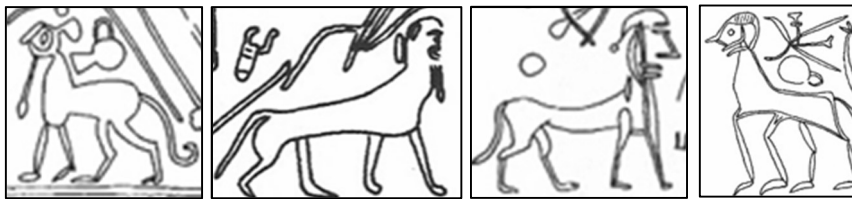


FIG. 29 A: HUMAN-HEADED LION ON SYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN CYLINDER SEAL, 24TH-21ST CENT. BC (DETAIL ST.M. NR. MES. 3).

FIG. 29 B: HUMAN-HEADED LION ON SYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN CYLINDER SEAL, 24TH-21ST CENT. BC (DETAIL ST.M. NR. MES. 5).

FIG. 29 C: HUMAN-HEADED LION ON SYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN CYLINDER SEAL, 24TH-21ST CENT. BC (DETAIL ST.M. NR. MES. 6).

FIG. 29 D: HUMAN-HEADED LION ON SYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN CYLINDER SEAL, 24TH-21ST CENT. BC (DETAIL ST.M. NR. MES. 7).



FIG. 29 E: HUMAN-HEADED LION ON SYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN CYLINDER SEAL, 24TH-21ST CENT. BC (DETAIL ST.M. NR. MES. 8).

FIG. 29 F: HUMAN-HEADED LION ON SYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN CYLINDER SEAL, 24TH-21ST CENT. BC (DETAIL ST.M. NR. MES. 9).

FIG. 29 G: HUMAN-HEADED LION ON SYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN CYLINDER SEAL, 24TH-21ST CENT. BC (DETAIL ST.M. NR. MES. 10).

FIG. 29 H: HUMAN-HEADED LION ON SYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN CYLINDER SEAL, 23RD CENT. BC (DETAIL ST.M. NR. MES. 11).

Twice, the human-headed lion appears in what also seems like a mythological context, although one at first sight not directly related to the Sun-god (Figs. 31-32). The first time occurs on a cylinder seal from the 26th-24th cent. BC divided in two registers (Fig. 30)³⁰². Two human-headed bulls lie in the top register, of which one is attacked by a lion-headed eagle (Anzû-bird), while above the back of the other bull a lion-dragon hovers (Fig. 31 A)³⁰³. Between the two bulls a mountain can be seen from which some flowers sprout. Behind one human-headed bull lies a deer. The bottom register shows (from left to right) a Bird-man holding a trident, a striding bearded human-headed lion (Fig. 31 B), and a cow or a bull attacked by a lion. The moon-crescent, some stars and a monkey playing the flute and sitting on a mountain out of which grows a tree with two trunks are the other motifs on this register. Some authors claim, however, that both these scenes, are also part of the myth of the Sun-god in his God-Boat³⁰⁴.

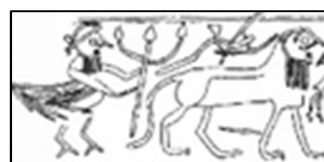


FIG. 30 A & B: STRIDING BEARDED SPHINX WITH ANIMALS AND BIRD-MAN, + DETAIL DRAWING HUMAN-HEADED LION, 26TH-24TH CENT. BC, CYLINDER SEAL IMPRESSION, LAPIS LAZULI, 3,6 X 2,3 CM, SOUTHEAST IRAQ, UR, BAGHDAD, NATIONAL MUSEUM (ST.M. NR. MES. 1).

The second seal with yet another different mythological scene (Fig. 31) again shows (in the bottom register) the Anzû-bird holding two unidentified animals by their tails³⁰⁵. In front of this group a human-headed lion is held by beard and tail by two men. The upper register depicts from right to left a relatively large man sitting upon a throne with some creature (human, animal?) standing before him, while two other men, one sitting, one standing, form a group with yet another unidentifiable creature; the sitting man seems to offer a jug to this creature. A fourth man, also sitting, restrains or holds a winged bull. Again, these scenes appear to belong to the same Shamash iconography³⁰⁶.

³⁰² Frankfort 1936/1937: 107; Amiet 1961: pl. 106 nr. 1402; Orthmann (ed.) 1975: 232, 132a; Demisch 1977: 41, 43; Zouzoula 2007: 92; Hempelmann 2004: fig. 20.

³⁰³ For more information on the human-headed bull: 3.2.3.3. Bull-Sphinxes.

³⁰⁴ See e.g. Frankfort 1934.

³⁰⁵ Amiet 1961: pl. 106, nr. 1404; Demisch 1977: 45; Hempelmann 2004: 32-33.

³⁰⁶ Again see Frankfort 1934.



FIG. 31: BEARDED SPHINX TAKEN BY BEARD AND TAIL, 24TH-21ST CENT. BC, CYLINDER SEAL IMPRESSION (DRAWING), 4,3 X 2,8 CM, SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA, PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, AO 10920 (ST.M. NR. MES. 2).

One completely different image of a human-headed lion was also found, although the identification as such a creature is somewhat uncertain. An Akkadian figurine, dating from the 23rd to the 21st cent. BC could represent a human-headed lion (Fig. 32). It is at least identified as such by Demisch in his extensive work about sphinxes of 1977 (cf. 2.2.2. Status Quaestionis) and, earlier yet, by Amiet in 1966³⁰⁷.



FIG. 32: STANDING HUMAN-HEADED LION, 23RD-21ST CENT. BC, FIGURINE, CLAY, 6 CM, IRAN, ELAM, PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE (ST.M. NR. MES. 13).

However, in this early period, one more "standard" looking sphinx was also found on an Akkadian cylinder seal, again with a depiction of the God-boat, where a human-headed, lion-bodied creature wearing a flat cap is depicted with, among other motifs, a scorpion and deer (St.M. Nr. Mes. 4; Fig. 33)³⁰⁸.



FIG. 33: SPHINX ON SYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN CYLINDER SEAL, 24TH-21ST CENT. BC (DETAIL ST.M. NR. MES. 4).

³⁰⁷ Amiet 1966: fig. 170; Demisch 1977: 41.

³⁰⁸ Hempelmann 2004: fig. 63.

3.2.4.1.1 THE HUMAN-HEADED LION AND THE SUN-GOD IN HIS BOAT

The motif of the Sun-god in his God-boat occurs on seals from the Early Dynastic onwards; it existed till the end of the Akkadian Period³⁰⁹. The Sun-god is supposed to have a direct interest in human affairs, but, next to this, he has a warrior aspect as he is the protector of right and destroyer of evil, while he is the god of truth and justice³¹⁰. The quadruped is not the only motif surrounding the Sun-god in his God-boat. Other motifs which always occur are a plough, a plant of some kind, and vessels³¹¹. Hempelmann claims that originally vessels occurred exclusively on seals with depictions of the God-boat, but that they, from the Akkadian period onwards, started to be depicted also on seals showing either scenes from the *Etana*-myth or Presentation-scenes.

Next to these constantly recurring motifs, there are some that only occur in some instances³¹². These motifs can be a goddess or another anthropomorphic figure, birds and/or Bird-man, and scorpion and/or Scorpion-man³¹³. While Amiet also talks about a Bull-man, Hempelmann mentions snakes and celestial symbols.

Amiet thinks the quadruped accompanying the Sun-god in his boat can be either a lion, a lion-monster, or a bovine³¹⁴. Hempelmann sees either a lion, a human-headed lion, a human-faced bull, or an unidentified quadruped³¹⁵. The presence of the human-headed lion (and the bull) may be explained by the early Akkadian text *ARET 5,6* that was written on tablets found both in Abu Šalābīḥ and Ebla. These tablets contain a myth of Shamash in which his nightly journey in the God-boat through the Underworld is described³¹⁶. It not only mentions a bull (*ÉRIN + X*), but also a lion (*PIRIG-TUR*), at least according to Hempelmann³¹⁷. Steinkeller thinks with bull and lion, the human-faced bull and the human-headed lion could be meant³¹⁸. Krebern timer, on the other hand, supposes that *ERIN-X* might be a kind of bull, perhaps even a mythical animal

³⁰⁹ Mayer-Opificius 2002: 371; Hempelmann 2004: 28.

More information about the God-boat: Amiet 1961: 177-178; Hempelmann 2004: 7-19. More information about the passengers on the boat: Amiet 1961: 178-179; Hempelmann 2004: 17-28.

³¹⁰ Frankfort 1955: 35-37; Black and Green 1992: 182, 184; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 27; Gräff and Ritter 2011: 57-58.

³¹¹ Frankfort 1934: 19-20; Amiet 1961: 179; Hempelmann 2004: 35-40.

³¹² Although most authors regard all motifs as belonging to the Sun-god, Amiet regards them as emblems of the God-boat: Amiet 1961: 179-181.

³¹³ Amiet 1961: 179-180; Hempelmann 2004: 40-48.

³¹⁴ Amiet 1961: 179.

³¹⁵ Hempelmann 2004: 28-35.

³¹⁶ By day Shamash travels through the sky in a chariot with four lions as draught animals, so there is no difficulty recognizing the two journeys: Mayer-Opificius 2002: 370-371; Krebern timer 2009: 603. An example of the two journeys together on a seal, albeit without the lions, can perhaps be seen on St.M. Nr. Mes. 3.

³¹⁷ Hempelmann 2004: 90.

³¹⁸ Steinkeller 1992: 258-266.

that is associated with Shamash³¹⁹. Unfortunately, however, he does not see proof of *PIRIG-TUR*, the lion.

The vessels (Figs. 29 A, D-F; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 3, 7-9, 11) are always depicted nearby the human-headed lion, in one instance (Fig. 29 G; St.M. Nr. Mes. 10), it even seems to be carrying a sort of vessel around its neck, while similar vessels are depicted in front of it³²⁰. Mayer-Opificius explains the presence of the vessels as proof that the human-headed lion was a benevolent creature that helped Shamash distribute food and drink to the inhabitants of the Netherworld³²¹. The vessels contained these life-supporting goods.

Frankfort, however, saw the human-headed lion accompanying the God-boat in a quite different role³²². He claims that the Sun-god depicted in the God-boat was in fact a combination of Sun-god with Vegetation- or Fertility-god, hence the presence of plants, or a goddess of vegetation (e.g. on St.M. Nr. Mes. 9), or a god holding an ear of corn, or a plough (e.g. on St.M. Nr. Mes. 6)³²³. The association of these two gods can easily be explained by the parallels between sunset and sunrise with the cyclical death and rebirth of the vegetation. Frankfort is stricken by the fact that these motifs in fact belong to a god of fertility instead of to a celestial god and he sees in the seals an illustration of the beginning of an incantation: "*The astral Ploughman has yoked in the Plain (of Heaven) the seed-sowing Plough*"³²⁴. Yet, the images of the combination of Sun-god and Fertility-god in the God-boat have some emblems that refer to the Sun-god himself also, more specifically to his function of victorious conqueror of evil, as he appears in the Babylonian "Epic of Creation", the *Enuma Elish*³²⁵. Frankfort sees in the human-headed lion (which always appears to be present as a sort of captive) a monster that symbolizes the chaotic powers which eternally endanger the cosmic order.

However, whether the human-headed lion is benevolent, as Mayer-Opificius believes, or is a symbol of the threatening chaotic powers, as Frankfort believes, the fact remains that this creature is connected closely to the Sun-god. Either as a companion which assisted the Sun-god, or as a captive, in which case Shamash, by conquering it, took over its power and thus

³¹⁹ Krebernik 1992: 112-113.

³²⁰ Mayer-Opificius 2002: 370; Hempelmann 2004: 35 37.

³²¹ Mayer-Opificius 2002: 370-371.

³²² Frankfort 1934: 17-20.

³²³ Frankfort 1934: 20: The combination of the Sun-god with these motifs referring to fertility does not occur in any other Akkadian seals depicting the Sun-god. These either show the Sun-god on his throne in a Presentation-scene, or, in most instances, the Sun-god rising above the eastern mountains. Thus, it seems the relation between Sun-god and Fertility-god was lost in these images.

³²⁴ Frankfort 1934: 19.

³²⁵ Frankfort 1934: 19-22.

made the creature into a sort of ally. And assisting a god, or being conquered by one and thus enhancing his powers are both roles and functions the "standard" human-headed sphinx also takes on in later periods. Thus, the creature can perhaps be regarded as a sort of precursor of the sphinx in Mesopotamia and the Levant.³²⁶

3.2.4.2 HUMAN-HEADED LIONS IN ANATOLIA

The examples for the first Anatolian sphinxes, dating from ca. 1950-1830 BC and found on cylinder seals in Kaneš (e.g. St.M. Nr. An. 1), most probably were the Egyptian wingless sphinxes whose iconography reached Anatolia through Syria³²⁷. At least that is what most researchers presume. Yet they differed from the Egyptian prototype quite considerably: they were depicted standing, and had one human foot (front left), two hoofs (back left and right) and only one lion foot (front right) (Fig. 34). In their simplicity, they clearly have more in common with the earliest Mesopotamian human-headed lions, which accompanied the Sun-god in his boat (cf. *supra*). Two of the Kaneš-sphinxes were undoubtedly male, as they had beards, the third one, however, was beardless and had a tail ending in a snake- or bird-head.

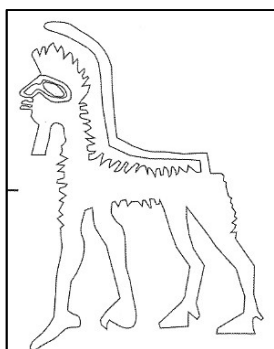


FIG. 34: HUMAN-HEADED LION ON KÜLTEPE CYLINDER SEAL (DETAIL ST.M. NR. AN. 1), 20TH-19TH CENT. BC.

These human-headed lions were all connected closely to divinities, once to the Weather god (St.M. Nr. An. 1), once to a God of the Fields and once to a Goddess of the Mountain-Goat, a deity that was very popular in Kaneš.

3.2.4.3 HUMAN-HEADED LIONS IN EGYPT

Even in Egypt, some examples of composite creatures were found that could be called human-headed lions instead of sphinxes. Both are lying down. The first one is crudely cut from red

³²⁶ For possible implications on the birthplace of the sphinx-motif: 3.3. The Origin of the Sphinx.

³²⁷ Gilibert 2011a: 39-41.

carnelian and was found in Kerma (Nubia) (St.M. Nr. Eg. 10). It most likely functioned as an amulet and must be dated to the 24th-16th cent. BC (Fig. 35 A). The second one, used as a pendant, and thus perhaps most likely also as an amulet, is more stylized and can be dated between the 22nd and the 20th cent. BC (St.M. Nr. Eg. 9). This one is made from gold and electrum, and was part of a set of two pendants, the other one being an ibis (Figs. 36 B-C). From the carnelian amulet, the context is not exactly known, but the second one was found in a tomb.



FIG. 35 A: AMULET IN SHAPE OF RECUMBENT SPHINX, 24TH-16TH CENT. BC, AMULET, CARNELIAN, 2 CM, EGYPT, NUBIA, KERMA, BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, 20.1733 (ST.M. NR. EG. 10).



FIG. 35 B-C: PENDANTS IN THE SHAPE OF A RECUMBENT SPHINX AND AN IBIS, 22ND-20TH CENT. BC, PENDANT/AMULET, GOLD & ELECTRUM, 1,3 CM (SPHINX), 1,5 CM (IBIS), EGYPT, EL-MUSTAGIDDA, GRAVE 637, LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, 1929,1015.494 (ST.M. NR. EG. 9).

3.2.4.4 HUMAN-HEADED LIONS IN THE AEGEAN

Finally, the Aegean also has the rude images depicting human-headed lions. First, there is what officially is the oldest Aegean sphinx, the so-called sphinx of Archanes, dating to the 19th-17th cent. BC (Fig. 36 A; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 2). Although the creature is a fully formed sphinx, with lion-body and human head, in character it reminds one more of the slightly older Kültepe cylinder seal sphinxes (20th-19th cent. BC; Fig. 34).



FIG. 36 A: RECUMBENT SPHINX ARCHANES, 19TH-17TH CENT. BC, STAMP SEAL IMPRESSION, GREEN JASPER, CRETE, ARCHANES, CS 122 (ST.M. NR. AEG. 2).

FIG. 36 B: RECUMBENT SPHINX HAGIA TRIADA, 18TH-16TH CENT. BC, FIGURINE, STEATITE, 13,5 CM, CRETE, HAGIA TRIADA, (ST.M. NR. AEG. 3).

Again, a human-headed lion can be seen in another Middle Minoan depiction, this time as a figurine from Hagia Triada (St.M. Nr. Aeg. 3; Fig. 36 B). From the same location comes a second figurine, produced during the 16th cent. BC, and more resembling a human-headed lion

instead of a "full-grown" sphinx (Fig. 36 C; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 1). Remarkable about this creature are its very short legs and its pointed nose. The same crudeness of execution, but not the pointed nose or the short legs, appear in a figurine also found in Crete, but dated six centuries later (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 15; Fig. 36 D).



FIG. 36 C: TERRACOTTA FIGURE OF A SPHINX HAGIA TRIADA, 16TH CENT. BC, FIGURINE, TERRACOTTA, CRETE, HAGIA TRIADA (CAT.NR. AEG. 1).



FIG. 36 D: FIGURE STANDING BEARDED SPHINX, 10TH CENT. BC, FIGURINE, BRONZE, 5,4 X 4,8 CM, CRETE, LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, 1930,0617.2 (CAT.NR. AEG. 15).

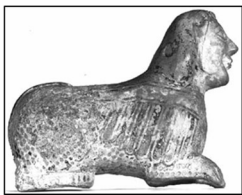


FIG. 36 E: VASE IN THE SHAPE OF A SPHINX, 6TH CENT. BC, POTTERY, 6,5 X 8,3 CM, GREECE, CORINTH, PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, A 476 (ST.M. NR. AEG. 77).

It seems that in the Aegean, crudely made sphinxes, resembling human-headed lions more than "proper" sphinxes, kept appearing from time to time. A very late one, dating from the early 6th cent. BC can be seen in the Louvre Museum in the shape of a vase (St.M. Nr. Aeg. 77; Fig. 36 E).

3.2.4.5 CONCLUSION HUMAN-HEADED LIONS

Both the Egyptian and Aegean human-headed lions do not seem to have been part of a mythological context. What all the Aegean human-headed lions do have in common, is that they are all either figurine or vessel or depicted on a seal without other motifs. It is impossible to say, then, if these images were originally part of a mythological context, but most probably, they were not. The same goes for the Egyptian human-headed lions; both images that were found, were used as amulets, and thus probably did not belong to a mythical context. Another contrast with the Syro-Mesopotamian human-headed lions is that the Egyptian ones are both lying down; in the Aegean, on the other hand, three of the five are standing.

The fact that all the human-headed lions of Syro-Mesopotamia and Anatolia appear in a mythological context, which is not the case at all in Egypt with the earliest sphinxes, and the fact that they are mostly very rudimentary depicted, might give some clues about the origin of the image of these creatures and of the possible influence Egyptian sphinxes had on them (cf. 3.3. The Origin of the Sphinx).

3.3 THE ORIGIN OF THE SPHINX

About the origin of the sphinx, different hypotheses have been uttered by researchers³²⁸. Both Dussaud and Nilsson e.g. believed, respectively in 1914 and 1950, that the sphinx found its origin in Egypt (Nilsson also put the first griffin in Egypt, while Frankfort placed its origin in Syria)³²⁹. Nilsson then claimed that the sphinx came to the Aegean through an Asian intermediary and Six in 1925 saw the origin of the Aegean female sphinxes with the Hittites³³⁰. Furtwängler believed the birthplace of the sphinx remained obscure. He claimed the sphinxes first came to Egypt only during the First Intermediate Period (ca. 2100-2000 BC)³³¹. He also alleged that the Syrian sphinxes were of the same age as the Mycenaean ones. During the New Kingdom, the Egyptians took over the winged sphinx from the Syrians, which also influenced the Mycenaean sphinxes. The griffin had its origin in the Mycenaean art and only arrived in Egypt during the Middle Kingdom. The Mycenaean griffin also spread to Syria but the Syro-Mesopotamians took the motif without its meaning as they understood it...

“...ganz als Gegenstück der Sphinx, nur als ruhig sitzenden Wächter, nicht als dämonisches Raubtier, wie er in der mykenisch-ägyptischen Kunst erscheint, verwendete, ein wichtiges, sicheres Beispiel für engeren Zusammenhang mykenischer und ägyptischer als ägyptischer und syrischer Kunst³³².”

But then in 1932 von Oppenheim stated that the Egyptian sphinx “*est plus récent que celui d'Asie Antérieure*”³³³.

3.3.1 EGYPT

In Egypt, the sphinx does not seem to exist before the Old Kingdom (cf. *infra*), but from this period onwards (5th-6th Dyn.), some researchers think it may be mentioned in the Egyptian *Pyramid Texts* (cf. 3.1.2.2. Aker) by the name of *Rwty* (God-Lion, a guarding god) and is associated with the god Atum, the so-called “finisher” of the world, a primeval creator-god³³⁴. Roeder, however, thinks *Rwty* means the two lions, the double-lion, and so cannot be the name

³²⁸ For all the different hypothesis about the origin of the sphinx: 2.2.2. Status Quaestionis.

³²⁹ Frankfort 1936-1937: 106; Dussaud 1914: 74; Nilsson 1950: 255.

³³⁰ Six 1925: 210-211; Nilsson 1950: 255.

³³¹ Furtwängler 1900: 42-44.

³³² Furtwängler 1900: 43.

³³³ Von Oppenheim 1932: 249.

³³⁴ Dessenne 1957a: 176; Lurker 1996: 118-119; Hornung 1995: 1736.

Atum is the primeval creator-god, shown in a human form wearing the double-crown of Egypt; as Re-Atum he symbolizes the Sun-god (especially the Sun-god of the setting sun): Siliotti 1994: 281; Te Velde 1995: 1736.

of the sphinx³³⁵. In the Middle Kingdom (after 2100 BC); it is called "*seshep-ankh*" (*šsp-ḥḥ*), a name that is also used for (living) statue, copy, image³³⁶. It is true that this term in some cases has a determinative in the shape of a recumbent sphinx, but still it cannot be translated as "sphinx"³³⁷. Most probable, however, the Egyptian for "sphinx" was *sfr*, also *sfrt*, or *srf*; the latter giving rise to *srrf*, meaning "a mythological creature" and appearing with either the deity or the griffin determinative³³⁸.

The Giza Sphinx (St.M. Nr. Eg. 1), that from the New Kingdom onwards related to the Sun-god, Harmachis (*Hr. m-j 'ḥw.t*), was also called "living copy (of the god)" (*seshep-ankh*)³³⁹. The relation between the (Great) sphinx (of Giza) and the sun probably goes back to the Old Kingdom, when Aker, the guardian of the horizon, was depicted as a double-sphinx or double-lion who represented the eastern and western horizon (cf. 3.1.2.2. Aker). The last one guarded the entrance to the Underworld, the other one the exit of the cave of Sokar, where the miracle of the resurrection takes place when Osiris and Sokar become one with Re.

The first known examples of representations of sphinxes in Egypt date from the Old Kingdom (ca. 2600-2500 BC), and this is not very surprising, as it is commonly true that the sphinx represents the pharaoh, thus there first had to be a pharaoh before his representation could be shown³⁴⁰. The Egyptians emphasized the extraordinary character of their king through the sphinx, a composite creature with a lion-body and a human-head dressed with a crown or royal head-cloth (*Nemes*)³⁴¹. The two body parts symbolized the combination of the highest physical (even divine) power with the greatest thinking capacity. The human-headed creature embodied the kingship and might of the king. The king needed both the physical power and the thinking

³³⁵ Roeder 1909: 1305.

³³⁶ Dessenne 1957a: 176; Von Geisau 1975: 307; Demisch 1977: 12-13; Coche-Zivie 1984: 1139-1140; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 150.

³³⁷ Coche-Zivie 1984: 1140.

³³⁸ Wyatt 2009: 31.

³³⁹ Drexler 1884-1890b: 1828-1830; Roeder 1909: 1329; Assmann 1977: 992-996; Schenkel 1980: 14; Butzer 1984: 172; Warmenbol 2006: 15; Dubiel 2011: 10.

Harmachis is also known as Horus-of-the-Horizon, the guardian of the gates of the Netherworld; he is always shown in the shape of a sphinx: Piankoff 1932; Demisch 1977: 18-21; Siliotti 1994: 282; Wilkinson 1996: 135; Zivie-Coche 2006: 62-63, 65-66.

³⁴⁰ Dessenne 1957a: 13, 17; Von Geisau 1975: 307; Demisch 1977: 12-13; Rössler-Köhler 1980: 1086; Coche-Zivie 1984; Hornung 1995: 1715; Zouzoula 2007: 135; Dubiel 2011: 4, 7.

The *Nemes* is a striped head-cloth only worn by kings: Roeder 1909: 1313; Fischer 1987: 14; Siliotti 1994: 283; Hornung 1995: 1725. Cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs.

³⁴¹ Dessenne 1957b: 209; Fischer 1987: 14; Sourouzian 2006: 100; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 148-149. There also existed a human headed snake, representing the king as the royal *Uraeus*, and a human-headed falcon; personifying the king as Horus.

capacity because he was the intermediary between humans and gods³⁴². The object of the representation of the king as a sphinx was to support his policy, to show his superhuman power and divine character and to glorify him as a ruler. Because the pharaoh is the son of the Sun-god Ra, he is therefore a god; a representation of the pharaoh is thus a representation of a divine creature.

3.3.2 SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA & THE LEVANT

The sphinxes in Syro-Mesopotamia certainly have a different meaning³⁴³. In Egypt, the sphinx is often represented isolated; it represents the pharaoh and therefore it does not need other figures accompanying it or even a context. In Syro-Mesopotamia the sphinx at first always appeared in a context or with other figures or objects nearby, although that changed later (cf. *infra*). There is no Sumerian or Akkadian name for the creature with lion-body, wings of a bird of prey and human-head but the first representations of sphinxes in Syro-Mesopotamia, mostly on seals, appear around 2500 BC. That is, if we consider the human-headed lions depicted in the context of the Sun-god in his God-boat to be sphinxes (cf. *supra*). Identification of the sphinx in Mesopotamia is only possible from the Neo-Assyrian period onwards (ca. 1000 BC); the term *Lamassu* indicates the female type of winged lion- and bull-hybrids with human head³⁴⁴. On the rear of one winged human-headed lion the term "*apsasītu*" was written, a word that in the Neo-Assyrian sources refers to the fabulous creatures that were embedded in the architecture of temples and palaces and that functioned as protective figures.

However, as said before, already on the glyptic dating from the Early Dynastic II-III, human-faced or -headed lions occur, mostly as part of the context of the God-boat³⁴⁵. Pappi believes these composite creatures are not related to the Egyptian motif of the sphinx, and I tend to agree with him (cf. 3.2.4. Human-Headed Lions). It is only from the beginning of the 2nd mill. BC that Mesopotamian sphinxes start to have Egyptian attributes or characteristics, as e.g. *Uraeus* or posture, combined with native features.

No one can say for certain where the sphinx appeared for the first time, in Syro-Mesopotamia or Egypt, although many researchers think that the latter must be considered as the birth-place of the sphinx. Dessenne, e.g., suggests that the sphinx found its origin in Egypt, because there

³⁴² Layard 1948/1850: I 70; Śliwa 1974: 97, 101; Fischer 1986: 848-849; Fischer 1987: 14; Dubiel 2011: 6.

³⁴³ Dessenne 1957a: 17; Demisch 1977: 12; Seidlmayer 2001: 817; Gräff and Ritter 2011: 56; Ritter 2011: 69.

³⁴⁴ Pappi 2009: 643-644.

³⁴⁵ Dessenne 1957: 17-20; Hempelmann 2004: 28-32; Pappi 2009: 644-645.

the motif of the creature stayed popular throughout all periods and underwent relatively little change³⁴⁶. From Egypt, then, the image would have spread first to the Levant and the Eastern Mediterranean area and later, by the 14th cent. BC, throughout the entire Near East and the Greek Islands and Mainland³⁴⁷. Each region adapted the image to its own needs (e.g. wings) and these variations of the image in its turn spread out to other regions, so that there existed several different types of sphinxes in all regions in the 2nd mill. BC (cf. 3.2. Diverse Types of Sphinxes).

This theory might be correct, but some nuances perhaps must be made. The human-headed lions that were depicted on the Akkadian seals showing the Sun-god in his God-boat, probably do not have anything to do with the Egyptian sphinx, but originated in Mesopotamia approximately at the same time the "proper" sphinx emerged in Egypt. If the Mesopotamians had copied the Egyptian sphinx for these seals, why would they have rendered it so rudimentary and in a totally different context while the full-developed example already existed in Egypt? As stated in a previous paragraph (cf. 3.2.4.1.1. The Human-Headed Lion and the Sun-God in his boat), the human-headed lion could be there for two completely different reasons: as a companion of the Sun-god (as it was possibly mentioned in the text *ARET 5,6*) who helped distribute food and drink amidst the inhabitants of the Underworld, or as a symbol of the threatening chaotic forces that were conquered by the victorious Sun-god and thus could now be brought into action for the good cause, i.e. the guarding and protecting of the cosmic and divine order.

It is possible that the Syro-Mesopotamian human-headed lion, as did the lion and the griffin, stood for the powers that destroy; through controlling this creature, one controlled wild nature, the unpredictable. In the 3rd mill. BC, the Akkadian Period, the human-headed lion is shown on a leash, driven by a stick or striding as a captive in front of a procession of vegetable gods. The human-headed lions (and later the sphinxes) shown as an attribute or a companion of a god enhanced the powers of this god.

If this was the case, that could explain the fact that the image of the "standard" sphinx, when it was taken over from the Egyptians, in the beginning of the 2nd mill. BC. often occurred

³⁴⁶ Dessenne 1957a: 175. Other researchers who think the origin of the sphinx lies in Egypt are, among others, Roeder 1909: 1298; Ilberg 1909-1915: 1338; Dussaud 1914: 74; Unger 1928: 339; Nilsson 1950: 255; Demisch 1977: 12; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 35; Baum-vom Felde 2006: 161; Sourouzzian 2006: 99; Winkler-Horaček 2011: 1.

³⁴⁷ Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 35.

overpowered and controlled by a Master of Animals (as e.g. on St.M. Nr. Mes. 14), and why the sphinx remained to have a dual character throughout the Syro-Mesopotamian history (cf. 4.4. Function and Meaning of the Sphinx in Syro-Mesopotamia & the Levant). Syro-Mesopotamians took over the image of the sphinx, but endowed it with some characteristics their human-headed lions on the seals with the Sun-god had possessed. They kept some of the characteristics the Egyptian sphinx had possessed (mainly exterior things, like headdress or posture), but changed its meaning so that it would fit into their own beliefs.

In the Levant, the human-headed lion was not adapted, but the Egyptian sphinx was. The first sphinxes found there all have definite “foreign” influences: not only Egyptian, but also Old-Syrian (St.M. Nr. Mes. 12; St.M. Nr. Mes. 19; St.M. Nr. Mes. 25). A fourth depiction of the sphinx is on a golden bowl found in Ugarit, dating from the 14th c. BC; it is a typical example of Phoenician art, with a combination of Egyptian, Near Eastern and Aegean elements and motifs (Cat.Nr. Mes. 6.).

3.3.3 ANATOLIA

The first Anatolian sphinxes, on seals from Kaneš dating from the 20th-19th cent. BC (St.M. Nr. An. 1), have more in common with the Syro-Mesopotamian human-headed lions than with the Egyptian sphinxes (cf. 3.2.4.2. Human-Headed Lions in Anatolia). The “proper” sphinx, however, rapidly becomes a popular motif in the Anatolian imagery, as sealing impressions from Acemhöyük dating from about a century later attest (St.M. Nrs. An. 4-8 + Related). In total 15 seal-impressions showing sphinxes were found and these show a great variety not only in types and postures of the sphinxes, but also in the accompanying motifs: there are lone recumbent sphinxes, with or without wings (e.g. St.M. Nr. An. 4), one who has snakes coming out of its body (St.M. Nr. An. 5) and one surrounded by other animals associated with the Goddess of the Mountain Goat (St.M. Nr. An. 7) that we already encountered in Kaneš³⁴⁸. There are pairs of sphinxes, once antithetically placed (St.M. Nr. An. 8), and once supporting the same Goddess of the Mountain Goat (St.M. Nr. An. 6). Many of the Acemhöyük sphinxes have beards, about half of them have wings and four are associated with snakes. Most of them can also be associated with a mythological context, as those from Kaneš were, and thus Gilibert's suggestion that the Egyptian sphinx, a symbol of political power, was changed immediately upon its arrival in Anatolia into a cultic companion belonging to the wild, is bound

³⁴⁸ For a full overview of the seal-impressions from Acemhöyük: Gilibert 2011a: 40 Table 1.

to be correct³⁴⁹. Although there is a slight reservation. In fact, few Anatolian sphinx do resemble a truly Egyptian sphinx, except for the two examples with Hathor-style headdress from the 18th cent. BC found in Acemhöyük as well (St.M. Nrs. An. 2-3). The other ones all have more in common with Syro-Mesopotamian or even Aegean sphinxes. It is probable then, that the Anatolians took over the sphinx-motif indirectly from Egypt, that is, through Syria and Mesopotamia. And as in Mesopotamia, it seems the Egyptian motif was endowed with a blend of characteristics both from the first human-headed lions of Syro-Mesopotamia (e.g. companion of a deity, accompanying motifs) and from the Egyptian sphinx (e.g. Hathor-style headdress, accompanying motifs).

Female sphinxes almost immediately become popular too. Next to the two sphinxes from Acemhöyük with Hathor-style headdress (St.M. Nrs. An. 2-3) there is a cylinder seal impression from the 17th cent. BC that shows two antithetically placed sphinxes, one male and one female (St.M. Nr. An. 11)³⁵⁰. Other images of early Anatolian sphinxes display a strong Near Eastern influence in the accompanying motifs: the pair of sphinxes on St.M. Nr. An. 10 e.g., flank a Sacred Tree (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs).

3.3.4 THE AEGEAN

Between Greece and the Near East there exist some similar ideas: firstly, gods are anthropomorphic and can have animals or composite creatures as attributes that enhance their power. Secondly, there exists a relation between the sphinx and vegetable ornaments or fertility in general; thirdly, sphinxes function as guards (in the Near East of gates and entrances, in the Aegean of temples, thrones and graves). All this seems to suggest a similar meaning of Near Eastern and Aegean sphinxes. Yet, the Greek sphinxes had a different meaning than those of the Ancient Near East and of Egypt (cf. infra), even from those of Crete. And this is, especially for the Minoan sphinxes and griffins, only natural, because the art in this culture had a very different function than that of the other regions. As Cameron says (although he mainly speaks about wall paintings, his words apply to most Minoan art):

"Minoan wall paintings are unusual in that, unlike their counterparts in Egypt and the Near East, the deeds of the Head of State or his chief administrators are not reproduced on the walls. The focus of Minoan interest lay in portraying religious scenes in which individual historical figures were of no interest, for it was the appearance of the deity, the collective worship of the

³⁴⁹ Gilibert 2011a: 40.

³⁵⁰ The antithetically placed male and female sphinx of St.M. Nr. An. 11 also show an Egyptian influence as they are flanking an Egyptian *Ankh*-sign (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs).

entire people, or the act which brought about the epiphany of the god that mattered to them. This, it seems, was the greatest good the Minoan mind could conceive and by comparison the exploits of an individual historical figure were counted as nothing, so far as the pictorial record goes. Thus, typical Egyptian or Near Eastern themes – such as the king's prowess in war or hunting, in overcoming his enemies, his personal association with the deities, his accumulation of goods and riches – make no appearance on Minoan walls, nor do the activities of the bureaucrat, the artisan or the farmer feature in Minoan wall painting. Consequently, we find an entirely different religious, political and social emphasis in Minoan art, an accent upon the mystery of Minoan religion to which, for example, Egyptian concern with upholding the overriding authority of the Head of State and through his pyramidal structure of a hierarchical and bureaucratic society through which, in turn, came all benefits to the people was entirely foreign³⁵¹."

Yet, the main function of these wall paintings was the same in Minoan culture as it was in the other regions; it was a very convincing medium of mass communication and a means of propaganda, not only religious, but also social and political³⁵².

In Minoan art, the sphinx, shown only from the Middle Minoan (ca. 1800 BC) onwards, never was very popular, although the griffin was. These first sphinxes, often depicted on seals, didn't have wings, and were probably male (e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 2 + Related). The oriental composite creature, which Niemeier and Niemeier think was imported from the Levant by the Minoans, according to Cameron, however, was, together with the griffin, imported from Syria, and according to e.g. Bernal and Crowley imported directly from Egypt, with a lion-body and a human-head was taken over in Greece in the 8th cent. BC, following Cretan-Mycenaean examples, but in a freer form (with wings and, very soon, female) and with a new meaning³⁵³. These sphinxes often functioned as demons of death, like the Sirens, and were used in different functions: apotropaic, on shields, temples, and graves or merely decorative. Their predatory character and the fact that they can act as guards, as could the lion, leads Marinatos to believe the Greeks thought they were superior to the natural predator.

The word "sphinx" is Greek; it derived from "*Phix*" that in its turn came from the name of the mountain "*Phition*"³⁵⁴. Its name is also connected with the Greek verb meaning "to squeeze", "to strangle" which might refer to its relation with Echidna and hints to its dangerous nature (cf. 7. The Sphinx in the Aegean). Indeed, Plato thought "*Phix*" changed to "sphinx" because of the Greek verb "*sphingein*" that means strangle, obstruct. The Greeks regarded the sphinx as a

³⁵¹ Cameron 1976: 129.

³⁵² Cameron 1976: 129-130; Yule 1981: 137; Zouzoula 2007: 97.

³⁵³ Von Geisau 1975: 309; Cameron 1976: 108; Marinatos 1993: 73; Bernal 1996: 18-19; Crowley 1989: 182; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 35; Niemeier and Niemeier 1998: 78; Zouzoula 2007: 52

³⁵⁴ Evans 1930: 418; Demisch 1977: 12-13, 76; Coche-Zivie 1984: 1139; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 35-36; Winkler-Horaček 2011c: 163-164; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 150.

creature of the wild, belonging to the mountains, or even to the pre-human world, of which nothing was known. Indeed, as Coche-Zivie argues, the word may originally have referred to a mountain near Thebes, where the Greek sphinx reigned³⁵⁵.

3.3.5 CONCLUSION ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE SPHINX

The birthplace of the sphinx-motif, the "proper" sphinx, must have been Egypt, considering the meaning the image had there (representation of the pharaoh or a god), but the motif, either taken over directly from Egypt (as in Syro-Mesopotamia), or indirectly through other regions (as in e.g. Anatolia and the Aegean) was adapted from the beginning by the other regions to fit into their beliefs and iconographical history. This is also the reason it could have opposite meanings (cf. 11.4. Meanings), benevolent and malevolent (only in a later period in the Aegean as we shall see), because it took over elements from the precursors in every region, which were mostly considered as belonging to the Wild, the unrestrained, and as such believed to be dangerous powers that had to be controlled.

³⁵⁵ Coche-Zivie 1984: 1139.

4 THE SPHINX IN SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA & THE LEVANT³⁵⁶

<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>1600-800 BC</i>			<i>BEFORE 1600 BC & AFTER 800 BC</i>	
<i>206</i>	<i>81</i>			<i>77</i>	
<i>- 48³⁵⁷</i>	<i>POLITICAL</i>	<i>RELIGIOUS</i>	<i>UNDETERMINED</i>	<i>BEFORE:</i>	<i>AFTER:</i>
	43	28	10	29	48

STF XIV: IMAGES OF SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA & THE LEVANT.

In total, 206 images of sphinxes (including ram-sphinxes, bull-sphinxes and griffins) have been examined, of which however 48 were found in Fort Shalmaneser in Nimrud. These are taken less or even not at all into account while analysing the images, because of their "egyptianizing" character, because of their similarities, because their origin is unknown, and because their sheer number would influence the results of this investigation in a wrong way. Probably, they were part of a booty. So, the total number of images of the main period (1600-800 BC) is 81, while the periods before and after yielded 77 images. Of the 81 images from the catalogue, 43 belong primarily to a political sphere, while 28 are connected mainly to a religious context (10 remain uncertain)³⁵⁸.

Throughout all the different periods in time there existed a general, common concept of seeing and dealing with the worlds of gods, monsters and demons in Syro-Mesopotamia³⁵⁹. All that happened to people in general and to individuals in particular was regarded as a punishment or reward from the gods. Luckily, however, everything could be influenced by (religious) rituals, offerings, processions, and so on. Composite creatures played an adequate part in all this, as they were embodiments of forces in nature, as demons (that e.g. caused diseases), as attributes of gods, or as guards (cf. 3.1 Composite Creatures).

There existed a polytheistic system in which gods were always represented as humans. A composite creature, made from both human and animal parts always represented a genius or a demon; these creatures symbolized a transcendental world in which the sphinx also found its

³⁵⁶ For the complete corpus of West-Semitic seals: Avigad and Sass 1997.

³⁵⁷ 48 were found in Fort Shalmaneser.

³⁵⁸ For the criteria used to catalogue an image as either political or religious: 2.2.3. Collecting and Processing the Material.

³⁵⁹ Demisch 1977: 40, 46; Gräff and Ritter 2011: 51-52.

place. In contrast with Egyptian art, the Near-Eastern imagery has no portraits, so sphinxes never seem to be connected to a real historical person³⁶⁰.

All images and depictions were thought to be '*Šalmu*', which means they had a type of life quality, so that one could communicate with them, protect them and take care of them³⁶¹. Or, as Susan Sontag puts it in her 1964 essay *Against Interpretation*:

“*The earliest experience of art must have been that it was incantatory, magical; art was an instrument of ritual*³⁶².”

Sonik, in her turn in 2015, states that “*The 'Šalmu' in Syro-Mesopotamia, functioned, possessing the capacity to act in and on the world*”³⁶³.

Through '*Šalmu*', men tried to obtain the protection of divine or other powers by representing these powers in a certain context in which they could be manipulated³⁶⁴. Of course, this also meant they could be destroyed³⁶⁵. But '*Šalmu*' has two aspects, the communicative one and a guarding one. The last one is apotropaic; the images were meant to ward off evil. Images had a substitute function and they were among the strongest agents of religion and belief.

From the Middle Assyrian period onwards, however, *Šalmu* became a name for a sun-god who could be identified with Shamash³⁶⁶. It is therefore possible that it also was the name for the winged sun-disc.

The people of the Near East had a totally different relationship with the sphinx than the Egyptians did³⁶⁷. This found its origin in some beliefs they had; e.g. where lion and bull were royal symbols in Egypt, in the Near East they often were opponents in animal contest scenes, although the lion was also related to the Sun-god or Sun-goddess³⁶⁸. The bull, for the Mesopotamians, had a strong guarding aspect, as is attested by the fact that many of their

³⁶⁰ Demisch 1977: 43; Reiner 1987: 29; Gräff and Ritter 2011: 53-54.

³⁶¹ For more information on the concept of '*Šalmu*': Van Buren 1941.

For more information on the Akkadian word *Šalmu*: Dalley 1986: 88.

³⁶² Sontag 1969: 6. (English translation in Fernie 1999: 216).

³⁶³ Sonik 2015: 164.

³⁶⁴ Porada 1987: 1; Gräff and Ritter 2011: 53-54; Sonik 2015: 162-164.

³⁶⁵ The images used in (magical) rituals were meant to be destroyed in the proceedings, because they represented evil and by destroying them, Mesopotamians thought that the evil would be disposed off: Reiner 1987: 29-30.

³⁶⁶ Black and Green 1992: 159.

For more information on the god *Šalmu*: Dalley 1986.

For more information on Shamash: Jeremias 1909-1915: 538-558.

³⁶⁷ Demisch 1977: 44.

³⁶⁸ The animal contest-motif is related to mythical and/or ritual images: Demisch 1977: 42, 46.

For more information about Near Eastern animal contest-scenes during the 3rd mill. BC: Keel 1992: 1-23.

Some examples of animal contest with sphinxes involved: e.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 10; Cat.Nr. Mes. 19; St.M. Nr. Mes. 16.

For an in-depth iconographical analysis of the bull-motif in the ancient Near East: Van Dijk 2011.

guarding figures were related to the bull, among them the winged bull, the (winged) human-headed bull, the Man-bull and the Bull-man, the winged Bull-man wearing a horned crown and the winged Bull-sphinx (the so-called *Lamassu*) (cf. 3.2. Different Types of Sphinxes – 3.2.3.3 Bull-Sphinx + infra)³⁶⁹. The Bull-man (*Kusarikku*, Sum. *Gud-alim*) first appears in the Early Dynastic Period (ca. 3000-2350 BC), mostly in contest scenes with other animals, but sometimes also with a human figure and later with a Hero³⁷⁰. From ca. 2000 BC onwards, it also starts to appear as attendant of the Sun-god Shamash, and from approximately 1600 BC, while still connected to the Sun-god (e.g. by supporting the (winged) sun-disc), it functions as a protective demon and in this capacity, images of Bull-men (both monumental and small) are placed in buildings to ward off evil. In the popular belief, the Bull-man is thought to refer to Gilgamesh and Enkidu, but this is not correct, although there are some images that do.

Sphinxes and griffins also had a close relationship; they often appear in an antithetic composition flanking e.g. a Sacred Tree³⁷¹. Often these sphinxes (and griffins) guarding the Sacred Tree (connected to sacral images) are winged. The Sacred Tree can also be guarded by lions, rams, bulls and other animals, winged or not, or, in Syrian art, by winged Geniuses. These Geniuses appear sometimes to take part in (royal) rituals, but are mostly apotropaic.

The first Near Eastern sphinxes are of the standing/striding type, but overall the Near East knows more types of sphinxes than Egypt³⁷². It is only after 2000 BC that the first winged sphinxes appear in Near Eastern art. These sphinxes are composed of parts of three elements: human, lion and bird and they appear also on the Syrian cylinder seals; they become the most popular type in the 2nd mill. BC. It is certain that the animal parts that were chosen to form a composite creature were not picked out randomly.

From the 2nd mill. onwards there are many winged sphinxes wearing horned crowns or caps, a head-dress that originally referred to a god (13.7. STF LXI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs). Horns are the fourth element of which the sphinx consists, next to the lion-body, the falcon-wings and the human-head, but sphinxes composed out of these 4 components only

³⁶⁹ Black and Green 1992: 48-49, 91; Van Dijk 2011: 68-72, 243.

³⁷⁰ For more general information on contest scenes: Van Dijk 2011: 66-95.

³⁷¹ Demisch 1977: 44-47, 228-229; Lambert 1987: 37; Black and Green 1992: 86, 88; Gräff and Ritter 2011: 58. E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 5: Sphinx and Griffin with Sacred Tree.

For more detailed information about the relationship between the Sacred Tree and the sphinx: Demisch 1977: 228-230.

³⁷² See 3.2.3. STF X: Basic Types of Sphinxes.

appeared from approximately the 15th cent. BC onwards. Of course, as said before, the Near Eastern imagery also has many bull-bodied sphinxes (cf. 3.2.3.3. Bull-sphinxes).

Table STF LII (13. Supplements) lists all the main different head-dresses worn by the "real" sphinx, i.e. the lion-bodied type with human-head, in so far as they can be seen on the images. Of course, there were also sphinxes without any head-dress; most of these are from the period before 1600 BC (appr. 16), while the period between 1600-800 BC has ca. 7 and after 800 BC only ca. 5 sphinxes have no specific head-dress. The other sphinxes show great variety in head-dresses, ranging from simple and/or flat caps (e.g. St.M. Nrs. Mes. 4, 6) through horned caps or hats (e.g. Cat. Nr. Mes. 17), turban-like compositions (e.g. St.M. Nr. Mes. 23) to high hats (e.g. St.M. Nr. Mes. 55), real crowns (e.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 12) and elaborate plant-like compositions (e.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 90, St.M. Nr. Mes. 15). Some sphinxes show a definite Egyptian influence while wearing a *Nemes* (e.g. St.M. Nr. Mes. 32) or the Egyptian Double-Crown (e.g. St.M. Nr. Mes. 17). It is difficult to say if the types of head-dresses have a specific meaning. Anyhow, there does not seem to be a discernible pattern.

In contrast to Egyptian sphinxes, Demisch argues, the earliest Near-Eastern ones have their head turned to the side and thus look out of the picture³⁷³. This, however, does not seem to be true (cf. 2.2.2 Status Quaestionis). Sphinxes can first be seen on seals and as small figurines and it is only from the 9th cent. BC onwards that they stand at the façades and gates of the Assyrian palaces and become monumental in size³⁷⁴. This is without a doubt under the influence of Hittite Sphinxes who appear after ca. 1500 BC as large sculptures when they are integrated into the Anatolian architecture as a monumental relief, e.g. in Hattusha and in Alaça Hüyük at the entrance gate to the city³⁷⁵.

In the Middle Assyrian (1300-1100 BC) and the Late Assyrian Period (1000-612 BC) sphinxes again appear in the glyptic, but now they too have wings and are mostly engaged in a fight. During Iron Age IIB (925-700 BC) depictions of sphinxes in Israel and Judea were rare; there

³⁷³ Demisch 1977: 44.

³⁷⁴ E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 20: Winged Sphinx with Horned Crown, Cat.Nr. Mes. 21: Winged Bull-sphinx with Horned Crown, St.M. Nr. Mes. 38: Khorsabad *Aladlammū*.

³⁷⁵ Hattusha: Cat.Nr. An. 6: Figure Winged Sphinx with Horned Crown and Sacred Tree; Alaça Hüyük: Cat.Nr. An. 3: Pair of Gate-Sphinxes. Unger 1928: 339; Demisch 1977: 56; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 36.

has been found only one official seal with a recumbent winged sphinx and 17 objects with sphinxes in Samaria³⁷⁶.

Near-Eastern sphinxes are depicted engaged in fights with other animals, mythological creatures and even man or genius³⁷⁷. These images exist as soon as the 15th cent. BC. Sphinxes engaged in fights or attacks sometimes are even defeated or are subdued. On Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seals (9th-6th C. BC) the conquered sphinx seems to have been a popular motif.

³⁷⁶ Schmitt 2001: 129.

Cat.Nr. Mes. 16: Recumbent Winged Sphinx.

³⁷⁷ Demisch 1977: 42, 62; Gräff and Ritter 2011: 58.

E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 35: Sphinx Fighting Archer and Cat. Nr. Mes. 29: Relief Winged Sphinx Threatened by Winged Genius.

4.1 PRECEDING 1600 BC³⁷⁸

29 sphinxes of the period preceding our main investigation period (1600-800 BC) have been found. The oldest known sphinxes in Syro-Mesopotamia date from the second half of the 3rd mill. BC (ca. 2550-2340 BC) and most images show the sphinx as a companion to the Sun-god in his boat³⁷⁹. These sphinxes are all shown striding and are bearded, but they have no wings³⁸⁰. They are also often controlled by a rope or stick³⁸¹. On only one occasion the sphinx stands in the boat of the Sun-god³⁸².

On two seals, only the sphinx is shown in another context, where the creature is accompanied by men or by other animals³⁸³. On the first of these seals the sphinx is controlled by two men who grab it by its tail and beard respectively. Above the head of this sphinx floats a moon-crescent and a sun-disk. Of course, the question could be asked why the sphinx, who was probably seen as a companion of the Sun-god, was treated in this manner (cf. 3.2.4.1.1. Human-headed Lions and the Sun-God in his Boat). On the other hand, although the lion was also closely related to the Sun(-god), this animal too was often depicted being dominated by a Master of Animals, as can be seen e.g. in Cat.Nr. Mes. 5, where a Master of Animals controlling two lions stands next to a sphinx and griffin flanking a Sacred Tree³⁸⁴.

In the Middle Bronze Period, at the end of the 3rd mill. BC, the first foreign influences can already be seen when the sphinx is depicted lying down instead of standing or striding. One example of this is on a ring, where the man accompanying the sphinx is depicted in an Egyptian style³⁸⁵.

The last example of a sphinx dating from the 3rd mill. BC is a rather crude figurine of about 6 cm, found in Elam and depicting a standing creature, composed of a lion-body with a human-

³⁷⁸ For an overview of the different types of sphinxes before 1600 BC: 13.8. STF LVII – Types of Sphinxes Before 1600 BC.

See also 3.2.4.1. Human-headed Lions in Syro-Mesopotamia.

³⁷⁹ For more information about the motif of the Sun-god in his Boat: Frankfort 1955: 35-37.

³⁸⁰ Hempelmann 2004: 32-33; Gräff and Ritter 2011: 57; Jans and Bretschneider 2011: 44.

For more information about the meaning of the God-boat scene: Hempelmann 2004: 86-91.

³⁸¹ E.g. St.M. Nr. Mes. 1: Striding Bearded Sphinx with Animals and Bird-man.

³⁸² St.M. Nr. Mes. 9: Standing Bearded Sphinx with Sun-god in Boat.

³⁸³ St.M. Nr. Mes. 2: Bearded Sphinx Taken by Tail and Beard; St.M. Nr. Mes. 4: Bearded Sphinx with Scorpion and Deer.

³⁸⁴ Demisch 1977: 47.

³⁸⁵ St.M. Nr. Mes. 12: Finger-ring Recumbent Sphinx with Man, found in a tomb in Israelite Lachish.

head³⁸⁶. It is not clear if this composite creature can already be called a sphinx or if it is simply a human-headed lion, as Demisch would identify it (cf. 3.2. Diverse Types of Sphinxes)³⁸⁷.

With the coming of the 2nd mill. BC, during the so-called Old Syrian Period, sphinxes are shown on a greater variety of objects and in many different contexts, although the function of companion to the Sun-god seems absent. One can see sphinxes depicted nearby a god, king or ruler, sphinxes held upside down by a so-called Master of Animals, sphinxes engaged in an animal fight and/or trampling serpents, and one seal with a pair of sphinxes wearing a floral head-dress and with a Sacred Tree growing out of their back; these are accompanied by two men of whom one at least seems to be a priest³⁸⁸. The theme of the Master of Animals thus begins to occur, and for the first time, undoubtedly under foreign influence, the sphinx now sometimes has wings³⁸⁹. Perhaps the motif of Master of Animals evolved out of images like e.g. the sphinx taken by tail and beard (St.M. Nr. Mes. 2)³⁹⁰.

The first connection between sphinxes and the Sacred Tree, a motif that will become popular, also can be seen now, although the imagery of a Sacred Tree growing as it were out of the back of sphinxes will not be repeated in later periods³⁹¹. Even though the exact meaning of this symbol is not known, it is highly probable that it can be related to fertility and refers to the ruler, whose first task is to protect and increase the prosperity of his country and its people³⁹².

Other upcoming motifs are the sphinx trampling (a serpent), or the sphinx witnessing a political or religious ritual³⁹³. The winged sphinxes shown on murals in the palace of Zimri-Lim in Mari are worth mentioning here³⁹⁴. Here the sphinxes, shown on the top register, are as far as is

³⁸⁶ St.M. Nr. Mes. 13: Standing Human-headed Lion.

³⁸⁷ Cf. 3.2.4.1. Human-headed Lions in Syro-Mesopotamia.

³⁸⁸ St.M. Nr. Mes. 20: Deity, Stag, Worshipper, Sphinxes, Bull and Leaper; St.M. Nr. Mes. 21: Royal Worshipper Before a God; St.M. Nr. Mes. 24: Royal Worshipper Before Bird-headed God; St.M. Nr. Mes. 25: Pair of Seated Winged Sphinxes with Royal Figures; St.M. Nr. Mes. 26: Seal with Presentation Scene and Mythical Creatures; St.M. Nr. Mes. 14: Master of Animals Holds Sphinxes Upside Down; St.M. Nr. Mes. 16: Animal Combat with Sphinx on Snake, Lions and Goats; St.M. Nr. Mes. 18: Sphinx Trampling Serpents; St.M. Nr. Mes. 15: Pair of Sphinxes with Sacred Tree on Back.

³⁸⁹ E.g. St.M. Nr. Mes. 14: Master of Animals Holds Sphinxes Upside Down.

³⁹⁰ For some general information about the motif of the Master of Animals: Barclay 2001; Counts and Arnold 2010; cf. 8.3 Sphinx/Griffin/Criosphinx under Control.

³⁹¹ St.M. Nr. Mes. 15: Pair of Sphinxes with Sacred Tree on Back.

³⁹² Black and Green 1992: 170-171.

³⁹³ Trampling: St.M. Nr. Mes. 16: Animal Combat with Sphinx on Snake, Lions and Goats.

Political: St.M. Nr. Mes. 22: Investiture Zimri-Lim. Aruz 2008b: 123.

Religious: St.M. Nr. Mes. 21: Royal Worshipper Before a God.

³⁹⁴ St.M. Nr. Mes. 22: Investiture Zimri-Lim;

Demisch 1977: 46-47; Haas 2004: 47; Hempelmann 2004: 32-33; Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: 29;

St.M. Nr. 23: Mari Offering Scenes Chapel Ishtar; Gräff and Ritter 2011: 57-58.

For a more detailed analysis of the Investiture of Zimri-Lim: 12.1.

known the first Near Eastern sphinxes composed of three elements (man, lion, bird; this type will become the most popular in the Near East), and they do resemble the trampling sphinxes and griffins found in Egypt dating from around 2500 BC. The sphinxes and other composite creatures (griffins and bull-sphinxes) from Mari are without a doubt part of a ritual context; one where the king honours the goddess Ishtar who rewards him with the tokens of royal power: the sceptre and staff; the second where the sphinx is present at each offering made to the goddess. The tales of the griffins (middle register) look a lot like rosettes, a known sun-symbol, that often is depicted on the shoulder of Egyptian and Near Eastern lions, animals closely related to the Sun(-god). The rosette was a decoration reserved for royals and elite, because its symbolism reminded one of the divine origin of kingship³⁹⁵. The mural in Mari, a complex blend between realism and symbolism, shows the connection between the king and religious practices.

From Israel, but dating from the Hyksos period, are two scarabs depicting a sphinx facing a *Uraeus*; one of these sphinxes is lying down and has wings, the other one is standing and wingless³⁹⁶. Another characteristically Egyptian sphinx comes from Canaan and was used as an amulet; it was found in Tell el-Ajjull, at that moment (17th-16th cent. BC) one of the biggest Hyksos cities in southern Canaan³⁹⁷. Workmanship of the amulet however, indicates it was locally made.

From the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000-1600 BC) a lot of "egyptianizing" Syro-Palestinian seals have been found. A complete overview of these can be found in Teissier³⁹⁸. The seals show Egyptian motifs, like e.g. the ram, the falcon, the Hawk-headed god and the *Ankh* (life-bringing symbol; cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs)³⁹⁹. Teissier states, however, one cannot speak of an influence; to her it is more a matter of merging between two iconographies, because the seals keep Syro-Palestinian elements as well⁴⁰⁰.

³⁹⁵ Demisch 1977: 55.

Rosette: cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs.

For some in-depth information about the concept of kingship in Mesopotamia: Frankfort 1978/1948: 215-336.

³⁹⁶ St.M. Nr. Mes. 27: Scarab Recumbent Winged Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Mes. 28: Scarab Standing/Striding Sphinx.

³⁹⁷ Westenholz 2004a: 132.

³⁹⁸ Teissier 1995.

³⁹⁹ Examples of seals that include a (trampling) sphinx: Teissier 1995: figs. 5, 9, 16, 39, 43, 55, 57-58, 64, 71, 80, 82, 88, 90, 93, 96, 105, 114, 119, 126, 130, 132, 135-136, 142-147, 149-153, 156-159, 160-162, 168, 170, 203, 212, 222, 256.

⁴⁰⁰ Teissier 1995: 15. For an overview of the Syrian iconography: Teissier 1995: 39-46; for an introduction into the egyptianizing iconography on Syrian seals: Teissier 1995: 47-121.

4.2 1600-800 BC⁴⁰¹

The same 'egyptianizing' motifs can also be seen on scarabs from the 16th and 15th cent. BC and even as late as the 9th-7th cent. BC⁴⁰². The scarabs were all found in Syria and it can be assumed that they were a gift from the Egyptian pharaoh (one of them, Cat.Nr. Mes. 3, wears the name of Thutmose III) as a symbol of his power. On one of the other scarabs (Cat.Nr. Mes. 87) the sphinx is accompanied by the goddess Maat (cf. infra).

In the 15th and 14th cent. BC, sphinxes appear sometimes on seals decorated with complicated scenes, often including a Master of Animals of some sort and once including a nude female⁴⁰³. Figurines of nude females existed from prehistoric times; they may have promoted fertility (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs)⁴⁰⁴. From the early 2nd mill. BC onwards, many seals and figurines show a nude female standing frontally on a plinth as if she is the object of worship; yet she never wears the horned cap of divinity. In Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian images, this fully naked and frontally shown woman does wear the horned cap and has wings; she has been identified as Ishtar.

It is remarkable that the image of the sphinx controlled by a Master of Animals only was found at the latest in the 14th cent. BC, and then completely disappeared from the imagery, except for one relief dating from the 9th cent. BC, one seal dating from the 9th-7th cent. BC and one seal imprint from ca. 800 BC⁴⁰⁵. There exist however still images wherein the sphinx is attacked by other creatures or wherein it itself attacks a variety of creatures: winged geniuses, demons, men⁴⁰⁶.

A unique motif can be seen on a 15th cent. BC seal, found in a palace in Tell Brak (Syria): the sphinx acting as a Master of Animals itself⁴⁰⁷. Three other seals dating to the 15th till 13th cent.

⁴⁰¹ For an overview of the different types of sphinxes during the period 1600-800 BC: 13.9. STF LVIII.

⁴⁰² 16th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Mes. 87: Scarab Recumbent Sphinx and *Ankh*-sign; 15th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Mes. 3: Scarab Recumbent Bearded Sphinx; 9th-7th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Mes. 86: Scarab with Sphinx, *Uraeus* and Crown.

⁴⁰³ Master of Animals: e.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 2: Pair of Sphinxes and Pair of Griffins.

Nude female: Cat. Nr. Mes. 4: Master of Animals and Nude Female Figure.

⁴⁰⁴ Black and Green 1992: 144.

For more detailed information about the Naked Goddess: Ward 1910: 161-162; Wiggermann 1998; Marinatos 2000.

⁴⁰⁵ 14th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Mes. 4: Master of Animals and Nude Female Figure; 9th C BC: Cat.Nr. Mes. 28: Relief Winged Genius Holds Winged Sphinxes Upside Down; 9th-7th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Mes. 81: Two Standing Winged Sphinxes with Bearded Man; ca. 800 BC: Cat.Nr. Mes. 119: Bel-Marduk Holding Two Sphinxes.

⁴⁰⁶ Cat.Nr. Mes. 17: Throne Winged Female Sphinx Attacked by Winged Geniuses; Cat.Nr. Mes. 29: Relief Winged Sphinx Threatened by Winged Genius; Cat.Nr. Mes. 32: Archer in a Sphinx-drawn Chariot Attacking a Sphinx; Cat.Nr. Mes. 108: Relief Winged Sphinx Grabbed by Bird-headed Demon; Cat.Nr. Mes. 10: Sphinx Attacks Wild Goat; Cat.Nr. Mes. 19: Winged Sphinx Attacking Wild Goat.

⁴⁰⁷ Cat.Nr. Mes. 1: Upright Standing Sphinx as Master of Animals.

BC clearly belong to a religious context; one shows a pair of winged sphinxes sitting next to the head of the Egyptian goddess Hathor, the second shows a pair of sphinxes sitting near a worshipping scene, while the latter seal shows a sphinx standing in front of a goddess sitting on a throne⁴⁰⁸. The sphinxes flanking the Hathor-head, hold one front paw in a protective gesture above the head of the goddess⁴⁰⁹.

On only one seal the sphinx can be seen with a winged genius standing on its back; the beardless sphinxes wearing horned caps each touch the Sacred Tree between them with a front paw⁴¹⁰. Above the Sacred Tree there is a winged disk containing the Sun-god.

Although sphinxes do still appear on glyptic in this period, both in a political and in a religious context, albeit some authors claim they do not, they are shown now most often as reliefs on other objects, e.g. on all sorts of pottery and artefacts⁴¹¹. The sphinxes on reliefs show the composite creature in association with symbols of royal or divine power: decorating a throne, near a *Uraeus* or a winged scarab, flanking a Sacred Tree, or accompanying a god⁴¹².

One example of this can be seen on a box, made of faience and decorated with a winged and bearded sphinx, which was found in a tomb⁴¹³. Beneath the body of the sphinx there is a rosette, a symbol of the sun⁴¹⁴. Parts of rosettes decorate also the upper corners of the image. The other side of the box has the same decoration, but here the sphinx is replaced by a griffin.

From the 14th cent. BC dates a plaque with an offering sphinx that clearly shows an Egyptian influence; this can be explained by the fact that Egyptian pharaohs sent presents to Syria to promote their power⁴¹⁵. Also from the 14th cent. BC dates a golden plate found in Ugarit (Ras

⁴⁰⁸ For more information on Hathor: cf. 5. The Sphinx in Egypt.

Cat.Nr. Mes. 88: Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Hathor-head; Cat.Nr. Mes. 89: Goddess with Worshipper (King?); Cat.Nr. Mes. 92: Upright Sphinx Before Throning Goddess.

⁴⁰⁹ Demisch 1977: 58.

⁴¹⁰ Cat.Nr. Mes. 30: Winged Geniuses Standing on Winged Sphinxes.

⁴¹¹ Hempelmann 2004: 32-33.

Glyptic: e.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 1: Upright Standing Sphinx as Master of Animals; Cat.Nr. Mes. 2: Pair of Sphinxes and Pair of Griffins; Cat.Nr. Mes. 4: Master of Animals and Nude Female Figure; Cat.Nr. Mes. 5: Sphinx and Griffin with Sacred Tree; Cat.Nr. Mes. 16: Recumbent Winged Sphinx; Cat.Nr. Mes. 88: Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Hathor-head; Cat.Nr. Mes. 92: Upright Sphinx Before Throning Goddess; Cat.Nr. Mes. 97: Pair of Recumbent Sphinxes with Offering Man; Cat.Nr. Mes. 98: Seated Winged Sphinx; Cat.Nr. Mes. 106: God Controls Bull-sphinx; Cat.Nr. Mes. 107: Pair of Sphinxes with Lakhmu and God.

⁴¹² Cat.Nr. Mes. 7: Relief Winged Sphinx Decorating Throne; Cat.Nr. Mes. 96: Ahiram Sarcophagus; Cat.Nr. Mes. 13: Bowl Winged Sphinxes and Winged Scarabs; Cat.Nr. Mes. 6: Golden Plate Winged Sphinx with Animals and Mythological Creatures; Cat.Nr. Mes. 15: Pyxis Pairs of Sphinxes Flanking Sacred Tree; Cat.Nr. Mes. 18: Relief Winged Sphinxes Attack Winged Bull, Cat.Nr. Mes. 93: Pairs of Sphinxes on Hittite Ivory Relief; Cat.Nr. Mes. 101: Plate Female Sphinxes Flanking Tree; Cat.Nr. Mes. 109: Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Three Gods.

⁴¹³ Cat.Nr. Mes. 111: Box Winged Bearded Sphinx with Horned Crown.

⁴¹⁴ Demisch 1977: 10.

⁴¹⁵ Cat.Nr. Mes. 90: Plaque Offering Sphinx.

Shamra) that is a characteristic example of a merge between Near-Eastern and Egyptian motifs; this mixture is typical for Phoenician art⁴¹⁶. The sphinx has its large wings outstretched and stands next to a Sacred Tree; although a distinctive Near Eastern motif, this time it is decorated with (Egyptian) lotus and papyrus elements.

A similar decorated bowl was found in the Northwest palace in Nimrud (ancient Kalhu), but the date of this object is uncertain⁴¹⁷. Egyptian motifs here are again the lotus plants, but next to these the winged *Uraei* and winged scarabs also point to Egypt. Another bowl found in the Northwest palace of ancient Kalhu and dating from the 9th or 8th cent. BC shows the same mixture of Near Eastern and Egyptian motifs, but here the sphinxes are replaced by griffins and there is no Sacred Tree⁴¹⁸.

A relief from Megiddo dating to the second half of the 14th cent. BC is the first image that refers to a historical ruler, although no name or title is mentioned⁴¹⁹. It shows a ruler seated on a throne decorated with standing winged sphinxes while he is being paid tribute by some people. Sphinxes next to thrones are probably there to protect and ward off evil. This time, however, the protection is not directed to the city or its people, but is projected upon the figure of the ruler⁴²⁰.

A plaque dating to the 13th cent. BC shows a unique iconography: it seems the sphinx witnesses a sort of religious rite, where men wearing horned caps, a Bull-man and either the Sun-god or a ruler holding a Sacred Tree in his hands are also present⁴²¹. The sphinxes shown belong to different types: winged and wingless, wearing a conical hat or with a lion-protome on their breast. Another unique iconography can be seen on a gold and silver appliqué attributed to Kāmid el-Lōz (Lebanon) and dating to the late 2nd mill. BC⁴²². While the rendering of the motifs is reminiscent of Egypt, e.g. the beardless men, the Bes-like giant central figure, the sphinxes and the lotus-flowers they stand upon, the image itself is totally un-Egyptian. Never in Egypt would a deity (identifiable by its horned cap) be attacked by two lesser beings (cf. 8.3.

⁴¹⁶ Cat.Nr. Mes. 6: Golden Plate Winged Sphinx with Animals and Mythological Creatures. Demisch 1977: 48.

For more information about Phoenician sphinxes and griffins on metal bowls: Markoe 1985: 34-38.

⁴¹⁷ Cat.Nr. Mes. 13: Bowl Winged Sphinx and Winged Scarabs.

⁴¹⁸ Cat.Nr. Mes. 34: Bowl Pair of Falcon-Headed Sphinxes.

⁴¹⁹ Cat.Nr. Mes. 7: Relief Winged Sphinx Decorating Throne.

⁴²⁰ Demisch 1977: 57.

⁴²¹ Cat.Nr. Mes. 93: Pairs of Sphinxes on Hittite Ivory Relief.

⁴²² Cat.Nr. Mes. 91: Gold and Silver Appliqué with Pair of Sphinxes.

Sphinx/Griffin/Criosphinx Under Control...12.5. Gold and Silver Appliqué with Pair of Sphinxes).

That sphinxes kept a symbolic meaning throughout the ages is made clear by the decoration of the Ain Dārā temple in Northern Syria (Fig. 37); the sphinx-protomes of the 13th cent. BC were supplemented with reliefs of sphinxes in the 11th cent. BC (Neo-Hittite)⁴²³.



FIG. 37 A: TEMPLE-FRONT FRIEZE WITH LION- AND SPHINX-RELIEFS, 11TH cent. BC, AIN DARA (CAT.NR. MES. 99).



FIG. 37 B: HEADS OF SPHINX-PROTOMES, AIN DARA, 13TH AND 11TH cent. BC (CAT.NRS. MES. 94, 100).

A remarkable object from the 11th cent. BC is a sarcophagus called after its owner, the king of Byblos, Ahiram, which was found in a tomb in this city. The main scene shows the (deceased) king seated on a throne that is decorated with standing winged sphinxes while a female figure,

⁴²³ 13th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Mes. 94: Ain Dārā Sphinx Protomes;
11th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Mes. 99: Ain Dārā Sphinx Protomes and Reliefs.

presumably a priestess, offers him a lotus flower⁴²⁴. The lotus-bud, shown in the frieze, symbolizes rebirth, the faded flower held by the king, stands for death⁴²⁵.

A Pyxis from the 10th-9th cent. BC also relates the sphinx with death; this time the winged creature decorates the throne of a deceased woman, a motif that is found also on an ivory plaque from Fort Shalmaneser, dating from the 9th-8th cent. BC⁴²⁶. A similar iconography can also be seen on a Pyxis from the same period; it shows two men - sitting and eating at a table - who are probably deceased⁴²⁷. In Syro-Mesopotamia, death for humans meant some sort of travel to the Underworld, where he would "survive" in the shape of spirit or ghost and where he would live a life that was inferior to the one he lived before he deceased⁴²⁸. Hereby, the rituals of the burial and, perhaps even more important, the offerings the deceased receives, were crucial. Without proper rites and enough offerings, the dead would haunt the (world of the) living. The Syro-Mesopotamian belief that the dead consumed dust and the Assyrian-Babylonian conviction that hell was populated by gruesome monsters and demons, contrasts sharply with the thought of the Egyptian glorious Afterlife, the abode where death becomes life again. The idea of the Underworld being populated by terrifying demonic creatures, however, seems to have only come into existence during the 1st mill. BC.

Sometimes now, the sphinx starts appearing on its own, without other elements or motifs, like it so often does in Egypt, e.g. on a seal dating from ca. 1000 BC and on a stamp seal from Palestine dating from the 10th-8th cent. BC⁴²⁹. While Schmitt thinks the latter seems to be the only official seal with a sphinx from Israel, the former is interesting because the body of the human-headed creature seems to be covered by feathers while the usual lion-tail is replaced by a bird's tail and the lion-feet by eagle-claws⁴³⁰. The meaning of this image is still unclear.

A relief dating from the 9th-8th cent. BC and probably found in a palace in Damascus (Syria) shows an egyptianizing winged sphinx, wearing the Egyptian double-crown and Osiris-beard that is typical of the basic type Egyptian sphinx⁴³¹. Contrary to most Egyptian sphinxes however, this sphinx is not lying down but striding along.

⁴²⁴ Cat.Nr. Mes. 96: Ahiham Sarcophagus. Hakimian 2008: 49.

⁴²⁵ For a detailed analysis of the Ahiham Sarcophagus; Rehm 2004.

⁴²⁶ 10th-9th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Mes. 102: Pyxis Sphinx Decorating Throne Deceased Woman; 9th-8th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Mes. 112: Seated Winged Sphinx with Seated Woman.

⁴²⁷ Cat.Nr. Mes. 110: Pyxis Mahmudiya.

⁴²⁸ Black and Green 1992: 27-28, 58-62, 324; Scurlock 2013: 151-152.

⁴²⁹ Cat.Nr. Mes. 12: Winged Sphinx with Eagle Claws; Cat.Nr. Mes. 16: Recumbent Winged Sphinx.

⁴³⁰ Schmitt 2001: 129.

⁴³¹ Cat.Nr. Mes. 33: Sphinx with Double Egyptian Crown.

Five objects from the 9th-8th cent. BC show the sphinx engaged in a sort of fight; once, on a throne, it is attacked by winged geniuses, once, on a relief, two sphinxes attack a winged bull, while at the same time one of the sphinxes is itself attacked by a lion⁴³². A second relief shows a sphinx attacked by a demon⁴³³. On a third relief, a winged genius functions as a Master of Animals that is holding two sphinxes by a back-leg upside down while on a fourth relief a winged sphinx is merely threatened by a winged genius⁴³⁴. The motif of a 9th cent. BC image, wherein the sphinx attacks a wild goat was already known in the 13th cent. BC⁴³⁵.

On two seals, a sphinx is fighting with or attacked by an archer. The first of these shows a man aiming with bow and arrow at a winged bearded sphinx while between the two of them there appears to stand a small Sacred Tree⁴³⁶. The second seal is still more interesting: it shows the same motif of a man aiming with bow and arrow at a sphinx. But this time the archer is standing in a chariot drawn by another winged and bearded sphinx⁴³⁷. Could it be that the sphinx in this image represents both good and evil?

Around the 9th cent. BC the type of sphinx becomes more robust, and this type will be used to support columns (cf. *infra*)⁴³⁸. Most remarkable is the fact that from the Neo-Assyrian period onwards (9th cent. BC) the sphinx suddenly appears in monumental size, mostly in the form of a bull-sphinx, at entrances and gates of palaces so that it can be considered part of the architecture (cf. 3.2.3.3. Bull-sphinxes). Probably the oldest gate-guard sphinxes on a bigger scale date from ca. 900 BC and stood at the entrance to the Temple-Palace in Tell Halaf, Syria⁴³⁹. These, however, were not of the common bull-sphinx type, but were female human-headed lions.

The oldest of this type of gate-guards were found in Assur, but they were frequently attested in the Neo-Assyrian palaces of Khorsabad, Nineveh and Nimrud (Fig. 38)⁴⁴⁰. The Persian Achaemenid took over this tradition, but they started using the motif in their columns. With

⁴³² Throne: Cat.Nr. Mes. 17: Throne Winged Female Sphinx Attacked by Winged Geniuses; Relief: Cat.Nr. Mes. 18: Winged Sphinxes Attack Winged Bull.

⁴³³ Cat.Nr. Mes. 108: Relief Winged Sphinx Grabbed by Bird-headed Demon.

⁴³⁴ Cat.Nr. Mes. 28: Relief Winged Genius Holds Winged Sphinxes Upside Down; Cat.Nr. Mes. 29: Relief Winged Sphinx Threatened by Winged Genius.

⁴³⁵ 13th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Mes. 10: Sphinx Attacks Wild Goat; 9th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Mes. 19: Winged Sphinx Attacking Wild Goat.

⁴³⁶ Cat.Nr. Mes. 35: Sphinx Fighting Archer.

⁴³⁷ Cat.Nr. Mes. 32: Archer in a Sphinx-drawn Chariot Attacking a Sphinx.

⁴³⁸ Cat.Nr. Mes. 109: Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Three Gods.

⁴³⁹ Cat.Nr. Mes. 104: Entrance Door Sphinx.

⁴⁴⁰ E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 21: Winged Bull-sphinx with Horned Crown.

the gate-guards (and the later columns), it was not the architectural function that was important, but the magical one, more specifically the apotropaic function⁴⁴¹. The idea to let pairs of sphinxes magically protect an entrance or gateway, as seen in these (Neo-)Assyrian palaces, probably derived from Hittite examples. Traditionally in Near Eastern archaeology these guarding bull-sphinx are called *Lamassu*⁴⁴².

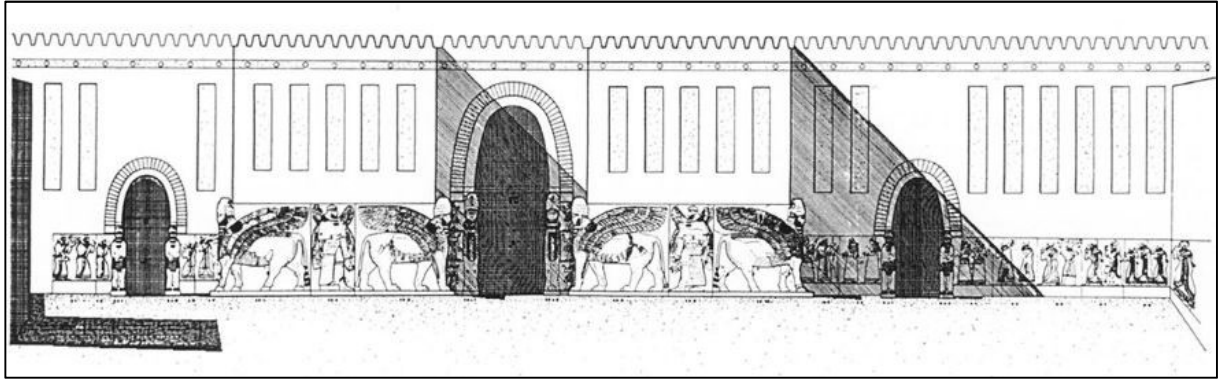


FIG. 38: DECORATION OF FAÇADE OF PALACE OF ASSURNASIRPAL II (RECONSTRUCTION DRAWING), 883-859 BC, NIMRUD (CAT.NRS. MES. 20-22).

At the same time as the appearance of the monumental sphinxes, façades of palaces and temples were decorated with reliefs of sphinxes, which were part of the architecture. In Tell Halaf in Syria, two of these winged sphinxes have beards and wear a horned cap, which identifies them as male⁴⁴³. A third one of these sphinxes is beardless and does not have the horned cap, which makes it female⁴⁴⁴. The last one of these reliefs shows a horned and winged composite creature with a lion-protome on its breast. Gilibert identifies this one as female, because of the absence of a beard, but I would think the horned cap also suggests a male creature⁴⁴⁵.

The temple of the Weather-god in Aleppo was renovated and decorated with reliefs of sphinxes at around 900 BC; some of the 13th cent. BC reliefs were re-used on this occasion⁴⁴⁶. While the older relief shows a striding winged sphinx on its own (lion-protome on its breast), the newer

⁴⁴¹ Demisch 1977: 54, 56.

For more information about the iconographic program of Assyrian palaces: Russell 1998.

⁴⁴² E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 23: Nimrud Gate *Lamassu*.

⁴⁴³ Cat.Nr. Mes. 24: Relief Winged Bearded Sphinx with Horns; Cat.Nr. Mes. 25: Relief Winged Sphinx with Horns.

⁴⁴⁴ Cat.Nr. Mes. 27: Relief Female Winged Sphinx.

⁴⁴⁵ Gilibert 2011b: 88-89.

⁴⁴⁶ New: Cat.Nr. Mes. 105: Man, with Sphinx, Scorpion-man and Lion; Re-used: Cat.Nr. Mes. 95: Aleppo Sphinx Relief.

one shows the composite creature in the context of a religious procession; the sphinx acts here as a companion of the Weather-god (as do the Shepherd-god, the Scorpion-man and the lion).

Sphinxes in the company of deities can also be seen on four cylinder-seal impressions, dating from the 15th-14th cent. BC, from the 10th-9th cent. BC and from the 8th-7th cent. BC. One of these shows a bull-sphinx controlled by a male god while a hero holds the sphinx down with a foot⁴⁴⁷. Behind the god stands the goddess Ishtar, the most important Syro-Mesopotamian goddess at all periods who combines three different aspects in one person⁴⁴⁸. She was not only the goddess of love and (extramarital) sexual behaviour, but she was also lusting after power and fond of battle, characteristics which made her into a warlike goddess. Next to this she was also seen as the personification of the planet Venus, the morning and the evening star. Her animal was the lion. On the second seal two protective geniuses (Lakhmu) each stand on a winged and bearded bull-sphinx⁴⁴⁹. They flank a male god standing on a bull while he is being offered to. The oldest seal shows a worshipper, who might be a king in front of a goddess, behind the goddess sits a pair of sphinxes and a pair of lions, of which one holds a dead stag⁴⁵⁰.

Another seal, datable to the 9th-7th cent. BC, was found in Tell Ahmar (Til Barsib) in Syria and shows a recumbent bearded sphinx surrounded by Egyptian symbols: a *Uraeus*, the Red Crown, and an *Ankh*-sign⁴⁵¹. One more seal, from around 800 BC, shows two winged bearded sphinxes being held by the god Marduk acting like a Master of Animals⁴⁵².

More monumental sphinxes, and of a rather robust type, were used on the Hilani Façade of the Palace in Tell Halaf, where they flanked three deities: the goddess Hebat on a lion, her husband, the Weather-god, on a bull, and an unidentified god also standing on a lion⁴⁵³.

A great number of artefacts, more exactly ivory plaques probably used as furniture inlays, have been found in Fort Shalmaneser in Nimrud (ancient Kalhu). This complex consisted of a palace, arsenal and storerooms for the Assyrian army. Numerous artefacts were decorated with sphinxes and here the first criosphinxes, creatures with lion-bodies and ram-heads, can be seen;

⁴⁴⁷ Cat.Nr. Mes. 106: God Controls Bull-sphinx.

⁴⁴⁸ Black and Green 1992: 108-109.

⁴⁴⁹ Cat.Nr. Mes. 107: Pair of Sphinxes with Lakhmu and God.

⁴⁵⁰ Cat.Nr. Mes. 89: Goddess with Worshipper (King?).

⁴⁵¹ Cat.Nr. Mes. 86: Scarab with Sphinx, *Uraeus* and Crown.

The *Ankh*-sign is a symbol for life (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs): Lurker 1996: 27; Wilkinson 1996: 177.

⁴⁵² Cat.Nr. Mes. 119: Bel-Marduk Holding Two Sphinxes.

⁴⁵³ Cat.Nr. Mes. 109: Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Three Gods.

For more information about visualization of power in the Bit-Hilani Palaces: Osborne 2012.

the same composite beings are depicted on a similar plaque, found in Arslan Tash in Syria and dating from the same period⁴⁵⁴. These criosphinxes, as are the human-headed sphinxes and griffins coming from the same place, are all shown in association with Egyptian symbols: double-crown, lotus-flowers, *Uraeus*, Osiris-beard, etc. For the Egyptians, the criosphinx was the Sun-god in his nightly appearance, but in the Near East ram-sphinxes almost always were shown as guardians of the Sacred Tree⁴⁵⁵.

Griffins were already known from an earlier date in Syro-Mesopotamia; the oldest ones dating from the 14th cent. BC, although there probably were some present on the mural in the palace of Zimri-Lim dating from the 18th cent. BC⁴⁵⁶. Griffins are also depicted on a copper bowl from the 9th or 8th cent. BC found in the north-west palace in Nimrud. These falcon-headed winged sphinxes are adorned with *Uraei* and with the Egyptian double-crown, while they are shown trampling men⁴⁵⁷. The rest of the scene shows winged sun-disks, lotus-flowers and papyrus⁴⁵⁸. Because the lotus-flower closes at night and sinks under water, from which it rises again the following day, the flower was a symbol of the sun and of rebirth⁴⁵⁹.

The composite creatures on the plaques found in Fort Shalmaneser can be seen alone, in pairs, with a Sacred Tree, in the company of men or with other animals; they are being supported by men or are seen offering, trampling enemies, and so on. It is believed that all these artefacts, dating to the 9th-8th cent. BC came to Nimrud as booty or tribute. Because these objects were not native to Nimrud, they will not be discussed in detail (Cat.Nrs. Mes. 36-78, 114-118). There can, however, be three main themes distinguished: the most basic are sphinxes (human-, ram-, or falcon-headed) striding between lotus-flowers or trampling an enemy or simply lying down.

There are pairs of the creatures antithetically shown, offering or flanking a Sacred Tree⁴⁶⁰. But there are some plaques that show a different iconography that is more interesting. Two plaques show a winged sphinx, once human-headed, once ram-headed, that is carried by two kneeling

⁴⁵⁴ Cat.Nr. Mes. 31: Pair of Sphinxes with Ram-head.

⁴⁵⁵ Demisch 1977: 49.

E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 31.

All images of ram-sphinxes found in Mesopotamia however show a mixture of Mesopotamian and Egyptian elements (e.g. ram-sphinxes in Egypt never have wings).

⁴⁵⁶ Cat.Nr. Mes. 5: Master of Animals with Lions - Sphinx and Griffin; St.M. Nr. Mes. 22: Investiture Zimri-Lim.

⁴⁵⁷ Cat.Nr. Mes. 34: Bowl Pair of Falcon-headed Sphinxes.

⁴⁵⁸ Papyrus was considered a natural symbol of vitality: Lurker 1996: 94; Wilkinson 1996: 123; cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs).

⁴⁵⁹ Lurker 1996: 77-78; Wilkinson 1996: 121.

⁴⁶⁰ Offering: e.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 44: Plaque Two Offering Crowned Ram-headed Sphinxes;
With Sacred Tree: e.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 53: Pair of Standing Human-headed Sphinxes.

man⁴⁶¹. One plaque shows a striding winged sphinx, but this time the head of the sphinx is not of the usual Egyptian type, but shows the much rounder Syrian-type head and is turned to the left⁴⁶². On some plaques, the sphinx is shown in the company of a human male and in one case near a falcon-headed man⁴⁶³. Only once the sphinx is depicted with an animal, in this case a bull⁴⁶⁴. Also, only once a griffin, the falcon-headed sphinx, is shown seated⁴⁶⁵.

One of the ivory amulets found in Fort Shalmaneser is totally different from the others while it depicts a (deceased?) woman sitting at a table laden with food (perhaps offerings) while a winged sphinx is sitting under her chair⁴⁶⁶. This is one of the few instances where a woman that apparently is not a goddess is shown nearby a sphinx. The same motif, a sphinx with a woman, can be seen on a Pyxis dating from ca. 900 BC that also was found in Nimrud⁴⁶⁷.

Motifs of which the meaning is not so clear are those where the sphinx is shown surrounded by seemingly randomly chosen animals. A Kassite cylinder seal e.g. (16th-12th cent. BC) shows the sphinx in the company of a male figure, an ostrich, a fly and a gazelle⁴⁶⁸. Table XV gives an overview of the different contexts the basic types of sphinxes (in this case, wingless, winged, winged bull-sphinx, ram-headed sphinx and griffin) have been found in⁴⁶⁹.

The most common type in Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant seems to be the winged human-headed sphinx, which also appears in the greatest variety of contexts. The type without wings appears only near god- and royal symbols. Both ram-headed sphinxes and griffins appear next

⁴⁶¹ Cat.Nr. Mes. 40: Plaque Winged Striding Sphinx Supported by Two Men; Cat.Nr. Mes. 43: Plaque Winged Ram-headed Sphinx Supported by Two Men.

⁴⁶² Cat.Nr. Mes. 49: Standing Winged Human-headed sphinx.

⁴⁶³ Cat.Nr. Mes. 51: Standing Winged Human-headed Sphinx with Human; Cat.Nr. Mes. 71: Striding Winged Falcon-headed Sphinx with Two Men; Cat.Nr. Mes. 78: Recumbent Winged Sphinx with Man Holding Blossoms; Cat.Nr. Mes. 52: Standing Winged Human-headed Sphinx with Falcon-headed Man.

⁴⁶⁴ Cat.Nr. Mes. 50: Standing Winged Human-headed Sphinx with Bull.

⁴⁶⁵ Cat.Nr. Mes. 66: Seated Winged Falcon-headed Sphinx.

⁴⁶⁶ Cat.Nr. Mes. 112: Seated Winged Sphinx with Seated Woman.

⁴⁶⁷ Cat.Nr. Mes. 102: Pyxis Sphinx Decorating Throne Deceased Woman.

⁴⁶⁸ Cat.Nr. Mes. 121: Sphinx, Man, Gazelle and Ostrich.

Black and Green 1992: 84-85:

The fly is an animal that occurs quite often in myths related to the flood. In one of these myths the dead bodies floating in the water are compared to flies, while in the myth of Utnapishtim, the sole survivor of the flood, it is told that the first sacrifice he made to the gods after the flood made the gods buzz around like flies. The mother-goddess Nintu had received a necklace of fly-jewels from Anu and made a vow upon this jewel never to forget the devastating flood.

In another myth, not related to the flood, it was said that a fly helped Ishtar when the galla-demons chased after Dumuzi.

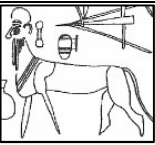




Flies represented on Old Babylonian seals may have been a symbol of Nergal as the god of disease and death.

⁴⁶⁹ Only sphinxes from the Catalogue, i.e. from the period 1600-800 BC, are taken up in this overview.

to men, animals and royal symbols and can be shown controlling a man, but griffins also appear next to other mythological creatures, near divine symbols and even once near a goddess.

PART 1 – 4. THE SPHINX IN SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA & THE LEVANT

STF XV – SPHINXES (1600-800 BC) IN CONTEXT – SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA & LEVANT

CONTEXT → TYPE ↓	ANIMALS/MEN/ MYTHOLOGICAL CREATURES	KINGS/QUEENS/ ROYAL SYMBOLS	GOD(- SYMBOLS)	SUPPORTING/ GUARDING	CONTROLLED BY/CONTROLLING	ATTACKED BY/ATTACKING
 <p>1. BASIC 15TH CENT. BC SCARAB 9TH-7TH CENT. BC PLAQUE/SCARAB</p>		<i>Royal symb.</i> (3, 37, 85)	<i>Godsymb.</i> (3)			
 <p>2. WINGED 15TH-10TH BC SEAL/PLATE/ARTEFACT 10TH-8TH CENT. BC SEAL/RELIEF/ARTEFACT /PLAQUE/SEAL/POTTERY /RELIEF</p>	<p><i>Men</i> (1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 32, 35, 40, 51, 78, 79, 81, 83, 84, 89, 91, 96, 97, 102, 105, 110, 112, 129) <i>Animals</i> (1, 2, 5, 6, 10, 13, 18, 19, 50, 89, 93, 96, 97, 102, 105, 109, 110, 115, 119, 124, 129) <i>Myth. Creat.</i> (1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 14, 17, 18, 28, 29, 30, 52, 82, 91, 92, 105, 108, 110)</p>	<p><i>Royal Symb.</i> (5, 6, 15, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 45, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 63, 79, 84, 96, 110) <i>King</i> (7, 96)</p>	<p><i>Godsymb.</i> (1, 2, 5, 13, 19, 30, 53, 54, 78, 82, 88, 91, 92, 93, 101, 115, 119) <i>Goddess</i> (14, 88, 89, 92, 102, 109) <i>God</i> (30, 105, 109)</p>	<p><i>Guarding Sun disk</i> (2)</p>	<p><i>Controlling Lions</i> (1) <i>Controlling Men</i> (40, 47, 81) <i>Controlled by Men</i> (4, 32, 91) <i>Controlled by God</i> (119) <i>Controlled by Winged Genius</i> (28, 29) <i>Controlled by Myth. Creat.</i> (30, 91)</p>	<p><i>Attacked by Winged Genius</i> (17) <i>Attacked by Lion</i> (18) <i>Attacked by Archer</i> (32, 35) <i>Attacked by Men</i> (83) <i>Attacked by Bird-Headed demon</i> (108) <i>Attacking Wild Goat</i> (10, 19) <i>Attacking Winged Bull</i> (18) <i>Attacking Men</i> (84)</p>
 <p>3. WINGED BULL- SPHINX 10TH-7TH CENT. BC SEAL/RELIEF</p>	<p><i>Myth. Creat.</i> (106, 107)</p>		<p><i>God</i> (106, 107) <i>Goddess</i> (107)</p>	<p><i>Guarding Entrance</i> (21, 22)</p>		
 <p>4. CRIOSPHINX 9TH-8TH CENT. BC PLAQUE</p>	<p><i>Men</i> (43, 121) <i>Animals</i> (121)</p>	<p><i>Royal Symb.</i> (31, 42, 43, 73, 74, 75, 76, 118)</p>			<p><i>Controlling Men</i> (43)</p>	
 <p>5. GRIFFIN 15TH CENT. BC SEAL 9TH-7TH CENT. BC SEAL/POTTERY/PLAQUE</p>	<p><i>Men</i> (2, 9, 34, 71, 80) <i>Animals</i> (2) <i>Myth. Creat.</i> (82)</p>	<p><i>Royal Symb.</i> (2, 34, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 80, 116, 117)</p>	<p><i>Godsymb.</i> (9, 34, 82, 117) <i>Goddess</i> (117)</p>		<p><i>Controlling Men</i> (34, 79)</p>	

4.3 AFTER 800 BC

Sphinxes still appear on seals in the following centuries, often subdued or controlled by some kind or other of Master of Animals or Hero and sometimes engaged in a fight⁴⁷⁰. On one of these seals the sphinx is depicted with the head of Bes instead of a human head (St.M. Nr. Mes. 70), on another seal it is a griffin, a falcon-headed sphinx (St.M. Nr. Mes. 73). Both these motifs, sphinx controlled or engaged in fight, appear on no other objects except for seals. However, on one bronze bowl from Phoenicia, dating from the 8th cent. BC, the sphinx is shown trampling an enemy (St.M. Nr. Mes. 37). The decoration on this bowl is a typical eclectic mix of motifs and elements from different regions: the extended wings of the sphinx remind one of some sphinxes from the Aegean; the head looks like the heads of some Syrian sphinxes; the crown resembles the Egyptian White Crown (cf. 5. The Sphinx in Egypt) and the motif itself, the sphinx trampling an enemy, is Egyptian in origin too (cf. 8.1. Sphinx/Griffin/Criosphinx Trampling...).

There are a lot of sphinxes that are depicted on themselves or in pairs without any other context, or with other animals, or with a Sacred Tree or a rosette or a sun-disk⁴⁷¹. But some sphinxes are depicted near divinities, both male and female⁴⁷².

⁴⁷⁰ Controlled: St.M. Nr. Mes. 42: Winged Geniuses Step on Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Mes. 43: Master of Animals with Pair of Sphinxes; St.M. Nr. Mes. 56: Pair of Sphinxes with Winged Hero; St.M. Nr. Mes. 60: Hero with Two Sphinxes; St.M. Nr. Mes. 68: Hero Standing on Pair of Sphinxes; St.M. Nr. Mes. 70: Master of Animals with Pair of Bes-headed Sphinxes; St.M. Nr. Mes. 73: Master of Animals Holding Griffins;
In Fight: St.M. Nr. Mes. 62: Sphinx Attacked by Griffin; St.M. Nr. Mes. 64: Hero Attacks Sphinx; St.M. Nr. 75: Hero Slaying Sphinx.

⁴⁷¹ Alone or in pairs: St. M. Nr. Mes. 30: Plaques in the Form of Sphinxes; St.M. Nr. Mes. 31: Openwork Plaque Winged Sphinx; St. M. Nr. Mes. 32: Openwork Plaque with Striding Winged Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Mes. 34: Standing/Striding Winged Bull-sphinx; St.M. Nr. Mes. 36: Plaque Recumbent Winged Sphinx with Outspread Wings; St.M. Nr. Mes. 39: Horse Bit with Standing Winged Horned Sphinx; St. M. Nr. Mes. 40: Standing Winged Horned Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Mes. 52: Striding Winged Sphinx; St. M. Nr. Mes. 55: Relief Recumbent Winged Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Mes. 57: Figure Standing Winged Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Mes. 63: Sphinx with Tiara; St.M. Nr. Mes. 66: Finger-ring Winged Bull-sphinx; St.M. Nr. Mes. 67: Persepolis Bull-sphinx; St.M. Nr. Mes. 71: Pair of Sphinxes; St.M. Nr. Mes. 72: Recumbent Winged Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Mes. 74: Sphinx with Wing Ending in Head of Bird of Prey.

With other animals: St. M. Nr. Mes. 30: Kohl Container Sphinx and Lion; St.M. Nr. Mes. 53: Altar with Sphinxes and Lions; St.M. Nr. Mes. 58: Vessel/Decorated Egg from Isis Tomb; St.M. Nr. Mes. 69: Pair of Sphinxes with Lions, Bulls and Winged Lions; St.M. Nr. Mes. 77: Coin Seated Winged Sphinx.

With a Sacred Tree, a rosette or a sun-disc: St.M. Nr. Mes. 44: Plaque with Striding Winged Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Mes. 45: Horse Blinker with Seated Winged Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Mes. 47: Plaque Winged Creatures Approaching Stylized Tree; St.M. Nr. Mes. 48: Pair of Winged Sphinxes with Rosettes; St.M. Nr. Mes. 49: Sphinx Kneeling before Sacred Tree; St.M. Nr. Mes. 51: Seal-Ring Two Sphinxes Flanking Tree; St.M. Nr. Mes. 65: Relief Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Winged Sun-disc; St.M. Nr. Mes. 76: Pair of Sphinxes with Winged Sun-disc.

⁴⁷² St.M. Nr. Mes. 35: Naked Goddess with Pair of Sphinxes; St.M. Nr. Mes. 41: Shell Engraved with Winged Female Deity, Sphinxes and Lotus Plants; St.M. Nr. Mes. 50: Scarab Winged Sphinx Decorating God-throne; St.M. Nr. Mes. 54: Pair of Recumbent Sphinxes Flanking Goddess; St.M. Nr. Mes. 59: Scarab Recumbent Bearded Sphinx.

4.4 FUNCTION AND MEANING

When looking at the images of sphinxes from Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant one must first keep the concept of *Šalmu* in mind, whereby each image has a communicative and an apotropaic aspect. This means that every image of a sphinx has at the same time a protective aspect attached to it, although this is perhaps not always the most important of its functions, while it also has a willingness to listen. Also, one must keep in consideration that the sphinx seemingly could have different meanings and functions, both good and evil.

While the sphinx could guard, and protect, it could also cause diseases or (natural) disasters. These functions become clear when studying the available material. And when one does study it, it also becomes clear that these two different roles it could play, were not restricted to a certain period, but were intermixed during the different eras. This already starts in the early beginning (3rd mill. BC), where the sphinx is mostly depicted as a companion of the Sun-god in his boat⁴⁷³. One can assume the sphinx is an attribute of this god, there to assist the god, increase the god's power and thus totally under this god's control (cf. 3.2.4.1.1. The Human-headed Lion and the Sun-god in his Boat).

But then there are the other seals that show the sphinx driven by a Bird-man, taken by tail and beard by two men, driven by a man wearing a horned cap, although this last one occurs also in the presence of the Sun-god⁴⁷⁴. The motif of the sphinx taken by tail and beard by two men (St.M. Nr. Mes. 2) differs slightly from the others, because the two men cannot be identified as gods. It seems the sphinx is not always seen as a benevolent creature, the aid of the Sun-god, but sometimes needs to be restrained, even when in the company of the Sun-god himself (St.M. Nr. Mes. 10).

These iconographies - the sphinx as a companion of a god or the sphinx threatened, attacked or controlled - continue to exist in later periods, although the direct relation with the Sun-god seems to disappear and is replaced by associations with a variety of gods or goddesses. Examples of these can be seen from the 15th cent. BC until the 7th cent. BC (and perhaps even

⁴⁷³ E.g. St.M. Nr. Mes. 3: Bearded Sphinx with Boat and Chariot; St.M. Nr. Mes. 5: Striding Bearded Sphinx with Boat Sun-god; St.M. Nr. Mes. 9: Standing Bearded Sphinx with Sun-god in Boat.

⁴⁷⁴ St.M. Nr. Mes. 1: Striding Bearded Sphinx with Animals and Bird-man; St.M. Nr. Mes. 2: Bearded Sphinx Taken by Tail and Beard; St.M. Nr. Mes. 10: Sphinx Driven by Stick.

later)⁴⁷⁵. Most of these divinities, except three, Hathor, Ishtar and Marduk, cannot be positively identified, but they can both be male (7) or female (7)⁴⁷⁶.

Also, the sphinx being controlled or attacked occurs during all later periods, from the 15th-14th cent. BC until the 5th cent. BC⁴⁷⁷. Sphinxes can be attacked, threatened or controlled by geniuses or heroes, by men, by gods, by a Master of Animals and by mythological creatures⁴⁷⁸. It is, however, remarkable that when a sphinx is shown being attacked or threatened, it never occurs in the presence of a divinity after the 3rd mill. BC. On only two occasions the sphinx, once a bull-sphinx and once a "standard" sphinx, is controlled by a male god and only once two protective geniuses flanking a worshipping scene, are standing on a winged bull-sphinx⁴⁷⁹. So, on two of these occasions it is a bull-sphinx, not a human-headed, lion-bodied sphinx, which is being controlled when being in the presence of a god. This may suggest that sphinxes usually were not out of control when they were in the presence of a god, that they automatically bend themselves to the wishes of the divinities, but that they, once they were away from the divine presence, had to be reminded sometimes of their position and responsibilities. After all, they were once untamed and dangerous, and perhaps this character trait had not completely disappeared.

One of the images of a sphinx that is being attacked is remarkable in that it shows not only the sphinx that has to be gotten (back) under control, but also one that is already controlled, while it draws the chariot that carries the archer who is attacking the wild sphinx⁴⁸⁰.

From all this we may deduce that the sphinx, from being a companion to the Sun-god, albeit a companion that should always be watched carefully, became in later periods a companion for different, mostly unidentifiable, gods without losing some of its dangerous, uncontrolled aspects. It seemed that it was necessary from time to time to remind the animal of its position; but for the most part it performed one of its functions excellent: enhancing the power of the divinity with which it was associated and guarding and protecting this deity.

⁴⁷⁵ E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 88: Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Hathor-head; St.M. Nr. Mes. 54: Pair of Recumbent Sphinxes Flanking Goddess.

⁴⁷⁶ E.g. ST.M. Nr. Mes. 22: Investiture Zimri-Lim.

⁴⁷⁷ 15th-14th cent. BC: e.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 4: Master of Animals and Nude Female Figure. 5th cent. BC: e.g. St.M. Nr. Mes. 75: Hero Slaying Sphinx.

⁴⁷⁸ E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 17: Throne Winged Female Sphinx Attacked by Winged Geniuses; Cat.Nr. Mes. 32: Archer in a Sphinx-drawn Chariot Attacking a Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Mes. 14: Master of Animals Holds Sphinxes Upside Down; St.M. Nr. Mes. 62: Sphinx Attacked by Griffin.

⁴⁷⁹ Cat.Nr. Mes. 106: God Controls Bull-sphinx; Cat.Nr. Mes. 107: Pair of Sphinxes with Lakhmu and God.

⁴⁸⁰ Cat.Nr. Mes. 32: Archer in a Sphinx-drawn Chariot Attacking a Sphinx.

This apotropaic function is most clear when the sphinx flanks or decorates a throne of a god or goddess, although this iconography occurs only relatively late. The earliest example dates from the 8th cent. BC, even if the motif of a sphinx flanking or decorating a throne of a king can be seen earlier, namely from the 14th-12th cent. BC onwards⁴⁸¹.

As said before, Mesopotamians believed all images to have a certain apotropaic aspect, and the sphinx was no exception to this⁴⁸². Sphinxes depicted alone or in pair without any other context, most probably had an apotropaic function⁴⁸³. Objects decorated with sphinxes, sphinx statuettes, both small and monumental, reliefs of sphinxes, on walls, vases, seals and scarabs, all had this underlying function: to guard, protect and ward off evil, not only to serve the living, but sometimes also the dead. The most obvious example of this is, of course, the 11th cent. BC sarcophagus belonging to Ahiram, the king of Byblos, but there are other images that most likely can be related to death or the deceased⁴⁸⁴. The same motif occurs on a Pyxis that was found in Iraq (Nimrud) and that dates from around 900 BC: a deceased woman sits on a throne that is decorated with a winged sphinx⁴⁸⁵.

The use of pottery related to death may suggest that other ceramics of which the function is not clear, also belonged in that context. E.g. a beaker where two sphinxes, one male and one female flank a vase from which water flows (the vase with streams symbolises fertility and abundance; Cat.Nr. Mes. 101: Beaker Pair of Sphinxes with Aryballos), or a plate where two sphinxes, surrounded by lions, stand near a Sacred Tree (Cat.Nr. Mes. 103: Plate Female Sphinxes Flanking Tree)⁴⁸⁶.

All in all, however, the link between sphinx and death seems not to have been of the utmost importance within Syro-Mesopotamian thought. A distinct relation between the two can be seen clearly on only 7 out of the 206 images that have been studied. I dare to state, therefore, that, although the sphinx gets depicted with the deceased or on objects that were used in death rituals, it was foremost there for its apotropaic or protective function, not because it had a

⁴⁸¹ Demisch 1977: 57.

8th cent. BC: St.M. Nr. Mes. 35: Naked Goddess with Pair of Sphinxes;
14th-12th cent. BC: e.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 7: Relief Winged Sphinx Decorating Throne.

⁴⁸² Gräff and Ritter 2011: 53-54.

⁴⁸³ E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 111: Box Winged Bearded Sphinx with Horned Crown; Cat.Nr. Mes. 113: Horse-bit with Pair of Winged Horned Sphinxes; Cat.Nr. Mes. 120: Furniture Ornament Seated Winged Sphinx; Cat.Nr. Mes. 122: Striding Sphinx with Extended Wings.

⁴⁸⁴ Cat.Nr. Mes. 96: Ahiram Sarcophagus; e.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 112: Seated Winged Sphinx with Seated Woman.

⁴⁸⁵ Cat.Nr. Mes. 102: Pyxis Sphinx Decorating Throne Deceased Woman.

⁴⁸⁶ Black and Green 1992: 80-81, 184.

specific relation with death or the dead, other than being a companion to and honouring the deceased.

The last function of the sphinx in Syro-Mesopotamia is one that has only recently been brought to attention and has been convincingly argued by Gilibert, namely the supervising and witnessing of treaties, contracts and rituals⁴⁸⁷.

Gilibert argues that the female Anatolian sphinxes that were discovered at the so-called Sphinx-gate in Hattusha could be compared to the '*damnaššara*', a mythological creature whose main function was to guard ritual proceedings (cf. *infra*). Probably, the Syro-Mesopotamian sphinxes sometimes took on this function too. E.g. when they appeared on seals that were used to seal (political) documents, treaties, contracts, ..., their main function was to ensure that the contents of the document were correctly observed and/or executed and when they were placed at or near locations where ritual offerings or proceedings took place, their main role was to guarantee the correct execution of the rituals⁴⁸⁸. An obvious and well-known example of this are of course the sphinxes that are depicted on a mural dating from the 18th cent. BC from the Palace in Mari, Syria, that shows how Ishtar puts the office of kingship in the hands of Zimri-Lim, an image that makes it again clear that there is no sharp distinction between the political and the religious⁴⁸⁹.

With this last function, it becomes clear that the Syro-Mesopotamian sphinx was a very powerful creature, perhaps even not to be compared to other composite creatures regarding its status and functions.

The following table with an overview of the different occurrences of Syro-Mesopotamian and Levantine sphinxes is an adaptation and elaboration from a listing of aspects Demisch made for the Aegean sphinxes⁴⁹⁰.

⁴⁸⁷ Gilibert 2012a: 45-46; Gilibert 2012b: 89.

⁴⁸⁸ E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 16: Recumbent Winged Sphinx; Cat.Nr. Mes. 109: Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Three Gods.

⁴⁸⁹ Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: 29; Aruz 2008b: 123.

St.M. Nr. Mes. 22: Investiture Zimri-Lim: cf. 10.1.

⁴⁹⁰ Demisch 1977: 76.

I have adapted this listing to fit the four different regions; although only human-headed sphinxes have been considered, both images from the catalogue and the study material have been included. The tablets from Shalmaneser, however, have been left out (cf. *supra*).

<i>STF XVI - DIFFERENT ASPECTS & FUNCTIONS OF THE SYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN & LEVANTINE SPHINX</i>		
ASPECTS	MEDIA	MEANING/FUNCTION
As Master of Animals (Lions)	On a seal	<i>Personification of a God</i> Assisting man in his struggle for life
Alone or in Pair	On seals + as architectural elements + in the round + on artefacts + on amulets + on coin	<i>As amulet</i> Protective/Apotropaic
With Sacred Tree	On seals + on pottery + on artefacts + on jewellery + on architectural elements	<i>As guard</i> Protecting prosperity-bringing ruler
With Sun-disc or Rosette	On seal	<i>As companion of a god</i> Supporting/Enhancing divine power
With Animal Fight: lions and goats	On seals + on amulet	<i>Representative of Protective Forces</i> Assisting man in his struggle for life
Alone with Divinity		<i>Supporting/Assisting god(dess)</i> Supporting/Enhancing divine powers Supervising Procedures
Offering	On artefact	<i>Personification of people</i> Thanking/Demanding god for favour
Forming a Pair with Another Composite Creature: With Griffin and Sacred Tree	On seals + on artefact	<i>As guard</i> Protecting prosperity-bringing ruler
With Winged Lion Held by Master of Animals		<i>As attendants</i> Being submissive/supportive
Attacked by Genius, Lion, Archer, Bird-headed Demon, Griffin, Hero	On furniture + as architectural element + on seals	<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering cosmic order
Attacking Winged Bull, Wild Goat	As architectural element + on seals + on artefacts	<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering Cosmic & Divine Order OR <i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Helping men in his struggle for life
Trampling (Serpent; Enemy)		<i>Representative of Protective Forces</i> Helping man in his struggle for life
Controlled by Winged Genius, Bird-Man, Two Men, Man, God, Hero	On seals + on artefact + as architectural element	<i>Attendants</i> Being submissive/supportive
As Antithetical Pair, Flanking Divinity (Hathor; 3 Hilani-gods; Naked Goddess; Winged Goddess) (Religious) Ritual	On seal + on pottery + on architectural element + in the round + on artefacts	<i>Supporting/Assisting god(dess)</i> Enhancing divine powers <i>Representing/Assisting god(dess)</i> Supervising procedures
Flowing Aryballos, an Animal (Deer and Bird)	On seals + as architectural element	<i>As Guard</i> Protecting Fertility

Held by Master of Animals	On seals	<i>Attendants</i> Being submissive/supportive
As Pair Flanking Throne Of Ruler	On artefacts + on sarcophagus + on pottery	<i>Representing a god/higher power</i> Protective/Apotropaic Legitimising rulership
Of God(dess)		<i>As companion</i> Supporting/Enhancing divine power
Of a Deceased Woman		<i>Accompanying/Comforting</i> Protective/Apotropaic
As Pair Flanking Door/Gateway	As architectural element	<i>As guard</i> Protective/Apotropaic
As Antithetical Pair, Looking at Each Other or Looking Away	On pottery + on artefacts + on seals	<i>As guard</i> Protective/Apotropaic
With Animals or Other Composite Creatures, Alone or in Group	On artefacts + on seals + as architectural element + on altar	<i>Companion god</i> Supporting/Enhancing divine powers <i>As Guard</i> Protecting prosperity-bringing ruler
As Companion of the Dead	On artefacts	<i>Comforting/Defending/Revering</i> Protective/Apotropaic Participating in ancestor cult

When the sphinx is depicted near a Sacred Tree, alone, in pair, with other animals, or with another composite creature (e.g. griffin), it takes on the role of guard. Also, when sphinxes flank a throne of a ruler, they represent a higher power that is there to protect the ruler and legitimise his ruler ship. These are, however, one of the scarce instances the sphinx has a direct relation to the ruler, together with the instances when the sphinx, clearly under Egyptian influence, represents the ruler himself, as it does on some Old Syrian seals (e.g. St.M. Nrs. Mes. 17, 19).

In many cases, when sphinxes are depicted with other animals (e.g. lion) or composite creatures, they are shown as companions of specific gods, sometimes the Weather-god (with lion, Scorpion-man and a Shepherd-god), sometimes the Sun-god (with among others a Bird-man), and sometimes an unidentified god (with among others griffin and winged bull).

The same function, sphinxes occurring as attendants of gods, goddesses or divine powers, occurs in most images: when they are shown alone or in pair next to a divinity or to a throne of a god(-dess), when they are held or controlled by some creature or by men. In some cases, however, the sphinx itself even represents a divinity or a higher power, e.g. on the mural from the Palace of Zimri-Lim (St.M. Nr. Mes 22), where it, at first sight, acts as overseer of procedures (Cf. 12.1. Investiture Zimri-Lim).

The offering sphinx found in Megiddo (Cat.Nr. Mes. 90) clearly shows a strong Egyptian influence and reminds one of the Egyptian worshipping sphinx who is thought to represent Syrian women (Cat.Nr. Eg. 43); both have the same shape of head; the same broken wings and their tails are depicted in the same pose. Therefore, I assume this sphinx also does not represent the ruler, as this only rarely seems to be the case in Syro-Mesopotamia. Perhaps this sphinx was meant as a symbol of the people who pay their respect to a god or goddess and make offerings to ask the gods a favour. The image would then act as did the sphinxes in Egypt, who represented the offering pharaoh, namely, to be continuously present so that they could participate in every offering ritual that took place.

In only a few instances the sphinx acts as a companion of deceased persons, and then its role is comparable to that of the benevolent Greek *Kere*, whose main function is to comfort and accompany the dead person on his/her journey to the Afterlife. These images are however a minority, so it seems this function was not the most important of the Syro-Mesopotamian and Levantine sphinxes.

4.5 CONCLUSION SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA & THE LEVANT

Of the 29 pictures found in Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant belonging to the period before 1600 BC, 15 can be situated within the political context (with only two mentioning a ruler) while 14 were primarily connected to a religious context. 10 amongst them are related directly to a deity. Thus, it seems the sphinx from that period belongs equally to the religious and the political imagery (cf. STF XIV: Images from Syro-Mesopotamia & the Levant).

This meaning seems to change drastically in the later periods. From ca. 1600 BC onwards till ca. 800 BC the political context gets the upper hand (87 to 32; after 800 BC: 29 to 13). From the 128 images found in Syro-Mesopotamia belonging to the period from 1600 BC till 800 BC, 48, however, were found in Fort Shalmaneser in Ancient Kalhu (Nimrud), and these are thought to have belonged to a treasure that was plundered. But even if we do not include these, more sphinxes still belong to the political imagery (43 to 28 belonging to religious imagery: 10 remain miscellaneous).

The sphinx in Syro-Mesopotamia makes its first appearance as a companion/attribute of the Sun-god, but, from the 2nd mill. BC onwards (Old Syrian Period), the connection with this god seems to be less common and is replaced by an association with different, often unidentifiable, divinities. In this same period, however, the mighty sphinx seems to be regarded also as a not so reliable or even trustworthy creature; hence the images where it is shown controlled or even attacked. Also from the 2nd mill. BC; onwards, the control or domination often is executed by a Master of Animals.

From being associated with gods and goddesses, the sphinx gradually evolved towards its most significant function: that of guarding and protecting, and in many cases, even warding off evil. It could guard a Sacred Tree, a throne with either a ruler or a god or goddess, a Sun-disk or other god-symbols, gods or goddesses in person, towns, palaces, temples, and so on. In the latter cases, it often was part of the architecture, a feature that didn't exist in Syro-Mesopotamia before the 9th cent. BC.

There seems to have been a relation between the sphinx and death in a few cases but this only occurred so rarely (only 3 images from the period 1600-800 BC), that it is most probable that it only happened under foreign influence and that it was certainly not the most important function of the Syro-Mesopotamian sphinx.

Probably through contacts with northern Syria, a region that was heavily influenced by Anatolia, the sphinx in Syro-Mesopotamia took on a third function, namely that of overseer of political/religious rituals and procedures.

5 THE SPHINX IN EGYPT

<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>1600-800 BC</i>			<i>BEFORE 1600 BC & AFTER 800 BC</i>	
<i>153</i>	<i>92</i>			<i>61</i>	
	<i>POLITICAL</i>	<i>RELIGIOUS</i>	<i>UNDETERMINED</i>	<i>BEFORE:</i>	<i>AFTER:</i>
	49	42	1	31	30

STF XVII: IMAGES OF EGYPT

Of the period between 1600 and 800 BC, 92 images of sphinxes and griffins were found, of which 49 were identified as belonging to a mostly political context, 42 to a primarily religious context, and one that remains undetermined (Sphinx with Nubian Head: Cat.Nr. Eg. 92)⁴⁹¹. 31 images of sphinxes are gathered that belong to the period before 1600 BC, 30 to the period following our main period.

It is generally thought that most images of Egyptian sphinxes represent the pharaoh, although it can also sometimes represent the queen, or a divinity⁴⁹². Many sphinxes have a head that resembles that of the pharaoh they represent (e.g. Thutmoses III: Cat.Nr. Eg. 14, Hatshepsut: Cat.Nr. Eg. 29). That this custom was deeply rooted, is shown by a relief found in the Temple of Luxor, where king Alexander the Great († 323 BC) is shown as a sphinx, with beard and *Uraeus*, sitting before the sun-god Amun-Ra (Fig. 39)⁴⁹³.

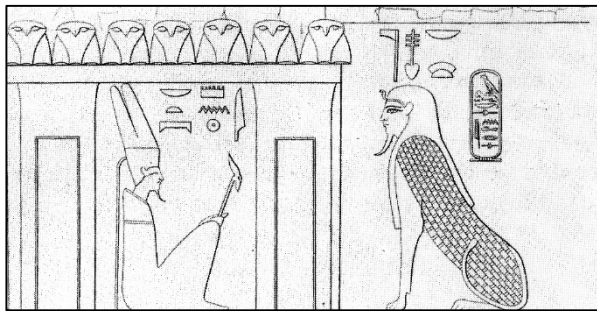


FIG. 39: ALEXANDER THE GREAT BEFORE AMUN-RA, 4TH CENT. BC, RELIEF, TEMPLE OF LUXOR.

In Egypt, the position of the ruler was rather different from that in the neighbouring empires. Kingship was not a political institution, but a sacral one⁴⁹⁴. Moreover, the king was the centre

⁴⁹¹ Gubel argues the head is not Nubian: Gubel 1998.

⁴⁹² Wiedemann 1890: 104; Roeder 1909: 1300-1302; Unger 1928: 337; Demisch 1977: 11-12, 223 (although he is not quite sure); Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 35-36.

⁴⁹³ An anecdote tells that when Alexander visited the Amun-temple in Siwa, Libya, the priest welcomed him as "Son of Amun": Demisch 1977: 25.

⁴⁹⁴ Wiedemann 1890: 17; Roeder 1909: 1329; Dessenne 1957a: 187; Demisch 1977: 14, 20; Fischer 1987: 14; Siliotti 1994: 282, 284; Te Velde 1995: 1737; Lurker 1996: 49, 64-66, 71-72, 75; Hornung 1995: 1725; Wilkinson 1996: 101, 218-219; Gundlach and Seipel 1999; Owusu 1999: 79; Warmenbol 2006: 14-16; Zivie-Coche 2006: 60, 62-63, 65-66.

For more information about the concept of kingship in Egypt: e.g. Wilkinson 2000.

of all existence. His earliest known title was the Horus-title, which made him the earthly representative of the falcon-god. Therefore, when the king was represented as a sphinx, there was always the divine aspect of Horus included. When the king died, he transferred into Osiris; his successor was the reincarnation of Horus, who was the god of kingship and of the sky⁴⁹⁵. Horus could be shown as a man with a falcon- or hawk-head, or as a falcon or hawk (e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 50); he was associated with Ra-Horus-of-the-Horizon, also known as Ra-Herakhty or Harmachis (the god Horus merged with the sun) or as Horus-the-Child with Osiris and Isis, the mother-goddess (cf. infra; St.M. Nr. Eg. 56). Isis was related to the pharaoh, because she was his (symbolic) mother. Her name probably meant "She of the Throne" and was written with the sign that she often wore on her head (Fig. 40). The king was also related to Hathor, the main protagonist in *Creation* (e.g. St.M. Nr. Eg. 41)⁴⁹⁶.

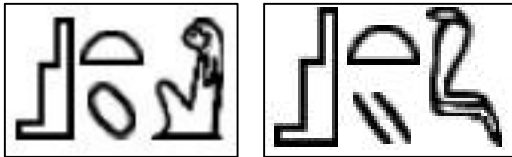


FIG. 40: TWO VERSIONS OF ISIS' NAME IN HIEROGLYPHS.

The ancient Egyptians called their land the "Two Lands" (*Tawy*), combining with this term Upper and Lower Egypt⁴⁹⁷. The most important role of the pharaoh who was also referred to as "Lord of the Two Lands" (*Neb-Tawy*), was to keep the two regions unified in a "Union of the Two Lands" (*Sema-Tawy*). When he succeeded in his task, he maintained truth, justice and balance (= Maat; cf. 5.4. Function and Meaning).

The pharaoh was not only King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the Two Lands, but also man and god. As Marinatos says:

" ... the role of the pharaoh is expressed by the title 'my sun'. He is thus a cosmocrator and a god. His is also the breath of life which is essential for the wellbeing of his people. On his part, when he responds to his vassals, the pharaoh compares himself to the sun: "And know that the king is hale like the sun in the sky"⁴⁹⁸.

His divine character was often shown through the straight false beard many rulers have on their images, both as sphinx and as human (beards of gods themselves were curved)⁴⁹⁹. This was already a sign of divinity. As mentioned before, the head-dress of the sphinx was only specified

⁴⁹⁵ For more information about the different aspects of kingship in Egypt: Frandsen 2008.

For more detailed information about Horus: Schenkel 1980: 14-25.

⁴⁹⁶ Roeder 1909: 1303; Lurker 1996: 75; *Sphinx* 2006: 229.

⁴⁹⁷ Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 116.

⁴⁹⁸ Marinatos 2007c: 180.

⁴⁹⁹ Dessenne 1957a: 178-179; Siliotti 1994: 281-282, 284; Hornung 1995: 1725-1727; Leprohon 1995: 275.

from the Hyksos Period onwards (ca. 1630-1540 BC)⁵⁰⁰. As the representation of the king of Upper Egypt it wore the white crown (*Hedjet*), as that of the king of Lower Egypt, the red one (*Deshret*)⁵⁰¹. The first one was the symbol of Nekhbet, the vulture-goddess of Upper Egypt, the second one "belongs" to Lower-Egypt and thus to Wadjet, the serpent-goddess who protects this land. When the two lands were united, the king wore the double-crown, composed of the white and the red one (*Sekhemty/Pschent*). From ca. 1550 BC (18th Dyn.) onwards, when he was at war, he wore the *Khepresh*, the so-called war-helmet. The royal Atef-crown, the White Crown with two feathers attached, was often worn by the god Osiris.

These crowns expressed the king's power, and because they are sometimes worn by the sphinx too, they are shown here in some detail (cf. STF XVIII – Table A: Pharaonic Crowns). Sometimes, especially in the early periods, the king was wearing the royal head-cloth (*Nemes*) often surmounted by a *Uraeus* (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs) that embodied the kingship and at the same time protected him (Fig. 41)⁵⁰². Because the *Uraeus* was a royal symbol, it was also worn by the royal gods Horus and Seth. This *Uraeus* was in fact the symbol of the goddess of Lower Egypt, Wadjet; it was in the shape of a rearing cobra who would spit his poison at every enemy in sight, and therefore it was a powerful protector⁵⁰³. It was also thought to represent the "Eye of Ra", which spat flames at the king's enemies.

Of course, the different gods and goddesses had their own crowns, which expressed their relations and associations. These, however, could change through time, but the most important are also taken up in a short overview (Cf. STF XVIII - Table B: Divine Crowns)



FIG. 41: DETAIL FUNERARY MASK AMENEMOPE, CAIRO, EGYPTIAN MUSEUM⁵⁰⁴.

⁵⁰⁰ See also 2.2.2. Status Quaestionis.

⁵⁰¹ Unger 1928: 337; Lurker 1996: 44; Owusu 1999: 161.

For more detailed information about the different types of Egyptian crowns: Abubakr 1937; STF XVIII - Table A: Pharaonic Crowns.

⁵⁰² Ilberg 1895: 220; Lurker 1996: 44, 59, 125; Owusu 1999: 163, 285; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 149.

It was only from the Hyksos Period onwards (ca. 1630-1540 BC), that the sphinx started wearing the red, white or double-crown: cf. 2.2.2. Status Quaestionis.

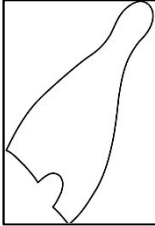
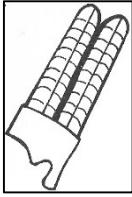
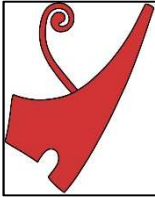
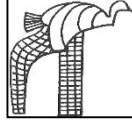
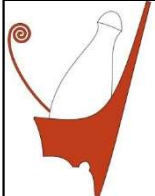



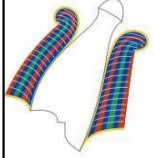
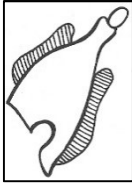

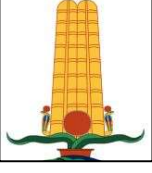
⁵⁰³ Lurker 1996: 75, 125; Porada 1987: 2; Wilkinson 1996: 109.

The emblem of Upper Egypt was the vulture.

⁵⁰⁴ For a view of the entire funerary mask:

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5d/Mask_of_Amenemope_by_John_Campana.jpg

STF XVIII - TABLES PHARAONIC & DIVINE CROWNS⁵⁰⁵

TABLE A: PHARAONIC CROWNS		TABLE B: DIVINE CROWNS		
WHITE CROWN <i>HEDJET</i>		DOUBLE FEATHER CROWN		Originally the crown of Amun, the first creator-god, later; when Amun became the sun-god Amun-Ra, a connection was made with Horus, who then also wore this crown.
RED CROWN <i>DESHRET</i>		VULTURE-CAP		As Wadjet was symbolized by the <i>Uraeus</i> , Nekhbet, the land-goddess of Upper-Egypt, wore the Vulture-cap. However, also the ancient mother-goddess Mut was depicted wearing this cap, and sometimes even Isis, when shown in mourning, can be seen with the Vulture-cap.
DOUBLE CROWN <i>PSCHENT</i>		DOUBLE-CROWN <i>PSCHENT</i>		The double-crown, worn by pharaohs, could also be worn by Atum, the Heliopolitan creator-god, and by Horus when he was depicted as ruler over both Egypts (Upper and Lower)
BLUE CROWN <i>KHEPRESH</i>		CROWN WITH RAM-HORNS		Khnum, "the father of father, mother of mothers" (cf. 6.2.1.2. Ram-sphinxes), who united in him the Underworld (Osiris), earth (Geb), light and air (Shu) and heaven (Ra), wore a crown decorated with stylised ram-horns.
ATEF CROWN		ATEF CROWN		Another royal crown that sometimes was worn by a god, in this case Osiris.
NEMES		"WATER"-CROWN		The crown of crocodile-god Sobek, god of fertility and a creator-god (cf. 3.1. Composite Creatures), has flowing lines at its base, symbolizing the water of the Nile that was formed by his sweat.

⁵⁰⁵ All information: Owusu 1998: 130-133.

Contrarily to what could be expected, the head-dresses of the Egyptian sphinx also show great variety in types, although the *Nemes* can be seen most often in all periods (cf. 13.4. STF LIII). Yet this traditional royal head-dress also shows some slight variations, be it in the rounded or square curves, or in the absence or presence of a *Uraeus*, or in the suggestion of a sort of pony-tail that rests on the back of the sphinx (e.g. Cat.Nrs. Eg. 8-9, 14, 31, 47-48, 52, 54, 56-56, 58, 61-63, 66-72, 75-76, 79, 83, 86-87; St.M. Nrs. Eg. 1-4, 6-8, 15-18, 20-21, 23, 28-31, 37-45, 49-52, 54-56, 58-61). As far as can be seen, there is however only one sphinx depicted without any kind of head-dress, but this image dates to the Late Period (St.M. Nr. Eg. 35). Noteworthy are the sphinxes of which the *Nemes* has evolved into lion-manes (often accompanied by lion-ears): e.g. Cat.Nrs. Eg. 24-25; St.M. Nrs. Eg. 25-26). Only one sphinx has a sun-disc mounted to the *Nemes* (St.M. Nr. Eg. 44; this, however, occurs more often with ram-headed sphinxes (e.g. St.M. Nrs. Eg. 32, 47), also one sphinx, depicting Hatshepsut, wears a female wig with so-called Hathor-curls (Cat.Nr. Eg. 29) and some sphinxes are wearing a royal crown: the white, red, double- or blue crown or the Atef-crown, once also topped with a sun-disc (e.g. Cat.Nrs. Eg. 23, 33, 36, 44, 65, 78, 85; St.M. Nr. Eg. 53, 56). The most remarkable however are the very elaborate head-dresses, be it vegetation-like or otherwise (e.g. Cat.Nrs. 12, 31, 38, 39, 42-44, 54). The head-dress of the Nubian sphinx (Cat.Nr. Eg. 92) resembles somewhat that of a sphinx probably dating to the Third Intermediate Period (Cat.Nr. Eg. 89); both are very different from any of the other Egyptian head-dresses⁵⁰⁶.

In theory, the pharaoh (word derived from the Egyptian "*Per-a*", meaning "great house"; used originally to name the palace; only from the 1st mill. BC onwards it also signified the king), was the sole mediator between the human world and the world of the gods (in practice, however, he delegated most of this task to the priests of the temples)⁵⁰⁷. The sphinx seems to have been created only to symbolize a certain aspect of the pharaoh, and that explains why it is often depicted alone without other figures and motifs or surrounding context. As a sort of reincarnation of the king, the sphinx can protect the empire (i.e. the ultimate horizon).

In the early days in Egypt the king could be represented by an image of himself, or of a bull, a lion or a falcon⁵⁰⁸. In some texts, the "Big Wild-bull" is used as a description for the king

⁵⁰⁶ Gubel denies that the head is Nubian: Gubel 1998.

⁵⁰⁷ Roeder 1909: 1303; Fischer 1987: 14; Siliotti 1994: 281; Hornung 1995: 1725; Te Velde 1995: 1731; Lurker 1996: 75; Warmenbol 2006: 23; Frandsen 2008: 47.

⁵⁰⁸ Kristensen 1917: 100, 118; Unger 1928: 337; Sliwa 1974: 105; Demisch 1977: 31-32; Hornung 1995: 1727; Van Dijk 1995: 1705; Lurker 1996: 49, 55-56, 77; Wilkinson 1996: 69, 83, 101; De Putter 2006: 82; Sourouzian 2006: 100; Van Dijk 2011: 96.

For an in-depth analysis of the bull-motif in the ancient Near East: Van Dijk 2011.

(*Pyramid texts* 625b; 809c) and from the 18th Dyn. onwards the title 'Horus the Powerful Bull' was used as one of the titles of the pharaoh⁵⁰⁹.

Parts of two, sometimes three, of the human and the animals, the head of the king, the body of the lion, that represents the invigorating and life-bringing power of the sun, and occasionally, the wings of the falcon, that were regarded as the heavens, were incorporated in the motif of the sphinx, that was used to show the pharaoh as a representative of Horus. Often, however, the wings are not clearly visible, as they are folded against the body of the sphinx (as e.g. in Cat.Nr. Eg. 35)⁵¹⁰. As Horus, the new-born Osiris was both the living son and the reincarnation of his "father" Osiris; the pharaoh was the representation of the resurrected Osiris on earth⁵¹¹. The bull-motif wasn't taken up, because the bulls were replaced by lions from the 3rd Dyn. onwards (cf. Syro-Mesopotamian Bull-sphinxes; cf. 3.2.3.3. Bull-Sphinxes). So, the Egyptian imagery of the sphinx does not know real bull-horns, but some sphinxes wear the *Atef*-crown that is decorated with feathers and a pair of ram-horns⁵¹². During time, however, this head-dress has evolved into a more elaborate form with the addition of bull-horns⁵¹³. These crowns consist of several *Uraei*, feathers, a pair of ram-horns, a pair of bull-horns and a Sun-disk. However, these crowns do not represent the bull-symbol.

When the pharaoh of Egypt is represented as a sphinx he is brought to a status that is higher than that of the other humans⁵¹⁴. That's why no other human could be depicted as a sphinx. This is made clear by the lion-body, because the lion always was (and has been) a form of the Sun-god Ra; when lion and falcon were combined, as they were in the griffin, the falcon- or hawk-headed mythological creature, that was thought to be invincible, the message was even more clear. From the beginning of the Egyptian history, the falcon was worshipped as a cosmic deity; the heavens were represented by his body, while his eyes were the sun and the moon⁵¹⁵. He became the sky-god Horus, whose name could mean "he who is above"; his left eye was

Images in Egypt were never merely lifelike copies, they were imbued with life and therefore were never important in themselves, only in respect of magic: Lurker 1996: 69.

⁵⁰⁹ For more information about the pharaoh represented as a bull: Van Dijk 2011: 96-106; cf. 3.2.3.3. Bull-sphinxes.

⁵¹⁰ Kristensen 1917: 107, 118, 133-136; Demisch 1977: 20; Griffiths 1982: 623-633; Lurker 1996: 65-66, 92-93; Wilkinson 1996: 218-219; Warmenbol 2006: 17.

⁵¹¹ Osiris was often depicted with a black skin, referring to the fact that he was the ruler of the dead, or a green one, referring to his resurrection: Hornung 1995: 1724; Owusu 1999: 101.

⁵¹² Lurker 1996: 99-100; Demisch 1977: 33; Wilkinson 1996: 61. The ram was a common symbol of fertility.

⁵¹³ E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 42: Pair of Sphinxes Trampling Enemies.

⁵¹⁴ Roeder 1909: 1301, 1303; Kristensen 1917: 96, 138; Unger 1928: 337; Sliwa 1974: 97; Demisch 1977: 19-20, 46; Fischer 1987: 17; Hornung 1995: 1727; Van Dijk 1995: 1705; Lurker 1996: 55-56, 65-66, 100; Wilkinson 1996: 69, 83; De Putter 2006: 82; Dubiel 2011: 4-6.

⁵¹⁵ Demisch 1977: 14; Westendorf 1980: 48-51; Lurker 1996: 49, 83; Wilkinson 1996: 43, 101; Owusu 1999: 77.

called the "Eye of Horus" and was a symbol of the moon. His right eye, the "Eye of Ra", was a symbol of the sun. These "*Wadjet*"-eyes were protective symbols (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs). The relation of the king to the Sun-god refers to the pharaoh as a representative of Horus and to the fact that a dead pharaoh is regarded as the equal of the god Osiris, who is considered as life incorporating death, because without death, there can be no renewal of life⁵¹⁶. The sacral character of kingship depends for a large part on the fact that the king is not only considered being the living "son" of Osiris, but also the reincarnation of his dead predecessor⁵¹⁷. The pharaoh as a sphinx is the earthly representation of the Sun-god, but sometimes it is the sphinx, representing the king, who worships the Sun-god Ra or the goddess Bastet⁵¹⁸. In that case, it is not the sphinx that is honoured, it IS the one who honours. This last explanation, the sphinx as a worshipper, fits almost all later images of sphinxes especially those that are represented worshipping a god or e.g. a Sacred Tree⁵¹⁹.

The sphinxes in Egypt can not only represent the pharaoh, they can also represent a god(dess), although the difference is not always very clear, even when attributes are shown⁵²⁰. Some sphinxes represent without doubt a god, e.g. Aker, the double human-headed sphinx, who guards, protects and defends (cf. 5.4 Function and Meaning), and a sphinx shown next to a ruler⁵²¹. An example of this are the so-called Criosphinxes on the Dromos of the Temple of Karnak, dating from the second half of the 2nd mill. BC⁵²².

⁵¹⁶ After Osiris is killed by his brother Seth, he is resurrected by the rays of Ra, with whom he merges, and is then reborn as Horus. This means that Osiris and Horus are two forms of one and the same god. Identifying the pharaoh with Horus, made the king the representative of the gods among humankind: Kristensen 1917: 107; Van Dijk 1995: 1705-1706; Lurker 1996: 92-93; Wilkinson 1996: 43, 219; Owusu 1999: 101.

The same cycle of life and death can be seen in the sun's daily journey. Ra travels in a Sun-bark [the sun-god Ra was believed to have two barks, *Mandjet* (morning-bark) and *Mesetet* (evening-bark)], along the sky by day, through the underworld by night. In the morning Ra is a newborn baby, in the evening he dies when he enters the underworld, only to be reborn again the next morning. All the daily rituals in the state temples of Egypt are meant to maintain this cycle of death and recreation. Ra enters the underworld and becomes Osiris, but when he meets the body of Osiris, the two merge. Osiris, revived by the rays of the sun, becomes the nocturnal embodiment of Ra (symbolized by the Criosphinx, the ram-headed sphinx), Ra is reborn as Ra-Herakhty, Ra-Horus-of-the-Horizon (hawk-headed): Siliotti 1994: 284; Te Velde 1995: 1739; Van Dijk 1995: 1706, 1709; Lurker 1996: 100; Wilkinson 1996: 153.

More information on the Egyptian thoughts and ideas about death and funerary customs and rituals: Lesko 1995: 1763-1774; Ikram and Dodson 1998.

⁵¹⁷ The deceased becomes an Osiris (cycle of death and resurrection) and his son becomes a new Horus: Van Dijk 1995: 1706; Lurker 1996: 92-93; Wilkinson 1996: 219.

⁵¹⁸ Dessenne 1957a: 185; Demisch 1977: 21.

⁵¹⁹ This cosmic celestial tree could be a form of the sun-god Ra-Herakhty. Twin trees were thought to stand at the gate of heaven from which the sun rose every day: Lurker 1996: 119; Wilkinson 1996: 117

⁵²⁰ Roeder 1909: 1304; Unger 1928: 337; Sourouzian 2006: 105; Dubiel 2011: 4-6.

⁵²¹ Aker: 3.1.2.2. Aker is an earth-god, often represented as a double-sphinx with one body and two heads: Hornung 1975a: 114-115; Hornung 1995: 1715; Lurker 1996: 25; Wilkinson 1996: 135; Warmenbol 2006: 15.

⁵²² Kristensen 1917: 129; Fischer 1987: 14-15; Warmenbol 2006: 21, Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 7.40. Cat.Nr. Eg. 77: Avenue of Recumbent Ram-Sphinxes with Pharaoh.

Sphinxes in Egypt are often depicted in pairs (antithetic composition: face to face or back to back); this is most obvious in glyptic and other small objects, but, during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, pairs of sphinxes stood at the entrances of temples⁵²³. These pairs act as guards⁵²⁴. The first pairs known until now are probably the ones guarding the so-called Valley-temple of Chephren (St.M. Nr. Eg. 2). Roeder points out that probably many lone sphinxes of which nothing is known qua location, initially were one of a pair⁵²⁵.

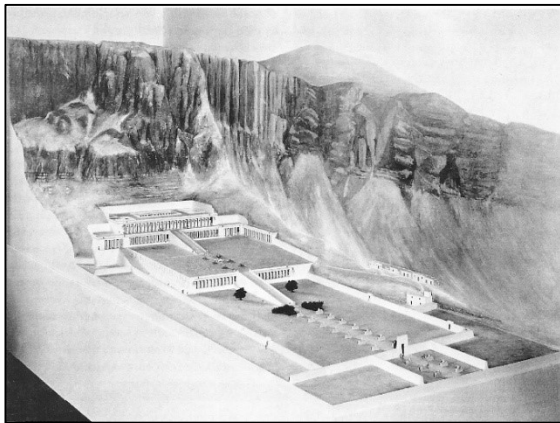


FIG. 42: RECONSTRUCTION DRAWING TEMPLE & DROMOS HATSHEPSUT IN DEIR EL-BAHARI.

It was out of this antithetic composition and, Wiedemann and Demisch argue, also out of the guarding double-sphinx Aker (cf. 3.1.2.2. Aker), that the Dromos evolved, the sphinx-alley that functioned as a procession road to and from a temple (from the New Kingdom onwards) and it can be assumed that the function of the Dromos is indeed comparable to that of the double-headed sphinx Aker, i.e. guarding the horizon and thus the order of the world (cf. Fig. 48)⁵²⁶. For the Egyptians, the temple was a model of the cosmos and "the Horizon in which Ra dwells"; the entrance of the temple, with its two pylons, resembled the hieroglyph for "horizon" (Fig. 43)⁵²⁷. The offerings given here guarantee that the sun will come up every morning. The

⁵²³ Demisch 1977: 22-24; Warmenbol 2006: 20.

⁵²⁴ E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 85: Pair of Recumbent Offering Sphinxes.

⁵²⁵ Roeder 1909: 1312.

⁵²⁶ Wiedemann 1890: 103; Ilberg 1895: 219; Roeder 1909: 1310; Kristensen 1917: 121-124; Unger 1928: 338; Demisch 1977: 22-23, 221; Lurker 1996: 65, 114-116, 120; Rösch-von der Heyde 1999: 4; Sourouzzian 2006: 101-102; Warmenbol 2006: 20-21; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 171, 173.

For more information about the sphinxes from dromoi: Sourouzzian 2006: 99-111.

General information about the sphinxes composing a dromos: Cabrol 2001: 171-420; Warmenbol 2006: 20-21.

More information about the view of the Egyptians on the horizon: Assmann 1980: 4-7; Wilkinson 1996: 135.

The different parts of the Egyptian temple all had their symbolic meaning. E.g. Isis and Nephtys, supporting the sun, were symbolized by the two entrance pillars; the lower part was the earth, the columns represented the palm, lotus and other plants that grew from the earth; the ceiling of the sanctuary itself was the sky while the room of the sanctuary referred to the primeval hill: Kristensen 1917: 122-123; Hornung 1995: 1725; Lurker 1996: 120; Warmenbol 2006: 20-21.

⁵²⁷ Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 152, 169.

dromos does not appear before the New Kingdom and it was probably Hatshepsut who built the first one in Deir el-Bahari (Fig. 42).

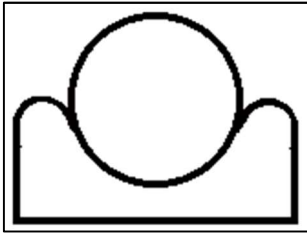


FIG. 43: HIEROGLYPH FOR HORIZON.

Sphinxes on Dromoi usually wear the *Nemes* head-cloth (cf. supra), as e.g. in Luxor (Cat.Nr. Eg. 76), but some do wear a crown (e.g. in Wadi es-Seboua: Cat.Nr. Eg. 78).

A precursor of the Dromos however, could possibly have been found on the road to the Death-temple of king Nyuserre (ca. 2445-2421 BC; 5th Dyn.) in Abusir and on the road leading to the Death-temple of Pepi II (ca. 2278-2184 BC; 6th Dyn.) in Saqqara⁵²⁸. In each place, there were probably eight reliefs with sphinxes slaying enemies (four human-headed and probably four falcon-headed)⁵²⁹. An inscription mentions the sphinxes here, however, do not represent the pharaoh, but the god Soped, 'Lord of the Foreign Countries', and known in Asia as the equivalent of the god Horus⁵³⁰.

During the 4th Dyn. (ca. 2570-2450 BC) the first images of sphinxes appear in Egypt; these are recumbent sphinxes (sculpture) or standing/striding sphinxes trampling an enemy⁵³¹. Also in the Old Kingdom, the first examples of sphinxes with falcon-heads can be seen, the so-called griffins (cf. 3.2.3.1. Griffins); they connect the falcon-shape of the Egyptian king as Horus with the lion body⁵³². Griffins never wear the *Nemes*-headdress, but they can wear different crowns. Strangely enough, the griffin in Egypt only once appears under control - wearing a dog-collar and a leash - in a tomb of the Middle Kingdom (Fig. 44)⁵³³. Thus, it is very likely that the griffin on this occasion does not represent the pharaoh, nor the god Horus. Controlled sphinxes and griffins are very unusual in Egypt, though they are much more common in other regions,

⁵²⁸ Demisch 1977: 30-31, 33, 221.

⁵²⁹ E.g. St.M. Nr. Eg. 6: Sphinx Trampling Enemies.

⁵³⁰ Roeder 1909: 1303, 1320.

⁵³¹ E.g. St.M. Nr. Eg. 1: Great Recumbent Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Eg. 6: Sphinx Trampling Enemies.

Von Geisau 1975: 308; Demisch 1977: 44; Fischer 1987: 17; Seidlmayer 2001: 816-817; Hempelmann 2004: 33.

⁵³² Wiedemann 1890: 105; Roeder 1909: 1301, 1335-1337; Unger 1928: 337; Fischer 1987: 14, 16-17.

E.g. St.M. Nr. Eg. 5: Griffin Trampling Enemies.

⁵³³ Frankfort 1936/1937: 111-112.

as e.g. griffins in the Aegean⁵³⁴. Another remarkable aspect of the griffin from Beni Hasan, is the fact that the accompanying text states that this griffin is female, which would make it, as far as is known, the only female Egyptian griffin.



FIG. 44: *GRIFFIN ON A LEASH* (REPRODUCTION BY N. DE GARIS DAVIS), MURAL, EGYPT, BENI HASAN, TOMB OF KHETY (NR. 17), NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 33.8.14.

The first example of a sphinx with human-hands dates from the 6th Dyn., but there are no offering sphinxes known from the Middle Kingdom, although they do appear again in the New Kingdom (ca. 1550-1070 BC) and in the Late Period (ca. 712-332 BC)⁵³⁵. These sphinxes probably were located at the side of the Procession roads, alone or in pairs, to make it possible for the pharaoh to attend and participate permanently in the performed rituals. The king offering to a god shows him in his role as mediator between gods and people. From the New Kingdom onwards there also exist a few striding or standing sphinxes⁵³⁶.

Iconographic variations during the 16th and 15th cent. BC are sphinxes in which the lion features are enhanced by showing lion-manes and ears (from the 12th Dynasty onwards) and female sphinxes, which represent queens⁵³⁷.

From the New Kingdom onwards, there are creatures with a lion body and a ram's head⁵³⁸. This Criosphinx, in Egypt never winged and relatively rare, is a depiction of the nightly shape of the

⁵³⁴ E.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 18: Antithetical Griffins; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 24: Griffin Led by Priest; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 26: Goddess in Chariot Drawn by Griffins.

⁵³⁵ Unger 1928: 337; Hornung 1995: 1729; Wilkinson 1996: 53; Warmenbol 2006: 22-23; Dubiel 2011: 11-12. St.M. Nr. Eg. 7: Sphinx Merenre I Offering.

⁵³⁶ E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 13: Winged Sphinxes with Sacred Tree.

⁵³⁷ Dessenne 1957a: 185-186; Von Geisau 1975: 308; Seidlmayer 2001: 816-817; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 35. E.g. St.M. Nr. Eg. 25: Sphinx of Amenemhat III.

⁵³⁸ Wiedemann 1890: 105; Roeder 1909: 1301, 1337; Unger 1928: 337; Von Geisau 1975: 308; Demisch 1977: 14, 24, 49; Wilkinson 1992: 61, 69; Siliotti 1994: 281; Te Velde 1995: 1736; Lurker 1996: 26, 99-100; Seidlmayer 2001: 816-817.

The appearance of the sun at different times of the day was linked to different symbols: the morning sun to the winged beetle, the midday sun to the Sun-god Ra, the evening sun to the ram-headed Khnum: Lurker 1996: 74, 118-119; Wilkinson 1992: 129.

god Amun, the king of gods (as the human-headed sphinx depicts the same god in his daily form), and in this shape, the creature can often be seen guarding the entrance to his own temple (cf. 3.2.3.2. Ram-Sphinxes)⁵³⁹. The ram-head stands for a certain aspect of Amun, namely his standing and power⁵⁴⁰. Amun is the creator-god of Thebes and is related to Ra (Amun-Ra). Also on the Bark of Amun, where the god sometimes is represented by a (four-headed) ram (cf. Fig. 45), sphinxes are present: in the front stands a sphinx behind the goddesses Maat, the goddess who symbolizes the merging of truth and justice and who is the personification of cosmic and social order, and Hathor, protector of, among other things, women, dance and music; beneath them is usually a recumbent sphinx⁵⁴¹. On a banner or stand on the boat a third sphinx can be depicted. The sphinx on the bark can perhaps be an embodiment of the pharaoh in his function of forward 'look-out' (cf. Eye of Horus: 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs), whose task it is to free the road to the horizon by chasing away all evil⁵⁴². Overall, however, it is rare that Egyptian sphinxes depict gods in mythological contexts.

⁵³⁹ Ilberg 1895: 219; Eberhard 1975a; Demisch 1977: 23-24, 49; Fischer 1987: 14-15; Lurker 1996: 25-26.

E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 77: Avenue of Recumbent Ram-headed Sphinxes with Pharaoh.

⁵⁴⁰ The nocturnal embodiment of the Sun-god Ra, was also considered to be the *ba*-soul, often depicted as a bird to show its great mobility. Only the *ba*-soul of the deceased, that symbolizes the psychic powers that control mind, body and spirit and is the possessor of imperishable forces, could move about and leave the tomb and underworld into the sky, together with the Sun-god: Kristensen 1917: 129-130; Hornung 1995: 1719-1720; Lurker 1996: 31, 49; Wilkinson 1996: 61, 83, 99, 219.

⁵⁴¹ Cat.Nr. Eg. 74: Ostrakon Procession Boat of Amun.

Roeder 1909: 1311; Kitchen 1975: 622-623; Daumas 1977: 1024-1033; Demisch 1977: 23-24, 28; Siliotti 1994: 282; Hornung 1995: 1721; Te Velde 1995: 1737; Lurker 1996: 78; Wilkinson 1996: 37, 218, 219; Hempelmann 2004: 91.

For more information on the Sun-bark during the 18th Dyn: Karlshausen 1995.

The *Book of Gates* is composed of texts illustrating the 12 hours of the night. It describes the path of the Sun-god through the underworld. Time is shown as an unending serpent (in which the hours are born and again devoured). Before sunrise, the time-serpent appears before the bark of the Sun-god and the bark, with all its passengers is drawn through it from tail to head. This is the reversal of time so that the old Ra can become a newborn baby again: Siliotti 1994: 189; Hornung 1995: 1722; Lurker 1996: 47; Wilkinson 1996: 218. More information on the *Book of Gates*: <http://www.sacred-texts.com/egy/gate/index.htm>

Another famous guidebook for the underworld is the *Amduat* 'translated' as "That Which Is in the Afterworld", or "Text of the Hidden Chamber Which is in the Underworld" and "Book of What is in the Underworld". This New Kingdom funerary text tells the story of Ra, travelling through the underworld. The *Amduat* names all the gods and monsters that will be encountered on this 12-hour long journey: Altenmüller 1967-1968; Hornung 1975b: 184-188; Brunner 1978: 108-109; Siliotti 1994: 189.

As the daughter of Ra, Maat was also often called "The Eye of Ra" (as were all his daughters). The two symbols of Maat, the ostrich feather and a throne base, symbolized both social and political order, i.e. cosmic order: Hornung 1995: 1723; Wilkinson 1996: 37; Preys 2006: 143.

Hathor could also be called "House of Horus"; she was often depicted holding a *systrum*, a sort of musical rattle (cf. 13.7. Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs): Lurker 1996: 58-59; Owusu 1999: 75; Preys 2006: 141-151.

⁵⁴² The Eye of Horus is one of many 'lucky' symbolic signs, also used as an amulet (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs). It represents not only the order of the world but also the fate of the dead. Wearing it ward off the evil eye: Hornung 1995: 1723; Lurker 1996: 49, 82; Wilkinson 1996: 43, 101; *Sphinx* 2006: 217-218 Cat. 61; Warmenbol 2006: 17; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 171.

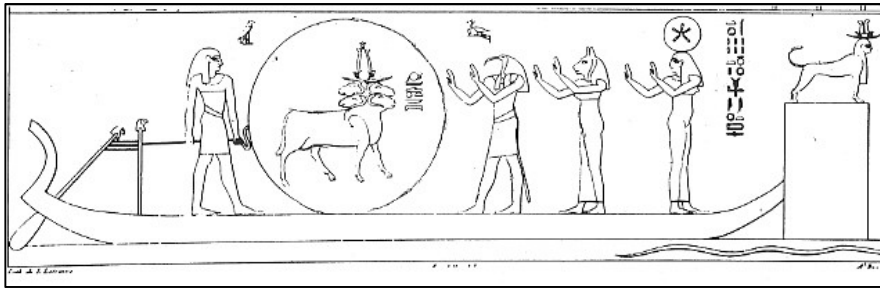


FIG. 45: AMUN BARK, 1ST CENT. BC, RELIEF, EF DU.

Seated sphinxes also are rare in Egypt, and they are mostly found on scarabs of the New Kingdom⁵⁴³. These sphinxes are influenced by the imagery on Syrian glyptic. In the same period, next to this, the first images of seated winged female sphinxes, often with floral headdress appear; some researchers think they mostly have a decorative function, and are also inspired by Syrian art⁵⁴⁴. But in Egypt (and in Greece) they can represent women from other, foreign countries.

Recumbent sphinxes with more visible wings first appear during the Hyksos-period (1730-1580 BC) and then mostly in glyptic. These sphinxes show influences of Cretan and Near-Eastern imagery, but the wings of the Egyptian sphinxes go back also to the Horus-falcon⁵⁴⁵.

Sphinxes in Egypt never seem to be aggressive or engaged in fight or hunt, in contrast with Syro-Mesopotamian sphinxes or Mycenaean sphinxes. Even when the Egyptian sphinx tramples an enemy or holds a captive, it seems to be very static and calm.

Egyptian sphinxes tend to look in front of them, it is only at the end of the Egyptian period that sphinxes turn their head to the side and look out of the picture (Tutu-sphinxes and Ptolemaic sphinxes)⁵⁴⁶.

⁵⁴³ E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 11: Scarab with Seated Sphinx.
Demisch 1977: 28.

The scarab beetle's habit of rolling dung-balls reminisced the Egyptians of the solar symbolism, where the sun-ball was rolled across the sky: Lurker 1996: 74, 104-105; Wilkinson 1996: 113.

⁵⁴⁴ Dessenne 1957a: 185; Von Geisau 1975: 308; Seidlmayer 2001: 816-817.

⁵⁴⁵ Kristensen 1917: 128-129; Demisch 1977: 21, 34-39, 42, 46, 75.

⁵⁴⁶ Tutu had power over demons and was therefore considered to be a protective deity; he only entered the Egyptian pantheon during the Late Period.

For more information on the so-called Tutu-sphinxes: Quaegebeur 1986: 602-606; Kaper 2003; Warmenbol 2006: 17-18; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 165-167.

5.1 PRECEDING 1600 BC⁵⁴⁷

Of the 153 found Egyptian images of sphinxes, 31 belong to the period preceding 1600 BC. Of these 31, it seems political and religious contexts are almost equally important (17/14). This will change slightly however in later periods.

The recumbent sphinx is without a doubt the most common type of sphinx that occurs in Egypt (not only in this period, but also in later periods; 74 times out of 153 images)⁵⁴⁸. From the period before 1600 BC, only 4 images of seated/crouching sphinxes have been found (only in the minor arts), and only 2 of standing/striding ones.

In the early Dynasties and until approximately the beginning of the New Kingdom, the sphinx is mostly depicted as a figure in the round, statue or monument (19 out of 31). Next to these images, it is also loved as decoration on jewellery (10)⁵⁴⁹. Only twice it is depicted on a seal and twice on a relief.

Of the two sphinxes found on a relief, one appears to be a griffin, at least that is what Demisch thinks⁵⁵⁰. Both reliefs were found in a temple, and both show the composite creature trampling an enemy⁵⁵¹. Both also date from around the middle of the 3rd mill. BC. The two seals in the shape of a sphinx date from a later period, although in both cases the dating is unsure⁵⁵².

A rather remarkable sphinx that has been dated to the 27th-26th cent. BC is one that was found in the Death-temple of Djedefre (4th Dyn.) in Abu Rawash⁵⁵³. If the remains of paint that were found on the sculpture and the absence of a *Nemes* head-dress and a beard are correct, this sphinx would have been female. In Egypt, female sphinxes were very rare, and certainly in so early a period. It is possible that this female sphinx represents the wife of Djedefre, Queen Hetopherus II, and that her sphinx-statue is the oldest sphinx of Egypt.

Of the statues in the round, of course the most famous one is the Great Sphinx of Giza (St.M. Nr. Eg. 1). But being famous hasn't helped to make its specific identity, meaning or function

⁵⁴⁷ For an overview of the different types of sphinxes before 1600 BC: 13.8. STF LVII.

⁵⁴⁸ E.g. Unger 1928: 337; Rösch-von der Heyden 1999: 1; Zouzoula 2007: 137.

⁵⁴⁹ E.g. St.M. Nr. Eg. 12: String of Beads and Seated Female Sphinx Amulet.

⁵⁵⁰ Demisch 1977: 30.

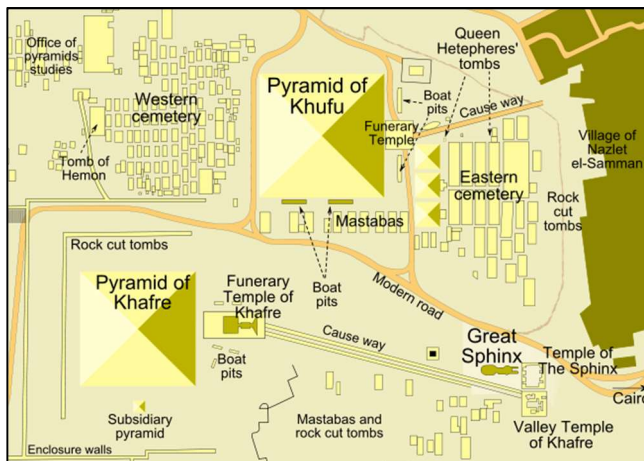
⁵⁵¹ St.M. Nr. Eg. 5: Griffin Trampling Enemies; St.M. Nr. Eg. 6: Sphinx Trampling Enemies.

⁵⁵² St.M. Nr. Eg. 20: Stamp Seal in the Form of a Recumbent Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Eg. 31: Female Sphinx-shaped Seal.

⁵⁵³ Dussaud 1914: 74; Unger 1928: 337; Dessenne 1957a: 14, 15; Zouzoula 2007: 93; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 165 + fig. 165.

any clearer, although many attempts have been made to solve the mystery⁵⁵⁴. One fact that may not be neglected while trying to decipher the exact meaning and function of this sphinx is its size; this monumentality must have a specific meaning, or, at least, it must have added something to the perception (cf. 11.1. Importance of Media and Size).

Next to the Great Sphinx of Giza stood the temple of Chephren; in there were found 9 statues of Chephren as a sphinx (originally probably 23), which led to the conclusion that the Great Sphinx also represents Chephren, but this identification is much contested⁵⁵⁵. On both sides of the entrance of the Valley-temple of Chephren stood a pair of sphinxes parallel to the façade, and thus facing each other (St.M. Nr. Eg. 2). In front of the Giza sphinx there was a building that is wrongly referred to as the Sphinx-temple, also built during the reign of Chephren (MP 5)⁵⁵⁶. The sphinx of Giza can represent the pharaoh as a guard of the temple but it can also be seen in relation to this nearby architecture, i.e. the so-called Sphinx-temple. In this case the sphinx would represent Chephren as the son of Horus who offers to his deceased father Cheops (the Sun-god Ra) in the Sphinx-temple.



MP 5: MAP GIZA COMPLEX (DETAIL)

From the 15th cent. BC onwards the Great Sphinx of Giza was referred to and was honoured as the Sun-god Harmachis, or Horus-on-the-Horizon⁵⁵⁷. This manifestation of Horus was the embodiment of the rising sun, and thus of the resurrection. In times when the Great Sphinx

⁵⁵⁴ See e.g. Stadelmann 2006: 39-42; Zouzoula 2007: 93-94; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 149-150.

⁵⁵⁵ Demisch 1977: 18, 20, 23; Sourouzian 2006: 101; Warmenbol 2006: 13-17; Dubiel 2011: 9-10.

⁵⁵⁶ Stadelmann 2006: 38. The temple was excavated in 1965-1967 by a team working with Herbert Ricke from the Suisse Archaeological Institute.

⁵⁵⁷ Ilberg 1895: 219; Roeder 1909: 1329; Unger 1928: 337; Demisch 1977: 18-21; Rösche-von der Heyde 1999: 1; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 35; De Putter 2006: 82-84; Sourouzian 2006: 100; Warmenbol 2006: 13-15; Zivie-Coche 2006: 62-63, 65-66; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 152.

For more information about the god Harmachis: Zivie-Coche 2006: 55-69.

got buried under the sand with only its head sticking out, it is quite literally Horus-on-the-horizon (Egyptian *Hor-em-akhet*). From then on, the sphinx represented the three ages of the sun-god: Khepri-Ra-Atum⁵⁵⁸. The connection between sphinx and sun-god finds its origin in the parts of which the creature is composed: the king(s-head) represents the sun-god on earth and the lion(-body) was connected to the same god from ancient times. Wilkinson states that the pyramids on each side of the sphinx, belonging to Cheops and Chephren, represent the double mountain while the sphinx in between must be literally regarded as Horus-on-the-Horizon; the whole then resembles the *akhet*, the hieroglyphic sign for horizon, in which the sun-disc rises between the two mountains (Fig. 43)⁵⁵⁹.

For a long time, it was assumed that all sphinxes represented the Sun-god, as the Sphinx of Giza did, but, in fact, images of the sphinx representing the Sun-god Ra are at first sight rare or even non-existing⁵⁶⁰. Also, contrary to what was thought, the Great Sphinx didn't function as a guard to the tomb of the pharaoh. This was a function the sphinx in Egypt only took on from approximately the 7th or 6th cent. BC onwards, under influence from Greece, although in Greece the sphinxes guarding tombs always were female⁵⁶¹.

During the New Kingdom, the sphinx of Giza itself became an object of general worship and received votive offerings like steles and sculptures in the shape of sphinxes, lions and falcons. While it hears prayers, and responds to them, it is also given so-called Ear-steles in later periods⁵⁶². It was thought that everything the ears on the stele heard would be transmitted directly to the god (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs).

⁵⁵⁸ Warmenbol 2006: 16. These three ages, or forms, remind one of the riddle posed by the Theban sphinx (cf. *infra*).

⁵⁵⁹ Wilkinson 1996: 135.

⁵⁶⁰ Roeder 1909: 1303: The Sun-god Ra-Harmachis is depicted in the Turin *Papyrus of Buteh-Amon* as a recumbent sphinx with a sun-disc and a snake on her head.

⁵⁶¹ E.g. St.M. Nr. Eg. 42.

Roeder 1909: 1305; Warmenbol 2006: 21-22.

⁵⁶² Lurker 1996: 48; Wilkinson 1996: 45; Brewer and Teeter 1999: 92; Rösche-von der Heyde 1999: 1; Dubiel 2011: 10.

E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 54: Ear-stele with Recumbent Sphinx.

5.2 1600-800 BC⁵⁶³

In total 92 images of sphinxes were found belonging to this period of which figures in the round are still the biggest category (26). The second and third largest groups of objects with sphinx motif are scarabs (19) and reliefs (16)⁵⁶⁴.

Sphinxes can now also be seen on murals (9) and again on seals (3)⁵⁶⁵. Jewellery and different artefacts, like thrones and steles, get decorated with the sphinx motif as well⁵⁶⁶. Only once a depiction of a sphinx has been found on a sarcophagus, although the sphinx does occur in 10 images associated directly with death or funerary rites⁵⁶⁷.

Of the images found belonging to this period, the larger part seems to fit primarily into a political framework (49, as suggested by other motifs depicted near the sphinx or because the object is directly related to a ruler or found in a palace). The remainder of the images (42) can be subscribed predominantly within a religious context, either because they refer to or include a divinity, or can be associated with a temple, death, or religious rituals⁵⁶⁸.

As said before, once more the recumbent sphinx is the most common type (55), followed by the standing/striding one (22). This period also shows a lot more pairs of sphinxes (17) than the period before (2). These pairs of sphinxes can be seen next to a Sacred Tree (3), a hawk (1) an entrance or gate (2), flanking a royal name or figure (4) or a Hathor-head (2), accompanying a deceased and his wife (1), or trampling enemies (2)⁵⁶⁹. While before 1600 BC only one sphinx was found with human arms/hands, there are now 12 sphinxes (of which 5 are female) with this

⁵⁶³ For an overview of the different types of sphinxes during the period 1600-800 BC: 13.4. STF LVIII.

⁵⁶⁴ Scarab: e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 7: Scarab Recumbent Sphinx.

Relief: e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 33: Relief Recumbent Winged Sphinx with Atef-crown.

⁵⁶⁵ Mural: E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 47: Standing Bearded Sphinx Decorating Throne.

Seal: e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 8: Seal in Shape of Recumbent Sphinx.

⁵⁶⁶ Jewellery: e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 3: Bracelet Queen Aahhotep.

Artefact: e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 35: Arm Panel Striding Sphinx Trampling Enemies.

⁵⁶⁷ Cat.Nr. Eg. 88: Coffin with Sphinx and Divinities.

Associated with death: e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 56: Vignette Book of the Dead.

⁵⁶⁸ For the criteria used to catalogue an image as either political or religious: 2.2.3. Collecting and Processing the Material. One image has been defined as miscellaneous because nothing of context is known and the image itself also reveals nothing (Cat.Nr. Eg. 92).

⁵⁶⁹ Sacred Tree: e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 13: Winged Sphinxes with Sacred Tree.

Hawk: Cat.Nr. Eg. 50: Scarab Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Hawk.

Entrance/Gate: e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 61: Offering Sphinxes Temple.

Royal Name/Figure: e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 71: Relief Pair of Seated Sphinxes.

Hathor-head: Cat.Nr. Eg. 65: Pair of Striding Sphinxes Queen Tiye.

Trampling Enemies: e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 6: Scarab Winged Sphinxes with Captives.

characteristic feature. These appear mostly in a political context, with royal symbols or the name of a king or queen, but the male ones also occur together with religious symbols (5)⁵⁷⁰.

One of these offering sphinxes is very remarkable, because the offering does not consist of the usual vessels, but of a human head (Fig. 46; cf. 12.2. Axe of Ahmoses I)⁵⁷¹. This leads to believe that the ceremonial artefact was ordered abroad, most likely in the Aegean, as the griffin on the other side of the axe also is depicted in the Aegean style, or, as Evans called it, the Egypto-Minoan style⁵⁷².

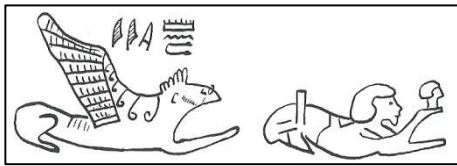


FIG. 46: AXE AHMOSES I (DRAWING; DETAIL OF CAT.NR. EG. 4.)

Another image worth mentioning here, is one belonging to the 18th Dyn. and found in the Khonsu Temple in Karnak. It shows the pharaoh Ramses III offering a sphinx, which in its turn holds a *Nemset*-vase in its human-hands (or in between its front-paws), a vase meant for libation-offering⁵⁷³.

Only one seated sphinx can be related directly to the name of a pharaoh; it stood on an amulet found in a Theban tomb⁵⁷⁴. Roeder raises the assumption that the mentioning of the name of a pharaoh on a sculpture of a sphinx, does not necessarily mean that the sphinx represents the pharaoh⁵⁷⁵. He mentions that many pharaohs also e.g. put their name on god statues in temples, without implying that they were to be identified with the god. Perhaps he has a point, but as the faces of these sphinxes often resemble the face of a pharaoh and as Roeder himself also

⁵⁷⁰ Political: e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 38: Winged Female Sphinx with Cartouche.

Religious: e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 68: Offering Recumbent Sphinx Akhenaten. For more information about the cult of Aten: Foster 1995: 1751-1761.

⁵⁷¹ Cat.Nr. Eg. 4: Axe Ahmoses I.

Roeder 1909: 1311; Wyatt 2009: 30.

⁵⁷² Roeder 1909: 1335; Evans 1921: 712-713; Helck 1995: 48; Zouzoula 2007: 217; Morgan 2010a: 308, 317-318.

⁵⁷³ Cat.Nr. Eg. 86: Ramses III Offering a Sphinx.

This iconography was used in later periods also, e.g. on a relief from Philae (scene 954) where Ptolemeus VII offers a sphinx to Osiris: The king here says (free translation from Warmenbol 2006: 22): "*I bring you myrrh [...] in the hands of the lion, the ruler of Punt*" (it seems lion and sphinx are assimilated here). The god answers: "*I give you the Land of the God and everything that comes out of it.*": Warmenbol 2006: 21 afb. 11; or Ptolemeus II offering to Isis:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philae#mediaviewer/File:Relief_from_the_Temple_of_Philae_by_John_Campana1.jpg

⁵⁷⁴ Cat.Nr. Eg. 1: Plaque Winged Sphinx Ahmoses I.

⁵⁷⁵ Roeder 1909: 1301.

agrees that most sphinxes with human heads represent the Egyptian king, I think the identification can safely be assumed.

The sphinx on the axe also has wings, a feature that, according to the researchers of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where the amulet is kept, refers to the original identity of the sphinx, namely Horus-of-the-Horizon, i.e. Ra-Herakhty⁵⁷⁶. Horus-of-the-Horizon was mostly represented as a sphinx, but could also be depicted as a child or as a falcon, always representing the god of the rising and setting sun (cf. *supra*).

Other seated sphinxes are depicted, alone or in pairs, in a variety of contexts. Of the 'solo' sphinxes (7), 3 are shown on a scarab; one of these sphinxes has wings (Cat.Nr. Eg. 12)⁵⁷⁷.

Two other seated sphinxes are in the form of amulets and belong both to the 3rd Intermediate Period, but one of them is in fact not a 'real' sphinx, as it has a snake's head, while the other sphinx seems to have a more cat-like body instead of a lion's one⁵⁷⁸. The head- or hair-dress of this sphinx also differs significantly from the usual one. This begs the question if these composite creatures can indeed be called sphinxes.

The next of the seated sphinxes is even more remarkable (and perhaps doubtful); it is shown on a relief found in Erment⁵⁷⁹. This female sphinx has a distinctive Nubian head with a remarkable hair-dress, earrings, and what seems to be a sort of collar or even a leash⁵⁸⁰. The meaning of this iconography is not clear. Only one griffin dating to this period has been found and while it is sitting, it is, as said above, trampling an enemy⁵⁸¹.

Three pairs of seated sphinxes are depicted in a great variety of contexts; the oldest one is a scarab showing a pair of sphinxes that are flanking a hawk⁵⁸². Of course, the hawk must be seen here as being the daily embodiment of Ra (Ra-Herakhty, or Ra-Horus-of-the-Horizon).

⁵⁷⁶ Lurker 1996: 77; Wilkinson 1996: 101, 135; Warmenbol 2006: 14-16; Zivie-Coche 2006: 60, 63; <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100003624?rpp=60&pg=3&ft=sphinx&pos=172#fullscreen>

⁵⁷⁷ Cat.Nr. Eg. 11: Scarab with Seated Sphinx; Cat.Nr. Eg. 12: Scarab with Seated Winged Sphinx; Cat.Nr. Eg. 49: Scarab Seated Bearded Sphinx.

Demisch 1977: 28; Givon 1985: 180.

⁵⁷⁸ Cat.Nr. Eg. 90: Figure Snake-headed Seated Sphinx; Cat.Nr. Eg. 89: Amulet Seated Sphinx.

Andrews states this last creature represents the god Nebekhae, who feeds the people: Andrews 1994: fig. 79; Baum-vom Felde 2006: 154; *Sfinx* 2006: 272-273.

⁵⁷⁹ Cat.Nr. Eg. 92: Sphinx with Nubian Head.

Demisch 1977: 28.

⁵⁸⁰ Gubel argues the head is not Nubian: Gubel 1998.

⁵⁸¹ Cat.Nr. Eg. 5: Scarab Seated Griffin Trampling Enemy.

⁵⁸² Cat.Nr. Eg. 50: Scarab Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Hawk.

From the Palace of Merenptah in Memphis comes a so-called Window of Appearance showing a pair of sphinxes, which could only survive the ages because it was made of limestone instead of the usual wood⁵⁸³. This Window of Appearance, decorated in a manner that reflected the role of the pharaoh, was the place where the king showed himself to his visitors. Other motifs on the architectural element are *djed*-pillars and papyrus plants. The *djed*-pillars (representing the spinal cord of Osiris) are pillars of duration, continuation or stability, and were considered 'lucky' symbolic signs that were used both as amulets and in writing (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs)⁵⁸⁴. The papyrus was a natural symbol of life powers and vitality and of life itself⁵⁸⁵. Both *djed*-pillars and papyrus referred to the primeval marsh from which all life emerged.

The third pair of seated sphinxes is depicted on a relief belonging to the Temple of Seti in Abydos⁵⁸⁶. This pair flanks the name of the pharaoh. The relief is above a fake door, which was meant for the deceased to return from the grave and receive the offerings that were made to him. Two pairs of recumbent sphinxes are also depicted with the name of a pharaoh, first on a bracelet belonging to Queen Aahhotep with a cartouche showing the name of pharaoh Ahmoses I, and the second time on a fragment of a door lintel of the death temple of Merenptah where two sphinxes each hold a royal cartouche⁵⁸⁷. The first pair of sphinxes are wearing the *Nemes* head-dress topped with a *Uraeus*, but they are beardless; the second pair is bearded and wears the Double Crown.

Criosphinxes appear during this period (4), all lying down, not one of them winged, as do the first winged human-headed sphinxes (12)⁵⁸⁸. Of the winged sphinxes four are of the male basic type (i.e. recumbent), and these only occur in a political setting, while only two pairs guard a

Lurker 1996: 77; Wilkinson 1996: 101;

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?searchtext=sphinx&orig=%2fBritishMuseum3%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx&numpages=10¤tpage=133&partid=1&objectid=149254

⁵⁸³ Cat.Nr. Eg. 45: Window of Appearance.

Siliotti 1994: 281; Hornung 1995: 1723-1725; Leprohon 1995: 276; Brewer and Teeter 1999: 141; Ziegler 2002: 284, 433 Cat. 113.

⁵⁸⁴ Lurker 1996: 46-47; Wilkinson 1996: 165.

⁵⁸⁵ Lurker 1996: 94; Wilkinson 1996: 123. The papyrus pillars, so commonly seen in ancient Egyptian temples, were said to hold up the sky.

⁵⁸⁶ Cat.Nr. Eg. 71: Relief Pair of Seated Sphinxes.

Demisch 1977: 28-29; Rösch-von der Heyde 1999: 3.

⁵⁸⁷ Cat. Nr. Eg. 3: Bracelet Queen Aahhotep; Cat.Nr. Eg. 81: Pair of Sphinxes with Ankh-signs.

Andrews 1990: 158; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 186.

⁵⁸⁸ Criosphinx: e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 91: Scarab Recumbent Ram-headed Sphinx with Atef-crown.

Sacred Tree, a typical Near Eastern symbol (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs)⁵⁸⁹.

There are few female sphinxes in Egypt, and the ones that do exist are often related to queens and princesses⁵⁹⁰. However, the Orientalized female type of sphinx with large 'broken' wings and an elaborate head-dress, is different⁵⁹¹. It was only popular during the 18th Dyn. and shows clearly some foreign influence⁵⁹². The 'broken' wings of these sphinxes may refer to the Egyptian *rhj.t.* bird, which symbolizes the people of Egypt worshipping the pharaoh when it stands with its wings outstretched before the pharaoh's name. In the case of the Winged Female Sphinx with Queens Name (Cat.Nr. Eg. 43) it is generally assumed that this sphinx does not represent the pharaoh or his wife or daughter, but that it portrays Syrian women worshipping the Egyptian king Haremhab (although some argue it is the queen's name, Mudnetjemet, that is written in the cartouche)⁵⁹³. The Syrian prototype sphinxes evolved out of the sphinxes from Egypt but were influenced by the sphinxes from Crete and Mycenae⁵⁹⁴. These female sphinxes are not only shown in relation with a king's name, but occur also next to a Sacred Tree, a symbol of Near-Eastern origin⁵⁹⁵.

Table STF XIX (– Sphinxes in Context) gives an overview of the different contexts the basic types of sphinxes (in this case, wingless, winged, (female) with human-arms, with lion-mane, female, ram-headed sphinx and griffin) have been found in⁵⁹⁶. The basic, wingless type of sphinx appears the most in Egypt, in a great variety of contexts, but it is never, nor are the other Egyptian types, shown being attacked or attacking and neither is it shown being controlled or controlling, that is, if a sphinx shown trampling an enemy is not counted as being in control or attacking. All the human-headed sphinxes, be they female, male, with or without wings, and the ram-headed sphinxes as well, can function as protectors, either from buildings (palaces and temples), from persons (man, king), or symbols (Sacred Tree). All sphinxes also, including the ram-headed ones and the griffins, appear next to god-symbols, but only the basic type, winged and wingless, and the female ones, appear next to divinities themselves.

⁵⁸⁹ Cat.Nr. Eg. 13: Winged Sphinxes with Sacred Tree; Cat.Nr. Eg. 66: Toilet Box with Winged Sphinxes. Demisch 1977: 21.

⁵⁹⁰ Demisch 1977: 24.

⁵⁹¹ E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 43: Winged Female Sphinx with Queens Name.

⁵⁹² Demisch 1977: 21, 27.


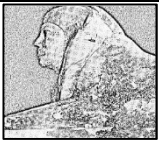


⁵⁹³ Demisch 1977: 26-27.

⁵⁹⁴ Demisch 1977: 21, 26-27.

⁵⁹⁵ Cat.Nrs. Eg. 37, 41: Winged Female Sphinxes with Sacred Tree.

⁵⁹⁶ Only sphinxes from the Catalogue, i.e. from the period 1600-800 BC, are taken up in this overview.

STF XIX – SPHINXES (1600-800 BC) IN CONTEXT – EGYPT

CONTEXT → TYPE ↓	ANIMALS/MEN/ MYTHOLOGICAL CREATURES	KINGS/QUEENS/ ROYAL SYMBOLS	GOD(-SYMBOLS)	SUPPORTING/ GUARDING	CONTROLLED BY/CONTROLLING	ATTACKED BY/ATTACKING
 <p>1. BASIC 16TH-11TH CENT. BC FIGURE/AMULET/ SEAL/JEWELLERY/ ARTEFACT/RELIEF/ MURAL PAINTING</p> <p>1.1 WINGED 17TH-11TH CENT. BC SCARAB/RELIEF</p> <p>1.2 HUMAN- ARMS 14TH-12TH CENT. BC FIGURE/RELIEF/ MURAL PAINTING</p> <p>1.3 LION-MANE 16TH-15TH CENT. BC FIGURE</p>	<p><i>Animals</i> (7, 34, 35, 36, 42, 44, 46, 47, 51, 55, 56, 88) <i>Men</i> (18, 20, 21, 22, 35, 39, 40, 42, 47, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 61, 64, 74, 75, 87) <i>Myth. Creat.</i> (56, 73)</p> <p><i>Animals</i> (33) <i>Men</i> (6) <i>Myth. Creat.</i> (4)</p>	<p><i>Royal Symb.</i> (3, 9, 10, 23, 30, 32, 42, 44, 55, 62, 76, 78, 81, 84) <i>King</i> (14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 31, 32, 35, 39, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53, 62, 67, 71, 78, 79) <i>Queen</i> (3, 26, 27, 28, 64)</p> <p><i>Royal Symb.</i> (6, 13, 33) <i>King</i> (33)</p> <p><i>Royal Symb.</i> (57) <i>King</i> (4, 63, 68, 69, 86)</p> <p><i>King</i> (2) <i>Queen</i> (24, 25)</p>	<p><i>Godsymb.</i> (30, 35, 42, 57, 62, 84, 86, 87, 88) <i>God</i> (35, 51, 57, 74, 75, 87, 88) <i>Goddess</i> (18, 35, 55, 68, 84, 88)</p> <p><i>Goddess</i> (66) <i>Godsymb.</i> (50)</p> <p><i>Religious Symb.</i> (68, 69, 85) <i>Divinity</i> (72)</p>	<p><i>Guarding Palace</i> (45) <i>Guarding Pharaoh</i> (47, 51) <i>Guarding Man</i> (52) <i>Guarding Tomb</i> (57, 73) <i>Guarding Temple</i> (59, 61, 68, 71, 76, 78, 85)</p> <p><i>Guarding Sacred Tree</i> (13, 66)</p> <p><i>Guarding Temple</i> (25, 26, 29)</p>		
 <p>2. FEMALE 15TH-14TH CENT. BC FIGURE/ARTEFACT</p> <p>2.1 WINGED + HUMAN-ARMS 14TH CENT. BC FIGURE/ARTEFACT/ JEWELLERY</p>		<p><i>Queen</i> (29, 65)</p> <p><i>Royal Symb.</i> (37, 38, 41) <i>King</i> (41, 43) <i>Queen</i> (38)</p>	<p><i>Goddess</i> (65)</p>	<p><i>Guarding Temple</i> (29) <i>Guarding Sacred Tree</i> (37, 41)</p>		
 <p>3. CRIOSPHINX 13TH-11TH CENT. BC FIGURE/AMULET</p>		<p><i>Royal Symb.</i> (82, 90) <i>King</i> (77)</p>	<p><i>Godsymb.</i> (77, 82, 90)</p>	<p><i>Guarding Temple</i> (60, 77)</p>		
 <p>4. GRIFFIN 16TH-15TH CENT. BC SCARAB</p>	<p><i>Men</i> (5)</p>	<p><i>Royal Symb.</i> (5)</p>	<p><i>Godsymb.</i> (5)</p>			

5.3 AFTER 800 BC

Figures, figurines and monuments still form the bulk of images of the sphinx in the later period (16 out of 30); the rest of the sphinx motif can be seen on jewellery (4), often in the shape of an amulet, on random artefacts (4), like furniture, on scarabs (3), on architectural elements or reliefs (2), on one seal, and on one coffin⁵⁹⁷. From this period (7th-6th cent. BC) dates the only sphinx who has without a doubt a guarding function at a tomb⁵⁹⁸.

Of these 30 pictures, only 7 belong to a political context primarily, so this means that in contrast with the previous period, religion is seen now as the most fit framework for the sphinx⁵⁹⁹. This can probably be explained by the fact that the previous period (which comprised mainly the New Kingdom) was a relatively steady one on the political platform, so that one could always rely on the pharaoh.

The recumbent sphinxes again outnumber the other types (19); of these 2 are Criosphinxes while 3 have human hands/arms which they use to make an offering, be it to a god or to a king⁶⁰⁰. Only one of the recumbent sphinxes has the so-called lion-manes⁶⁰¹. One of these recumbent sphinxes is worth mentioning here, because it shows a rather unique combination of a sphinx together with Hathor in her cow-form⁶⁰².

The 4 seated sphinxes dating to this period are all very different from the canon-like type of sphinxes that was common in Egypt and are surely all very heavily influenced by foreign iconography. These all raise the question if they indeed can be called sphinxes.

⁵⁹⁷ Jewellery: e.g. St.M. Nr. Eg. 35: Amulet in the Shape of a Seated Sphinx.

Artefact: e.g. St.M. Nr. Eg. 33: Chair Leg in the Shape of a Sphinx.

Scarab: e.g. St.M. Nr. Eg. 44: Scarab Recumbent Sphinx above Cartouche Thutmoses III.

Seal: St.M. Nr. Eg. 32: Ram-headed Sphinx and Crocodile.

Coffin: St.M. Nr. Eg. 46: Coffin Decoration with Griffin.

⁵⁹⁸ St.M. Nr. Eg. 42: Sphinx of Priest Wah-ib-re.

Demisch 1977: 24, 29.

⁵⁹⁹ For the criteria used to catalogue an image as either political or religious: 2.2.3. Collecting and Processing the Material.

⁶⁰⁰ Criosphinxes: St.M. Nr. Eg. 32: Ram-headed Sphinx and Crocodile; St.M. Nr. Eg. 47: Figure Recumbent Ram-headed Sphinx.

Offering: St.M. Nr. Eg. 40: Recumbent Offering Sphinx Shepenupet II; St.M. Nr. Eg. 51: Obelisk Pramtik II; St.M. Nr. Eg. 52: Royal Sphinx of Pharaoh Apries.

⁶⁰¹ St.M. Nr. Eg. 39: Lion-maned Sphinx of Taharqo.

⁶⁰² St.M. Nr. Eg. 41. Hathor-Cow Protects a Sphinx.

For more information about the relation between goddesses of the ancient Near East and the cow: Van Dijk 2011: 183-204.

One example of this is a so-called Bastet sphinx that could easily be a cat instead of a sphinx⁶⁰³. This wooden image was found in Sudan and functioned as the leg of a chair. But the function and the origin of this chair is not known. A second seated sphinx is female; it was found in the tomb of a Nubian King and can possibly represent a queen⁶⁰⁴. In the same tomb was also found a pendant in the shape of a criosphinx⁶⁰⁵. The fourth seated sphinx shows great Aegean influence (cf. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 108)⁶⁰⁶.

Of the 4 standing/striding sphinxes, one is on a relief found in a Temple in Kaw; it shows a sphinx trampling enemies⁶⁰⁷. One figurine displaying a standing sphinx was associated with Tutu, two others decorate a throne⁶⁰⁸.

⁶⁰³ St.M. Nr. Eg. 33: Chair Leg in the Shape of a Sphinx. Bastet can symbolize even the Sun-god himself, from the early New Kingdom onwards: Hornung 1995: 1714; Te Velde 1995: 1736.

⁶⁰⁴ St.M. Nr. Eg. 35: Amulet in the Shape of a Seated Sphinx.

⁶⁰⁵ St.M. Nr. Eg. 36: Pendant with Seated Ram-headed Sphinx.

⁶⁰⁶ St.M. Nr. Eg. 53: Figure Sphinx with Long Neck.

⁶⁰⁷ St.M. Nr. Eg. 38: Taharqo Sphinx Trampling an Enemy.

⁶⁰⁸ Tutu: St.M. Nr. Eg. 45: Figure Standing Bearded Sphinx. See for more information on Tutu: Warmenbol 2006: 17-18.

4th cent. BC: St.M. Nr. Eg. 60: Sphinx of the 30th Dyn.

5.4 FUNCTION AND MEANING

Of course, the sphinx in Egypt is often a representation of the king himself, unlike in Syro-Mesopotamia or in the other regions, where the sphinx is not usually depicted in association with a specific king. Because the Egyptian sphinx mostly depicts the pharaoh in his function as an earthly representative of Horus, all the images of a lone (recumbent) sphinx, whether connected to a name of a ruler or not, and although perhaps seemingly belonging to a political context, have an important religious aspect as well.

That the making of these sphinxes was an important task for workmen, is attested by murals found in the tomb of Nebamon and Ipuky, two craftsmen who worked during the 18th Dyn. and in the tomb of Rekhmire, an official of the 18th Dyn (Cat.Nr. Eg. 53). The painting in the tomb of the craftsmen shows a workman producing a golden statue of a recumbent sphinx, indicating that sphinxes were a unique object in sculpture at the times of the pharaohs (Fig. 47 A)⁶⁰⁹. The Tomb of Rekhmire shows that the producing of sphinx-statues was as important as the making of statues of the king (Fig. 47 B; Cat.Nr. Eg. 53). Through the making of these sphinx-statues, men could bring the divine into their own live, although gods were regarded as both unknowable and invisible. Producing images of e.g. sphinxes therefore was not considered to be a craft, but was a ritual.

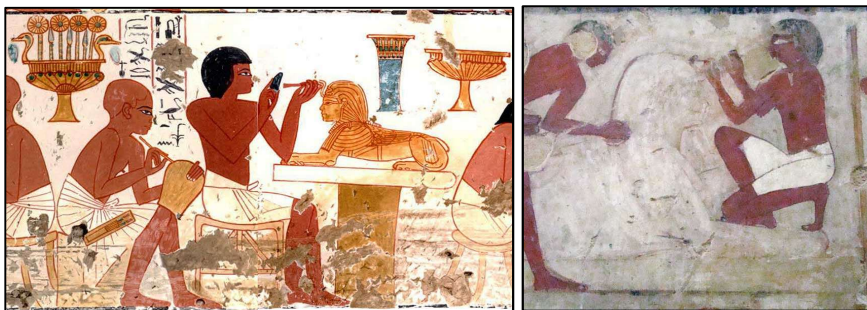


FIG. 47 A: PRODUCING A GOLDEN SPHINX, MURAL (RECONSTRUCTION), 2ND MILL. BC, NEW KINGDOM, 18TH DYN., EGYPT, KHOKHA, TT181

FIG. 47 B: THE MAKING OF A SPHINX, MURAL 2ND MILL. BC, NEW KINGDOM, 18TH DYN., EGYPT, THEBE, TOMB OF REKHMIRE, TT100 (CAT.NR. EG. 53).

⁶⁰⁹ Broze 2006: 125-127; De Putter 2006: 81.

It seems there are three fundamental themes underlying the motif of the sphinx: first, the sphinx can be regarded as a royal monument, in which, secondly, the divine nature of the king found its shape⁶¹⁰. The third idea on which the image of the sphinx is based, is that it is the living image of Atum. By putting a human head on the body of a lion, men project a human contribution into the god, whereby it is possible for the god to share human emotions and actions (e.g. laughing, thinking, and fighting).

Of the 55 recumbent sphinxes from 1600-800 BC, 23 can be directly associated with a ruler (Cat.Nrs. Eg. 14-17, 19, 24-29, 31, 36, 63, 67-69, 71-79, 81, 86); two more show a female sphinx, with a cartouche, once with the name of a king, the second time with that of a queen⁶¹¹. These two female sphinxes were of a type that only was popular during the 18th Dyn. and that was almost certainly of foreign origin, hence e.g. the elaborate headdress and the "broken" wings⁶¹². Some authors claim that these types of sphinxes, considering their foreign look, don't represent either pharaoh or queen. It is generally assumed these sphinxes are depicted in a foreign way, because they depict foreign women (maybe Syrian), worshipping the Egyptian king or his queen. The same "exotic" female sphinxes can be seen on a toilet box dating from the 14th cent. BC⁶¹³. These, however, are flanking Hathor-heads, what gives them a guarding aspect that seems to be less prominent with the other images.

The male recumbent sphinxes, depicted without any other motif or symbol(s), and without a context and with the name of a pharaoh or not, are all the plain basic type: a lion-body (lying down) supporting a human-head, with or without a beard and wearing a royal crown or a *Nemes* head-dress topped with a *Uraeus*.

As said before, this type of sphinx usually represents the pharaoh in his aspect of descendant of the Sun-god Ra, who legitimizes his reign and power. While depictions of the pharaoh as a human being showed the people the ruler and protector of their land, the pharaoh as a sphinx had a deeper meaning and expressed a lot more. As the son of the Sun-god Ra, and representing Horus on earth, it was not only the ruler's task to protect and rule his country and its inhabitants, but also to mediate between heaven and earth⁶¹⁴. The gods, of course, could be called upon

⁶¹⁰ Broze 2006: 127; Sourouzian 2006: 103 ff.

⁶¹¹ Cat.Nr. Eg. 38: Winged Female Sphinx with Cartouche; Cat.Nr. Eg. 43: Winged Female Sphinx with Queens Name.

⁶¹² Hayes 1959: 242-243; Demisch 1977: 21, 26; Liebowitz 1987: 7; Hornung 1995: 1715-1716; Ziegler 2002: 245; Dubiel 2011: 18-19; Winkler-Horaček 2011a: 100.

⁶¹³ Cat.Nr. Eg. 66: Toilet Box with Winged Sphinxes.

⁶¹⁴ Kristensen 1917: 107; Hornung 1995: 1716; Lurker 1996: 65-66.

through offers and rituals by the people themselves to ask them for help and assistance, but it was much easier and certain when the mediation was done by someone who stood much closer to them and could speak to them directly, and upon whom the gods had already placed their trust when they had made him king. But, there may be exceptions to this rule, among others, the three sphinxes accompanying Rekhmire and his wife in their tomb (Cat.Nr. Eg. 52), do not represent the pharaoh, but could be merely protective (divine) creatures.

The recumbent royal sphinx with human hands/arms held in an offering position, alone or as a pair, is a way to express this important function of the pharaoh (alone: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 4, 58, 62, 67-68, 72, 86; as a pair: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 61, 85), as are the images of the same recumbent sphinx near a god symbol (Cat.Nrs. Eg. 55, 84). Thanks to the hands the king could always participate in the offering rituals, even when he wasn't present⁶¹⁵. The two-identical bowls, one for each of the two parts of the country, that offering sphinxes usually held, could contain cool water, milk or wine, or anointments. These last were very important as offerings, because they were meant to maintain and renew the life of the god (in the same way that the mummy of a deceased person was anointed to give his limbs back the flexibility that was needed for his resurrection).

A big exception to this typical iconography is the offering sphinx on a ceremonial axe of Ahmoses I, who offers a human head instead of a bowl⁶¹⁶. The iconography on the axe, that celebrates the victory of the pharaoh over the Hyksos, could be explained by a foreign production place. Helck figures the axe was ordered in the Aegean, a theory that is sustained by the fact that the griffin, depicted on the reverse side of the axe, is also of the typical Aegean type⁶¹⁷. Objects like these show the cosmopolitan nature of Egypt at the time of the New Kingdom.

This iconography sometimes also shows a little variation, when the sphinx is of the so-called Criotype, i.e. with a ram's head instead of a human one⁶¹⁸.

The pharaoh as a sphinx then, was a reminder for the people that their fate was in good hands. To enhance even further this function of the pharaoh, the sphinx sometimes wasn't lying down

In some cases, the relation to Horus was accentuated by giving the sphinx a red colour, e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 79: Amulet Ramses II.

⁶¹⁵ Kristensen 1917: 136; Fischer 1987: 14; Wilkinson 1996: 53; Warmenbol 2006: 22-23; *Sphinx* 2006: 220.

⁶¹⁶ Cat.Nr. Eg. 4: Axe Ahmoses I (cf. 12.2 Axe Ahmoses I).

Roeder 1909: 1311.

⁶¹⁷ Fischer 1987: 14-15; Helck 1995: 48; Lacovara 2008: 119-120; Morgan 2010a: 308, 317-318.

⁶¹⁸ With Maat and Sun-disk: Cat. Nr. Eg. 82: Scarab Ram-headed Sphinx with Crown; with Ra-Herakhty: Cat.Nr. Eg. 91: Scarab Recumbent Ram-headed Sphinx with Atef-crown. Hornung, Stähelin, a.o. 1976: 255; Givon 1985: 180.

passively, but showed that he would also protect the people actively by dominating and destroying their enemies. Hence there exist depictions of the sphinx slaying captives or dominating them (Cat.Nrs. Eg. 6, 18, 20-22, 35, 39-40, 42). This scene of triumph was not necessarily a literary representation of the king defeating actual enemies, it was foremost a symbolic depiction of the fact that the king restored order and unity when he ascended the throne⁶¹⁹.

Only once the image of a sphinx trampling an enemy is associated with a queen instead of a king, namely on a relief found in the private tomb of Cherueb that shows queen Tiye, the wife of pharaoh Amenhotep III (14th cent. BC)⁶²⁰. Her depiction as such shows the high appreciation wives of pharaohs had during the 18th Dyn. Also, only once in the period between 1600-800 BC, the sphinx trampling an enemy was a griffin, i.e. a lion-bodied being with the head of a falcon or hawk, which points directly to the role of the pharaoh as a representative of Horus, the Falcon-god and as a victorious ruler (in this case, however, the griffin is not standing but sitting down)⁶²¹.

Demisch claims that sphinxes represented as pairs always act as guards, and I think this is true in most cases, although I do feel that this varies through context⁶²². E.g. on a scarab showing a pair of sphinxes trampling enemies, the active protective function of the pharaoh is most prominent⁶²³. A decoration of a throne belonging to the 18th Dyn. shows the same imagery⁶²⁴. The sphinx being shown on a throne comes as no surprise, as the throne was the obvious symbol of actual rule. But in the case of e.g. the bracelet where the sphinxes flank the name of the pharaoh, I think the sphinx represents not the ruler, but the god that is 'assisting' or protecting the pharaoh.

Other pairs of sphinxes, more specifically the ones where the religious or ritual element is the most prominent, seem to sustain this theory. Examples include the above mentioned 'foreign' female sphinxes, worshipping a Sacred Tree, and the equally exotic, though not necessarily female, sphinxes on a toilet box found in Medinet el-Gurab, which are flanking two Hathor

⁶¹⁹ Hornung 1995: 1727-1728.

⁶²⁰ Cat.Nr. Eg. 64: Queen Tiye as Trampling Sphinx.

Dessenne 1957a: 185-186; Schmitz 1986: 306; Lurker 1996: 55-56; Dubiel 2011: 17; Osirisnet.net.

⁶²¹ Fischer 1987: 14, 17.

Cat.Nr. Eg. 5: Scarab Seated Griffin Trampling Enemy.

⁶²² Demisch 1977: 22-24.

⁶²³ Cat.Nr. Eg. 6: Scarab Winged Sphinxes with Captives.

⁶²⁴ Cat.Nr. Eg. 42: Pair of Sphinxes Trampling Enemies.

Demisch 1977: 21, 30-33; Hornung 1995: 1727; Leprohon 1995: 276; Dubiel 2011: 13-14.

heads⁶²⁵. Two other pairs of sphinxes depicted on murals in a temple are offering to a god, one pair in Luxor, the second one in Karnak⁶²⁶.

One pair of sphinxes that seems to have a truly guarding function can also be seen in a temple, albeit this time on a relief⁶²⁷. These sphinxes are also female and are flanking two Hathor-heads, while beneath them are depicted some vases. Both offering pairs (Cat.Nrs. Eg. 61 and 85) refer to the mediating role the pharaoh has between people and gods. The same allusion to the mediator function of the pharaoh can be imagined with the pair of seated winged sphinxes flanking a hawk, while a second hawk is circling above them (Cat.Nr. Eg. 50).

The last two pairs are quite unique in two ways; first, these pairs of sphinxes are not depicted antithetical, but, on one image, are lying one after the other, each one on a table, or, on the second image, one is lying while the other is striding⁶²⁸.

Secondly, they obviously stand out from the other pairs through the context wherein they occur: a funerary papyrus and a vignette from the *Book of the Dead*. The *Book of the Dead* was a recording of magical and ritual spells that helped every deceased to pass through the dangerous underworld to reach the safety of the dwelling place of Osiris (cf. supra)⁶²⁹. It also shows the fruitful regions of the Netherworld.

"In Egypt, it was the conventional wish of the dead to be able to enjoy the pleasures of life in the hereafter, notably in hunting ducks and fish along the papyrus-lined Nile. During the XVIIIth Dynasty this notion was supplemented by the belief that the deceased went to the Land of the Blessed, also called the Field of Reeds, conceived of as an island in a river where fresh water, palms, papyri, fruits, and fertile fields would produce an eternal life of plenty⁶³⁰."

On the papyrus, the owner, Seth-Nakhte, is shown worshipping the god Horus with falcon-head while holding a little figurine of the goddess Maat in his hand. The heart of the deceased, which for the Egyptians was the centre of feeling, will and emotion was weighed against the Maat-

⁶²⁵ Cat.Nr. Eg. 37: Winged Female Sphinxes with Sacred Tree; Cat.Nr. Eg. 41: Winged Female Sphinxes with Sacred Tree; Cat.Nr. Eg. 66: Toilet Box with Winged Sphinxes.

Demisch 1977: 21, 26; Liebowitz 1987: 7; Dubiel 2011: 18.

⁶²⁶ Cat.Nr. Eg. 61: Offering Sphinxes Temple, Cat.Nr. Eg. 85: Pair of Recumbent Offering Sphinxes.

Demisch 1977: 24; Dubiel 2011: 11.

⁶²⁷ Cat.Nr. Eg. 65: Pair of Striding Sphinxes Queen Tiye.

Unger 1928: 338; Dessenne 1957a: 186; Hayes 1959: 243; Demisch 1977: 29.

⁶²⁸ Cat.Nr. Eg. 75: Funerary Papyrus of Steward Seth-Nakhte; Cat.Nr. Eg. 56: Vignette Book of the Dead.

Hayes 1959: 387-388; Siliotti 1994: 281; Hornung 1995: 1719, 1725; Lurker 1996: 34.

⁶²⁹ Lepage Renouf and Laville 1904; Lurker 1996: 34-35; Wilkinson 1996: 218; Elsaed and Veiga 2012.

The *Book of the Dead* was divided into chapters, "Spells", and decorated with vignettes and various illustrations. For more information on the *Book of the Dead*: Roeder 1916-1924: 1072-1084.

⁶³⁰ Watrous 1991: 298.

feather before Osiris sitting on his throne, to determine if the deceased had conformed to Maat, i.e. to truth, order and justice⁶³¹. As Maat embodied one of the chief responsibilities of the Egyptian king (to (re-)establish and maintain the cosmic order, more specifically political harmony which guarantees peace and welfare), offering Maat was a very important act, as without her the world could not function and even the gods could not live. If the deceased was thus approved, he was brought before Osiris, or in this case Horus (who was the replacement of Osiris as his resurrection, and who acted as the judge of the dead). Behind this group are other participants in the funerary rites among which the two recumbent bearded sphinxes. On the vignette, a likewise scene from the funerary rituals is shown, but now one of the sphinxes is seen striding beneath a bull standing on a sort of pied-de-stall. Considering the context, it is probable that these sphinxes do not represent the pharaoh, although it is not immediately clear whom they could represent.

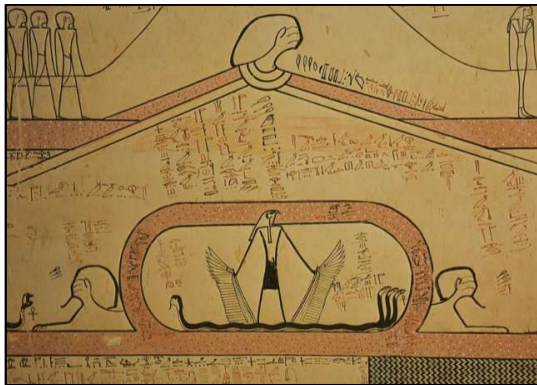


FIG. 48: AKER IN TOMB THUTMOSES III, 14TH CENT. BC (RELATED CAT.NR. EG. 73).

The only other sphinx that is constantly depicted in a funerary environment is the double-headed sphinx Aker, of which four images have been found; each one of these images occurred in a royal tomb. Aker was believed to guard both ends of the day ("sphinx of yesterday" and "sphinx of today") and thus the entrance to the underworld against the enemies of the Sun-god⁶³². Entrances, like doors and gateways are thresholds, crossing points, but also barriers and they could signify protection as well as transition.

⁶³¹ Kristensen 1917: 137; Hornung 1995: 1721, 1729; Lurker 1996: 61, 78; Wilkinson 1996: 37, 77; Owusu 1999: 83; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 116.

When offering Maat to a god, the king is often seen saying these words: (own translation) "You live through Maat, your right eye is Maat, your left eye is Maat; your flesh and limbs are Maat, your breath and your heart come from Maat, She is brought to you to satisfy you, because your heart and your soul live through her. She is with you every day, when you descend into the Afterlife, with her you go down and through her you grow":: Kristensen 1917: 137.

⁶³² Wiedemann 1890: 103; Kristensen 1917: 110, 119; Hornung 1975a: 114-115; Lurker 1996: 25, 47; Wilkinson 1996: 135, 147; Rösche-von der Heyde 1999: 4; Warmenbol 2006: 15.

For more information on Aker: 3.1.2.2.

The first one of these images can be dated to around the middle of the 15th cent. BC and shows the double-sphinx with some worshipping people (male and female) above a scene with the dead body of Osiris; each scene also has a sun-disk⁶³³. This sun-disk refers to the *Myth of Osiris* (cf. supra) that tells how the rays of the sun woke Osiris to life again after he was killed by his brother Seth⁶³⁴. Because of his resurrection Osiris is also known as the God of Regeneration; as on this image he is mostly depicted as a mummy wearing the white crown of Upper-Egypt flanked by two ostrich plumes (= *Atef*-crown; cf. supra). In his hand, he holds a flail or whip and a sceptre.

In the beginning of the 13th cent. BC the tomb of Seti I in Thebes was decorated with a mural painting showing the double-sphinx accompanied by a winged snake with two heads and a tail ending in a human head⁶³⁵. This snake was a representation of one of the countless fire-spitting snakes that dwelled in the underworld; they didn't only punish the sinners, but threatened all the deceased⁶³⁶.

The third double-sphinx dates from almost two centuries later (ca. 1100 BC) and again shows the double-sphinx above the dead body of Osiris. This time, however, the Bark of Amun is resting on the sphinx's body⁶³⁷. Another image, already mentioned before, suggests the human-headed sphinx is associated with the Bark of Amun (cf. supra)⁶³⁸. Here one sphinx stands behind Hathor and Maat, while beneath them usually is a recumbent sphinx. Sometimes even a third one can be depicted on a stand on the boat.

⁶³³ Cat.Nr. Eg. 57: Aker Double-sphinx Royal Tomb.

Hornung 1975a: 114-115; Demisch 1977: 234; Siliotti 1994: 281, 283; Hornung 1995: 1718; Leprohon 1995: 275; Te Velde 1995: 1738; Van Dijk 1995: 1702-1704.

The Myth of Osiris contains three big events: the murder of Osiris by his brother Seth, the birth of Osiris's son Horus, and the ensuing conflict between Horus and Seth. For a retelling of the *Myth of Osiris*: Van Dijk 1995: 1702-1706; or: <http://www.egyptianmyths.net/mythisis.htm>

⁶³⁴ Seth, known as a force of confusion and disturbance, stood in juxtaposition with Horus, who ruled with stability and order. Later Seth was taken up in the solar iconography in which he was often depicted in the bow of the solar bark where he fought Apophis who tried to destroy the sun every time it rose or set and thus endangered the stability of the world: Lurker 1996: 29, 92-93, 109-110, 113; Wilkinson 1996: 67, 219-220; Owusu 1999: 110-111.

⁶³⁵ Cat.Nr. Eg. 73: Aker Double-sphinx.

Demisch 1977: 231-232; Hornung 1995: 1719.

⁶³⁶ Lurker 1996: 47.

⁶³⁷ Cat.Nr. Eg. 87: Sun Bark and Aker Double-sphinx.

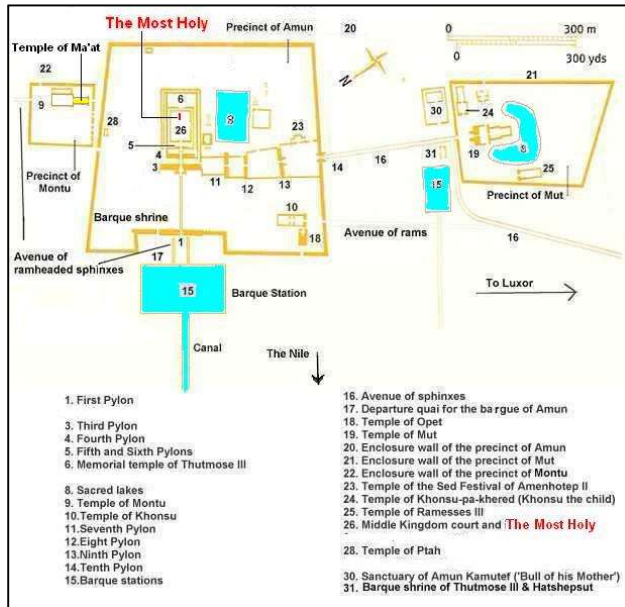
Altenmüller 1975a: 248-251; Kitchen 1975: 620-625; Demisch 1977: 231; Lurker 1996: 113.

The sun-bark resting on Aker symbolizes the nightly journey of the sun: Lurker 1996: 25; Warmenbol 2006: 15. For more information about the Sun-bark of Amun: Karlshausen 1995.

⁶³⁸ Cat.Nr. Eg. 74: Ostrakon Procession Boat of Amun.

Roeder 1909: 1311; Wilkinson 1996: 37; Rösche-von der Heyde 1999: 2-3; Ziegler 2002: 168, 416 Cat. 75.

As said before, out of the antithetic pairs of sphinxes the Dromos evolved and here it is sure that the main task of these alley-sphinxes was to guard and protect⁶³⁹. In the case of human-headed sphinxes, it is the pharaoh that guards, not only the temple, but also the gods that dwell in it and that must protect the country⁶⁴⁰. When these alley-sphinxes have ram-heads, the sphinx is a representation of Amun in his nightly shape who is depicted here to protect his own temple, and the pharaoh, of which an image is standing between its front legs⁶⁴¹. Some temple-complexes had both alleys as can be seen on a plan of temples on MP 6⁶⁴².



MP 6: PLAN TEMPLE PRECINCT KARNAK.

Images of the sphinx as a god do occur in more contexts. The clearest example is a sphinx depicted on an ear-stele which represents the Great Sphinx of Giza (St.M. Nr. Eg. 1; cf. supra)⁶⁴³. As said before this sphinx was, from the New Kingdom onwards, worshipped as the god Harmachis (cf. supra).

The second one of the images of the sphinx as a god, also is strongly and directly related to the Great Sphinx of Giza, not only qua iconography, but also qua location⁶⁴⁴. The Dream Stele of

⁶³⁹ Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 169.

⁶⁴⁰ E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 76: Avenue of Recumbent Human-headed Sphinxes.

Budge 1893: 34; Kristensen 1917: 121-122; Sourouzzian 2006: 99-102, 106-11.

⁶⁴¹ Fischer 1987: 14-15; Warmenbol 2006: 21.

E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 77: Avenue of Recumbent Ram-sphinxes with Pharaoh.

⁶⁴² Demisch 1977: 23-24; Dubiel 2011: 6.

⁶⁴³ Cat.Nr. Eg. 54: Ear-stele with Recumbent Sphinx.

⁶⁴⁴ Budge 1893: 14, 33-34; Roeder 1909: 1329, 1331-1332; Kristensen 1917: 107; Unger 1928: 338-339; Suhr 1970: 99-100; Coche-Zivie 1977: 607; Demisch 1977: 19; Lurker 1996: 114-116; Wilkinson 1996: 135; Rösch-von der Heyde 1999: 1; *Sphinx* 2006: 70-71, 168-170, 180 Cat.1; Stadelmann 2006: 38-39; Warmenbol 2006: 16; Zivie-Coche 2006: 58, 60; Dubiel 2011: 10, 26 + Fig. 9 + Cat. 1; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 154, 157.

Thutmoses IV (Cat.Nr. Eg. 62) stands between the outstretched front legs of the statue and shows the king paying tribute to the god that made him king. The Dream Stele reveals the relation between the Great Sphinx and the Sun-god as it explains that the pharaoh is the son of the God. The stele thus was meant to legitimize the kingship of Thutmoses IV.

Wilkinson argues this stele is reminiscent of Horus-on-the-Horizon; not only is this name inscribed above the heads of the sphinxes, the sphinxes are placed back to back, suggesting the two mountains through which the sun rises and sets everyday while a sun-disc is positioned above and between them⁶⁴⁵.

These are at first sight the only two examples of human-headed sphinxes where the sphinx does not represent the pharaoh, but is an embodiment of a god. On the mural in the tomb of the official Rekhmire, however, the three sphinxes lying behind the deceased and his wife the sphinx probably also represent a god (Cat.Nr. Eg. 52; Fig. 49).

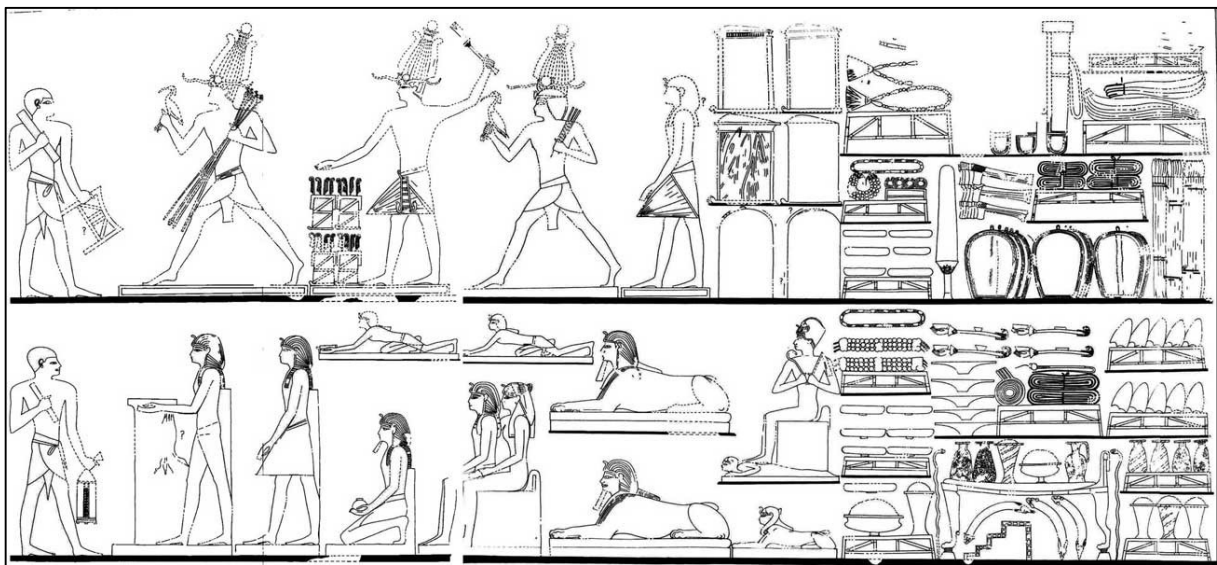


FIG. 49: SPHINXES IN TOMB REHKMIRE (TT 100), 16TH-13TH CENT. BC (CAT.NR. EG. 52).

Of course, when the sphinx has a ram's head (Criosphinx) or a falcon's or hawk's head (Hierakosphinx = griffin), the identification as a god seems obvious, although in some cases, god and pharaoh are merged together, as we have already seen e.g. on a scarab from the New Kingdom depicting a seated griffin trampling a captive⁶⁴⁶. Examples of Criosphinxes are the colossal ram's head that was found in the temple of Mut in Karnak and that is thought to have belonged to an enormous figure of a Criosphinx, of course the Alley-sphinxes of Karnak (cf.

⁶⁴⁵ Wilkinson 1996: 135.

⁶⁴⁶ Cat.Nr. Eg. 5: Scarab Seated Griffin Trampling Enemy.

supra), a scarab of the 19th Dynasty found in a tomb in Cyprus but undoubtedly of Egyptian origin and a scarab also already mentioned that was found in Phoenicia⁶⁴⁷.

Except for the seated trampling griffin (Cat.Nr. Eg. 5), only one other example of a Hierakosphinx has been found, but this one has a hawk's head, that reminds one immediately of the before mentioned scarab, where two seated winged sphinxes are flanking a hawk while a second hawk flies above their heads⁶⁴⁸. The hawk-headed statue, embodying Ra-Horus-of-the-Horizon, was found in the temple of Ramses II⁶⁴⁹.

Although the original location of more than half of the found images is not known, it is still obvious that images of the sphinx were mostly meant for temples (Cat.Nrs. Eg. 24-29, 58-61, 63, 65, 67-69, 71-72, 76-78, 80, 84), while depictions in tombs were also very common (Cat.Nrs. Eg. 1, 3, 10, 35, 52-53, 57, 64, 73, 81-82, 87-88). (Fig. 50 gives an idea of how a temple gateway could look.)



FIG. 50: RECONSTRUCTION OF A MODEL OF A TEMPLE GATEWAY⁶⁵⁰.

This confirms what we already knew, namely that the sphinx has a strong religious connotation, so that it is safe to say that when an image is found in what seems at first glance to be a purely

⁶⁴⁷ Cat.Nr. Eg. 60: Figure Ram-head of a Sphinx; Cat.Nr. Eg. 77: Avenue of Recumbent Ram-headed Sphinxes with Pharaoh; Cat.Nr. Eg. 82: Scarab Ram-headed Sphinx with Crown; Cat.Nr. Eg. 91: Scarab Recumbent Ram-headed Sphinx with Atef-crown.

Murray, Smith, a.o. 1900: 37; Jacobsson 1994: nr. 277; *Cahiers de Karnak* X 1995; Cabrol 2001: 244-245.

⁶⁴⁸ Cat.Nr. Eg. 80: Hawk-headed statue; Cat.Nr. Eg. 50: Scarab Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Hawk.

⁶⁴⁹ Ziegler 2002: 205, 383.

⁶⁵⁰ The original model was made for Seti I (ca. 1294-1279 BC) and was found in Tell el Yahudiya: Fazzini 1975: xvii Fig. 6, *Sphinx* 2006: 116-117, 187-188 Cat 15; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 169.

The reconstruction was produced for the Brooklyn Museum by Albert Fehrenbacher. Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, 66.228:

http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/exhibitions/egypt_reborn/gateway_model.php

political environment, there always is a religious aspect to it that cannot and may not be underestimated⁶⁵¹. Of course, this comes as no surprise, as it is known that the sphinx belonged to the royal iconography and that the pharaoh was thought to be semi-divine or even divine.

The following table with an overview of the different occurrences of Egyptian sphinxes is an adaptation and elaboration from a listing of aspects Demisch made for the Aegean sphinxes⁶⁵².

<i>STF XX - DIFFERENT ASPECTS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE EGYPTIAN SPHINX</i>		
ASPECTS	MEDIA	MEANING/FUNCTION
Alone With Name Pharaoh/Cartouche With Royal Statues With <i>Ankh</i>-sign With <i>Nebet</i>-sign With Systrium and Cartouche With Lotus and Papyrus Female Female with Queen's Name With Ear As God As Ra-Herakhty With Two or More on Sun-Bark With Sacred Tree With Sun-disc/Rosette With Maat With Hathor-cow	On amulets + in the round + on seals + on jewellery + as architectural elements + on architectural element + on furniture + on artefacts + on sarcophagus + in the round	<i>Personification of the Pharaoh</i> Emphasize strength/power Pharaoh Legitimizing kingship <i>Personification of queen/princess</i> Protective assistant of pharaoh <i>Personification of Syrian women</i> Worshipping pharaoh & queen <i>Personification of Sun-god</i> Willing to listen to prayers men <i>Personification of a god</i> Protective/apotropaic Legitimizing kingship <i>Representing defensive forces</i> Ward off evil <i>Representing protective forces</i> Protecting divine powers Ra-Herakhty <i>As companion</i> Supporting/Enhancing divine powers <i>Personification of the Pharaoh</i> Legitimised/Protected
Pairs of Sphinxes in Dromos	As architectural element	<i>As Guards</i> Protective/Apotropaic
Offering Vessels Offering Human Head	On weapon + on jewellery + on artefact + on architectural elements + in the round	<i>Representative of the Pharaoh</i> Participating continually in rituals Mediating between men and gods <i>Divine forces assisting Pharaoh</i> Helping pharaoh in defeating enemies

⁶⁵¹ Like a palace: e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 45 or on a throne: e.g. Cat.Nrs. Eg. 35, 42-43.

⁶⁵² Demisch 1977: 76.

I have adapted this listing to fit the four different regions: only human-headed sphinxes have been considered but both images from the catalogue and the study material have been included.

PART 1 – 5. THE SPHINX IN EGYPT

Worshipping		<i>Representative of the Pharaoh</i> Worshipping Sun-god Ra or Bastet
Being Offered	On architectural elements	<i>Personification of the Pharaoh</i> Surrendering to divine power
Being Offered to Being Worshipped		<i>Personification of (Sun-)god</i> Assisting mediating Pharaoh
Trampling Queen as Trampling Sphinx	On amulets + on jewellery + on seal + on architectural elements + on artefact + on throne	<i>Personification of victorious Pharaoh</i> Emphasizing strength/power Pharaoh Stressing restoring order and unity <i>Personification of queen</i> Protective assistant of pharaoh
As Antithetical Pair, Flanking Pharaoh's Name	On amulet + on jewellery + on architectural element + on artefact	<i>Representing protective forces</i> Protecting royal powers
Divinity Animal (Hawk)		<i>Representing protective forces</i> Supporting/Enhancing divine powers
Papyrus		<i>Personification of protective Pharaoh</i> Protecting life forces and cosmic order
Alone or as Pair Near/Flanking A Throne of a Ruler	On furniture + on architectural elements + in the round	<i>Representing a God</i> Legitimising Ruler ship Protecting Ruler
A Throne of a God(dess)		<i>Companion</i> Supporting/Enhancing divine powers
As Pair Flanking Door/Gateway	In the round + as relief	<i>As Guard</i> Protective/Apotropaic
As Companion of the Dead As Sole Sphinx(es)	On architectural elements + on vignette + on papyrus	<i>Representing protective forces</i> Accompanying deceased in Afterlife Supervising procedures <i>Symbolizing horizon</i> Protecting/Supervising rebirth sun
Egyptian Aker		

The meaning of the Egyptian sphinx appears to be the least complex from all regions; in general, it can personify the pharaoh, a god, or protective forces. The sphinx can show the pharaoh in all his aspects: the victorious ruler, who restored divine and cosmic order; the protective king who will do everything to retain this order and augment the prosperity of his people; the divine pharaoh, who was chosen by the gods to rule and who mediates between men and gods; and the chosen ruler, who submits to divine powers (when he is being offered to a god in his sphinx-shape). When the sphinx represents protective forces, it can either ward off evil, protect the royal powers, support divine powers, or comfort the deceased in their journey to the Underworld, while at the same time guaranteeing the correct execution of the funerary rituals. The sphinx as a god can either legitimise, protect and support kingship, or take over the function of the pharaoh as mediator between men and gods.

There are, however, some exceptions; in one instance, it can be the personification of Syrian women and a few times it does not represent the pharaoh but his wife (queen) or daughter (princess). Once even a sphinx representing a queen is trampling an enemy.

In one case, its function is merely protective and apotropaic: when it guards the temple, in pairs, or as part of a Dromos. In one instance, also, it functions as a sort of meta-sphinx, this is when it appears as Aker, the double-headed sphinx, who symbolizes the horizon and who guarantees the rebirth of the sun, and thus the cosmic and divine order (cf. 3.1.2.2. Aker).

One depiction of the sphinx at first sight is difficult to interpret, as it shows a unique iconography: a sphinx with human arms and hands offering a human head (Cat.Nr. Eg. 4). As said before this axe was probably commissioned abroad, most likely in the Aegean, and it could be possible the maker of it got confused or took some artistic liberty. However, when one looks closely at the surrounding motifs on the axe, the iconography can be explained in a logic way, although it remains uncommon and even unique in the Egyptian visual language⁶⁵³. When one combines the surrounding motifs, and keeps in mind the fact that this axe was made as a reminder of a battle that was won, one can conclude that while the griffin indeed represents the pharaoh, the sphinx does not.

⁶⁵³ For a detailed analysis of the imagery on the axe: 12.2. Axe Ahmoses I.

5.5 CONCLUSION EGYPT

Before 1600 BC the Egyptian sphinx belonged almost equally to the political and the religious context (17/14), and in the centuries between 1600 and 800 BC, this stayed somewhat the same (49/42)⁶⁵⁴. In most cases the sphinx was associated directly with a specific ruler. In later periods, this means after 800 BC, it is obvious that evolution occurred, as the sphinx could be related to a political context only 7 out of 30 times.

The Egyptian sphinx was the symbolic representation of royal power and, originally, it is not an image of a god, but of a human with divine character, the king-lion-god Harmachis⁶⁵⁵. It can also sometimes represent a god, although one may not forget that its lion-body always referred to the Sun-god (cf. relation between sphinx and Sun-god in 3rd mill. BC Syro-Mesopotamia). As a representative of the Egyptian pharaoh the sphinx had a protective function, both passively (by its presence alone) or actively (when it is trampling or slaying enemies to maintain the safety of the people and the land or when it is pleading with a god, mostly the Sun-god, but once also Bastet). As a god, the sphinx dedicates all its attention to the pharaoh, the ruler sitting on the throne, because indeed the gods considered him to be the appropriate person for this function. The sphinx as a god was supposed to protect the king, who represents not only the kingdom but all the inhabitants as well.

An important aspect of the function of the pharaoh was to mediate between his people and the gods and this is also one of the key roles of the Egyptian sphinxes, in her representation of the king himself as well as a god. In the latter case, the main function of the sphinx is to protect the ruler and this can involve also assisting him in his mediating task.

When the sphinx represents the ruler in a supplying attitude towards the gods – whether asking a favour or their protection – it is often shown offering or worshipping (with or without human hands). As a god, the sphinx can grant protection or it can be worshipped or thanked for deeds in the past.

As said before, the sphinx in Egypt sometimes represents Aker (cf. 3. The Sphinx and its Relatives – 3.1.2. Egypt). This god has two aspects; he is the ancient god of the Earth that can be equated with the Underworld (Afterlife) and he is the guard of the entrance to this world. The double-sphinx must guard and protect the entrance and exit of the Other World. In the

⁶⁵⁴ Cf. STF XVII: Images from Egypt.

⁶⁵⁵ Kristensen 1917: 97; Lurker 1996: 114; Sourouzian 2006: 103; Zivie-Coche 2006: 57.

Egyptian *Book of the Dead* the double-sphinx is often seen as a defender against Seth, who represents the forces of disturbance and confusion, and against Apophis⁶⁵⁶. In the *Book of Aker* (or *Book of the Earth*) the Sun-bark rests upon the double-sphinx; beneath this scene the dead body of Osiris is shown (Cat.Nr. Eg. 57: Aker Double-sphinx Royal Tomb). In general, the most fundamental meaning of the Aker double-sphinx is its integration in the death-myths and in the cycle of rebirth of the Sun-god⁶⁵⁷. It seems that the different aspects of the Egyptian sphinx can be deduced from Aker, next to the guarding function and the relation to the sun both also act as companions of gods or goddesses.

⁶⁵⁶ After the resurrection of Osiris, and the defeat of Seth by Horus, Seth was made a helper of the Sun-god, whom he assisted in the struggle against Apophis, the snake enemy of the Sun-god and a monster of chaos, that tried to destroy the sun every morning when it rose, but that, luckily, failed every time. In this function, Seth can often be seen accompanying the Sun-god in his Sun-bark: Siliotti 1994: 281; Te Velde 1995: 1736; Van Dijk 1995: 1705; Wilkinson 1996: 67.

An example of an image of Seth accompanying the Sun-god in his bark and attacking Apophis: Van Dijk 1995: 1705 Fig. 3.

⁶⁵⁷ Demisch 1977: 234-235.

6 THE SPHINX IN ANATOLIA

<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>1600-800 BC</i>			<i>BEFORE 1600 BC & AFTER 800 BC</i>	
<i>36</i>	<i>18</i>			<i>18</i>	
	<i>POLITICAL</i>	<i>RELIGIOUS</i>	<i>UNDETERMINED</i>	<i>BEFORE:</i>	<i>AFTER:</i>
	<i>9</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>7</i>

STF XXI: IMAGES OF ANATOLIA.

18 of the images of Anatolian (bull-)sphinxes belong to the period under study (2 undetermined, 9 belong mainly to a political context, while 7 can be defined as belonging primarily to a religious context). 11 images can be dated prior to 1600 BC and 7 to the period after 800 BC. So, all in all, only 36 images of Anatolian sphinxes have been found, which might suggest that the composite creature wasn't important at all. This impression, however, is incorrect, although the meaning of the sphinx changed immediately after its iconography was taken over from the Egyptians through the Syrians⁶⁵⁸. It is noteworthy, however, that the Hittites were the first ones, after the Egyptians, to use the sphinx in monumental sculptures. Anatolian sphinxes immediately became inhabitants of the wild as they were regarded as companions of the gods, mostly the Weather- or Storm-god, and regained a political aspect only in later periods (around the middle of the 2nd mill. BC), when they started to guard and protect the city gates of Alaça Hüyük and Hattusha (13th cent. BC)⁶⁵⁹. These sphinxes are always female. Typical for the Hittite period are the sphinxes with the so-called Hathor-curls.

Until the 8th cent. BC the sphinx stays a political and cultic symbol. Later, however, it will change meaning again and become a reference to power, fertility and welfare when it starts getting depicted as a bearer of columns.

The spirals that decorate the head- or hair-dresses of some Aegean sphinxes, can also be found with Anatolian sphinxes (e.g. Cat.Nrs. An. 2, 8, 15, 18; St.M. Nrs. An. 6, 9), as does the sort of pony-tail (St.M. Nr. An. 5), which sometimes ends in a spiral (e.g. St.M. Nr. An. 6)⁶⁶⁰. Even the so-called Hathor-curls end in a spiral (e.g. Cat.Nrs. An. 6, 11; St.M. Nrs. An. 2-3). Another Egyptian influence can be seen with sphinxes wearing a *Nemes*-head cloth (e.g. Cat.Nr. An. 3; St.M. Nr. An. 18), but some sphinxes also wear a cap or crown, horned (e.g. Cat.Nrs. An. 5-6,

⁶⁵⁸ Dessenne 1957a: 184; Gilibert 2011a: 39-40.

⁶⁵⁹ E.g. St.M. Nr. An. 1: Kültepe Cylinder Seal; Cat.Nr. An. 3: Pair of Gate-sphinxes; Cat.Nr. An. 5: Yerkapi Sphinx; Cat.Nr. An. 6: Figure Winged Sphinx with Horned Crown and Sacred Tree.

Dessenne 1957a: 184-185; Demisch 1977: 45, 60; Seidlmayer 2001: 816-817; Haas 2004: 47; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 36; Gilibert 2011a: 43.

⁶⁶⁰ Cf. Table 13.5. STF LIV gives an overview of the different headdresses of Anatolian sphinxes.

12, 14, 17; St.M. Nrs. An. 10, 12, 14), without horns (e.g. Cat.Nrs. An. 1, 8, 13, 15; St.M. Nrs. An. 5, 8, 15), or a (pointed) hat (e.g. Cat.Nrs. An. 4, 10; St.M. Nr. An. 10). A few of the Anatolian sphinxes are bareheaded (e.g. Cat.Nr. An. 18; St.M. Nrs. An. 1, 7, 9, 11, 13, perhaps also St.M. Nr. An. 16).

6.1 PRECEDING 1600 BC⁶⁶¹

There were found only 11 objects dating from before 1600 BC decorated with sphinxes and most of these are seals (8); the two other images of sphinxes depict a female sphinx with so-called Hathor-style curls⁶⁶².

The oldest images of sphinxes can be seen on three cylinder-seal imprints from Kaneš (Kültepe) that date from around 1950-1830 BC; these sphinxes have a lion-body and –tail, but only one lion-foot, two hooves and one human-foot⁶⁶³. They have no wings and are shown striding. Two of these sphinxes have a beard and thus are certainly male. The third sphinx however, is of a different type; it has no beard and seems to wear a helmet-like head-dress. Its tail ends in a bird- or snake-head. These three sphinxes all appear in a ritual, religious context next to local Mountain-gods (a God of the Fields and the Weather-god) or goddesses (a Goddess of the Mountain Goat).

Despite the differences most researchers assume the models for these sphinxes can be found in Egypt and then came to Anatolia via Syria, but another theory might be possible (as has been argued in 3.2.4.2. Human-Headed Lions in Anatolia)⁶⁶⁴. Moreover, they do seem to have a dissimilar meaning from the Egyptian sphinxes. In stead of political symbols, they are a cultic companion (as is the human-headed lion in Mesopotamia) and they appear to be mythical inhabitants of the mountains, which are considered as part of "the wild".

In Acemhöyük 5 seals with depictions of more "standard" looking sphinxes, dating from ca. 1815-1750 BC, were found; they show seated or recumbent sphinxes, bearded and without wings. Many of these sphinxes have snakes rising out of their bodies⁶⁶⁵. But in this period the relation between sphinxes and wild nature still existed, as is shown in 5 other stamp seals found in the same location⁶⁶⁶. The narrative scenes on these seals show the sphinx next to the Goddess of the Mountain Goat or next to the companions of this goddess: the mountain goat, the lion, a

⁶⁶¹ For an overview of the different types of sphinxes before 1600 BC: 13.8. STF LVII.

⁶⁶² Seal: e.g. St.M. Nr. An. 1: Kültepe Cylinder Seal.

St.M. Nr. An. 2: Female Sphinx with Hathor-style Curls; St.M. Nr. An. 3: Plaque Female Sphinx with Hathor-style Curls.

⁶⁶³ St.M. Nr. An. 1: Kültepe Cylinder Seal.

Gilibert 2011a: 39-40.

⁶⁶⁴ Canby 1975: 234; Gilibert 2011a: 39-41.

⁶⁶⁵ E.g. St.M. Nr. An. 5: Sphinx with Snakes Coming out of her Body.

⁶⁶⁶ Gilibert 2011a: 41-42.

bird and a bull. This last animal probably symbolizes the Weather-god⁶⁶⁷. When sphinxes from Acemhoyük are shown on other objects, like ivory boxes, they are always female⁶⁶⁸.

At around the end of the 18th cent. BC, the trade system that had brought prosperity to the region was destroyed by war and made place for the rising of a new centre of power: Hattusha (Boğazköy)⁶⁶⁹. But few sphinxes dating from this period were found, except for two stamp seal imprints and a fragment of a stone relief⁶⁷⁰. These sphinxes are composed of four elements (human, lion, bird, and bull horns). These depictions of sphinxes are important for later iconography in two aspects: their acting as guards and watchers of rituals and their integration in architecture.

⁶⁶⁷ St.M. Nr. An. 7: The Sphinx as a Symbol of the Wild.

⁶⁶⁸ Gilibert 2011a: 42.

⁶⁶⁹ For more information on the trading centres of Anatolia, more specifically Kanesh: Veenhof 1995: 859-871.

⁶⁷⁰ Demisch 1977: 45; Gilibert 2011a: 43.

e.g. St.M. Nr. An. 10: Sphinxes with Sacred Tree.

6.2 1600-800 BC⁶⁷¹

From the period between 1600 and 800 BC there were found 18 images of sphinxes of which only one is shown on a seal⁶⁷². Most of the sphinxes are now shown on reliefs (7) or as figures in the round (5)⁶⁷³. All these images are part of the architecture. Another sphinx is depicted on a ring and one on a Pyxis⁶⁷⁴. The other images of sphinxes are on diverse artefacts, one in ivory and two in bronze⁶⁷⁵.

The first object from this period, datable to ca. 1500 BC, is an ivory artefact that depicts a winged sphinx surrounded by other mythological creatures and mammals. Why the sphinx is depicted centrally is not clear; perhaps it did hold an important position, but it is also possible that it was only meant as a decorative motif. This iconography, however, still fits in the thought that the sphinx was a creature of the wild, as it was seen by the Anatolians from the start.

But, as said before, this relation soon starts to give way to one where the sphinx obtains a political aspect as well, which it had lost at its arrival in Anatolia. The reason for the immediate loss of the political aspect of the sphinx's iconography is obvious; the rulers of Anatolia didn't have the same status as did the Egyptian pharaohs. The Anatolian king or ruler certainly wasn't a deity, although the Hittite emperor in the 2nd mill. BC was referred to as "sun"⁶⁷⁶. Anatolian rulers functioned as the personification of the state and though they were under divine protection - so no one could challenge their right to the title -, they had to keep the gods pleased and their country prosperous or they could be held personally responsible⁶⁷⁷. Therefore, their religious duties were the most important as they were the foundation of the kingship. All this

⁶⁷¹ For an overview of the different types of sphinxes during the period 1600-800 BC: 13.9. STF LVIII.

⁶⁷² Cat.Nr. An. 4: Tablet of Ini-Teshub.

⁶⁷³ Relief: e.g. Cat.Nr. An. 8: Striding Winged Sphinx.

In the round: e.g. Cat.Nr. An. 2: Zincirli Door Sphinx.

⁶⁷⁴ Ring: Cat.Nr. An. 10: Finger-ring Schauscha Standing on Sphinx.

Pyxis: Cat.Nr. An. 16: Pyxis Ancestor Cult with Sphinxes.

⁶⁷⁵ Ivory: Cat.Nr. An. 1: Sphinx with Animals and Composite Creatures.

Bronze: Cat.Nr. An. 7: Bronze Horse Bit Master of Animals; Cat.Nr. An. 12: Horse-blinker with Striding Winged Bearded Sphinx.

⁶⁷⁶ Marinatos 2007c: 180.

⁶⁷⁷ Beckman 1995: 529-532; Macqueen 1996: 115-116.

Macqueen 1996: 109-111: The religious cults and the pantheon of gods of the Hittite had evolved out of the earliest Neolithic Anatolian religions and were influenced by the religions of e.g. Indo-European people. The result was a complicated amalgam of difficult to identify gods and goddesses and seemingly meaningless rituals. In the 13th cent. BC, the pantheon was completely Hurrianised, and e.g. the Weather-god, formerly called Taru, was now called Teshub. The biggest change perhaps is that now the pantheon seems predominantly male, while in the earliest periods the Mother-goddess had been the most important divinity.

For more information on Hittite religion: Macqueen 1996: 109-135.

For the criteria used to catalogue an image as either political or religious: 2.2.3. Collecting and Processing the Material.

implies that as a person, the ruler himself was interchangeable so there was no real need for a personal cult.

The sphinx on the seal, dating to the 13th cent. BC, is the first one (and the only one?) that clearly attests of a relation between a king, in this case a Hittite viceroy, and a sphinx⁶⁷⁸. Perhaps a reason for this relation is the fact that one of the titles of the Anatolian rulers was that of Sun-god, although it is not sure the Hittite sphinxes had a relation with the sun⁶⁷⁹. It merely seems that the sphinx had become so popular that it also took its place in the governing context during the 2nd mill. BC⁶⁸⁰.

Although small scale sphinxes can still be seen in later periods, the first monumental depictions of sphinxes start to appear during the 13th cent. BC⁶⁸¹. The small-scale sphinxes act in a variety of contexts, but they all seem to be male. One of these sphinxes also has a lion-protome on its breast (cf. supra) and is depicted with Schauschga standing on its back while a lion stands on each side of the goddess (13th cent. BC)⁶⁸².

Two artefacts belonging to the 10th or 9th cent. BC and both connected to horses, show the sphinx in a more violent context. On a bronze horse-bit a Master of Animals controls two winged sphinxes while standing on two lions; beneath this scene are two naked females⁶⁸³. On a bronze horse-blinker a winged sphinx is attacked by a winged centaur⁶⁸⁴.

Yet another context can be seen on a fragment of a Pyxis that shows, apart from the sphinx, some motifs that are clearly of Near Eastern origin: a Sacred Tree (flanked by deer) and a standard with a sun-disk at the top⁶⁸⁵. Another scene shows a seated figure at a table with (probably) offerings.

The monumental figures in the round dating from the 14th-13th cent. BC and discovered in Zincirli, Alaça Hüyük and Hattusha (Boğazköy) all came in pairs, stood at real or ritual entrances and all had, primarily, if only by their appearance and sheer size, a protective and evil

⁶⁷⁸ Cat.Nr. An. 4: Tablet of Ini-Teshub.

⁶⁷⁹ Beckman 1995: 532.

For general information about the Hittites: Macqueen 1996; *Die Hethiter* 2002.

⁶⁸⁰ Dessenne 1957a: 184-185; Demisch 1977: 45, 60; Seidlmayer 2001: 816-817; Haas 2004: 47; Gilibert 2011a: 43.

⁶⁸¹ Demisch 1977: 45, 60; Gilibert 2011a: 43.

⁶⁸² Cat.Nr. An. 10: Fingerring Schauschga Standing on Sphinx.

⁶⁸³ Cat.Nr. An. 7: Bronze Horse-Bit Master of Animals.

⁶⁸⁴ Cat.Nr. An. 12: Horse-blinker with Striding Bearded Sphinx.

⁶⁸⁵ Cat.Nr. An. 16: Pyxis Ancestor Cult with Sphinxes.

warding function. They all differ slightly in their appearance, so that none are alike. Most of them were a part of the architecture itself.

A typical female Hittite sphinx protome, with hair curling in a spiral on its shoulder, was discovered in Zincirli⁶⁸⁶. In Alaça Hüyük a pair of sphinxes guarded the entrance to the city, while other reliefs nearby attest of the ritual meaning of the location. The female sphinxes from Alaça Hüyük wear a headpiece that closely resembles the Hathor-head-dress that was imported from Egypt⁶⁸⁷. The reliefs show, among others, depictions of the king and queen, of rituals of hunting and offering, of the Weather-god, of (a) festival(s), of a seated Goddess, of a Sun-disk and of a bull on a pedestal (probably a symbol of the Storm-god)⁶⁸⁸. A problem with these reliefs, however, is the fact that they have had two phases of construction that clearly show changes in the decoration program. All these reliefs date from before the 13th cent. BC, most probably even from the 14th cent. BC.

At the South-gate of Hattusha stood a pair of sphinxes that is usually referred to as the Yerkapi sphinxes. The road starting from this gate was a cultic way that led in the direction of Nishantepe⁶⁸⁹. These sphinxes have a head-piece decorated with rosettes, a royal and elitist symbol, related to the sun (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs). The last pair of monumental sphinxes of the 13th cent. BC guarded the so-called Sphinx-gate in the same city⁶⁹⁰. The nearby found offering table suggests the female sphinxes at the gates didn't have a solely guarding and protective function; they seemed to have played an active role in political and religious events.

The gates, with their stage-like architecture (especially visible in the Sphinx-gate in Hattusha; cf. Cat.Nr. An. 6) and their strategic locations, therefore, seem to have had both a political and a religious function and their decorations have a direct link to both⁶⁹¹.

From the period between the 13th and 10th cent. BC only one image of a sphinx has been found, on the before-mentioned ring with the goddess Schauschga (cf. supra). The next images of sphinxes date from the 10th and 9th cent. BC and are all (monumental) reliefs, found in Zincirli and Karkemish. The two reliefs found in Karkemish both were re-used in the so-called Herald's

⁶⁸⁶ Cat.Nr. An. 2: Zincirli Door Sphinx.

⁶⁸⁷ Kohlmeyer 1995: 2645-2648.

⁶⁸⁸ For more information about the relation between the bull and the Storm-god: Van Dijk 2011: 165-171.

For an in-depth analysis of the bull-motif in the ancient Near East: Van Dijk 2011.

⁶⁸⁹ Demisch 1977: 55; Kohlmeyer 1995: 2645; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 36.

⁶⁹⁰ Cat.Nr. An. 6: Figure Winged Sphinx with Horned Crown and Sacred Tree.

⁶⁹¹ Miller 2012; Marazzi 2014; Gilibert 2015: 138.

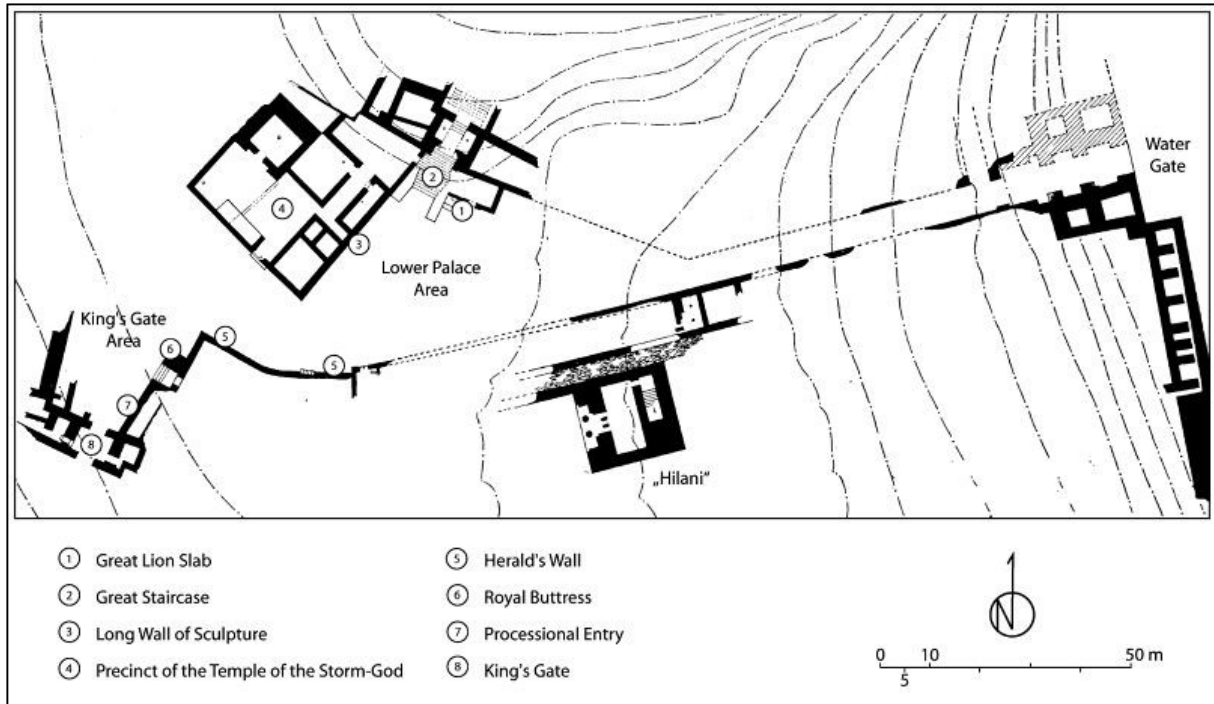
Wall so that their original location remains unknown⁶⁹². One of these reliefs shows a pair of sphinxes, by their Hathor-curls identifiable as female, attacking a winged horse, a most untypical iconography for female sphinxes in Anatolia⁶⁹³. The second relief depicts a striding male sphinx with a lion-protome on its breast. However, although their original location has been lost, an interesting fact was revealed. It seems that Herald's Wall was part of a larger structure of walls, which all encircled a large ceremonial open place, which also contained a grave, in the shape of a stone installation, that has remained undiscovered for a long time⁶⁹⁴. When this is correct, which unfortunately cannot be investigated further because Karkemish is now a Turkish military zone, it would give the reliefs a new meaning, as they then could possibly be related to an ancestor cult. Unfortunately, however, the iconography of the orthostats of Herald's Wall seems to be unrelated and does not provide any clues about a possible meaning. Of the thirteen orthostats, five are made of basalt and show two bull-men flanked by two lion-men, a goddess with the body of a composite creature, two winged griffin-men in the so-called atlas position, a god and a hero killing a lion, and a hero acting like a Master of Animals. The limestone blocks depict, next to our two sphinxes attacking a winged horse, a man riding a camel, a winged scorpion-man and a god attacking a winged bull, two heroes executing a third hero, two bulls fighting around a tree, a bull with a deer on his back being attacked by a lion, men (?) fighting a lion, and a lion attacking a caged chariot. The images showing an attack or a fight are clearly in the majority (8), but that is about all conclusions that can be made. There certainly is no narrative or combining theme⁶⁹⁵.

⁶⁹² Gilibert 2011b: 82.

⁶⁹³ Cat.Nr. An. 11: Two Sphinxes Attack Winged Horse.

⁶⁹⁴ Gilibert 2007: 45.

⁶⁹⁵ For more information about the possible meaning of the iconography on Herald's Wall and the dating of the orthostats: Gilibert 2007.



MP 7: CEREMONIAL CENTRE WITH HERALD'S WALL OF KARKEMISH DURING THE IRON AGE.

The meaning and contexts of these images shall perhaps remain unclear, but maybe the reliefs discovered in Zincirli, in the south of Turkey can shed some light on the function and meaning, while these reliefs have been found in their original location. This location, the Citadel of Zincirli, was decorated with a great variety of scenes and motifs, including bull and deer, but also ritual proceedings and rituals. In total four reliefs of sphinxes and two of griffins have been found on the walls of this Citadel⁶⁹⁶.

One striding winged griffin (lion-body with falcon-head) is depicted right in front of a striding winged sphinx⁶⁹⁷. Possibly the sphinx is female. Surrounding the two composite creatures are the Weather-god, some animals, including a lion, and a Hunting-demon. It seems that the sphinx here again is an inhabitant of the Wild, and probably a companion of the Weather-god⁶⁹⁸.

⁶⁹⁶ For more information on the Citadel of Zincirli: Frankfort 1989: 285-287.

⁶⁹⁷ Cat.Nr. An. 9: Striding Winged Griffin; Cat.Nr. An. 8: Striding Winged Sphinx.

⁶⁹⁸ Gilibert 2011b: 84, 94 Cat. 21-22.

Both creatures, sphinx and griffin, appear together again near scenes that seem to be part of a cult for the deceased ancestors. Here the winged creatures both have a tail that ends in a bird-head⁶⁹⁹. The sphinx, by its horned cap identifiable as male, and the griffin, stand close to two deceased rulers that are drinking from a cup. Other reliefs nearby show hunting scenes (Fig. 51) and war scenes (e.g. a warrior riding on horseback)⁷⁰⁰.



FIG. 51: TWO ANCESTORS AND HUNTING SCENES.

Another winged sphinx, this time striding before a man, seems to take part in a procession⁷⁰¹. Again, this sphinx is surrounded by hunting-scenes and a cult for the ancestors⁷⁰².

The last image of a sphinx from Zincirli also is related to a cult for the dead. The striding female sphinx, again winged, has a lion-protome on its breast and stands on the eastern corner of the northern façade of the citadel (Fig. 52)⁷⁰³.

⁶⁹⁹ Winter 1976: 40-41; Gilibert 2011b: 84, 86.

Cat.Nr. An. 14: Zincirli Winged Sphinx and Winged Griffin.

⁷⁰⁰ The image of the warrior on horseback can be seen here:

<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/zincirli/zincirli03.jpg>

⁷⁰¹ Cat.Nr. An. 15: Zincirli Winged Sphinx with Man.

⁷⁰² Gilibert 2011b: 86.

⁷⁰³ Cat.Nr. An. 13: Zincirli Eastern Orthostatic Sphinx.

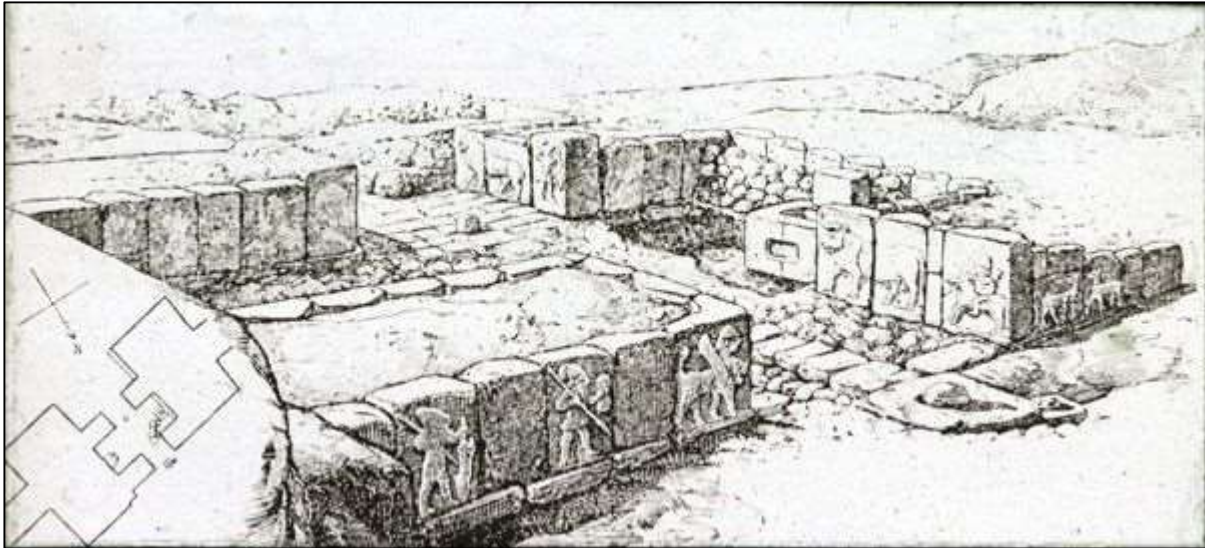


FIG. 52: ZINCIRLI GATE TO CITADEL DRAWING WITH SPHINX.

Just around the corner, a man is depicted who is coming towards the sphinx, carrying symbols of the Afterlife in his hands (corn and grapes); this man can be identified as a ruler. The symbolic objects in his hands stand for bread and wine and suggest that he is deceased and thus it may be assumed the sphinx plays a part in a death-cult (Fig. 53)⁷⁰⁴.

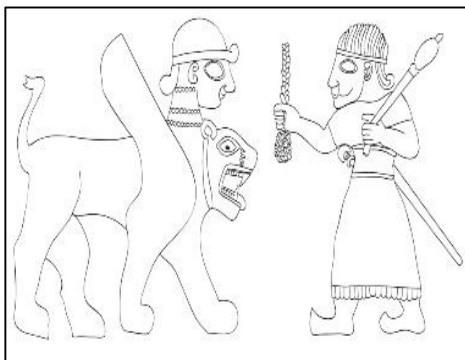


FIG. 53: WINGED SPHINX WITH DECEASED RULER.




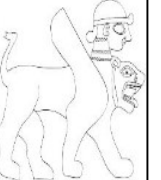

All the above-mentioned sphinxes are of the Hittite type, but in the following centuries the sphinx will leave its Hittite origins and will take on a new meaning; it will become bearer and protector of columns that symbolize welfare, fertility and power.

The table on the following page (STF XXII – Sphinxes in Context (1600-800 BC)) gives an overview of the different contexts the basic types of sphinxes (in this case, wingless, winged, female, with lion-protome, and griffin) have been found in⁷⁰⁵.

⁷⁰⁴ Gilibert 2012b: 84, 93 Cat. 19-20.

⁷⁰⁵ Only sphinxes from the Catalogue, i.e. from the period 1600-800 BC, are included in this overview.

STF XXII – SPHINXES (1600-800 BC) IN CONTEXT – ANATOLIA

CONTEXT → TYPE ↓	ANIMALS/MEN/ MYTHOLOGICAL CREATURES	KINGS/QUEENS/ ROYAL SYMBOLS	GOD(- SYMBOLS)	SUPPORTING/ GUARDING	CONTROLLED BY/CONTROLLING	ATTACKED BY/ATTACKING
 1. BASIC 14 TH -13 TH CENT. BC ARTEFACT/FIGURE 9 TH -8 TH CENT. BC POTTERY	<i>Animals</i> (1, 16) <i>Myth. Creat.</i> (1)	<i>King</i> (16)	<i>Godsymb.</i> (16)	<i>Guarding</i> (3, 5)		
 2. WINGED 13 TH -10 TH CENT. BC TABLET/ARTEFACT 9 TH CENT. BC RELIEF	<i>Animals</i> (7, 15) <i>Men</i> (15) <i>Myth. Creat.</i> (7, 12, 14, 15)	<i>King</i> (4)	<i>God</i> (4)	<i>Guarding</i> (13)	<i>Controlled by Master of Animals</i> (7)	<i>Attacked by Centaur</i> (12)
 3. FEMALE 14 TH -10 TH CENT. BC FIGURE/RELIEF 9 TH CENT. BC RELIEF	<i>Animals</i> (8) <i>Myth. Creat.</i> (8, 11)		<i>God</i> (8)	<i>Guarding</i> (2, 6, 8)		<i>Attacking a Winged Horse</i> (11)
 4. WITH LION- PROTOME 13 TH -10 TH CENT. BC JEWELLERY/RELIEF 9 TH CENT. BC RELIEF	<i>Animals</i> (10)	<i>Ruler</i> (13)	<i>Goddess</i> (10)	<i>Guarding</i> (17)		
 5. GRIFFIN 9 TH CENT. BC RELIEF	<i>Animals</i> (9) <i>Myth. Creat.</i> (9, 14)		<i>God</i> (9)	<i>Guarding</i> (9, 14)		

PART 1 – 6. THE SPHINX IN ANATOLIA

In Anatolia, only the winged human-headed sphinx and the female are shown being attacked or attacking themselves, while the winged one is the only type that is depicted being controlled. All the types are being shown adjacent animals, divinities or as guards, and mythological creatures can be depicted near all types except the sphinxes with lion-protomes.

6.3 AFTER 800 BC

With a total of only 7 sphinxes found, it is difficult to draw conclusions. Four of these sphinxes are figurines (one on a clothing-pin), two are depicted on reliefs, and one on a seal⁷⁰⁶.

The sphinxes of the 8th till 5th cent. BC still have wings and can be female or male. One sphinx, once a part of a seat (for a ruler or for a divinity) differs from most other Anatolian sphinxes in that it has human-hands and human-arms, and clearly defined human-shoulders (= centaur)⁷⁰⁷. A second sphinx that was also part of a throne, possibly for the god Haldi, has the same bodily characteristics: human-hands, -arms and -shoulders, but this time it does not have a lion-body but that of a bull⁷⁰⁸. Another example of sphinxes being part of furniture can be seen on a limestone throne of the 7th-5th cent. BC whereupon a ram-headed divinity is sitting⁷⁰⁹.

Two other sphinxes, one of the 8th cent. BC, the other dating somewhere in the 8th or 7th cent. BC, both have another iconographic characteristic. The one on a relief discovered in Turkish Sakçagözü is male and has a tail ending in a snake-head⁷¹⁰. Nearby this sphinx are depicted a lion and a Sacred Tree. The second sphinx can be seen on a stamp seal impression found in Urartu; this striding winged sphinx's tail ends in a scorpion⁷¹¹.

The last pair of sphinxes discovered from this period decorate a column base of which the column would originally have been in the shape of a tree (Fig. 54)⁷¹². This column-tree represented fertility and welfare and thus one thing about the sphinxes in Anatolia from this period seems clear. The Anatolian sphinxes of the 8th cent. BC leave the wild and take a place in the cultured garden where they become protectors of fertility and thus abandon their relation with death through their role in ancestor honouring rituals that they had during the previous periods⁷¹³.

⁷⁰⁶ Figure: St.M. Nr. An. 12: Figure Winged Lion-Centaur; St.M. Nr. An. 16: Pin with Sphinx; St.M. Nr. An. 17: Winged Bull-Centaur; St.M. Nr. An. 18: Pair of Sphinxes decorating Goddess Throne.

Relief: St.M. Nr. An. 13: Column Base with Double Sphinxes; St.M. Nr. An. 14: Striding Winged Sphinx with Snakehead-tail.

Seal: St.M. Nr. An. 15: Sphinx with Scorpion-tail.

⁷⁰⁷ Barnett 1954: 13-14; Demisch 1977: 45.

St.M. Nr. An. 12: Figure Winged Lion-Centaur.

⁷⁰⁸ Frankfort 1954: 336-337; Demisch 1977: 45.

St.M. Nr. An. 17: Winged Bull-Centaur.

⁷⁰⁹ St.M. Nr. An. 18: Pair of Sphinxes Decorating Goddess Throne.

⁷¹⁰ Winter 1976: 34; Demisch 1977: 60.

St.M. Nr. An. 14: Striding Winged Sphinx with Snake-head Tail.

⁷¹¹ St.M. Nr. An. 15: Sphinx with Scorpion-tail.

⁷¹² St.M. Nr. An. 13: Column-base with Double Sphinxes.

⁷¹³ Pottier 1921: 15-16; Winter 1976: 42; Demisch 1977: 56-57; Gilibert 2011b: 89-90.

Sphinxes as bearers of columns still have an apotropaic function, as did the gate-guards of earlier periods, but have narrowed their protection down to the guarding of fertility and welfare⁷¹⁴.

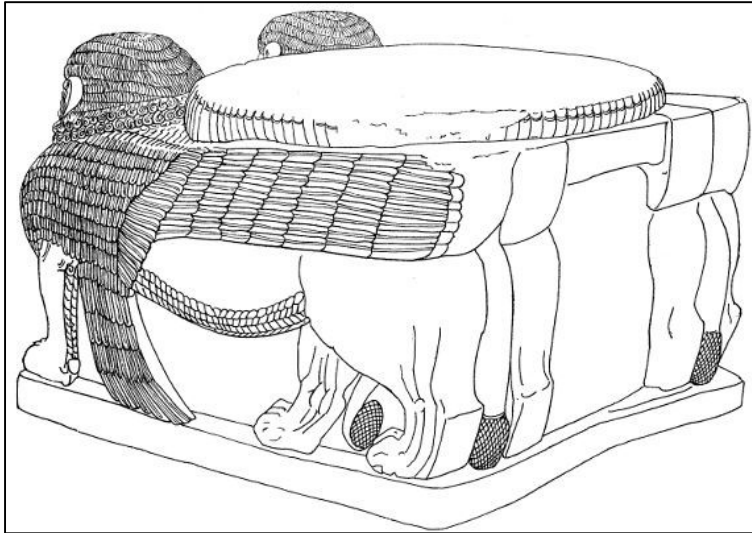


FIG. 54: COLUMN BASE WITH DOUBLE SPHINXES, REARVIEW DRAWING (ST.M. NR.AN. 13).

⁷¹⁴ Demisch 1977: 56.

6.4 FUNCTION AND MEANING

Before 1600 BC the sphinx, of which the iconography was taken over indirectly from Egypt through Syria (cf. supra), was regarded as part of the chaos, the Wild, and as belonging to local deities that inhabited the mountain-region of Anatolia. Most of the time the creature was depicted near a god or goddess and thus can be regarded as a cultic companion (e.g. St.M. Nr. An. 6: The Sphinx as a Symbol of the Wild). Yet foreign influences can be detected in some of the earliest images of Anatolian sphinxes, e.g. when they have a Hathor hair dress or when they are flanking a Sacred Tree⁷¹⁵.

From the beginning, though, female sphinxes made their appearance⁷¹⁶. These shall become even more prominent in the later period, when not only their size changes (from depictions on seals to bigger than life figures in the round and on reliefs), but also their function and meaning⁷¹⁷. The sphinxes, more specifically the female ones, seem to have left the Wild completely and appear to be no longer companions of the gods. They now occupy important and prominent places at entrances of palaces, temples and cities. This gate-guarding function fits into an old oriental tradition, where bronze monumental lions were popular gate-keepers⁷¹⁸.

The gate-guarding sphinxes – who were always female -, were integrated in the architecture and were always depicted in a ritual context near reliefs of offering scenes, processions, ritual hunts and feasts, ...⁷¹⁹. This is the most obvious in Hattusha, where the sphinxes guarded at least four of the most important buildings: two temples, one palace and the so-called Sphinx-gate⁷²⁰. The Sphinx-gate didn't function as an entrance, but served as a ceremonial stage for ritual proceedings. The sphinxes placed here attest to their apotropaic aspect, whether they are depicted alone or in pairs. The pair of sphinxes at the Sphinx-gate in Hattusha are remarkable in that they carry a Sacred Tree on top of their horned cap. This reminds one of the Syrian cylinder seal (St.M. Nr. Mes. 15) dating from the 2nd mill. BC, where two sphinxes are depicted carrying a Sacred Tree on their back.

Probably, the female sphinxes with Hathor-curls, dating from the Hittite Period can be identified with the creatures that are called *damnaššara*⁷²¹. Text-sources tell that pairs of these

⁷¹⁵ E.g. St.M. Nr. An. 2: Female Sphinx with Hathor-style Curls; St.M. Nr. An. 10: Sphinxes with Sacred Tree.

⁷¹⁶ E.g. St.M. Nr. An. 1: Kültepe Cylinder Seal.

⁷¹⁷ E.g. Cat.Nr. An. 3: Pair of Gate-sphinxes.

⁷¹⁸ Dessenne 1957a: 184.

⁷¹⁹ Demisch 1977: 50-51; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 36; Gilibert 2011a: 44-45; Gilibert 2011b: 79.

⁷²⁰ E.g. Cat.Nr. An. 6: Figure Winged Sphinx with Horned Crown and Sacred Tree.

⁷²¹ Gilibert 2011a: 45-46; Gilibert 2011b: 79.

creatures stood near entrances where they received offerings. These creatures were regarded as ominous divinities, whose main function was to see whether the rituals (festivals, processions, burials, offerings, ...) were performed correctly. Therefore, they stood at the entrance of the cella of the Temple of the Weather-god, where political treaties were made. When a treaty was broken, it was believed the Weather-god would punish the king, the city and its citizens. So perhaps these creatures not only differed from the Egyptian sphinx in their iconography; they seem to be totally different in character too.

The fact that these female sphinxes functioned as overseers of treaties and pacts, corroborated by Hittite texts which mention this function, raises another question⁷²². When the Hittites concluded treaties, they wanted gods to oversee the procedure and the correct settlement and observance, so that they could give punishments and repercussions when one of the contracted parties didn't fulfil his obligations⁷²³. This can mean that the sphinxes as overseer of contracts acted as representations of a god or gods. So, although it may seem at first glance that the sphinxes altered their meaning completely when they changed their context, it seems the variation wasn't that radical because the sphinxes still seem connected to the gods, albeit in a more important way.

On top of this, there is one image that defies the fact that especially the female sphinxes were no longer seen as belonging to the wild mountains too. One relief, of which however the original location is not known, shows two female sphinxes, identifiable by their Hathor-curls, attacking a winged horse. This is a unique image, certainly for female sphinxes, who always seem rather static and calm. But it is the only image of its kind that has been found in Anatolia, so the exact meaning must unfortunately remain unknown.

The claim of Gilibert in her excellent study of Anatolian sphinxes that these sphinxes had a totally different function from the ones in earlier periods, seems not completely true, although there certainly is a shift in meaning⁷²⁴. Although it is correct that male sphinxes don't seem to be involved in the proceedings of treaties, they do sometimes appear in the same religious contexts the female sphinx does, and they also appear in a more violent context, although only twice⁷²⁵.

⁷²² Gilibert 2011a: 45-46.

⁷²³ McMahon 1995: 1982-1983.

⁷²⁴ Gilibert 2011b: 45.

⁷²⁵ Cat.Nr. An. 8: Striding Winged Sphinx; Cat.Nr. An. 7: Bronze Horse-bit Master of Animals; Cat.Nr. An. 12: Horse-blinker with Striding Winged Bearded Sphinx.

The sphinx that is depicted as an animal attribute of the goddess Schauschga on a 13th cent. BC ring does not have a beard, but it is difficult to ascertain if it is female⁷²⁶. The same goes for the only sphinx that seems to be directly related to the name of a specific ruler; this winged sphinx is held under control by a Hittite god⁷²⁷.

Both male and female sphinxes took on a second new role, one that was closely connected with death and with the rituals performed for the death⁷²⁸. As in other cultures, the rituals for the deceased ancestors were very important, as it was believed that they, when pleased and content, would strengthen the power of the clan, family or, in the case of a ruler, of the people he governed when he was alive.

This suggests that the sphinx again played the role of supervisor of the proceedings of the rituals, because, in a way, the death and burial rituals can also be considered as some kind of pact or treaty.

Summarizing one must come to the following conclusion: the sphinx of the period between 1600 and 800 BC is still seen sometimes as belonging to the wilderness and the chaos, but it has taken a step forward and instead of solely being a passive divine attribute, it now sometimes is an active representative of a god when it oversees the correct proceedings of political treaties or religious cults (for ancestors). In Death-cult Festivals, the sphinx made sure the ghosts of the death were in their proper place and when it was present at political rituals and events, it guaranteed the correctness of executions of oaths and treaties⁷²⁹. With this last role, it takes on a more political function than it had in the previous period.

Of the male sphinxes, one could say they acted merely in their function as attribute animal of a god, even when they were depicted witnessing ancestor cult rituals, as there always seems to be an image of a god (most of the time the Weather-god) nearby. In this role, they can be compared with the *awiti*, the companion animal of Schauschga, the name of Ishtar in Anatolia.

⁷²⁶ Cat.Nr. An. 10: Finger-ring Schauschga Standing on a Sphinx.

⁷²⁷ Cat.Nr. An. 4: Tablet of Ini-Teshub.

⁷²⁸ Cat.Nr. An. 13: Zincirli Eastern Orthostatic Sphinx; Cat.Nr. An. 14: Zincirli Winged Sphinx and Winged Griffin; Cat.Nr. An. 15: Zincirli Winged Sphinx with Man; Cat.Nr. An. 16: Pyxis Ancestor Cult with Sphinxes. For more information on the thoughts and ideas of the Hittites on death and its rituals: Haas 1995: 2021-2030; Macqueen 1996: 132-135.

⁷²⁹ Gilibert 2011a: 44-46; Gilibert 2011b: 79.

PART 1 – 6. THE SPHINX IN ANATOLIA

The following table with an overview of the different occurrences of Anatolian sphinxes is an adaptation and elaboration from a listing of aspects Demisch made for the Aegean sphinxes⁷³⁰.

⁷³⁰ Demisch 1977: 76.

This listing was adapted to fit the four different regions: only human-headed sphinxes have been taken into account but both images from the catalogue and the study material have been included.

<i>STF XXIII - DIFFERENT ASPECTS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE ANATOLIAN SPHINX</i>		
ASPECTS	MEDIA	MEANING/FUNCTION
Alone or in Pair With King's Name, Controlled At Gates/Entrances With Snakes (out of body) With Snake-head Tail With Scorpion-tail With Sacred Tree With Sun-disc (Alone with Divinity) With Weather-god, Lion & Demon With Weather-god, Bull, War-god Controlled by Schauschga	On architectural element + in the round + on artefact + on seals + on pottery + on jewellery In the round + on seal On seal	<i>Protective forces</i> Protective/Apotropaic <i>Protective forces</i> Assisting gods to help men <u>Male:</u> <i>Companions of a god</i> Participating in (religious) rituals <i>Representative of Protective Forces</i> Enhancing protective powers <i>Representative of Protective Forces</i> Supporting/enhancing royal powers <i>Part of the Wild</i> Assisting god <i>Attendant of god</i> Supporting/Enhancing divine powers
Getting Attacked by Centaur	On artefact	<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering cosmic order
Attacking a Winged Horse	On architectural element	<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering Cosmic & Divine Order OR <i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Helping men in his struggle for life
Controlled By Hittite God By Master of Animals	On artefact + on jewellery + on seal	<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Submissive/Supporting <i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Submissive/Supporting
As Antithetical Pair, Flanking Ankh-sign Column	As architectural element On artefact	<i>Protective forces</i> Protecting life and order <i>Protective forces</i> Protecting fertility and prosperity
As Pair Flanking a Throne Of a God(dess) Of a Ruler	In the round	<i>Companion</i> Supporting/Enhancing divine powers <i>Representing protective forces</i> Supporting/Enhancing royal powers
As Pair Flanking Door/Gateway	As architectural element	<u>Female:</u> <i>As Guard/Representing Divinity</i> Protective/Apotropaic Supervising procedures
As Antithetical Pair, Looking at Each Other or Looking Away	On seals	<i>Protective forces</i> Protective/Apotropaic

With Animals or Composite Creatures, Alone or in Group	On artefact + on architectural element + on seal	<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Threatening the divine, cosmic order
As Companion of the Dead	On architectural element + on pottery	<u>Male:</u> <i>As attendant of Weather-God</i> Honouring deceased Participating in ancestral cults

As symbols of the wild, Anatolian sphinxes, when depicted without other meaningful motives, or with life- or fertility-related symbols, were used primarily protective and apotropaic. When they however were depicted near a god(-symbol) or a royal figure, they were there to support and even enhance the divine and royal powers respectively. Also, when being controlled, be it by a god(-dess) or a Master of Animals, it was stressed that they were not only submissive but also supporting. On the other hand, when being shown with other (wild) animals and composite creatures, who are not recognizable as companions of a deity, the sphinxes along with the other creatures, suggested the wild which threatens the cosmic order. Perhaps the same idea is behind images where sphinxes are being attacked or are attacking themselves (although these motifs are rare).

The most remarkable here is the fact that, in contrast to other regions except possibly Egypt, the Anatolians sometimes made a real distinction between male and female sphinxes; the first were mere attendants of a god while participating in (religious) rituals, often connected to the ancestral cult, while female sphinxes took on a more active part: they represented divinities and took over their task of supervising the correct procedure of rituals, treaties, etc. So, their function was not limited to a religious context only.

6.5 CONCLUSION ANATOLIA

As in Syro-Mesopotamia and Egypt, the context in which the sphinx appeared in Anatolia before 1600 BC and then until ca. 800 BC could either be religious (resp. 6 and 7) or political (5 and 9 resp.)⁷³¹. From ca. 800 BC onwards, this context changes towards a slightly more prominent religious one (5), with only two occurrences in a truly political environment.

As in Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant, the sphinx made its first appearance as a companion of gods, but was always seen as belonging to the uncultivated wild (more specifically, to the mountain-regions of Anatolia; cf 6.1. Before 1600 BC). It symbolized chaos, but this chaos was controlled by the divinities that it related to.

From the beginning (1950-1830 BC), female sphinxes occurred next to male ones and it didn't take long for these to take on their own meaning and function. This happened from the moment they became part of the architecture (starting from the 14th or 13th C BC), where they not only guarded entrances but also became a sort of representative of the gods to which they had previously belonged, as over-lookers of the correct execution of contracts and ritual proceedings. These ritual procedures were often related to death.

The male sphinxes also occurred in contexts related to religious rituals for the death. The only difference between male and female sphinxes was that the male ones were participants in rituals, always seemingly in a serving function, while the female ones acted as guardians and had to guarantee the precise execution of the arrangements. In later periods, i.e. after 800 BC, all Anatolian sphinxes leave the wild completely when some of them start being used as bearer of columns that symbolize fertility and welfare.

The fact that the sphinx was thought of as representing the wild, considered dangerous for cosmic order and the life of men, is displayed in some instances, when the sphinx is depicted with other composite creatures or with animals.

⁷³¹ Cf. STF XXI - Images from Anatolia.

7 THE SPHINX IN THE AEGEAN

<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>1600-800 BC</i>			<i>BEFORE 1600 BC & AFTER 800 BC</i>	
164	36			128	
	<i>POLITICAL</i>	<i>RELIGIOUS</i>	<i>UNDETERMINED</i>	<i>BEFORE:</i>	<i>AFTER:</i>
	15	19	2	5	123

STF XXIV: IMAGES OF THE AEGEAN.

Of the 164 images of sphinxes found in the Aegean, 36 belong to the period between 1600 BC and 800 BC. Of these, 15 are political, 19 religious and 2 are undetermined. Of the period before 1600 BC, only five images were found, but the period following 800 BC shows an abundance of 123 images of sphinxes.

There exist two hypotheses about the origin of and influence on Minoan art: it was derived from Egyptian art or it was derived from Anatolian art⁷³². However, the one thing that is for sure is that Minoan art is closely related to Near Eastern imagery and that the Greek sphinxes seem to be composed of a mix of Near-Eastern, Egyptian and Cretan-Mycenaean elements. Another undisputable fact is that composite creatures like sphinx, griffin, dragon and genius were imported into the Minoan iconography as symbols of high status in a period when the first palaces were built and a new elite was emerging. They must have been regarded as appropriate motifs to advertise and legitimize the power of this new elite and associate them with the divine⁷³³. Although it seems the Minoans took over the motif of the sphinx without its meaning, it must be kept in mind, as Zouzoula argues, that they chose, next to the sphinx, only the griffin, Taweret/the Minoan genius and the dragon from the abundance of Near Eastern motifs, and this suggests that they were aware of the original meaning these motifs had⁷³⁴. Therefore, it is inconceivable these motifs were chosen randomly. This does not, however, mean the motifs had necessarily the same meaning as they did in their land of origin.

In the 16th cent. BC the Cretan-Minoan art starts influencing the art on mainland Greece. In Greece, there already existed Helladic forms that were more dynamic than those in Minoan art. The combination of these forms with the Minoan elements gave rise to the art of Mycenae. Later on, art and imagery from the Greek mainland in its turn began to influence Cretan art⁷³⁵.

⁷³² Wunsch 1916-1924: 938; Dessenne 1957a: 178; Demisch 1977: 12, 64; Burke 2005: 403; Zouzoula 2007: 144-145.

⁷³³ A remarkable example of an object meant to impress and legitimize is the Larnax of Hagia Triada (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 26: cf. 12.4. Goddess/Chariot Drawn by Griffins).

⁷³⁴ Demisch 1977: 67; Zouzoula 2007: 139-140.

⁷³⁵ E.g. Demisch 1977: 69. E.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 20.

While the sphinxes were very rare in Crete, they became very popular in mainland Greece, especially the “dreigliedriger” types, i.e. the ones with the lion-body, the bird-wings and the (female) human head, although it was identified as a “ΣΦΙΓΞ” (sphinx) for the first time only in about 540 BC on a fragment of a plate coming from Glaucos (Fig. 55)⁷³⁶.



FIG. 55: FRAGMENT OF ATTIC PLATE FROM GLAUCOS, CA. 540 BC, MÜNCHEN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG, 2243.

The fact that the Greek sphinx stood somewhat apart from the sphinxes in the other regions, and even from the Cretan-Minoan ones can perhaps be described to the fact that at approximately the same time the sphinx re-appeared in the Greek imagery, a myth about the sphinx was recorded by Hesiod (ca. 750-650 BC) in his *Theogony* (lines 325-332)⁷³⁷. In this work, it is stated that the “deadly” sphinx (Φῖκ’ ὀλοήν) who was a threat to the Thebans, was born out of the relation between the chthonic Echidna, a creature described as half girl, half snake-monster, and her two-headed son-dog Orthrus, who had Typhon as father (known as the

⁷³⁶ Demisch 1977: 64, 76-77; Baum-vom Felde 2006: 165; Cooper 2008: 45; Winkler-Horaček 2011c: 163.

⁷³⁷ Ilberg 1909-1915: 1364; Demisch 1977: 76, 78; Zouzoula 2007: 43; Winkler-Horaček 2011c: 163:

The *Theogony* was a poem that told the origin and creation of both the world and the gods. It is believed that this creation myth was partly dependent upon a Hurrian-Hittite myth (*The Song of Kumarbi* or *Kingship in Heaven*; 14th or 13th cent. BC) and upon the Babylonian creation myth *Enuma Elish* (perhaps ca. 1100 BC). The Near Eastern myths would have been known to the Greeks from the 9th-8th cent. BC onwards when the first Greek trading colonies started to appear in the Near East (e.g. Al Mina in Syria).

For the complete text of Hesiod’s *Theogony*: <https://www.msu.edu/~tyrrell/theogon.pdf>;

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3atext%3a1999.01.0130>

The fragment about the sphinx in Ancient Greek

(<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3atext%3a1999.01.0129%3Acard%3D304>):

325-332: “τὴν μὲν Πήγασος εἴλε καὶ ἐσθλὸς Βελλεροφόντης.

ἡ δ’ ἄρα Φῖκ’ ὀλοήν τέκε Καδμείοισιν ὄλεθρον

Ὀρθῶ ὑποδμηθεῖσα Νεμειᾶϊόν τε λέοντα,

τόν ῥ’ Ἥρη θρέψασα Διὸς κυδρὴ παράκοιτις

γουννοῖσιν κατένασσε Νεμείης, πῆμ’ ἀνθρώποις.

ἐνθ’ ἄρ’ ὁ οἰκείων ἐλεφαίρετο φῶλ’ ἀνθρώπων,

κοιρανέων Τρητοῖο Νεμείης ἡδ’ Ἀπέσαντος·

ἀλλὰ ἐῖς ἐδάμασσε βίης Ἡρακλείης.”

In English (from the Perseus website):

[325] Her did Pegasus and noble Bellerophon slay; but Echidna was subject in love to Orthus and brought forth the deadly Sphinx which destroyed the Cadmeans, and the Nemean lion, which Hera, the good wife of Zeus, brought up and made to haunt the hills of Nemea, a plague to men. [330] There he preyed upon the tribes of her own people and had power over Tretus of Nemea and Apesas: yet the strength of stout Heracles overcame him. And Ceto was joined in love to Phorcys and bore her youngest, the awful snake who guards.”

For the complete text of *Kingship in Heaven*:

<http://www.bibliotecapleyades.net/sitchin/guerradioses/guerradioses05a.htm#Kingship%20in%20Heaven>

For the complete text of *Enuma Elish*: <http://www.ancient.eu.com/article/225/>

deadliest monster of Greek mythology)⁷³⁸. Echidna was the daughter of either Gaia (the earth) or Keto (a sea monster that represented the dangers from the sea and its inhabitants), and Uranus (the personification of heaven).



FIG. 56 A: *HERCULES WRESTLING THE NEMEAN LION*, ATTIC BLACK FIGURE NECK-AMPHORA, CA. 510-500 BC, MISSISSIPPI, UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, 1977.3.62.

FIG. 56 B: *WATER JAR WITH LERNAEAN HYDRA*, ATTRIBUTED TO EAGLE PAINTER, CA. 525 BC., TERRACOTTA, 44,6 X 33,4 CM, CALIFORNIA, MALIBU, VILLA COLLECTION, THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM.

FIG. 56 C: *HERACLES CHAINS CERBERUS*, ATTRIBUTED TO THE ANDOKIDES PAINTER AND LYSIPPIDES PAINTER, ATTIC BILINGUAL AMPHORA (DETAIL), CA. 520-510 BC, PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE; F204.

Other children of Echidna were, among others, (with Orthrus) the Nemean Lion (Fig. 56 A), who was eventually killed by Heracles; and (with Typhon) the Lernaia Hydra (Fig. 56 B), a serpent-like water-monster with many heads (when one was cut off, two grew in its place); Cerberus (Fig. 56 C), the three-headed dog that guarded the entrance to Hades and that was once captured by Heracles and brought to the world of the living; the Chimaera (Fig. 56 D), a monstrous fire-breathing hybrid that is usually depicted as a lion with a tail ending in a snake's head and the head of a goat on its back or as a goat dressed in lion-skin; the Gorgon (Fig. 56 E), a female creature with hair consisting of living poisonous snakes (anyone that looked the Gorgon in her face, would turn into stone immediately)⁷³⁹. Gorgon-heads are characterised by

⁷³⁸ Smith (ed.) 1873; Evans 1930: 485; Graves 1960; Demisch 1977: 76; Buxton 1994: 206-207; Rösch-von der Heyde 1999: 6; Zouzoula 2007: 43; Winkler-Horaček 2011c: 163; <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/>.

Grieks-Frans woordenboek Bailly: 1882.

Echidna: Von Sybel 1884-1890: 1212-1213; <http://www.theoi.com/Ther/DrakainaEkhidna1.html>

Orthrus: Höfer 1897-1909: 1215-1218; <http://www.theoi.com/Ther/KuonOrthros.html>

Typhon: Schmidt 1916-1924: 1426-1454; <http://www.theoi.com/Gigante/Typhoeus.html>: Typhon wanted to rule the whole world and therefore went into battle with Zeus. After many battles, however, Zeus could defeat Typhon and locked him underneath Mount Etna.

Gaia: Drexler 1884-1890a: 1566-1586; <http://www.theoi.com/Protogenos/Gaia.html>

Keto: Stoll 1890-1897: 1178; <http://www.theoi.com/Pontios/Keto.html>

Uranus: <http://www.theoi.com/Protogenos/Ouranos.html>

⁷³⁹ Nemean Lion: <http://www.theoi.com/Ther/LeonNemeios.html>

Lernaia Hydra: Harrison (1903); <http://www.theoi.com/Ther/DrakonHydra.html>

Cerberus: Immisch 1890-1897: 1119-1135; Wünsch 1916-1924: 941;

<http://www.theoi.com/Ther/KuonKerberos.html>

Chimaera: Roscher 1884-1890: 893-895; Wünsch 1916-1924: 941; Roes 1934;

their bulging round eyes and monstrous facial expression; sometimes they also have prominent teeth. Their image was used apotropaically⁷⁴⁰.



FIG. 56 D: *CHIMAERA*, RED FIGURE KYLIX, CA. 350-340 BC, PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, K363.



FIG. 56 E: *PAIR OF SPHINXES FLANKING GORGON* (DETAIL OF ST.M. NR. AEG 110), BLACK FIGURE HYDRIA (DETAIL), 39,37 CM, CA. 540-530 BC, LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, 1849,0518.14.

Some other Greek and later Roman authors occasionally mention sphinxes and griffins too, but are rather sparse with information⁷⁴¹. In his play *Phoinissai* (ca. 408 BC; lines 1029-1039), Euripides (ca. 480-406 BC) stresses the dangerous character of the sphinx:

*"(1029) Chorus: Winged Sphinx, you came!
 Chorus: You came, daughter of Earth and of the murderous Snake, the Echidna of the Underworld!
 Chorus: A dire lineage!
 Chorus: A long time ago, you came, murderer of myriads!
 Chorus: A long time ago you came and plundered ruthlessly the land of the Thebans!
 Chorus: You came and brought myriads of groans and sighs of bitter lament!
 Chorus: And of destruction!
 (1039) Chorus: Half virgin beast with blood dripping talons you swooped onto the land with your fast-fluttering wings and tore away our young men from the waters of Dirce!"*⁷⁴².

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0062:entry=chimaera-harpers;>

<http://www.theoi.com/Ther/Khimaira.html>

Gorgon: Stoll 1884-1890: 1695; Furtwängler 1884-1890a: 1295-1727; Chisholm 1911 ("Gorgon"); Zouzoula 2007: 21, 111, 177-181; [http://www.studydrive.org/enc/bri/view.cgi?number=13532;](http://www.studydrive.org/enc/bri/view.cgi?number=13532)

<http://www.theoi.com/Pontios/Gorgones.html>

For the Gorgon heads, as apotropaic motif: Xenaki-Sakellariou 1958: 80-82.

For more information about Hades: Retief and Cilliers 2006: 45-48.

⁷⁴⁰ Zouzoula 2007: 325.

⁷⁴¹ For classical authors on griffins: 3.2.3.1. Griffins.

⁷⁴² <https://bacchiestage.wordpress.com/euripides/phoenician-women/>

Apollodorus (ca. 180- after 120 BC) again mentions in *On the Gods* (3.5.8) the parentage of the sphinx and the fact that it tyrannised the Thebans for quite a while, until Oedipus found the answer to the riddle, and he gives a short description of what this creature looked like (winged body of a lion with a female face)⁷⁴³:

"[3.5.8] *Laius was buried by Damasistratus, king of Plataea, and Creon, son of Menoeceus, succeeded to the kingdom. In his reign a heavy calamity befell Thebes. For Hera sent the Sphinx, whose mother was Echidna and her father Typhon; and she had the face of a woman, the breast and feet and tail of a lion, and the wings of a bird. And having learned a riddle from the Muses, she sat on Mount Phicium, and propounded it to the Thebans. And the riddle was this: -- What is that which has one voice and yet becomes four-footed and two-footed and three-footed? Now the Thebans were in possession of an oracle which declared that they should be rid of the Sphinx whenever they had read her riddle; so they often met and discussed the answer, and when they could not find it the Sphinx used to snatch away one of them and gobble him up. When many had perished, and last of all Creon's son Haemon, Creon made proclamation that to him who should read the riddle he would give both the kingdom and the wife of Laius. On hearing that, Oedipus found the solution, declaring that the riddle of the Sphinx referred to man; for as a babe he is four-footed, going on four limbs, as an adult he is two-footed, and as an old man he gets besides a third support in a staff. So the Sphinx threw herself from the citadel, and Oedipus both succeeded to the kingdom and unwittingly married his mother, and begat sons by her, Polynices and Eteocles, and daughters, Ismene and Antigone. But some say the children were borne to him by Eurygania, daughter of Hyperphas.*"⁷⁴⁴.

It is clear then that following the descriptions and relation with composite creatures that were each frightful, demonic and even dangerous, and although e.g. Hesiod gives no description of the creature that he calls the 'Phix' (Φῖξ) but claims that it attacks people (cf. supra), it could

⁷⁴³ For more information on the Theban sphinx: Demisch 1977: 225-227.

⁷⁴⁴ <http://www.theoi.com/Text/Apollodorus3.html>

Another author that mentions the Theban sphinx and gives two versions of the story is Pausanias (ca. 110-180 AD) in his most famous work *Description of Greece* (*Hellados Periegesis*: Book 9 Boeotia 23-40):

"MT PHIX [9.26.2] *Farther on we come to the mountain from which they say the Sphinx, chanting a riddle, sallied to bring death upon those she caught. Others say that roving with a force of ships on a piratical expedition she put in at Anthedon, seized the mountain I mentioned, and used it for plundering raids until Oedipus overwhelmed her by the superior numbers of the army he had with him on his arrival from Corinth.*

[9.26.3] *There is another version of the story which makes her the natural daughter of Laius, who, because he was fond of her, told her the oracle delivered to Cadmus from Delphi. No one, they say, except the kings knew the oracle. Now Laius (the story goes on to say) had sons by concubines, and the oracle delivered from Delphi applied only to Epicaste and her sons. So, when any of her brothers came in order to claim the throne from the Sphinx, she resorted to trickery in dealing with them, saying that if they were sons of Laius they should know the oracle that came to Cadmus.*

[9.26.4] *When they could not answer she would punish them with death, on the ground that they had no valid claim to the kingdom or to relationship. But Oedipus came because it appears he had been told the oracle in a dream.* <http://www.theoi.com/Text/Pausanias9B.html>

Earlier, Pliny the Elder (23-79 AD) in his *Naturalis Historia* places the origin of the sphinx in Ethiopia and describes it as this: "*the sphinx, which has brown hair and two mammae on the breast*" (Book VIII, Ch. 30.21): <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0137%3Abook%3D8%3Achapter%3D30#note2>

Demisch 1977: 225: points out the similarities between the riddle of the sphinx and the text in an Egyptian papyrus belonging to the 20th Dyn. and dating to ca. 1171-1085 BC, where the Sun-god says: "*I am Chepre in the morning, Re at noon, and Atum at evening.*" Chepre, or Khepri (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs), a known symbol for the renewal of life, was represented as a scarab, Re was depicted as a man; Atum, with ram-head, was the evening form of Re.

only be regarded in this same way⁷⁴⁵. Therefore, this investigation of Aegean depictions of the sphinx mainly focusses on the imagery of the Minoan and following Mycenaean period.

Unwinged sphinxes in the Aegean are very rare⁷⁴⁶. Although it is certain that Greek art was heavily influenced by Cretan-Minoan imagery, it is not at all certain this also included the motif and the meaning of the sphinx. It seems the Greeks had their own ideas about the meaning of the composite creature, and this can be seen in the fact that the sphinx is depicted in a wide range of contexts. It can be seen alone or as a pair with a Sacred Tree or flanking a God, a demon or an animal. It is part of friezes with other animals and composite creatures. It can act as an apotropaic figure on temple roofs or reliefs or on steles, altars and thrones. But it can also be depicted as the poser of riddles from Thebes and as a demon of death. Finally, it can be solely used as decorative motif on a variety of objects, like pottery, weapons, furniture, ...

The Aegean sphinxes show a relative minor variation in head-dresses (cf. 13.6. Table STF LV). The most typical seem to be the elaborate (floral) compositions (e.g. Cat.Nrs. 3; St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 11, 29, 41, 52, 72), although they do not occur that often. In these, sometimes an even more typical spiral can be seen (e.g. St.M. Nr. 41). This spiral often also is formed with the hair of the sphinx (Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 22, 29; St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 2, 9, 28); much more Aegean than sphinxes of other regions are shown without a head-dress, but have simple, elaborate or notable hair-dresses (e.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 31; St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 1, 17-18, 55, 63, 70-71, 73-77, 89, 92, 98-103, 109-110, 116, 120, 122, 126-127), often in the shape of a sort of pony-tail that stands out to the back (e.g. Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 4, 7-9, 12, 27-28, 33; St.M. Nr. 27). Other sphinxes wear a *Nemes* or a similar looking head-dress (e.g. St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 8, 10, 12, 14, 19, 21, 25, 34-35, 38, 91, 105), while still others are wearing a crown (St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 3, 5, 16, 33, 61), a (flat) cap or (high) hat (e.g. Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 1-2, 4-5, 10, 13, 20-21, 31, 35; St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 7-8, 23, 26, 36, 39, 42, 45-47, 50, 53, 55, 57, 60-62, 66-67, 78-79, 82-83, 86, 108, 111-112, 113-115, 117-119, 123-124, 128) or a helmet (e.g. St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 20, 30). If here a pattern emerges it is that later sphinxes tend to either wear a sort of hat or cap, or not wear any kind of head-dress at all.

⁷⁴⁵ Demisch 1977: 76; Winkler-Horaček 2011c: 163.

⁷⁴⁶ Demisch 1977: 76; Dietrich 1997; Rösch-von der Heyde 1999: 6-9; Westenholz 2004a: 36; Warmenbol 2006: 24; Zouzoula 2007: 18.

Typical for the Minoan and Mycenaean sphinx are as mentioned before the head-dresses, e.g. a diadem, with or without feathers or plants, plus the widely extended wings and the lock of hair falling from the neck over the shoulder and onto the breast where it curls up into a spiral (sometimes replaced by a breast-spiral)⁷⁴⁷. The spiral motif on the sphinxes fits well into the floral ornaments of the Cretan-Mycenaean art and is probably a religious or magical sign. It is also related to the rosette. This last motif can e.g. be seen on a Mycenaean comb dating from the 15th cent. BC⁷⁴⁸. The rosette seems to function as the Sacred Tree does in the Near East⁷⁴⁹. The earliest pair of Aegean sphinxes flanking a Sacred Tree dates from the 16th-13th cent. BC and can be seen on a ring found in Mycenae.

Contrary to the Near Eastern sphinxes and those of later Greece, Cretan sphinxes never are engaged in fights or hunting-scenes⁷⁵⁰. In Crete, no monumental sphinxes have been found; when sphinxes do appear, they are depicted on jewellery, on ivory objects, in miniature frescoes. There do exist however a few statuettes in steatite, terracotta and limestone. Many depictions are of griffins who, one may assume, had the same ritual function as the sphinx had elsewhere. Demisch claims the oldest griffins date from approximately 1900-1700 BC, but the oldest ones I have found were produced in the 16th cent. BC⁷⁵¹. Although it is certain the image of the griffin with its protective aspect derived from the ancient Near East, the motif of a hunting griffin developed first in the Aegean before it in its turn influenced the Near Eastern imagery.

The absence of monumental statues of sphinxes could be that the relation between ruler and people in Crete was very different than it was in e.g. Egypt or the Near East. Yet, the Cretan ruler was also seen as an exponent of the divine sphere (e.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 25: Griffins Flanking Shrine-Door). While the Cretan griffins on small objects are always winged, the Knossos throne-room griffins are not; this points to the griffins in Egypt, which can be seen there at the latest in the 15th cent. BC. These griffins remind one of the Gate-sphinxes of the Near Eastern palaces. When in e.g. the Near Eastern art two sphinxes or griffins are depicted in an antithetical composition, they usually have a Sacred Tree or a Sun-disk in between them. The origin of the Cretan griffins lies without a doubt in the art of the Near East; the head that lies in the neck,

⁷⁴⁷ Dussaud 1914: 277; Dessenne 1957a: 187; Demisch 1977: 10, 67-69; Winkler-Horaček 2011a: 99-100.

⁷⁴⁸ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 4: Comb Recumbent Sphinxes with Rosette.

Dussaud 1914: 178.

⁷⁴⁹ The rosette is combined with the Sacred Tree e.g. in the Door-sphinxes of Hattusha (Cat.Nr. An. 6: Figure Winged Sphinx with Horned Crown and Sacred Tree).

According to Demisch 1977: 10, 67, the rosette has to have a deeper meaning, because it also was connected with the sun-symbolism and the tomb-symbolism (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs).

⁷⁵⁰ Unger 1928: 336; Demisch 1977: 64, 70.

⁷⁵¹ Demisch 1977: 65. Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 16-17.

however, goes back to the art of mainland Greece⁷⁵². The earliest Cretan sphinx known was either found in Archanes, a site near Heraklion, or in Hagia Triada⁷⁵³.

Cyprus also was under the direct influence of Near Eastern art, specifically that of Phoenicia and Syria⁷⁵⁴. Egypt influenced Cyprus both indirectly through Syria and Phoenicia and through direct sea routes. Through these contacts originated a motif that could be a connecting element between Egypt and Greece⁷⁵⁵.

There seems to be no continuity in the images of sphinxes between the Late Helladic Period (2nd mill. BC) and the Geometric Period (early 1st mill. BC)⁷⁵⁶. From the 10th cent. BC onwards, new contacts between Greece and the Near East were established. From the 8th cent. BC onwards, there are some major changes: the appearance of a new cultural network and a new growth in the culture of Greece. Impulses of the main cultures of the Near East are integrated into and reformed in the Greek images.

Wild nature, consisting of animals, composite creatures and vegetation were part of the Greek culture from the late 8th cent. BC onwards⁷⁵⁷. Many sphinxes, not yet named as such, are shown in animal friezes that are not only a decorative motif, because they primarily refer to the wild, the untamed nature that is the opposite of the growing Greek culture. But sphinxes are now depicted mostly without any other imagery (32) or in the company of other animals (32)⁷⁵⁸. Sometimes (16) they are engaged in a hunt or fight, wearing a helmet, trampling or attacking an enemy themselves or watching men fight⁷⁵⁹.

Next to these three main motifs sphinxes can be depicted in a religious context (accompanying a divinity, participating in a procession or decorating a temple or an altar) or in a mythological

⁷⁵² Demisch 1977: 65; Morgan 2010a: 303.

Evans saw the origin of both sphinx and griffin (and of the Minoan Genius and the Minotaur) in Egypt: Evans 1921: 4.

⁷⁵³ St.M. Nr. Aeg. 2: Recumbent Sphinx Archanes; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 3: Recumbent Sphinx Hagia Triada. Demisch 1977: 65.

⁷⁵⁴ Demisch 1977: 70, 72-73.

⁷⁵⁵ E.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 10: Horse Bit with Winged Sphinx Trampling Black Man.

⁷⁵⁶ Winkler-Horaček 2011a: 101-103.

⁷⁵⁷ Baum-vom Felde 2006: 164; Cooper 2008: 45; Winkler-Horaček 2011b: 118-123; Winkler-Horaček 2011c: 163.

⁷⁵⁸ E.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 67: Jasper Scarab with Seated Winged Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 53: Vase Winged Sphinxes Between Animals.

⁷⁵⁹ E.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 11: Krater Seated Winged Sphinxes with Warriors.

scene⁷⁶⁰. Greek sphinxes were never depicted next to or in front of temples; they were moved upwards, on friezes, architraves, roofs, etc.⁷⁶¹.

The sphinx, known from the Oedipus-legend, is derived from the species of sphinxes that existed in the popular belief or superstition of the Greek people⁷⁶². In these myths, the sphinx was described as a monster that lived in the mountain Phikion near the city of Thebes. The myth of Oedipus and the Cadmean sphinx only appeared from approximately the late 6th cent. BC in the Greek iconography. And it is only from the 5th cent. BC that the focus in art shifts from the attacking and killing sphinxes to the sphinx as a poser of riddles. Also from this period onwards author's start to describe the sphinx's appearance. The literary descriptions and the common depictions influenced each other. This sphinx, although with a horrible character, at the same time symbolizes wisdom and knowledge of things men knows nothing about⁷⁶³.

⁷⁶⁰ Religious: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 107: Amphora with Sphinx and Procession of Women.

Mythological: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 110: Hydra Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Gorgon.

⁷⁶¹ Rösch-von der Heyde 1999: 8.

E.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 75: Frieze Two Pairs of Seated Winged Sphinxes; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 115: Figure Two Sphinxes on Temple Apollo Delphi.

⁷⁶² Jahn 1847: 112-121; Overbeck 1857: 15-59; Von Geisau 1975: 308-309; Demisch 1977: 224; Rösch-von der Heyde 1999: 7-8; Cooper 2008: 45; Schröder 2011: 146; Winkler-Horaček 2011c: 163; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 151.

For some background information on the sphinx and the riddle: Baum-vom Felde 2006.

For a critical analysis of the Oedipus-myth: Renger 2011.

⁷⁶³ Demisch 1977: 96.

7.1 PRECEDING 1600 BC⁷⁶⁴

Only 5 sphinxes belonging to this period have been found, and they are all depicted, as far as we now know, isolated and without any indication of context or other motifs. They all, however, have a lion-body and a female looking human head with long locks of hair⁷⁶⁵. It is not sure what the oldest known image of a sphinx in the Aegean is; in Malia, a little figurine of a recumbent sphinx was excavated, dating between the 20th and the 16th cent. BC⁷⁶⁶. Also from Crete, but this time from Archanes, comes a seal with the image of a recumbent sphinx, which was dated between the 19th till 17th cent. BC and is, Demisch thinks, the oldest Cretan sphinx that has been found⁷⁶⁷. Among most researchers, this sphinx is indeed considered to be the oldest image of an Aegean sphinx, although some suggest that the small sphinx, found in Hagia Triada, and dated to 18th-16th cent. BC, is the oldest Cretan sphinx⁷⁶⁸. Neither of these sphinxes has wings (cf. 3.2.4.4. Human-Headed Lions in the Aegean).

There are only two other images of sphinxes that can be dated prior to 1600 BC, but these have wings, and although their dating is not specific, it may be assumed they are from a later period than the wingless sphinxes. One of these sphinxes is shown lying, one is standing and has its wings unfolded so that they resemble the wings of a butterfly⁷⁶⁹.

The number of sphinxes from this period is so small, and the knowledge about their context being practically non-existent, it is impossible to deduce anything about their meaning or function. Zouzoula argues that one of their great assets for the Minoans would have been their exotic associations⁷⁷⁰. From ca. 1900 BC, fantastic creatures became slightly more numerous, but remained still less popular than e.g. 'real' animals, like bull and lion. The griffin, Minoan Genius and Minoan Dragon appear now for the first time in Minoan art.

⁷⁶⁴ For an overview of the different types of sphinxes before 1600 BC: 13.8. STF LVII.

⁷⁶⁵ Unger 1928: 336.

⁷⁶⁶ St.M. Nr. Aeg. 1: Malia Sphinx.

⁷⁶⁷ Demisch 1977: 65.

St.M. Nr. Aeg. 2: Recumbent Sphinx Archanes.

⁷⁶⁸ Unger 1928: 336.

St.M. Nr. Aeg. 3: Recumbent Sphinx Hagia Triada.

Demisch 1977: 65-66: thinks the Hagia Triada sphinx was used as a lamp.

⁷⁶⁹ Recumbent: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 4: Recumbent Winged Sphinx Knossos.

Standing: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 5: Sphinx with Butterfly-wings.

⁷⁷⁰ Zouzoula 2007: 96-97, 139-141.

7.2 1600-800 BC⁷⁷¹

All the Aegean human-headed sphinxes from this period (26) have wings, except for two⁷⁷². These two are very crudely executed figurines (the only figurines from this period). One was made in the late 16th cent. BC, the second one dates from the 10th cent. BC⁷⁷³.

Most other sphinxes (15 out of 25) are to be found on jewellery, seals, and pottery⁷⁷⁴. These sphinxes are depicted alone or in pairs and/or together with a Sacred Tree or palmettes (8), a Master of Animals (2) or other animals (3). When a sphinx is depicted without a context, it is often 'decorated' with or is depicted near a rosette or a spiral, or shown with its wings totally unfolded⁷⁷⁵.

During this period, griffins often take the place of sphinxes; there have been found 11 images of griffins. Two of these are pairs shown on murals in Knossos, two on murals in Thera, one on a seal, one on a sarcophagus, while two others can be seen on pottery and one pair on a seal impression made with a golden ring⁷⁷⁶.

The throne room in Knossos, although at first glance looks like belonging to a political sphere, could have had a religious function (rites for purification and initiation), at least, that is what Evans thinks⁷⁷⁷. He bases this hypothesis on the presence of the throne in combination with the griffins (which he calls sacral), the benches, the inner shrine, and, finally, an alabaster vase and a basin found in the room (used for some sort of ritual, perhaps an anointment) (MP 8). Later

⁷⁷¹ For an overview of the different types of sphinxes during the period 1600-800 BC: 13.9. STF LVIII.

⁷⁷² Of these 26, one is a bull-sphinx; and one pair has the hind-legs of a bull.

⁷⁷³ 16th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 1: Terracotta Figure of a Sphinx Hagia Triada.

10th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 15: Figure Standing Bearded Sphinx.

⁷⁷⁴ Jewellery: e.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 2: Finger-ring pair of Sphinxes with Sacred Tree.

Seals: e.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 9: Master of Animals with Pair of Sphinxes.

Pottery: e.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 29: Pictorial Style Vase.

⁷⁷⁵ Rosette & Spiral: e.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 4: Comb Recumbent sphinxes with Rosette; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 7: Winged Sphinx with Breast-spiral.

Unfolded wings: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 27: Golden Plaque with Winged Sphinx.

⁷⁷⁶ Murals: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 6: Griffins Flanking Throne; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 16: Hunting Griffin.

Seal: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 24: Griffin Led by Priest; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 32: Goddess Flanked by Griffins and Genii.

Sarcophagus: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 26: Goddess in Chariot Drawn by Griffins.

Pottery: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 29: Pictorial Style Vase; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 36: Alabastron Two Griffins with Nest.

⁷⁷⁷ For the criteria used to catalogue an image as either political or religious: 2.2.3. Collecting and Processing the Material.

Evans 1921: 4-5.

Evans 1899/1900: 35-42; Hood 2005: 65; Zouzoula 2007: 271-272.

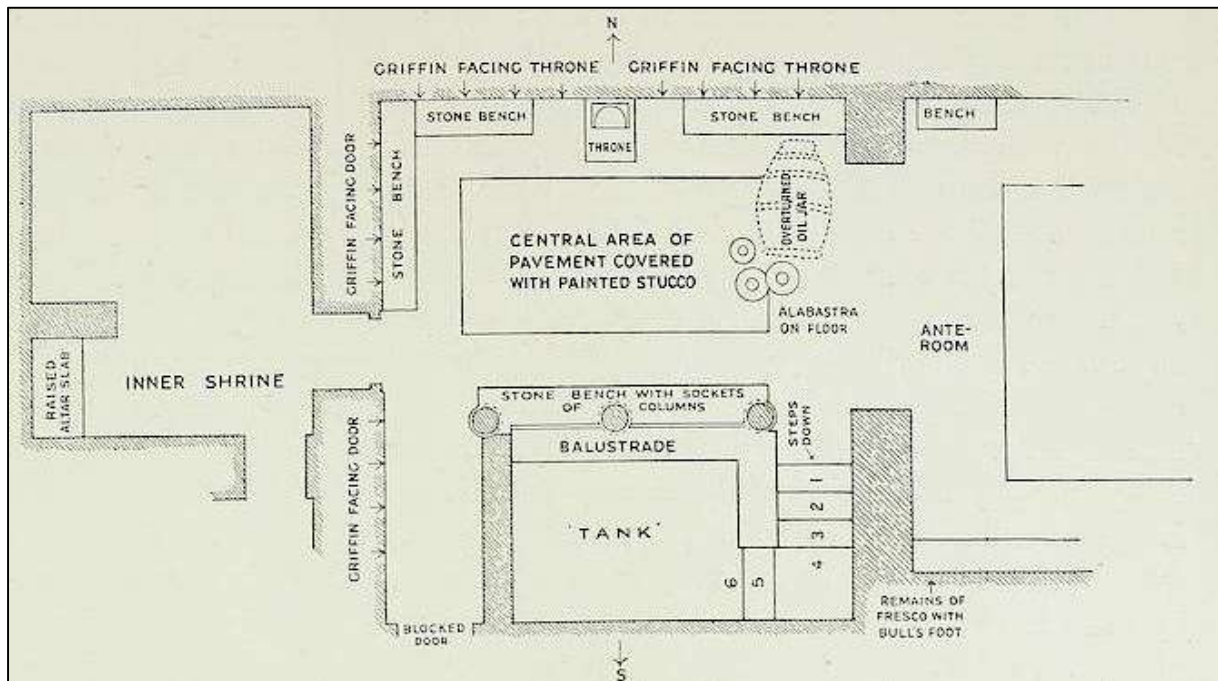
For a more detailed look on the Throne Room and the adjacent structures: Evans 1935b: 901-946.

For a dating of the Knossian frescoes: Hood 2005.

The griffins in the Throne-room flanking the throne (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 6) are catalogued with the political images, because it has long been assumed the throne was meant for a king or ruler. The griffins in the same room but flanking the door to an adjacent shrine, have been taken up with the religious images for obvious reasons (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 25).

scholars do not ultimately agree about the original function of the Throne room (is it an actual throne room or was it rather a sacred courtroom?), although today most seem to agree that it was a religious rather than an administrative centre, where the rituals revolved around the sunlight that fell through the doorway on specific days (when the Mycenaean *Wanax* installed himself there, the function of the room accordingly changed)⁷⁷⁸.

The hypothesis that the griffins are sacred, is based on some Aegean images that show the griffin led by a priest in what seems to be a (religious) procession (e.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 24)⁷⁷⁹. Further proof for this could be the pair of griffins on a golden ring from Thebes (13th cent. BC), showing a ritual involving a goddess sitting on a throne flanked by two Minoan Genii (cf. 3.1.4.2. Minoan genius/Demon) who each hold a libation-jug (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 32)⁷⁸⁰.



MP 8: PLAN OF THRONE ROOM, KNOSSOS⁷⁸¹.

Evans believed the throne-room of Knossos was meant for a king-priest, a figure he thought to see in the relief of the so-called "Prince with Lilies", who was found in an adjacent corridor, and who wears a crown topped with peacock feathers and lilies (Fig. 57 A)⁷⁸². Later scholars

⁷⁷⁸ E.g. Goodison 2001; Hiller 2001: 43; Zouzoula 2007: 272, 274-275.

For more information on the nature of the *Wanax*: Palaima 1995.

⁷⁷⁹ Evans 1935b: 412-413.

⁷⁸⁰ Rehak 1995a: 223 nr. 74; Rehak 1995b: 103, 105; Younger 1995a: 179 nr. 162; Zouzoula 2007: 273.

⁷⁸¹ For more general information about the excavation of the "palace" of Knossos: Evans 1899/1900.

⁷⁸² Evans 1921: 5; Evans 1928b: 774-795; Shaw 2004: 65; Chapin 2014: 11-13 + fig. 1.8.

For a more recent analysis of the so-called Priest-King, questions about the identity of the figure and a good overview of the scarce fragments on which the restoration of Evans was based: Shaw 2004.

have had other hypothesis about the identity of this figure; e.g. Hitchcock claims it is either a Priestess-Queen, or a male who, to legitimise his patriarchal ascension, takes on female symbols (fair skin and crown of lilies)⁷⁸³. Evans also claimed that this figure, of which only very few fragments were found and which he restored heavily, was holding a griffin by a rope (while the left arm, which should hold the leash, was completely lost), like many intaglio seals where divinities or priest are shown leading griffins by leashes (e.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 24). Niemeier, however, argues that e.g. the lily-crown can only belong to either a priestess or to a sphinx, never to a male, and while the torso of which the remains were found, and the crown don't fit together, he thinks probably the figure of a male leading a sphinx who was wearing the crown was depicted here (Fig. 57 B). Mark Cameron, on the other hand, saw the figure as a girl, an athlete, wearing a crown, and leading a bull in preparation for a bull-leaping contest/ritual⁷⁸⁴. Finally, Maria Shaw associated the lily-crown again with a male figure, while she thinks it confers social status and/or is an *insignium dignitatis*, a symbol that marks the wearer as a king or divine creature⁷⁸⁵.

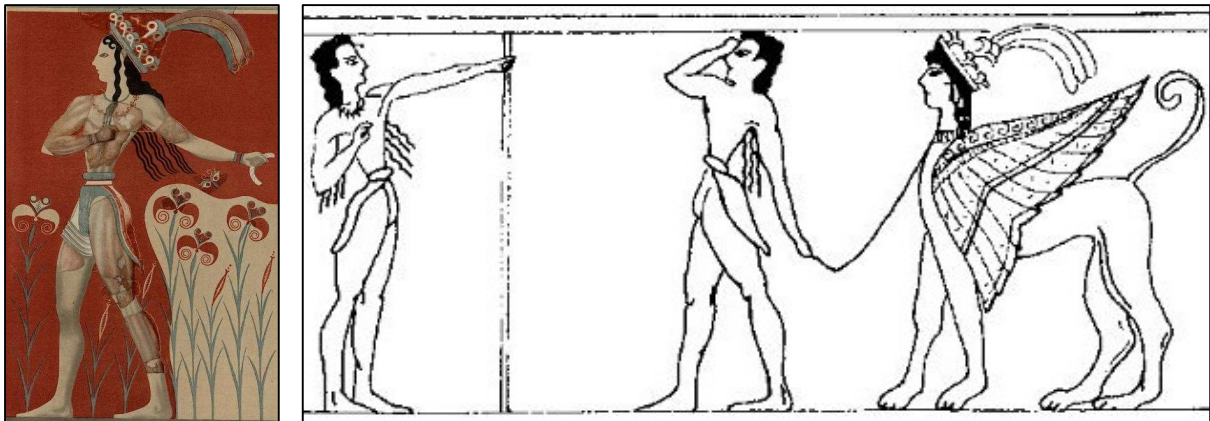


FIG. 57 A: THE PRINCE WITH THE LILLIES, AS RESTORED BY EVANS, 1700-1450 BC (LM I), KNOSSOS.

FIG. 57 B: THE PRINCE WITH THE LILLIES, AS RESTORED BY NIEMEIER, 1700-1450 BC (LM I), KNOSSOS.

The mural of the throne-room in Knossos could have a remarkable counterpart in Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a; Fig. 58), dating from ca. 1479-1423 BC (reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmoses III)⁷⁸⁶.

⁷⁸³Evans 1921: 5; Evans 1928b: 774-795; Niemeier 1988; Hitchcock 2000: 71-76, 81.

⁷⁸⁴ Cameron 1975: 143; Marinatos 1993: 71-73; Hitchcock 2000: 73.

Other reasoned hypotheses about the possible identity of the so-called Priest-King, among others: Coulomb 1979; Shaw 2004; Marinatos 2007b.

⁷⁸⁵ Shaw 2004; Marinatos 2007b.

⁷⁸⁶ For more information about the Throne room in Knossos: Hitchcock 2010.

For more information about Tell el-Dab'a: and its frescoes: Warren 1995: 3-5; Bietak 2005; Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: 110-112; Cole 2010.

The reconstruction of the throne room there shows a very similar depiction of griffins (although winged this time), flanking the throne⁷⁸⁷. If the reconstruction is correct, there can be no doubt that this, and other murals in Avaris, was painted by Minoan craftsmen, perhaps in the context of a political royal marriage⁷⁸⁸.

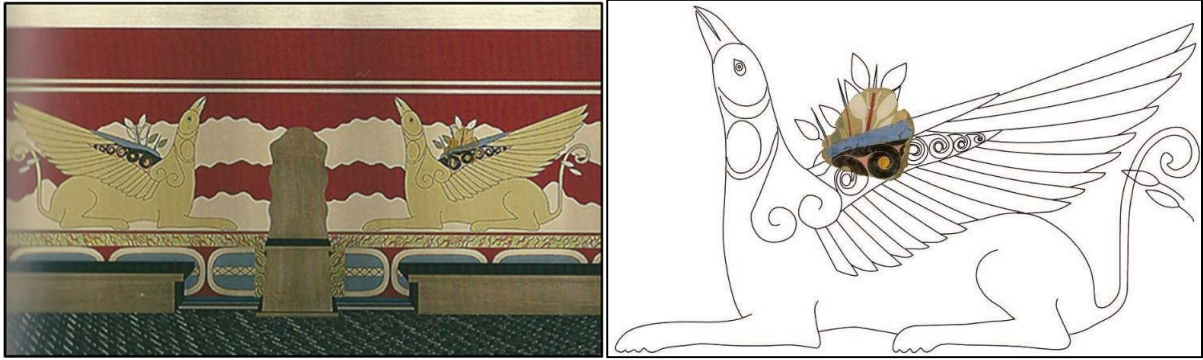


FIG. 58 A: RECONSTRUCTION THRONE-ROOM TELL EL-DAB'A (AVARIS).

FIG. 58 B: RECONSTRUCTION DRAWING GRIFFIN THRONE-ROOM TELL EL-DAB'A (AVARIS).

Evans found more griffins in Knossos. One was part of a miniature fresco, and Evans describes it as a griffin with notched plumes (Fig. 59). Evans states these plumes have a religious association as they can also be seen on e.g. the skirts of the famous figurine of the so-called Snake-goddess from Knossos⁷⁸⁹.

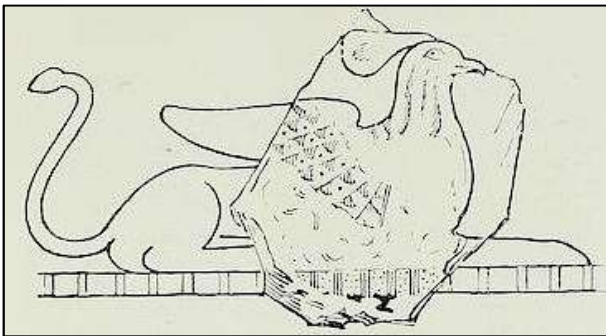


FIG. 59: GRIFFIN WITH NOTCHED PLUMES, FRAGMENT MINIATURE FRESCO, MM-LM 1, KNOSSOS PALACE.

Other griffins could be seen in the Great East Hall of the Palace in Knossos, where two pairs of griffins are tied with a rope to a column (Fig. 60; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 18)⁷⁹⁰. The column, or pillar, could be sacred and functioned then as the aniconic representation of a god or goddess⁷⁹¹.

For more (background) information on the occurrence of Minoan frescoes in Avaris: Niemeier and Niemeier 1998; Cline 1998.

⁷⁸⁷ Bietak 2008: 131; Morgan 2010a: 306.

⁷⁸⁸ On the debate of the theory of a foreign origin of the frescoes in Tell el-Dab'a: Matić 2015.

⁷⁸⁹ Evans 1921: 549-550; Morgan 2010a: 310.

The same notches can be seen on the Axe of Ahmosis I that presumably was made by a Cretan craftsman (Cat.Nr. Eg. 4; cf. 12.2. Axe of Ahmoses I): Evans 1921: 550 + Fig. 402, Morgan 2010a: 308 + Fig. 5.

⁷⁹⁰ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 18: Antithetical Griffins.

⁷⁹¹ Evans 1930: 154; Evans 1935b: 412; Marinatos 2009: 23.

Arthur Evans claims this Hall was used for religious and official ceremonies as it was decorated with bull-leapers, boxing-scenes and religious emblems⁷⁹². This mural then seems to link the griffins with a theme that is exclusively found in Knossos; that of bull-leaping, that is perhaps connected with royal symbolism.

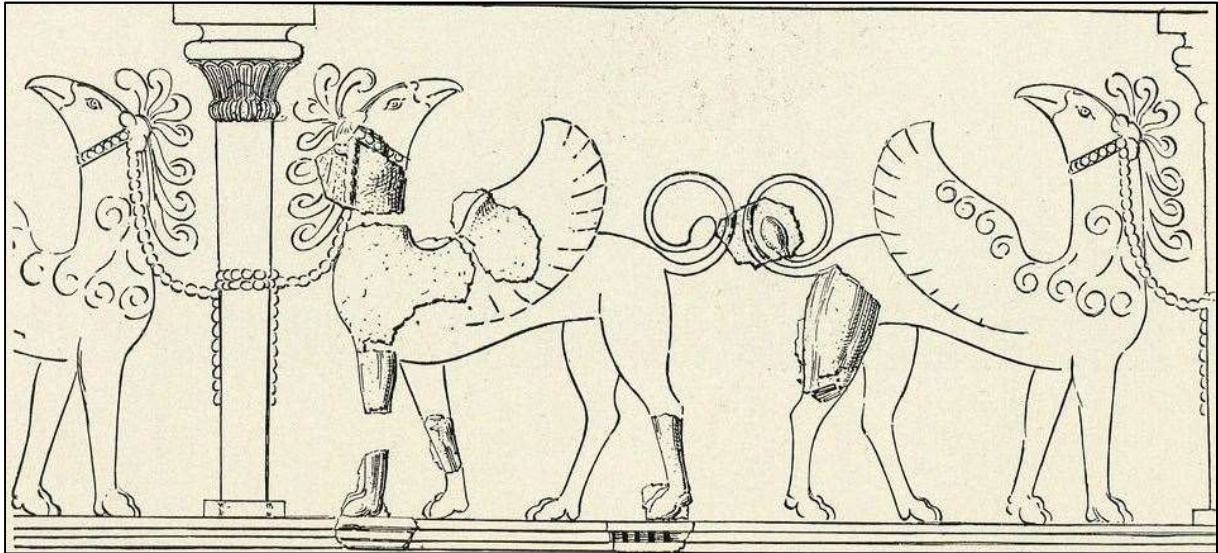


FIG. 60: GRIFFINS TIED TO A COLUMN, PAINTED STUCCO RELIEF, KNOSSOS, EAST HALL (DRAWING BY EVANS).

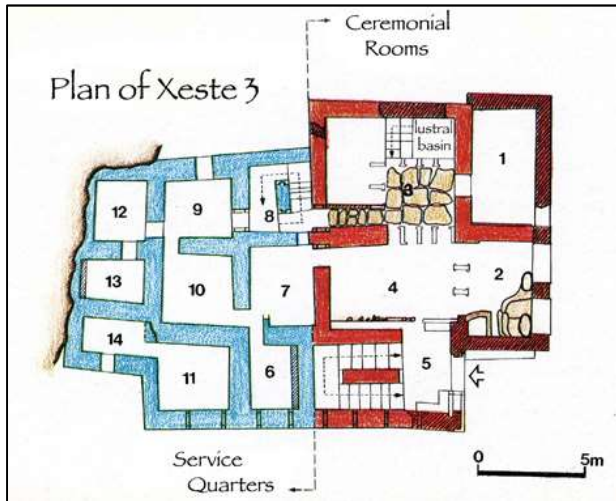
The same motif, the griffin tied with a rope was found on two seals, dating from the second half of the 2nd mill. BC and on a carved ivory box, where it is a sphinx that is shown led by a man in what seems to be a sort of procession⁷⁹³. Possibly this man too is a priest. The motif of tied griffins can possibly be related to that of the sphinx surrendering to a Master of Animals or to a Mistress of Animals, the so-called *Potnia Theron*.

⁷⁹² Evans 1930: 510-513; Cameron 1976: 156; Rehak and Younger 1998: 217; Zouzoula 2007: 153-154.

⁷⁹³ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 24: Griffins led by Priest; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 33: Box Procession with Sphinx and Men.

Cat.Nr. Aeg. 9: Master of Animals with Pair of Sphinxes; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 10: Pair of Winged Sphinxes Flanking Man.

For more information about the Minoan/Aegean Master and Mistress of Animals: Barclay 2001; Kopaka 2001; Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2010: 100.



MP 9: PLAN XESTE 3, AKROTIRI.

A variation on the theme of the Potnia Theron can perhaps also be seen on a mural found in building Xeste 3 in Akrotiri, where a tethered griffin is depicted behind a goddess who is connected to the gathering of crocuses (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 17 and Fig. 61)⁷⁹⁴.

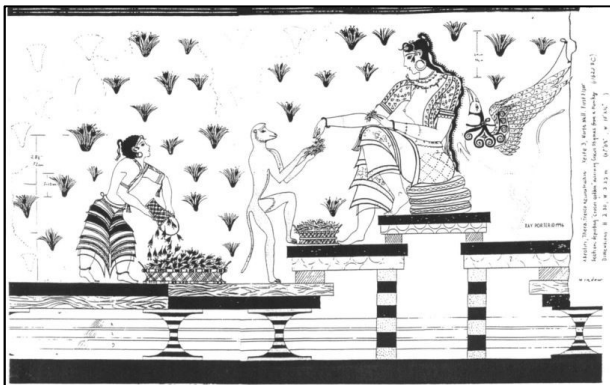


FIG. 61 A: GODDESS WITH GRIFFIN, MONKEY & CROCUS-GATHERERS (DRAWING).

FIG. 61 B: GODDESS WITH GRIFFIN, MONKEY & CROCUS-GATHERERS (MURAL).

Marinatos, Zouzoula and Nugent argue, among others, that the gathering of crocuses, and thus of saffron, is not only an economic activity, but also a religious ritual, ultimately connected to coming of age (e.g. Rehak), or, (Davis) to the ritual of a sacred marriage (*hieros gamos*:

⁷⁹⁴ Marinatos 1993: 151-152, 203-211; Aruz 1995b: 41-42; Rehak 1995a: 223 nr. 74; Rehak 1995b: 103, 105; Younger 1995a: 179 nr. 162; Laffineur 2001: 388-389; Rehak 2004: 90, 92; Morgan 2005c: 37; Zouzoula 2007: 273; Nugent 2008: 9-12; Blakolmer 2014: 199-200; Chapin 2014: 24 + fig. 1.14; Marinatos 2016: 4. In front of the goddess stands a blue monkey; for more information about the depiction of monkeys in Xeste: Rehak 1999. Marinatos thinks the monkey is an intermediary between the human and the divine sphere: Marinatos 2016: 4.

associated with religious, ritual and social contexts)⁷⁹⁵. Again, it seems, the griffin can be connected to ritual activities⁷⁹⁶.

Out of the 26 images of sphinxes, 9 show a sphinx completely on its own. These lone sphinxes vary from two rudely executed figures dating to the late 16th cent. and the 10th cent. BC (both without wings), to winged sphinxes with spirals on shoulder or breast or with a rosette-medallion⁷⁹⁷. A vessel-stand shows a lone winged sphinx on one side, while the other three sides show, among others, a lion, a chariot drawn by two horses and some human figures apparently participating in a feast with music and food⁷⁹⁸. On a Late Cypriote seal a winged sphinx together with a lion attacks an antelope⁷⁹⁹. Groups of lone sphinxes also occur on combs, diadems and mouth-pieces, all executed in fine materials like ivory and gold, and giving the impression that the composite creatures only played a decorative role⁸⁰⁰.

Pairs of sphinxes flank a Sacred Tree (5), a common Near Eastern motif (one pair are bull-sphinxes) or a column (1)⁸⁰¹. Two other pairs of sphinxes are shown antithetically too, but without anything standing in between them; one pair is decorating a shrine, the other a cult-wagon⁸⁰². The last two pairs of sphinxes are shown dominated by, once, a bird-man and once a man, a Master of Animals⁸⁰³. Both these images have been found in Cyprus.

Other pairs consist of griffins instead of sphinxes; once they are shown flanking a Sacred Tree on a Pictorial Style Vase that also has a pair of sphinxes flanking a tree; once they are on

⁷⁹⁵ Marinatos 1985: 222, 224, 226; Davis 1986: 402-403; Koehl 2001: 240; Rehak 2002; Nugent 2005: 9-12; Zouzoula 2007: 201-202, 275.

For a more detailed analysis of the Thera frescoes: Marinatos 1985.

For more information about the different ages shown on the Thera frescoes: Davis 1986.

For more information about the *hieros gamos*: Koehl 2001.

⁷⁹⁶ For more information on the possible meaning of the murals in Xeste 3: Marinatos 2016.

⁷⁹⁷ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 1: Terracotta Figure of a Sphinx Hagia Triada; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 15: Figure Standing Bearded Sphinx; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 3: Finger-ring Recumbent Sphinx with Expanded Wings; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 5: Plaque Recumbent Sphinx with Expanded Wings; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 27: Golden Plaque with Winged Sphinx; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 7: Winged Sphinx with Breast-spiral; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 8: Winged Sphinx with Rosette-medallion.

⁷⁹⁸ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 13: Vessel-stand Striding Winged Sphinx.

⁷⁹⁹ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 35: Winged Sphinx and Lion Flanking Deer.

⁸⁰⁰ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 4: Comb Recumbent Sphinxes with Rosette; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 20: Diadem Sphinxes and Palmettes; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 21: Diadem/Mouth-piece Seated Winged Sphinxes; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 22: Mouth-piece Seated Winged Sphinxes.

⁸⁰¹ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 2: Finger-ring Pair of Sphinxes with Sacred Tree; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 11: Pectoral with Sphinxes and Stylized Tree; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 14: Vase Bull-sphinxes with Sacred Tree; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 19: Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Tree; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 29: Pictorial Style vase;

Cat.Nr. Aeg. 12: Relief Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Column.

For more information about the Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting: Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982.

⁸⁰² Cat.Nr. Aeg. 31: Pair of Recumbent Sphinxes on Shrine; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 34: Pairs of Winged Sphinxes Decorating Cult-wagon.

⁸⁰³ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 9: Master of Animals with Pair of Sphinxes; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 10: Pair of Winged Sphinxes Flanking Man.

opposite sides of the throne in the palace of Knossos, the second time they flank the door to a shrine adjacent to the Knossos throne room; the third pair of Knossos griffins stand antithetically back to back between two columns; once they are watching a religious ritual and once they are guarding a nest containing two little birds⁸⁰⁴. The protective and guarding aspect of the creature is clear here. One pair of griffins is depicted on a larnax found in Hagia Triada where it is obviously serving a goddess, as it is depicted drawing her chariot⁸⁰⁵. The same iconography, however, can also be seen on a golden signet ring that is older (Early Mycenaean) and that was found in a Tholos tomb on the mainland of Greece (Antheia)⁸⁰⁶.

A larnax found in Palaikastro shows a standing griffin sniffing a papyrus (Fig. 62)⁸⁰⁷. It becomes clear that the griffin is getting connected to a funerary context at least from now on.



FIG. 62: LARNAX WITH A GRIFFIN SNIFFING A PAPYRUS.

Griffins also occur on their own in this period (cf. supra); once on a stamp seal discovered on the mainland of Greece and showing a griffin led with a rope by what can be assumed is a priest,

⁸⁰⁴ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 29: Pictorial Style Vase.

Cat.Nr. Aeg. 6: Griffins Flanking Throne; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 25: Griffins Flanking Shrine-Door; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 18: Antithetical Griffins; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 32: Goddess Flanked by Griffins and Genii; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 36: Alabastron Two Griffins with Nest.

Morgan 2010a: 313.

About the possible function(s) of the buildings of Knossos: Driessen 2002; Hitchcock 2003; Schoep 2006; Driessen 2010; Schoep 2010.

⁸⁰⁵ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 26: Goddess in Chariot Drawn by Griffins; Dietrich 1997: 27-28.

For more detailed information on the sarcophagus: Nilsson 1950: 426-443; Cameron 1976: 189-198; Marinatos 1993: 31-36; Martino 2005; Chapin 2014: 38 + fig. 1.22. See also: 12.4. Goddess/Chariot Drawn by Griffins.

⁸⁰⁶ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 23: Signet Ring Goddesses in Chariot Drawn by Griffins.




⁸⁰⁷ Watrous 1991: 293.

For the meaning of the papyrus: 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs.

a motif that is also shown on a box found in a tomb in Cyprus, albeit with a human-headed sphinx, led by a priest⁸⁰⁸.

The following table (STF XXV – Sphinxes in Context (1600-800 BC)) gives an overview of the different contexts the basic types of sphinxes (in this case, winged, winged bull-sphinx, and griffin) have been found in⁸⁰⁹.

STF XXV – SPHINXES (1600-800 BC) IN CONTEXT – AEGEAN

CONTEXT → TYPE ↓	ANIMALS/MEN/ MYTHOLOGICAL CREATURES	KINGS/QUEENS/ ROYAL SYMBOLS	GOD (-SYMBOLS)	SUPPORTING/ GUARDING	CONTROLLED BY/CONTROLLING	ATTACKED BY/ATTACKING
 1. WINGED 16 TH -10 TH CENT. BC JEWELLERY/SEAL/ POTTERY/RELIEF/ MURAL/ARTEFACT	<i>Animals</i> (13, 19, 30, 35) <i>Men</i> (10, 13, 19, 30, 33) <i>Myth. Creat.</i> (9)	<i>Royal Symb.</i> (2, 4, 7, 8, 11, 19, 20, 29)	<i>Goddess</i> (19)	<i>Guarding</i> (11, 12, 29, 31, 34)	<i>Controlled by Bird-Man</i> (9) <i>Controlled by Man</i> (10) <i>Controlled by Priest</i> (33)	<i>Attacking a Deer</i> (35)
 2. WINGED BULL-SPHINX 12 TH CENT. BC POTTERY	<i>Animals</i> (14)	<i>Royal Symb.</i> (14)		<i>Guarding</i> (14)		
 3. GRIFFIN 16 TH -11 TH CENT. BC MURAL PAINTING/ SEAL/ARTEFACT/ POTTERY	<i>Men</i> (17, 24, 25, 29) <i>Animals</i> (16, 17) <i>Myth. Creat.</i> (32)	<i>Royal Symb.</i> (6, 29)	<i>Goddess</i> (17, 23, 26, 32) <i>Religious emblems</i> (18)	<i>Guarding</i> (6, 25, 32, 36)	<i>Controlled by Priest</i> (24) <i>Controlled by Goddess</i> (17, 23, 26, 32) <i>Controlled by Man</i> (29) <i>Tied with Rope</i> (17, 18)	<i>Attacking a Deer</i> (16)

In the Aegean, winged human-headed sphinxes and griffins are the most popular types and they appear in all contexts, although they are never attacked and never in control. Winged bull-sphinxes are rare (crio-sphinxes are even non-existent) and they only appear as a guard, near animals or near royal symbols.

⁸⁰⁸ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 24: Griffin Led by Priest; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 33: Box Procession with Sphinx and Men.

⁸⁰⁹ Only sphinxes from the Catalogue, i.e. from the period 1600-800 BC, are taken up in this overview.

7.3 AFTER 800 BC

Most of the sphinxes (163 found in total) from the Aegean date from later than 800 BC. (123), and almost half of these (59) are to be seen on pottery. The lone sphinx appears again (12 times), sometimes accompanied by other motifs (rosettes, palmettes, geometrical figures, ...) ⁸¹⁰. On six occasions, the sphinx is shown in the company of a griffin, while the griffin on its own is only depicted once ⁸¹¹. Only at the end of the 6th cent. BC, or even the beginning of the 5th cent. BC, female sphinxes begin to outnumber the male ones ⁸¹².

The six images of sphinxes belonging to the 8th cent. BC are all depicted in what may be called a violent(-related) context: three are pulling a war- or hunting-chariot, two are trampling enemies, a motif well known from the Egyptian iconography and these two are clearly influenced by this because the imagery surrounding the sphinxes on these objects, and the sphinxes themselves, are typically Egyptian ⁸¹³. The last one of these 6 images of the 8th cent. BC shows the sphinx with warriors preparing for battle ⁸¹⁴.

Of the five images that cannot be more specifically dated than between the 8th and 6th cent. BC, two artefacts show not only a substantial Egyptian influence in motifs (*Uraeus*, Egyptian Gods, double-crown, ...), but also a Near Eastern one (Sacred Tree) ⁸¹⁵. The other sphinxes either appear alone, with or without Egyptian motifs, or in the company of animals ⁸¹⁶.

⁸¹⁰ St.M. Nr. Aeg. 23: Terracotta Relief Winged Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 24: Figure Seated Winged Sphinx with Incense Burning Plate; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 25: Figure Winged Sphinx with Snake-head tail; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 26: Vessel in the Shape of a Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 27: Bronze Plate with Striding Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 28: Amphora Striding Winged Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 33: Kettle Seated Winged Sphinx with Crown; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 34: Terracotta Figure Winged Sphinx with Palmette; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 35: Small Sphinx Olympia; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 38: Square Gold Plaque with Seated Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 39: Seated Winged Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 45: Figure Seated Winged Sphinx.

⁸¹¹ Sphinx with Griffin: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 6: Cup Sphinxes Trampling Enemies; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 17: Vase Sphinx and Griffin with Deer and Goose; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 32: Bowl Sphinxes and Griffins Flanking Lotuses; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 69: Marble Lamp with Sphinxes, Griffins and Sirens; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 80: Kylix Pair of Sphinxes with Swan; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 94: Oinochoe Sphinxes and Griffins Attack Deer.

Griffin: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 44: Oinochoe Wild-Goat Style with Griffin.

⁸¹² Baum-vom Felde 2006: 164.

⁸¹³ St.M. Nr. Aeg. 7: Plate Winged Sphinx Pulling War-chariot; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 8: Plate Winged Sphinx Pulling Hunting-chariot; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 9: Sphinx Pulling a Chariot.

St.M. Nr. Aeg. 6: Cup Sphinxes Trampling Enemies; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 10: Horse Bit with Winged Sphinx Trampling Black Man.

⁸¹⁴ St.M. Nr. Aeg. 11: Krater Seated Winged Sphinxes with Warriors.

⁸¹⁵ St.M. Nr. Aeg. 12: Bowl Recumbent Sphinxes with *Uraeus*; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 16: Plate with Pair of Sphinxes Smelling Sacred Tree.

⁸¹⁶ St.M. Nr. Aeg. 14: Scarab Seated Sphinx with Sun-disk and *Ankh*-symbol; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 15: Scarab Winged Crowned Sphinx.

St.M. Nr. Aeg. 13: Kettle with Sphinxes and Lions

For the meaning of these accompanying motifs: 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs.

The 7th cent. BC has delivered 33 images of sphinxes of which only 5 have a violent context, contradictory to what Baum-Vom Felde claims⁸¹⁷. She states that starting from the 7th cent. BC most sphinxes are shown in a violent context.

One of these "violent" images shows a winged sphinx strangling a goose with its human hands, the human-hands are unique in the Aegean and are clearly derived from Egyptian imagery, although the feature never became popular at all in the Aegean⁸¹⁸. Two other images show the sphinx wearing a helmet, while once it is decorating a helmet, and once an armour⁸¹⁹.

But often also the sphinx is shown with other animals (e.g. bulls, lions, snakes, dogs, goats, leopards, boars), with gods or goddesses, with processions or other religious rituals, with Egyptian motifs (e.g. the lotus-flower), with other sphinxes, with Medusa, with human(s) (heads)⁸²⁰. Two other images of the 7th cent. BC show a pair of winged sphinxes in an antithetical position, flanking respectively a Sacred Tree and a God⁸²¹.

These pairs of sphinxes show up more prominently in later centuries, depicted on their own or flanking a variety of things: goddesses and gods, humans, pottery, a fight, an altar, animals, Egyptian or Near Eastern Motifs, a sarcophagus, Medusa⁸²².

⁸¹⁷ Baum-vom Felde 2006: 165.

⁸¹⁸ St.M. Nr. Aeg. 18: Oinochoe Winged Sphinx with Goose.

⁸¹⁹ St.M. Nr. Aeg. 20: Two Sphinxes Wearing Helmets; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 30: Alabastron Winged Sphinx with Helmet.

St.M. Nr. Aeg. 37: Corinthian Helmet; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 40: Armour with Upright Standing Pair of Sphinxes.

⁸²⁰ Animals: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 22: Alabastron Winged Sphinx, Bulls and Tree; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 42: Dinos with Sphinxes, Panthers, Goats and Lions; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 43: Amphora Friezes with Sphinxes and Boars; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 46: Plate Two Winged Sphinxes with Animals.

Gods: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 29: Krater Winged Sphinx with Athena.

Religious Rituals: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 31: Loutrophorus Sphinxes, Snake and Chariot Procession.

Egyptian motifs: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 32: Bowl Sphinxes and Griffins Flanking Lotuses.

Other Sphinxes: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 41: Pythos with Sphinxes.

Medusa: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 47: Gorgon Bowl with Sphinxes, Deer, Lions and Siren.

Human (heads): St.M. Nr. Aeg. 36: Pyxis Sphinxes with Lions, Dogs and Human Head; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 49: Chios Bowl with Sphinxes, Female Heads, Oars, Lions and Goats.

For an in-depth analysis of the bull-motif in the ancient Near East: Van Dijk 2011.

⁸²¹ St.M. Nr. Aeg. 19: Finger-ring Pair of Seated Bearded Winged Sphinxes; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 48: Pair of Seated Winged Sphinxes Flanking God Statue.

⁸²² Pair of Sphinxes: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 60: Bronze handle with Recumbent Sphinxes; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 61: Vase Pair of Seated Winged and Crowned Sphinxes; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 118: Finger-ring Pair of Standing Winged Sphinxes. Gods and goddesses: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 50: Pair of Winged Sphinxes Decorating Throne; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 55: Olpe Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Hermes; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 99: Neck-Amphora Two Sphinxes with Apollo.

Humans: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 54: Tripod Pyxis with Sphinxes, Women and Animals.

Pottery: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 57: Tomb Stele with Sphinxes Flanking Loutrophorus.

Fighting: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 62: Krater Pair of Seated Winged Sphinxes Flanking Fight; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 106: Kylix with Sphinxes and Amazon-scene; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 115: Figure Two Sphinxes on Temple Apollo Delphi; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 123: Plate Two Striding Winged Sphinxes with Theseus Killing the Minotaur.

As seen above, pairs of sphinxes can appear in violent contexts, e.g. flanking a fight, but sphinxes on their own, as a pair or in group can also be witnesses of violent actions, participate in them or be the victim of a violent attack⁸²³. Lone sphinxes often do appear on their own, but are also often shown amidst a variety of motifs, including other sphinxes⁸²⁴.

The variety of these motifs and contexts suggests that the sphinx in the Aegean, especially after approximately 800 BC, didn't have a deep symbolic meaning and certainly didn't personify a ruler or god, as it did in Egypt. For the Aegeans, certainly from ca. 900 BC onwards, the creature was purely a monster, not only terrifying to look at, but also dangerous to meet, because it would attack and kill people. But this terrifying aspect of the sphinx soon got lost completely too, and so it rapidly became a mere decorative motif, albeit one that often had a guarding aspect that was mostly used in tombs and near graves⁸²⁵. This guarding aspect it no doubt obtained through its dangerous nature, which made it suited to frighten off everyone. Because when it was being controlled, its powers could be put to positive uses.

There is however one instance where the sphinx is more than merely a decorative motif with a guarding aspect, and that is when it was put on the helmet of the statue of Athena Parthenos, made by Phidias somewhere in the 5th cent. BC (Fig. 63). The statue was lost, but copies dating from a later Roman period show the helmet decorated with a sphinx in the middle, flanked by, and here the sources differ, Pegasus and a griffin, or two griffins. Pausanias (ca. 110-180), the

Egyptian or Near Eastern motifs: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 73: Relief Two Sphinxes with Tree; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 87: Vase Pair of Seated Winged Sphinxes Flanking Tree; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 97: Sculpted Capital Two Sphinxes Behind Hathor; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 120: Pair of Sphinxes Touching Sacred Tree.

Altar: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 76: Relief Altar Winged Standing Sphinxes.

Animals: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 80: Kylix Pair of Sphinxes with Swan.

Sarcophagus: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 103: Sarcophagus Pair of Seated Winged Sphinxes.

Medusa: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 110: Hydria Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Gorgon.

⁸²³ Attacking: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 74: Comb Pair of Sphinxes Attacking Man; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 93: Terracotta Little Master Cup; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 94: Oinochoe Sphinxes and Griffins Attacking Deer; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 112: Amphora Seated Winged Sphinx and Men; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 122: Lekythos Winged Sphinx Attacking Man; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 124: Cut Stone Winged Sphinx with Conquered Man.

Attacked: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 95: Scarab with Sphinx and Satyr; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 116: Lekythos Sphinx Attacked by Oedipus.

⁸²⁴ A selection of motifs:

Alone: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 52: Plate Seated Winged Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 63: Votive Bronze Figure of Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 67: Jasper Scarab with Seated Winged Sphinx; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 88: Marble Sphinx Capital.

Group of Sphinxes: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 58: Lidded Jar with Sphinxes, Goats and Flora.

(Mythological) Animals: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 51: Lid Three Recumbent Sphinxes with Lion; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 69: Marble Lamp with Sphinxes, Griffins and Sirens.

Humans: e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 56: Sphinx/Griffin, Bearded Man and Bes-like Figure; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 65: Amphora with Sphinxes, Woman and Rosettes; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 102: Kylix with Sphinx and Naked Man; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 113: Tomb Stele Seated Winged Sphinx, Youth and Little Girl.

Tomb: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 119: Lekythos Sphinx Looking at Tomb.

Oedipus: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 127: Amphora Oedipus and the Sphinx of Thebes.

⁸²⁵ Schröder 2011: 147; Winkler-Horaček 2011c: 163.

famous historian, mentions the griffins and describes the image in Book I of his *Description of ancient Greece*:

"[1.24.5] The statue itself is made of ivory and gold. On the middle of her helmet is placed a likeness of the Sphinx – the tale of the Sphinx I will give when I come to my description of Boeotia – and on either side of the helmet are griffins in relief.

[1.24.6] These griffins, Aristeas of Proconnesus says in his poem, fight for the gold with the Arimaspi beyond the Issedones. The gold which the griffins guard, he says, comes out of the earth; the Arimaspi are men all born with one eye; griffins are beasts like lions, but with the beak and wings of an eagle. I will say no more about the griffins.

[1.24.7] The statue of Athena is upright, with a tunic reaching to the feet, and on her breast the head of Medusa is worked in ivory. She holds a statue of Victory about four cubits high, and in the other hand a spear; at her feet lies a shield and near the spear is a serpent. This serpent would be Erichthonius. On the pedestal is the birth of Pandora in relief. Hesiod and others have sung how this Pandora was the first woman; before Pandora was born there was as yet no womankind⁸²⁶."



FIG. 63 A: ATHENA PARTHENOS, 5th cent. BC, PHIDIAS (ROMAN COPY FROM THE 2nd C).

FIG. 63 B: ATHENA PARTHENOS, 5th cent. BC, PHIDIAS (ROMAN COPY FROM THE 2nd C), DRAWING.

The goddess Athena was regularly associated with sphinxes and griffins alike (e.g. St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 29, 75), and it seems clear they both had a strong apotropaic and protective function, while acting as companions of the great and famous War-goddess.

⁸²⁶ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Book I: <http://www.theoi.com/Text/Pausanias1B.html#>
For more information on the griffins: 3.2.3.1. Griffins.

7.4 FUNCTION AND MEANING

Although the sphinx motif in the Aegean was taken over from both the Egyptian and the Near Eastern iconography (cf. 3.2.4.4. Human-Headed Lions in the Aegean; 3.3. The Origin of the Sphinx), the meaning of the motif was not, and so the sphinx could be adapted to the own needs soon and get, e.g., specific Aegean traits, like the beautifully expanded wings that even resembled those of a butterfly in some cases⁸²⁷. The reason that the meaning was not adopted, in fact couldn't be adopted, is obvious: Minoans and Mycenaeans clearly had different ideas about kingship and religion as did the Mesopotamians, and certainly the Egyptians⁸²⁸. E.g. the Aegean gods from the myths were thought to be powerful, but not good or evil⁸²⁹. The different meaning led to an adaptation of the imagery very soon, almost immediately after the motif was taken over (18th- 16th cent. BC; the oldest image of a Minoan sphinx dates from around the 18th cent. BC).

As the sphinx in Egypt was primarily the representation of either the pharaoh or a god, it can be assumed safely that the motif was taken over in the Aegean mostly because of its other-worldly, rather exotic and therefore decorative value. This however does not rule out that the creature was deemed to have no meaning at all. Presumably, the human-headed sphinx was believed to have at least some protective or even apotropaic power (like it did in Syro-Mesopotamia); it is often shown "guarding" mostly tombs and graves. The griffin, however, may perhaps have been considered as belonging to a higher order⁸³⁰. When this hawk- or falcon-headed creature appears, it is mostly in a more meaningful context, like the throne room in the Palace of Knossos, where it not only guards the throne of the ruler or a divinity, but also the doorway that led into a shrine off the palace room and on a wall in the Great East Hall, or in Thera on a mural together with a goddess and a monkey, or on a seal where it is shown led by a priest, or on a sarcophagus or a signet ring where a pair of griffins draw a chariot driven by a goddess accompanied by a (presumably) deceased women, or on a ring-seal impression where a pair of griffins flank a ritual procedure involving a goddess and a pair of Minoan

⁸²⁷ E.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 5: Sphinx with Butterfly-wings.

Hogarth 1902: 84; Unger 1928: 336.

⁸²⁸ Demisch 1977: 64.

Unfortunately, however, not much is known about the ideas the Minoans and Mycenaeans had about religion and kingship. For some information about the concept of kings and ruler in Cyprus: Counts 2010. For some information on Minoan-Mycenaean religion: Nilsson 1950, Marinatos 1993; Marinatos 2009.

⁸²⁹ Buxton 1994: 145.

⁸³⁰ Dessenne 1957a: 188.

Genii⁸³¹. The creature here obviously gets connected to a lot of "different" domains: politics, religion, death, although the cultic associations seem to be the strongest⁸³². Another remarkable image is shown on an Alabastron from approximately 1100 BC, where two griffins seem to watch over a nest with two birds in it or even perhaps are fighting over it⁸³³. The meaning of this iconography, however, is completely unknown, although perhaps there could be a reference to fertility. A rather unique image is the one discovered in Thera (ca. 16th cent. BC) where a griffin is depicted hunting in a very exotic Egyptian landscape (cf. 12.3. Hunting Griffin)⁸³⁴.

An obvious difference between Mycenaean sphinxes and the ones from Syro-Mesopotamia and certainly those of Egypt, lies in the energy they have; typical Aegean sphinxes are almost always more actively portrayed, even if they are lying down it seems they are ready to jump to their feet any minute. Almost all Minoan and Mycenaean sphinxes seem to vibrate with life.

But the Minoans and Mycenaeans not only adapted the motif of the sphinx, they took over other imagery too, that in either Egypt or Syro-Mesopotamia, and occasionally Anatolia, was closely connected with the sphinx. An Egyptian influence can be seen, I believe, in the recumbent sphinxes, because Minoans and Mycenaeans preferred more active poses for the creature. But the most prominent example of foreign influence is the Near Eastern Sacred Tree guarded by a pair of sphinxes, where in one case the type of sphinx derives from a type common in Anatolia: the bull-sphinx⁸³⁵. That this motif didn't have the same meaning for the Aegeans as it did for the Mesopotamians, can be assumed because it often was replaced by more decorative geometric "Aegean" elements, like palmettes or rosettes or just left out completely⁸³⁶. This rosette, sometimes a spiral, occasionally occurs when a lone sphinx is depicted too, either as a medallion worn around the neck, or as a design on shoulder or breast⁸³⁷. The iconography of spiral and rosette also occurs on the griffins from the throne-room in Knossos, where each of

⁸³¹ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 6: Griffins Flanking Throne; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 25: Griffins Flanking Shrine-Door; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 18: Antithetical Griffins; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 17: Goddess with Griffin, Monkey & Crocus-Gatherers; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 24: Griffin Led by Priest; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 23: Signet Ring Goddesses in Chariot Drawn by Griffins; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 26: Goddess in Chariot Drawn by Griffins; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 32: Goddess Flanked by Griffins and Genii.

⁸³² Morgan 2010a: 304.

⁸³³ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 36: Alabastron Two Griffins with Nest.

⁸³⁴ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 16: Hunting Griffin.

⁸³⁵ E.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 11: Pectoral with Sphinxes and Stylised Tree; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 14: Vase Bull-sphinxes with Sacred Tree.

⁸³⁶ E.g. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 4: Comb Recumbent Sphinxes with Rosette; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 31: Pair of Recumbent Sphinxes on Shrine.

⁸³⁷ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 7: Winged Sphinx with Breast-spiral; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 8: Winged Sphinx with Rosette-medallion.

the creatures has a lock of hair that ends in a spiral encircling a rosette and on the griffin depicted in Xeste 3 in Akrotiri, where spirals decorate its wings⁸³⁸.

Two seals that have been discovered in Cyprus show even more Near Eastern influence, even so much that it is obvious they either arrived there through trade or exchange, or that they were produced by a Syro-Mesopotamian craftsman that worked in Cyprus. Both seals show two human-headed sphinxes controlled or dominated by a Master of Animals⁸³⁹.

A likewise motif, a composite creature dominated or controlled by a (wo)man, also occurs with griffins (cf. supra), once led by a priest, twice drawing a chariot belonging to a goddess, once flanking a goddess, but there is also one image that shows a human-headed sphinx led by a priest⁸⁴⁰.

The sphinx in a violent context, an iconography that was more common in e.g. the 8th cent. BC (cf. supra), now only occurs once, where it can be seen attacking a deer together with a lion⁸⁴¹.

It seems that the sphinx from the start on was believed to be and was regarded as being a frightening, even dangerous creature as it belonged to the wild⁸⁴². It was not called a sphinx then, just because it belonged to the wild. Its violent nature is the most obvious when it is depicted in fights or when it decorates weapons, helmets and shields, places where its evil-off warding nature also can play an important role. However, this fear-inspiring aspect got turned into an advantage when the creature was launched as a guardian of graves and tombs. This gave it a certain relation to the deceased⁸⁴³.

A second role lay in its being a companion to a divinity or a participant in processions, although it seems that was only possible if the sphinx was under thorough control (drawing a chariot, led

⁸³⁸ Demisch 1977: 64.

For the possible meaning of rosettes and spirals: 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs.

⁸³⁹ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 9: Master of Animals with Pair of Sphinxes; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 10: Pair of Winged Sphinxes Flanking Man.

⁸⁴⁰ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 24: Griffin Led by Priest; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 23: Signet Ring Goddesses in Chariot Drawn by Griffins; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 26: Goddess in Chariot Drawn by Griffins; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 32: Goddess Flanked by Griffins and Genii; Cat.Nr. Aeg. 33: Box Procession with Sphinx and Men.

It may safely be assumed that the griffin standing behind a goddess depicted in Xeste 3 in Akrotiri (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 17) is also controlled by her in a certain way.

For more information on the Aegean Mistress of Animals or 'Potnia Theron': Younger 1995a: 153-154; Barclay 2001. For more general information on the Master/Mistress of Animals-theme: 12.3. Sphinx.Griffin/Crisphinx Under Control.

⁸⁴¹ Cat.Nr. Aeg. 35: Winged Sphinx and Lion Flanking Deer.

⁸⁴² Winkler-Horaček 2011c: 163.

For more information about "the Wild": Winkler-Horaček 2011b: 117-135.

⁸⁴³ For some information on Minoan thoughts about death: Marinatos 1993: 13-37.

or tied by a rope). As such it does not seem it had the same positive status that either the Syro-Mesopotamian or Anatolian sphinxes had when they occurred in similar contexts.

Demisch sees different aspects in the Greek sphinx, aspects that come out depending on the context the sphinx is depicted in: alone or in pair, as antithetical pair, with animals and other composite creatures, on temples, in the round and on architectural elements, as poser of riddles, as Demon of Death or as mere decoration⁸⁴⁴. Demisch does not mention the different functions belonging to these aspects, but these can easily be deduced. It turns out that many of these aspects give the sphinx a general equal meaning, sometimes with some slight nuances, but there are some who stand out, as is shown in STF XXVI: Different Aspects and Functions of the Aegean Sphinx. Some aspects have been added, e.g. as companion of the dead, as I believe that lone sphinxes near graves may represent a *Kere*, although a benevolent one, who awaits the warrior between life and death and who sometimes guards his tomb⁸⁴⁵. The *Kere* as Demon of Death has simply no way of being there, so it must be there in a function as companion of the dead and even as comforter for those who are going to die.

Although images of both Catalogue and Study Material have been included in this overview, it is fair to say many of the images from the 8th cent. BC, being a mix of Near Eastern, Aegean and Egyptian iconography, show the sphinx more as an exotic and therefore interesting motif instead of as a motif with a deep significant meaning. Consequently, most of these images have been left out of the analysis.

<i>STF XXVI - DIFFERENT ASPECTS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE AEGEAN SPHINX</i>		
ASPECTS	MEDIA	MEANING/FUNCTION
Alone/in Pair/Group	In the round + on jewellery + on artefacts + on seals + on pottery + on amulet + on architectural elements + on altar + on coin + on temple	<i>Representative of Protective forces</i> Protective/Apotropaic
With Rosette/Spiral/Sacred Tree/	On jewellery + on seal + on pottery + on architectural elements + on amulet	<i>Representative of Protective forces</i> Protective/Apotropaic
With Sacred Tree and Chariot	On pottery	
With Rosette and Sun-disc		
With Sun-disc and <i>Ankh</i>		
With Procession		<i>Representative of divine powers</i> Supervising (ritual) procedures
With Snake-head Tail		<i>Representative of Protective Forces</i> Enhancing protective powers

⁸⁴⁴ Demisch 1977: 76.

I have adapted this listing to fit the four different regions: only human-headed sphinxes have been considered, but both images from the catalogue and the study material have been included.

⁸⁴⁵ Demisch 1977: 76, 83; Rosch-von der Heyde 1999: 8-9; Westenholtz 2004a (ed.): 36.

<p>With Female Heads With Naked Man With Man</p> <p>Alone with Athena In Pair with Hathor</p> <p>With Palmette/Lotus on Diadem</p> <p>Wearing Helmet On Helmet with Palmette On Armour</p> <p>Pulling War Chariot Pulling Hunting Chariot</p> <p>With Warriors With Fight Between Gods With Fight Between Men</p> <p>With Wine Jar</p>		<p><i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Helping man in his struggle for life</p> <p><i>Companion of Athena</i> Supporting/Enhancing divine powers <i>Companions of Hathor</i> Supporting/Enhancing divine powers</p> <p><i>Representative of Protective Forces</i> Protective/Apotropaic</p> <p><i>Representative of Protective Forces</i> Protective/Apotropaic</p> <p><i>Representative of Protective forces</i> Protective/Apotropaic</p> <p><i>Benevolent Kere</i> Preparing/Accompanying</p> <p><i>Representative of Protective forces</i> Protector of fertility/prosperity</p>
<p>As a Pair with Another Creature With Lion Attacking Deer</p>		<p><i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering Cosmic & Divine Order</p>
<p>Attacking a Goose</p> <p>Attacking a Man Holding Conquered Man</p> <p>Trampling</p>	<p>On artefacts + on pottery</p>	<p><i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering Cosmic & Divine Order OR <i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Helping men in his struggle for life</p> <p><i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering Cosmic & Divine Order</p> <p><i>Representative of Protective Forces</i> Helping man in his struggle for life</p>
<p>Controlled By Bird-Man (Master of An.) By Master of Animals By Satyr By Man (Priest?)</p>	<p>On artefact</p>	<p><i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Submissive/Supporting Enhancing protective powers</p> <p>+ Participating in religious ritual</p>
<p>As Antithetical Pair, Flanking Divinity Hermes Swan (Companion Apollo)</p> <p>Palmettes Palmettes + dog Altar</p>	<p>On architectural elements + on pottery + in the round</p> <p>(On seal)</p>	<p><i>Companion of a God</i> Supporting/enhancing divine powers <i>Companion of Hermes/Apollo</i> Supporting/enhancing divine powers</p> <p><i>Representative of Protective Forces</i> Protective/Apotropaic Supervising (ritual) procedures</p>

Column		<i>Companions of a Deity</i> Supporting/enhancing divine powers
Woman		<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Helping man in his struggle for life
Siren		<i>Companions of the death</i> Accompanying/Comforting
Mythological Scene with Eris⁸⁴⁶ Theseus Killing Minotaur Amazon-scene		<i>Representative of Protective Forces</i> Helping man in his struggle for order
As Pair Flanking a Throne of a God(dess)	In the round	<i>Companions of a deity</i> Supporting/enhancing divine powers
As Antithetical Pair, Looking at Each Other or Looking Away	On pottery + on architectural elements + on artefact + in the round + on armour + on jewellery + on tomb	<i>Representative of Protective Forces</i> Protective/Apotropaic <u>On objects used in rituals:</u> <i>Protective and Guarding Forces</i> Protective/Apotropaic Supervising ritual procedures
With Animals (Bird, Lion, Deer, Bull, Hawk, Dog, Goat, Boar, Oar, Tiger, Leopard, Eagle, Fish) and/or Other Composite Creatures (Bull-sphinx, Griffin, Griffin-bird, Winged Snakes, Sirens), Alone or in Group	On pottery + on jewellery	<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Threatening the divine, cosmic order
As Poser of Riddles With Banqueters⁸⁴⁷ With Oedipus on Amphora	As artefact + on pottery	<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> <i>Ruthless + Terrifying</i> Threatening the divine, cosmic order
As Companion of the Dead (Kere) On/Near Tomb With Snakes, Rosettes, Spirals, Music, Chariot Procession Flanking Loutrophorus	In the round + on pottery	<i>Companion of the death</i> Accompanying/Comforting

The main function of the Aegean sphinxes is to protect and to ward off evil. As trees are the markers of sacred places and symbols of fertility, often replaced in the Aegean by spirals or rosettes, a sphinx near a tree, a spiral or a rosette then must be interpreted as a protective force whose main function is to defend the prosperity of the people and their country.

⁸⁴⁶ Eris is the Greek goddess of discord, quarrel and chaos. She was the cause of the Judgment of Paris, which eventually led to the Trojan War, when she threw a golden apple, the Apple of Discord, with the words "For the Most Beautiful One" written on its surface into a party which was attended by Aphrodite, Athena and Hera.

⁸⁴⁷ Oedipus with sphinx-motif was often found on ceramics used in drinking-bouts, because on these "banquets" one of the main pleasures, besides drinking, was trying to solve riddles: Ilberg 1909-1915: 1371.

Palmettes, however, not only mark the place of death while at the same time signifying life, they also mark the areas where rituals take place, it can be assumed that sphinxes shown flanking these trees were meant to have the same function as the sphinxes in Anatolia: they represent divine powers and are there to control and oversee the procedures that would have taken place there. The same can be said about sphinxes flanking an altar, as this is obviously a place where religious rituals were held, or sphinxes being present at a procession.

Sphinxes flanking a Siren, a creature related to the terror of death, again is part of the realm of death, and can be regarded as a *Kere*, this is a companion of the death who is there to comfort and accompany the deceased and make the transmission between life and death as comfortable as possible. Sphinxes shown on or near tombs and graves or on or next to objects related to funerary practices (e.g. the Loutrophorus) do have the same function. In some cases, when the objects are used in rituals concerning the death, they may also be there to guarantee the correct execution of the procedures.

Sphinxes appearing next to a god or goddess, or a divine symbol (as e.g. the swan or the throne of a god), are there to support and enhance the divine powers. Because columns often were aniconic representations of a divinity, sphinxes shown nearby these pillars also acted as companions of the deity and had the same function. Controlled sphinxes show their submissive and supporting status, or, in the case of control by a priest, even the fact that they are participating in a ritual.

When sphinxes are shown with other animals and/or composite creatures, they represent the wild that shatters the order of the world. Because both the myths about Eris and the Minotaur stand for chaos, discord, danger..., sphinxes supervising the scenes wherein these creatures are driven away or killed by men do appear to be on the other side as they seem to be there to support man in his fight for cosmic and divine order⁸⁴⁸. This same function, helping man-kind

⁸⁴⁸ Hesiod in *Works and Days* mentions two different goddesses with the name Eris:

(ll. 11-24) "So, after all, there was not one kind of Strife alone, but all over the earth there are two. As for the one, a man would praise her when he came to understand her; but the other is blameworthy: and they are wholly different in nature. For one fosters evil war and battle, being cruel: her no man loves; but perforce, through the will of the deathless gods, men pay harsh Strife her honour due. But the other is the elder daughter of dark Night, and the son of Cronos who sits above and dwells in the aether, set her in the roots of the earth: and she is far kinder to men. She stirs up even the shiftless to toil; for a man grows eager to work when he considers his neighbour, a rich man who hastens to plough and plant and put his house in good order; and neighbour vies with his neighbour as he hurries after wealth. This Strife is wholesome for men. And potter is angry with potter, and craftsman with craftsman, and beggar is jealous of beggar, and minstrel of minstrel." : Hesiod (ca. 700 BC): II. lines 11-24: <http://omacl.org/Hesiod/works.html>

In *Theogony*, Hesiod expands on the awful character of Strife/Eris:

in its struggle for life, is also acted out by sphinxes flanking a (naked) man, a woman or female heads, while again the opposite, namely by representing the wild, endangering the ordered life of man, could be the meaning of the sphinxes depicted attacking a man or holding a conquered man down.

Perhaps the most difficult to interpret are the sphinxes shown with Oedipus or with banqueters; they function here as poser of riddles, ruthless and terrifying, personifications of the wild and uncontrollable forces. Is it possible, as is sometimes suggested (cf. *supra*), that they are shown here as possessors of wisdom and knowledge unknown to men, or are they merely shown as creatures who disturb the order in the world of men?

(226-232) "*But abhorred Strife bore painful Toil and Forgetfulness and Famine and tearful Sorrows, Fightings also, Battles, Murders, Manslaughters, Quarrels, Lying Words, Disputes, [230] Lawlessness and Ruin, all of one nature, and Oath who most troubles men upon earth when anyone wilfully swears a false oath.*": Hesiod (ca. 700 BC): lines 226-232:
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0130%3Acard%3D207>

7.5 CONCLUSION AEGEAN

Although it might seem at first glance that the Aegean sphinx was purely a decorative motif, it clearly was more than that. Its meaning seems to differ from sphinxes in the other regions, but in fact has much in common with the sphinxes from other areas. Of the 36 images belonging to the period from 1600-800 BC, only a minority belong to the political sphere (15), only five were found belonging to the previous period, and these are hard to categorise⁸⁴⁹.

As in the other regions, the sphinx also played an apotropaic or protective role, and this is most obvious with the depictions of the sphinxes that can be seen guarding not only thrones, but also doorways, rosettes or Sacred Trees. Yet it seems the most common places the sphinx was acting as guard were tombs, graves and on objects related to fights and war⁸⁵⁰. It appears it got this function because of its wild nature and fierce character, which would frighten away any threats. Westenholz states its role on the battlefield was that of a benevolent *Kere*, as companion of the dead, even as comforter for those who are going to die, and to accompany the victims to the Underworld.

A second major role for the Aegean sphinx was as a participant in religious procedures or rituals, but even there its violent character is not forgotten as it is always shown under control of a divinity or a priest, or simply tied with a rope.

As in Anatolia, the sphinx could have a negative meaning. When it is depicted with other composite creatures or with animals, it suggests the wild which presents danger for both men and cosmic order. In the Aegean, this is even represented more directly, when the sphinx attacks a person (e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 74).

⁸⁴⁹ Cf. STF XXIV Images from the Aegean.

⁸⁵⁰ Westenholz 2004a: 36; Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2010: 100.

8 SOME KEY MOTIFS & THEMES

Some motifs are remarkable or important in that they re-occur often in one region or occur in different regions. It seems that all these iconographies contain a certain aspect of aggression or domination, be it explicit or more hidden, direct or indirect. Remarkably, the ram-headed sphinx never occurs in these common motifs. The sphinx or griffin can either be the aggressor themselves (as in the images where the composite creature tramples or holds an enemy by force) or they can be the one at or on which the aggression or control is directed (as in the images with the Master of Animals).


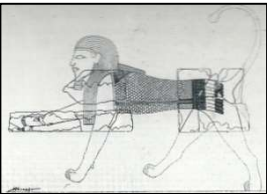





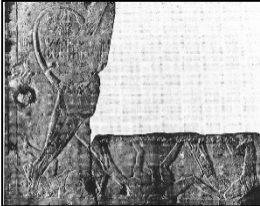

It all starts with the composite creature trampling, smothering or slaying an enemy. This was most certainly an originally Egyptian motif, as most ones that are found in the other regions (Syro-Mesopotamia and the Aegean, the theme does not occur in Anatolia) are without a doubt either strongly influenced by Egyptian art, modelled after Egyptian examples or even made by Egyptian craftsmen themselves.

The next theme, that does not occur in Egypt this time, is strongly related to the first one, the hybrid attacking, although the victims this time are no abstract general human enemies, but instead animals (Aegean: goose, deer, gazelle and Syro-Mesopotamia: goat, serpents) or composite creatures (Syro-Mesopotamia: winged bull and Anatolia: winged horse)

The third often recurring theme, again not occurring in Egypt, is the sphinx or griffin controlled or dominated by either a male or female person, by a god, a hero or a composite creature. Though often it is a Master or Mistress of Animals that overpowers a pair of the composite beings, this is not always the case. In some images, mostly from Syro-Mesopotamia and the Aegean, a lone sphinx or griffin is held or led by a rope or stick, in other ones, mostly from the Aegean, a pair of them are pulling a chariot.

The last often recurring motif is at first sight not violent at all but is immediately suggestive of protection and is seen by some investigators as a deviation of the main Master/Mistress of Animals motif. This time the composite creatures, sphinx or griffin, are depicted flanking the throne of either rulers, their wives, or divinities. It is first seen in Egypt, but can be found in all four regions.

8.1 SPHINX/GRIFFIN/CRIOSPHINX TRAMPLING ...

STF XXVII - SPHINX/GRIFFIN/CRIOSPHINX TRAMPLING ...				
	<i>SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA</i>	<i>EGYPT</i>	<i>AEGEAN</i>	<i>ANATOLIA</i>
FIRST	<i>19th-18th cent. BC</i>  <i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 17</i>	<i>24th-23rd cent. BC</i>  <i>St.M. Nr. Eg. 6</i>	<i>8th cent. BC</i>  <i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 10</i>	
LAST	<i>8th cent. BC</i>  <i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 37</i>	<i>7th-6th cent. BC</i>  <i>St.M. Nr. Eg. 43</i>	<i>6th-5th cent. BC</i>  <i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 124</i>	
GRIFFIN	<i>9th-7th cent. BC</i>  <i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 80</i>	<i>26th-25th cent. BC</i>  <i>St.M. Nr. Eg. 5</i>		
CRIOSPHINX				
REMARKABLE		<i>20th-18th cent. BC</i>  <i>St.M. Nr. Eg. 18</i>		

The pharaoh trampling an enemy was a very powerful iconography in Egypt from the early days on, which, of course, makes sense, as it shows the king in the most militant, warlike aspect

of his function⁸⁵¹. 13 images of sphinxes trampling slain enemies have been found here (one of the sphinxes was female, Cat.Nr. Eg. 64, three of them were griffins). These enemies are usually represented as Asians or Nubians who symbolise the Stranger and thus Chaos. Order is only there where the pharaoh rules. The motif not only shows this aspect of the function of the pharaoh (maintaining the cosmic order), but also enhances it in the most penetrating and convincing way (Fig. 64).



FIG. 64: DETAILS NARMER PALLET, EARLY 3RD MILL. BC, CAIRO, EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, CG 14716.

That the pharaoh was represented sometimes by animals or composite creatures that only fortified the aura of the meaning, is attested by e.g. an image on the back of the same Narmer Pallet, where it is a bull that is towering over a fallen enemy. As mentioned before, in early times the king was often represented by a bull or by a lion (Fig. 65), although the imagery of the bull was abandoned after a while.



FIG. 65: DETAIL BATTLEFIELD OR VULTURE PALET, RELIEF, MUDSTONE, 19.6 x 28.7 CM, NAQADA III, LATE 4TH MILL. BC, LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, 1888,0512.64.

⁸⁵¹ Ilberg 1895: 220; Demisch 1977: 30; Fischer 1987: 17; Rösch-von der Heyde 1999: 3; Schmitt 2001: 11-13; Warmenbol 2006: 17; Dubiel 2011: 12-14.

For more information about the pharaoh/sphinx trampling his enemies: Demisch 1977: 30-33; Hall 1986 (only in human form, not as a sphinx).

Thirteen images of trampling sphinxes were found in Egypt, and only one of these composite creatures was female and represented a Queen (Cat.Nr. Eg. 64), while three griffins were depicted in the same manner, the first one already during the 5th Dyn. in the Tomb of Sahure in Abusir (St.M. Nr. Eg. 5)⁸⁵². The queen represented as a trampling sphinx is a unique image, because, originally, only the pharaoh could be represented as such⁸⁵³. As said before, this depiction of queen Tiye attests of the high reputation the wife of a pharaoh, the Great Royal Wife, attained during the 18th Dyn. The seat on which the trampling queen is depicted and on which she is sitting, is very special while it contains a complexity of symbols; e.g. the queen as trampling sphinx symbolizes her domination over hostile women.

However, one remarkable image found in Egypt deserves some attention (St.M. Nr. Eg. 18). It is a fragment of an ivory figurine that shows a sphinx that holds a captive instead of trampling upon it (Fig. 66)⁸⁵⁴. This figurine has been studied by many researchers because it stands out from the common Egyptian visual language and because it is the only known three-dimensional representation of a sphinx holding a captive until now⁸⁵⁵. Only the front part of the sphinx is shown, while the prisoner lies on his belly before it between the front paws. Yet it is believed the figure is complete, while two peg-holes at the bottom suggest it was fastened to a throne or chair, a box or chest or some other piece of furniture. The sphinx wears a *Nemes*, topped with a *Uraeus*, but the head of the snake has broken off. The prisoner seems to be naked, except for a belt around his waist and a short kilt; his hair is close-cropped.



FIG. 66: IVORY SPHINX WITH CAPTIVE, 20th cent. BC, IVORY, 6,1 x 2,9 CM, LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, 1920,0214.11 (St.M. Nr. Eg. 18).

⁸⁵² Dessenne 1957a: 16; Schmitz 1986: 306; Lurker 1996: 55-56; Zouzoula 2007: 93; Dubiel 2011: 17.

⁸⁵³ Osirisnet.net.

⁸⁵⁴ For more information about its discovery and the context it was found in: Garstang 1928.

⁸⁵⁵ Garstang 1928; Schweitzer 1948: Pl. IX, 3; Dessenne 1957a: 42; Demisch 1977: 31 + fig. 67; Bourriau and Quirke 1988: 136-138 + fig. 138; Hein (ed.) 1994: 263 Kat. Nr. 362; Ziegler 2002: 426 Cat. 97; Petschel, von Falck a.o. 2004: 30-31, Cat Nr.14; Strudwick 2006: 100-101; Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: 143 Cat 82.










For years after the excavation of the ivory figurine in 1908 by John Garstang, researchers thought the sphinx personified a Hyksos king of the 15th Dyn. who held the head of an Egyptian prisoner between its front paws. This identification was based on the exaggerated facial features of the sphinx (e.g. extremely large eyes, long hooked nose and high cheekbones) and it led to a dating in the Second Intermediate Period. However, more recent studies of the figure and its stylistic features, and a closer examination of the context in which it was found (a context that was too disturbed to give exclusion of the dating), lead to an earlier dating in the 12th Dyn. and an identification of an Egyptian pharaoh, possibly perhaps Senwosret I (ca. 1961-1917 BC), with a Nubian, the most common of Egyptian enemies.

Syro-Mesopotamia only had five images of a trampling sphinx and about four trampling griffins, but practically all these images were on plaques that belonged to the booty that was found in Fort Shalmaneser of which the origin is not known and which all show an undeniable Egyptian influence. Only three objects showing a series of trampling sphinxes were found in Phoenicia (St.M. Nr. Mes. 37) and Syria (St.M. Nrs. Mes. 17, 19) respectively. It is possible that the trampling sphinx from Phoenicia lacks the intent meaning the iconography had in e.g. Egypt or in earlier days. The sphinxes on this bronze bowl show an eclectic mix of motifs which probably lost their original meaning and were only chosen because of their ornamental value: the elegantly extended wings (Aegean), the headdress resembling the White Crown (Egypt), and the motif itself (Egyptian). But the sphinx on the clay seal from Qatna does represent the king, as this was a royal seal that was found in the palace; the creature even wears the Egyptian Double-Crown topped with a *Uraeus*⁸⁵⁶. The seal belonging to I'aud Addu of the kingdom of Buzuran in northern Syria also may be regarded as a royal seal.

While Anatolia hasn't got any images of trampling sphinxes or griffins, the Aegean yielded three trampling sphinxes, two of which came from Cyprus, both datable to the 8th cent. BC. One of these is very Egyptian in style (St.M. Nr. Aeg. 10); the other was Phoenician, a culture that is known for its merging of styles into a very recognizable iconography and style of its own (St.M. Nr. Aeg. 6).

⁸⁵⁶ Aruz 2015: 47.

8.2 SPHINX/GRIFFIN/CRIOSPHINX ATTACKING...

STF XXVIII - SPHINX/GRIFFIN/CRIOSPHINX ATTACKING...				
	SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	EGYPT	AEGEAN	ANATOLIA
FIRST	19 th cent. BC  St.M. Nr. Mes. 18		7 th cent. BC  St.M. Nr. Aeg. 18	
LAST	9 th cent. BC  Cat.Nr. Mes. 19		6 th cent. BC  St.M. Nr. Aeg. 74	
GRIFFIN	7 th -6 th cent. BC  St.M. Nr. Mes. 62		6 th cent. BC  St.M. Nr. Aeg. 94	
CRIOSPHINX				
REMARKABLE	9 th cent. BC  Cat.Nr. Mes. 18		16 th cent. BC  Cat.Nr. Aeg. 16 ⁸⁵⁷ .	10 th cent. BC  Cat.Nr. An. 11

In Egypt, the sphinx is never depicted attacking, but in Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant sphinxes are shown attacking or fighting e.g. a wild goat or a winged bull. In an earlier period, the sphinx is trampling serpents and once it is shown in an animal combat. The image of the sphinx trampling serpents (St.M. Nr. Mes. 18) reminds one inevitably of the images of sphinxes and griffins trampling an enemy and probably also had the same connotation.

The pair of sphinxes attacking a winged bull as shown on Cat.Nr. Mes. 18 are rather remarkable because, as has been said before, the bull also had a special meaning in Syro-Mesopotamia. Unfortunately, however, not much is known about context or even finding location of this image

⁸⁵⁷ For more detailed information: 12.3 Hunting Griffin.














(although Demisch states the image was a relief on an architectural structure), so that the meaning remains vague, to say the least (cf. 4.4 Function and Meaning of the Sphinx in Syro-Mesopotamia). Another image that deserves attention is on a seal from the 7th or 6th cent. BC, again without known location (St.M. Nr. Mes. 62). A winged, crowned sphinx is threatened by a winged griffin or griffin-demon, which in its turn is attacked by an armed (bow and arrow), crowned and winged centaur with scorpion-tail. This iconography is unique, because, although sphinxes and griffins often occur together, this is the only image in which they seem to be enemies.

In Anatolia, there has been found only one architectural relief (dating from the 10th cent. BC) on which a pair of sphinxes attacks a winged horse (Cat.Nr. An. 11). This image is unusual in that the attacking sphinxes are female (Hathor-curls), who generally appear rather static. The Aegean is the only region in which sphinxes attack men, and not in the way this happened in the previous motif, sphinxes or griffins trampling the enemy, because now the enemy is shown standing up, and not already defeated or slain (e.g. 6th cent. BC: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 74; 6th-5th cent. BC: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 122). Also in the Aegean, the only images of griffins and sphinxes hunting have been found (once in the 16th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 16; once in the 6th cent. BC; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 94).

The reversal of this iconography, images of sphinxes being attacked are extremely rare and in some regions, even non-existent. One of the most remarkable images is a seal showing an archer driving in a chariot pulled by a sphinx while he aims his arrow at a second sphinx (Cat.Nr. Mes. 32). Two other Syro-Mesopotamian seals also show an archer aiming at a sphinx (Cat.Nrs. Mes. 35 and 83). On yet another Syro-Mesopotamian seal, already mentioned, a griffin attacks a winged sphinx, (St.M. Nr. Mes. 62; cf. supra). Two other seals show a sphinx attacked by a Hero (St.M. Nrs. Mes. 64, 75).

In the other regions, no images of sphinxes being attacked were found except for one in the Aegean, where one Lekythos, a vase used in a funerary context, shows the sphinx that was attacked by Oedipus (6th cent. BC: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 116).

8.3 SPHINX/GRIFFIN/CRIOSPHINX UNDER CONTROL...

STF XXIX - SPHINX/GRIFFIN/CRIOSPHINX UNDER CONTROL...				
	<i>Syro-Mesopotamia</i>	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>Aegean</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>
FIRST	30 th -24 th cent. BC  <i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 1</i>		15 th -11 th cent. BC  <i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 9</i>	19 th -18 th cent. BC  <i>St.M. Nr. An. 6</i>
LAST	6 th -4 th cent. BC  <i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 67</i>		6 th cent. BC  <i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 95</i>	10 th cent. BC  <i>Cat.Nr. An. 7</i>
GRIFFIN	6 th -4 th cent. BC  <i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 72</i>		15 th cent. BC  <i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 24</i>	
CRIOSPHINX				
REMARKABLE	15 th cent. BC  <i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 1.</i> 13 th -11 th cent. BC  <i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 91⁸⁵⁸.</i> 9 th -8 th cent. BC  <i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 32.</i>		16 th -15 th cent. BC  <i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 23⁸⁵⁹.</i> 14 th cent. BC  <i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 26⁸⁶⁰.</i>	

⁸⁵⁸ For more information: 12.5. Gold and Silver Appliqué with Pair of Sphinxes.

⁸⁵⁹ For more information: 12.4 Goddess/Chariot Drawn by Griffins.

⁸⁶⁰ For more information: 12.4 Goddess/Chariot Drawn by Griffins.

Sphinxes and griffins held under control or dominated in one way or another, were motifs that were often depicted in Syro-Mesopotamia (ca. 26 images), and, on a lesser scale, in the Aegean (ca. 13 images), but not at all in Egypt and only four times in Anatolia⁸⁶¹. In general, this motif, be it one animal under control of man or another creature, or the "real" Master/Mistress of Animals-motif, is a symbol of power or victory; more specifically it can refer to the domination of men over chaos and nature⁸⁶². At the same time, the motif has an apotropaic quality. When the Master or Mistress does not hold the subdued animals or creatures, it simply means they are worshipping him/her from their own free will and can be regarded perhaps more as attributes of the divinity.

To separate the motif of mere control from the actual Master/Mistress of Animals-motif, Marinatos gives the following definition of the latter: "*a deity who holds two wild animals in a position of submission or subjugation*". This definition, however, is too narrow, because the Master can also be a hero (e.g. in Syro-Mesopotamia) or a king (perhaps in the Aegean), or even a composite creature, although the Mistress probably always is a goddess or at least a divine power. Marinatos claims the power of the Mistress of Animals is enhanced when she is depicted naked⁸⁶³. In one case (Cat.Nr. Mes. 1) even a sphinx itself is the Master of Animals. When the controlling figure has wings, it belongs without a doubt to a mythical world (e.g. in Cat.Nr. Mes. 119, where the god Marduk is represented with four wings).

On the Anatolian images, the sphinx is controlled twice by a male and twice by a goddess. A goddess is only once in control of a sphinx in the Aegean, and here three times the sphinx is seen pulling a (war- or hunting-) chariot. Once the Master of Animals is another composite creature, more specifically a bird-man (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 9), an image that possibly found its origin in Syro-Mesopotamia (cf. St.M. Nr. Mes. 1)⁸⁶⁴. The same origin can be assumed with an Aegean image depicted on a 14th cent. BC seal (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 10), which shows a male controlling two sphinxes. Only one time an Aegean sphinx is led on a rope by a man (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 33), but this motif is seen twice with griffins instead of sphinxes (Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 17, 24). Once the griffin is tied by a rope to a column (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 18). Generally, it is assumed these columns are sacred and may be an aniconic representation of a deity or a symbol representing a sanctuary or a shrine⁸⁶⁵. Two remarkable Aegean images show a chariot pulled by two griffins

⁸⁶¹ For some examples from the Aegean: Tamvaki 1974: 282-286.

⁸⁶² Marinatos 1993: 167, 169; Marinatos 2000: 16; Buchholz 2006: 192; Counts 2010: 138; Crowley 2010: 75.

⁸⁶³ Cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs + 4. The Sphinx in Mesopotamia.

⁸⁶⁴ Arguments for the Near Eastern origin of the Aegean Master/Mistress of Animals: Barclay 2001.

⁸⁶⁵ Evans 1901; Delplace 1967: 6; Cameron 1976: 156; Rousioti 2001: 309; Zouzoula 2007: 157.

carrying two women, probably goddesses⁸⁶⁶. The griffin depicted behind the goddess shown in Xeste 3 in Akrotiri (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 17) is also tethered by a rope.

Syro-Mesopotamian sphinxes are controlled only once by a goddess, thrice by a god, and several times (9) they are depicted near the God-Boat, while in later centuries it is often a Hero that dominates sphinxes (7th-5th cent. BC: 4 times) and once a griffin. As said before, Syro-Mesopotamian sphinxes are often controlled by mythological or other composite creatures, like a winged genius (5 times) or a bird-man or bird-headed demon⁸⁶⁷. Once, a man is standing on each one, while a gigantic bearded figure the men are attacking also stands on the sphinxes. Because this iconography is rather unique, it will be discussed and analysed more in detail in chapter 12 (cf. 12.5. Gold and Silver Appliqué with Pair of Sphinxes).

Two Syro-Mesopotamian images are also interesting; one has been talked about before (Cf. 8.2. Sphinx/Griffin/Criosphinx Attacking...). One of these images shows an archer sitting in a chariot pulled by a sphinx while he is aiming his arrow at a second sphinx (9th-8th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Mes. 32). On an older seal (15th cent. BC) is a depiction of a sphinx as a Master of Animals itself, holding two lions (Cat.Nr. Mes. 1).

The motif of the Syro-Mesopotamian Master of Animals probably evolved out of the so-called "contest scenes" and could be looked upon as a symmetrical variant of these, mostly occurring on seals⁸⁶⁸. The theme was very popular in the 3rd mill. BC. Its original meaning, namely the protection of mostly domestic animals, would have been quite forgotten in later periods, when it will function mainly as a powerful symbol of control. The early Syro-Mesopotamian Mistresses of Animals were mostly depicted in non-symmetrical compositions or, very often, while standing on an animal. The symmetrical variant only appears in the 2nd mill. BC., but this motif will remain rare.

Some researchers think the motif of a person depicted with only one animal/hybrid, is not a Master/Mistress of Animals. Counts suggests calling these Master of e.g. the Griffin and Crowley calls these figures "Lords", e.g. "Griffin Lords" to separate them from the symmetrical Master of the Animals-motif, and thinks they are deities. Kopaka, however, states (and I think

⁸⁶⁶ Demisch 1977: 66, 75 + fig. 178.

Cf. 12.4. Goddess/Chariot Drawn by Griffins.

⁸⁶⁷ For some general information about the Mesopotamian Master and Mistress of Animals: Barclay 2001: 374-378.

⁸⁶⁸ Marinatos 1993: 167; Crowley 1995: 484-489; Barclay 2001: 374-377; Kopaka 2001: 18; Thomas and Wedde 2001: 9; Rehak 2002: 46; Zouzoula 2007: 158; Counts 2010: 138.

she has a point here), that it is virtually impossible to distinguish between men and their gods, although, off course, figures who handle hybrids must have a special status. Thomas and Wedde in their turn suggest that it is the context that is determinant for identifying a deity, and not the beast. It is thus for a big part the relationship with other motifs/symbols that creates meaning, so the fact that the griffin on e.g. Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 17 and 24 is held by a rope suggests undoubtedly taming and controlling the creature.

The first Aegean Master of Animals is difficult to identify; possibly an ivory stamp from Trapeza may be one of the first, as it shows an unclear human figure between two animals (Fig. 67)⁸⁶⁹. Only from the Late Minoan Period onwards, when the images get more realistic and naturalistic, the motif of the Master of Animals gets clearly defined.



FIG. 67: AEGEAN STAMP SEAL WITH MASTER OF ANIMALS (?), EARLY MINOAN, TRAPEZA, CMS II.1 442b.

In the Aegean, it was believed the Master/Mistress of Animals had to use a specific kind of magic to control the animals⁸⁷⁰. A very popular attendant of the Aegean Master/Mistress of Animals is the lion, but other animals and mythical creatures, e.g. goats, leopards, deer, monkeys, griffins, are also depicted as the companions of the deity⁸⁷¹. However, some scholars believe, there are also some noteworthy animals that never seem to attend a deity; the bull, e.g. is never depicted with a Master/Mistress of Animals, and, it seems, also is never portrayed with wings⁸⁷². However, Marinatos and Crowley both have one example that shows a Bull-Lord and Master of Animals with bulls respectively⁸⁷³. The identity of both Master and Mistress in the Aegean remains a bit unclear; the Mistress probably represented a superhuman or even a divine

⁸⁶⁹ Crowley 2010: 77.

For more information on the (Minoan) Master/Mistress of Animals: Barclay 2001; Kopaka 2001; Counts and Arnold 2010; Crowley 2010. For more information about the *Potnia Theron*: Barclay 2001.

⁸⁷⁰ Wunsch 1916-1924: 937.

For more information on the iconography of the lion in the Aegean: Buchholz 2006.

For more information on the Master/Mistress of Leopards: Nys and Bretschneider 2007: 574-577.

⁸⁷¹ For more information on the Mistress of Goats: Hiller 2001.

⁸⁷² Zouzoula 2007: 293; Crowley 2010: 79.

⁸⁷³ Marinatos 1993: 167 + fig. 156; Crowley 2010: 88 Fig. 42 (CMS VII 102).

power, but the Master could be a king, a hero, or a Mycenaean warrior-hunter, a genius or a hybrid human, a deity Lord, or even a counterpart of the Mistress⁸⁷⁴.

Cameron argues that the Minoan Mistress of Animals, who was initially preferred over the motif of the Master, evolved out of a hunting goddess who controlled all the animals and who was always flanked by two heroically or antithetically (mythical) creatures flanking her⁸⁷⁵. As a goddess of nature, she might have had a special interest in the bull-leaping ritual, which was connected to fertility. Cameron also reasons, starting from the pictorial program of the palace of Knossos, that the epiphany of this Mistress of Animals was the centre of the Minoan religion. The "status" of the Mistress of Animals, or *Potnia Theron*, was then later taken over by the goddess Artemis. Other scholars, e.g. Chittenden, Crowley, Barclay and Marinatos, point to the East for the origin of the Aegean Mistress of Animals⁸⁷⁶. It would have arrived from Syro-Mesopotamia and Syria by way of the Levant and Egypt.

Arnold and Counts commence their introduction to *The Master of Animals in Old World Iconography* with a bible-quote, where God gives men dominance above every other living creature:

"Then God said, "Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the wild animals of the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth." So, God created humankind in his image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them. God blessed them, and God said to them, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth"⁸⁷⁷." (NRSV, Gen. 1:26–28)

They also refer to a similar passage from Greek mythology, where Zeus gives Hermes the same dominion⁸⁷⁸:

"Take these, Son of Maia, and tend the wild, roving, horned oxen and horses and patient mules. So, he spake. And from heaven father Zeus himself gave confirmation to his words and commanded that glorious Hermes should be lord over all birds of omen and grim eyed lions and boars with gleaming tusks and over dogs and all flocks that the wide earth nourishes, and over all sheep⁸⁷⁹. (Hom. Herm. 568–572)

Of course, this is part of the idea underlying the supremacy motif, whether it means protection or domination, but the theme stands for a lot more. With it, a whole notion of values and

⁸⁷⁴ Barclay 2001: 379; Crowley 2010: 88.

⁸⁷⁵ Cameron 1976: 131, 156, 158; Barclay 2001: 378; Laffineur 2001: 387.

⁸⁷⁶ Chittenden 1947: 105-113; Crowley 1989: 272; Marinatos 1993: 167; Barclay 2001.

⁸⁷⁷ Arnold and Counts 2010: 9.

⁸⁷⁸ For more information about the god Hermes and his power over beasts: Chittenden 1947.

⁸⁷⁹ Arnold and Counts 2010: 9.

concepts is expressed, that is basically the same in all regions: the hierarchy of power, the struggle between good and evil, the defeat of chaos and the defence of cosmic and divine order, in short: the struggle for life. The theme refers to contrasted pairs of concepts that are fundamental to human life in all its aspects: wild-tamed, strength-weakness, human-divine, culture-nature, authority-subordination, order-chaos, life-death. Or, as again Arnold and Counts put it:








*"[...] the struggle between the king/ hero/god and the animal(s) acts metaphorically, to convey a variety of social and religious concepts, as well as hierarchically, to organize and challenge the natural world"*⁸⁸⁰.

The motif of the Master (or Mistress) of Animals seems to be a complex one, that can shift slightly in meaning depending upon the region or context it is used in⁸⁸¹. In general, however, it can be assumed that it symbolizes dualistic relations, e.g. mild-fierce, weak-strong, tamed-wild, nature-culture, earthly-divine, subordinated-authorative, death-life, chaos-order, and this on different levels (socio-economic, political and religious).

⁸⁸⁰ Arnold and Counts 2010: 13.

⁸⁸¹ Arnold and Counts 2010: 16.

8.4 SPHINX/GRIFFIN/CRIOSPHINX FLANKING/DECORATING THRONE⁸⁸²

STF XXX - SPHINX/GRIFFIN/CRIOSPHINX FLANKING/DECORATING THRONE...				
	SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	EGYPT	AEGEAN	ANATOLIA
FIRST	13 th -12 th cent. BC  Cat.Nr. Mes. 7	16 th cent. BC  Cat.Nr. Eg. 51	7 th -6 th cent. BC  St.M. Nr. Aeg. 50	7 th -5 th cent. BC  St.M. Nr. An. 18
LAST	7 th cent. BC  St.M. Nr. Mes. 54	4 th cent. BC  St.M. Nr. Eg. 57		
GRIFFIN			15 th cent. BC  Cat.Nr. Aeg. 6	
CRIOSPHINX				

A sphinx-throne can be defined as a ceremonial piece of furniture, either royal or divine, decorated with female or male sphinxes⁸⁸³. The concept of these thrones was popular in Egypt and with Near Eastern civilisations. In the Levantine art, the concept was adopted, and, in the very first examples, e.g. the ivory strip from Megiddo (ca. 13th-12th cent. BC; Cat.Nr. Mes. 7) and the sarcophagus of Ahiram (ca. 11th cent. BC; Cat.Nr. Mes. 96) adapted, as the sphinxes are literally supporting the seat instead of merely flanking it, as is common with later Levantine sphinxes and in the Egyptian prototypes⁸⁸⁴.

⁸⁸² A standard work for sphinxes and griffins next to thrones: Metzger 1985: 259-279; Phoenician sphinxes: Gubel 1987: 37-75 + cat. 1-31 for sphinx-thrones, 75-80 + cat. 32 for sphinx-stools.

⁸⁸³ Gubel 1987: 37, 49

⁸⁸⁴ Gubel 1987: 73. For the evolution in the Phoenician sphinx-thrones: Gubel 1987: 73-75.

According to Gubel, the sphinx-thrones can be seen in the same light as the Sacred Tree, i.e. as the seat of all life⁸⁸⁵. Hitchcock recently suggested that the motif of animals/composite creatures flanking a throne might be in fact a variant of the Master/Mistress of Animals motif⁸⁸⁶. This is a hypothesis worth considering, because to have the composite creatures flanking your throne means without a doubt that they are obedient and thus are under control.

Once, in the 7th or 6th cent. BC, Aegean sphinxes decorate the throne of a female, possibly a goddess (St.M. Nr. Aeg. 50). Cretan and Mycenaean sphinxes are never depicted next to a throne and only once the throne in a Minoan palace is flanked by two griffins which are painted on the wall to the left and the right of the throne in Knossos (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 6; cf. 7. The Sphinx in the Aegean – 1600-800 BC). The throne in Knossos, however, Hitchcock states, was never meant for a ruler; it was intended to remain empty and this sacred emptiness suggested a divine presence⁸⁸⁷. Or, as Zouzoula suggests: *"the areas decorated with griffins in the Knossos Throne room are where the re-enactment of the goddess' epiphany is thought to have taken place."* On the other hand, Morgan believes the throne was meant to be used by a priestess personating a goddess; by being flanked by griffins, she took on the role of a Mistress of Animals.

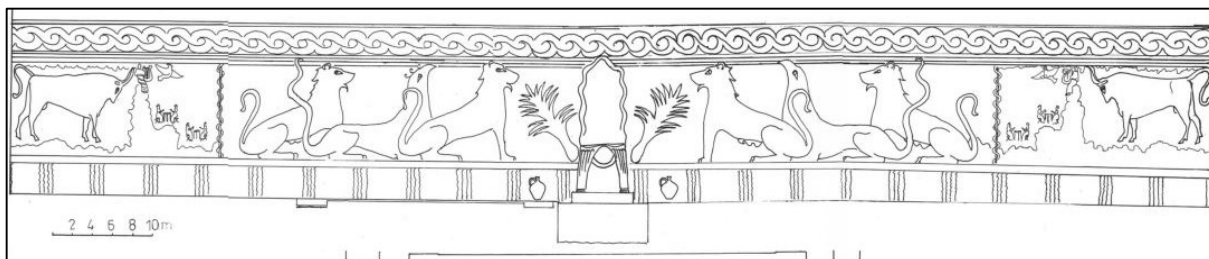


FIG. 68: THRONE ROOM PYLOS, 13TH CENT. BC (RECONSTRUCTION BY YOUNGER)

The throne situated at the north-east wall from the Throne Room in Pylos was also flanked by wingless griffins (and lions), but here also it is not clear if the throne was meant to remain empty (Fig. 68)⁸⁸⁸. If it had an occupant, the fact that it was flanked by griffins (and lions) suggests that this person ranked high in the hierarchy (religious or otherwise) of the state.

⁸⁸⁵ Gubel 1987: 54. For his arguments: 53-57 + fig. 5.

⁸⁸⁶ Hitchcock 2010.

⁸⁸⁷ Morgan 2005c: 28; Zouzoula 2007: 275-276; Hitchcock 2010.

⁸⁸⁸ Hägg 1985: 216; Younger 1995a: 163; Morgan 2005c: 29; Bennet 2007: 12-13; Zouzoula 2007: 276.

For more information on feasts in the so-called Nestor Palace at Pylos: Wesolowski 2006.

For more information about the function of the Mycenaean Megaron: Farmer and Lane 2012.

For more information about the Megaron at Pylos: Farmer 2011.

For more information on "Representations of power in Mycenaean Pylos": Bennet 2007.

Another example of a possible empty throne, flanked by sphinxes this time, has been found in the Phoenician temple of Astarte in Sidon (Lebanon) (Fig. 69)⁸⁸⁹.

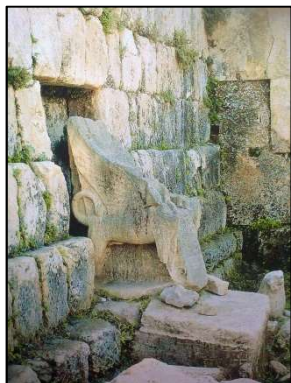


FIG. 69: THRONE OF ASTARTE IN THE TEMPLE OF ESHMUN IN SIDON, 6TH CENT. BC.

Although nowhere else griffins are used to decorate thrones, and in fact they only occur twice in the Aegean too in this function, the mural and throne of the Throne room in Knossos and in Pylos are reminiscent of several thrones in Egypt, the Near East and Greece that are decorated with sphinxes⁸⁹⁰. In Egypt, sphinxes sometimes flank the throne of the pharaoh (5 times, on two of these images the sphinxes are trampling enemies), and only in a later period (Late Period, probably between the 6th and 4th cent. BC, and once in the 4th cent. BC) it is the throne of a goddess that is flanked by sphinxes⁸⁹¹.

The two occasions where Syro-Mesopotamian sphinxes decorate or flank the throne, or, in one case a stool, of a divinity (once a god, once a goddess), also date from later periods (8th till 3rd cent. BC)⁸⁹². On two other images sphinxes decorate the throne of a ruler, while only once they flank a throne on which a deceased woman is sitting⁸⁹³.

The only instance where sphinxes decorate a throne in Anatolia, they flank a ram-headed goddess⁸⁹⁴. This image too dates from a relatively late period (7th-5th cent. BC).

⁸⁸⁹ Betlyon 1985.

⁸⁹⁰ Demisch 1977: 65.

One exception, already mentioned (7. The Sphinx in the Aegean –1600-800 BC) could be the griffins in the throne-room in Tell el-Dab'a (Avaris) dating from ca. 1479-1423 BC (Fig. 58).

⁸⁹¹ Cat.Nr. Eg. 35; Cat.Nr. Eg. 42; Cat.Nr. Eg. 46; Cat.Nr. Eg. 47; Cat.Nr. Eg. 50. St.M. Nr. Eg. 56-57.

⁸⁹² Sphinx-throne: St.M. Nr. Mes. 50; sphinx-stool: St.M. Nr. Mes. 54.

A sphinx-stool can be defined as a backless tabouret with four legs, flanked by recumbent sphinxes (not striding or standing) who merely decorate the furniture, not support it: Gubel 1987: 75-80.

⁸⁹³ Cat.Nr. Mes. 7; Cat.Nr. Mes. 96.

Cat.Nr. Mes. 102.

⁸⁹⁴ St.M. Nr. An. 18.

9 THE EFFECT OF INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SPHINX

This thesis does not attempt to investigate the relations, diplomatic, political, religious, and otherwise, between the different regions in detail and in depth; there already exist some excellent studies upon which I will rely to write this section⁸⁹⁵. This chapter will only deal with the general possible impacts of these intercultural relations on the iconography of the sphinx in the different regions, not on the meaning and functions (this could be a complete thesis as such). Therefore, I will now only give a summary of the major points and see if and how these contacts have possibly affected the iconography of the separate regions. It must be kept in mind that intercultural contacts could exist on three levels⁸⁹⁶. Firstly, there were areas which traded with each other; secondly there were those regions with which there were diplomatic relations (although these regions could still hold a threat). Lastly there were the areas that were conquered and therefore were directly under the influence of the culture of the conqueror.

The first evidence of long distance trade in the Eastern Mediterranean goes back to the 3rd mill. BC⁸⁹⁷. At the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd mill. BC there not only was intense trade in a great variety of products but there also existed the habit of (obligatory) gift-exchange. Gifts consisted of jewellery, furniture, ceremonial weapons, textiles, glass, pottery, delicacies, exotic animals, statues of kings, ... Highly in demand in the Near East and the Aegean were Egyptian scarabs that could be worn as jewellery and/or as amulets to ward off evil⁸⁹⁸. This explains the great number of Egyptian scarabs that have been found outside Egypt (e.g. St.M. Nr. Aeg. 15: Scarab Winged Crowned Sphinx). In the 2nd mill. BC the number of these gifts and exchanges only increased because of the needs of a new social elite that wanted luxury

⁸⁹⁵ E.g. Kantor 1947; Helck 1971; Ward 1971; Givon 1978; Cline 1987; Wiener 1987: 261-268; Crowley 1989; Cline 1995; Helck 1995; Warren 1995; Teissier 1996; *Aegaeum* 18 1998 (almost all essays); Baum-vom Felde 2006; Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008; Stein 2014 (Stein focusses on Mesopotamia, more specifically the Ubaid and Uruk Cultures, but his article contains many ideas and hypothesis that can be applied to a more widespread region and period); ; Von Rüden 2015a; Von Rüden and Lichtenberger 2015.

⁸⁹⁶ Merrillees 2002.

⁸⁹⁷ Helck 1995: 79; Aruz 2008a: 6; Sasson 2008: 95-96.

Even from the Late Uruk Period onwards there existed contacts between Uruk and Egypt: e.g. Van De Mieroop 2010: 2.6 Foreign Relations – The Uruk Culture of Babylonia.

⁸⁹⁸ For more information about the scarabs: Keel (ed.) 1995-2013, Ben-Tor 1997, Ben-Tor 2003, Ben-Tor 2006, Ben-Tor 2007.

goods and bronze. These demands increased the foreign relations immensely and made new technological breakthroughs possible.

One of the hubs of these trade routes was undoubtedly the Levant, especially during the Middle Bronze Period (ca. 2000-1600 BC); there were routes to and from Egypt, Cyprus, Crete, Syro-Mesopotamia and Anatolia⁸⁹⁹. These routes were not only used by merchants and traders, but also by musicians, singers, craftsmen, workforces, diplomats, servants, scribes, ... And through these people not only goods, but also cultural, religious and political ideas and values were exchanged. Thanks to its geographical position, Cyprus was a second hub of trade networks, which connected the Aegean with the Near East and Egypt⁹⁰⁰. Cyprus Ware has been found in Egypt, Syria and the Levant⁹⁰¹. During the 20th till 18th cent. BC there was a third important centre of international trade centred in the approximately forty Assyrian settlements in Anatolia⁹⁰². The Assyrian traders, however, left the area when the Hittite Kingdom was founded in ca. 1650 BC.

Baum-vom Felde and others think Egypt was the birthplace of the sphinx (cf. supra 3.3.2. Syro-Mesopotamia & the Levant)⁹⁰³. Although this is not completely certain, it seems logical to start this overview of eventual influences with the Egyptian sphinx.

At first the Egyptian sphinx is either lying down or trampling an enemy. Generally, it is male, indicated by a (ceremonial) beard, but has no wings, although soon winged sphinxes appear (starting from the Middle Kingdom onwards). During the New Kingdom, the recumbent sphinx now often has human hands and arms, so it can worship or offer; this trait, however, is not seen in other regions. Still the wingless sphinxes outnumber the winged ones. New Kingdom sphinxes can be female, and these can appear in two different types: representing a female pharaoh or a queen, or representing a foreign female worshipper⁹⁰⁴. In view of the sphinxes exotic character, and thanks to the long-distance trade and other networks (not only of travellers, diplomats, craftsmen, ..., but also of cultural ideas), it is to be expected that the sphinx-motif was adapted soon in other regions, with or without its royal or political connotations⁹⁰⁵. Because, while the sphinx in Egypt is mostly, but not exclusively, a manifestation of the

⁸⁹⁹ Demisch 1977: 72-73; Cline 1995: 149-150; Teissier 1996: 6-7; Larsen 2008b: 13.

⁹⁰⁰ Cline 1995: 143; Helck 1995: 91; Cluzan 2008: 311.

⁹⁰¹ For more information about Cyprus ware: Maguire 2009.

⁹⁰² Larsen 2008b: 70-71, 73.

⁹⁰³ Baum-vom Felde 2006: 161.

Cf. 3.3. The Origin of the Sphinx

⁹⁰⁴ Helck 1995: 63.

⁹⁰⁵ Morris 2008: 436; Winkler-Horaček 2011a: 108.

pharaoh, this is not the case in the other regions. Taking over motifs, after all, does not necessarily mean taking over the meaning of these motifs; people took over only those motifs that could be integrated into their own representational ideas or could be adapted to represent these ideas. When the sphinx motif was taken over without its original (Egyptian) connotations, it was soon adapted to local ideas (e.g. it needed wings or should wear a specific head-dress) and this changed iconography, in its turn, sometimes influenced the Egyptian iconography of the sphinx⁹⁰⁶.

As said before, the interregional contacts were not exclusively about material products, but perhaps even more about ideas and cultural capital, and it is no wonder that there were influences in all directions. Thus, Egyptian influences in other regions can be seen⁹⁰⁷. However, Egyptian religious concepts and ideas, e.g. about death and the Afterlife, were so different from those in e.g. Syro-Mesopotamian, that they could not be easily assimilated⁹⁰⁸.

It is known that as early as the 3rd mill. BC, the Levant and the Syrian coast played an important role in the network of relations between the different regions of the Ancient Near East; during the Akkadian Period (ca. 2314-2154 BC) there was an important increase in contacts between Egypt, Cyprus, the Aegean and Syro-Mesopotamia⁹⁰⁹. In the 2nd mill. BC trade and the exchange of gifts together with conquering expeditions took the Egyptian sphinx motif to Nubia and the Near East where it was taken up in the local imagery and assimilated⁹¹⁰. Later, this adapted sphinx found its way back to Egypt. In the eastern Mediterranean, an abundance of texts and Egyptian objects dating from the Middle Bronze period that testify of the extensive contacts between Egypt and this area were found. Intense relations between Egypt and important Syro-Levantine kingdoms during the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2040-1640 BC) are attested; e.g. Byblos reached the height of its power due to its privileged relations with Egypt, and its art, as well as that of other cities in the Levant, was influenced immensely by the Egyptian imagery⁹¹¹. Egyptian art was in its turn influenced by Syro-Levantine art. During the

⁹⁰⁶ E.g. when the sphinx has wings; Cat.Nr. Eg. 1: Plaque Winged Sphinx Ahmoses I; or is depicted nearby a Sacred Tree: Cat.Nr. Eg. 13: Winged Sphinxes with Sacred Tree. Teissier 1996: 88.

⁹⁰⁷ E.g. when a sphinx is trampling a serpent: St.M. Nr. Mes. 18: Sphinx Trampling Serpents; or when sphinxes are depicted with Hathor-curls or near Hathor: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 97: Sculpted Capital Two Sphinxes Behind Hathor; or simply when sphinxes outside Egypt are wearing a typical Egyptian motif, like a double-crown, or a *Uraeus*: Cat.Nr. Mes. 86: Scarab with Sphinx, *Uraeus* and Crown; or are shown with e.g. a lotus-flower or an *Ankh*-sign: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 14: Scarab Seated Sphinx with Sun-disc and *Ankh*-symbol.

⁹⁰⁸ Black and Green 1992: 74.

⁹⁰⁹ Markoe 1985: 7; Jamous 2008: 45; O'Connor 2008: 108-109, Wiener 2013.

⁹¹⁰ Aruz 2008c: 387; Pulak 2008: 297; Schneider 2008: 61; Morgan 2010a: 303; Dubiel 2011: 17-18.

⁹¹¹ Hakimian 2008: 49; Matthiae 2008: 34.

reign of the Hyksos pharaohs (ca. 1640-1550 BC), who were of Levantine origin, the interactions between the Levant and Egypt intensified even more. The Syro-Palestinians integrated the Egyptian sphinx at the end of the 19th cent. BC and, because they functioned as intermediary, helped spreading the motif into other regions⁹¹². Besides that, they also were responsible for the merging of Egyptian and Near Eastern motifs⁹¹³.

Some of the oldest relations between Egypt and the Aegean date from the time of the 5th Dyn. (ca. 2494-2345 BC)⁹¹⁴. During the Late Bronze (ca. 1600-1200 BC), the Minoans were oriented towards Cyprus because of its copper resources. During the Middle Bronze (ca. 2000-1600 BC) the Minoans had strong relations with the eastern Mediterranean regions, as attested by the widespread distribution of Middle Minoan Kamares Ware (found in e.g. Rhodes and Kos, the coast of western Anatolia, Ras Shamra (Ugarit) and Egypt)⁹¹⁵.

Crete adapts the wingless recumbent sphinx from Egypt (although the sphinx motif never was very popular with the Minoans; cf. 3.3.4. The Aegean); but from 1500 BC onwards the Cretan sphinx gets wings. Because the Minoan imagery did not contain any of the royal and divine powers that characterised the imagery of Egypt, it was normal for them to take over the motif of the sphinx and adapt it to suit their own needs and ideas⁹¹⁶. Crete was responsible for bringing the female sphinx with floral head-dress to Egypt, although merely for a short period (only during the New Kingdom) and to Syro-Mesopotamia⁹¹⁷. However, only from the moment Knossos was destroyed in ca. 1450 BC, a lot of Egyptian products were found on Crete⁹¹⁸. In the New Kingdom, many Aegean motifs can be found in Egyptian imagery, e.g. female sphinxes and griffins in typical Cretan forms (e.g. with elaborate head-dresses) or the presence of many depictions of Cretans on murals in New Kingdom tombs⁹¹⁹. It is also attested that there already lived Minoans in Egypt, more specifically in the Nile-delta, in the 16th cent. BC⁹²⁰. Evidence of this can perhaps be seen in the Minoan frescoes of Tell el-Dab'a (Avaris; cf. Figure

⁹¹² Teissier 1996: 80, 83-84; Baum-vom Felde 2006: 161.

⁹¹³ E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 6: Golden Bowl Winged Sphinx with Animals and Mythological Creatures.

⁹¹⁴ Winkler-Horaček 2011a: 99.

⁹¹⁵ Helck 1995: 32-33; Warren 1995; Baum-vom Felde 2006: 163; Koehl 2008: 270.

For more information about the possible influence of Minoan Crete in the Aegean: Niemeier 2004.

⁹¹⁶ Helck 1995: 173; Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: 8.

⁹¹⁷ E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 38: Winged Female Sphinx with Cartouche; Cat.Nr. Mes. 90: Plaque Offering Sphinx. Helck 1995: 62.

For more information about the relation between the Aegean and Egypt: Helck 1995: 21-30.

⁹¹⁸ Helck 1995: 76-77; Koehl 2008: 270.

⁹¹⁹ Helck 1995: 50-53; Morgan 2010a: 303.

⁹²⁰ Baum-vom Felde 2006: 161; Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: 110; O'Connor 2008: 109.

The theory that Minoans lived in Egypt at the period, is being questioned by more recent researchers, e.g. Matić 2015.

74), a site that can be defined as the most prominent illustration of multiculturalism in Egypt, although there were other sites where Minoan frescoes decorated the walls, e.g. Alalakh (Turkey), Qatna (Syria) and Tel-Kabri (Israel)⁹²¹.

There is evidence that the Cretans had direct contact with Syria during the Middle Minoan period (ca. 2160-1600 BC)⁹²². However, later contacts between the Aegean and Syria all went through Cyprus.

Mainland Greece did have close relations with the Minoans in the 15th cent. BC and it was through them they adapted ideas and motifs that originally came from the Near East⁹²³. From about 1300 BC the Mycenaeans had close (commercial) contacts with the east itself. The sphinx motif reached the Aegean from Egypt through Syria and Crete during the Mycenaean period and was adapted and changed to fit local ideas⁹²⁴. From the start, the sphinxes in the Aegean were considered as part of the threatening (animal) world and had been linked with the demons of death, the so-called *Keren*, a connotation that is not known in Egypt and only partially in Syro-Mesopotamia and Anatolia⁹²⁵. For the Greeks, the sphinx is frightful to perceive; it is a monster that kills people in a ruthless way⁹²⁶.

The dynamics of the Aegean style influenced the imagery of the eastern Mediterranean regions and was the origin of the International styles that have been witnessed during the 14th and 13th cent. BC (cf. 9.1. Thoughts about the "International Style"). The Aegean interactions with Egypt were especially intense during the New Kingdom (ca. 16th-11th cent. BC), attested by many written sources, and, moreover, during the Amarna Period (ca. 1353-1336 BC), Egypt traded mainly with Mycenae⁹²⁷. However, although there were still contacts between the Aegean and Egypt in later periods, there is no more evidence of trade between the two. In the Archaic Greek Period (ca. 800-480 BC) the motif of the sphinx once again invaded the Greek

⁹²¹ Among others: Morgan 2005c: 40; Aruz 2008b: 123.

The discovery of these frescoes changed our thinking about cultural exchange during the 2nd mill. BC drastically.

⁹²² Helck 1995: 88-89.

⁹²³ Demisch 1977: 77; Helck 1995: 62-63; Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: 8, 139; Koehl 2008: 270.

⁹²⁴ The oldest known sphinx from the mainland dates from the 16th-13th cent. BC: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 2: Finger-ring Pair of Sphinxes with Sacred Tree.

⁹²⁵ Helck 1995: 174; Dietrich 1997; Rösch-von der Heyde 1999: 6; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 36; Baum-vom Felde 2006: 164-165.

Homer (8th or 7th cent. BC) mentions the *Keren* and calls them not only Demons of Death but also Bearers of Bad Luck.

For more information on the *Keren*: Crusius 1890-1897: 1136-1162.

⁹²⁶ Baum-vom Felde 2006: 164.

⁹²⁷ Helck 1995: 21, 128; Baum-vom Felde 2006: 163-164; O'Connor 2008: 109.

imagery from the east and again was adapted to local ideas, e.g. with sickle-like wings⁹²⁸. Direct contacts and trade between the Aegean and Egypt started again from the beginning of the 8th cent. BC, when the Greeks built Naukratis and Greek monumental architecture and sculpture came into being. In this period also, the Greeks started to use the old trade routes to the east again and the Orientalising Period (ca. 700 BC) is characterised by a heavy influence of eastern motifs⁹²⁹.

From the start, Anatolia had a slight preference for life-size or monumental sphinxes but also adapted the female sphinx with the Hathor hair-dress⁹³⁰. Although the composite creature was seen in the beginning as a cultic companion and a demon of the wild, it soon, that is, from the Middle Bronze onwards (ca. 2000-1600 BC), gained a political meaning too. The Anatolian colossal sphinxes in their turn influenced Syro-Mesopotamia, because here, from the Neo-Assyrian Period onwards (9th cent. BC) the first monumental (bull-)sphinxes appeared (e.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 20: Winged Sphinx with Horned Crown).

Although it is not easy to state which region or style influenced another one, the process of influence on iconography consisted of a few steps, which are postulated by Warren as follows⁹³¹:

1. Existing thought or belief in one area;
2. Transfer of thought or belief into visual language by a craftsman in this area;
3. Viewing, direct or indirect, or hearing/seeing a description of this visual image by a craftsman, trader, ruler, or traveller of another area;
4. Understanding of the image by the person of the other area through the context of his own beliefs, thoughts and ideology.
5. Modification and integration of the image of the first region into the visual language of the other area.

⁹²⁸ Helck 1995: 173; Baum-vom Felde 2006: 164.

⁹²⁹ Helck 1995: 182, 189; Baum-vom Felde 2006: 161.

⁹³⁰ E.g. St.M. Nr. An. 2: Female Sphinx with Hathor-style Curls.

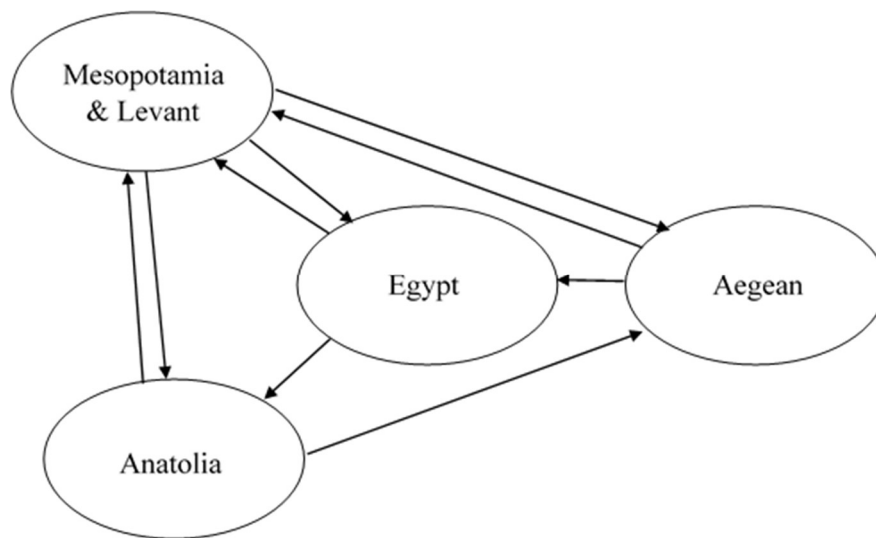
⁹³¹ Warren 1995: 2. Warren only speaks about the influence between the Aegean and Egypt, but the same process can be assumed in other regions as well. The process as stated by Warren has been slightly changed here.

Warren sees an ultimate step in the process:

6. Our process of understanding of what the artist was trying to express, in which we must always be aware that our thoughts, beliefs and ideology may be very different from the ones that prevailed in the period and region when and where the image was produced.

As said before, influences seldom happened in one direction only, and it is often difficult to see where one change in iconography began, but some impacts are clear. The whole network of influences could be summarized like this (STF XXXI – Interregional Influences):

Egyptian influence can be seen in Levantine and Syro-Mesopotamian imagery (e.g. 19th cent. BC: trampling, from ca. 900 BC also monumentality) and perhaps in the 1st mill. BC, when Syro-Mesopotamian sphinxes began to appear on their own. The Egyptian Hathor-curls found their way to Anatolian imagery (18th cent. BC) as did the monumentalized sphinxes (14th-13th cent. BC). A Syro-Mesopotamian motif (Sacred Tree) can be detected on Anatolian (17th cent. BC), on Aegean (16th-13th cent. BC), and on Egyptian (14th cent. BC), iconography⁹³². The recumbent sphinxes from Anatolia (18th cent. BC), the Aegean (18th-16th cent. BC), and Syro-Mesopotamia (17th cent. BC), also were influenced by Egyptian imagery. Anatolia's female sphinxes in their turn influenced Syro-Mesopotamian (14th cent. BC) and the Aegean (8th cent. BC) iconography, and through the Aegean sphinxes the Syro-Mesopotamian and Egyptian sphinxes got wings (resp. in the 19th-18th cent. BC and in the 16th cent. BC)⁹³³.



STF XXXI - INTERREGIONAL INFLUENCES.

⁹³² E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 96: Ahirom Sarcophagus; Cat.Nr. Mes. 33: Sphinx with Double Egyptian Crown; Cat.Nr. Mes. 88: Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Hathor-head; Cat.Nr. An. 2: Zincirli Door Sphinx; Cat.Nr. Eg. 13: Winged Sphinxes with Sacred Tree; Cat.Nr. An. 16: Pyxis Ancestor Cult with Sphinxes.

⁹³³ E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 20: Winged Sphinx with Horned Crown; Cat.Nr. Mes. 6: Golden Bowl Winged Sphinx with Animals and Mythological Creatures. E.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 43: Winged Female Sphinx with Queens Name.

9.1 THOUGHTS ABOUT THE "INTERNATIONAL STYLE"⁹³⁴

Already in 1945, Helen Kantor emphasised the existence of intensive interregional exchange of motifs in Western Asia and the Eastern Mediterranean in the second half of the 2nd mill. BC⁹³⁵. But it was only in 1965 that Smith labelled the outcome of this process as "International Style" and still later, in 1989, that Crowley expanded on this concept⁹³⁶. The word "style" was perhaps ill-chosen by Smith, because he did not understand it in the purely art historian sense (e.g. Romanticism or Abstractionism), but rather saw it as a "common habit"⁹³⁷. As Fischer and Wicke put it, for Smith "'International Style" referred to the "supra-regional" use of certain motifs in predominantly small-scale *objets d'art*⁹³⁸". In more recent years, Feldman in 2006 intensified the discussion of "International Style" by claiming these objects played a specific role in international negotiation of power⁹³⁹. She thus regards "International Style" as a "*visual manifestation of the cultural interaction taking place in the Late Bronze Age community*", which, as Feldman claims, had become a distinct socio-political entity⁹⁴⁰.

In the still more recent publication, *Beyond Babylon* (2008), the issue was taken up again. Aruz herein added the notion of "international glyptic" which "crossed stylistic boundaries" to the discussion⁹⁴¹.

Some of these researchers try to give a definition of the concept "International Style" by which they can then determine which objects belong to this group and which do not. Crowley, e.g., gives a formal definition, based on iconographic observations, by defining a large group of what she calls an "international repertoire" of motifs that would have been used by workmen in different regions⁹⁴². This repertoire contains e.g. the winged sun-disk and the volute tree. However, by using this definition, Crowley can only identify 17 definite pieces as belonging to the "International Style", in addition to several individual pieces that are somewhat ambiguous⁹⁴³. Therefore, Annie Caubet in 1998, understood the formal definition of "International Style" more broadly and thought it was the product of a *koine*, a region that shared

⁹³⁴ For the full discussion on "International Style" and the discussions about the term: Pfälzner 2015.

⁹³⁵ Kantor 1945: Ch. I. Introduction; Pfälzner 2015: 181.

⁹³⁶ Smith 1965: 107; Crowley 1989; Fischer 2008: 805-806; Fischer and Wicke 2011: 94-95; Pfälzner 2015: 181.

⁹³⁷ Smith 1965: 107; Fischer 2008: 806; Fischer and Wicke 2011: 94.

⁹³⁸ Fischer and Wicke 2011: 94.

⁹³⁹ Feldman 2006: 8; Pfälzner 2015: 181.

⁹⁴⁰ Feldman 2006: 8; Fischer and Wicke 2011: 96.

⁹⁴¹ Aruz 2008c: 391; Pfälzner 2015: 181.

⁹⁴² Crowley 1989: 192-199.

⁹⁴³ An overview of the objects belonging to the "International Style" according to Crowley: Fischer 2008: 859-861 Table 1.

not only complex technologies concerning different areas as e.g. (musical and mechanical) instruments, ceramics, decoration and architecture, but also ideas (e.g. concerning administration or rulership), social and ritual ideologies⁹⁴⁴. This *koine* comprised the Eastern Mediterranean area, Egypt and Syria and in it circulated an "international iconography".

Fischer in 2008 and Fischer and Wicke in 2011 criticised these definitions and conclusions objecting principally to the fact that Feldman saw the "International Style" as intentionally created to form a common language of power and to conceal the regional character of the objects⁹⁴⁵. The most recent attribution to the discussion, however, comes from Pfälzner who with his article of 2015 investigates if an "International Style" existed in the way it was defined⁹⁴⁶. To achieve this, he starts from four theoretical assumptions about the "International Style": he questions (1) the notion of "style" versus the notion of "motif", (2) the concept "hybridity", (3) the idea of a "koine", and (4) the notion of "provenance"⁹⁴⁷.

(1) His first hypothesis concerns the notion of "style" versus the notion of "motif". After studying the objects Crowley and Feldman e.g. considered as belonging to the "International Style" he concludes that these objects did not show in fact a homogenous style, but rather a variety of different stylistic features. However, as Fischer had already pointed out in 2008 and even Crowley talked about in 1989 ("international repertoire"; cf. *supra*), there were international motifs that seemed to have been circulating over wide areas in the second half of the 2nd mill. BC⁹⁴⁸. Pfälzner stresses the fact that these motifs do show variations in different artefacts of the "International Style" both in execution and in compositions and combinations⁹⁴⁹. Fischer had already mentioned that it could be worth-while to find out whether these variations could possibly be related to different regions⁹⁵⁰. Because the motifs circulated between regions and states, Pfälzner suggests replacing the term "International Style" by "International motif tradition"⁹⁵¹.

(2) The second assumption Pfälzner holds concerns the notion of hybridity, which *"is the result of a combination of different international motifs borrowed from different cultural-*

⁹⁴⁴ Caubet 1998: 105-110.

⁹⁴⁵ Fischer 2008; criticism on Crowley: 807-810; Fischer and Wicke 2011: 247.

⁹⁴⁶ Pfälzner 2015: 181.

⁹⁴⁷ Pfälzner 2015: 184-185.

⁹⁴⁸ Crowley 1989: 192-199; Fischer 2008: 830-838.

⁹⁴⁹ Pfälzner 2015: 184.

⁹⁵⁰ Fischer 2008: 838-841.

⁹⁵¹ Pfälzner 2015: 184.

geographical spheres"⁹⁵². It can then of course be taken for granted that each region did this in its own manner depending upon local stylistic traditions. Pfälzner points out that, due to the independence of the regions, it is impossible to think there could have existed a central authority that imposed rules. On the contrary, connecting foreign motifs with traditional local iconography would be the most logical way hybridity would be created. This would explain the variety of hybridity between the different regions. But, as Pfälzner stresses, it does not mean the regional character of the objects was intentionally obscured (as stated by e.g. Feldman)⁹⁵³. Pfälzner concludes that hybridity is the main aspect when analysing objects of the "international motif tradition"⁹⁵⁴. Defining the notion (definition borrowed from sociology) as "*results from cultural interference, when partly antagonistic mindsets and principles from different cultural, social or religious spheres are combined to create new cognitive, behavioural or visual structures*", he demonstrates that the principle of hybridity was by necessity a very dynamic one⁹⁵⁵.

(3) The third postulation Pfälzner makes, is about the notion of the *koine*, as proposed by Caubet (cf. supra) and Feldman⁹⁵⁶. Because of the stylistic variety that can be seen in the objects belonging to the "International Style", Feldman proposed to replace this term with "international artistic *koine*", which she sees as an "*adopted set of shared cultural forms across cultural boundaries*"⁹⁵⁷. However, the existence of a *koine* with a common language of communication once again presupposes the existence of a central institution that would apply the rules, and this seems utterly impossible. Pfälzner points out that the stylistic variety of objects with international motifs must be understood as a polycentric process, occurring in the different cultural centres of the various regions in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East. Moreover, Fischer and Wicke also draw attention to the fact that a similarity in form does not necessarily mean a similarity in meaning and/or content⁹⁵⁸.

(4) The last assumption concerns the question of provenance⁹⁵⁹. As said before, both Crowley and Feldman claim that the main characteristic of the objects belonging to the "International Style" is the fact that they are designed in such a way as to intentionally obscure their place of

⁹⁵² Pfälzner 2015: 184-185.

⁹⁵³ Feldman 2006: 62; Pfälzner 2015: 185.

⁹⁵⁴ Pfälzner 2015: 186.

⁹⁵⁵ Pfälzner 2015: 186-187.

⁹⁵⁶ Caubet 1998: 105-110; Feldman 2006: 62; Pfälzner 2015: 185.

⁹⁵⁷ Feldman 2006: 30.

For the full criticism on the theory of Feldman: Fischer 2008: 810-858.

⁹⁵⁸ Fischer and Wicke 2011: 97.

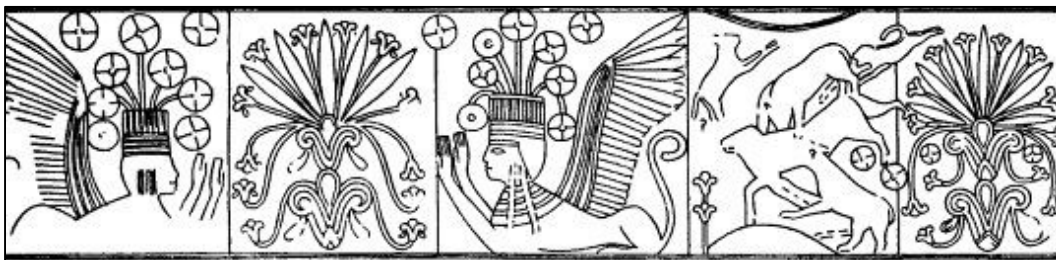
⁹⁵⁹ Pfälzner 2015: 185.

origin⁹⁶⁰. Fischer believes that it is rather the incapability of modern researchers to detect the place of origin (because they lack a profound stylistic knowledge), instead of the intentionality of masking the place of origin by the producers of these artefacts⁹⁶¹.

Before, as he calls it "*deconstructing the "International Style"-concept*" by means of examples from Ugarit, Tutankhamen's Tomb and the Tell Basta finds, Pfälzner proposes a classification for all objects utilizing international motifs, a classification that is based on the one Crowley suggested⁹⁶². In this classification three principal categories of styles need to be differentiated during the Middle and Late Bronze Age in the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean: Hybrid interregional styles, Hybrid regional styles, and Indigenous regional styles (STF XXXII)⁹⁶³.

<i>STF XXXII - THE CONCEPT OF "INTERNATIONAL MOTIF TRADITION"</i> ⁹⁶⁴				
<i>STYLE GROUPS</i>	<i>MOTIF & STYLE CHARACTER</i>	<i>STYLISTIC QUALITY</i>	<i>ICONOGRAPHIC QUALITY</i>	<i>GENERAL INFORMATION</i>
<i>Hybrid Interregional Styles</i>	Complete hybridity	Only Intercultural style elements	Exclusively Intercultural motifs	= pseudo-international style = largely dynamic
<i>Hybrid Regional Styles</i>	Partial to strong hybridity	Regional and interregional style elements	Mixture of intercultural and regional motifs	= majority of objects with international motifs
<i>Indigenous Regional Styles</i>	No hybridity	Regional style elements	Exclusively regional motifs	= smallest group of objects = largely static

By way of example of how Pfälzner deconstructs the "International Style"-concept we will look at one object found in the Tomb of Tutankhamen, namely a tunic decorated in a manner that Feldman attributed to the "International Style" (Cat.Nr. Eg. 41)⁹⁶⁵.



⁹⁶⁰ In a later article, Feldman reduces the importance of origin significantly: Feldman 2014.

⁹⁶¹ Fischer 2008: 838.

⁹⁶² Crowley 1989: 192-227; Pfälzner 2015: 185.

The Case of Ugarit: Pfälzner 2015: 187-191.

The Case of Tutankhamen's Tomb: Pfälzner 2015: 191-193.

The Case of the Tell Basta Finds: Pfälzner 2015: 193-194.

⁹⁶³ For more information about each style: Pfälzner 2015: 185-186.

⁹⁶⁴ Adapted from Pfälzner 2015: 186 Fig. 3.

⁹⁶⁵ Feldman 2006: 36-37 + Figs. 10-11.



FIG. 70 A: APPLIQUÉ BANDS DECORATION OF LINEN TUNIC OF TUTANKHAMEN (Cat.Nr. Eg. 41).

Although the tunic does contain different international motifs, e.g. the sphinxes, antithetically standing griffins and animal fighting scenes (Fig. 70 A), it also shows a lot of characteristic Egyptian motifs: e.g. an *Ankh*-sign (Fig. 70 B), *Uraei* and of course the cartouche with the name of Tutankhamen. All the Egyptian motifs ought to be regarded as religious-political symbols and thus the main goal of the decoration of the tunic is to convey the Egyptian ideology, that is enhanced and stressed by the presence of the international motifs which reflect power and prestige⁹⁶⁶. For Pfälzner then it is clear this object must be assigned to the hybrid regional style, with is characterised by the mixture of local and interregional motifs.

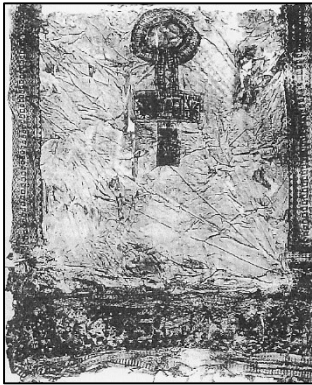


FIG. 70 B: LINEN TUNIC OF TUTANKHAMEN (Cat.Nr. Eg. 41).

Finally, Pfälzner tests the concept of the "international motifs tradition" by analysing objects found in Qatna (Syria). Two of these objects were found in the Royal Hypogeum in Qatna; they were made of gold and would have originally been sewn unto a leather support. They show pairs of griffins flanking an *Ankh*-sign (Fig. 71 A), and a volute tree (Fig. 71 B).

⁹⁶⁶ Pfälzner 2015: 193.



FIG. 71 A: GOLD DISC WITH GRIFFINS, QATNA, ROYAL HYPOGEUM, STUTTGART, LANDESMUSEUM WÜRTTEMBERG, MSH02G-i0765.

FIG. 71 B: CONVEX GOLD PLAQUE WITH GRIFFINS, QATNA, ROYAL HYPOGEUM, STUTTGART, LANDESMUSEUM WÜRTTEMBERG, MSH02G-i0762.

While the volute plants are, according to e.g. Pfälzner, probably the most widespread and popular of the international motifs, heraldic griffins seem to be equally widespread, both in the Near East and in the Eastern Mediterranean⁹⁶⁷. Again, these two objects show characteristically local and international motifs, and thus belong in the large group of hybrid regional styles, and not, as is often thought, with the hybrid interregional style.

⁹⁶⁷ Al-Maqdissi, Bonacossi and Pfälzner (eds.) 2009: 220, 223-224.
For more information about the volute plant-motif: Pfälzner 2015: 198-200.

10 THE MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS OF THE SPHINX

Because this chapter is a preparation of and a sort of stepping-stone for reaching the conclusions, it is important that every aspect of the research that is relevant for this investigation (context, meaning and function) is treated here separately. In fact, the chapter gives an analysis of chapters 4.4, 5.4, 6.4 and 7.4, which deal with meaning (who or what is represented by the sphinx) and function (why is it there, what is its task) in the different regions (Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant, Egypt, Anatolia, and the Aegean).

10.1 GENERAL

This doctoral thesis aims to research the iconography of the sphinx in the Ancient Near East, Egypt, Greece and Anatolia from ca. 1600 till ca. 800 BC. The research in the previous chapters (Chapters 4-7) showed, among others, that the sphinx can appear in a rather wide variety of contexts. Yet it is possible to discern a few general functions and meanings, not necessarily related to explicit contexts. The most significant function of the sphinx seems to be that of guarding; sphinxes can guard, alone or in pairs or as part of a Dromos, on temples, altars, tombs and graves, city walls, palaces, thrones, in rituals and with people⁹⁶⁸. They can also appear in this function on amulets, clothing accessories as well as on votive and cultic objects. When the sphinx is depicted near the Sacred Tree, or other divine or royal symbols, this may suggest the same function⁹⁶⁹. The sphinx depicted near the sun-disk or one of its symbols (e.g. rosette), refers perhaps, rather than to the main function, to the sun-aspect of the sphinx itself, because both in the Near East and Egypt the lion-body was closely connected to the sun (cf. 3.3. The Origin of the Sphinx; 5. The Sphinx in Egypt). The sphinx can appear as a god itself, or as a servant or companion of a god, when it is depicted offering to or worshipping a divinity or in any way assisting him in his task.

Sphinxes in other contexts only occur in some regions; e.g. the sphinx can function as a (benevolent) demon of death in Greece or can appear in a frieze with other animals or composite creatures⁹⁷⁰. It can appear hunting or fighting other animals or even man. In Egypt, it sometimes is shown as the double-sphinx, a representative of Aker, the deification of the

⁹⁶⁸ Dessenne 1957a: 176; Demisch 1977: 221-223; Rösch-von der Heyde 1999: 3.

⁹⁶⁹ Demisch 1977: 10, 55, 223-224, 228-231.

⁹⁷⁰ Demisch 1977: 224, 227-228; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 36; Cooper 2008: 45.

horizon and one of the earliest gods of the region (cf. 3. The Sphinx and its Relatives – 3.1.2. Egypt)⁹⁷¹.

⁹⁷¹ Hornung 1975a: 114-115; Demisch 1977: 231-235; Rössler-Köhler 1980: 4, 1082; Lurker 1996: 25; Wilkinson 1996: 135; Warmenbol 2006: 15.

10.2 CONTEXTS & ASPECTS

Although the guarding function is present in varying degrees as an aspect of the sphinx in all the regions, there are some differences to be noted. In the Near East, i.e. in Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant, in Crete and in Mycenae, no sphinxes have been found that guarded the entrances of temples, while there is an abundance of these in Egypt. In Greece, however, sphinxes do appear on temples and on altars from the 6th cent. BC onwards (e.g. St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 75-76)⁹⁷². On the other hand, there are no known examples of sphinxes guarding palaces and city-towers and -gates in Egypt, although these do occur regularly in the Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant (e.g. Cat.Nrs. Mes. 20-23; St.M. Nr. Mes. 67) and in Anatolia (e.g. Cat.Nrs. An. 3, 5-6).

Table STF XXXIII brings together the different meanings/functions of each motif in the different regions, as far as these can be determined. Most attention here goes to the accompanying motifs that are depicted surrounding the sphinx (e.g. other animals), or the place the sphinx-images were located (e.g. flanking a door), i.e. the context surrounding the images of the sphinx⁹⁷³. The following general motifs, that occur in more than one region, have been listed: lone sphinxes with the Sacred Tree, a Sun-disc, or a rosette/spiral; with a divinity, with the name of the pharaoh, an *Ankh*-sign, a *Nebet*-sign, or other motifs referring to general concepts like prosperity, fertility, or life(-cycles); lone sphinxes or pairs (sometimes even three-somes) of sphinxes near or on the Sun-bark; lone sphinxes with parts of other animals on their body (e.g. snake-head tail); lone sphinx offering or worshipping; getting attacked, attacking or trampling; controlled by man, Hero, god or composite creature; pair of sphinxes flanking a divinity or a symbol referring to a god, flanking an animal or a column; held or controlled by a Master of Animals; flanking a throne (of a ruler or a deity); flanking a door, gateway or entrance; antithetical pair of sphinxes; sphinxes shown with other animals or composite creatures; and sphinxes as companions of the dead.

Motifs that occur in only one region are: lone sphinx acting as Master of Animal (Mes.); depicted near an Animal-fight (Mes.); lone female sphinx (with queen's name) (Eg.); lone sphinx shown with ear (Eg.); personification of a god (Eg.); in a procession (Aeg.); with female heads, a man or a naked man (Aeg.); on armour or helmet (Aeg.); pulling a chariot (Aeg.); pairs

⁹⁷² Demisch 1977: 221.

⁹⁷³ Table STF XXXIII starts from the different contexts; this table will be reworked a number of times. Table XXXV will focus on the different functions the sphinx-images could have, while Table STF XXXVI - Synthesis Meanings – Functions – Aspects will take as its starting point the meanings the sphinx-images could have.

of sphinxes in a Dromos (Eg.); lone sphinx offering vessels or a human head (Eg.); being offered (to) (Eg.); worshipping (Eg.); holding a conquered man or attacking a man (Aeg.); lone female sphinx trampling an enemy (Eg.); pair of sphinxes flanking a religious ritual or a flowing Aryballos (Mes.); flanking a king's name or papyrus (Eg.); flanking an *Ankh*-sign (An.); flanking palmettes, an altar or a woman (Aeg.); flanking a mythological scene (Aeg.); lone sphinx as poser of riddles (Aeg.); the Egyptian Aker and the Greek *Kere*.

It may be clear that practically all depictions of sphinxes, except perhaps in a lesser degree the Egyptian ones who represent the pharaoh, have a protective and even apotropaic function. This function then is to be understood with all images, even when not specifically mentioned.

PART 1 – 10. THE MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS OF THE SPHINX

<i>STF XXXIII - DIFFERENT CONTEXTS, MEANINGS, AND FUNCTIONS OF THE SPHINX</i>				
CONTEXTS	<i>MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA</i>	<i>MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS EGYPT</i>	<i>MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS ANATOLIA</i>	<i>MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS AEGEAN</i>
(M) Master of Animals	<i>Representing a Higher Force</i> Helping man in his struggle for life			
(M, Eg, An, Aeg) Alone or in Pair	<i>Amulet</i> Protective/apotropaic	<i>Amulet</i> Protective/apotropaic	<i>Amulet</i> Protective/apotropaic	<i>Amulet</i> Protective/apotropaic
Alone With (M, Eg, An, Aeg) Sacred Tree (Aeg) Sacred Tree and Chariot	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protecting prosperity-bringing ruler	<i>Representing a Higher Force</i> Stressing divine power	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Supporting/enhancing royal power	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protective/apotropaic
Alone With (M, Eg, An) Sun-disc or Rosette (Aeg) Rosette/Spiral/Sun-Disc	<i>Companion of a God</i> Supporting/enhancing divine power	<i>Representing a Higher Force</i> Stressing divine power	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Supporting/enhancing royal power	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protective/apotropaic
(M) With/On Sun-bark (Eg) With 2 or More on Sun-bark	<i>Companion of a God</i> Supporting/enhancing divine power	<i>Representing a Higher Force</i> Protective/apotropaic		
Alone With (M) Divinity (Eg) Maat, Bastet (An) Weather-God, Lion & Demon (An) Weather-God, Bull & War-God (Aeg) Athena	<i>Companions of a Divinity</i> Supporting/enhancing divine power Supervising procedures	<i>Representing a Higher Force</i> Stressing divine power <i>Personification of the Pharaoh</i> Asking divine support	<i>Companion of the Weather-God</i> Supporting/enhancing divine power	<i>Companion of Athena</i> Supporting/enhancing divine power
(M) With Animal Fight (Lions, Goats)	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Helping man in his struggle for life			
Alone with (Eg) Name Pharaoh, Cartouche, Royal Statues, <i>Ankh</i>-sign, <i>Nebet</i>-sign, Systrum, Lotus and Papyrus (An) Name King but Under Control (Aeg) Sun-Disc and <i>Ankh</i>-sign		<i>Personification of Pharaoh</i> Emphasize strength/power pharaoh Legitimize kingship	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protective/Apotropaic	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protective/apotropaic
(Eg) Female		<i>Personification of Queen/Princess</i> Protective assistant of Pharaoh		
(Eg) Female with Queen's Name		<i>Personification of Syrian Women</i> Worshipping Pharaoh & Queen		
(Eg) With Ear		<i>Personification of Sun-God</i> Willing to listen to men's prayers		
(Eg) As God As Ra-Herakhty		<i>Personification of a God</i> Protective/apotropaic Legitimizing kingship		
(Eg) With Hathor-cow		<i>Personification of the Pharaoh</i> Legitimized/Protected Kingship		

PART 1 – 10. THE MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS OF THE SPHINX

CONTEXTS	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS EGYPT	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS ANATOLIA	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS AEGEAN
(An) Alone at Gates/Entrances (Only Male-Sphinxes)			<i>Companions of a God</i> Participating in (Rel./Fun.) Rituals	
Alone (An) With Snakes out of Body (An) With Scorpion-Tail (An, Aeg) With Snake-Head Tail			<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Enhanced protective powers	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Enhanced protective powers
(Aeg) Alone with Procession				<i>Representing Divine Power</i> Supervising ritual procedures Participating in ritual procedures
(Aeg) Alone with Female Heads Man Naked Man				<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Helping man in his struggle for life
(Aeg) Alone with Palmette/Lotus				<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protective/apotropaic Partaking in ritual procedures Supervising ritual procedures
(Aeg) Alone with Wine Jar				<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protecting fertility/prosperity
(Aeg) Alone On Helmet with Palmette Wearing Helmet On Armour				<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protective/apotropaic
(Aeg) Alone Pulling War-Chariot Hunting-Chariot				<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protective/apotropaic
(Eg) Pairs of Sphinxes in Dromos		<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protective/apotropaic		
(M) Offering (Eg) Offering Vessels (Eg) Offering Human Head (Eg) Worshipping	<i>Personification of People</i> Thanking/asking favour of divinity	<i>Representative of the Pharaoh</i> Participating continually in rituals Mediating between men and gods <i>Representing Assisting Divine Forces</i> Helping the Pharaoh to victory <i>Representative of the Pharaoh</i> Worshipping Ra or Bastet		
(Eg) Being Offered To (Eg) Being Worshipped		<i>Personification of the Sun-god</i> Assisting mediating pharaoh		
(Eg) Being Offered		<i>Personification of the Pharaoh</i> Surrendering to divine power		

PART 1 – 10. THE MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS OF THE SPHINX

CONTEXTS	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS EGYPT	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS ANATOLIA	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS AEGEAN
As Pair with Another (Composite) Creature: (M) With Griffin and Sacred Tree (M) With Lion Flanking Deer (M) With Lion (M) With Winged Lion Held by Master of Animals (Aeg) With Lion Attacking Deer	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protecting prosperity-bringing ruler Protecting cosmic order <i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Being submissive/supportive Enhancing protective powers			<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering Cosmic Order
Getting Attacked (M) By Archer, Bird-headed Demon, Genius, Griffin, Hero, Lion (An) By Centaur	<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering cosmic order		<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering cosmic order	
Attacking (M) Winged Bull, Wild Goat (An) Winged Horse (Aeg) Goose	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Helping man in his struggle for life OR <i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering cosmic order		<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Helping man in his struggle for life OR <i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering cosmic order	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Helping man in his struggle for life OR <i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering cosmic order
(Aeg) Holding a Conquered Man (Aeg) Attacking Man				<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering cosmic order
(M) Trampling Serpent, Enemy (Eg) Trampling Enemy (Aeg) Trampling Enemy	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Helping man in his struggle for life <i>Personification Victorious Ruler</i> Emphasising strength/power king Stressing restored order and unity	<i>Personification Victorious Pharaoh</i> Emphasizing strength/power king Stressing restored order and unity		<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Helping man in his struggle for life
(Eg) Queen as Trampling Sphinx		<i>Queen as Trampling Sphinx</i> Protective assistant of Pharaoh		
One Sphinx Controlled By (M) Bird-Man, Hero, Man, Two Men, Winged Genius (An) Hittite God, Schauschga (Aeg) Man (Priest?), Satyr	<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Being submissive/supportive Enhancing protective powers		<i>Companion of a God</i> Supporting/enhancing divine power <i>Companion of Schauschga</i> Supporting/enhancing divine power	<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Being submissive/supportive Enhancing protective powers Participating in (rel.) rituals
(M) As Antithetical Pair Flanking A Divinity (3 Hilani-gods, Hathor, Naked Goddess, Winged Goddess) (Eg) As Antithetical Pair Flanking A Divinity or a Divine Symbol (Hawk) (Aeg) As Pair Flanking Hathor (Aeg) As Antithetical Pair Flanking a Divinity (Aeg) As Antithetical Pair Flanking Hermes	<i>Companions of a Divinity</i> Supporting/enhancing divine power	<i>Representing the Pharaoh</i> Enhancing/Supporting the power of Horus and/or Mediating between Gods and Men		<i>Companions of Hathor</i> Supporting/enhancing divine power <i>Companions of a Divinity</i> Supporting/enhancing divine power <i>Companions of Hermes</i> Supporting/enhancing divine power

PART 1 – 10. THE MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS OF THE SPHINX

CONTEXTS	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS EGYPT	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS ANATOLIA	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS AEGEAN
(M) As Antithetical Pair Flanking A Religious Ritual	<i>Assisting/Representing Divinity</i> Participating in rituals Supervising procedures			
(M) As Antithetical Pair Flanking A Flowing Aryballos	<i>Representing Protecting Forces</i> Protecting fertility			
As Antithetical Pair Flanking (M) An Animal (Deer, Bird) (Aeg) A Swan (Attribute Apollo)	<i>Representing Protecting Forces</i> Protecting fertility			<i>Companions of Apollo</i> Supporting/enhancing power Apollo
(Eg) As Antithetical Pair Flanking Pharaoh's Name		<i>Representing a Higher Force</i> Protecting royal powers Legitimizing kingship		
(Eg) As Antithetical Pair Flanking Papyrus		<i>Personification Protecting Pharaoh</i> Protecting life-forces/cosmic order		
(An) As Antithetical Pair Flanking An <i>Ankh</i> -Sign			<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protecting life and cosmic order	
(An, Aeg) As Antithetical Pair Flanking a Column			<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protecting fertility and prosperity	<i>Companions of a Deity</i> Supporting/enhancing divine power
(Aeg) As Antithetical Pair Flanking Palmettes Palmettes and a Dog An Altar				<i>Assisting/Representing Divinity</i> Protective/apotropaic Supervising (ritual) procedures Participating in (religious) rituals
(Aeg) As Antithetical Pair Flanking A Woman				<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Helping man in his struggle for life
(Aeg) As Antithetical Pair Flanking Mythological Scene with Eris Theseus Killing the Minotaur Amazon-scene				<i>Representing Supportive Powers</i> Helping man in his struggle for order
Held by (M, An, Aeg) Master of Animals (Aeg) Bird-Man (Master of Animals)	<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Being submissive/supportive Enhancing protective powers		<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Being submissive/supportive Enhancing protective powers	<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Being submissive/supporting Enhancing protective powers

PART 1 – 10. THE MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS OF THE SPHINX

CONTEXTS	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS EGYPT	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS ANATOLIA	MEANINGS & FUNCTIONS AEGEAN
As Pair Flanking a Throne (M, Eg,) Of a King/Ruler	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protective/apotropaic Legitimizing ruler ship	<i>Representing a God/Protective Forces</i> Protective/apotropaic Legitimizing ruler ship		
As Pair Flanking a Throne (M, Eg, An, Aeg) Of a God(dess)	<i>Companions of a Goddess</i> Supporting/enhancing divine power	<i>Representing a Higher Force</i> Stressing divine powers	<i>Companions of a God(dess)</i> Supporting/enhancing divine power	<i>Companions of a Goddess</i> Supporting/enhancing divine power
(M, Eg, An) As Pair Flanking Door/Gateway (An) Only Female Sphinxes	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protective/apotropaic	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protective/apotropaic	<i>Guard + Representing Divinity</i> Protective/apotropaic Supervising procedures Participating in rituals	
(M, An, Aeg) As Antithetical Pair, Looking at Each Other or Looking Away	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protective/apotropaic		<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protective/apotropaic	<i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protective/apotropaic <u>On Objects Used in Rituals:</u> <i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protective/apotropaic Supervising ritual procedures
(M, An, Aeg) With Animals or Other Composite Creatures, Alone or in Group	<i>Companions of a God</i> Supporting/enhancing divine powers <i>Representing Protective Forces</i> Protecting prosperity-bringing ruler		<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering divine & cosmic order	<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> Endangering divine & cosmic order
(Aeg) As Poser of Riddles With Banqueters With Oedipus and Amphora				<i>Suggesting the Wild</i> <i>Uncontrollable, Ruthless, Terrifying</i> Endangering divine & cosmic order
As Companion of the Dead (M) Woman (2x), Two Men (Eg) High Official (3x) (An) Ruler (2x) (An) Only Male Sphinxes	<i>Comforter/Guard/Showing Respect</i> Protective/apotropaic Participating in ancestral cults Honouring deceased	<i>Representing Divine Forces</i> Accompanying deceased in Afterlife Supervising procedures	<i>Attendants of Weather-God</i> Assisting the Weather-god Participating in ancestral cults Honouring deceased	
Egyptian Aker		<i>Symbolizing Horizon</i> Protecting/supervising rebirth sun = Cosmic order		
Greek Kere as Pair With Warriors With Fight Between Gods With Fight Between Men				<i>Benevolent Kere/Companion</i> Preparing/Comforting
Greek Kere On/Near Tomb With Snakes, Rosettes, Spirals, Music, Procession, Loutrophorus, Siren				<i>Benevolent Kere/Companion</i> Accompanying/Comforting

10.2.1 DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE SPHINX

The sphinx has no sole, unique and singular meaning and function, although in general it could be said it is either helping men, or is threatening him⁹⁷⁴. It is immediately clear from this overview that the context in which the sphinx appears and the motifs surrounding it, determine whether it is functioning beside man or has turned against him. This last aspect, most probably, is a result of the fact that it originally was regarded as belonging to the wild, the uncontrollable, the chaotic; that is, in every region except Egypt.

10.2.1.1 PROTECTIVE ASPECT

Most of the images show the sphinx as a benevolent creature of which the imagery in general is used for its protective and apotropaic characteristics. Very often it seems to be a sort of representative of protective forces, be they divine or not, who then protects either men in general, the king who guarantees the prosperity, or general concepts like kingship, fertility, prosperity and cosmic order. In many cases in Egypt, and sometimes in Syro-Mesopotamia and Anatolia (e.g. when shown near a throne of a ruler), these protective forces not only ward off evil, but also legitimize kingship. When it is depicted with "foreign" body parts, e.g. a scorpion-tail or a snake-head tail (in Anatolia and the Aegean), these parts are added to stress and enhance its protective abilities.

When these protective images are shown on objects used in rituals, as is often the case in the Aegean, the sphinxes are not only there to protect against evil, but also to ensure that the (ritual) procedures are carried out correctly. This responsible function can also be seen in the Aegean and in Syro-Mesopotamia when sphinxes are shown next to such rituals (e.g. a procession), or next to places where such rituals would take place (e.g. an altar, or a place marked with a palmette). Even in Egypt sphinxes shown in funerary contexts, e.g. in tombs, together with the deceased, could have the function of supervising the correct proceedings of the rituals. In Anatolia, only female sphinxes have this function, when they are depicted near doors or gateways where such rituals would take place. Anatolia is thus the only region where female and male sphinxes fulfill different functions.

It is fair to say that all these sphinxes with a "supervisory" function are in some way representing a deity, or at the least divine or supernatural forces, to be able to take on such a role. That these sphinxes also participate in these rituals goes without saying, but in Anatolia it is always the

⁹⁷⁴ An overview of the different aspects of the sphinxes can be seen in SFT XLVI Synthesis Meanings – Functions – Aspects.

lone male sphinx that is shown participating; the female sphinxes at gateways and doors always are in pairs, and do not seem to participate, but only to supervise.

10.2.1.2 DIVINE ASPECT

First, it must be made clear that by "divine" aspect, I do not mean the sphinx itself is a divinity. The divine here must be understood as referring to the supernatural, otherworldly; the creature does not belong to our world, and thus has its place in another, as it were, parallel universe, that stands between the world of the gods and this of men. This aspect will often go together with the protective aspect.

In Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Aegean, sphinxes representing higher forces or divine power are rare. It occurs only when the sphinx acts as a Master of Animals itself, when a pair of sphinxes flank a religious ritual (Mesopotamia), when two sphinxes (female) flank a door or gateway (Anatolia), when a sphinx is supervising a procession, or a pair of sphinxes is flanking palmettes or an altar (Aegean).

In Egypt, it is more common for sphinxes to represent or even personify higher or divine forces; the sphinx there can be the personification of the Sun-god or Ra-Herakhty. But most of the time the sphinx here represents the pharaoh in one of his aspects: as an almost supernatural being able to take care of his people, as the ruler who has legitimately become the king and who is therefore being protected by the gods (e.g. when shown with the Hathor-cow), as the devout king who mediates between men and gods and hence is constantly participating in rituals worshipping these gods, as the humble king who knows he has to thank the gods for his status and who therefore surrenders himself completely to the (will of the) gods (the sphinx being offered to a god), or as the victorious pharaoh who has been able to restore order and unity to his land thus guaranteeing the prosperity of his people (the sphinx trampling an enemy). A variation on this last theme is the sphinx on a ceremonial axe that was manufactured abroad or at least by a foreign craftsman that shows the sphinx offering a human head (Cat.Nr. Eg. 4). As said before, the sphinx here probably represents divine forces which assist and support the pharaoh in his battle with the enemy (in this case the Hyksos).

10.2.1.3 UNCONTROLLABLE ASPECT

The wild, uncontrollable aspect comes to the foreground e.g. when the sphinx is held or controlled by a man, Hero or other creature, whether it is a Master of Animals or not, or when it is depicted attacking or even just sometimes when it is shown among other animals (in the Aegean and in Anatolia). When it is attacking man, it clearly represents the wild that endangers cosmic order and thus the life of men; when it is, however, attacking a wild goat, a winged bull, a winged horse or a goose, it is not clear if it represents the wild, or rather the opposite; i.e. that it is fighting on the side of man against the wild forces that threatens men's life. In Anatolia, it refers to the wild while being an attendant of a god or goddess, more specifically the Weather-god and the Mountain-goddess. The motif where the sphinx is shown among other animals, can also have a similar meaning in Syro-Mesopotamia, where these sphinxes seem to be there as companions of a divinity, or at the least as representatives of protective forces.

Unique for Anatolia are the images where the sphinx can be seen attacking a man or holding a conquered man (this motif, a sphinx attacking or holding a man, can be seen in the Aegean also, but only in a later period, i.e. from the 6th cent. BC onwards); the latter may remind one of the sphinxes trampling an enemy, a motif that is not only known from Egypt (where it is always the victorious pharaoh that is depicted in this way, and once a queen), but also from the Aegean and from Syro-Mesopotamia itself.

When the control over the lone sphinx is exercised by a god or goddess, as it twice does in Anatolia (a Hittite God and the goddess Schauschga), it is obvious the sphinx functions as an attendant or companion of the divinity and is there in a submissive role to support this deity in his or her tasks and to enhance the divine powers. Sphinxes shown as a pair flanking a divinity in most cases represent companions and/or attendants of this deity; this is certainly the case in Syro-Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Aegean, but not in Egypt, where it is not common for gods to have attendants in the same way as in the other regions. Sphinxes in Egypt flanking a divinity are probably depicted because of their powerful qualities; by just being there they stress the power of the deity, without adding to it. Another possibility is of course that sphinxes flanking a divinity or a divine symbol are representing the pharaoh in his role as mediator between the world of the gods and that of men.

10.2.2 IMPORTANCE OF CONTEXT

As said before, the meaning and function of the sphinx depends for the main part on the surrounding motifs and context. E.g. when the sphinx represents the (supernatural) protective or divine forces (and this is more or less the case in all regions), it can support and/or enhance the royal power, it can help man in his struggle for life, it can protect life itself and the cosmic order that men needs to survive, it can guard and protect fertility and prosperity, it can legitimise ruler ship, or it can function as a basic protective and apotropaic symbol. The specific meaning and function mostly depend solely on the surrounding motifs and context.

One pair of images illustrates perfectly the all-deciding influence of surrounding motifs on the meaning and function of the sphinx; both in Anatolia (St.M. Nr. An. 13) and the Aegean (St.M. Nr. Aeg. 111) sphinxes occur as pairs near a column or supporting it. But because columns have a different meaning in each region, the meaning and function of the sphinxes differ greatly. In Anatolia columns came to suggest prosperity and fertility; therefore, the sphinxes connected to it are representing protective forces that guard these concepts. In the Aegean, however, a column, especially found in a place where (religious) rituals are performed, can be an aniconic representation of a deity. Sphinxes related to these columns can be regarded as companions/attendants of this deity; they are there to support and enhance the divine power or even to represent it.

10.2.3 INFLUENCE OF REGION

But the function of the sphinx can also change per region, although the context remains the same. E.g. when it is shown as a companion of the dead, in Egypt it seems to accompany the deceased into the Afterlife while controlling the correct performance of the ritual procedures that must ensure the safe voyage of the deceased. In Syro-Mesopotamia and Anatolia, however, it seems to have a more general protective function while it is only there to participate in (and not control) the ancestral cults and to honour the deceased (in Anatolia as companion of the Weather-god). In Greece, I think a division can be made, again depending on accompanying motifs, in the function of the sphinx as benevolent *Kere*. When it is shown with a fight or with warriors, it is, as it were, anticipating death and is there to prepare the possible deceased for and console them with their existence in the Afterlife. When the sphinx is depicted with motifs related to tomb-symbolism (e.g. the rosette) or to death itself (e.g. a tomb) its role is not only to console the deceased, but also to be his or her companion.

Generally, we can say the meaning and function of the sphinx in all regions show some similarities, although the differences outnumber these. All these parallels and variances will be listed in detail in the next chapter (11. Conclusion).

11 CONCLUSION

In ancient periods (on which this investigation focuses), images of sphinxes were closely connected to politics, religion and myths⁹⁷⁵. Yet, neither Egyptians, Mesopotamians, Cretans, Mycenaeans or Greeks had much to say, if anything at all, in texts about (the meaning or function of) the creature (cf. 3.3. The Origin of the Sphinx)⁹⁷⁶. To conclude this investigation/research, it was closely kept in mind what Thomas pointed out in his article of 2004:

*"Current studies of symbolism look beyond the basic concepts of "emblem", "symbol", and "religion" to a fuller consideration of the large and intersecting arenas of political, economic, social, and ritual practice."*⁹⁷⁷.

Equally important is the observation Hägg made in 1985:

*"Oriental art, which was basically all functional, i.e. put in the service of the ruler, the community and, above all, of religion. [...] What is important is that the artist was not free to express his own ideas or emotion, nor was he expected to do so. He was commissioned to express something on behalf of his patrons, whether an individual or a collective, whether he was working in Egypt, Mesopotamia or Minoan Crete."*⁹⁷⁸.

Yet, these considerations, however true they are, may not withhold anyone from trying to decipher, understand and explain the possible meanings and functions of any motif or scene. " Hereby also has to be kept in mind what Lamberg-Karlovsky already worded in 1993:

*"In deriving a history of things, we can come to the appreciation that the messages encoded in things are multiple and complex, and that an emphasis on a single attribute of the thing is but part of its biography"*⁹⁷⁹.

By this, he meant that iconographic research never can stand on its own, but serves mainly as a starting point to an investigation of an object. This investigation must include all other aspects of the object, from the source of its material, the method of manufacture, the contexts, etc., to

⁹⁷⁵ Demisch 1977: 11.

⁹⁷⁶ For Anatolia, Egypt, and Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant, no sources mentioning the sphinx were found. Although the sphinx was very popular in mainland Greece, it was identified as "ΣΦΙΓΞ" (sphinx) only in ca. 540 BC (cf. 7. The Sphinx in the Aegean): Demisch 1977: 64, 76-77; Baum-vom Felde 2006: 165; Cooper 2008: 45; Winkler-Horaček 2011c: 163. The word "sphinx" derived from "*Phix*", and connected with the Greek verb for "strangling" or "squeezing". Plato even suggested "*Phix*" changed to "sphinx" because of the verb "sphingein", that means strangle, obstruct.: Evans 1930: 418; Demisch 1977: 12-13, 76; Coche-Zivie 1984: 1139; Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 35-36; Winkler-Horaček 2011c: 163-164; Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 150. It was mentioned in some myths starting from the 8th or 7th C. BC, and was described always as a frightful and dangerous creature (cf. 7. The Sphinx in the Aegean).

⁹⁷⁷ Thomas 2004: 183.

⁹⁷⁸ Hägg 1985: 209.

⁹⁷⁹ Lamberg-Karlovsky 1993: 289.

the audience it was meant for. This study then, that has focussed primarily on the iconography of one small, but important motif, is only a starting point for further research⁹⁸⁰.

Only by thorough research, comparing material, examining contexts, putting hypothesis forward and then correcting or even dismissing them, in short, by trial and error can one try to make the world of the people of ancient periods come to life completely. Contexts, whether it is the location where the sphinx was depicted, or the surrounding elements and motifs, are an overpowering factor in determining the meanings and functions of the sphinx. The following conclusions, attained by combining facts with some hypotheses, some more certain than others, is one such effort to understand more clearly one small motif, that was popular in many different forms and contexts during many centuries and throughout a large area that was known for its many rich, developed and cultivated civilizations.

11.1 IMPORTANCE OF MEDIA AND SIZE

The first points that deserve our attention are not only the different manifestations of the sphinx (based on the tables with each region in the resp. chapters under the heading *Function and Meaning*, Chapters 4.4., 5.4., 6.4., 7.4.), but also the media which carried them, which are brought together in STF LX (Contexts & Used Media)⁹⁸¹. Although this table only mentions the media in which the different aspects/contexts of the sphinxes occur, it already tells something about the probable function(s) and meaning(s) of the image. It can be safely assumed that an image on an amulet or seal had a different function than the same image shown on a relief or a mural inside a temple, although this difference might only lie in the possible viewers who were supposed to see it and not necessarily in the meaning the image had.

In all regions, there is a great diversity in media in which the sphinx may appear but each region seems to have some media that are clearly more popular than other. STF XXXIV shows a simplified overview that gives greater insight in the most popular media during each period.

STF XXXIV- OBJECTS WITH SPHINXES

OBJECTS	SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	EGYPT	ANATOLIA	AEGEAN
	<i>PRECEDING 1600 BC</i>			
<i>SEAL</i>	23	2	8	2
<i>SCARAB</i>	2	-	-	-
<i>3-DIMENSIONAL</i>	2	20	-	2
<i>RELIEF</i>	-	2	-	-

⁹⁸⁰ For more information on the narrative and pictorial tradition in the Ancient Near East: Sonik 2014.

⁹⁸¹ Only the human-headed, lion-bodied sphinxes are included here.

PART 1 11. CONCLUSION

<i>ARTEFACT</i>	-	-	3	-
<i>MURAL</i>	2	-	-	1
<i>PLAQUE</i>	1	-	-	-
<i>JEWELLERY</i>	1	10	-	-
<i>DURING (1600-800 BC)</i>				
<i>SEAL</i>	25	3	1	5
<i>SCARAB</i>	4	19	-	-
<i>3-DIMENSIONAL</i>	7	25	5	2
<i>RELIEF</i>	13	16	7	2
<i>ARTEFACT</i>	8	12	3	5
<i>MURAL</i>	-	9	-	5
<i>PLAQUE</i>	62	-	-	2
<i>JEWELLERY</i>	-	7	1	7
<i>POTTERY</i>	9	-	1	5
<i>SARCOPHAGUS</i>	1	1	-	1
<i>AFTER 800 BC</i>				
<i>SEAL</i>	18	1	1	1
<i>SCARAB</i>	2	3	-	4
<i>3-DIMENSIONAL</i>	6	15	3	19
<i>RELIEF</i>	2	2	2	9
<i>ARTEFACT</i>	10	4	1	21
<i>MURAL</i>	1	-	-	-
<i>PLAQUE</i>	8	-	-	2
<i>JEWELLERY</i>	2	4	-	6
<i>POTTERY</i>	-	-	-	58
<i>SARCOPHAGUS</i>	-	1	-	-

Seals are, not surprisingly, the most commonly used media to show sphinxes in Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant during all periods; only during the period from 1600-800 BC are they outnumbered by plaques. Three-dimensional representations are, again not surprisingly, the most popular form of sphinxes found in Egypt during all periods, followed by scarabs, at least in the period from 1600-800 BC. They are, however, scarce in other regions; only in the Aegean they become more popular after 800 BC while in this region depictions of sphinxes on pottery grew explosive (58), although these did not exist before 1600 BC and were scarce in the period between 1600 and 800 BC (5).

The size of the image also had possibly consequences for its meaning and function. A big monument like the Giza sphinx would have had a different impact on the viewer than a sphinx carved into the surface of a seal surrounded by other motifs (cf p. 412-413). Although the first would arouse awe, wonder and curiosity of the viewer because of their almost mythical aspect, the latter would easily fit into a pocket and would be able to "travel" to other regions, thus enlarging the number of possible viewers and thus spreading its message in a more direct way (cf. infra).

It seems monumentality was not that common in the Ancient Near East, except in Egypt, due to the sheer number of sphinxes representing a pharaoh, and it occurred relatively late (except again in Egypt, where large-scale monuments existed from the start, i.e. from ca. 2600 BC). The first monumental sculptures or depictions of sphinxes appeared in Mesopotamia in the 10th or even only in the 9th cent. BC, in the Aegean in the 6th cent. BC (although large-scale griffins already appear for the first time in Knossos in the 15th cent. BC) and in Anatolia in the 14th or 13th cent. BC.

Examples are the Winged Sphinxes and Bull-Sphinxes with Horned Crown from the Palace from Assurnasirpal II in Nimrud (Cat.Nrs. Mes. 20-21); the Entrance Door Sphinx from the Palace in Tell Halaf (Cat.Nr. Mes. 104); the Khorsabad *Aladlammu* (St.M. Nr. Mes. 38); the Bull-Sphinx of Persepolis (St.M. Nr. Mes. 67); the Great Sphinx of Giza (St.M. Nr. Eg. 1); the large-scale sculptures of the Egyptian pharaoh as a sphinx; the Naxian Seated Sphinx who was connected to the Temple of Apollo in Delphi (St.M. Nr. Aeg. 92); the gate-sphinxes of Alaça Hüyük (Cat.Nr. An. 3); the Yerkapi Sphinxes from Hattusha (Cat.Nr. An. 5); the Southern Gate Sphinxes with Sacred Tree from Hattusha (Cat.Nr. An. 6)⁹⁸².

Of course, the used materials, media and size are only one aspect that is important for understanding the meaning and functions of the sphinx-imagery. A lot more facts, like e.g. where the sphinx was found and the context it was in must be considered to truly unriddle its meaning and function.

⁹⁸² Only sphinxes of which the size comes close to (in length or height) 2 metres are taken into account here.

11.2 REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SPHINX

11.2.1 SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA⁹⁸³

In Syro-Mesopotamia, the sphinx evolves from being a companion of the Sun-god (ca. 2550-2340 BC) and being engaged in active scenes of fighting or attacking or trampling and supervising a (political or religious) ritual to being associated with royal or divine power to becoming a companion of a god again (Weather-god)⁹⁸⁴. Although the sphinx in few cases also represents the king or ruler, it must be kept in mind that this happens only on what could be called egyptianizing seals, which show a diverse mix of motifs borrowed from other regions⁹⁸⁵. The relation with the Weather-god connects the sphinx to the honouring rituals performed for the death⁹⁸⁶. An important new function the sphinx takes on from the 9th cent. BC onwards is that of monumental-sized guard at entrances and gates. This role probably has a Hittite origin, as it was there sphinxes appeared in this function for the first time (14th-13th cent. BC).

11.2.2 EGYPT⁹⁸⁷

It is known as a fact, e.g., that in Egypt most sphinxes of the type of the Giza sphinx (ca. 2600 BC) represented the pharaoh (as the living Horus on the throne) as a combination of his reigning and divine capacities (cf. 5. The Sphinx in Egypt)⁹⁸⁸. More general, it can be stated that almost any sphinx in Egypt, except sometimes the falcon-headed (griffin) – which can represent a god -, and the ram-headed (criosphinx) ones – which always represents a god -, depict or represent the pharaoh. The image of the sphinx then, was not seen as the image of a god, but as the image of a person with divine capacities, i.e. the pharaoh, who represents the divine on earth. Thus, the sphinx should be regarded as "king-lion-god", and the motif has been created to make visible the divine aspects of the king.

But there are some exceptions to this rule. There are for example a few cases where the sphinx does not represent the pharaoh, but depicts the pharaoh's wife, the queen, or his daughter, a princess. One example lets us deduct the meaning of the sphinx, as it appears as a pair (not antithetically, however, but shown one beneath the other), lying behind the throne of a high-

⁹⁸³ Analysis of 4. The Sphinx in Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant.

⁹⁸⁴ E.g. St.M. Nr. Mes. 9: Standing Bearded Sphinx with Sun-god in Boat. Zouzoula 2007: 136; Gilibert 2011b: 51-66; Ritter 2011: 67-78.

⁹⁸⁵ See for more information 9.1. Thoughts about the "International Style".

⁹⁸⁶ E.g. Cat.Nr. Mes. 102: Pyxis Sphinx Decorating Throne Deceased Woman.

⁹⁸⁷ Analysis of 5. The Sphinx in Egypt.

⁹⁸⁸ Sourouzian 2006: 103; Warmenbol 2006: 17; Zivie-Coche 2006: 57.

placed official and his wife in their tomb in Thebes⁹⁸⁹. And then there are four pictures that differ completely from the bulk of the images, in that they are female and do not seem to represent a pharaoh, queen or princess, but a female person from strange origin that seems to be worshipping the pharaoh⁹⁹⁰. These images can be seen e.g. on a royal tunic or a royal throne. The question arises then of course if these images were produced under foreign influence or even by a foreign craftsman. Remarkable is that these four images were all made during the 18th Dyn. (14th cent. BC). This fact also suggests that they were made under foreign influence, foremost because in Egypt the sphinx is exclusively a royal symbol or a depiction of a god, and even more so because on two of these images there appears a Sacred Tree, a known characteristic Near Eastern motif, of which the exact meaning in Egypt, however, is not clear⁹⁹¹.

A sixth picture that is not dated precisely (16th-11th cent. BC, but perhaps also from the 14th cent. BC) shows not only a Sacred Tree flanked by two winged sphinxes, but these creatures both have a flower-bud in their neck, a feature that has been found on no other Egyptian sphinx⁹⁹². The wings of these sphinxes, as those of the other four examples, are moreover another untypical element of Egyptian sphinxes. Egyptian sphinxes do have wings, but only in a minority of the images (none noticeably in the period before 1600 BC and only 10 from the period between 1600 and 800 BC).

A perhaps even more remarkable sphinx is a seated example with a Nubian head (16th-11th cent. BC)⁹⁹³. The Medjay, inhabitants of a Nubian district, were taken up in the Egyptian army and made Egypt a military force. By the 18th Dyn. the Medjay were an elite paramilitary police force; the origin of their name got lost and the name got synonymous with policing activities. They are most notable for their protection of the royal palaces and tombs in Thebes and the surrounding areas. Perhaps that was the function of this image also: to protect and guard.

⁹⁸⁹ Cat.Nr. Eg. 52: Rekhmire and his Wife before Two Sphinxes.

⁹⁹⁰ Cat.Nr. Eg. 37: Winged Female Sphinx with Sacred Tree; Cat.Nr. Eg. 38: Winged Female Sphinx with Cartouche; Cat.Nr. Eg. 41: Winged Female Sphinxes with Sacred Tree; Cat.Nr. Eg. 43: Winged Female Sphinx with Queens Name.

⁹⁹¹ Demisch 1977: 21; Black and Green 1992: 170-171.

⁹⁹² Cat.Nr. Eg. 13: Winged Sphinxes with Sacred Tree. Cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs.

⁹⁹³ Cat.Nr. Eg. 92: Sphinx with Nubian Head. Gubel argues the head is not Nubian: Gubel 1998.

11.2.3 ANATOLIA⁹⁹⁴

In Anatolia, as in the Aegean, the iconography of the sphinx was readily adopted from Syro-Mesopotamian and Egyptian art (18th cent. BC), although without the original meaning and with slight alterations to the iconography (e.g. bearded male sphinxes were rare). Sphinx and griffin could both have a beneficent or violent nature, although they seem to have had a more positive reputation in Anatolia than they did in the Aegean.

Between 2000-1200 BC, it seems the sphinx had two main functions: first, a guarding and protective one (from ca. the 15th cent. BC onwards), when standing at entrances and gates. Secondly, male sphinxes were depicted as companions of the gods⁹⁹⁵. Although after 1200 BC some architectural constructions of the Hittite empire remain in use, the setting and meaning of the sphinxes change drastically. First, the sphinx comes to be seen on reliefs decorating city-walls and –gates or –entrances. Often it is portrayed as a wild animal that needs taming, as it is depicted in the company of the Weather-god or other (local) deities that belong to the mountains, and thus to the wild⁹⁹⁶. In other cases, the sphinx is depicted as taking part in processions or rituals to honour the dead⁹⁹⁷.

But in the 8th cent. BC, the sphinx again takes on a different meaning, from an inhabitant of wild nature it changes to a resident of palaces while it is used to support columns; and while these columns symbolize fertility, it goes from a connection with death to a relation with life.

11.2.4 THE AEGEAN⁹⁹⁸

The meaning and function of the sphinx in the Aegean seems to stand a bit on its own, although the motif was probably taken over from Egypt and was influenced by Syria and the Levant (ca. 1800 BC)⁹⁹⁹. As in Anatolia, sphinx and griffin could have a violent or beneficent nature, although the first prevailed in the Aegean, as they were in general considered unpredictable because of their wild nature. Also, the sphinx was iconographically adapted to fit local ideas (most Greek sphinxes had a female head and from the 5th cent. BC onwards these female sphinxes had breasts).

⁹⁹⁴ Analysis of 6. The Sphinx in Anatolia.

⁹⁹⁵ An excellent overview of the Anatolian sphinx: Gilibert 2011a: 39-50.

⁹⁹⁶ E.g. Cat.Nr. An. 11: Two Sphinxes Attack Winged Horse.

⁹⁹⁷ E.g. Cat.Nr. An. 13: Zincirli Eastern Orthostatic Sphinx.

⁹⁹⁸ Analysis of 7. The Sphinx in the Aegean.

⁹⁹⁹ 3.3. The Origin of the Sphinx.

The first Minoan sphinxes (ca. 1800 BC) were depicted on their own, first wingless, but soon (ca. 1700 BC) with wings; later sphinxes (ca. 1600 BC) often appear in pairs, flanking a Sacred Tree, or a throne or in the company of a Master of Animals¹⁰⁰⁰. The lone sphinx, however, remains a popular motif, although the sphinx-motif itself remains relatively rare in the earlier periods. In the later period, i.e. after 800 BC, the sphinx becomes very popular and is suddenly depicted partaking in hunts, battles or fights, trampling an enemy, in complex (religious?) scenes, guarding tombs, or in the company of animals.

There are also four Aegean sphinxes of which meaning and function remain uncertain: the sphinx shown with some female heads, with a man, with a naked man, and with a woman. But by comparing them to other images and considering the symbolism of the sphinx in this region, it seems the sphinx accompanies these humans to stress the fact that it is supporting men in their struggle for life; that it even acts in some ways as their attendant (cf. 7. The Sphinx in the Aegean – 7.4. Function and Meaning).

¹⁰⁰⁰ Demisch 1977: 77; Winkler-Horaček 2011b: 117-136.

11.3 FUNCTIONS

The one function, i.e. why they are present, that the sphinxes from all four regions share is the protective guarding and apotropaic function; it seems it possessed this guarding function sometimes because of its wild nature and, in other instances, because of its close connection with divinities¹⁰⁰¹. Yet in three of these regions, Syro-Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Aegean, at the same time it seems that it cannot be completely trusted (only in Egypt it never is depicted controlled, dominated or attacked). The protective aspect is turned against all kinds of misfortunes, although in Greece it seems it is mostly connected with warfare and death.

In two regions, the composite creature made its first appearance as a companion of gods (Syro-Mesopotamia and Anatolia), while in Egypt the sphinx, when representing a god, can be understood to be a companion of the pharaoh. Teissier states the Egyptian sphinx has four functions: it can act as a guardian, or as an aggressor, it can symbolize fertility, or it can be connected to solar and celestial bodies, like the sun, the moon, stars¹⁰⁰². The solar component of the sphinx is undoubtedly present through the lion's body; the sun herself is personalized by the representation of the pharaoh as the god Horus¹⁰⁰³. This close relation between sphinx and sun is also clear when the sphinx stands guard on the solar bark (e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 74).

Only in Egypt the composite creature plays a role as mediator between the gods and the people, mostly when it is representing the pharaoh. In Syro-Mesopotamia and Anatolia, it appears, in later periods, as an overseer of rituals and the correct execution of contracts and treaties and in this last region it also becomes an overseer of death rituals, a function it also executes in Egypt. The male Anatolian sphinx is not so much an overseer of rituals, but seems to be only a participant in religious and death rituals where it appears as a companion of a god. In the Aegean, the sphinx also takes part in religious rituals.

While sphinxes in pairs in Egypt flank the main road to the pylon of the temple or the entrance, Near Eastern bull- and lion-sphinxes in pairs flank the gates of the city, palace or temple.

Although the number of meanings of sphinxes – what or who do they represent – is relatively limited (cf. 11.4. Meanings), the number of functions they can have – why are they there, what is their role – is not. They can be protective and or apotropaic, they can protect and stress, enhance, support, help or assist a variety of objects/persons/deities, they can ask, mediate,

¹⁰⁰¹ Furtwängler 1900: 42-43.

¹⁰⁰² Teissier 1996: 88, 192-193.

¹⁰⁰³ Demisch 1977: 64, 230; Fischer 1987: 14.

thank, worship or surrender and they can also be connected to death in different functions. Last, but not least, in a limited number of instances, they can endanger the divine and cosmic order.

When sphinxes are protective and/or apotropaic they represent protective forces, or, in Egypt, a higher, supernatural force. But often this function, protective and/or apotropaic, goes together with other functions: participation in ritual procedures (Anatolia), supervising these procedures (Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Aegean), mediating (Egypt), or legitimizing rulership (Mesopotamia and Egypt). When sphinxes participate in and supervise ritual procedures, they are represented as companions and assistants of a deity, or they at least represent a divine, supernatural force; when they participate in ritual procedures to mediate, they represent the pharaoh. When they legitimize rulership, they either represent a deity (Egypt) or at least a higher force (Mesopotamia, Egypt).

Sphinxes can also protect the ruler that brings prosperity to his country (Mesopotamia), the divine and cosmic order (Mesopotamia), the abstract concepts of fertility and prosperity themselves (Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Aegean), and they can also supervise this order (Aker; Egypt). In all these cases, the sphinx represents protective forces or, in the case of Aker, a divine power. When the sphinxes protect the life-forces and the divine and cosmic order, they can represent protective forces (Anatolia) or even the pharaoh (Egypt).

Sphinxes which stress, support or enhance the divine powers in Egyptian images, represent a higher force, while in Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Aegean, they are there as companions or assistants of a deity. When they enhance the protective powers (Anatolia and the Aegean), they represent the same powers, but when they are supporting the protective powers (Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Aegean), they suggest the wild, even when they are there to participate in ritual procedures (Aegean).

Sphinxes in Egypt and Anatolia can also enhance and support, even legitimize the royal power and then they are there respectively as representing protective forces (Anatolia) or the pharaoh (Egypt).

When a sphinx in Egypt assists, or helps the pharaoh, it can either be representing a human being, a deity, or a higher force. Sphinxes helping men in the struggle for life represent a higher force (Mesopotamia) or a protective force (Mesopotamia, Aegean).

Sphinxes in Egypt representing the pharaoh can also be asking, mediating, worshipping or surrendering to divine power. In Mesopotamia, a sphinx who is offering stands for the people

who ask or thank a deity for a favour. And some sphinxes from Egypt represent foreign women worshipping the pharaoh and queen.

Sphinxes connected to death only appear abundantly in the Aegean, where they represent a divine power, there to either prepare men for death or to comfort him with his unavoidable fate. In Egypt and Mesopotamia also sphinxes connected to death represent a higher force, but they are there to honour the deceased and participate in ritual procedures (Mesopotamia) or supervise these procedures and accompany the deceased into the Afterlife (Egypt). Only in Anatolia sphinxes connected to death are companions of a deity and these lone male sphinxes not only participate in the ritual procedures that honour the dead but also assist the deity who takes part in the procedures.

When sphinxes endanger the divine and cosmic order (Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Aegean), they are uncontrollable and suggestive of the wild.

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STF XXXV - SYNTHESIS FUNCTIONS – MEANINGS – ASPECTS ¹⁰⁰⁴		
FUNCTIONS & CONTEXT	MEANING	ASPECT
<i>Protective/Apotropaic</i>		
Alone or in Pair (Mes., Eg., An., Aeg.)	Representing Protective Forces (Amulet)	Protective
Antithetical pair looking at each other or looking away (Mes., An., Aeg.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective
As pair flanking a door/gateway (Mes., Eg.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective
Pair of sphinxes in dromos (Eg.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective
Lone sphinx with name of king but under control (An.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective
Lone sphinx with Sacred Tree (Aeg.)	Representing Protective Powers	Protective
Lone sphinx with Sun-disc and Ankh-sign, with rosette, with spiral (Aeg.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective
On helmet/armour, wearing helmet, pulling war- or hunting-chariot (Aeg.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective
With two or more on Sun-bark (Eg.)	Representing a Higher Force/Divine Power	Protective/Divine
<i>Protective/Apotropaic +</i>		
<i>Participating in Ritual Procedures</i>		
Lone male sphinx at doors/gateways (An.)	Companions of a Deity	Protective/Divine
<i>Participating in Ritual Procedures & Mediating</i>		
Lone sphinx offering vessels (Eg.)	Representing the Pharaoh	Divine
<i>Participating in/Supervising of Ritual Procedures</i>		
As antithetical pair flanking a religious ritual (Mes.)	Companions/Assistants of a Deity	Divine/Protective
As pair of female sphinxes flanking a door/gateway (An.)	Companions/Assistants of a Deity	Divine/Protective
As antithetical pair flanking palmettes/altar (Aeg.)	Companions/Assistants of a Deity	Divine/Protective
Lone sphinx with procession (Aeg.)	Representing a Higher Force/Divine Power	Divine/Protective

¹⁰⁰⁴ Table L, an edited version of table XLVIII, summarizes all the information about meanings and function of the sphinx but is focussed on the functions the sphinx can have.

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Lone sphinx with Palmette/Lotus (Aeg.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective/Divine
<i>Legitimizing Rulership</i>		
As pair flanking a throne of a king/ruler (Mes., Eg.)	Representing a Higher Force/Divine Power	Protective/Divine
As antithetical pair flanking the name of the pharaoh (Eg.)	Representing a Higher Force/Divine Power	Protective/Divine
As Ra-Herakhty (Eg.)	Representing a Deity	Divine/Protective
<i>Protecting....</i>		
<i>Prosperity-Bringing Ruler</i>		
Lone sphinx with Sacred Tree (Mes.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective/Divine
With animals or other composite creatures alone or in group (Mes.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective/Divine
<i>Prosperity-Bringing Ruler and Divine & Cosmic Order</i>		
As pair with another (composite) creature (Mes.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective
<i>Fertility & Prosperity</i>		
As antithetical pair flanking a flowing aryballos/an animal (Mes.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective
As antithetical pair flanking/supporting a column (An.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective
Alone with wine-jar (Aeg.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective
<i>Protecting/Supervising Divine & Cosmic Order</i>		
Aker	Representing a Higher Force/Divine Power	Divine/Protective
<i>Protecting Life-Forces and Divine & Cosmic Order</i>		
As antithetical pair flanking papyrus (Eg.)	Representing the Pharaoh	Divine/Protective
As antithetical pair flanking an Ankh-sign (An.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective
<i>Stressing/Enhancing/Supporting/Helping/Assisting...</i>		
<i>Stressing Divine Power</i>		
Alone with Sacred Tree, with Sun-disc or rosette (Eg.)	Representing a Higher Force/Divine Power	Divine
As pair flanking a throne of a goddess (Eg.)	Representing a Higher Force/Divine Power	Divine

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<i>Supporting/Enhancing Divine Power</i>		
With animals or other composite creatures alone or in group (Mes.)	Companions/Assistants of a Deity	Divine/Protective
Lone sphinx with Sun-disc, rosette/with or on Sun-bark (Mes.)	Companions/Assistants of a Deity	Divine/Protective
As pair flanking a throne of a deity (Mes., An., Aeg.)	Companions/Assistants of a Deity	Divine/Protective
Lone sphinx (or with other animals) with divinity (Mes., An., Aeg.)	Companions/Assistants of a Deity	Divine/Protective
As pair flanking a divinity (Mes., Aeg.)	Companions/Assistants of a Deity	Divine/Protective
Lone sphinx controlled by deity (An.)	Companions/Assistants of a Deity	Divine/Protective
As antithetical pair flanking a column (Aeg.)	Companions/Assistants of a Deity	Divine/Protective
As antithetical pair flanking a swan (= Apollo) (Aeg.)	Companions/Assistants of a Deity	Divine/Protective
<i>Enhancing Protective Powers</i>		
Lone sphinx with snake out of body (An.), with scorpion-tail (An.), with snake-head-tail (An., Aeg.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective
<i>Enhancing/Supporting Protective Powers</i>		
As pair held by a Master of Animals (Mes., An., Aeg.))	Suggesting the Wild	Protective
As pair with a lion held by a Master of Animals (Mes.)	Suggesting the Wild	Protective
Lone sphinx controlled by bird-man, hero/winged genius, men (Mes.)	Suggesting the Wild	Protective
<i>Enhancing/Supporting Protective Powers & Participating in Ritual Procedures</i>		
Lone sphinx controlled by man (priest?), satyr (Aeg.)	Suggesting the Wild	Protective
<i>Enhancing/Supporting Royal Power</i>		
Alone with Sacred Tree (An.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective/Divine
<i>Enhancing/Supporting & Legitimizing Royal Power</i>		
Lone sphinx with name pharaoh, cartouche, royal statue, <i>Ankh-</i> or <i>Nebet</i> -sign, systrum, lotus and papyrus 5Eg.)	Representing the Pharaoh	Divine/Protective
<i>Stressing Royal Power & Restored Divine and Cosmic Order</i>		
Trampling serpent (Mes.), enemy (Mes., Eg.)	Representing a Ruler	Divine
<i>Helping: Willing to Listen</i>		

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Lone sphinx (Sun-god) with ear (Eg.)	Representing a Deity	Divine
<i>Assisting the Pharaoh</i>		
As a female sphinx representing the queen/princess (Eg.)	Representing Human Beings	Protective
As a trampling female sphinx representing the queen (Eg.)	Representing Human Beings	Protective
<i>Assisting the Mediating Pharaoh</i>		
Being offered to/Being worshipped (Eg.)	Representing a Deity	Divine
<i>Helping the Pharaoh to Victory</i>		
Lone sphinx offering a human head (Eg.)	Representing a Higher Force/Divine Power	Divine
<i>Helping Men in his Struggle for Life</i>		
As a Master of Animals (Mes.)	Representing a Higher Force/Divine Power	Divine/Protective
With animal-fight (Mes.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective/Divine
Trampling serpent/enemy (Mes., Aeg.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective/Divine
Lone sphinx with female heads, man, naked man, or As antithetical pair flanking a woman or a mythological scene (Aeg.)	Representing Protective Forces	Protective/Divine
<i>Asking/Mediating/Thanking/Worshipping/Surrendering</i>		
<i>Asking/Mediating</i>		
Lone sphinx with Maat/Bastet (Eg.)	Representing the Pharaoh	Divine
As antithetical pair flanking a deity or a divine symbol (Eg.)	Representing the Pharaoh	Divine
<i>Asking/Thanking for a favour</i>		
As an offering sphinx representing the people (Mes.)	Representing Human Beings	????????
<i>Worshipping a Deity</i>		
Worshipping (Eg.)	Representing the Pharaoh	Divine
<i>Worshipping the Pharaoh & Queen</i>		
As a female sphinx representing Syrian women with a king's/queen's name	Representing Human Beings	?????
<i>Surrendering to Divine Power</i>		

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Being offered (Eg.)	Representing the Pharaoh	Divine
Alone with Hathor-cow (Eg.)	Representing the Pharaoh	Divine
<i>Connected to Death....</i>		
<i>Participating in Ritual Procedures/Honouring the Deceased</i>		
As companion of the dead (woman, man) (Mes.)	Representing a Higher Force/Divine Power	Divine/Protective
<i>Participating in Ritual Procedures/Honouring the Deceased/Assisting Deity</i>		
Lone male sphinx as companion of the dead (ruler) (An.)	Companions/Assistants of a Deity	Divine/Protective
<i>Accompanying Deceased in Afterlife/Supervising Ritual Procedures</i>		
As companion of the dead (king/high official) (Eg.)	Representing a Higher Force/Divine Power	Divine/Protective
<i>Preparing Men for Death/Comforting</i>		
Pair of Greek <i>Kere</i> with warriors, with fight between gods/men (Aeg.)	Representing a Higher Force/Divine Power	Divine/Protective
Lone Greek <i>Kere</i> on/near tomb, with snake/rosette/spiral/music/... (Aeg.)	Representing a Higher Force/Divine Power	Divine/Protective
<i>Endangering Divine & Cosmic Order</i>		
Attacked by archer, bird headed demon, genius/hero, griffin, lion (Mes.)	Suggesting the Wild	Uncontrollable
Attacked by centaur (An.)	Suggesting the Wild	Uncontrollable
With animals or other (composite) creatures, alone or in group (Aeg.)	Suggesting the Wild	Uncontrollable
As pair with lion attacking deer (Aeg.)	Suggesting the Wild	Uncontrollable
Holding a conquered man/Attacking man (Aeg.)	Suggesting the Wild	Uncontrollable
As poser of riddles, with banqueters, with Oedipus (Aeg.)	Suggesting the Wild	Uncontrollable
<i>Ambiguous: Helping Men in his Struggle for Life ↔ Endangering Divine & Cosmic Order</i>		
Attacking winged bull/wild goat (Mes.), winged horse (An.), goose (Aeg.)	Ambiguous: Representing Protective Forces ↔ Suggesting the Wild	Divine/Protective ↔ Uncontrollable

11.4 MEANINGS¹⁰⁰⁵

Every sphinx has a meaning, i.e. it represents a person, or a god, or a concept. The sphinx can have a relatively limited number of meanings. A depiction of the creature can act as an amulet, and some amulets are made in the shape of a sphinx. Then the sphinx itself can represent protective forces, which occurs often in every region, except Egypt; there only sphinxes flanking a doorway or entrance and the pairs of sphinxes which form a dromos seem to have only this meaning. Functions connected to this protective aspect vary from protecting and even supporting the royal power, to guarding prosperity, fertility, life in general, and even divine and cosmic order, to helping men in his struggle for life.

On a next level, the sphinx can stand for a higher, supernatural power. Egypt has the most images of sphinxes with this meaning and these sphinxes also can have various functions: from legitimising rulership (also in Mesopotamia) and helping the pharaoh to victory and accompanying the deceased into the Afterlife while supervising the ritual procedures for the dead. Only once in Mesopotamia this higher force helps men in the struggle for life, and sometimes participates in ritual procedures which honour the dead. In both Anatolia and the Aegean, they can be seen participating in and supervising ritual procedures, or, in the Aegean, as pairs of *Kere* which prepare men for death and comfort him. The lone *Kere* goes a step further and accompanies the deceased into the Afterlife while also trying to comfort him.

Only in Egypt, Aker, the double-headed sphinx protects the divine and cosmic order.

Sphinxes representing a deity do not exist in Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Aegean, and they are relatively scarce even in Egypt. Here they can legitimize royal power, assist the pharaoh in his function as mediator between gods and men, or help people when they ask as favour. On the other hand, there were no sphinxes found in Egypt that represent companions of a god or goddess, but these do exist in every other region. Most of the time they are there to support or enhance the divine power and to participate in ritual procedures, but in some cases their function gets more responsible when they replace the deity as supervisors of these procedures (Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Aegean). In Anatolië, the lone male sphinx participates in the rituals and is there as a companion of the Weather-god to honour the deceased.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Table STF XXXVI Synthesis Meanings – Functions – Aspects.

In Egypt, the sphinx often represents the ruler, in Mesopotamia, this occurs only twice in what could be called "egyptianizing" images; in Anatolia and the Aegean no sphinxes representing the king or ruler have been found. The sphinx as the pharaoh also has a variety of functions; it can only be depicted to emphasize and legitimize the royal power, it can ask divine support, worship a deity, participate in ritual procedures, help the king to mediate between gods and people, and even show the willingness of the pharaoh to surrender completely to divine powers. Sometimes it is depicted to protect the life-forces or to demonstrate that through the existence of a pharaoh, divine and cosmic order are restored.

In a few cases, only the sphinx represents "normal" human beings, instead of the pharaoh. Once in Mesopotamia an offering sphinx can be understood to represent the people who thank or ask the favour of a deity. In Egypt, the sphinx can represent a queen (only twice) and a princess (only once) who, with this depiction of themselves, show that they will assist the pharaoh in every way they can. From the 18th Dyn. there are some Egyptian images of female sphinxes with remarkable foreign characteristics. These sphinxes could represent foreign (Syrian) women who worship both pharaoh and queen.

In three regions, Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Aegean, images of sphinxes can represent the wild, the untamed, uncivilized, and thus dangerous elements. In Mesopotamia, however, the function of these sphinxes can be interpreted positively as being submissive and thus supportive of the protective powers of the beings that control or attack them. In Anatolia and the Aegean, they can have the same function, but there are some instances where they endanger the divine and cosmic order.

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STF XXXVI– SYNTHESIS MEANINGS – FUNCTIONS - ASPECTS ¹⁰⁰⁶		
MEANINGS & CONTEXTS	FUNCTION	ASPECT
<i>Amulet</i>		
Lone sphinx or in Pair (Mes., Eg., An., Aeg.)	Protective/Apotropaic	Protective
<i>Representing Protective Forces</i>		
Lone sphinx with Sacred Tree (Mes.)	Protecting prosperity-bringing ruler	Divine/Protective
Lone sphinx with Sacred Tree (An.)	Supporting/enhancing royal power	Divine/Protective
Lone sphinx with Sacred Tree (Aeg.)	Protective/apotropaic	Protective
With animal-fight (Mes.)	Helping man in his struggle for life	Divine/Protective
Lone sphinx with name of king but under control (An.)	Protective/apotropaic	Protective
Lone sphinx with Sun-Disc and <i>Ankh</i> -sign, with rosette, spiral (Aeg.)	Protective/apotropaic	Protective
Lone sphinx with snakes out of body (An.), with scorpion-tail (An.), with snake-head tail (An., Aeg.)	Enhancing protective powers	Protective
Lone sphinx with female heads, man, naked man or as antithetical pair flanking a woman or a mythological scene (Aeg.)	Helping man in his struggle for life	Divine/Protective
Lone sphinx with Palmette/Lotus (Aeg.)	Protective/apotropaic, Participating in/supervising of ritual procedures	Divine/Protective
Lone sphinx with wine jar (Aeg.)	Protecting fertility/prosperity	Protective
On helmet/armour, wearing helmet, pulling war-or hunting-chariot (Aeg.)	Protective/apotropaic	Protective
Pairs of sphinxes in dromos (Eg.)	Protective/apotropaic	Protective
As pair with another (composite) creature (Mes.)	Protecting prosperity-bringing ruler/Protecting cosmic order	Protective
Trampling serpent/enemy (Mes., Aeg.)	Helping man in his struggle for life	Divine/Protective
As antithetical pair flanking a flowing aryballos, an animal (Mes.)	Protecting fertility	Protective
As antithetical pair flanking an <i>Ankh</i> -sign (An.)	Protecting life and cosmic order	Protective
As antithetical pair flanking a column (An.)	Protecting fertility and prosperity	Protective

¹⁰⁰⁶ STF XXXVI is a reworking of STF XXXIII; now, however, the starting point are the different meanings of the sphinx.

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As pair flanking a door/gateway (Mes. Eg.)	Protective/apotropaic	Protective
Antithetical pair looking at each other or looking away (Mes., An., Aeg.)	Protective/apotropaic	Protective
With animals or other composite creatures alone or in group (Mes.)	Protecting prosperity-bringing ruler	Protective
<i>Representing a Higher Force/Divine Power</i>		
As a Master of Animals (Mes.)	Helping man in his struggle for life	Divine/Protective
As pair flanking a throne of a king/ruler (Mes., Eg.)	Protective/apotropaic, Legitimizing rulership	Divine/Protective
Lone sphinx with Sacred Tree (Eg.)	Stressing divine power	Divine
Lone sphinx with Sun-Disc or Rosette (Eg.)	Stressing divine power	Divine
Lone sphinx offering a human head (Eg.)	Helping the pharaoh to victory	Divine
With two or more on Sun-Bark (Eg.)	Protective/Apotropaic	Protective
As pair flanking a throne of a goddess (Eg.)	Stressing divine power	Divine
As antithetical pair flanking pharaoh's name (Eg.)	Protecting royal power/Legitimizing royal power	Divine/Protective
Alone with procession (Aeg.)	Participating in/Supervising ritual procedures	Divine/Protective
As companion of the dead (high official/king) (Eg.)	Accompanying deceased in Afterlife/Supervising ritual procedures	Divine/Protective
As companion of the dead (woman, man) (Mes.)	Participating in ritual procedures/Honouring the deceased	Divine/Protective
Pair of Greek <i>Kere</i> with warriors, with fight between gods/ men (Aeg.)	Preparing men for death/Comforting	Divine/Protective
Lone Greek <i>Kere</i> on/near tomb, with snake/rosette/spiral/music/... (Aeg.)	Accompanying deceased in Afterlife/Comforting	Divine/Protective
Aker (Eg.)	Protecting/Supervising divine and cosmic order	Divine/Protective
<i>Representing a Deity</i>		
Lone sphinx with ear; Sun-god (Eg.)	Willing to listen to men's prayers	Divine
As Ra-Herakhty (Eg.)	Protective/Apotropaic; Legitimizing royal power	Divine/Protective
Being offered to/Being Worshipped (Eg.)	Assisting mediating pharaoh	Divine/Protective

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<i>Companions of a Deity/Assisting a Divinity</i>		
With animals or other composite creatures alone or in group (Mes.)	Supporting/enhancing divine power	Divine/Protective
Lone sphinx with sun-disc or rosette/with or on Sun-bark (Mes.)	Supporting/enhancing divine power	Divine/Protective
As antithetical pair flanking a religious ritual (Mes.)	Participating in/Supervising of ritual procedures	Divine/Protective
As pair flanking a throne of a deity (Mes., An., Aeg.)	Supporting/enhancing divine power	Divine/Protective
As pair flanking a divinity (Mes., Aeg.)	Supporting/enhancing divine power	Divine/Protective
Lone sphinx (or with other animals) with divinity (Mes., An., Aeg.)	Supporting/enhancing divine power	Divine/Protective
As antithetical pair flanking a column (Aeg.)	Supporting/enhancing divine power	Divine/Protective
As antithetical pair flanking a Swan = Apollo (Aeg.)	Supporting/enhancing divine power	Divine/Protective
As antithetical pair flanking palmettes/an altar (Aeg.)	Participating in/Supervising of ritual procedures	Divine/Protective
As pair of female sphinxes flanking a door or gateway (An.)	Participating in/ Supervising of ritual procedures	Divine/Protective
Lone male sphinx at gates/doorways (An.)	Participating in ritual procedures	Divine/Protective
Lone sphinx controlled by deity (An.)	Supporting/enhancing divine power	Divine/Protective
Lone male sphinx as companion of the dead (ruler) (An.)	Assisting the Weather-god/Participating in rituals/Honouring deceased	Divine/Protective
<i>Representing a (Victorious/Protecting) Ruler</i>		
Lone sphinx with Maat, Bastet (Eg.)	Asking divine support	Divine
Lone sphinx with name pharaoh, cartouche, royal statue, <i>Ankh</i> - or <i>Nebet</i> -sign, systrum, lotus and papyrus (Eg.)	Emphasizing royal power/Legitimizing royal power	Divine/Protective
Lone sphinx with Hathor-cow (Eg.)	Protected/Legitimized royal power	Divine/Protective
Offering vessels (Eg.)	Participating in ritual procedures/Mediating	Divine
Being offered (Eg.)	Surrendering to divine power	Divine
Worshipping (Eg.)	Worshipping a deity	Divine
As antithetical pair flanking a deity or a divine symbol (Eg.)	Mediating	Divine
As antithetical pair flanking papyrus (Eg.)	Protecting life-forces and cosmic order	Divine/Protective

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Trampling serpent (Mes.), enemy (Eg., Mes.)	Emphasising royal power/Stressing restored order and unity	Divine
<i>Representing human beings</i>		
As a female sphinx representing the queen/a princess (Eg.)	Assisting the pharaoh	Protective
As a female sphinx representing Syrian women with a queen's name (Eg.)	Worshipping pharaoh and queen	????
As a trampling female sphinx representing the queen (Eg.)	Assisting the pharaoh	Protective
As an offering sphinx representing the people (Mes.)	Thanking/asking favour of deity	?????
<i>Suggesting the Wild</i>		
As pair with an animal (lion) held by Master of Animals (Mes.)	Being submissive/supportive/Enhancing protective powers	Protective
Lone sphinx controlled by bird-man, hero/winged genius, men (Mes.)	Being submissive/supportive/Enhancing protective powers	Protective
As pair held by a Master of Animals (Mes. An., Aeg.)	Being submissive/supportive/Enhancing protective powers	Protective
Lone sphinx controlled by man (priest?), satyr (Aeg.)	Being submissive/supportive/Enhancing protective powers/ Participating in ritual procedures	Protective
Attacked by archer, bird-headed demon, genius/hero, griffin, lion (Mes.)	Endangering divine and cosmic order	Uncontrollable
Attacked by centaur (An.)	Endangering divine and cosmic order	Uncontrollable
With animals or other (composite) creatures, alone or in group (An., Aeg.)	Endangering divine and cosmic order	Uncontrollable
As pair with lion attacking deer (Aeg.)	Endangering divine and cosmic order	Uncontrollable
Holding a conquered man/Attacking man (Aeg.)	Endangering divine and cosmic order	Uncontrollable
As poser of riddles, with banqueters, with Oedipus (Aeg.)	Endangering divine and cosmic order	Uncontrollable
<i>Ambiguous</i>		
Attacking winged bull/wild goat (Mes.), winged horse (An.), goose (Aeg.)	Representing Protective forces ↔ Suggesting the Wild Helping men in his struggle for life ↔ Endangering divine & cosmic order	Divine/Protective ↔ Uncontrollable

11.5 ANALYSES FUNCTIONS – MEANINGS – CONTEXTS

SIMILARITIES IN SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA & THE LEVANT, EGYPT, ANATOLIA AND GREECE:

- When used as an amulet, sphinxes are **protective** and apotropaic.
- When used with symbols that refer to kingship or to divinities, sphinxes are there to **protect** the ruler, or to **support** and/or enhance the royal or divine powers.
- When getting attacked (only in Syro-Mesopotamia and Anatolia), sphinxes suggest the wild and symbolize the **threat** to the cosmic order.
- When attacking (not in Egypt; not men), sphinxes represent **protective** forces that help men to retain cosmic order.
- When flanking symbols that refer to general concepts as fertility, life, prosperity, ..., sphinxes represent **protective** forces that guard these concepts.
- When flanking a religious ritual, an altar, or a motif symbolizing a place where rituals take place, or partaking in a ritual (in Aegean and Syro-Mesopotamia), sphinxes represent a **divinity** and not only **assist** and **support** him/her, but also **participate** in the ritual and **control** its procedures.
- When controlled or held by a Master of Animals (not in Egypt), sphinxes suggest the wild, not necessarily the uncontrollable and unpredictable wild, however, but also, most of the time, the tamed, submissive wild, that **supports** and enhances the protective powers of the Master.
- When shown as a pair without any motif in between (not in Egypt), sphinxes can be seen as **protective** forces that are there to guard and ward off evil.

PRACTICALLY SIMILAR:

- When shown alone or as a pair with a divinity, sphinxes are **companions**/attendants of this divinity, there to **support** and **enhance** the divine powers; in Egypt, however, these sphinxes are merely there to **stress** the power of the divine force.

→ In short it can be said that the PROTECTIVE, SUPPORTIVE and ENHANCING function is the most general aspect of the sphinx that can be found in every region; these functions occur in the following instances¹⁰⁰⁷:

- when used as an amulet;
- when shown with royal and divine symbols
- when getting attacked (only in Syro-Mesopotamia and Anatolia) or attacking (not in Egypt; not men)
- when flanking symbols that refer to general concepts
- when flanking or in a place where rituals take place or flanking the ritual itself or as part of a ritual.
- when controlled by a Master of Animals (not in Egypt)
- when shown as antithetical pair (not in Egypt).

DIFFERENCES:

Syro-Mesopotamia: sphinxes on/near the Sun-bark function as the **companions**/attendants of the Sun-god, there to **support** and **enhance** the divine power.

↔ Egypt: sphinxes on the Sun-bark symbolize some **higher powers**, there to **guard** and to **ward off** evil.

Syro-Mesopotamia: a sphinx as a pair with another (composite) creature either represents **protective forces** that **guard** over the ruler who brings prosperity to the country or over the cosmic order, or (when controlled by a Master of Animals) suggests the **wild** that is being tamed and that **enhances** protective powers.

↔ Aegean: a sphinx as a pair with another creature suggests the **wild** that **endangers** the cosmic and divine order.

Syro-Mesopotamia and Egypt: sphinxes flanking a gate/entrance/doorway represent **protective** forces that **guard** and **ward off** evil.

↔ Anatolia: sphinxes flanking a gate/entrance/doorway (only female) not only have a **guarding** function; they also **represent** a divinity and are there to **participate** in the rituals and to **ensure** the procedures are correct.

Egypt: a sphinx offering or a pair of sphinxes flanking a symbolic representation of a god are the **personification** of the pharaoh who

↔ Syro-Mesopotamia: a sphinx offering is a **representation** of the people who either **ask** or **thank** the gods for a favour.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Differences have been put together in table XLII: Differences in Functions & Meanings of the Sphinx (cf. infra).

mediates between men and gods by continually participating in rituals.

Egypt (and sometimes Syro-Mesopotamia): sphinxes trampling an enemy (sometimes a serpent) **personify** the victorious pharaoh of whom the power is **emphasized** and who makes sure the land remains united.

Anatolia and the Aegean: lone sphinxes with the name of a king or a Sun-disc represent **higher forces**, there to **guard** and **ward off** evil.

Anatolia and the Aegean: sphinxes with animals and/or composite creatures suggest the **wild** that **endangers** the divine and cosmic order.

↔ The Aegean: sphinxes trampling an enemy represent **protective forces** that **help** men in his struggle for life.

↔ Egypt: lone sphinxes or pairs of sphinxes with the name of a pharaoh, or an *Ankh*-sign, or other symbols of general concepts **personify** the pharaoh of whom the power is **emphasized** and the kingship is **legitimised**.

↔ Syro-Mesopotamia: sphinxes with other animals and/or composite creatures are either there as **companions**/attendants of a god whose power they **support** and **enhance** or they represent **protective forces** that **guard** the ruler who ensures prosperity for his people.

Syro-Mesopotamia, Anatolia and Aegean: lone sphinxes controlled by a (composite) creature appear in these three regions, but all with a slightly different role.

Syro-Mesopotamia and the Aegean: these sphinxes suggest the **wild** and show that by being submissive and **supportive** they **enhance** the protective creature that controls them.

& Anatolia: when a divinity is in control, the sphinx is his/her **companion**/attendant that **supports** and **enhances** the divine powers.

Syro-Mesopotamia: when man is in control, the sphinx is **on men's side** to **preserve** cosmic order.
Aegean: when a priest is in control, the sphinx suggests the **wild** and **takes part** in religious rituals.

Sphinxes connected to Death, the Dead and Afterlife in Syro-Mesopotamia, Egypt, Anatolia and the Aegean

Syro-Mesopotamia: sphinxes accompanying the dead **protect** against and **ward off** evil while at the same time they **participate** in ancestral cults and, by their presence, **honour** the dead.

Egypt: sphinxes accompanying the dead represent some **divine forces** that **escort** the dead to the Afterlife and **supervise** the funerary rituals.

Anatolia: sphinxes accompanying the dead also **participate** in ancestral cults and **honour** the dead, but they are there as **companions**/attendants of the Weather-god.

Aegean: sphinxes accompanying the dead or those that are about to die are benevolent **Kere**, there to **prepare**, **escort** and **console**.

→ The most obvious DIFFERENCES to the main function occur in these instances:

- when on or near the Sun-bark (in Syro-Mesopotamia and Egypt)
- when as lone sphinx shown with the name of a king or with a sun-disc, or a symbol of general concepts (in Anatolia, Aegean and Egypt)
- when forming a pair with another (composite) creature (in Syro-Mesopotamia and Aegean)
- when offering, or flanking a divine symbol (in Egypt and Syro-Mesopotamia)
- when trampling an enemy or a serpent (in Egypt, Syro-Mesopotamia and Aegean)
- when as lone sphinx controlled by a Sphinx-lord (in Syro-Mesopotamia, Anatolia and Aegean)
- when flanking a gate/entrance/doorway (in Syro-Mesopotamia, Egypt and Anatolia)
- when shown with animals and/or composite creatures (in Syro-Mesopotamia, Anatolia and Aegean)
- when accompanying the dead.

When these differences are shown in a table, they become even clearer:

STF XXXVII - DIFFERENCES IN FUNCTIONS & MEANINGS OF THE SPHINX				
MOTIF	SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	EGYPT	ANATOLIA	AEGEAN
<i>On/Near Sun-Bark</i>	Companions → Support/Enhance	Higher Powers → Guard/Ward Off		
<i>(Lone Sphinx) With King's Name, Sun-Disc, General Concept</i>		Personify Pharaoh → Emphasize/Legitimize	Higher Forces → Guard/Ward Off	Higher Forces → Guard/Ward Off
<i>As Pair with Other (Composite) Creature</i>	Protective Forces → Guard over Ruler Guard over Order Or Suggest the Wild → Support/Enhance			Suggest the Wild → Endangering Order
<i>Offering/Flanking Divine Symbol</i>	Representing People → Thanking/Asking Gods	Personification Pharaoh → Partaking/Mediating		
<i>Trampling</i>	Protective Forces → Help Men Personify Ruler → Emphasize	Personify Pharaoh Emphasize		Protective Forces → Help Men
<i>(Lone Sphinx) Controlled by Sphinx-Lord/-Mistress</i>	Suggest the Wild → Support/Enhance		Companion → Support/Enhance	Suggest the Wild → Support/Enhance

PART 1 11. CONCLUSION

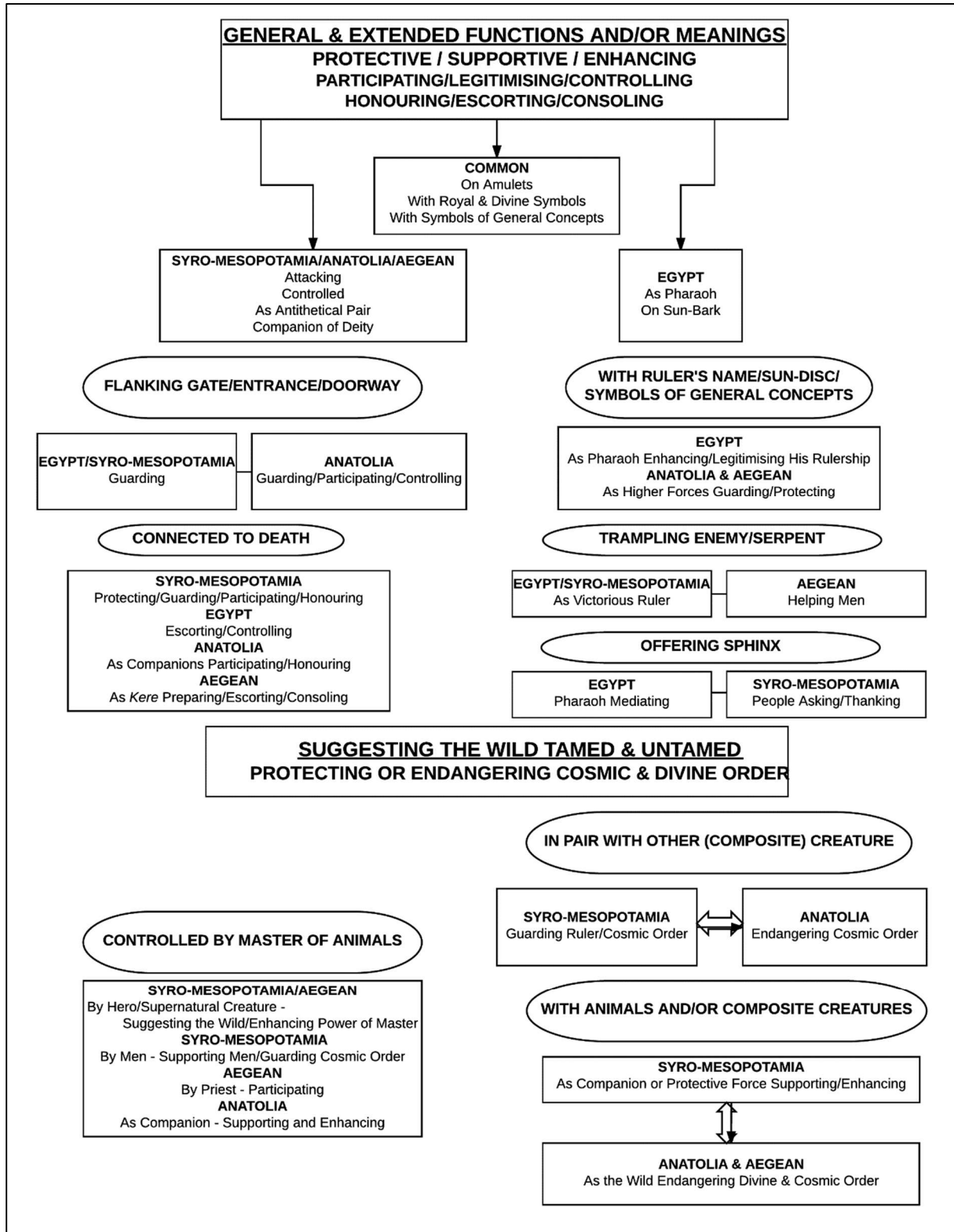
	Or On Men's Side → Preserve Order			Or Suggest the Wild → Partaking
<i>Flanking Gate/Entrance/Doorway</i>	Protective Forces → Guard/Ward Off	Protective Forces → Guard/Ward Off	(F) Protective Forces + Represent Divinity → Guard/Ward Off + Partaking/Controlling	
<i>With Animals and/or Composite Creatures</i>	Companions → Support/Enhance Or Protective Forces → Guard over Ruler		Suggest the Wild → Endangering Order	Suggest the Wild → Endangering Order
<i>Accompanying the Dead</i>	Protective Forces → Guard/Ward Off + Partaking + Honouring	Divine Forces → Escorting + Controlling	Companion → Support/Enhance + Partaking + Honouring	Benevolent <i>Kere</i> → Preparing + Escorting + Consoling

Some motifs, meanings and aspects only occur in one region; these are listed in the table below:

STF XXXVIII - UNIQUE MOTIFS, ASPECTS AND MEANINGS OF THE SPHINX				
SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	EGYPT	ANATOLIA	AEGEAN	
Sphinx = Protective Forces With Animal Fight Helping Mankind	Sphinx = God Listening Guarding/Warding Off Assisting	Sphinx = Companion of God At Gates Partaking in Ritual	Sphinx = Protective Forces With Woman/Man Helping Mankind	
	Sphinx = Queen/Princess Assisting		Sphinx = Protective Forces On Armour/Helmet/Pulling Chariot Guarding/Warding Off	
	Sphinx = Syrian Women Worshipping		Sphinx = Suggesting the Wild Holding/Fighting Man Endangering Order	
	Sphinxes = Protective Forces On Dromos Guarding/Warding Off		Sphinx = Protective Forces Near Mythological Scenes Help Mankind	
	Sphinx = Trampling Queen Assisting		Sphinx = Suggesting the Terrifying Wild As Poser of Riddles Endangering Order	
	Sphinx = Symbol of Horizon = Aker Ensuring Order			

When looking for the meaning and function of the sphinx, the context in which it is depicted or where it was found, is all decisive.

11.6 SYNTHESIS CONCLUSIONS MEANINGS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE SPHINX



12 ADDENDUM

KEY PIECES RELATED TO SPHINX AND GRIFFIN

Many of the images that have been found for this investigation are what could be called ‘conventional’ or even “unremarkable”, i.e. they show the sphinx in a context or pose that is to be expected and “normal”. But, of course, there are exceptions to this rule. Therefore, in this chapter it will be attempted to analyse some of the most interesting and/or unique images, sometimes following the method prescribed by Gardin in his book *Archaeological constructs* when possible, sometimes by using other techniques, mostly observing, analysing, comparing and deducing¹⁰⁰⁸. As griffins tend to appear in more unexpected contexts, three out of the six images presented here, will only include them.

The first image chosen for this chapter is the well-known *Investiture of Zimri-Lim* (St.M. Nr. Mes. 22) from the Palace of Mari dating to the 18th cent. BC; this imagery is interesting in a couple of ways of which not the least of course is the presence of both sphinxes and griffins in an important illustration of the political and religious beliefs of the day. The second iconography that is both interesting and remarkable can be seen on an Axe of pharaoh Ahmoses I (Cat.Nr. Eg. 4; 16th cent. BC); again, it is not only the presence of both sphinx and griffin that make the image so noteworthy; it is the combination of motifs that are decisive for its specific meaning. A third image that deserves some attention also dates from the 16th cent. BC but was found in Thera. The griffin depicted on this mural (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 16) is shown in a pose that is known as the flying gallop, a pose that is typical for the Aegean. The next image also comes from the Aegean and was found on one side of a larnax dating to the 14th cent. BC. Once more, the griffin plays a major role in the image (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 26), but again it is the combination of motifs on the larnax that make the iconography intriguing. Perhaps even more intriguing is the imagery on the *Gold and Silver Appliqué with a Pair of Sphinxes* (Cat.Nr. Mes. 91), dating from the 14th-13th cent. BC and found in the Levant. This iconography seems unique because it shows two human beings subdue what appears to be a divinity.

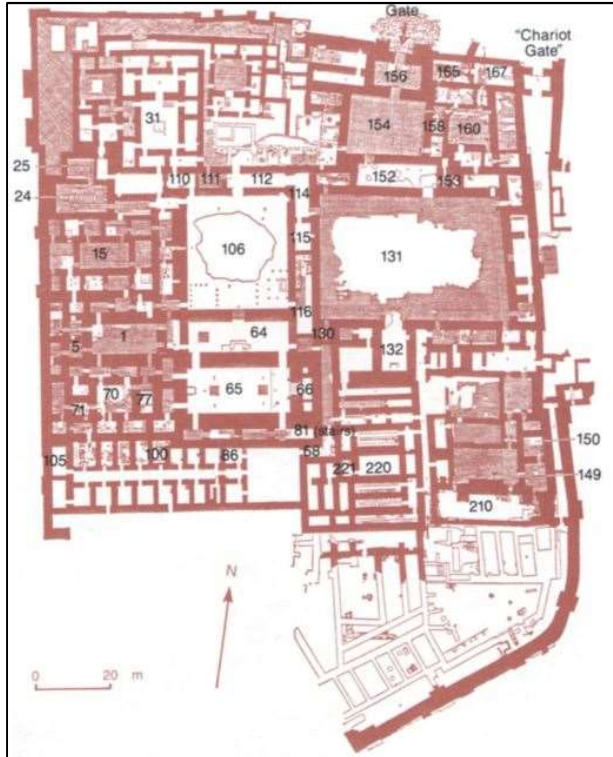
¹⁰⁰⁸ Gardin 1980: 108-120.

12.1 INVESTITURE ZIMRI-LIM

18th cent. BC (St.M. Nr. Mes. 22)



FIG. 72 A: INVESTITURE ZIMRI-LIM, 18TH CENT. BC, MURAL, 250 X 175 CM., SYRIA, MARI, PALACE OF ZIMRI-LIM, COURT 106, PARIS, MUSEE DU LOUVRE, AO 19826.

MP 10: PLAN OF PALACE OF ZIMRI-LIM¹⁰⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁰⁹ For general information about the palace itself in which this mural was found: Gates 1984; Margueron 2008: 27-29.

For more information about the function and architecture of palaces in the Ancient Near East: Winter 1993. More information on Mari: Margueron 1995: 885-899.

This mural, that was found in situ (south wall of Court 106), depicts a central scene, divided in two registers, flanked by four trees, two on either side (a palm tree next to the scene and a date palm on the outside)¹⁰¹⁰. Two men are climbing in the date palm, most probably to gather the fruits. Next to the date palm on the right, a (white) dove hovers. The bird, in size too big compared to the tree, could belong to the goddess Ishtar to project her cultivated side, in contrast to the lion on which she places her foot, which stands for her more aggressive aspect¹⁰¹¹.



FIG. 72 B: DATE GATHERERS, INVESTITURE OF ZIMRI-LIM (DETAIL).



Next to each date palm, on the outside of the image, a goddess stands in a worshipping position. Between palm tree and date palm are three registers which show, from top to bottom, a winged sphinx, a winged griffin and a bull. Westenholz states the sphinxes in the wall-painting are female, but this is doubtful, as it seems that the sphinx who is most intact (the one on the right side, behind Ishtar), has traces of a beard¹⁰¹². Moreover, this sphinx is clearly wearing a crown of some kind, a sort of tiara with feathers¹⁰¹³. In the second register, a creature defined as a griffin is shown, although the identification is not undisputable. If the identification as a griffin is correct, however, this would be the oldest known griffin in Syro-Mesopotamia¹⁰¹⁴.

¹⁰¹⁰ Parrot 1937: 341-342, 346; Demisch 1977: 46; Gates 1984: 75-76; Margueron 2008: 27, 29.

¹⁰¹¹ Keel 1992: 150. For more information about the meaning of the dove: Keel 1992: 143-155.

¹⁰¹² Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 35.

¹⁰¹³ Parrot 1937: 342.

¹⁰¹⁴ If the creature in the second register is not a griffin after all, the oldest Mesopotamian griffin only appears on a 15th cent. BC seal impression where two antithetically placed giffins are shown each holding up a front paw above a deer lying between them (Cat.Nr. Mes. 2).



FIG. 72 C: WINGED SPHINX, WINGED GRIFFIN AND BULL, INVESTITURE OF ZIMRI-LIM (DETAILS).

The central scene of the mural itself is divided into two registers. The lower register shows two goddesses holding overflowing vases out of which plants protrude, a well-known symbol of fertility¹⁰¹⁵. The goddesses both wear long dresses with vertical bands and a tiara with two rows of horns. Beneath this scene is a frieze of spirals, a typical Aegean motif, and it is separated from the upper scene by six coloured strokes (white, yellow and red), which occur also at the sides, top and bottom of the two central scenes¹⁰¹⁶.



FIG. 72 D: INVESTITURE OF ZIMRI-LIM (CENTRAL SCENE).

The most important part of the picture is of course the Investiture-scene where Ishtar gives Zimri-Lim the tokens of his kingship¹⁰¹⁷. These could be the so-called rod (*haṭṭu*) and ring (*šibirru*), who are seen by some scholars as tokens of divinity, signifying time and eternity, rather than of kingship¹⁰¹⁸. Scurlock however, claims that rod and ring were the tools used by

¹⁰¹⁵ Parrot 1937: 340; Margueron 1995: 896.

For more information on the image and the used techniques: Parrot 1937: 340-341.

¹⁰¹⁶ Crowley 1998: 174.

For the meaning of the spiral: 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs.

¹⁰¹⁷ Desenne 1957a: 53-54; Margueron 1995: 893-896; Crowley 1998: 174; Gräff and Ritter 2011: 57.

¹⁰¹⁸ Ehrenberg 2008: 113; Abram 2011: 29-31, 36; Scurlock 2013: 173.

Abram claims that Zimri-Lim does not receive the tokens, he only touches them which may refer to the concept of the Sacred Marriage.

For more information about the possible meanings of rod and ring: Abram 2011.

herdsmen to control their animals, and because the king had to be a good shepherd for his people, these tools were exactly what he needed to bring justice to them. The first Assyrian king in the Neo-Assyrian period, Adad-nirari II (ca. 911-891 BC), claimed¹⁰¹⁹:

"(the great gods) put into my hands the sceptre for shepherding the people, wound round my head the melammu kingship"¹⁰²⁰.

Behind Ishtar stands a goddess dressed in the same manner and standing in the same position as the one standing behind the king, i.e. with the arms held in a worshipping manner¹⁰²¹. The goddess behind Ishtar is followed by a bearded god wearing a tiara with a double row of horns and standing in an attentive and respectful pose. The bearded king is walking towards Ishtar: his left arm is held out to receive the *insignia* of his kingship but with his left arm he shows respect.



FIG. 72 E: INVESTITURE OF ZIMRI-LIM (CENTRAL SCENE).

Parrot, and he certainly was not alone, wondered if perhaps the paintings in Mari were inspired or influenced by the elegant murals found in Knossos, or if it was perhaps the other way around¹⁰²². The reasons he had for this theory are twofold. He points first to the spiral-motif that is found throughout the palace, e.g. on the upper side of a podium (Fig. 73). His second argument is the bull that is led to be sacrificed on a mural that was on the same wall as the Investiture Scene (Fig. 74)¹⁰²³. Because of the presence of this sacrifice scene, he subscribes a ritual, religious function to Court 106. Von Rüden, however, argues rather convincingly that

¹⁰¹⁹ Winter 2008: 85.

¹⁰²⁰ Machinist 2006: 169-170.

¹⁰²¹ Parrot 1937: 336-337, 339, 344.

¹⁰²² Parrot 1937: 325, 328, 330, 334.

¹⁰²³ Parrot, 328, 330; Gates 1985: 75; Margueron 1995: 896; Aruz, Benzel and Evans 2008: 33; Margueron 2008: 29.

Parrot (1937: 330) believes the mural of the sacrifice was located beneath the Investiture Scene, but Gates (1984: 78) thinks it was painted in a later period on top of the Investiture Scene.

the conclusion about influence between the two areas based on these points, is a bit rushed and farfetched¹⁰²⁴.

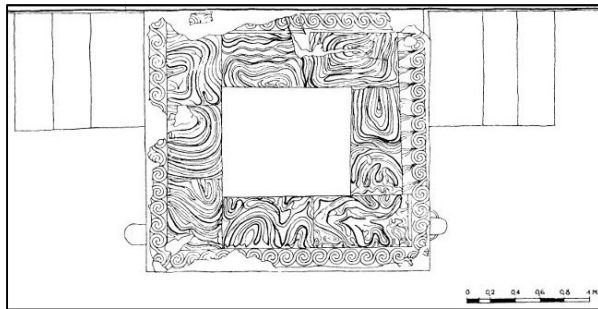


FIG. 73: DECORATION OF UPPER SIDE OF PODIUM WITH SPIRALS¹⁰²⁵.

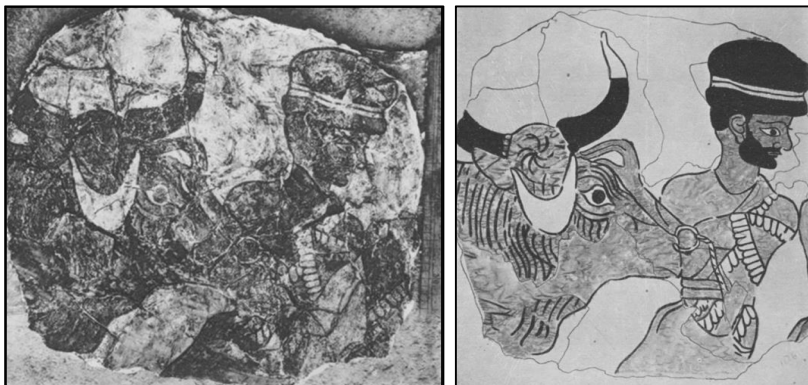


FIG. 74: BULL LED TO SACRIFICE, 18th cent. BC, MURAL, 52 X 47 CM. (white, black, grey, red, brown), SYRIA, MARI, PALACE OF ZIMRI-LIM, COURT 106, SYRIA, ALEPPO, NATIONAL MUSEUM, M10119¹⁰²⁶.



FIG. 75: INVESTITURE ZIMRI-LIM (DETAIL) – PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE AO 19826.

After deductively and inductively analysing the scene and identifying the main characters, as is the method of Gardin, the main scene can be described as a Ceremony of Investiture (STF XL A & B)¹⁰²⁷.

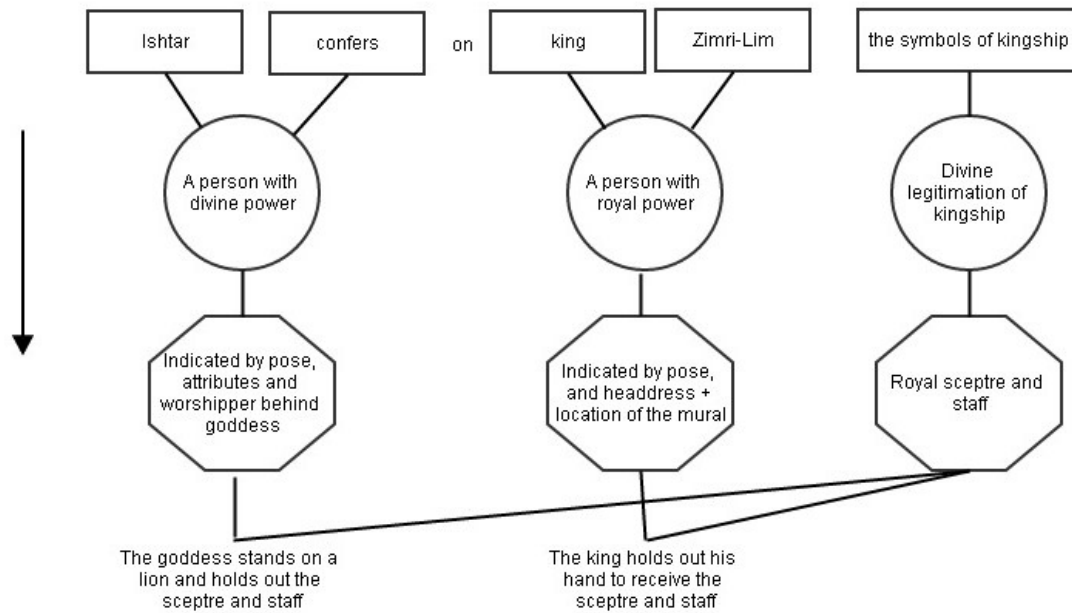
¹⁰²⁴ Von Rüden 2013: 57. For her argumentation, see the entire article.

¹⁰²⁵ For a picture of this podium: Parrot 1937: Plate XXXVII 1.

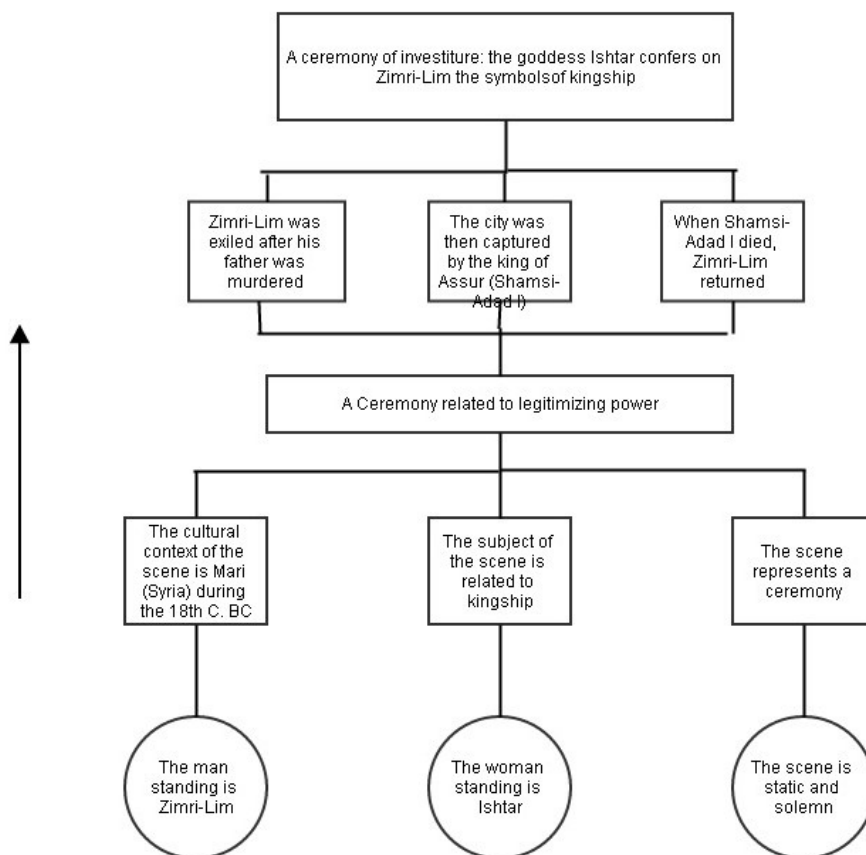
¹⁰²⁶ For a detailed description of the complete mural: Parrot 1937: 330-335; Aruz, Benzel and Evans 2008: 33. For more information on the bull-sacrifice in Mesopotamia: Van Dijk 2011: 206-211.

¹⁰²⁷ For more information on the method of Gardin: 2.2.3. Collecting and Processing the Material: 33-34.

PART 1 – 12. KEY PIECES RELATED TO SPHINX AND GRIFFIN



STF XL A - DEDUCTIVE ANALYSES – INVESTITURE ZIMRI-LIM (After Gardin 1980: 113).



STF XL B - INDUCTIVE ANALYSES – INVESTITURE ZIMRI-LIM (After Gardin 1980: 110).

Of course, this analysis does not come as a surprise, because the mural has been known under the title *Investiture of Zimri-Lim* for a long time. But perhaps, we could look at it another way. If we make a scheme of the image (STF XLI), it becomes clear that not only the royal insignia

are given by Ishtar to the king, but surrounding this scene are many symbols suggesting that the kingship consists of more than purely the power and might of a king, is in fact based on the care for the welfare, not only of the people, but also of the land. Not only the two goddesses, wearing a double-rowed tiara, suggesting their divinity, and holding the flowing receptacles depicted under the main scene suggests this connection to prosperity, but also the presence of trees that in general are related to fertility. The date-palms that are being harvested at the same moment the ritual is carried out even point directly to the concept of fertility. As dates were considered then to be one aspect of the richness of the country, it is only normal that the gathering of them would be depicted near the investiture of the king, whose main function was to guard, protect and enhance the prosperity of his people. The tree then symbolized the beneficence of the king to his subjects. Moreover, in some cases, the date-palm, mostly planted near a watercourse (which together provided fruit, shade and water, three vital elements for survival in the Syro-Mesopotamian climate), was sometimes identified as a king, as can be seen in a hymn of the second of the kings of the Ur III empire, Shulgi (ca. 2112-2004 BC):

*Shulgi, the King, the gracious Lord, is a date-palm planted beside a watercourse.
Thou art a cedar, rooted beside abundant waters, (giving) pleasant shade¹⁰²⁸.*

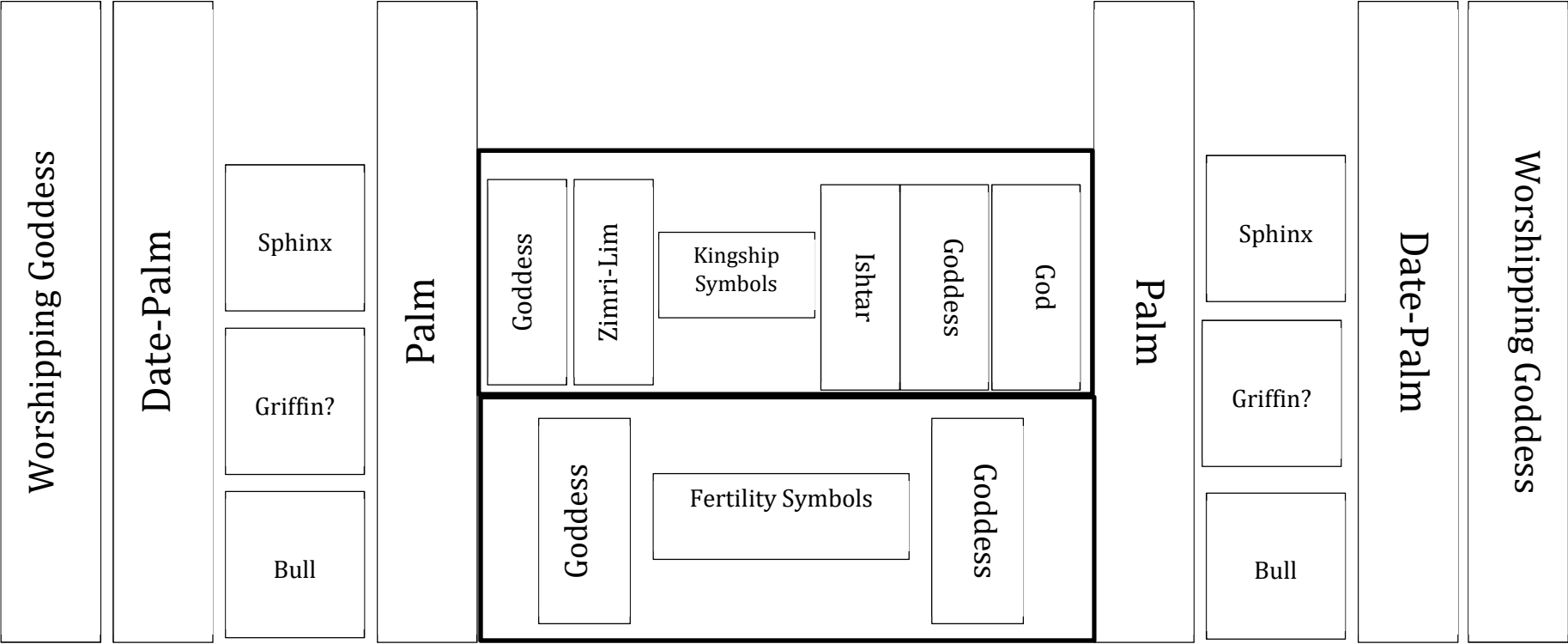
By giving the *royal insignia* to Zimri-Lim, Ishtar bestows not only the royal power upon his person which make him fit to rule, but reminds him of the fact that he receives demanding responsibilities at the same time¹⁰²⁹. To emphasize this, an important god, identifiable through his cap with a double row of horns is standing behind her, to show that Ishtar conducts the ceremony with the approval of all the gods. Ishtar, of course is herself also related to fertility as she is an important Syro-Mesopotamian fertility goddess, but here she appears in her most war-like aspect, armed and with one foot standing on her lion. In this capacity, she functions as the patroness of kings¹⁰³⁰. The worshipping goddesses, also important as can be seen on the fourfold rows of horns on their head, both flanking the ceremony and the ones standing at the outskirts of the scene only enhance the importance of the ritual and their dedication to the king and his function. The presence of the bulls and the sphinxes and griffins in the spaces between the trees, should be seen within these religious and royal concepts also, they are not merely there to fill a blank space, or for their exotic appearance.

¹⁰²⁸ Frankfort 1978/1948: 311.

¹⁰²⁹ Frankfort 1978/1948: 245.

¹⁰³⁰ Parrot 1937: 337-339; Marinatos 2007a: 353.

Ishtar will remain the patroness of Assyrian kings throughout the 1st mill. BC: Marinatos 2007a: 353.



STF XLI - SCHEME OF INVESTITURE OF ZIMRI-LIM.

Parrot points out it is unusual to see Ishtar handing the *insignia* of kingship, as it is mostly Shamash who takes on this duty¹⁰³¹. Parrot believes Ishtar was chosen above Shamash because when Zimri-Lim became king, the times were uncertain: war could break out any moment (indeed, in ca. 1760 BC, Hammurabi of Babylon, who lived from ca. 1810 BC till ca. 1750 BC, conquered Mari). The mural then would underline that life was protected by arms, that peace was threatened by war. If this is correct, the three creatures depicted on either side of the main scene, the sphinx, griffin and bull, could be either companions of Ishtar, or could be symbolic animals that belonged to different divinities that are present at the ritual proceedings. The bull, e.g., is foremost a strong symbol of fertility (and here he is depicted next to the goddesses with the overflowing vases), but can also be the animal of the storm-god, while, as we know from different images (St.M. Nrs. Mes. 3, 5-11), the sphinx in the earlier periods, was often depicted in the company of the Sun-god (cf. 3.2.4.1. Human-Headed Lions in Syro-Mesopotamia).

Parrot sees bull, sphinxes and griffins in yet another function, namely as protectors of the gathering of dates, but following Gilibert in her reasoning mentioned elsewhere, the sphinxes and griffins and maybe even the bulls could be present there as higher forces to guarantee the correct procedure of the rituals¹⁰³². I think the presence of the composite creatures and the bull can be explained by a combination of two theories: they were there as representatives of different deities to show the divine agreement about the kingship of Zimri-Lim and at the same time to guarantee the correct execution of the proceedings. The moment was indeed an important one that requested the utmost attention and protection of the gods.

But there could be another reason the creatures are there. It is possible they refer to the threefold character of the person of the king: royal, military and divine (as there are three dimensions to the gods: cosmological, mythological and political). The griffin, a dominant creature, would then refer to the military aspect of kingship, while the bull, an animal connected to the gods Adad and Sin (cf. 3.2.3.3. Bull-Sphinxes), would then point to the sacral functions of the king. The sphinx, with its mighty lion-body and intelligent human-head with crown, could point to

¹⁰³¹ Parrot 1937: 345-346; Gates 1984: 71; Margueron 2008: 27.

An example of Shamash giving the insignia of kingship to a ruler can be seen on the Stele with the Codes of Law of Hammurabi: Code of Hammurabi, ca. 1792-1750 BC, Stele, Basalt, 225 x 65 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Sb 8. The image of Hammurabi receiving the *insignia* of kingship from Shamash can be seen here: Aruz, Benzal and Evans 2008: Fig. 10;

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:P1050771_Louvre_code_Hammurabi_bas_relief_rwk.JPG

¹⁰³² Cf. 8. The Sphinx in Mesopotamia – 8.4. Function and Meaning.

the other, more "daily" functions of the king, as there are maintaining the welfare of his people and bringing justice to his land.

The mural, Morenz argues, can then be an "object of meaning", a semiophore, meant to celebrate the royal strength and to embed the ruler into the sacral sphere to strengthen his function as intermediary between gods and men¹⁰³³. The iconography on the mural then, is not commemorative, but performative; it "shows a *Weltbild* expressed in a non-verbal litany"¹⁰³⁴.

Although Morenz essentially talks about Egyptian art (e.g. The Hierakonpolis Palette, cf. Fig. 13), he states that these semiophores or objects of meaning also were created in Elam and Syro-Mesopotamia, although here they mostly consisted of seals.

¹⁰³³ Morenz 2013: 123, 128, 138.

Morenz 2013: 128-141: Semiophores developed during the 4th mill. BC; at first they were purely functional, later they represented meaning. They could be divided into three groups: tools, ornaments and weapons, and most of them, as does the mural (and the Axe of Ahmoses I; cf. 12.2), combined royal military and sacral aspects of kingship.

¹⁰³⁴ Morenz 2013: 138, 141.

12.2 AXE AHMOSES I

16th cent. BC (Cat.Nr. Eg. 4)

FIG. 76 A: AXE AHMOSES I, 16TH cent. BC, WOOD, COPPER, GOLD, SEMI-PRECIOUS STONES, 47,5 x 16,3 x 6,7 cm, EGYPT, THEBES, DRA ABU AL NAGA, TOMB OF QUEEN AAHHOTEP, CAIRO, EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, JE 4673.

This ceremonial axe, belonging to Ahmoses I, the first king of the 18th Dyn., was found in the tomb of his mother Aahhotep and is brimming with meaning¹⁰³⁵. At the top of the blade of this ceremonial weapon is a depiction of the god Heh, the Lord of Eternity (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs)¹⁰³⁶. The palm branches he holds in his hands symbolize the millions of years of ruling that are given to the pharaoh. Below this god are the symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt, the vulture and the cobra respectively, representing Nekhbet, wearing the white crown and Wadjet, wearing the red crown¹⁰³⁷. The papyrus plants beneath Wadjet symbolise the north, while the south is represented by the lilies beneath Nekhbet¹⁰³⁸. The recumbent sphinx at the bottom of the blade is offering a human head, which is very untypical

¹⁰³⁵ Aruz 1995b: 42-43; Matić 2015: 147-148.

¹⁰³⁶ Lacovara 2008: 120-121.

¹⁰³⁷ For the different Egyptian crowns: 5. The Sphinx in Egypt.

¹⁰³⁸ For more information on the meaning of Wadjet, papyrus and lilies: 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs.

for Egyptian iconography. Some researches think the severed head alludes to the function of the axe, while other, e.g. Helck, explain the offering of the head with the fact that the axe was commissioned abroad (probably in the Aegean) and that the artisan merely got confused about the correct iconography¹⁰³⁹.



FIG. 76 B: HANDLE OF THE AXE OF AHMOSES I, 16TH cent. BC.

On the handle of this axe, hieroglyphs give the titles of pharaoh Ahmoses I, while cartouches on the reverse side of the blade read "*The Good God Nebphetyre, Son of Re, Ahmoses*"¹⁰⁴⁰.



FIG. 76 C: REVERSE SIDE OF THE AXE OF AHMOSES I, 16TH cent. BC.

Beneath the cartouches the pharaoh is depicted in his human form slaying an enemy¹⁰⁴¹. At the bottom of the blade lies a griffin with unfolded wings. Although it could be, as some think, that the griffin represents Montu, the god of war, an inscription next to the griffin that says "*beloved of Montu*" makes this identification very unlikely¹⁰⁴². This inscription rather does make it seem logical that the griffin personalizes or symbolizes the pharaoh, as the axe was commissioned to commemorate a victory of the pharaoh, an endeavour where he would have needed the help of the war-god.

All researchers up until recently seem to agree on the fact that this griffin is Aegean in type; Helck uses this point to sustain his theory that the axe was commissioned abroad, or at least,

¹⁰³⁹ Helck 1995: 48; Lacovara 2008: 121. Most recent research does confirm that the offered object is indeed a severed head.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Lacovara (eds.) 2008: 119.

¹⁰⁴¹ Roeder 1909: 1302, 1311, 1326, 1335; Evans 1921: 550; Evans 1935a: 191; Frankfort 1936-1937: 112; Hein (ed.) 1994: 285-286 Kat. Nr. 398; Lacovara 2008: 119; Wyatt 2009: 30.

¹⁰⁴² Aruz 2015: 50.

was manufactured by a foreign workman¹⁰⁴³. The claim on the foreign origin is based on, among others, the spirals on the griffin's wing and the way this wing is bent, the spiral behind the ear, and the notched plumes (consisting of five feathers) on its head, and, as Lyvia Morgan states, on the long beak (Fig. 76 D). One point, however, that no researcher mentions, is the pose of the tail, that is folded in a typical Egyptian way around the right hindquarter of the creature, like it does with the greater part of the Egyptian sphinxes; a pose that is rather unique for griffins, as they tend to have upraised, mostly elegantly bent tails. The only other griffins with folded tails like the one on the axe, both date to a later period (7th till 4th cent. BC); one of these is on a small artefact, perhaps the remains of a miniature podium (St.M. Nr. Eg. 48); the other one is part of the decoration of a sarcophagus (St.M. Nr. Eg. 46). The latter one is very Egyptian in style indeed, as it has a sun-disc topped with a *Uraeus* on its head.

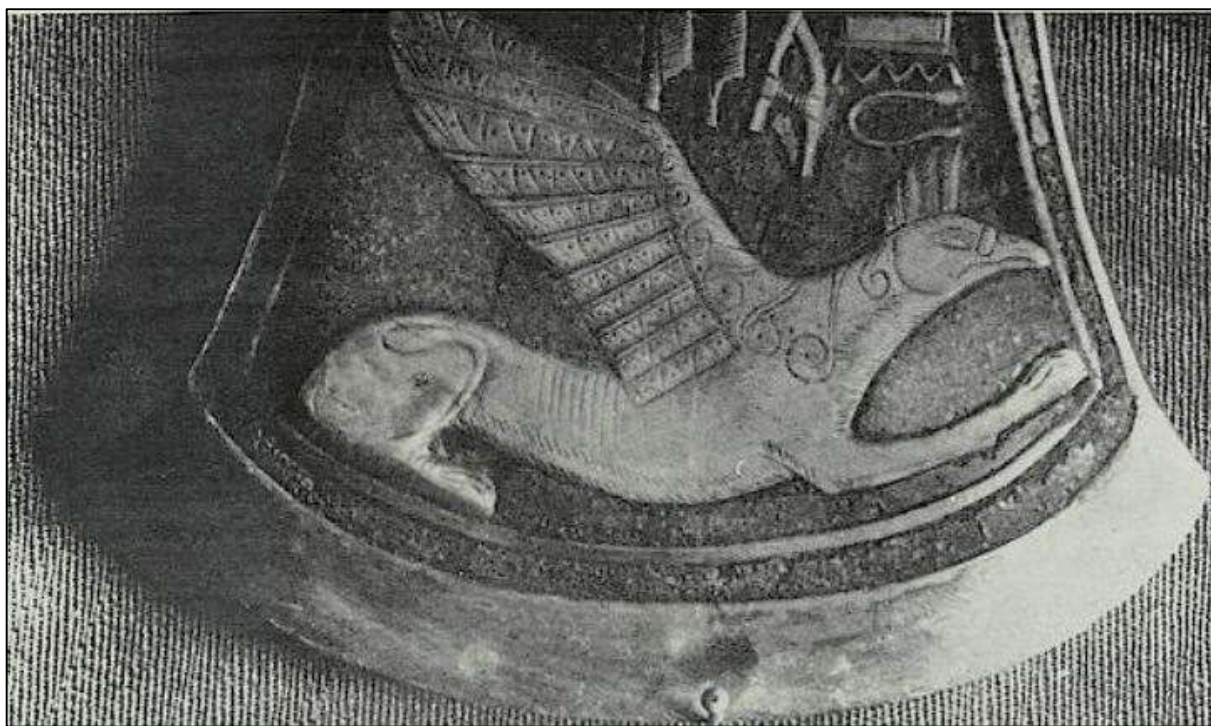


FIG. 76 D: GRIFFIN ON AXE OF AHMOSES I.

Another point against the foreign origin theory worth mentioning is argued by Matić in a more recent article, and concerns the inscriptions near the griffin, more specifically the part which refers, as older scholars do believe, to the Aegean region: “mistress of the banks of the *h3w nbwt*” (*hnwt jdbw h3w nbwt*)¹⁰⁴⁴. This inscription is seen by many scholars, e.g. Meyer in 1965, as proof of an alliance between Crete and the Egyptian royal house, probably through a dynastic

¹⁰⁴³ Evans 1921: 550; Evans 1935a: 191; Helck 1995: 48; Zouzoula 2007: 217; Lacovara 2008: 120, 122; Morgan 2010a: 308, 313, 317, 318.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Meyer 1965: 47-58.

marriage, because it was believed “*ḥꜣw nbwt*” did signify Crete and other Aegean islands. However, there never was any consensus about the actual meaning of the term, as it seems to have changed throughout times and is one of the most debated geographical terms in Egyptology, meaning resp. the delta, Asia, north-east and the Mediterranean, barbarians, and finally Greeks¹⁰⁴⁵. The hypothesis put forward by Bontty, that the term “*ḥꜣw nbwt*” means simply “everything beyond” and was strongly connected to kingship ideology, does not seem that farfetched¹⁰⁴⁶.

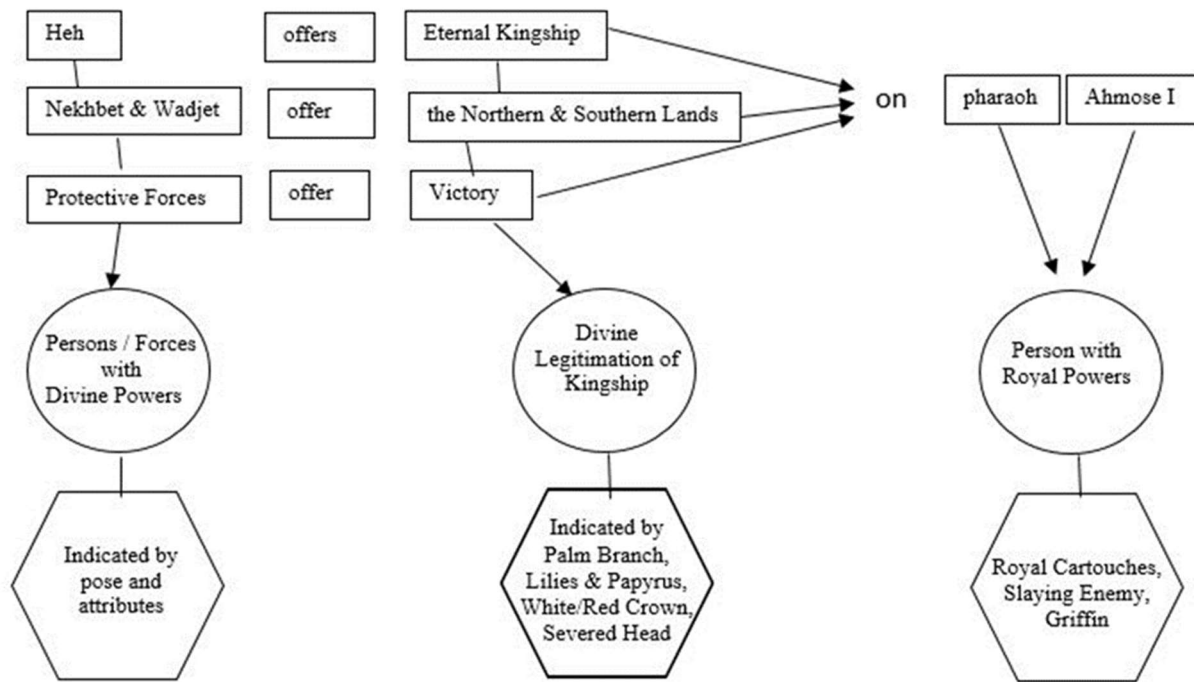
At first glance, the iconography on the axe, wherever it may have originated, seems confusing, especially the sphinx offering a human head seems to make no sense, i.e., when the sphinx personifies the pharaoh, as some researchers assume¹⁰⁴⁷. But when one combines these motifs, and when one remembers this ceremonial axe was produced to celebrate the victory of the pharaoh over the Hyksos, the decoration on the axe becomes all clear and logical. At the same time the recumbent griffin, who represents the pharaoh, reminds one not only of the fact that the king is related to Horus and is thus semi-divine, but also points out that this kingship gets the eternal support and assistance of divine forces, represented here by the sphinx who is handing over the head of an enemy, and thus victory, to the king and his united country.

When we follow the schemes of Gardin for the deductive analyses, this is the result:

¹⁰⁴⁵ Matić 2015: 147.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Bontty 1995.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Lacovara 2008: 119; Aruz 2015: 50.



STF XLII - DEDUCTIVE ANALYSES – AXE AHMOSES I.

This scheme makes it clear that every motif on this ritual axe was carefully chosen and placed to support, enhance and legitimize the rulership of pharaoh Ahmoses I while the combination of the motifs celebrates his victory over a mighty enemy, which the king only could conquer with the support and assistance of the different divine powers. The axe then can also be considered a semiophore, an object of meaning, combining the sacred and military aspects of rulership and placing the king in the sacral domain (cf. 12.1. Investiture Zimri-Lim)¹⁰⁴⁸.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Morenz 2013: 128-141.

12.3 HUNTING GRIFFIN

16th cent. BC (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 16)



FIG. 77 A: HUNTING GRIFFIN, 16TH C. BC, MURAL, AEGEAN, THERA, AKROTIRI, ROOM 5, EASTERN WALL WEST HOUSE, MUSEUM OF PREHISTORIC THERA (CAT.NR. AEG. 16).



FIG. 77 B: RIVER SCENE WITH HUNTING GRIFFIN, 16TH C. BC, MURAL, 25 X 221 X 11 CM, AEGEAN, THERA, AKROTIRI, ROOM 5, EASTERN WALL WEST HOUSE, MUSEUM OF PREHISTORIC THERA (CAT.NR. AEG. 16).

This griffin from the east wall of Room 5 of the West House (or House of the Admiral) in Akrotiri, Thera, hunts a deer in a Nilotic landscape¹⁰⁴⁹. Along the winding river flanked by among other plants, papyri and palm trees, other animals can be seen, duck and gees, a leopard and another feline predator, identified as a lynx or a hyena, or, by Davis, as a serval, a cat that only lives in the wild in Africa¹⁰⁵⁰. Both flora and fauna are untypical for the Aegean, although Warren points out that e.g. Crete was the place where griffins could be seen often enough, not

¹⁰⁴⁹ Davis 1983: 5-6; Watrous 1991: 297; Hein (ed.) 1994: 206-207 Kat.Nr.231; Zouzoula 2007: 202-205; Morgan 2010 a: 314.

For some background information on the excavations in Thera in the 19th cent. BC: Tzachili 2005.

For some background information on the impact of the volcano eruption at Thera on (the decline of) Minoan civilisation: Doumas 1983.

¹⁰⁵⁰ For more information on the leopard in the fresco: Nys and Bretschneider 2008: 17.

only on Minoan frescoes, but also on Minoan seals¹⁰⁵¹. Therefore, some researchers now argue that it is indeed an Aegean landscape¹⁰⁵². This "egyptianizing" landscape, however, differs greatly from the Aegean one depicted on the south wall, where mountains and pines provide a background for a lion, with short mane which defines it as belonging to the Syrian-Anatolian type, not to the African type, chasing deer¹⁰⁵³. Davis points out that all the "exotic" motifs of the landscape (papyrus, griffin, serval, ...) occur elsewhere in Aegean art, and argues that this difference in landscape was done by the artist on purpose, probably to evoke an exotic, or at least foreign, location (cf. *infra*)¹⁰⁵⁴. Watrous also thinks the Nilotic landscape probably represents an exotic land, but he thinks this may refer to the Afterworld, as does the hunt of deer¹⁰⁵⁵. The same motifs, hunt of deer (or other animals) and referrals to Egyptian landscapes through, among others, palms and papyrus are indeed often depicted on *larnakes* too (cf. 12.4. Goddess/Chariot Drawn by Griffins).



FIG. 77 C: LION HUNTING DEER, 16TH C. BC, MURAL, AEGEAN, THERA, ROOM 5, SOUTHERN WALL WEST HOUSE, MUSEUM OF PREHISTORIC THERA (CAT.NR. AEG. 16).

The griffin in Thera is of the characteristic Minoan type, with spirals on its wings, raised wings in profile, and the beak of a vulture¹⁰⁵⁶. Moreover, it is depicted in 'flying gallop', a typical Aegean pose, and is probably the first representation of a griffin hunting in a landscape. This posture was used to express swift motion, usually of a predator and/or its prey. The "flying gallop" is perhaps best known from the Aegean bull-leaping scenes which often show the bull never touching the ground (with the hoofs depicted above the ground line) which suggests it is in full charge, but griffins, lions and other felines were often depicted like this by the Minoans and Mycenaeans¹⁰⁵⁷.

¹⁰⁵¹ Warren 1979: 123.

¹⁰⁵² Davis 1983: 5.

¹⁰⁵³ Warren 1979: 133; Davis 1983: 5.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Davis 1983: 5-6.

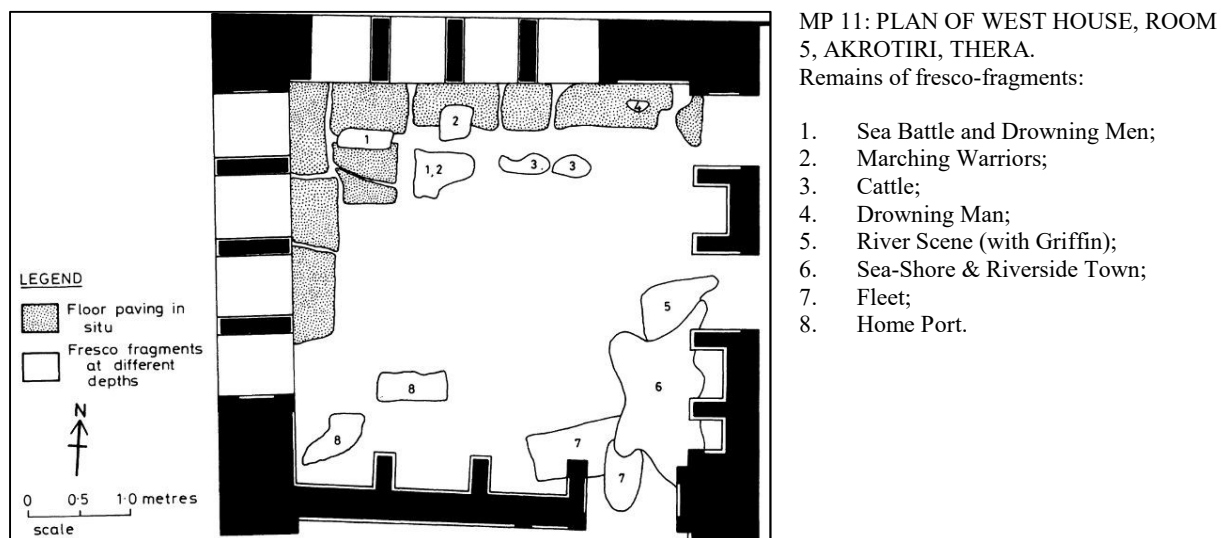
¹⁰⁵⁵ Watrous 1991: 296-297.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Zouzoula 2007: 203; Morgan 2010a: 304, 312.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Some examples of a bull in "flying gallop": Marinatos and Palyvou 2007e: Figs. 104, 107-108.; Younger 1983: Figs. 1-2, 4.

For more information on the bull-games: 3.2.3.3. Bull-Sphinxes.

The scene with the hunting griffin is even more interesting because it is part of one large miniature fresco, of which the other parts are of quite a different nature than the fresco with the griffin. The fragments of this fresco were discovered in 1971 by Spyridon Marinatos. In total 7,50 m of originally ca. 12 m. of frescoes are preserved¹⁰⁵⁸. The following plan gives an overview of the finding places of these fragments.



The north wall shows the so-called Sea-shore battle and above this the marching warriors¹⁰⁵⁹. Then came the cattle (bulls) and the continuation of the sea-battle. The central area of the east wall depicts the river-scene (with griffin), followed by the sea-shore town. The south wall has the ship fresco: the great fleet departs from the river-town, next is shown at sea, and finally arrives in another port. The sterns of the ships on this fresco might have been decorated with griffins (and lions) as well (Fig. 77 D)¹⁰⁶⁰.

It seems the west wall was no part of this imagery, although a fragment of one of the famous boys holding fishes in his hands was found beneath the west wall¹⁰⁶¹.

Most researchers think the narrative (if indeed it is one narrative) started on the north wall and ended on the south one. This would give the following narrative sequence (STF XLIII A):

¹⁰⁵⁸ Warren 1979: 118.

For more detailed information about the iconography of the complete fresco: Davis 1983.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Warren 1979: 117; Davis 1983: 3.

For a more detailed description of some scenes: Warren 1979, specifically 118-120 + Colour Plates A-B.

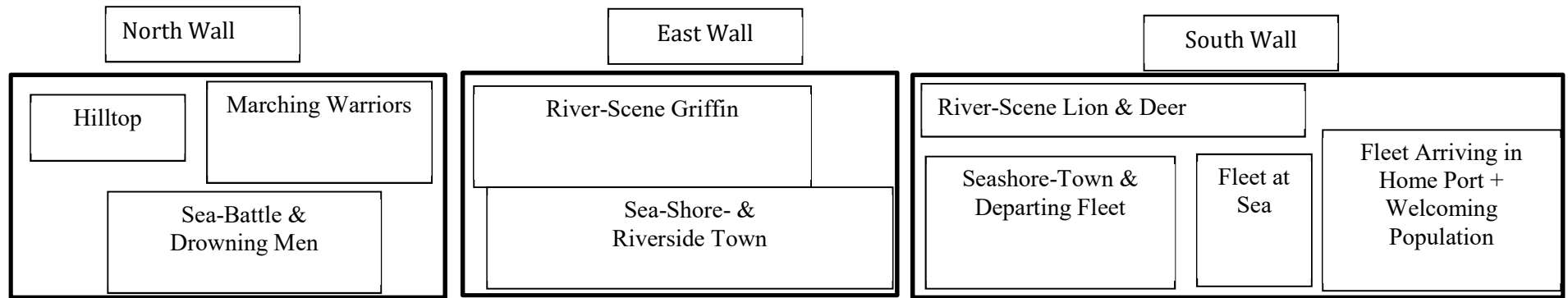
¹⁰⁶⁰ Zouzoula 2007: 204; Friedrich and Sørensen 2010: 243.

For more detailed information about the Ship Fresco: Friedrich and Sørensen 2010.

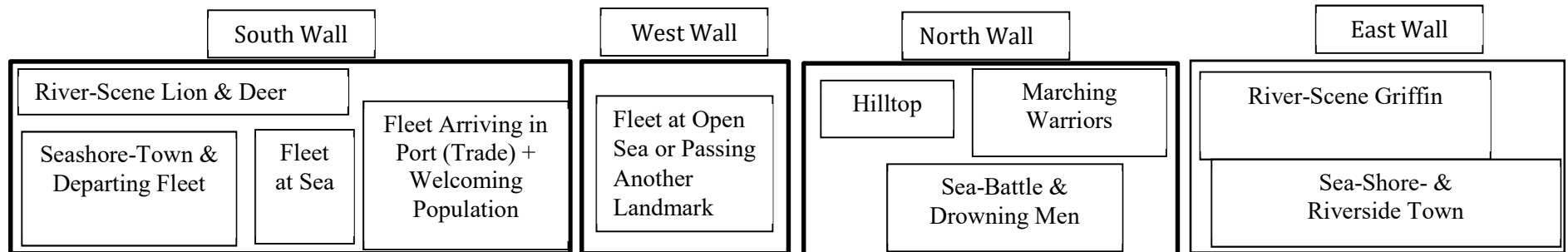
Black and white images of the fresco: Immerwahr 1990: pl. 25-29.

¹⁰⁶¹ Warren 1979: 117.

PART 1 – 12. KEY PIECES RELATED TO SPHINX AND GRIFFIN



STF XLIII A - NARRATIVE SEQUENCE AKROTIRI FRESCO (ACCORDING TO WARREN).



STF XLIII B - NARRATIVE SEQUENCE AKROTIRI FRESCO (ACCORDING TO DAVIS).

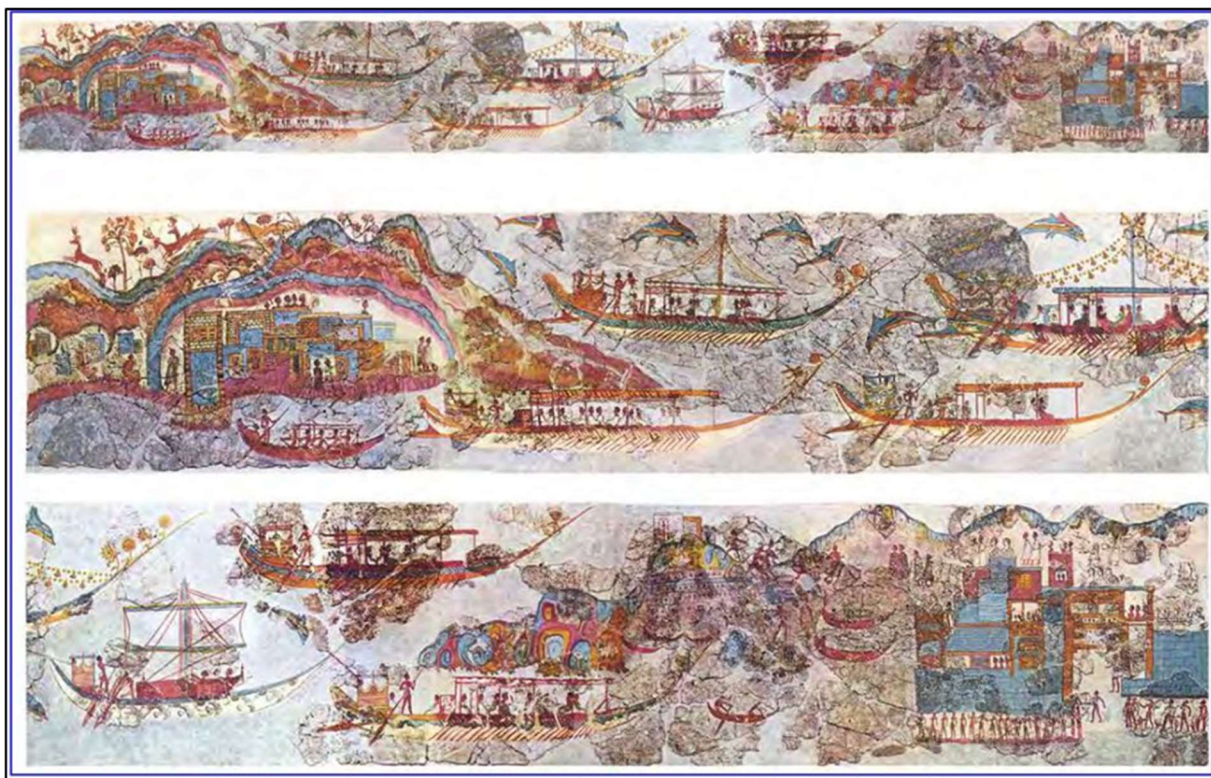


FIG. 77 D: SHIP FRESKO, 16TH C. BC, MURAL, AEGEAN, THERA, ROOM 5, SOUTHERN WALL WEST HOUSE, MUSEUM OF PREHISTORIC THERA.

The frescoes (or fresco) have been interpreted in quite different ways since the time of their discovery in 1971. It is generally accepted that on the complete fresco a total of five towns is represented and that the harbour on the right of the Ship Fresco represents Akrotiri (Fig. 78 E)¹⁰⁶².



FIG. 77 E: RIGHT HARBOUR, DETAIL SHIP FRESKO, 16TH C. BC, MURAL, AEGEAN, THERA, ROOM 5, SOUTHERN WALL WEST HOUSE, MUSEUM OF PREHISTORIC THERA.

The left harbour (Fig. 77 F) has been identified as Gazi on Crete, or as a harbour in the area around Mount Phileremos on Rhodes¹⁰⁶³. But Immerwahr e.g. does not believe the scenery on

¹⁰⁶² Friedrich and Sørensen 2010: 245.

Davis has her own interpretation of the scenes; her theory will be discussed later.

¹⁰⁶³ Warren 1979: 125; Friedrich and Sørensen 2010: 245.

the frescoes represents actual sites in specific places; he rather sees in it general Aegean landscapes¹⁰⁶⁴.



FIG. 77 F: LEFT HARBOUR, DETAIL SHIP FRESCO, 16TH C. BC, MURAL, AEGEAN, THERA, ROOM 5, SOUTHERN WALL WEST HOUSE, MUSEUM OF PREHISTORIC THERA.

About the meaning of all the scenes together there is even less consensus. Davis sums up the main questions: "Who is represented? [...] Is the ship procession merely a ceremonial one, or part of a serious military expedition? Where do the actions occur?"¹⁰⁶⁵. Davis believes that the people represented on the fragments are all Therians, and Minoans, rather than Mycenaeans, as has also been suggested¹⁰⁶⁶. She doubts, however, the identification of the owner of the West House as the "admiral" of the entire fleet, as was suggested by e.g. Marinatos, but agrees to the fact that he seems to be the most important participant in the event.



FIG. 77 G: FLAG SHIP, DETAIL SHIP FRESCO, 16TH C. BC, MURAL, AEGEAN, THERA, ROOM 5, SOUTHERN WALL WEST HOUSE, MUSEUM OF PREHISTORIC THERA.

To start, however, a first and most important question should be added, namely: do the different fragments all together form one continuous story?

¹⁰⁶⁴ Immerwahr 1990.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Davis 1983: 3.

¹⁰⁶⁶ For her argumentation in favour of identification the figures as Therans and of the owner of the West House: Davis 1983: 6-8.

Warren and Davis do think it is not improbable that the complete miniature fresco formed one continuous scene¹⁰⁶⁷. As said before, Warren thinks this narrative started on the north wall (with the Sea Battle) and ended on the south wall (with the Ship-fresco) (cf. *supra*). He thinks either the artist or the person ordering the painting had one of three intentions with them¹⁰⁶⁸:

- to show one actual voyage;
- to show a general image of more than one voyage;
- to show a purely imaginary voyage.

For Warren, the third possibility, an imagery voyage, is the least probable, although he does admit the presence of the griffin seems to point in that direction. He thinks the depictions are too concerned with reality, even to the slightest details of topography and people, to be only imaginary, and therefore he thinks the imagery shows a recurring form of activity, and thus a general image of more than one voyage.

Hood e.g. sees in the scenes a narrative of the campaign of Minoans to Libya and their triumphant return¹⁰⁶⁹. When indeed this first intention, to show one actual voyage, would be behind the depictions, Warren agrees, based on a first interpretation by Spyridon Marinatos, that the subject of the fresco was an expedition to Libya for corn supplies. Motifs supporting the Libyan interpretation are e.g. the river with African flora (palms and papyrus) and the leopard and lion (although, as pointed out before, Warren thinks the lion is not of the African type, but of the Syrian-Anatolian type; cf. *supra*). But he thinks, and argues, that the whole scene is set in the Aegean, more specifically, in Crete¹⁰⁷⁰. The first and most convincing argument against the Libyan interpretation is that the ships must be steered with paddles, while the rich grain lands in Libya are almost 1000 km away from Thera¹⁰⁷¹. Therefore, Davis suggests another travel-goal for the expedition: the Levantine coast¹⁰⁷².

Davis also thinks the narrative did not start on the north wall and ended on the south wall, as most researchers assume, but was meant to be viewed from left to right (as indicated by the movement of the figures), beginning on the south wall (with the Ship-fresco), then originally continued on the west wall (where no fragments of the miniature fresco were found) and finally

¹⁰⁶⁷ Warren 1979: 118; Davis 1983: 3.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Warren 1979: 120-121.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Hood 1978: 65.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Warren 1979: 122.

¹⁰⁷¹ For the complete argument against the Lybian interpretation: Warren 1979: 122-125.

¹⁰⁷² Davis 1983: 3.

ending on the north wall (with the Sea-Battle; cf supra STF XLIII B)¹⁰⁷³. Thus, for Davis, the river scene with the hunting griffin on the east wall is no part of the narrative, but rather constitutes a break in the story. To support this theory, she refers to the different character of the scene, which she describes as more ornamental, and its height, which is only half of the other friezes, i.e. 20 cm.

That the motifs of the "egyptianizing" landscape (griffin, serval, papyrus, ...) return elsewhere in Aegean art, is the result of the fact that the Minoan and Aegean artist worked with "*an impressive, but nonetheless limited, vocabulary of motifs*"¹⁰⁷⁴. And this could be the reason that the question whether the scene represents an actual event or a general idea of such an event is in fact unanswerable. But Davis sees some evidence that suggests the scene represents one event; one supporting fact may be that the characteristics of the river near the first town on the south wall (cf. Fig. 77 F) point to actual topographical elements.

As Davis thinks the narrative started in the south-eastern corner with the departing fleet at the sea-shore town (cf. Fig. 77 F), she identifies this town as Akrotiri, as it must be the hometown of the fleet, and rejects the idea of seeing the town on the right side of the same wall as the one welcoming the homecoming fleet (Figs. 77 E, H)¹⁰⁷⁵. After all, for her, the narrative does not stop in the southwestern corner, but moves on to the western and northern walls.

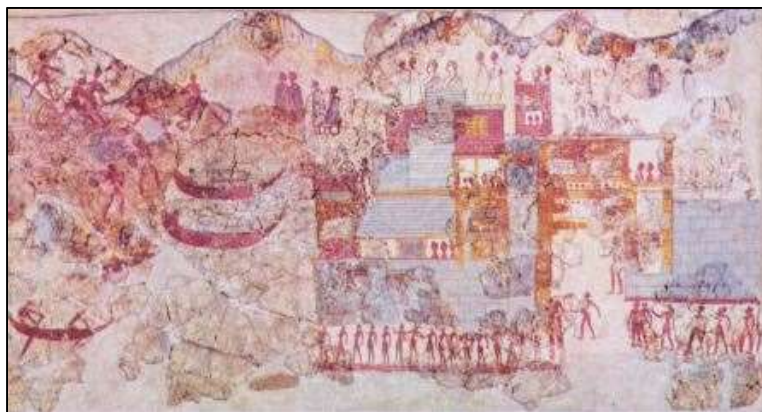


FIG. 77 H: RIGHT HARBOUR, DETAIL SHIP FRESCO, 16TH C. BC, MURAL, AEGEAN, THERA, ROOM 5, SOUTHERN WALL WEST HOUSE, MUSEUM OF PREHISTORIC THERA.

This second town seems much bigger than the first one, is protected by a wall decorated by "horns of consecration" (which also decorate the tower-like structure at the left), and has no rural character whatsoever; all these elements suggest that this town is in fact a city¹⁰⁷⁶. Although this city is not at the end of the voyage, it is also not a Theran city, as is suggested by

¹⁰⁷³ Davis 1983: 3-5.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Davis 1983: 6.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Davis 1983: 8-9.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Davis 1983: 8-9.

the voyage on open sea the ships have made to reach it. This fact, together with the decoration of "horns of consecration" suggests a city on Crete, an island only about 105 km removed from Akrotiri. The clothing of the inhabitants of the city also support this theory: the men, standing lined up on the walls (not armed), wear loin-cloths, whereas the warriors of the fleet wear cloaks. Some women are depicted also, but they are all within the walls of the city, gesturing toward the fleet. Davis thinks both men and women of the city are formally welcoming the Therians.

This scene, Davis argues, although it refers to trade, shows a fleet on its way to a military expedition, which is shown on the north wall, where the conference of different men on the hill could be a response to the invasion of the Thera fleet¹⁰⁷⁷. It is however not clear near which city the battle took place. On the west wall, there might then have been either a scene showing the ships passing another specific landmark, or on the open sea.

Davis also suggests some meanings for the exotic landscape with the hunting griffin on the east wall. It might have been a landscape that the fleet would pass by on their way home¹⁰⁷⁸. This suggests that the expedition went to the African coast, perhaps to Libya, as has been suggested (cf. *supra*). A second suggestion sees the Nilotic landscape as lying between Thera and the destination, which entails that the goal of the expedition was perhaps either Cyprus, the Levantine coast or the southern coast of Turkey.

Morgan reads the murals not narratively, but thematically: the Nilotic landscape with its predators is for her a metaphor for the human activity in the other murals, more specifically for the aggressive and predatory character of the north and south murals (cf. *supra*)¹⁰⁷⁹. She sees a clear relation between hunting griffins or lions and the warfare of men in the Aegean¹⁰⁸⁰. Proof of this relation she finds in the many daggers and swords discovered in the shaft graves of Mycenae which are decorated with lions and griffins. One example of this is a sword of which the hilt is decorated with lion-heads, and the blade with griffins in the same pose as in Thera that suggests speed (Fig. 78). The beaks of the composite creatures all point in the same direction as the sword would in case it would be used to attack.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Davis 1983: 9-12.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Davis 1983: 12.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Morgan 1988: 49-54, 147-150.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Morgan 2010a: 317.



FIG. 78: SWORD WITH LIONS AND GRIFFINS, MYCENAE, GRAVE DELTA.

Immerwahr compares them with the frescoes in Xeste 3 (cf. Cat.Nr. Aeg. 17) and thus sees the references to seafaring as an indication that Room 5 of the West House in Thera also had a religious, or at least a ritual function¹⁰⁸¹. This theory may be corroborated by a curious vessel that was among the fragments of the fresco, and that, Warren suggests, may have been a type of ritual sprinkler¹⁰⁸².

Recent research, and recent finds, that have revealed that Cretans had been in the Nile-delta around the time, or even some decades before, the murals in Thera were painted, however, may now explain the origin of this imagery. It seems the Cretans did even more than look around in the Nile-delta and take in the scenery, that is, if the reconstruction by Morgan of one of the motifs on a mural in Avaris is correct (made from fragments found outside Palace F). It shows a hunting griffin of the Minoan type (among others, its pose – flying gallop -, as if it is running very fast, the beak of a vulture, the crest on its head, and the spirals on its wings), and strongly resembling the one from Akrotiri and generally dated to the early part of the 18th Dyn. (Fig. 79)¹⁰⁸³. This griffin was shown in a hunting scene, together with other predators (lions and leopards), men and prey. The prey of the griffin probably also was deer, but the main difference with the Theran griffin, is that the one in Avaris has already caught its prey, while the one in Thera is about to catch it¹⁰⁸⁴.

¹⁰⁸¹ Immerwahr 1990: 74.

¹⁰⁸² Warren 1979: 115.

¹⁰⁸³ Bietak 2005: 89-90; Zouzoula 2007: 218-218; Morgan 2010a: 309.

Morgan has devoted an entire article on this griffin: Morgan 2010a.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Morgan 2010a: 309, 314.

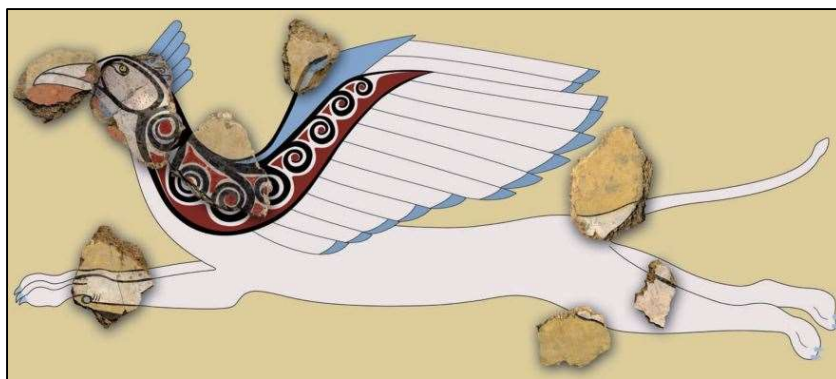


FIG. 79:
AVARIS GRIFFIN, CA. 1540-
1075 BC
(RECONSTRUCTION BY
LYVIA MORGAN).

One of the best parallels for the hunting scenes from both Thera and Avaris can be seen on an Aegean Pyxis, dating to LH II-LH IIIA, which shows not one but three hunting griffins (Fig. 80)¹⁰⁸⁵.



FIG. 80: AEGEAN PYXIS WITH HUNTING GRIFFINS, CA. 1500-1300 BC, LH II-III A, ATHENS, AGORA, DRAWING (by Piet de Jong).

All these griffins, two of which have the characteristically held Aegean wings with spirals and long beaks, have just caught their prey, in one case also a deer¹⁰⁸⁶. One of the griffins, the one that has felled a deer, is also depicted in flying gallop, but, uniquely, it attacks two deer at the same time, one with each front paw.

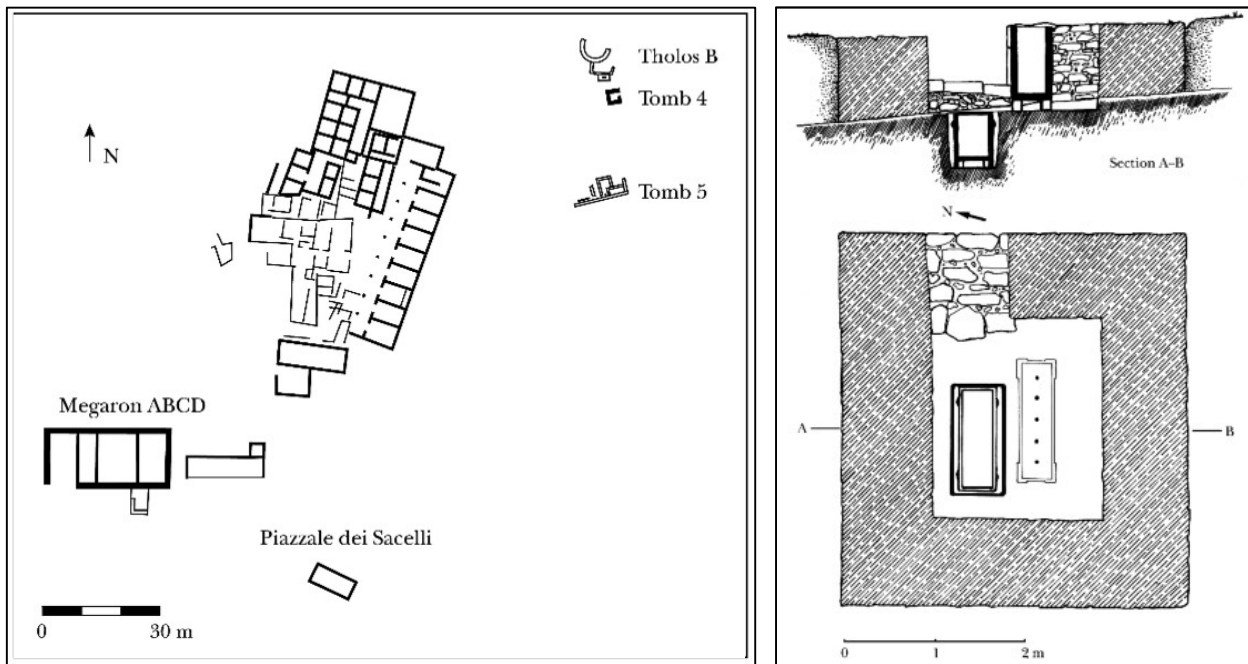
It seems the Therians thought the exotic dream-like Nilotic landscape they saw in the Nile-delta as the ideal setting for a creature equally exotic and supernatural. Perhaps this is the most logic explanation for the Hunting griffin fresco, whatever the meaning of the other frescoes in Room 5 of the West House may have been. The fresco might have been there to point out that when one travels, one can encounter some strange and unusual things.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Morgan 2010a: 314.

An image of the third griffin on the lid of the pyxis: Morgan 2010a: Fig. 14 a.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Morgan 2010a: 314.

12.4 GODDESS/CHARIOT DRAWN BY GRIFFINS

14th cent. BC (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 26)

MP 12 A: PLAN OF MYCENAEAN HAGIA TRIADA.

MP 12 B: PLAN AND SECTION TOMB 4, HAGIA TRIADA.

12.4.1 INTRODUCTION

This on its own already intriguing image is only one part of an even more intriguing cycle of images on a sarcophagus found in tomb 4, a seemingly not very important tomb, in Hagia Triada in 1903 by R. Paribeni¹⁰⁸⁷. The tomb is unique for the Minoan and the Mycenaean world in that it is a small building with very thick walls of small and irregular stones. In the tomb, next to the sarcophagus was another larnax, this one undecorated, a large bronze razor, parts of a female figurine shell pieces and a serpentine bowl. The undecorated larnax held human bones, a razor and a seal. Inside the Hagia Triada sarcophagus were only found two skulls. Walgate points out that these objects may have been part of the grave goods or have been ceremonial. Either way, there seems to be a reference to burial, and thus dead cult.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Nilsson 1950: 426; Walgate 2002: 2-3; Burke 2005: 403, 410-412; Martino 2005: 1-2.

For more information about the similarities between the imagery on the sarcophagus and the wall paintings found in Hagia Triada: Privitera 2015.

Although the paper of Wendy Walgate about the iconography on the sarcophagus does not at first sight belongs as a source in a scientific paper, her approach is so interesting that I could not pass it by. Besides, although Walgate actually does not belong to the academic world, she wrote the paper under supervision of Prof. Dr. D. Cain of the University of Toronto to complete her M.A. in History of Art.

The sarcophagus was cut in stone, completely covered with plaster and painted in fresco. It measures 1375-1385 x 89,5 x 45 cm¹⁰⁸⁸. The chest dates, Nilsson and others suggest, to LM IIIA2, i.e. the Final Palatial Period (ca. 1370-1360 BC), when new burial customs from the Mycenaean culture on the mainland found their way to Knossos and Crete¹⁰⁸⁹.

Morgan dates the sarcophagus to LM IIIA1. Watrous dates it a bit later (LM IIIA2), but recognizes the sarcophagus as one of the earliest examples of scenes with ritual procedures. Marinatos sees the sarcophagus as a medium that has preserved the essence of Prepalatial Minoan rituals and dates it to the transitioning period between the Palatial and the Postpalatial Periods (ca. 1400 BC). Watrous agrees with this thesis, and thinks the images were painted for a high-ranking Minoan by a fresco-painter who was keen to demonstrate the older Minoan painting traditions. Nauert, e.g., sees the sarcophagus as a very important source for religious beliefs of Minoan Crete and beliefs some sort of ritual is portrayed, although he is not sure whether the ritual is divine or funerary. Nilsson agrees with the fact that the sarcophagus is a very important, if not to say, the most important document of Minoan religion, but adds, correctly, that it is also the most difficult to interpret. Morgan thinks the chest unique in its funerary iconography and Walgate adds the technique (fresco-style) to the uniqueness, but does not agree on a purely funeral reading of the imagery. Because of the presence of processions and sacrificial scenes on non-funerary Cretan objects, she presumes the sarcophagus-scenes can be read in a broader context.

Because the images were depicted on a sarcophagus, one immediately connects them with a cult of the dead and assumes the cult scenes depicted must refer in one way or another to the deceased¹⁰⁹⁰. It seems, however, Minoan religion mostly centred on nature and its powers of renewal, and death was purely seen as part of this cycle¹⁰⁹¹.

Burke, e.g., regards the sarcophagus not as one unique object of Aegean art, but, more generally, *"as an expression of power by sophisticated Mycenaean elites who were asserting political, ideological, and economic dominance by means of art and architecture in religious*

¹⁰⁸⁸ Burke 2005: 411.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Nilsson 1950: 426, 441; Nauert 1965: 91; Morgan 1987: 192; Watrous 1991: 290; Marinatos 1993: 31; Walgate 2002: 1; Burke 2005: 403; Privitera 2015: 67.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Nilsson 1950: 433.

For more elaborate and detailed information on Minoan thoughts on death and afterlife: Dietrich 1997.

For more information on LM *larnakes*: Watrous 1991.

¹⁰⁹¹ Dietrich 1997: 19.

For more information on Minoan and Greek Cult (Practices): Hägg, Marinatos and Nordquist 1988.

settings"¹⁰⁹². The clothes of the figures on the sarcophagus corroborate this hypothesis, in that they are not the usual Minoan types of open bodice and skirt, but more in the fashion of the mainland¹⁰⁹³.

Dietrich points out that although funerary rituals perhaps were performed they mostly were concerned with the physical remains and keeping the dead away from the living and did not necessarily involve care for or even awareness of the soul of the dead. But popular superstition existed in most cultures, and it can be assumed safely that it fuelled the fear of Minoans and Mycenaeans that the evil spirits of the dead could return to the world of the living where they could bring diseases and other disasters. In later periods, it was believed these evil spirits serviced the goddess Hecate and could assume the shape of birds.

Nonetheless, it has become clear through years of research, that Minoans had the practice to put multiple burials in one tomb and even reburied the remains of the bodies after several years¹⁰⁹⁴. Nilsson emphasises that although in the Minoan Age great care was taken of the death, all the rituals and proceedings were part of the funeral customs, and not necessarily of a cult of the dead¹⁰⁹⁵. In fact, he states, few archaeological traces, if any, of such a cult exist. In regards with the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, he points out that, because Mycenaeans had a tradition of great funeral display that was part of a permanent cult of the death, it is of course possible that a Mycenaean chieftain settled in Crete wanted a rich tomb and an equally rich display following Mycenaean customs. The Minoan craftsmen who executed the work would have had no precedents for funeral imagery and had to fall back on the iconography they knew. Nilsson thinks these prototypes would have belonged to the Minoan divine cult.

The question is, of course, how to read the cycle (if it is a cycle) and to try to determine whether the images indeed solely belong to a cult of the dead, or if there is more than meets the eye. As Nilsson points out, each of the scenes is intelligible on its own and is known from other examples from Minoan imagery¹⁰⁹⁶. To him, however, the fundamental questions are "*whether they represent a coherent cycle of ideas and rites*" and, moreover, whether they refer to a divine or a death cult, or perhaps to both. He also states that some scholars have come to believe that the images have nothing to do with the cult of the death, but, as is pointed out before, while the

¹⁰⁹² Burke 2005: 406.

¹⁰⁹³ Dietrich 1997: 21, 24, 32.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Nilsson 1950: 440; Walgate 2002: 3.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Nilsson 1950: 426, 428, 440-442.

For the difference between Minoan funerary customs and those of the mainland: Nilsson 1950: 426-428.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Nilsson 1950: 433-434; Chapin 2014: 38-39.

images are depicted on a sarcophagus, Nilsson finds this hard to believe. Many researchers have tackled these questions during the last decennia, and a variety of interpretations have been given, one more probable than the other. Perhaps the best approach to the image cycle is to describe all the scenes first without interpreting them, before trying to identify them and try to analyse and understand the complete cycle, if it is a cycle indeed.

12.4.2 LITERAL READING

12.4.2.1 SIDE A: LITERAL READING



FIG. 81 A: HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGUS, SIDE A.

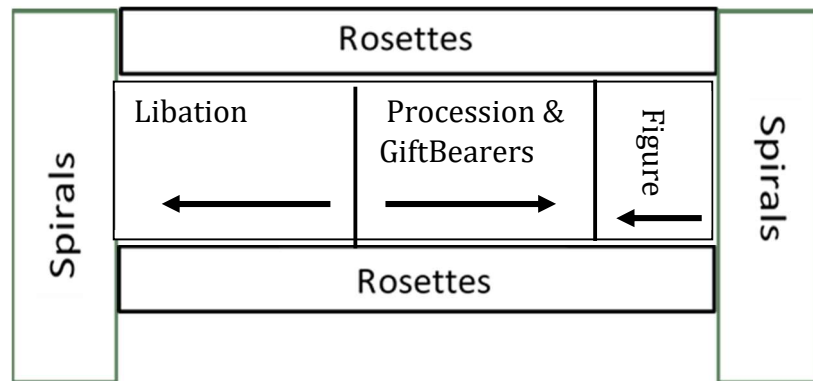
The scene on side A exists of one register of narrative scene with seven figures and bordered with spirals to the left and right, and rosettes at the top and bottom. If the background colours have a specific meaning, there are three different scenes depicted here. At the far right before a white background, an armless figure is standing before a structure, next to the figure is a (dead) tree and another structure, that seems to consist of three steps.

Walking in the direction of the figure are three men depicted before a light-blue background; the first one is carrying a white object in a sort of crescent-shape, while the other two each carry a calf with spotted skin. The three men seem to be wearing a skirt made of hides.

Behind the men, and with their backs to them, are three figures, probably two women and a man, again against a white background. Two of them are wearing long dresses, while the one on the utmost left, also seems to wear a sort of hide-skirt. Walgate claims this variety of

costumes points to a certain hierarchical status, either in Minoan society, or in the supernatural world¹⁰⁹⁷.

The hide-skirted woman is holding a vessel in her hand from which she seems to be pouring a liquid into a basket that stands between two poles on top of which are double axes. On each of these axes sits a bird. The second woman holds a vessel like the one the first one holds. The last figure in the row, a male, is playing the lyre.



STF XLIV A - SCHEMATIC DRAWING – SIDE A.

12.4.2.2 SIDE B: LITERAL READING



FIG. 81 B: HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGUS, SIDE B.

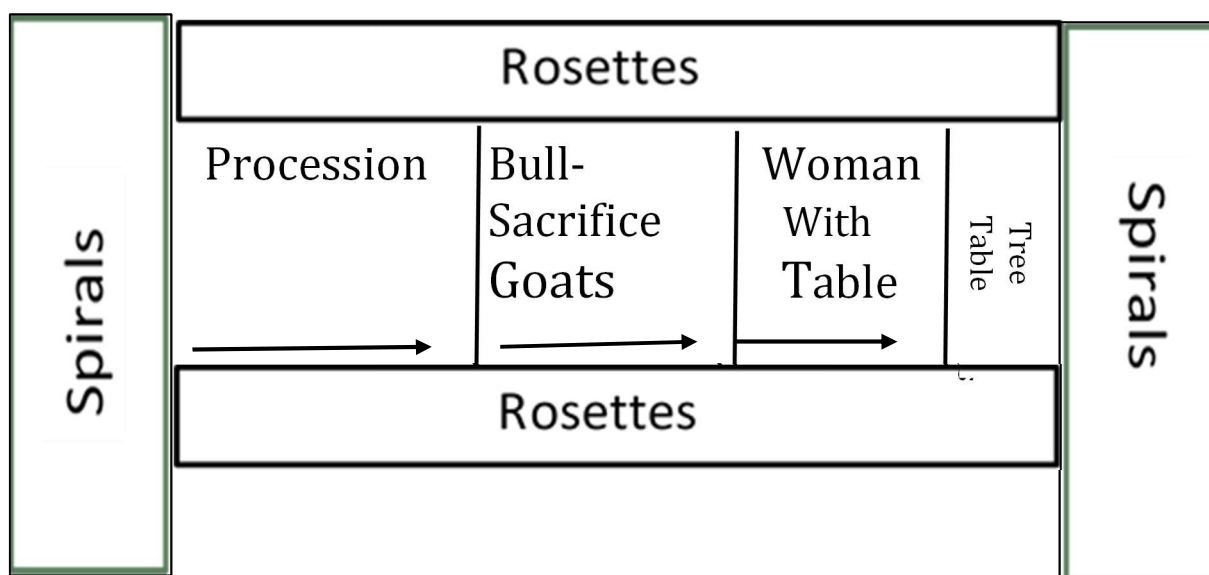
¹⁰⁹⁷ Walgate 2002: 7.

Again, there is only one narrative scene, flanked by spirals and rosettes, and divided by the colour of the background in four different sections.

The central section, against a white background, shows a bull with spotted hide but no horns who is lying on a table; beneath the table two goats are lying, one with horns and one without. Behind the table a man is playing a flute-like instrument.

The scene, shown against a yellow background, to the left of the centre section is badly damaged and shows only one complete figure of a woman wearing a long dress, followed by at least two other figures, all walking towards the bull on the table. The woman nearest to the bull stretches out her hands as if to touch the animal.

This same pose can be seen on the section to the right of the centre scene, where a woman is depicted against a grey-blue background and stretches out her hands towards a structure decorated with spirals standing before her. Above this structure, a basket filled with fruit and a vessel of some kind seem to be hovering in the air. To the utmost right the fourth section of the scene against a white background shows a similar structure decorated with spirals but with a small podium on top in the middle of which a fruit-bearing tree is growing between two pairs of horns of consecration.



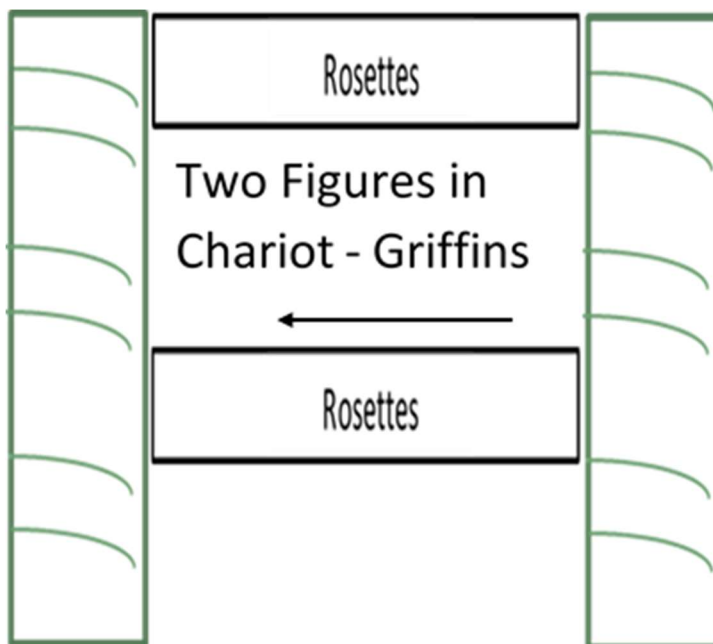
STF XLIV B - SCHEMATIC DRAWING – SIDE B.

12.4.2.3 SIDE C: LITERAL READING



FIG. 81 C: HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGUS, SIDE C.

STF XLIV C - SCHEMATIC DRAWING – SIDE C.



Side C shows only one scene against a dark-red background; at the top and bottom a row of rosettes, on the sides horizontal bands of white and blue against a red and yellow background. Two figures, both apparently dressed in long dresses like those worn by the figures on the left section of Side B and the two figures on the left section of Side A, but both now wearing a high hat, are sitting in a chariot with a spotted flank and drawn by a pair of griffins. These griffins hold their wings up and have notched plumes on their heads. Above their wings a bird in white, yellow and blue is hovering, facing the figures in the chariot¹⁰⁹⁸.

The same iconography of two figures in a griffin-drawn chariot can be seen on a golden signet ring (Cat.Nr. Aeg. 23) dating from the 16th-15th cent. BC and found in a tomb in Antheia. The location where it was found certainly suggests some connection with death or funerary rituals.

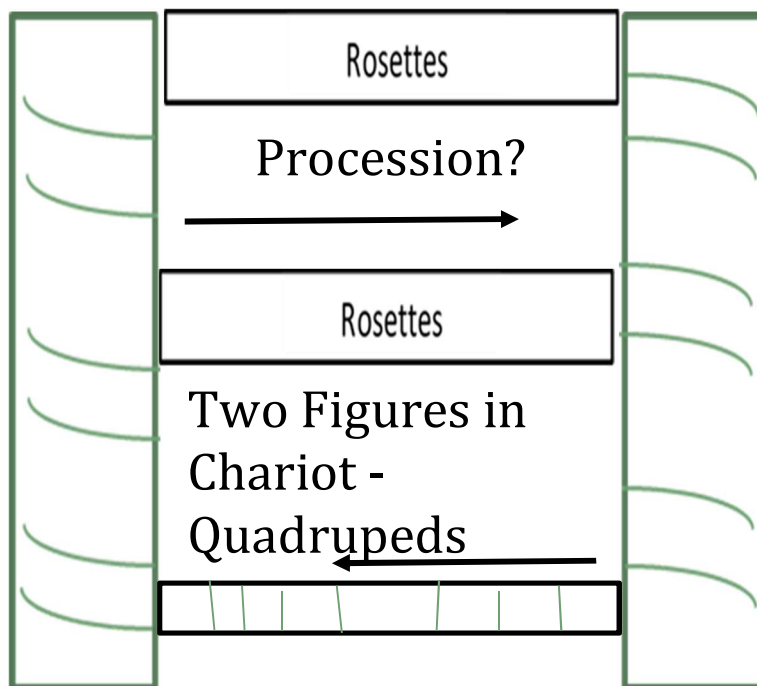
FIG. 82: SIGNET RING GODDESSES IN CHARIOT DRAWN BY GRIFFINS (CAT.NR. AEG. 23), 16TH-15TH CENT. BC, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF MESSENA.¹⁰⁹⁸ Walgate 2002: 11.

12.4.2.4 SIDE D: LITERAL READING



FIG. 81 D: HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGUS, SIDE D.

STF XLIV D - SCHEMATIC DRAWING – SIDE D.



Side D is the only side on which the narrative scene consists of two registers, of which the top one is almost completely damaged. It only shows against a yellow background the lower part of a human body, perhaps male, walking to the right. The two registers are divided by one band of rosettes, the flanks show horizontal bands of blue, yellow and white. In the lower register, with a white background, again two figures are sitting in a chariot, drawn by a difficult to identify pair of quadrupeds, mostly identified as horses or goats. One of the figures wears a flat hat, the other one's headdress is unclear. Again, the chariot has a spotted flank.

12.4.3 NARRATIVE INFORMATION

Some of these motifs are not that complicated, others, however, e.g. the figures in the chariots or the armless figure on Side A standing before a structure, are more difficult to understand or identify. One fact that is generally accepted, is that the sarcophagus has religious imagery on all four sides¹⁰⁹⁹.

Walgate identifies twelve episodes of narrative information, and these are a good starting point to commence the interpretative reading of the scenes¹¹⁰⁰:

A. 1. The Figure

2. Procession of three males carrying two bulls and one boat
3. Female pouring offering, second female carrying vessels, male playing lyre
4. Two birds standing on double axes, just landed



FIG. 81 E: HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGUS, SIDE A (DETAIL).

B. 1. Procession with five females

2. Slain Bull (looking out of frame at viewer), two goats and pipe player
3. Female at altar making offering in basket
4. Bird on double axe having landed or making ready to fly

¹⁰⁹⁹ Morgan 1987: 193.

¹¹⁰⁰ Walgate 2002: 4.



FIG. 81 F: HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGUS, SIDE B (DETAIL DRAWING).

- C. 1. Two figures in chariot pulled by two griffins
- 2. Large flying bird
- D. 1. Males Walking
- 2. Two figures in chariot pulled by one agrimi

12.4.4 INTERPRETATIVE READING

12.4.4.1 SIDE A: INTERPRETATIVE READING



FIG. 83 A. LIBATION SCENE, HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGUS, SIDE A (DETAIL).

The utmost left scene on Side A is one of the easiest to understand: the two women holding vessels and the man playing the lyre are most probably participators in a procession, more precisely, a religious procession with music and chanting, as the first woman pouring the content of her vessel into a basket or cauldron is carrying out a libation, a well-known and common ritual procedure (A.3.)¹¹⁰¹. Walgate sees a similarity between this woman and the *Potnia Theron* who is often depicted on lentoid seals and who is identified as a goddess. She thus identifies the woman on the sarcophagus also as a goddess; the liquid she pours into the basket and perhaps into the earth may be water, wine or even the blood from the bull-sacrifice on the other side of the sarcophagus. The purpose of libations in death cults is to ensure the deceased a safe voyage to the Afterworld.

Behind the woman (priestess) carrying out the libation stands a second woman holding ready two identical vessels with more liquids for libations¹¹⁰². Marinatos believes the vessel in which the libation is poured has an open bottom so that the liquid can penetrate the earth. The religious context is even more enhanced by the two double axes flanking the basket, as double axes are a generally known religious or even divine symbol in Minoan culture, as are the yellow and black birds that are sitting on top of each double axe (A.4.)¹¹⁰³. Because the axes have a green

¹¹⁰¹ Walgate 2002: 7, 10; Burke 2005: 412.

¹¹⁰² Morgan 1987: 182-183; Watrous 1991: 290; Marinatos 1993: 33; Walgate 2002: 7; Martino 2005: 2.

¹¹⁰³ Nilsson 1950: 428; Morgan 1987: 197; Walgate 2002: 7-8; Marinatos 2016: 3.

colour they look a bit like trees, hence the mistake of Paribeni, who identified the axes as palm trees, and persuaded Hiller they are present here as symbolic representations of trees¹¹⁰⁴.

Dietrich sees the axes (and the Minoan horns of consecration) as typical motifs of funerary art, not only representing the ritual of sacrifice, but also the concept of renewal, while for Nilsson, both birds and axes are symbols of a divine cult¹¹⁰⁵. One of the reasons to see them as part of a cult of the gods, however, namely that they only appear on monuments in such an association, is not valid, because, as Nilsson points out, there are no monuments depicting the cult of the dead known, and so a comparison cannot be made. An argument in favour of a divine cult, however, are the fragments of wall paintings that Paribeni published in his book which show the remains of a libation scene accompanied by a lyre player. But as this mural was part of the decoration of a palace, it is highly unlikely that it depicted a cult of the dead.

Walgate points out that in Cretan art birds often appear on columns, horns of consecration, altars or even female figures. Morgan and Walgate both see an association between the birds and death by looking at Egyptian and later Greek beliefs: the *ba*, the winged soul-bird, and the *psyche* respectively¹¹⁰⁶. Birds were thus believed to be mediators, either between the worlds of the living and the death, or between the worlds of humans and divinities. Nilsson sees the birds, which he thinks are ravens, as messengers of the gods¹¹⁰⁷. Watrous on the other hand sees the bird as an attribute of the Minoan goddess with the upraised arms and thus regards it as either a substitute of the goddess or even as a different form of the goddess. The bird was present then to enhance the fact that the goddess would respond to the sacrifice. For Burke, birds are sometimes indicators of the divine and even, in some cases, manifestations of a divinity.

Nilsson also points out that, because the birds and double axes most of the time seem to refer to a divine cult, the hypothesis of Paribeni that Minoans besought their gods to take care of the dead, as they did in Egypt, was not as farfetched as initially thought. This would mean that the Minoans cared more for their dead as is generally assumed. Von Duhn goes even further as that he thinks the gods were invoked to cause the dead to appear¹¹⁰⁸. Following this presumption, the libation shown on the left would then be a preparatory rite of a Greek sacrifice, where blood is poured into a bottomless cauldron so that it could seep into the earth, to evoke

¹¹⁰⁴ Paribeni 1908; Hiller 1999: 366; Walgate 2002: 7.

¹¹⁰⁵ Nilsson 1950: 433, 436-438; Dietrich 1988: 39; Dietrich 1997: 34, Walgate 2002: 7-8.

¹¹⁰⁶ Morgan 1987: 184; Walgate 2002: 8.

¹¹⁰⁷ Nilsson 1950: 428-429, 433; Watrous 1991: 293; Burke 2005: 414.

¹¹⁰⁸ Von Duhn 190: 161; Nilsson 1950: 430, 433.

the dead person to appear (perhaps the figure A.1.). Ceremonies like these were always performed by women.

Back to back with this procession of women is a second procession, consisting of three men; both processions thus proceed outward¹¹⁰⁹.

The central scene on Side A (A.2.), i.e. the second procession, is also not that difficult to understand, when taken on its own. Three men, walking to the right, towards the figure (A.1.), are carrying what seem to be offerings or funerary gifts. The white crescent-shaped object that the first one is carrying, is identified as a boat. The two other men are carrying (models) of bulls or calves. These objects, however, can have different meanings, depending on how one identifies the figure in the utmost right scene (A.1.). For Walgate, the boat suggests the mode of transportation to the Afterworld, while the bulls were there to provide food for the deceased on his voyage. Dietrich points out that models of boats also have been found in Minoan tombs and that even some larnakes were made in the shape of a boat (although they certainly were not sea-worthy). He considers boats an appropriate gift for the deceased of a seafaring people. The facts also that a majority (although certainly not all) of the Minoan cemeteries were located near the sea and that often images of sea creatures were depicted on larnakes of later periods might suggest, still according to Dietrich, that the Minoans buried their dead at the sea.



FIG. 83 B: BOAT-OFFERING, HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGUS, SIDE A (DETAIL).

¹¹⁰⁹ Nilsson 1950: 428; Watrous 1991: 290; Dietrich 1997: 26-27; Walgate 2002: 6.



FIG. 83 C: FIGURE, HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGUS, SIDE A (DETAIL).

The figure to the utmost right of Side A (A.1) poses more problems¹¹¹⁰. Many researchers identified this figure as the deceased, mainly because of its stiff and armless pose, which make it almost look statue-like, and because the procession of the three men before him seem to bring him some offerings¹¹¹¹. For Dietrich, this imagery points to a cult of the dead. Walgate sees more possibilities for the identity of the figure; next to being the deceased, it could also represent the spirit or soul of the dead, an image of a deity, or a deity himself¹¹¹². She also draws the attention to the fact that the figure seems to command much of the action performed on this side of the larnax.

Next to the figure is what appears to be a dead tree with a 3-stepped structure and behind the figure stands another structure decorated with spirals. In this last structure, many researchers see a similarity with Egyptian funerary beliefs and rituals. Paribeni and Hall, e.g., call the structure a tomb and believe the figure is the "mummy" that in Egyptian beliefs is held upright by Anubis during the so-called ritual of the Opening of the Mouth¹¹¹³. The tree then refers to the tree that stands beside the tomb of Osiris as is depicted in many Egyptian paintings. Watrous also thinks the scene is untypical of Aegean art and resembles the Egyptian funeral rites very closely, although not completely, where the deceased is standing before his tomb where he received the last rites (often depicted in the *Book of the Dead*)¹¹¹⁴. The three-stepped structure next to the figure is very exceptional in Aegean art, as Walgate points out, and could have a

¹¹¹⁰ Burke 2005: 412-413.

¹¹¹¹ Paribeni 1908; Hall 1914: 112; Watrous 1991: 290; Marinatos 1993: 33; Dietrich 1997: 19; Walgate 2002: 5. Petersen, e.g. does not believe the figure represents the deceased: E. Petersen, *Der kretische Bildersarg*, *Arch. Jahrbuch*, XXIV, 1909: 162.

¹¹¹² Walgate 2002: 5.

¹¹¹³ Paribeni 1908; Hall 1914: 112; Nilsson 1950: 428; Martino 2005: 61-62.

¹¹¹⁴ Watrous 1991: 290-291.

For more information about the *Book of the Dead*: cf. 5. The Sphinx in Egypt – 5.4. Function and Meaning.

connection with the Egyptian belief that steps symbolize the transition from the world of the living to the world of the dead¹¹¹⁵.

The procession of offering bearers coming toward the deceased, strongly reminds among others Walgate and Martino of the processions of Keftiu carrying gifts to the pharaoh as they are sometimes depicted in Egyptian tombs or on Egyptian caskets (Fig. 84).

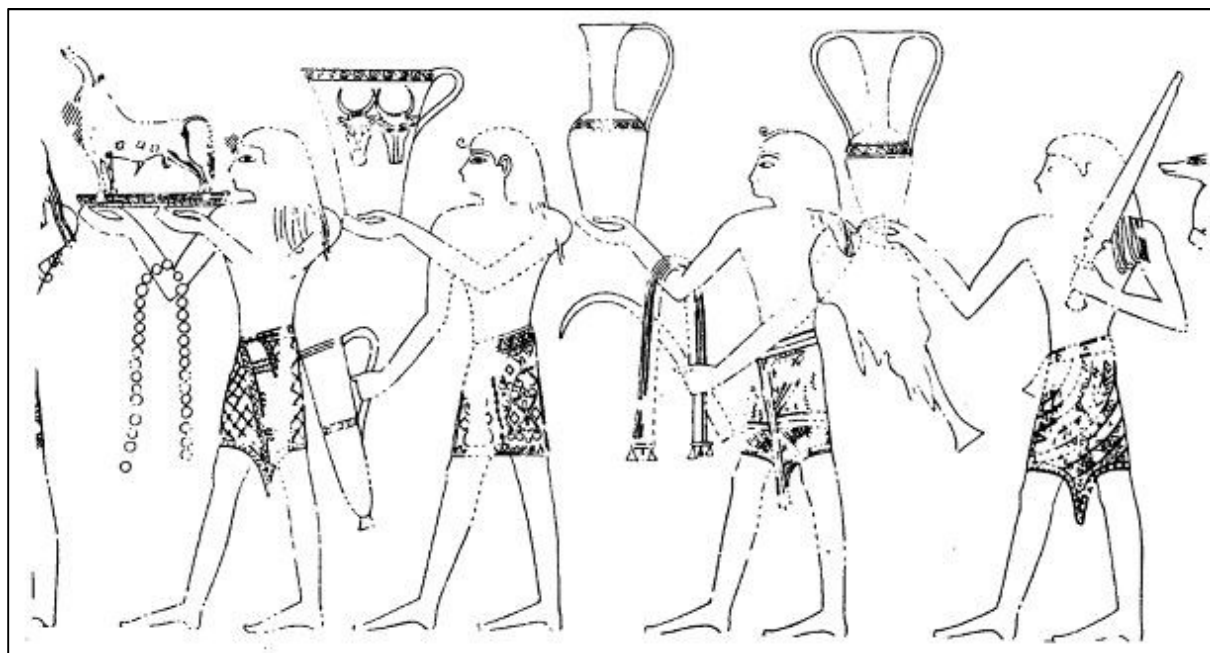


FIG. 84: TRIBUTE SCENE WITH KEFTIU, EGYPT, THEBES, TOMB OF MENCHEPERRESOBN (T. 86).

Watrous describes the differences with the Egyptian scenes (e.g. the replacement of a funerary bark by a model of a boat and of a leg of meat by a calf and a tree and platform instead of the usual Egyptian offering table and bouquet of flowers) to the fact that the Cretans would have adapted the motifs so that they fitted their own beliefs specifically¹¹¹⁶. But he also thinks the similarities can only be the result of Egyptian influences if and only if the funerary practices of the Minoans were like these of the Egyptians. And this seems not probable, because, as has been said before, the Minoans apparently had a very different behaviour towards the dead and towards their bodies.

¹¹¹⁵ Walgate 2002: 5-6.

¹¹¹⁶ Watrous 1991: 291.

12.4.4.2 SIDE B: INTERPRETATIVE READING

Again, Side B contains some easier and some more difficult to understand scenes and again there are seven figures, one male and six females¹¹¹⁷. On the left, a procession of five figures can be seen, and, by the look of the clothes (as a big part of the scene is missing), these are all women (B.1). The first woman, with a fine plumed hat, stretches out her arms and hands above a bull lying on a table or altar (B.2), part of the second scene on this side of the sarcophagus. Noteworthy is, that the bull is the only figure on the sarcophagus, which is looking out of the picture to the viewer. Moreover, due to its size, it is also the most prominent figure on this side of the larnax, which may reflect the significance of the animal in Minoan culture (cf. 3.2.3.3. Bull-Sphinxes). From the neck of the bull blood is flowing into a receptacle that seems to be stuck in the ground. Marinatos suggests that blood flowing into a spot may indicate this spot is a sacred place. Under the table, or altar, two goats are lying, and next to it there is a man playing the flute. The table is an offering table and probably the goats, after the bull, will also be offered; the officiating person of the sacrifice then is the woman with the plumed hat. Watrous believes bulls depicted on larnakes, were meant as offerings for the deceased.



FIG. 85 A: BULL SACRIFICE, HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGUS SIDE B (DETAIL).

Some investigators think the right section of Side B contains two scenes (because of the change in background colour), while others think it is only one. To the utmost right, a construction, by a.o. Watrous, identified as an altar, is standing not dissimilar as the one on Side A behind the figure (A.1), only somewhat lower and wider, also decorated with spirals¹¹¹⁸. Next to it, however, is an olive tree (thus fruit-bearing) with its branches stretched over it, as if protecting the structure, and the horns of consecration that are standing on top of it¹¹¹⁹. Marinatos sees the horns in fact flanking the olive tree and reminds of the fact that, although a tree can ascertain

¹¹¹⁷ Nilsson 1950: 429; Nauert 1965: 94; Marinatos 1988: 27; Watrous 1991: 293; Marinatos 1993: 34; Walgate 2002: 4, 9; Burke 2005: 413; Martino 2005: 4-6.

¹¹¹⁸ Nauert 1965: 95-96; Watrous 1991: 293; Walgate 2002: 10.

¹¹¹⁹ Nilsson 1950: 429; Nauert 1965: 95-96; Morgan 1987: 197-198; Marinatos 1993: 33; Walgate 2002: 10; Martino 2005: 7.

the place of ritual activity, it is not an object of worship in itself¹¹²⁰. For Morgan and Walgate the tree is a symbol of renewal or rebirth and of life, and Walgate sees the combination of tree and structure as a signifier of a sacred or meaningful place¹¹²¹.

Dietrich sees the horns of consecration as favourite themes of funerary art, while Watrous points out they were most probably used to identify the sanctity of a place or structure¹¹²². That these symbols were placed on a sarcophagus, he considers proof of the fact that the Minoans saw the larnax as the house of the dead, just like the Egyptians did.

Concerning the structure on which the horns of consecration are placed itself, Martino points out it looks very like tree-shrines which are often depicted on Minoan rings and seals (Fig. 86)¹¹²³.



FIG. 85 B: OFFERING SCENE, HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGUS SIDE B (DETAIL).

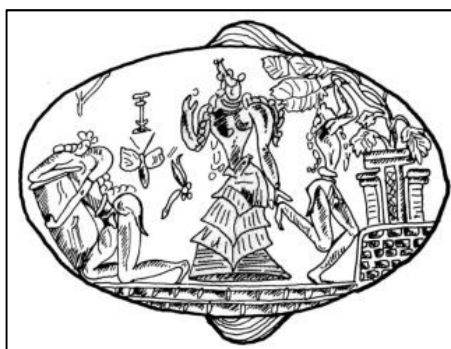


FIG. 86: MINOAN GOLDEN RING WITH TREE-SHRINE (LINE DRAWING).

In front of this structure stands a pole with a double axe on which again a (black) bird is sitting (B.4)¹¹²⁴. As said before, Watrous believes the bird is strongly connected to the Minoan goddess with upraised arms and, because the birds on both long sides of the larnax are watching the offerings (on Side A, the libation, on Side B, the bull-sacrifice), their presence suggests that the goddess would respond to the sacrifices¹¹²⁵.

Before the pole is another structure, called a podium by Nilsson, with a bowl or vessel on it, above which a woman (B.3) stretches her arms and hands in a gesture like the one of the first woman of the procession on this side¹¹²⁶. Because she is dressed in the same manner as the

¹¹²⁰ Marinatos 1993: 136.

¹¹²¹ Morgan 1987: 187; Walgate 2002: 10.

¹¹²² Watrous 1991: 293; Dietrich 1997: 34.

¹¹²³ Martino 2005: 6-7.

¹¹²⁴ Nauert 1965: 95-96; Morgan 1987: 83; Marinatos 1993: 33, Walgate 2002: 10.

¹¹²⁵ Watrous 1991: 293.

¹¹²⁶ Nauert 1965: 95-96; Marinatos 1993: 33-34; Walgate 2002: 4; Martino 2005: 6.

woman performing the Libation ceremony on Side A, she could be perhaps the same person. Nilsson claims that she is placing a vessel with offerings on the structure, while Watrous and Walgate believe she is carrying out a libation, but this is hard to see on the available images¹¹²⁷. This woman is looking at the bird and the double axe. Above the podium a jug or pitcher and a basket filled with fruit are hovering in mid-air, which, as Marinatos and Martino claim, suggests they are part of a cult. The basket of fruit suggests to Valois scenes of fruit harvests, which always take place before the rite of planting¹¹²⁸. Therefore, he thinks the *kalathos*, the basket over which the woman holds her hands, contains the seeds that will later be planted. This means there is a certain connection between the "sleep" of the plants and the death of man.

12.4.4.3 SIDE C: INTERPRETATIVE READING

Of the two short sides, the one with the two figures in a chariot drawn by griffins, is the only one that does carry symbolic meaning, that at least is what Nilsson thinks¹¹²⁹. This is a very odd hypothesis, as it seems unthinkable that the Minoans would have produced a larnax with symbolic laden content on three sides, and a purely decorative fourth side (Side D).

The two figures sitting in the chariot (C.1) on this side of the sarcophagus, are thought to be goddesses by many researchers¹¹³⁰. Dietrich thinks the chariot here is the main clue in identifying them as such, but not the only one; when comparing the imagery on the sarcophagus with Minoan wall paintings, he can only conclude that the figures are indeed goddesses¹¹³¹. Chariots, moreover, can signify divine arrival or departure, and thus they transcend their purely funerary function as mere part of the procession¹¹³². Marinatos finds the best proof of the females being goddesses in the fact that their chariot is being drawn by griffins, as mere mortals would never be associated with such fantastic creatures. The bird hovering above the creature would then indeed be a messenger of the gods. Walgate also identifies the females as goddesses because of the griffins, supernatural creatures, that draw the chariot.

¹¹²⁷ Nilsson 1950: 429; Morgan 1987: 197; Watrous 1991: 290-291; Marinatos 1993: 33; Walgate 2002: 10; Martino 2005: 6.

¹¹²⁸ Valois 1926: 129; Nilsson 1950: 432-433.

¹¹²⁹ Nilsson 1950: 429.

¹¹³⁰ Watrous 1991: 291; Marinatos 1993: 35; Dietrich 1997: 27-28; Laffineur 2001: 390; Burke 2005: 414; Zouzoula 2007: 269.

Watrous and Dietrich both even think the four figures in the chariots are goddesses.

¹¹³¹ Dietrich 1997: 28.

¹¹³² Dietrich 1997: 34; Burkert 1988: 83; Marinatos 1993: 35; Walgate 2002: 11.

Nilsson, however, who pointed out the pale greyish colour one of the two figures has, suggested that she is deceased, and then concluded that the bird (C.2), hovering above the griffin's wings, represents the soul of the deceased, hereby agreeing with Morgan and Walgate, who referred to Greek and earlier Egyptian beliefs (cf. *supra*)¹¹³³. Unfortunately, after Side B was cleaned thoroughly in 1956 (by Levi), it showed clearly that the two figures in the chariot both were equally rosy-cheeked, and thus that neither of them probably represented a deceased person. Zouzoula agrees with Nilsson, however, and sees in the image the depiction of the chariot drawn by griffins belonging to the goddess who will carry the (soul of the) deceased to the Netherworld.



FIG. 87: GRIFFIN-DRAWN CHARIOT, HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGUS SIDE C (DRAWING OF DETAIL).

Nauert also finds no proof that both women are goddesses; first, because they wear no special insignia or costumes to identify them as such. He thinks they are mere human participants in the ceremonial processions that are depicted on both long sides of the sarcophagus¹¹³⁴.

Walgate suggests the side of the chariot is spotted because it is covered by an animal skin, which she sees as a link to the bull-sacrifice on Side B and this in its turn would point to the concept of rebirth or renewal¹¹³⁵.

Also remarkable is the red background colour, that only appears on this panel of the sarcophagus¹¹³⁶. Burke draws attention to the fact that the same colour was used in the throne room of the palace of Knossos, where griffins also were represented, and with the mural of the so-called *Prince with Lilies*, decorating the same palace, who might have been accompanied by a sphinx (cf. 7.2. The Sphinx in the Aegean – 1600-800 BC + Fig.58). He then suggests the colour refers to a liminal zone, where divinities appear.

¹¹³³ Nilsson 1950: 40, 429; Nauert 1965: 91; Morgan 1987: 184; Walgate 2002: 8; Zouzoula 2007: 276.

¹¹³⁴ Nauert 1965: 91-92.

¹¹³⁵ Marinatos 1993: 58; Walgate 2002: 11.

¹¹³⁶ Burke 2005: 415.

12.4.4.4 SIDE D: INTERPRETATIVE READING



FIG. 88: PROCESSION (?), HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGUS, SIDE D (DETAIL).

As said before, the upper register of this side is badly damaged so that interpretation of the image is very hard, if not impossible. The best guess, considering the surrounding images, would be a kind of procession, in this case most probably consisting of two men (D. 1)¹¹³⁷.

The bottom half shows a motif very reminiscent of the one on Side C, yet different from that one in two major details. On this side, the quadrupeds drawing the chariot do not seem to be supernatural creatures and, secondly, there is no bird hovering over the animals. For a long time, it was thought the animals pulling the chariot were horses, but now everyone agrees they are *agrimi*, a typical Cretan goat¹¹³⁸. As said before, however, in 1950 Nilsson identified the animals drawing the chariot as horses and claimed that this side of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus contained no symbolic meaning whatsoever¹¹³⁹.

In 1972, Small very convincingly argued that the creatures pulling the chariot on Side D were not horses, but a specific type of Cretan goat¹¹⁴⁰. He points out that in 1965, Pendlebury had already doubted the identification of the horses, but subscribed it to the fact that horses in this period (LM IIIA) were barely known in Crete and therefore were rendered not completely correct. Hutchinson had dated the first representation of a horse in Crete to LM II, on a seal-impression that Evans had found in the Little Palace in Knossos (Fig. 89 A)¹¹⁴¹.

¹¹³⁷ Walgate 2002: 11; Burke 2005: 415; Martino 2005: 7.

¹¹³⁸ E.g. Burke 2005: 415; Martino 2005: 7; Crowley 2010: 79; Blakolmer 2016: 62.

¹¹³⁹ Nilsson 1950: 429.

¹¹⁴⁰ Small 1972.

¹¹⁴¹ R.W. Hutchinson (1962). *Prehistoric Crete*: 118; Small 1972: 327.

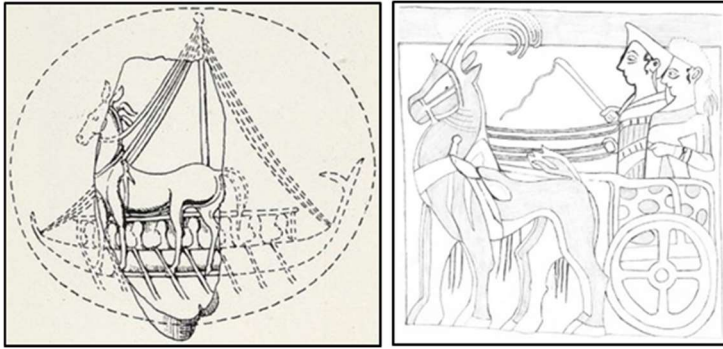


FIG. 89 A: MINOAN TRANSPORT VESSEL WITH HORSE SUPERIMPOSED, LM II, SEAL IMPRESSION, KNOSSOS, LITTLE PALACE.

FIG. 89 B: HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGUS SIDE D – CHARIOT DRAWN BY HORSES OR WILD GOATS.

As corroboration for his thesis, Small points to the tails of the animals, that are typical for the *agrimi* (short and curled up over the back), and to the manes of the animals on the seal impression from Knossos, that are tied up in a very peculiar manner¹¹⁴². The animals on the sarcophagus do not seem to have any manes. Moreover, he finds the tails and horns of the animals very like those of a pair of *agrimi* depicted on a signet found in Avdou; in fact, the image from the signet is almost a reproduction of the one on the sarcophagus (or vice versa) (Fig. 89 C).



FIG. 89 C: AGRIMI LORD, LM I, SIGNET, AGATE, AVDOU, TOMB XX.

Small then concludes that the figures in the chariot most probably are goddesses, as Minoan goddesses (and gods, for that matter) are often connected with goats. Other researchers agree with this, but Nauert does not¹¹⁴³. As with the two women on Side C, he does not see proof of them being goddesses, neither in insignia or clothing and believes they too are mortal participants in the processions shown on Sides A and B. Walgate, however, states that both the type of transportation (chariots) and the animals that are pulling them (griffins and *agrimi*) declare the divine state of the occupants and even the goal of their travel: the Afterworld¹¹⁴⁴.

Unfortunately for Small, however, Nauert corrects him again by showing that already in 1912, the animals were identified correctly as Cretan goats by Rodenwaldt and that he himself had

¹¹⁴² Small 1972: 327.

¹¹⁴³ Nauert 1965: 91-92; Dietrich 1997: 27-28.

¹¹⁴⁴ Walgate 2002: 11.

discussed this aspect of the sarcophagus already in detail in 1965¹¹⁴⁵. Nauert also had seen the resemblance between the signet from Avdou and the image on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus and had even gone a step further in connecting both images to the Hyakinthia festival (cf. 12.4.5. Comprehensive reading of Sides A-B-C-D)¹¹⁴⁶.

The *agrimi* is a wild animal, and it follows that drivers who can control this kind of animal also control nature and the wild; they literary "are in control". Walgate points out that these goats are often depicted on Minoan larnakes in the context of the hunt, which on its own points to control that man has over death, or, in other words explained by Marinatos: "*hunting is an activity that links life and death*"¹¹⁴⁷. The drivers in this chariot are identified by most researchers as women, possibly goddesses (cf. *infra*), but Walgate sees them as male figures.

¹¹⁴⁵ Nauert 1965: 92; Nauert 1972: 429.

¹¹⁴⁶ Nauert 1972: 437.

¹¹⁴⁷ Marinatos 1997: 284; Walgate 2002: 12.

12.4.5 COMPREHENSIVE READING OF SIDES A-B-C-D

Walgate believes it is possible to read the scenes on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus as one complex narrative and most researchers seem to agree with this¹¹⁴⁸. She also takes the colours into account when trying to "read" the narrative and thinks the different colours suggest a shift in location and event, while the light and dark backgrounds can be regarded as the continuation from day into night or "*from mortal to supernatural states or sites*"¹¹⁴⁹.

Watrous, e.g. sees the images on larnakes as "*a language, often abbreviated, but nevertheless containing meaningful messages*"¹¹⁵⁰. For him, these messages are not meant to narrate the Minoan funeral rituals, but rather refer to motifs and symbols representing funerary concepts. In this he sees a similarity with Egyptian tomb paintings, which, although they are much more detailed, also not refer to an individual's funeral, but rather show or suggest specific main proceedings in any funerary ritual (e.g. processions, libations, sacrifices, offerings to the deceased). He then points out that the popular Minoan themes, like boxing, acrobatics, lions, demons, dances, etc. are not present on larnakes, just because the imagery on the sarcophagi were intended to refer to specific Minoan beliefs about the Afterlife. The motifs used to this end were, according to Watrous, a.o., bulls, goats, birds, horns of consecration, and chariots¹¹⁵¹. Zouzoula accepts this view, as she sees tombs, or sarcophagi in this case, as transitory zones between the world of the living and that of the death. Because of the motifs that are present on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, the principal themes expressed through them are, according to Walgate e.g., sacrifice, homage, life and death, and passage and regeneration¹¹⁵². She points e.g. to the fact that both possible sacrifice-scenes (the bull and goats and the miniature bulls or calves) occupy the central space on the long sides of the larnax and that they thus seem to be interconnected. They are the central motif on both sides and the focus point of all other actions depicted on the larnax. She suggests their purpose is to symbolically link the ceremonies depicted on the long sides to the content of the coffin. Walgate also draws attention to the fact that the sacrifice of, especially, large animals, not only suggested wealth, but also mastery of the animal world.

Before analysing the images and their possible interconnection more closely, some highly original readings need to be mentioned here. Nilsson points out a very creative reading of the

¹¹⁴⁸ Petersen 1909; Nauert 1965; Watrous 1991; Marinatos 1993; Walgate 2002: 1.

¹¹⁴⁹ Walgate 2002: 19.

¹¹⁵⁰ Watrous 1991: 302.

¹¹⁵¹ Watrous 1991: 296, 302; Zouzoula 2007: 276.

¹¹⁵² Dietrich 1997: 28; Walgate 2002: 1, 8-9, 21.

images by Petersen in 1909¹¹⁵³. He sees the cycle as a representation of myths and rites expressing the four seasons in a specific order:

1. A. a calf, still alive in the image, is offered to a young god;
 B. Two pillars covered with leafage (green) flank a blood offering
 = spring
2. D. beneath a bare pillar (end of the old year) a bowl and cakes are offered
 E. a bloody sacrifice
3. C. the goddess is driven away in a chariot drawn by griffins
 F. the goddess is driven back in a chariot driven by horses

Petersen believes the birds are cuckoos, because he relates the images to a myth about the sacred marriage where Zeus, in the shape of a cuckoo unites with Hera. The two pillars, encircled with leafage symbolize this union. The bridal bath of Hera was a symbol for the rains of spring which would renew nature. But when Hera disappears the poles stand bare. Luckily, however, the blood of the bull that is being offered will bless the new year; the renewal of nature is shown by the offering of the boat and the calves. Nilsson concludes the overview of Petersen's hypothesis with "*It would really be a pity to destroy this pleasant symbolism with the brutal tools of criticism*", and I can only agree with this¹¹⁵⁴.

As mentioned before, Nauert also had a very inventive theory about the images, which he published in 1965. He identifies the figure on Side A (A.1) as a young vegetation god and thus assumes the images refer to a ritual or cult that referred to death and rebirth, concepts that are closely associated with vegetation gods¹¹⁵⁵. He also thinks these images are well fitted on a sarcophagus.

Sides A and B then show the cult for this god. The stiff armless person on Side A (A.1) would be the vegetation god, because offerings are being presented to him. More telling for this identification, however, Nauert finds in the imagery on the short sides of the sarcophagus, and then especially the chariots that are shown there. He compares these with chariots described in later literature and concludes that they are related to an annual festival held for the cyclical birth and rebirth of the vegetation god Hyakinthos, and was thus referred to with the name Hyakinthia, even when it was later performed for the god Apollo. It was on the second day of

¹¹⁵³ Petersen 1909: 162; Nilsson 1950: 430.

¹¹⁵⁴ Nilsson 1950: 431.

¹¹⁵⁵ Nauert 1965: 91, 93-96.

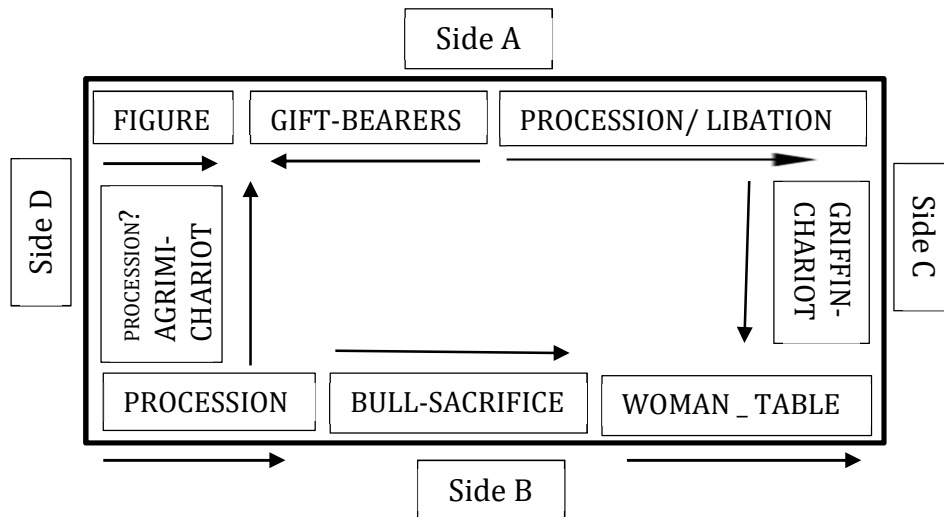
this festival that young girls would drive around in special chariots, named *kannathra* and resembling the chariots on the sarcophagus somewhat, to show their joy about the rebirth of the god and to leave the mourning for his death behind.

Nauert then tries to prove that all depictions on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus fit into the rituals performed during the Hyakinthia. He first points out that goat and bull were the most popular animals for offering during the festival, animals that are both present as possible, and even probable, sacrifice on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus. Always present on the festival too were the double axes, which are present on the sarcophagus on both long sides, two near the libation on Side A, and one near the offering scene on Side B. Both libation and sacrifice on the sarcophagus were officiated by women, and it is known that the cult for Hyakinthos was always performed by women. Two motifs do not seem to fit exactly in the Hyakinthia, the model of a boat that is offered and the stepped structure that stands next to the figure. For this structure Nauert has no explanation, but in the boat Nauert sees a reference to the boat of Osiris in Egypt and thus a symbol of the cyclical renewal of this god.

Nauert admits the identification of the figure on the sarcophagus as Hyakinthos remains uncertain, and gives another possibility with Zeus Welkhanos, who is basically the same god as he is also a manifestation of the Minoan god of fertility¹¹⁵⁶. In fact, in the Hellenistic period a temple for this god was built on the remains of the Hagia Triada palace of the Minoan period. There is however no proof found thus far that a continuation between Minoan and Hellenistic times religions or festivals existed.

The imagery was on the sarcophagus in the following way:

¹¹⁵⁶ Nauert 1965: 97-98.

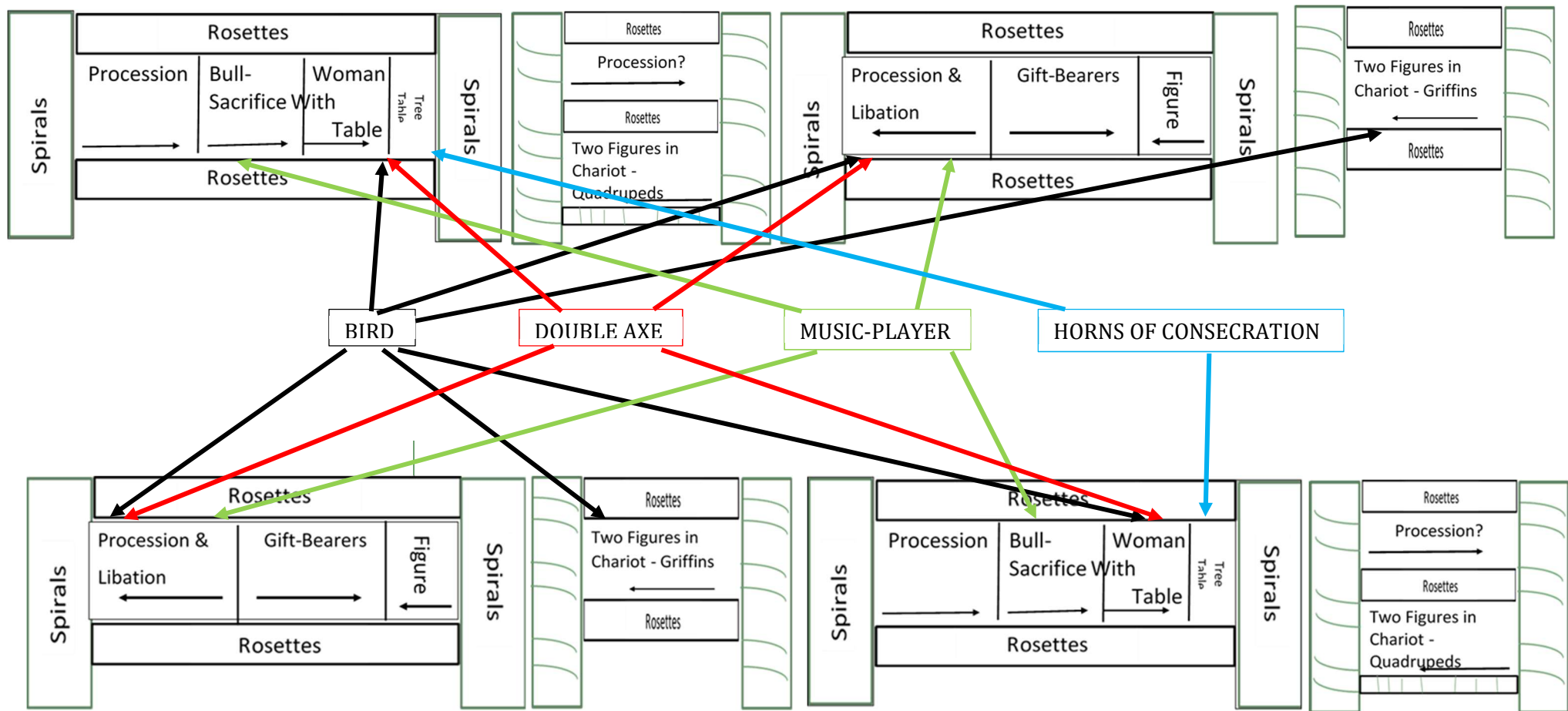


STF XLV - SCHEMATIC DRAWING OF THE HAGIA TRIADA SARCOFAGUS.

When we put all these scenes in the order they were depicted on the sarcophagus, we can get the following different schemes depending on starting point (long sides) and direction of viewing: clockwise (Scheme I = Sides B-D-A-C and Scheme II = Sides A-C-B-D; next page) and counter-clockwise (Scheme III = Sides B-C-A-D and Scheme IV = Sides A-D-B-C; following page).

PART 1 – 12. KEY PIECES RELATED TO SPHINX AND GRIFFIN

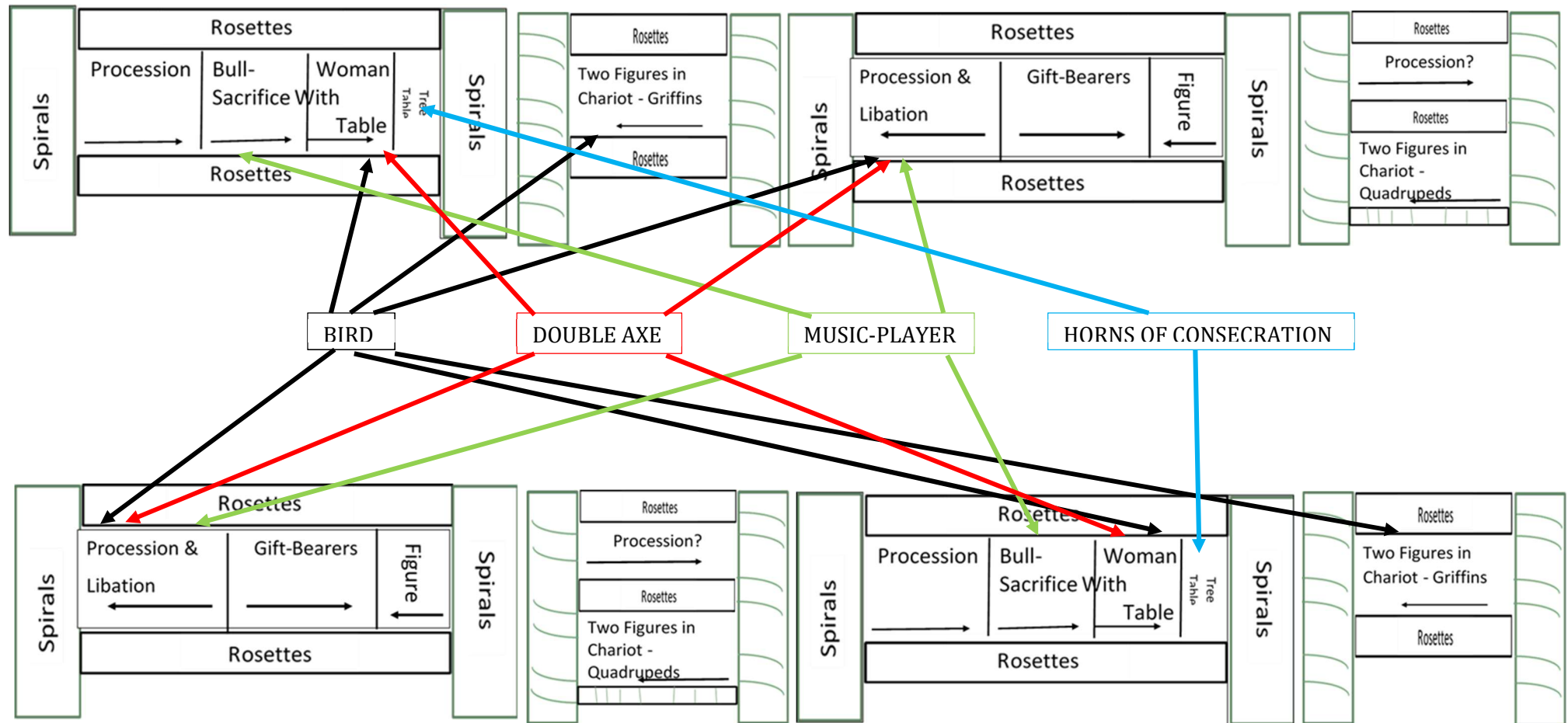
STF XLVI A - SCHEME I: Side B – Side D – Side A – Side C (Clockwise)



STF XLVI B - SCHEME II: Side A – Side C – Side B – Side D (Clockwise)

PART 1 – 12. KEY PIECES RELATED TO SPHINX AND GRIFFIN

STF XLVI C - SCHEME III: Side B – Side C – Side A – Side D (Counter-clockwise)



STF XLVI D - SCHEME IV: Side A – Side D – Side B – Side C (Counter-clockwise)

Clockwise reading, starting with Side B (Scheme I), every action here (procession, bull-sacrifice and woman at offering table) is turned toward the right, toward the two figures in the chariot drawn by the *agrimi*; the action represented above this image, however, is also directed toward the right, i.e. toward the procession and libation on Side A. Facing away from this libation and procession, is the procession of gift-bearers, who face the figure standing in front of them. This figure then is standing with his back to the two women in the chariot drawn by griffins which is depicted on Side C. In their turn, these two women are with their back towards Side B (with procession, bull-sacrifice and woman at offering table).

SCHEME I = → PROCESSION – → BULL-SACRIFICE – → OFFERING – →
PROCESSION - ← AGRIMI-CHARIOT - ← LIBATION & PROCESSION - → GIFT-
BEARERS - ← FIGURE - ← GRIFFIN-CHARIOT

When we start the clockwise reading with Side A (Scheme II), the scenes are facing both left (procession and libation and the figure) and right (gift-bearers). Behind the figure, but going in its direction, are the two women in the griffin-drawn chariot, who, in their turn are with their back towards the procession, bull-sacrifice and woman at the offering table. These three scenes then face the two figures in the *agrimi*-drawn chariot and the procession depicted above them, that is, however in its turn going away from all proceedings (or perhaps precedes them).

SCHEME II = ← LIBATION & PROCESSION - → GIFT-BEARERS - ← FIGURE - ←
GRIFFIN-CHARIOT - → PROCESSION - → BULL-SACRIFICE - → OFFERING - →
PROCESSION - ← AGRIMI-CHARIOT

The counter-clockwise reading, starting with Side B, gives the following sequence (Scheme III): three scenes facing right (procession, bull-sacrifice and offering) towards the griffin-drawn chariot, which in its turn drives away from the libation and procession on Side A which is directed towards it. The gift-bearers stand with their back to this scene and face the figure who looks at them, and who stands with his back to the *agrimi*-drawn chariot which is coming towards it and to the procession which is moving away.

SCHEME III = → PROCESSION - → BULL-SACRIFICE - → OFFERING - ← GRIFFIN-
CHARIOT - ← LIBATION & PROCESSION - → GIFT-BEARERS - ← FIGURE - →
PROCESSION - ← AGRIMI-CHARIOT

Counter-clockwise reading starting with Side A (Scheme IV) reveals the following sequence: Libation and procession going away from the gift-bearers who walk toward the figure, standing with his back both to the *agrimi*-chariot that is coming towards him and the procession that is walking away from him towards the procession that proceeds it, going in the same direction, the bull-sacrifice and the woman at the offering table. These three last scenes all face the griffin-chariot that is coming towards them.

SCHEME IV = ← LIBATION & PROCESSION - → GIFT-BEARERS - ← FIGURE - ← AGRIMI-CHARIOT - → PROCESSION - → PROCESSION - → BULL-SACRIFICE - → OFFERING - ← GRIFFIN-CHARIOT

Of course, different narratives still are possible and the exact meaning unfortunately remains unknown. Walgate proposes a linear reading, e.g. that begins with the figure, because its *"omniscient gaze compels the viewer both physically and imaginatively into a clockwise movement"* and because of the dead tree next to it, and ends with the fruit-bearing tree on Side B¹¹⁵⁷. The reading of direction supposes a narrative sequence as it links together the individual motifs and scenes. Walgate also suggests that the birds and their intended flight are guiding the viewer around the corners of the larnax to the continuation of the story, while the spirals and rosettes that mark the scenes and sides signify life, death and the cyclical renewal of life¹¹⁵⁸.

Although Walgate's reading seems to make a lot of sense, the main question that remains, however, is whether the images depict a divine cult or a funerary cult and this seems to depend on the identity of the figure standing on the right side of Side A. Some researchers identify him as the deceased, while others, like Nauert (cf. supra) but without going so far as to identify the figure as being Hyakinthos, claim he is a vegetation god. Other researchers think the shown rituals and procedures combine aspects of both a divine cult and a cult for the death, in some cases even because the deceased was deified himself, in other cases because the figure did not represent a deceased person, but personified a vegetation god.

¹¹⁵⁷ Walgate 2002: 13-14.

¹¹⁵⁸ Walgate 2002: 14-15, 20-21.

12.4.6 INTERPRETATIONS

Let us look at the different interpretations researchers have given to the images during time. Paribeni thought these images were a sequence of episodes coming both from ceremonies that were performed at the funeral and ceremonies that were part of religious beliefs in general¹¹⁵⁹. All these ceremonies had but one goal: ensuring the deceased a safe journey to the Afterworld. Paribeni, however, bases his arguments on Greek parallels, and this of course is dangerous to do, as Nilsson points out. Dietrich thinks it extremely providential a document showing important funerary rituals like the Hagia Triada sarcophagus has been preserved and sees in the two long sides the narrative of one continuous story of a festival of the dead¹¹⁶⁰. This festival would have taken place on more than one day (hence the different coloured backgrounds) and would have included libations, offerings, sacrifices and gifts, all intended to point out the expectation of renewal. About the identity of the deceased person he remains unsure; it could have been a noble or royal person, or even a heroized dead. Dietrich points out that his reading of the images is based on Egyptian beliefs and that so far, no other Minoan iconography has been found that would support his theory. He also stresses the fact that the idea of judgment of the soul, as was the case in Egypt, could not have been part of the beliefs of either Minoans or Mycenaeans, because this notion was not formulated in Greece before the 6th cent. BC¹¹⁶¹.

Watrous, in contrast with Dietrich, does include the short sides of the sarcophagus in his reading of the images and thinks these show pairs of goddesses who will escort the deceased to the Afterworld¹¹⁶². He thinks the Minoan beliefs on life after death consisted of four causal episodes: "sacrifices (a) induce the protection of the goddess (b) for the safe journey of the deceased across the sea (c) to a Land of the Blessed (d)". The sarcophagus shows the sacrifice to the goddess on Side B (offerings at the altar), and the offerings to the deceased (boat and calves or bulls) on Side A. According to Watrous, the two separate processions shown on Side A of the sarcophagus, show two principal rites of the Minoan funerary procedures: the giving of gifts to the deceased person at the time of the funeral itself, and the later offerings that were left outside his tomb.

Isaac might have been one of the first when he claimed in 1938 that the imagery on one side of the sarcophagus showed a funeral cult, the ones on the other side the proceedings of a vegetation

¹¹⁵⁹ Paribeni 1908; Nilsson 1950: 429-430.

¹¹⁶⁰ Dietrich 1997: 19, 27, 32.

¹¹⁶¹ Dietrich 1997: 24, 28. Presocratic, more specifically, Pythagorean and Orphic thinkers, thought the body was the tomb of the soul.

¹¹⁶² Watrous 1991: 302.

cult¹¹⁶³. Isaac argues that these two separate cults did not exclude one another, in fact, they are connected, as they both celebrate or worship the idea of renewal, as was later also stated by Dietrich (cf. *supra*) and many other scholars, as is pointed out by Nilsson¹¹⁶⁴. The latter also opposes this combination by stating that, although certain religions do celebrate a vegetation cult, in no culture it is known to be identical with the cult of the dead.

About the connection between the cult of the dead and the cult of renewal, or revival, Cook had already proposed a theory in 1925 in which he associated the double axes with the sky-god and earth-goddess who would ensure the resurrection of the dead¹¹⁶⁵. He even suggests that the dead person of the sarcophagus was an incarnation of the sky-god himself and that the bird hovering above the wings of the griffins was a jay representing the soul of the deceased. With this theory, he combines not only the cult of the dead with the cult of renewal, but also with the idea of divinisation (cf. *infra*).

But the idea of a combination between a cult of the dead and a cult for renewal has been picked up by later scholars. Marinatos corroborates such a union by interposing both long sides of the larnax against each other, whereby Side A shows rituals from the cult of death, and Side B scenes from a regeneration cult¹¹⁶⁶. For her, these cults have a different message, although they are performed with likewise rituals that are in some way equivalent to one another¹¹⁶⁷.

The following table shows the similarities and differences between the two sides and thus two cults as she perceives them:

STF XLVII: REGENERATION AND DEATH CULTS	
Side B: REGENERATION	Side A: DEATH
Tree bearing olives	Tree (fruitless)
Sacrifice of live animals	Offerings of inanimate (?) animals
Offering of fruit	
Libation on top of altar	Libation downward
Flute (piercing sound)	Lyre (soothing music)
Double axes	Double axes
Birds	Birds

¹¹⁶³ Isaac 1938: 79.

¹¹⁶⁴ Isaac 1938: 79; Nilsson 1950: 432; Dietrich 1997: 19, 27, 32.

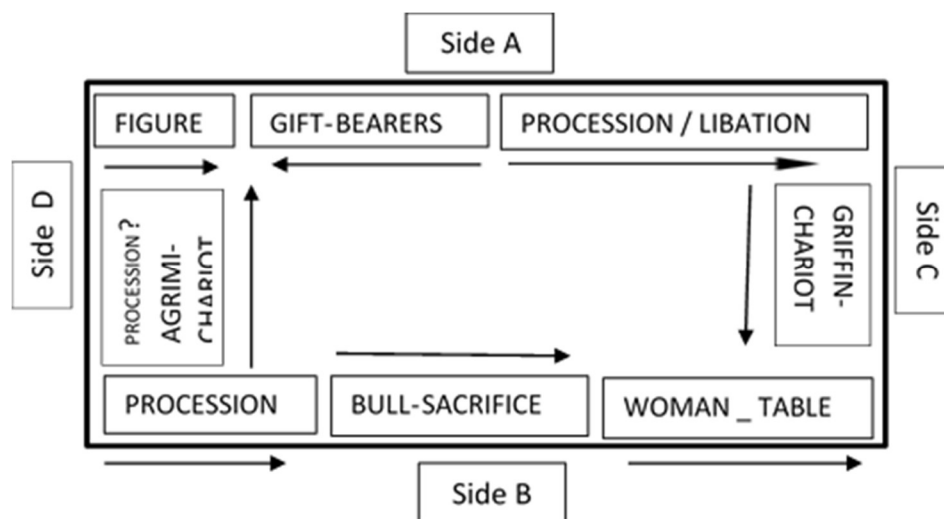
¹¹⁶⁵ Cook 1925: 516.

¹¹⁶⁶ Marinatos 1993.

¹¹⁶⁷ Marinatos 1993: 34-35.

Long robes	Long robes
Hide skirts	Hide skirts

Marinatos identifies the libations, sacrifice and offerings as belonging to the cult of the death, but still sees a difference between the two sides of the sarcophagus; on Side A, the libations e.g. are meant for the earth, on Side B they are poured into a bowl standing on an altar¹¹⁶⁸. The same goes for the depictions of trees; on both sides, there are trees, but on Side A, the tree is fruitless, while on Side B the tree is of a fruit-bearing type. And even the different musical instruments, lyre on Side A and flute on Side B can be explained in this way: the music of the flute is piercing, while the sound from the lyre would be calm and soothing.



STF XLVIII: SCHEMATIC DRAWING OF THE HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGUS.

As has been shown before (cf. Scheme), Marinatos enhances the fact that the agrimi-drawn chariot is heading towards the figure on Side A, while the griffin-drawn chariot proceeds towards the shrine and the woman offering at the table on Side B¹¹⁶⁹. She presumes the rituals performed by the women invoke the goddesses and the griffin-drawn chariot shows their arrival. About the identity of the other pair of females in the goat-driven chariot she is unsure; she suggests, as they are heading towards the figure who she thinks is the deceased person lying in the sarcophagus, they are chthonic divinities who are the counterparts of the ones sitting in the griffin-drawn chariot of the other short side. The male figures above these chthonic goddesses,

¹¹⁶⁸ Marinatos 1993: 31, 34-35.

¹¹⁶⁹ Marinatos 1993: 35-36.

of which only a tiny fragment is kept, she then identifies as dead ancestors. Against this hypothesis however is the fact that images of the deceased are rarely depicted on larnakes and when they are, they are either inside the larnax itself, or lying on a bier¹¹⁷⁰.

Although Marinatos is very credible about the opposition between the cult of the dead shown on Side A and a cult of renewal on Side B, she is unpersuasive about both identity and role of the females depicted on the short sides of the sarcophagus. In fact, the only convincing conclusion concerning the imagery on the short sides is that they belong to a supernatural sphere, opposed to the images of the long sides, which depict cult practices¹¹⁷¹. Morgan has suggested that the short sides "*may have been considered as the appropriate position for a divine protector of the dead*"¹¹⁷².

The combination then of divine cult and cult of the dead stated by some researchers poses yet another difficulty, yet again pointed out by Nilsson¹¹⁷³. Because the images are depicted on a sarcophagus, an object designed as a tomb for a deceased, it seems improbable that the decoration of this object was not connected to the deceased himself, but to a divine cult, albeit it was focused on the idea of renewal. For Nilsson, the answer is simple, the dead person was deified and thus could receive the worship prescribed by the divine cult, of which the libation and possibly also the animal sacrifices were a principal part. Zouzoula will define this even stronger by claiming that the dead person was deified through the iconography on the sarcophagus¹¹⁷⁴. Nilsson traces the idea of deification to Egypt, where every person becomes an Osiris (and thus resurrected) after his death¹¹⁷⁵.

To corroborate his hypothesis, Nilsson points to the unmistakably Egyptian elements in the imagery on the larnax, e.g. the hide-skirts some of the protagonists are wearing; a piece of clothing that in Egypt is worn by priests either officiating in the cult of the dead or in the processions of the divine bark. Consequences of this theory are that the figure standing on the right side of Side A is not the mummy, but the deified man who only appears in the imagination and, secondly, that the scenes on the larnax depict the rites by which the deified deceased was worshipped. The images on the short side then contribute to the idea of deification. Griffins, fantastic animals often related to the gods, draw the chariot that will take the deified deceased,

¹¹⁷⁰ Martino 2005: 61.

¹¹⁷¹ Marinatos 1993: 36.

¹¹⁷² Morgan 1987: 192.

¹¹⁷³ Nilsson 1950: 438.

¹¹⁷⁴ Zouzoula 2007: 315.

¹¹⁷⁵ Nilsson 1950: 438-440, 442-443.

not to the Afterworld, but to the world of the gods. The bird hovering above the griffins' wings, would then be an epiphany of a god. Marinatos points out however, that there exists no proof whatsoever that birds are the epiphany of a god, but claims that they are simply "*messengers of the gods, signifying their future arrival or goodwill*"¹¹⁷⁶.

The other chariot, drawn by, as Nilsson still believes, horses, carries goddesses too that belong to the "cortège" of the new god¹¹⁷⁷. He believes this chariot is the forbear of the procession of gods in stately chariots that are so often seen in archaic Greek art.

Whether this idea of deification of a person in the Aegean simply developed under Egyptian influence or whether it was borrowed from the Egyptians, is in fact not important. The seemingly out of place elements related to the Egyptian elements, show that the Minoans remodelled the imagery so that it fitted perfectly in their ideas of religion. This explains the presence of horns of consecration, of trees and double axes with birds sitting on them. Nilsson concludes as follows:

*"It is no objection to this view that Egyptian elements are conspicuous in the paintings. The intercourse of the Mycenaean with Egypt was very lively in the Early and Middle Mycenaean age. It seems that a mingling of Mycenaean veneration of the Mighty Dead and Egyptian divinization of the dead, covered with a garb of Minoan divine cult, accounts satisfactorily for these astonishing funeral paintings. For the crucial dilemma that the forms of divine cult have been used for decorating a sarcophagus has never been overcome. It is explained if the Mycenaeans conformed their cult of the dead to the Egyptian divinization of the dead and vested this in the forms of the Minoan divine cult"*¹¹⁷⁸.

Nauert, however, opposes all of Nilsson's theory, because "*it supposes too strict a connection between the deceased and the divine*"¹¹⁷⁹. And Nilsson himself admits his theory is probably unlikely because no other Minoan monuments show evidence for such a combination between a cult of the dead and a cult of the divine¹¹⁸⁰.

The same scholar, however, also draws the attention to the fact that the Hagia Triada is not the only monument with depicted representations of cult scenes. The larnax from Episkopi (near Hierapetra), e.g. shows also a pair of horns of consecration, a double axe, bulls, one even with a bird above its back, and on a larnax found in Malia a bird perched on top of a double axe. But

¹¹⁷⁶ Marinatos 1998: 11; Walgate 2002: 8.

¹¹⁷⁷ Nilsson 1950: 439-440.

¹¹⁷⁸ Nilsson 1950: 442.

¹¹⁷⁹ Nauert 1965: 91.

¹¹⁸⁰ Nilsson 1950: 433-436, 439; 442.

these only give evidence that the same ritual cycle also played a role in the decoration of larnakes in a much later period.

12.4.7 GENERAL CONCLUSION

After analysing the imagery on the Hagia Triada larnax in different (schematic) ways, Walgate comes to a more general conclusion about meaning and function:

It is clear that the cyclical path of the narrative movement on the HTS illustrates the elements passing into each other. Rather than cataloguing a series of funerary events, the narrative cycles represent the continuum of necessary activities and beliefs that defined Minoan society. With the HTS, interaction with the space-time continuum of the narrative forces the viewer to acknowledge his position within the cosmos, and the inevitability of his own death and potential renewal into another state of being¹¹⁸¹."

Until more of these complex decorated larnakes or other funerary objects have been found, it is practically impossible to define the exact meaning of the multifaceted iconography. A more general conclusion then indeed must be made. Obviously, the larnax and its decoration belong to the realm of death, the Afterlife, renewal, and, more abstract, the mortality of men and the cycle of life and death. The iconography then generally must have had the intention to point to the fact that, although death is frightening because it is unescapable, it might also be the starting point of a new state of being.

¹¹⁸¹ Walgate 2002: 24.

12.5 GOLD AND SILVER APPLIQUÉ WITH PAIR OF SPHINXES

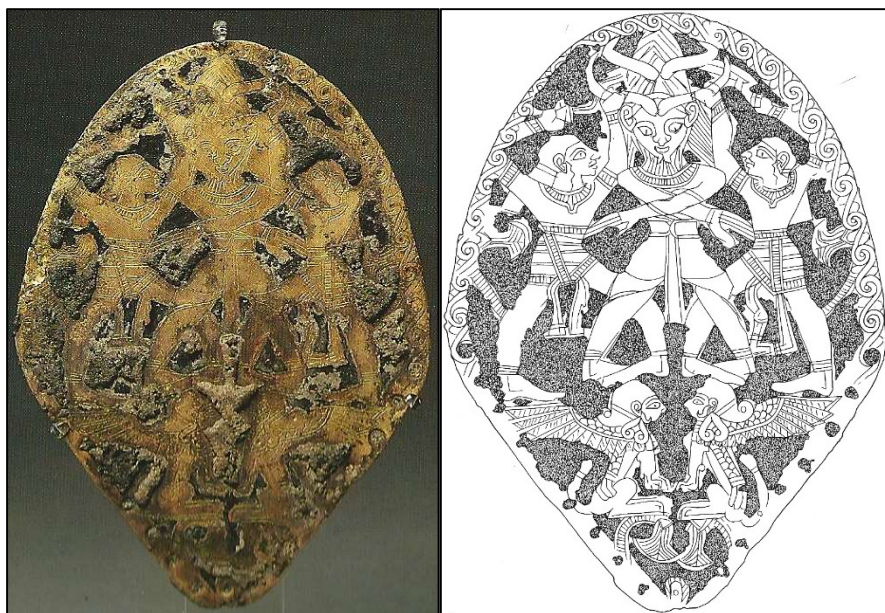
14th-13th cent. BC (Cat.Nr. Mes. 91)

FIG. 90 A & B: GOLD AND SILVER APPLIQUÉ WITH PAIR OF SPHINXES + DRAWING (by Elizabeth Simpson) (CAT.NR. MES. 91).

This lozenge shaped ornament (9,8 x 7,2 cm) with its very intriguing iconography, came from the international art market, but, after being thoroughly researched and analysed by Christine Liliquist, is thought to have originally been one of the objects that was found in the so-called "Schatzhaus" in Kāmid el-Lōz in Lebanon¹¹⁸². Liliquist points out that the object is unique, both among the other objects found in the "Schatzhaus" as for the technique it was made with and the iconography it shows.

12.5.1 FUNCTION

Concerning the use of the object, researchers agree. Because of the tiny perforations on the lower part it was certainly meant to be attached to another object, which probably was a horse-blinker¹¹⁸³. Hansen points to similarly shaped Egyptian horse blinkers of the 2nd mill. BC: a rounded top and a triangular bottom with perforations¹¹⁸⁴. Examples of these have been found, among others, in the tomb of Tutankhamen or depicted on reliefs or murals from the New Kingdom¹¹⁸⁵. Later, in the early 1st mill. BC, Near Eastern horse blinkers were always spade- or shield- shaped¹¹⁸⁶. Hansen also points out that, although the blinker was used horizontally,

¹¹⁸² Liliquist 1994: 214-215 nr. 0,17.

Liliquist dates the object earlier, ca. 1550-1390 BC.

¹¹⁸³ Kawami 1990: 77; Hansen 1994: 221, 223; Aruz 2015: 54.

¹¹⁸⁴ Hansen 1994: 223.

¹¹⁸⁵ For images: Hansen 1994: Figs. 36, 38.

¹¹⁸⁶ Hansen 1994: 223-224.

the decorations are almost always oriented vertically, because they were not meant to be visible for the enemy, but rather for the occupant of the royal ceremonial chariot, which would have been the king¹¹⁸⁷. The purpose of the imagery on the horse blinker then was to enhance or extend the royal power, and the iconography was specifically chosen to meet that goal.

12.5.2 LOCATION & PRODUCTION METHOD

The object, which Hansen thinks is of ancient Levantine origin, consists of a silver background, which is now badly corroded, that is joined to a slightly larger gold sheet with cut-out figures¹¹⁸⁸. After an analysis of the used metals had been conducted, it is thought the material, which is a pale-yellow colour, could be electrum instead of gold¹¹⁸⁹. The technique of overlaying gold (or electrum) over silver is not widespread in the Ancient Near East, to say the least; virtually, it is unique west of Iran¹¹⁹⁰.

The "Schatzhaus" where the horse-blinker is believed to come from, is now thought to be a royal tomb, thus the objects found there would have been part of royal ideology, which makes the iconography on the item even more intriguing¹¹⁹¹. If the "Schatzhaus" indeed was a royal funerary monument, then this object would be a ceremonial luxury item, and then the imagery upon it, certainly must have had a very specific meaning, be it religious, political, or mythological, or a combination of these.

However, Hansen argues, it is very improbable that a chariot and related equestrian objects have been placed in the tomb, although fragments of an object have been found there that most probably belonged to a horse-bridle chest-piece or frontlet¹¹⁹². These fragments, made of silver overlaid with gold foil show a repeated depiction of the Syro-Mesopotamian Goddess Lama (Akk. Lamassu), a so-called suppliant goddess whose function it was to intercede and protect¹¹⁹³.

¹¹⁸⁷ Hansen 1994: 223-224.

¹¹⁸⁸ Kawami 1990: 77; Hansen 1994: 221, 226-227; Aruz 2015: 54.

¹¹⁸⁹ Lilquist 1994: 214, footnote 29.

¹¹⁹⁰ Hansen 1994: 226.

¹¹⁹¹ Adler 1994: 126-149; Hansen 1994: 224.

¹¹⁹² Hansen 1994: 224, 226.

¹¹⁹³ For more information on the goddess Lama: Spycket 1960.

12.5.3 MOTIFS

Four different motifs catch the eye when looking at the incised symmetrical composition: (1) two antithetically sphinxes, sitting on (2) down-curved flowers or plants and (3) two men attacking (4) a demonic horned figure. Around the upper edge of the horse blinker there is a decoration with continuous spirals¹¹⁹⁴. The spiral is a typical Aegean motif and is regarded as a protective symbol and/or suggestive of the cycle of rebirth (cf. 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs).

12.5.3.1 SPHINXES



FIG. 90 C: GOLD AND SILVER APPLIQUÉ WITH PAIR OF SPHINXES - DETAIL DRAWING SPHINXES (by Elizabeth Simpson).

The sphinxes are sitting upright; their hair curls into three locks; two on the side of their faces beneath the ear, a thicker one at the back of their neck. Their tails are upturned and their wings, with scale- and feather-patterns, are held horizontally, so that they can function as support for the two men of the central group¹¹⁹⁵. The scale-pattern of the wings seems to continue on the back of the sphinxes where it ends in the tail feathers of a falcon (according to Hansen). Similar falcon tail feathers are also visible on the winged sphinxes depicted next to the Investiture Scene in Mari (St.M. Nr. Mes. 22; cf. 12.1. Investiture Zimri-Lim).

While the sphinxes support the group of figures, they themselves are resting on a pair of pendant lotus-like forms, by Hansen called papyrus-flowers¹¹⁹⁶.

¹¹⁹⁴ Kawami 1990: 77; Hansen 1994: 223.

¹¹⁹⁵ Hansen 1994: 223, 229-230.

¹¹⁹⁶ Kawami 1990: 77; Hansen 1994: 223.

12.5.3.2 FLOWERS OR PLANTS



FIG. 90 D: GOLD AND SILVER APPLIQUÉ WITH PAIR OF SPHINXES – DETAILS.



Hansen claims the sphinxes stand with their rather huge feet on drooping papyrus-flowers which grow out of the border of the appliqué; Kawami, however, thinks the plants are not papyrus-flowers, but lotus-flowers¹¹⁹⁷. Behind each attacking men, similar shaped flowers can be seen, although, when one looks closely, these are not quite the same.

The difference between the two plants could be meaningful in the whole of the iconography, but is obviously difficult to see. Lotus-flowers as well as papyrus-plants could be depicted in several ways, and some of those resemble each other closely (cf. Fig. 91 A-B).

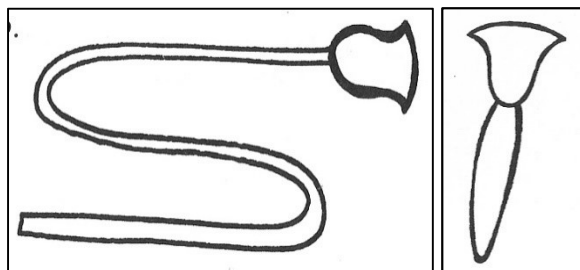


FIG. 91 A: DRAWING LOTUS-FLOWER.

FIG. 91 B: DRAWING PAPYRUS-FLOWER.

As lotus-plants were thought to be connected to the sun, they were regarded as an important symbol not only of rebirth but also of hope¹¹⁹⁸. In Egypt, papyrus-clumps or –bundles suggested victory and joy, but the papyrus was also a symbol of life-force and vitality. In the Aegean, which imported papyrus- and lotus-motif from Egypt, both flowers were often depicted together. In general, one could say that lotus- as well as papyrus-motifs symbolize victory and hope, while they also suggest rebirth and life-force. These meanings seem to fit rather well into the overall iconography.

¹¹⁹⁷ Kawami 1990: 77; Hansen 1994: 223.

For more information about sphinxes in the Sacred Tree: Gubel 2005: 111-148; Gubel 2009: 187-208.

¹¹⁹⁸ See for more information on lotus and papyrus: 13.7. STF LVI - Different Symbols, Signs and Motifs.

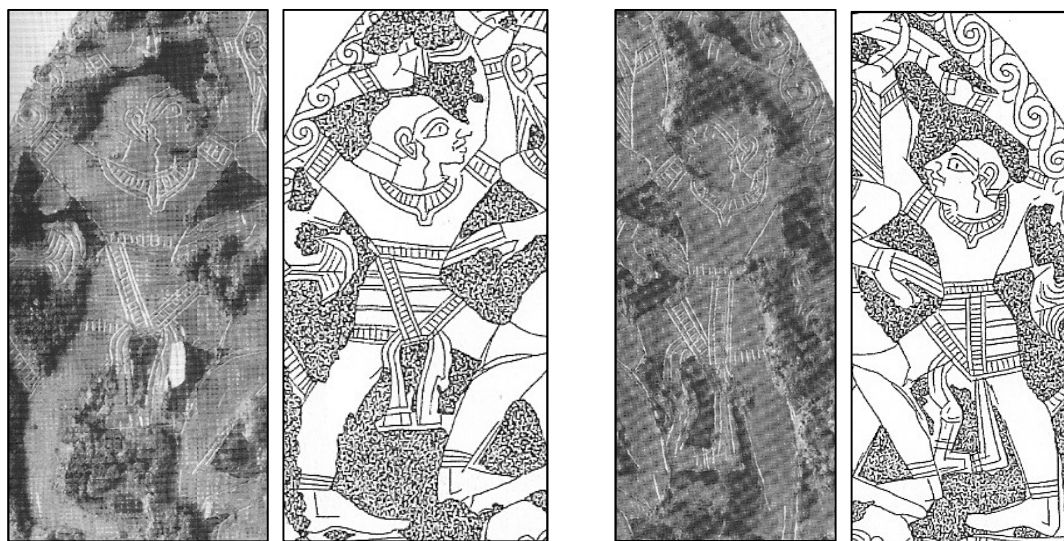
12.5.3.3 MEN

FIG. 90 E, F, G & H: GOLD AND SILVER APPLIQUÉ WITH PAIR OF SPHINXES – DETAILS.

The two men, by Hansen called heroic, who attack the central figure are beardless and dressed in a tunic or shirt¹¹⁹⁹. Their hair is very long and tied together. They have pronounced lips and extremely large eyes. On their arms and legs, they wear bracelets and anklets, like the central figure, but those of the men are more elaborate. Their legs are interlocked with those of the central figure and they each grab one of the horns of the lower pair with one hand, while with the other hand they threaten him with a dagger or sickle sword. The bronze sickle sword was a very popular type of weapon during the Bronze Age, and one similar like the one on the appliqué, was excavated in the "Schatzhaus".

Both the feet of the central figure and of the two men rest on the sphinxes; the central figure stands with one foot on a head, the men each stand with one foot on the head of a sphinx, with the other one on a wing¹²⁰⁰.

¹¹⁹⁹ Kawami 1990: 77; Hansen 1994: 223, 228-229.

¹²⁰⁰ Kawami 1990: 77; Hansen 1994: 221.

12.5.3.4 CENTRAL FIGURE



FIG. 90 I: GOLD AND SILVER APPLIQUÉ WITH PAIR OF SPHINXES - DETAIL DRAWING CENTRAL FIGURE (by Elizabeth Simpson).

FIG. 92 A: SUCKLING GODDESS, EARLY 14TH cent. BC, RELIEF, IVORY, UGARIT (RAS SHAMRA).

FIG. 92 B: SUCKLING GODDESS, EARLY 14TH cent. BC, IVORY, RELIEF, UGARIT (RAS SHAMRAH), DAMASCUS MUSEUM 3599.

The central figure, by Hansen called demonic, that is attacked by two men, is a bearded and horned male who looks out of the picture¹²⁰¹. His legs are bowed and his feet point inward, while his arms are crossed and he keeps his hands outstretched. It seems his arms are bound together and both his arms and legs are adorned with bracelets and anklets respectively. He is dressed in a kilt or tunic with a wide leather or metal belt around his waist. Similar wide metal belts seem to have been used from the Middle Bronze Age onwards, as is attested by finds not only in Palestine (e.g. Jericho), but also in Egypt (Tell el-Dab'a) and Anatolia (Kültepe) and by depictions on the weather-god stele from Ras Shamra (probably 15th-14th cent. BC) and on Syrian bronzes of the early 2nd mill. BC¹²⁰².

On his head, the figure wears a helmet or crown decorated with a pair of long curved horns, while a second pair of curved horns seems to grow out of his forehead. Crowns with projecting horns are known in the Levant in the 2nd mill. BC, but the pair of horns springing forth out of the brows of the figure are rare. They do occur, however, as Hansen points out, on one of the ivory bed panels found in Ras Shamra of the 14th cent. BC (Fig. 92 A-B)¹²⁰³.

The figure's face is rather broad, his eyes are slanted, his mouth is small and his ears are large and set relatively high upon his head¹²⁰⁴. All these characteristics make the demon look more

¹²⁰¹ Kawami 1990: 77; Hansen 1994: 221, 228.

¹²⁰² Hansen 1994: 228.

¹²⁰³ Hansen 1994: 228.

¹²⁰⁴ Kawami 1990: 77; Hansen 1994: 221, 230.

like an animal than like a man (although the human features are not completely absent), even more so because of his hair that strongly resembles a mane.

12.5.4 COMPOSITION & POSSIBLE INFLUENCES

For Kawami, the composition looks very Egyptian, e.g. the clothing of the beardless men, the sphinxes and, of course, the lotus-flowers¹²⁰⁵. He also sees a similarity between the central figure and Bes, the dwarfish protective Egyptian god, because of its frontally shown position. But he admits that the scene could never be Egyptian, because it would be unthinkable that an Egyptian god (identifiable by his horned head-dress) would be attacked by two humans.

Hansen does not agree with the supposed relation to the Egyptian Bes, because of the bowed and interlocked legs of the central figure which suggest another source. He furthermore points out that the Canaanite and Phoenician art of the Levant during the 2nd mill. BC was very eclectic, showing influences, not only of Egypt, but also of Syro-Mesopotamia and Syria, and even from Anatolia and the Aegean. These influences were mixed with local styles and thus produced a rather original art with often quite unique motifs¹²⁰⁶.

Hansen also refers to the fact that the support given by the sphinxes, both to the central figure and to the men, is exclusively visual and does not suggest that the sphinxes must be attributes of either of them¹²⁰⁷. This composition of almost floating motifs is, again according to Hansen, typical for Mitanni art. Unfortunately, however, he does not refer to similar compositions to proof his point.

12.5.5 MEANING

Kawami suggests the central scene with the two men attacking the central figure represents the story of the hero Gilgamesh and his friend Enkidu attacking the demon Huwawa, who guarded the Cedar Forest¹²⁰⁸. Kawami points in this respect to other, similar scenes known from the early 1st mill. BC and dating back to at least the 16th cent. BC.

One of these can be seen on a small orthostat dating from the 9th cent. BC and originally found in Tell Halaf, but now kept in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (Fig. 93 A). This relief,

¹²⁰⁵ Kawami 1990: 78.

¹²⁰⁶ Hansen 1994: 227.

¹²⁰⁷ Hansen 1994: 230.

¹²⁰⁸ Kawami 1990: 78.

For more information on Huwawa: Ornan 2010.

together with many others depicting archers, charioteers and horsemen, animals fighting or winged creatures (like lions, sphinxes, griffins, scorpion-men and bull-men), decorated the lower part of the outer wall of the temple-palace, the *Bit-Hilani*, of king Kapara of Tell Halaf (10th-9th cent. BC)¹²⁰⁹. The scene is indeed very like the one on the appliqué: the legs of the two men and the central frontal figure are interlocked in a similar way, and both men grab the prongs (not horns) on his head-dress with one hand. But there are some differences too: e.g. the central figure has no horns and the men do not threaten it with scimitars or swords, but hold on to its arms, which are certainly not bound together. But the most obvious difference of course is the absence of sphinxes, although sphinxes were depicted on other orthostats on the same wall (cf. Cat.Nrs. Mes. 24-27).

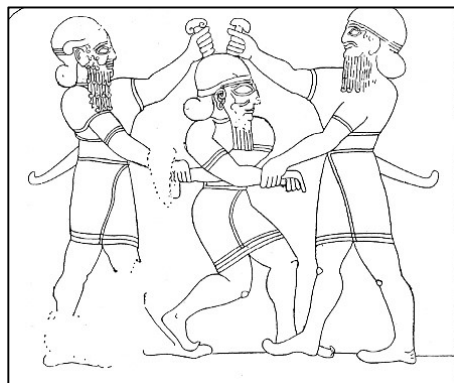


FIG. 93 A: HUWAWA ATTACKED BY GILGAMESH AND ENKIDU, 9th cent. BC, RELIEF, BASALT, H.62,6 x 42 x 16 CM, SYRIA, TELL HALAF, BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART GALLERY, Acc.Nr. 21.18.

FIG. 93 B: HUWAWA ATTACKED BY GILGAMESH AND ENKIDU, 8th cent. BC, RELIEF, BASALT, 122 CM, TURKEY, KARKEMISH? HERALD'S WALL.

Frankfort suggests the composition on the orthostat is derivative of Mesopotamian examples, although these were not slavishly copied. He also points out that the depiction of this theme, two men attacking a central figure, has evolved throughout the ages, as can be seen on a relief dating from the 8th cent. BC that was found in Karkemish (Fig. 93 B)¹²¹⁰. The biggest difference with the earlier image is that there is no more interlocking of legs and the central figure is shown now in profile, and not frontally. But again, the most obvious difference with our image on the appliqué is the absence of sphinxes. When executions of depicting a common theme like this can change from one age to the other, it is of course not unthinkable that the image underwent some profound changes since it came into being. But it begs the question why no other images have been found that depict the three protagonists standing on sphinxes and why these would

¹²⁰⁹ Frankfort 1989: 296.

For more information on the sculptures of Tell Halaf: Moortgat (ed.) 1955.

¹²¹⁰ Frankfort 1989: 301-302.

have been added to the image in the first place, since they are not mentioned in the part on Huwawa in the Epic of Gilgamesh (Tablet 5)¹²¹¹.

Hansen agrees that the main theme of central figure and two antithetically placed figures has indeed a long tradition in the art of the Ancient Near East and that it is believed by many scholars to depict the myth of Gilgamesh and Enkidu slaying Huwawa¹²¹². However, he does not support this theory. He points out, therefore, that in no other depictions of this scene, the central figure has his arms bound. To corroborate his theory that the motif of interlocking legs is older than the Iron Age, as many researchers presume, he refers to one image on a Mitannian seal of the 2nd mill. BC (15th-14th cent. BC) that is known to him on which the protagonists also have their legs interlocked (Louvre AO 6516)¹²¹³. The seal shows a central figure who holds a serpent in each hand and stands with each foot on a recumbent bull which also carries a seating deity.

Hansen sees in the motif of a bound demon that is attacked by two men the general theme of control and exclusion of evil¹²¹⁴. Or, as Aruz states even more generally: "*one of the most predominant themes in the elite arts reflecting interconnections: that of domination and control*", a subject also predominant in scenes of hunting both by men and by predators¹²¹⁵. Of course, such a theme would be most appropriate for a horse blinker on a royal chariot.

12.5.6 CONCLUSION

If the tomb where the horse-blinker is thought to come from, is indeed royal, the iconography must be read accordingly, while keeping in mind, as is mentioned before, that the art of the Levant during the 2nd mill. BC often was unique because they borrowed motifs from other regions (without necessarily adopting the original meaning) and adapted them to their need by mixing them with the local iconography (cf. 12.5.4. Composition & Possible Influences). While the object was part of a horse-blinker, it must have been intended for the royal chariot, used in war, battle or perhaps hunting trips. On all these occasions, the blinker would bring protection (e.g. by the motif of the spirals) to the charioteer, i.e. the king, and would at the same time secure victory (e.g. by the motif of the papyrus-flowers) and bring hope (e.g. by the motif of

¹²¹¹ For the full discussion on the depiction of Gilgamesh in literature and art: Lambert 1987.

¹²¹² Hansen 1994: 227-228.

¹²¹³ Hansen 1994: 228 + Fig. 39.

¹²¹⁴ Hansen 1994: 228.

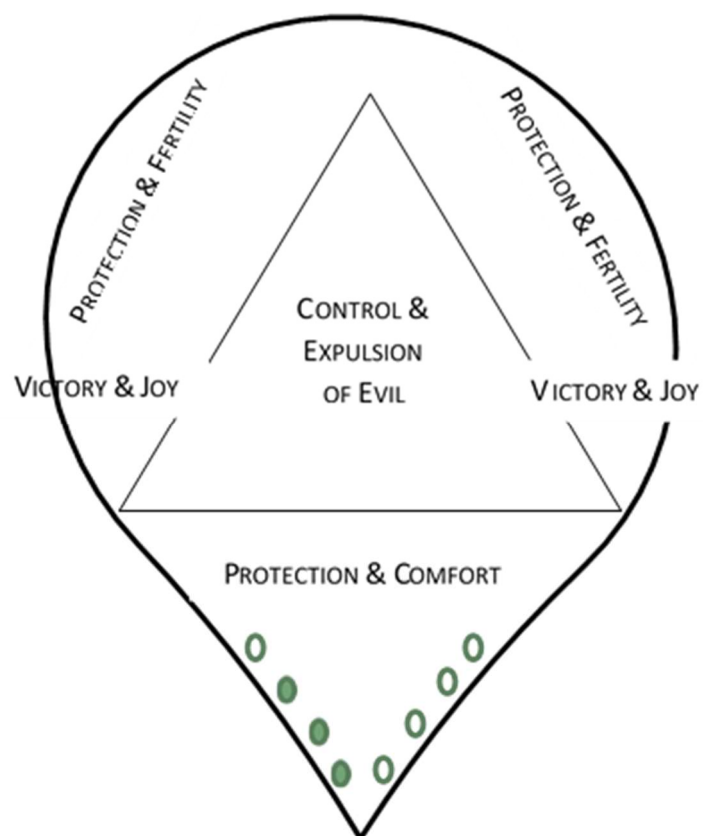
¹²¹⁵ Aruz 2015: 54.

the lotus-flowers) for the future. The main theme of the group of figures must then indeed refer to the general theme of control (the bound hands of the central figure) and/or exclusion of evil (by killing the central figure) so that the future life of the king and his people would be blessed with life-force, fertility, vitality and joy (symbolized by both papyrus- and lotus-flowers and by the spirals). Or, as Pinnock defines it, the imagery depicts "*the cyclical fight against evil, in its different forms*"¹²¹⁶.

However, the problem of the meaning of the sphinxes remains. If they would have a supportive function, as they do in so many other images of the same period, it does not make sense that both men and central figure are resting upon them. It is not possible, therefore, that the sphinxes on the appliqué are there to support, assist, or enhance the royal power, so they cannot be divine positive powers. One possible function they can have, is the protective one, or even the apotropaic one; this could mean that they will always be there whenever a fight for dominance is fought, and that sphinxes thus can be seen in some way as a kind of overseer of these struggles, while they at the same time may represent a kind of benevolent Greek *Kere*, which attended fights to comfort those who would die and perhaps even accompany them to the Netherworld (cf. 7.4. Function and Meaning of the Sphinx in the Aegean). Even if, what Hansen claims is true (cf. 12.5.4. Composition & Possible Influences), namely that they only give visual support, I cannot believe the sphinx-motif is only chosen randomly, merely to fill up an otherwise empty space.

The scheme of the appliqué would then look like this:




¹²¹⁶ Pinnock 2015: 112.



STF XLIX - SCHEMATIC DRAWING OF GOLD & SILVER APPLIQUÉ WITH SPHINXES.


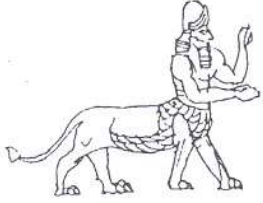
13 SUPPLEMENTS

13.1 STF L – TYPES OF COMPOSITE CREATURES WITH LION-PARTS





<i>A. SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA</i> ¹²¹⁷		
LION-HUMANOID 	<p>Apotropaic figure known in Kassite (1595-1158 BC), NA (Neo-Assyrian: 744-612 BC) and Seleucid Period (ca. 300 BC).</p> <p>Human above the waist but with 2 lion's legs and lion's hind-quarters, including a curled-over lion's tail. It seems to have been a late creation. The name in Akkadian seems to have been <i>uridimmu</i>; this could be translated Mad Lion.</p> <p>Unger claims there also exists a lion-man, i.e. a creature composed of a human-body with a lion-head.</p>	<p>Unger 1927: 210. Parker 1962: 36. Kolbe 1981: XIV. Black and Green 1992: 122.</p>
LION-DEMON 	<p>A human-bodied hybrid figure with the head of a lion, upright (perhaps donkey's) ears, and the talons of a bird is present in Syro-Mesopotamian art from the OB period (Old Babylonian: 1900-1595 BC) until the Persian conquest.</p> <p>The demon most often (and always in the 1st mill. BC) raises one hand with a dagger and holds in the other, lowered hand, a mace. Its torso is generally naked. Usually it wears a short kilt, but when it is fully naked it has a curly lion's tail.</p> <p>In NA (744-612 BC) and NB periods it can be identified as the apotropaic <i>ugallu</i>, 'Big Weather-beast' or 'Big Day'. In art, it is often associated with an anthropomorphic smiting god, perhaps Lulal.</p> <p>On OB-seals, the Lion-demon often holds a man upside down with one leg, and is associated with the god with scimitar, probably Nergal. He could here be a bringer of disease.</p>	<p>Kolbe 1981: XII. Black-Green 1992: 115-116, 119, 121. Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 27. Westenholz 2004b: 15-16.</p>
LION-DEMONESS (LAMAŠTU) 	<p>Evil goddess <i>Lamaštu</i> is described as having the head of a lion, the teeth of a donkey, naked breasts, a hairy body and the feet of <i>Anzû</i>, that is a bird's talons.</p> <p>Although she is iconographically the female counterpart of the lion-demon, the two appear to have no connection.</p>	<p>Black-Green 1992: 115-116, 119, 121. Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 27. Westenholz 2004b: 15-16</p>

¹²¹⁷ Information comes from different sources, of which only the most important are mentioned in the right-hand column. Drawings come from Dessenne 1957a; Demisch 1977; Black and Green 1995.

PART 1 – 13. SUPPLEMENTS



<p>GRIFFIN-DEMON</p> 	<p>A human-bodied figure with bird's (probably eagle's) head and wings first occurs on cylinder seal designs of the Middle Assyrian period (1300-1100 BC), usually in hunting scenes, or as an apotropaic figure in association with the "sacred tree".</p> <p>The type has possible antecedents on an impression of an ED III seal (3000-2350 BC) from Susa; and on impressions of an old Hittite (1650-1500 BC) and an OB seal (1900-1595 BC), as well as possible analogues in Mittanian art (1500-1300 BC?).</p> <p>The figure became very popular in NA art (1000-612 BC), especially in the art of the 9th cent. BC.</p> <p>Room I of the North-West Palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud was dominated by bas-reliefs depicting standing griffin-demons flanking sacred trees.</p> <p>The creature in art is well known in many areas of the Near East in the late 2nd mill. BC and first half of the 1st mill. BC. After the 7th cent. BC, the figure is rarely seen, although it occurs on seals of the Seleucid Period (ca. 300 BC).</p> <p>Although the origins of the figure are not Babylonian, in the NA-period (744-612 BC) figures of this type were explained as representations of the Babylonian (1900-539 BC) Seven Sages (<i>Apkallū</i>), and groups of figurines of them were used as foundation deposits to protect houses and palaces.</p> <p>Identification based on ritual texts.</p>	<p>Frankfort 1936/1937: 108, 120.</p> <p>Kolbe 1981: 14-30, 212-214.</p> <p>Parker 1977: XXVII, XXIX.</p> <p>Weber 1920: 47.</p> <p>Porada 1962: 31.</p> <p>Paley 1987: 1-29.</p> <p>Black and Green 1992: 86.</p> <p>Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 32, 34.</p>
<p>HAWK/FALCON-HEADED LION = GRIFFIN</p>		<p>Furtwängler 1884-1890b.</p> <p>Frankfort 1936/1937: 120.</p> <p>Maxwell-Hyslop 1956: 154-157.</p> <p>Demisch 1977: 30.</p> <p>Black and Green 1992: 99, 101.</p> <p>Westenholz 2004a: 33, 185.</p> <p>Zouzoula 2007: 216.</p>
<p>HUMAN-HEADED LION = SPHINX</p>		<p>Dessenne 1957a.</p> <p>Demisch 1977.</p> <p>Kolbe 1981: 1-14.</p> <p>Rösch-Von der Heyden 1999.</p> <p>Winkler-Horaček 2011.</p>
<p>LION-CENTAUR</p> 	<p>The Lion-Centaur of the Middle Assyrian (1300-1100 BC) and NA art (744-612 BC) is a hybrid creature with a lion's lower body and the head, upper body and arms and hands of a man. The creature's Akkadian name was <i>urmahlullū</i> 'Lion-man'; the type seems to have been introduced only in the MA-period (1300-1100 BC). Apparently, representations of the Lion-Centaur were placed outside lavatories where the creature fended off the attacks of the demon <i>mukil-rēš-lemutti</i> 'Evil attendant'.</p>	<p>Unger 1927: 198.</p> <p>Buxton 1994: 206.</p> <p>Bianchi 2004a: 18.</p> <p>Westenholz & Bianchi 2004: 28</p>

PART 1 – 13. SUPPLEMENTS



<p>LION-GRIFFIN/ LION-DRAGON</p> 	<p>A winged lion with bird's talons (usually only on the hind legs) and usually a bird's tail, sometimes the tail of a lion or a scorpion.</p> <p>Creatures of this type are represented from the Akkadian period (2350-2193 BC) down to the NB-period (625-539 BC).</p> <p>One representation on a bas-relief from the Temple of Ninurta at Nimrud (Kalhu).</p>	<p>Black and Green 1992: 121.</p>
<p><i>B. EGYPT¹²¹⁸</i></p>		
<p>AMMIT</p> 	<p>The so-called "Devourer of the Dead" or "Eater of Hearts" had a body that was part hippopotamus, part lion, and the head of a crocodile. The creature lived in the Underworld, near the Scales of Justice, and when the heart of a deceased person was found heavier than the feather of Maat, Ammit would swallow the heart. Because of this, the deceased person could not travel on to immortality.</p>	<p>Te Velde 1975: 980. Seeber 1977: 328. Lurker 1996: 45, 128. Wilkinson 1996: 105. Owusu 1999: 123.</p>
<p>BASTET</p> 	<p>A warrior-goddess with a protective side who had in earlier days a lion-head, later replaced by a cat's head, which made her the softer counterpart of Sakhmet.</p>	<p>Lurker 1996: 32. Owusu 1999: 63.</p>
<p>BES/BESET</p> 	<p>The god Bess had protruding eyes and was often depicted with a protruding tongue. He mostly wore a lion-skin on his back and had lion-manes. He is one of several protective gods that are depicted as a dwarf. He protected the inhabitants of the house, new-born babies and their mothers. In general, he warded off evil. He was very popular throughout all of Egypt. He often carried musical instruments, a knife and the <i>sa</i>, a symbol of protection.</p> <p>Bes had a female counterpart, Beset, who looked very different from Bess, but who was also used apotropaically.</p> <p>Bes was the only Egyptian protective god that became popular in the ancient Near East.</p>	<p>Altenmüller 1975b: 720-724. Black & Green 1992: 41-42, 74. Lurker 1996: 32-33. Wilkinson 1996: 218. Owusu 1999: 65.</p>

¹²¹⁸ Information comes from diverse sources, of which only the most important are listed in the right-hand column. Images and drawings come from the same sources or from <http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ammit>; <http://www.neferchichi.com/bastet.html#>; <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/26.7.878>; <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sekhmet>; <http://www.joanannlansberry.com/fotoart/lacma/wadjet.html>



PART 1 – 13. SUPPLEMENTS

<p>HAWK/FALCON HEADED LION = GRIFFIN</p>		<p>Furtwängler 1884-1890b. Wiedemann 1890: 105. Roeder 1909: 1301. Frankfort 1936/1937: 110, 112, 120. Maxwell-Hyslop 1956: 154-157. Dessenne 1957a: 16. Demisch 1977: 30. Eggebrecht 1977: 895-896. Fischer 1987: 14, 17. Black and Green 1992: 99, 101. Lurker 1996: 55-56. Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 33, 185. <i>Sfinx</i> 2006: 183. Zouzoula 2007: 93.</p>
<p>HUMAN-HEADED LION = SPHINX</p>		<p>Roeder 1909. Dessenne 1957a. Demisch 1977. Kolbe 1981: 1-14. Rösch-Von der Heyden 1999. Winkler-Horaček 2011.</p>
<p>SAKHMET</p> 	<p>Lion-headed war-goddess and goddess of pestilence and violent storms Sakhmet, "the powerful one". She was also called the "Eye of Ra" because she used arrows and the hot desert-winds as weapons that brought unexpected disasters and violence; by this she got connected to the fire-spitting <i>Uraeus</i>. She also was the goddess of diseases, and priests believed that curing a disease was foremost possible by appeasing the goddess. But when Sakhmet withheld her disastrous powers, she could bestow life (symbolized by the <i>Ankh</i>-sign in her hand). She was the fierce counterpart of Bastet.</p>	<p>Roeder 1909-1915a. Lurker 1996: 106. Owusu 1999: 105</p>
<p>WADJET</p> 	<p>Sometimes called the "Eye of Ra", and therefore she could assume the lion-head surmounted by the solar disc. This goddess of Lower Egypt embodied the forces of growth and was sometimes symbolized by the protective royal snake <i>Uraeus</i> which often decorated the head-dress of the pharaoh.</p>	<p>Porada 1987: 2. Lurker 1996: 75, 125, 127. Wilkinson 1996: 109.</p>

C. ANATOLIA¹²¹⁹

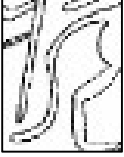







CENTAUR 	<p>In Anatolia, there existed not only a lion-centaur, but also a bull-centaur. Although the centaur is most reminiscent of the human-armed sphinxes as we can see them in Egypt, it differs slightly because it has the upper torso of a man on top of its lion- (or bull-) body and is always shown standing.</p>	<p>Demisch 1977: 41.</p>
HAWK FALCON-HEADED LION = GRIFFIN		<p>Furtwängler 1884-1890b. Frankfort 1936/1937: 120. Maxwell-Hyslop 1956: 154-157. Demisch 1977: 30. Black and Green 1992: 99, 101. Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 33, 185.</p>
HUMAN-HEADED LION = SPHINX		<p>Dessenne 1957a. Demisch 1977. Kolbe 1981: 1-14. Rösch-Von der Heyden 1999. Winkler-Horaček 2011.</p>
WINGED LION-HEADED DEMON 	<p>Together with other composite creatures, genies and demons, the Hittite winged lion-headed demon was thought to be part of the supernatural world, in which also the sphinx was at home. Genies and demons were not separated completely from the gods, as they too belonged to the same other-natural world.</p>	<p>Demisch 1977: 41.</p>

¹²¹⁹ Information comes from different sources, of which only the most important are listed in the right-hand column; Drawings come from the same sources or from Demisch 1977: Fig. 103 and Fig. 89 resp.

<i>D. AEGEAN</i>¹²²⁰		
MINOAN GENIUS/DEMON 	Based on the Egyptian goddess Taweret, and originally depicted as a hippopotamus-shaped creature with a crocodile head, a swollen belly and hanging breasts; later her head evolves into the head of a lion or a donkey and her body becomes slenderer.	Evans 1935b: 433-435. Baurain 1985: 99. Weingarten 1991. Lurker 1996: 119. Wilkinson 1996: 71. Owusu 1999: 119. Hagen and Hagen 2005: 185. Zouzoula 2007: 145. Benzi 2009: 10.
CHIMAERA 	A fire-spitting hybrid, usually depicted as a lion with the head of a goat on its back and a tail ending in a snake's head or as a goat dressed in lion-skin	Roscher 1884/1890: 893-895. Wünsch 1916-1924: 941.
HAWK/FALCON HEADED LION = GRIFFIN		Furtwängler 1884-1890b: 1742, 1745, 1767-1768. Evans 1899/1900: 35-42. Evans 1921: 4, 549-550, 709-713. Evans 1928b: 785-786. Evans 1930: 154. Evans 1935b: 412, 910. Maxwell-Hyslop 1956: 154-157. Cameron 1976: 108, 494-497. Black and Green 1992: 99, 101. Mayor 2001: 16, 26. Westenholz 2004a (ed.): 33-34, 36, 185. Morgan 2005b: 168, 170. Zouzoula 2007: 17-18, 97-98, 150, 152, 217, 271-272, 275-276. Morgan 2010a: 304, 310, 313-321.
HUMAN-HEADED LION = SPHINX		Ilberg 1909-1915. Dessenne 1957a. Demisch 1977. Kolbe 1981: 1-14. Rösch-Von der Heyden 1999. Winkler-Horaček 2011.


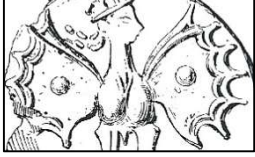





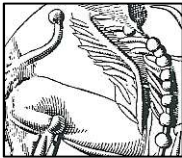


¹²²⁰ Information comes from different sources, of which only the most important are listed in the right-hand column. Drawings and images come from <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/glossary.aspx?id=368>; http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chimaera_%28mythologie%29.

13.2 STF LI – DIFFERENT WINGS, TAILS, WING-POSES AND TAILPOSES








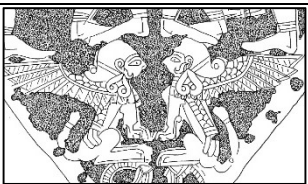



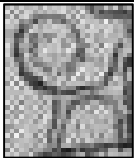








<i>SYRO- MESOPOTAMIA</i>	<i>EGYPT¹²²¹</i>	<i>ANATOLIA</i>	<i>AEGEAN</i>
 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 1 – Ca. 3000-2350 BC</i></p>	 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Eg. 1 – 27th-26th cent. BC</i></p>		
 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 4 – Ca. 2350-2000 BC</i></p>			
 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 9 – Ca. 2350-2000 BC</i></p>			
 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 10 – Ca. 2350-2000 BC</i></p>			
 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 15 2nd mill. BC</i></p>	 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Eg. 21 – 20th-13th cent. BC</i></p>	 <p><i>St.M. Nr. An. 1 – 20th-19th cent. BC</i></p>	
 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 18 – 19th cent. BC</i></p>	 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Eg. 27 – 19th cent. BC</i></p>		 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 2 – 19th-17th cent. BC</i></p>

¹²²¹ While the tail of many Egyptian sphinxes is often curled around the hind-body, it is often difficult to see on the images, so it is possible that some examples have not been taking up in this overview.






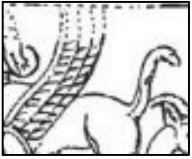






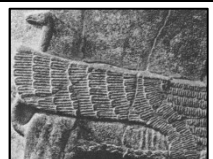

PART 1 – 13. SUPPLEMENTS

			
<i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 21 – 19th-18th cent. BC</i>	<i>Cat.Nr. Eg. 10 – 16th-11th cent. BC</i>	<i>St.M. Nr. An. 6 – 19th-18th cent. BC</i>	<i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 3 – 18th-16th cent. BC</i>
			
<i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 24 – 18th cent. BC</i>	<i>Cat.Nr. Eg. 54 – 16th-11th cent. BC</i>		<i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 3 – 16th-13th cent. BC</i>
			
<i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 89 15th-14th cent. BC</i>		<i>St.M. Nr. An. 11 – 17th cent. BC</i>	<i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 2 – 16th-13th cent. BC</i>
			
<i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 90 – 14th cent. BC</i>	<i>Cat.Nr. Eg. 38 – 14th cent. BC</i>		<i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 5 – 15th cent. BC</i>
			
	<i>Cat.Nr. Eg. 66 – 14th cent. BC</i>		<i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 7 – 15th-14th cent. BC</i>
			
	<i>Cat.Nr. Eg. 37 – 14th cent. BC</i>		<i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 8 – 15th-12th cent. BC</i>
			
	<i>Cat.Nr. Eg. 30 – 15th cent. BC</i>		<i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 11 – 14th-13th cent. BC</i>









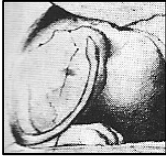


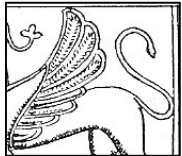
PART 1 – 13. SUPPLEMENTS

 <i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 122 – 14th-13th cent. BC</i>		 <i>Cat.Nr. An. 4 – 13th cent. BC</i>	 <i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 29 – 13th cent. BC</i>
		 <i>Cat.Nr. An. 6 – 13th cent. BC</i>	 <i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 31 – 13th cent. BC</i>
 <i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 95 – 13th cent. BC</i>			 <i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 13 – 13th-12th cent. BC</i>
 <i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 91 13th-11th cent. BC</i>	 <i>Cat.Nr. Eg. 46 13th-12th cent. BC</i>		 <i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 12 – 13th-12th cent. BC</i>
 <i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 12 – 11th-10th cent. BC</i>	 <i>Cat.Nr. Eg. 74 13th-12th cent. BC</i>		 <i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 33 – 13th-11th cent. BC</i>
 <i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 101 – 10th-9th cent. BC</i>	 <i>Cat.Nr. Eg. 83 – 13th-12th cent. BC</i>	 <i>Cat.Nr. An. 17 – 10th cent. BC</i>	 <i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 34 – 11th-10th cent. BC</i>
 <i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 102 – 10th-9th cent. BC</i>	 <i>Cat.Nr. Eg. 75 – 13th-11th cent. BC</i>	 <i>Cat.Nr. An. 11 – 10th cent. BC</i>	

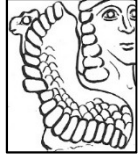









PART 1 – 13. SUPPLEMENTS

 <p><i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 103 – 10th-9th cent. BC</i></p>		 <p><i>Cat.Nr. An. 12 – 10th-9th cent. BC</i></p>	
 <p><i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 105 – 10th-9th cent. BC</i></p>			
 <p><i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 30 – 9th cent. BC</i></p>		 <p><i>Cat.Nr. An. 8 – 9th cent. BC</i></p>	
 <p><i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 109 – 9th-8th cent. BC</i></p>		 <p><i>Cat.Nr. An. 9 – 9th cent. BC</i></p>	
 <p><i>Cat.Nr. Mes. 38 – 9th-8th cent. BC</i></p>			
 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 35 – 8th cent. BC</i></p>		 <p><i>St.M. Nr. An. 13- 8th cent. BC</i></p>	 <p><i>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 10 – 8th cent. BC</i></p>
 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 37 – 8th cent. BC</i></p>		 <p><i>St.M. Nr. An. 14 – 8th cent. BC</i></p>	 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 7 – 8th cent. BC</i></p>








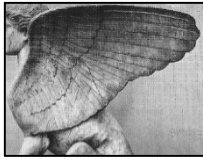
PART 1 – 13. SUPPLEMENTS

			
<i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 45 – 8th-7th cent. BC</i>		<i>St.M. Nr. An. 15 – 8th-7th cent. BC</i>	<i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 16 – 8th-7th cent. BC</i>
			
<i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 47 – 8th-7th cent. BC</i>		<i>St.M. Nr. An. 16 – 8th-7th cent. BC</i>	<i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 28 – 7th cent. BC</i>
			
			<i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 21 – 7th cent. BC</i>
			
			<i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 23 – 7th cent. BC</i>
			
<i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 54 – 7th cent. BC</i>			<i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 19 – 7th cent. BC</i>
			
			<i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 35 – 7th cent. BC</i>
			
			<i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 27 – 7th cent. BC</i>











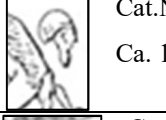
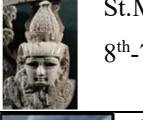

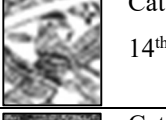





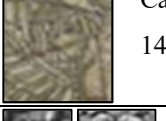
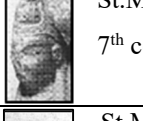












PART 1 – 13. SUPPLEMENTS

			 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 25 – 7th cent. BC</i></p>
			 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 30 – 7th cent. BC</i></p>
 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 63 – 7th-6th cent. BC</i></p>			 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 50 – 7th-6th cent. BC</i></p>
 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 64 – 7th-6th cent. BC</i></p>			 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 52 – 7th-6th cent. BC</i></p>
			 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 55 – 7th-6th cent. BC</i></p>
	 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Eg. 46 – 7th-4th cent. BC</i></p>		 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 56 – 7th-5th cent. BC</i></p>
 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Mes. 74 – 5th cent. BC</i></p>	 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Eg. 54 – 6th cent. BC</i></p>		 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 105 – 6th cent. BC</i></p>

PART 1 – 13. SUPPLEMENTS






			 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 63 – 6th cent. BC</i></p>
			 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 65 – 6th cent. BC</i></p>
			 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 89 – 6th cent. BC</i></p>
			 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 108 – 6th cent. BC</i></p>
			 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 113 – 6th cent. BC</i></p>
	 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Eg. 55 – 6th-5th cent. BC</i></p>		 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 118 – 6th-5th cent. BC</i></p>
			 <p><i>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 5 – 5th cent. BC</i></p>

13.3 STF LII – TABLE HEADDRESSES IN SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA AND THE LEVANT¹²²²







BEFORE 1600 BC		1600-800 BC		AFTER 800 BC	
	St.M. Nr. Mes. 4 Ca. 2350-2000 BC		Cat.Nr. Mes. 120 17 th -16 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 33 8 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Mes. 6 Ca. 2350-2000 BC		Cat.Nr. Mes. 2 15 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 31 8 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Mes. 9 Ca. 2350-2000 BC		Cat.Nr. Mes. 101 14 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 36 8 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Mes. 11 Ca. 2300-2200 BC		Cat.Nr. Mes. 5 Ca. 14 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 46 8 th -7 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Mes. 15 Ca. 2000-1500 BC		Cat.Nr. Mes. 6 14 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 42 8 th -7 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Mes. 17 Ca. 2000-1800 BC		Cat.Nr. Mes. 122 14 th -13 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 45 8 th -7 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Mes. 21 19 th -18 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Mes. 7 14 th -12 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 54 7 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Mes. 23 18 th cent. BC		Cat. Nr. Mes. 92 13 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 55 7 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Mes. 24 18 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Mes. 95 13 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 57 7 th cent. BC
			Cat.Nr. Mes. 11 13 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 62 7 th -6 th cent. BC
			Cat.Nr. Mes. 96 11 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 63 7 th -6 th cent. BC
			Cat.Nr. Mes. 12 11 th -10 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 64 7 th -6 th cent. BC

¹²²² Only the 'real' sphinxes, i.e. the creatures with lion-body and human head, are taken up in this overview. Sphinx-images found at Fort Shalmaneser in Nimrud are left out, because they are practically all the Egyptian-type with Egyptian head-dresses.

PART 1 – 13. SUPPLEMENTS

		Cat.Nr. Mes. 100 10 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 65 6 th -5 th cent. BC
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 15 10 th -9 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 69 6 th -4 th cent. BC
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 104 10 th -9 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 71 6 th -4 th cent. BC
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 103 10 th -9 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 74 5 th cent. BC
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 107 10 th -9 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Mes. 76 5 th cent. BC
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 20 9 th cent. BC		
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 24 9 th cent. BC		
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 26 9 th cent. BC		
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 27 9 th cent. BC		
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 28 9 th cent. BC		
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 29 9 th cent. BC		
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 30 9 th cent. BC		
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 108 9 th cent. BC		
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 109 9 th cent. BC		
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 19 9 th cent. BC		

PART 1 – 13. SUPPLEMENTS











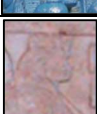




		Cat.Nr. Mes. 110 9 th -8 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 111 9 th -8 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 113 9 th -8 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 38 9 th -8 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 39 9 th -8 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Mes. 81 9 th -7 th cent. BC	

13.4 STF LIII – TABLE HEADRESSES IN EGYPT¹²²³










BEFORE 1600 BC		1600-800 BC		AFTER 800 BC	
	St.M. Nr. Eg. 1 27 th -26 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Eg. 12 16 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Eg. 33 8 th -7 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Eg. 3 27 th -26 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Eg. 3 16 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Eg. 39 7 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Eg. 7 23 rd cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Eg. 6 16 th -13 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Eg. 40 7 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Eg. 8 23 rd cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Eg. 7 16 th -13 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Eg. 44 7 th -6 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Eg. 15 20 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Eg. 11 16 th -11 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Eg. 45 7 th -4 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Eg. 16 20 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Eg. 55 16 th -11 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Eg. 52 6 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Eg. 18 20 th -19 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Eg. 92 16 th -11 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Eg. 53 6 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Eg. 26 19 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Eg. 14 15 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Eg. 54 6 th -5 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Eg. 28 19 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Eg. 15 15 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Eg. 55 6 th -5 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Eg. 29 19 th -18 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Eg. 19 15 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Eg. 56 6 th -4 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Eg. 30 18 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Eg. 24 15 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Eg. 58 4 th cent. BC
			Cat.Nr. Eg. 26 15 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Eg. 60 4 th cent. BC
			Cat.Nr. Eg. 29 15 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Eg. 61 4 th -3 rd cent. BC

¹²²³Only the 'real' sphinxes, i.e. the creatures with lion-body and human head, are taken up in this overview.















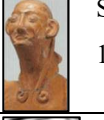









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		Cat.Nr. Eg. 30 15 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Eg. 33 14 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Eg. 36 14 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Eg. 37 14 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Eg. 38 14 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Eg. 41 14 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Eg. 42 14 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Eg. 43 14 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Eg. 62 14 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Eg. 63 14 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Eg. 64 14 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Eg. 65 14 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Eg. 67 14 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Eg. 68 14 th cent. BC	
		Cat.Nr. Eg. 70 14 th cent. BC	

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	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 71 14th-13th cent. BC</p>	
	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 78 13th cent. BC</p>	
	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 79 13th cent. BC</p>	
	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 46 13th-12th cent. BC</p>	
	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 74 13th-12th cent. BC</p>	
	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 83 13th-12th cent. BC</p>	
	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 47 12th cent. BC</p>	
	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 85 12th cent. BC</p>	
	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 89 11th-8th cent. BC</p>	

13.5 STF LIV – TABLE HEADDRESSES IN ANATOLIA¹²²⁴

BEFORE 1600 BC		1600-800 BC		AFTER 800 BC	
	St.M. Nr. An. 5 19 th -18 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. An. 2 14 th -13 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. An. 12 8 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. An. 6 19 th -18 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. An. 3 14 th -13 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. An. 13 8 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. An. 7 19 th -18 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. An. 4 13 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. An. 14 8 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. An. 2 18 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. An. 5 13 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. An. 18 7 th -5 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. An. 3 18 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. An. 6 13 th cent. BC		
	St.M. Nr. An. 9 18 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. An. 10 13 th cent. BC		
	St.M. Nr. An. 10 17 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. An. 17 10 th cent. BC		
	St.M. Nr. An. 10 17 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. An. 12 10 th -9 th cent. BC		
			Cat.Nr. An. 8 9 th cent. BC		
			Cat.Nr. An. 14 9 th cent. BC		
			Cat.Nr. An. 15 9 th cent. BC		
			Cat.Nr. An. 18 9 th -8 th cent. BC		

















¹²²⁴ Only the 'real' sphinxes, i.e. the creatures with lion-body and human head, are taken up in this overview.

13.6 STF LV TABLE HEADRESSES IN THE AEGEAN¹²²⁵

BEFORE 1600 BC		1600-800 BC		AFTER 800 BC	
	St.M. Nr. Aeg. 1 19 th -18 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Aeg. 2 16 th -13 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Aeg. 7 8 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Aeg. 2 19 th -17 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Aeg. 3 16 th -13 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Aeg. 8 8 th cent. BC
	St.M. Nr. Aeg. 5 18 th -16 th cent. BC		Cat.Nr. Aeg. 22 16 th -11 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Aeg. 9 8 th cent. BC
			Cat.Nr. Aeg. 4 15 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Aeg. 10 8 th cent. BC
			Cat.Nr. Aeg. 5 15 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Aeg. 11 8 th cent. BC
			Cat.Nr. Aeg. 7 15 th -14 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Aeg. 21 7 th cent. BC
			Cat.Nr. Aeg. 8 15 th -12 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Aeg. 25 7 th cent. BC
			Cat.Nr. Aeg. 27 14 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Aeg. 26 7 th cent. BC
			Cat.Nr. Aeg. 28 14 th -13 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Aeg. 27 7 th cent. BC
			Cat.Nr. Aeg. 29 13 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Aeg. 28 7 th cent. BC
			Cat.Nr. Aeg. 31 13 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Aeg. 29 7 th cent. BC
			Cat.Nr. Aeg. 12 13 th -12 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Aeg. 30 7 th cent. BC
			Cat.Nr. Aeg. 13 13 th -12 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Aeg. 33 7 th cent. BC


¹²²⁵ Only the 'real' sphinxes, i.e. the creatures with lion-body and human head, are taken up in this overview.

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		Cat.Nr. Aeg. 33 13 th -11 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Aeg. 34 7 th cent. BC
		Cat.Nr. Aeg. 34 11 th -10 th cent. BC		St.M. Nr. Aeg. 35 7 th cent. BC
				St.M. Nr. Aeg. 39 7 th cent. BC
				St.M. Nr. Aeg. 41 7 th cent. BC
				St.M. Nr. Aeg. 52 7 th -6 th cent. BC
				St.M. Nr. Aeg. 55 7 th -6 th cent. BC
				St.M. Nr. Aeg. 57 6 th cent. BC
				St.M. Nr. Aeg. 61 6 th cent. BC
				St.M. Nr. Aeg. 72 6 th cent. BC
				St.M. Nr. 86 6 th cent. BC
				St.M. Nr. Aeg. 91 6 th cent. BC
				St.M. Nr. Aeg. 92 7 th cent. BC
				St.M. Nr. Aeg. 105 6 th cent. BC
				St.M. Nr. Aeg. 108 6 th cent. BC






13.7 STF LVI - DIFFERENT SYMBOLS, SIGNS AND MOTIFS


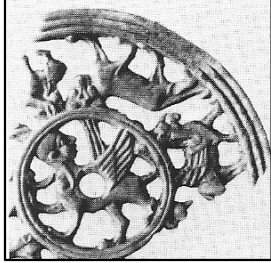





While the sphinx appears in a great variety of contexts accompanied with literally dozens of different motifs or signs, there are some that re-occur more often than others. This chapter therefore will deal with those motifs and signs that occur most often, or those that depict important cultural concepts¹²²⁶. Although some of these motifs are only local, many of them occur in more than one region, or sometimes even in all regions, be it that they were imported, made by a foreign craftsman, part of an object that was received as a gift, part of a booty, and so on. When one motif has a specific meaning that differs from the meaning in other regions, this will be mentioned. To facilitate the use of this explanatory list, the motifs are dealt with alphabetically.

STF LVI - DIFFERENT SYMBOLS, SIGNS AND MOTIFS			
OBJECT/ MEDIUM/ MOTIF/CONCEPT	EXAMPLES	MEANING/CONNOTATION	OCCURS IN
<i>AMULET</i>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 79</p>	<p>Could be in all possible shapes (also e.g. sphinx-form) and with a great variety in decoration. In general, they were meant to protect the wearer, because it was believed an amulet possessed magical powers.</p> <p><u>Egypt</u>: A sort of instrument of magic with protective and apotropaic forces. Amulets existed from the Pre- and Proto-Dynastic Periods onward, but only from the New Kingdom onwards, they were given to the dead also.</p> <p>Decorated with or in the shape of divine or animal figures, parts of the body, royal insignia and actual symbols (e.g. <i>ankh</i>-sign). Even the head-rest was an amulet meant to protect against the loss of the head.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 1, 79; St.M. Nrs. Eg. 10, 19, 35, 54.</p>






¹²²⁶ Information was taken out of a variety of sources, among others: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Cook 1894; Ward 1910; Wunsch 1916-1924; Kristensen 1917; Unger 1928; Kantor 1945: Ch. IV. Rosettes; Nilsson 1950; Altenmüller 1975c; Eberhard 1975a; Gamer-Wallert 1975; Hornung 1975a; Kitchen 1975; Klasens 1975b; Cameron 1976; Demisch 1977; Watrous 1991; Black and Green 1992; Keel 1992: 2-23; Marinatos 1993; Hornung 1995; Lurker 1996; Wilkinson 1996; Wiggermann 1998; Brewer and Teeter 1999; Owusu 1999; Rösch-von der Heyde 1999; Wilkinson 2000; Goodison 2001; Hiller 2001; Walgate 2002; Ziegler 2002; Nevling Porter 2003; Siliotti 2004; Westenholz 2004a (ed.); Westenholz 2004b; Hagen and Hagen 2005; Marinatos 2005; Broze 2006; Preys 2006; Warmenbol 2006; Marinatos 2007b; Zouzoula 2007; Hakimian 2008; Nugent 2008; Selz 2008; Marinatos 2009; Wyatt 2009; Dubiel 2011; Ritter 2011; Van Dijk 2011; Marinatos 2012; Pongratz-Leisten 2013; Marinatos 2016; Wendrich 2006; <http://educators.mfa.org/>; <http://thewalters.org/default.aspx>.







Images were taken from the same sources, from the Catalogue or Study Material, or from e.g. Art Images for College Teaching; Baltimore Walters Art Museum; Bluffton.edu; Boston Museum of Fine Arts; Flickr.com; London British Museum; New York Metropolitan Museum of Art; Osiris Net; Proteus.Brown.edu; The University of Memphis; TourEgypt.net; Wikipedia; Wikimedia; <http://de.academic.ru/>; <http://www.joanannlansberry.com/news.nationalgeographic.com>.

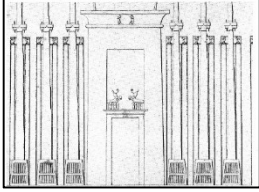




	 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 129.</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 1.</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. An. 16</p>	<p>In magical and religious texts information is given on meaning, the correct way of producing and how to use them.</p> <p>Five types can be distinguished: Amulets of similars (e.g. fly, <i>Wadjet</i>-Eye, papyrus sceptre, ...); A. of property (e.g. seal); A. for protection (e.g. scarabs, pectoral, ...); A. of powers (e.g. <i>Djed</i>-pillar, <i>Uraeus</i>, life sign, ...); A. of gods (e.g. human-headed, animal-headed and animal gods).</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> Syro-Mesopotamian amulets were worn as personal ornaments (pendants) and were thought both to protect against evil and to ward off evil. They were worn by a person or placed on the location where one wanted the magical effect.</p> <p>E.g. seals, eyes (cf. Eye-idols) or symbols of gods could be used as amulets, as could amulets in the shape of some composite beings, e.g. <i>Lamaštu</i>.</p> <p><u>Aegean:</u> By wearing amulets of (demonic) animals or animal-demons, the wearer took over the specific power of the depicted creature. Jewellery and seals would also be worn as protective amulets</p> <p><u>Anatolia:</u> Sphinxes e.g. could decorate clothing accessories, like e.g. a pin (St.M. Nr. An. 16) where they would ensure the safety of the person.</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> Cat.Nrs. Mes. 3, 86-87, 130. St.M. Nrs. Mes. 13, 27-29, 50, 59.</p> <p><u>Aegean:</u> Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 1, 16. St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 1, 15.</p> <p><u>Anatolia:</u> St.M. Nr. An. 16.</p>
(SACRED) ANIMALS	 <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 35</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 100</p>	<p><u>Aegean:</u> Birds and snakes often are depicted together with the Minoan goddess with upraised arms. In later periods, some gods and goddesses were associated with specific animals, e.g. Dionysus with a leopard. These animals not only were the companion of the deity, but they could also represent it.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> Animals often are symbols or attributes of a god. E.g. the lion often accompanied Ishtar, while the bull was the companion of Adad or Baal. Snakes could also be an attribute of a deity, and depictions of them probably often had a religious connotation</p>	<p><u>Aegean:</u> Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 10, 13, 16, 17, 19, 26, 30, 35; St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 6, 8, 13, 16-17, 22, 29, 31-32, 36-37, 40, 42-44, 46-47, 49, 51-54, 59, 69-70, 75, 78, 80-84, 85, 87, 89-90, 94, 98, 100, 104, 107, 110, 112, 115.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u></p>

	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 34</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. An. 1</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Animals were thought to have supernatural powers. Sacred animals, i.e. manifestations of gods, were regarded as the <i>ba</i> of the gods, the eternal soul. The lion was a symbol of royal power.</p> <p>The goose e.g. could be a symbol of the god Amun, but used as a hieroglyph, it meant 'son'.</p> <p>The hawk, of course, was a representation of the god Horus.</p>	<p>Cat.Nrs. Mes. 1-2, 4-7, 11, 13, 18, 93, 96-97, 100, 102, 105-106, 110, 119, 121, 123, 129;</p> <p>St.M. Nrs. Mes. 1-4, 8-11, 16-21, 23-24, 30, 42, 47, 53, 58, 65, 68-69, 77, 89.</p> <p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 33-34, 36, 50; St.M. Nr. Eg. 41.</p> <p><u>Anatolia</u>: Cat.Nr. An. 1, 7-10, 16; St.M. Nrs. An. 1, 5-7, 10-11.</p>
ANKH-SIGN	  <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 68 (detail)</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 86</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 14</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. An. 11</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Although the origin of this sign is not clear, it is one of the life-signs. Symbol of eternal life and representing air and water, carried by many deities and demons/monsters (e.g. Sakhmet) and often given by the gods to the king.</p> <p>In Akhenaton's time (New Kingdom), it was forbidden to depict the sun-god with a human body. Therefore, it was shown as a sun-disc with many hands that often hold <i>Ankh</i>-signs (cf; Cat.Nr. Eg. 68).</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: This is one of only three Egyptian symbols (next to the <i>Djed</i>-pillar and the winged sun-disc) that the Mesopotamians took over from the Egyptians. The <i>Ankh</i>-symbol, when depicted in Syro-Mesopotamia, was usually carried by a goddess or was shown together with other symbols surrounding a central motif (e.g. a sphinx: Cat.Nr. Mes. 86)</p> <p><u>Aegean & Anatolia</u>: The <i>Ankh</i>-sign, seen as a symbol of divinity and life, was imported from Egypt.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u> Cat.Nrs. Eg. 7, 11, 33-34, 42, 44, 47, 68, 73, 77, 81, 86; St.M. Nr. Eg. 33</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 86-87; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 19, 21, 59, 69.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 14, 32.</p> <p><u>Anatolia</u>: St.M. Nr. An. 11.</p>

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<p><i>BIRD-MAN/ BIRD-HEADED GOD/DEMON</i></p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 108</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 9</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> Cf. 3.1. Composite Creatures.</p> <p><u>Aegean:</u> Often the Minoan goddess with upraised arms is depicted together with a bird. Birds often also were considered as the epiphany of a god.</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> Cat.Nr. Mes. 108; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 1, 11, 24.</p> <p><u>Aegean:</u> Cat.Nr. Aeg. 9</p>
<p><i>(HORNED) CAP/ (HORNED) HAT/</i></p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 39</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 12</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. An. 8</p>	<p>Horned caps or hats (and crowns and helmets) could be worn by deities, both male and female, in Syro-Mesopotamia, the Levant, and Anatolia. Probably the horns symbolized power. The horned headdress, attested first in Early Dynastic II, was a divine attribute more than a marker of divinity. It linked the concept of divinity to the vigour of life, manifested through cattle breeding and agriculture.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> A horned cap (or crown) identifies a god or goddess. When it is worn by a sphinx, the sphinx mostly can be recognised as male.</p> <p><u>Anatolia:</u> Most of the time, the headdress of a deity did have horns, but there were exceptions to this rule.</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> Cat.Nrs. Mes. 5-6, 10, 14, 18, 24-26, 28-30, 32-33, 38-39, 79, 93, 95, 96, 105, 108, 111, 122, 128; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 2, 4, 9, 23, 34, 36, 38, 40, 57, 65, 67, 69, 72-74, 76. (Shalmaneser: Cat.Nr. Mes. 39)</p> <p><u>Aegean:</u> Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 1-2, 4, 7-9, 12-14, 20-22, 27-28, 31, 33, 35; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 7, 9, 23-26, 35, 39, 42, 57, 60, 65, 67, 73, 91-92, 105, 108, 113-114, 117, 124.</p> <p><u>Anatolia:</u> Cat.Nrs. An. 1, 3-5, 8, 10, 12-14, 17; St.M. Nrs. An. 5-6, 12.</p>

<p>CARTOUCHE</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 18</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 3</p>	<p><u>Egypt:</u> The Egyptian name for the cartouche, derived from the verb <i>sheni</i>, which means "to encircle". The cartouche always holds the royal name (throne- and birth-name). Next to a solar connection, the cartouche certainly also holds an apotropaic function protecting the king's name.</p>	<p><u>Egypt:</u> Cat.Nrs. Eg. 3-4, 10, 12, 17, 18, 20, 36, 38-39, 42, 43, 47, 51, 57, 62, 64-65, 68, 79, 81, 86; St.M. Nrs. Eg. 17, 23, 24, 44, 58.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> Cat.Nr. Mes. 3</p>
<p>(ROYAL) CROWN/ (HORNED) CROWN</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 6</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 111</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 33 (detail)</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. An. 6 (detail)</p>	<p><u>Egypt:</u> For royal and divine crowns: cf. 5. The Sphinx in Egypt.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia & Anatolia:</u> A horned crown (or cap) is mostly worn by male sphinxes and is a symbol of divinity.</p>	<p><u>Egypt:</u> Cat.Nrs. Eg. 4, 6, 21, 23, 30, 33, 36, 42, 44, 46, 65, 78, 81-82, 85-86; St.M. Nr. Eg. 56.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> Cat.Nrs. Mes. 12, 17, 20-22, 27, 33-34, 37, 70, 86, 111, 123, 126-127; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 30, 24, 32, 37, 55, 63, 66, 70, 77. (Shalmaneser: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 37, 42-46, 48-49, 50-59, 64-67, 69-70, 72, 74-77, 85, 117-118, 120)</p> <p><u>Aegean:</u> St.M. Nr. Aeg. 15-16, 33, 61, 121.</p> <p><u>Anatolia:</u> Cat.Nr. An. 6; St.M. Nr. An. 14.</p>

<p>(FALSE) DOOR/ GATES/ GATEWAY</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 85</p>   <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 23</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. An. 2</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 25</p>	<p>In general, all entrances and gateways were regarded as symbolic thresholds, barriers, cross-points, ...</p> <p><u>Egypt</u>: Doors and gates were a dual symbol of entry and defence (barrier) and of a crossing point (threshold); serving both as point of protection and transition.</p> <p>In the Netherworld, the deceased had to cross 10 guarded gates to reach the abode of Osiris. There even existed a <i>Book of Gates</i> (cf. 5. The Sphinx in Egypt)¹²²⁷.</p> <p>The entrance pylons of temples symbolized the eastern horizon where the sun entered the world every day; the western entrance symbolized death¹²²⁸.</p> <p>The Gate of Heaven was a threshold and could refer either to the temple itself or to the shrine of a god. When the doors of a shrine were opened during a ritual, this symbolized the opening of the doors of Heaven.</p> <p>In tombs, there often were fake doors through which the <i>ka</i> (cf. infra) of the deceased could return from his grave to receive the offerings of the living.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Entrances to the <i>Apsû</i>, Heaven and the Underworld were guarded by one or a pair of lesser gods. During the Assyrian periods, all gateways were protected by composite creatures or animal-men.</p> <p>The <i>Aladlammû</i>, the bulls and lions with human heads guarded the gateways of Assyrian temples and palaces, as did the <i>Lamassu</i>, the protective creatures.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 71, 85; St.M. Nr. Eg. 2.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 20-23; St.M. Nrs. 34, 63.</p> <p><u>Anatolia</u>: Cat.Nrs. An. 2-3, 5-6.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 25.</p>
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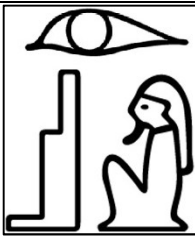


¹²²⁷ *Guards of the Gates of the Underworld*, Thebes, Tomb of Sennedjem (TT 1):

http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/artisans/sennedjem1/e_sennedjem1_02.htm

The gates of the Underworld were guarded by demons armed with knives:

Door 1: Guardian with the head of a vulture; Door 2: Guardian with the head of a lion; Door 3: Guardian with the head of a crocodile; Door 4: Guardian with the head of a cow; Door 5: Naked bald child; Door 6: Guardian with the head of a snake; Door 7: Guardian with the head with two feathers; Door 8: Guardian with the head of a bird; Door 9: Guardian with the head of a jackal; Door 10: Guardian with the head of a dog.




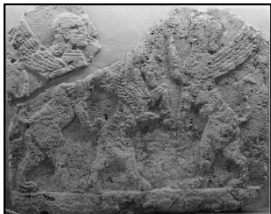


¹²²⁸ Of someone who was about to die it was said he/she was standing at the Gate of the Horizon: Wilkinson 1996: 139.

<p>EAR</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 54</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Ears mostly occur on votive ear-stelae. Some gods, including Amun and Horus, were described as "hearing gods" or "great of hearing", and the depicted ears emphasized this aspect of the god. Ears also were a sign that the gods were willing to listen and that prayers would be heard.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nr. Eg. 54</p>
<p>EYE HORUS-EYE/ WADJET-EYE/ SOLAR-EYE/ EYE OF RA</p>	  <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 33</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 86 (detail)</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: The eye was a very important apotropaic symbol, because it could see colours, catch light and perceive the world. Because the eye itself could "shine" and "flash", it became a symbol of fire. Osiris' name in hieroglyphs has an eye above a throne (a symbol Isis often wears on her head; cf. 5. The Sphinx in Egypt), so his name means "Place of the Eye". One eye of the sky-god Horus was regarded as the sun, the other one as the moon. When only one eye is mentioned (<i>Wadjet-Eye</i>), it refers to the moon¹²²⁹. The left eye of Horus was damaged and healed again and this refers to the cycle of the moon. The eye symbolized the recurrent recovery of the universal harmony, because it fought the enemies of light and was itself seen as fire. When the eye was presented in ceremony, this act stood for every offering ceremony (cf. Horus giving the eye to Osiris). Its apotropaic function promised eternal life. The Solar-Eye, the Eye of Ra, was often represented as a solar disc. On the image shown here, a detail from a mural in the Khonsu-temple in Karnak (Cat.Nr. Eg. 86) two <i>Uraei</i> coil around the disc, wearing the crown of Lower- and Upper-Egypt respectively¹²³⁰. The Eye represents both the destructive and protective aspects of Ra's power and it functions in an apotropaic manner.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: The image of an eye, that certainly had a religious connotation, was a very powerful and effective amulet in Syro-Mesopotamia (cf. eye-idols).</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 30, 33, 71, 86; St.M. Nrs. Eg. 11, 40</p>

¹²²⁹ *Wadjet-Eye Amulet*, 3rd Intermediate, ca. 1075-664 BC, Jewellery, Amulet, Faience, Aragonite, 5 x 6 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.7.1032.


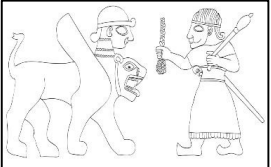


¹²³⁰ *Solar-Eye*, New Kingdom, 20th Dyn. ca. 1194-1163 BC, Relief (detail), Karnak, Khonsu Temple: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/mana4u/10668479813/in/photostream/>

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<p>FEATHER</p>	 <p>St.M. Nr. Eg. 34</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Generally, the feather stands for order and truth, thus it also represents the goddess Maat. In funerary judgement scenes, the feather is weighed against the heart of the deceased (cf. 3.1. Composite Creatures), decorating the heads of or held by the judges of the Afterlife. When a headdress made of ibis' feathers is worn by a sphinx or griffin, it refers to the <i>ka</i> of the king (cf. infra).</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 42, 67, 82; St.M. Nr. Eg. 34.</p>
<p>FIGHT/ATTACK CONTEST SCENE WAR/WARRIOR ARMOUR</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 30</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 32</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. An. 11</p>	<p>[Images of sphinxes or griffins trampling an enemy are not recorded here (Cf. 8.1. Sphinx/Griffin/Criosphinx Trampling).</p> <p>In general, it is possible that warfare and fights, and, more specifically, the so-called contest scenes, depict the struggle between culture and chaos, or even the struggle for life. It could be said then that they, as hunting, are a way to maintain cosmic order.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: In so-called contest scenes, already appearing in Syro-Mesopotamia during the Uruk Period, often lion and bull are opposed, but also heroes (or genie) and mythological beasts (like sphinx, griffin, and bull-man).</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: Contest- or war-scenes suggest a sphere of victory and male authority and are part of culturally accepted ideas about manhood. Warfare is closely connected to hunting.</p>	<p><u>Aegean</u>: Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 30, 35; St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 6-7, 9, 11-12, 16, 18, 20, 29-30, 37, 40, 62, 74-75, 81, 85, 87, 95, 99, 101, 106, 112, 115-116, 122-123.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 7, 9, 17-18, 29, 32, 35, 83, 91, 106, 108; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 3, 33, 60, 62, 64-65, 69, 75.</p> <p><u>Anatolia</u>: Cat.Nrs. An. 11-12; (nearby: 8-9); St.M. Nr. An. 1.</p>
<p>FLOWERS/BOUQUETS FLORAL DESIGN/ PLANTS¹²³¹ (SEE ALSO LOTUS- FLOWERS AND –BUDS)</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 3 (detail)</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 43</p>	<p>Plants were generally regarded as a symbol of fertility.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: Flowers are often depicted in geometric (mostly spiral) designs. Specific flowers (e.g. lilies, probably symbolizing regeneration and a favourite offering to female deities), were often depicted on larnakes. They functioned as an <i>insignium dignitatis</i>, which marked the person associated with them as either king or god(dess). Often lilies are combined with papyrus and palm-trees or they are</p>	<p><u>Aegean</u>: Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 3, 6, 11, 16-17, 25, 30; St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 11, 27, 29, 31, 40-41, 55-56, 58, 64, 76, 93.</p> <p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 13-14, 37, 41, 43, 66.</p>

¹²³¹ For more information about the floral motifs in Egypt: Kantor 1945: Ch. VI.

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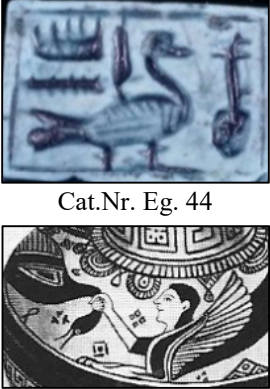


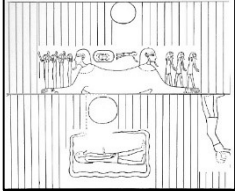
	 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 82</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. An. 13</p>	<p>secondary motifs in scenes depicting hunting or with chariots or ships. The Minoan tree replaced the Egyptian bouquet. Crocuses, the most represented flowers in Minoan culture, have a distinct female connotation, but they also have an economic value because of their stigmas which contain saffron. They were also a source of yellow dye and possible a medicament. Depictions of roses most probably inspired the rosette-motif and perhaps also the spiralled motifs.</p> <p><u>Egypt</u>: A bouquet of flowers was a symbol of life (In Egyptian it was called "<i>Ankh</i>"; cf. supra). It was presented to deceased persons or to a god. Offerings of flowers were valuable.</p> <p><u>Anatolia</u>: The plants (corn and grapes) that the man in front of the sphinx holds in his hands (Cat.Nr. An. 13), are symbols of the Afterlife and suggest the man is deceased.</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 4, 7, 34, 41, 82, 90, 126; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 1, 6, 11, 15, 18, 22, 24, 43; (Shalmaneser: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 51, 65-66, 70-71, 78, 112, 115).</p> <p><u>Anatolia</u>: Cat.Nr. An. 13; St.M. Nr. An. 11.</p>
FLY	 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 121</p> 	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: On Old Babylonian seals (ca. 2000-1600 BC) an image of a fly might be a symbol of Nergal, the god of disease and death or of the Syrian Beelzebub, the god of flies.</p> <p><u>Egypt</u>: In the Old and Middle Kingdom, the fly had an apotropaic character, during the New Kingdom it became a symbol of bravery¹²³².</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nr. Mes. 121.</p>

¹²³² *Necklace with Fly Pendants*, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Jewellery, Gold, Chain: 59 cm, Fly: 9 cm, Cairo, Egyptian Museum: http://www.touregypt.net/egyptmuseum/egyptian_museummm5.htm
The necklace with three fly-pendants belonged to Queen Ahhotep, wife of Ahmoses, who reigned during the 18th Dyn. The queen received the necklace because of her support during the battle against the Hyksos. More information about the fly as symbol of bravery: Gestoso Singer 2009.


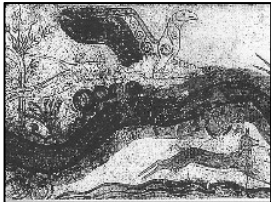
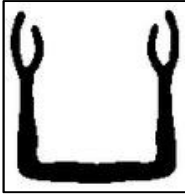


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<p>(WILD) GOAT</p>	<div data-bbox="531 201 684 378" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="529 376 710 407" data-label="Caption"> <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 19</p> </div> <div data-bbox="481 423 753 577" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="477 577 762 611" data-label="Caption"> <p>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 42 (detail)</p> </div> <div data-bbox="486 618 756 893" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="529 893 707 925" data-label="Caption"> <p>St.M. Nr. An. 7</p> </div>	<p><u>Egypt:</u> The goat in Egypt was a symbol of fertility.</p> <p><u>Aegean:</u> Goats are very popular and are depicted in various contexts, where they sometimes even can symbolise divinities. There also exists a close relationship between goats and crocuses (cf. supra).</p> <p><u>Anatolia:</u> The goat is one of the attending beasts of the Goddess of the Mountain Goat</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> Cat.Nrs. Mes. 10, 19; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 16, 20, 53.</p> <p><u>Aegean:</u> St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 42, 49, 58, 81.</p> <p><u>Anatolia:</u> St.M. Nr. An. 6-7.</p>
<p>GOLD</p>	<div data-bbox="486 931 756 1088" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="526 1088 711 1122" data-label="Caption"> <p>St.M. Nr. Eg. 21</p> </div> <div data-bbox="486 1128 756 1279" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="534 1279 703 1310" data-label="Caption"> <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 6</p> </div> <div data-bbox="481 1319 753 1442" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="529 1442 707 1476" data-label="Caption"> <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 11</p> </div> <div data-bbox="481 1480 753 1830" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="523 1830 715 1863" data-label="Caption"> <p>St.M. Nr. An. 17</p> </div>	<p><u>Egypt:</u> The shining of gold reminded the Egyptians of the shining of the sun(-god), therefore it was a divine metal. It was also a symbol of surviving after death. The sun-god Ra was called "The Mountain of Gold", Hathor was sometimes referred to as "The Gold". During the Old Kingdom, one title of the king was "Golden Horus" and from the New Kingdom onwards, the royal tomb was named "House of Gold".</p> <p>In general, it can be assumed that gold was valuable and that objects made from the material, or decorated with it, had a special meaning and were of some importance.</p>	<p><u>Egypt:</u> St.M. Nrs. Eg. 9, 21, 54</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> Cat.Nrs. Mes. 6, 91; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 37, 47, 74.</p> <p><u>Aegean:</u> Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 11, 20-24, 27; St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 14, 21, 38, 68, 84, 118, 128.</p> <p><u>Anatolia:</u> St.M. Nr. An. 17.</p>

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<p>GOOSE</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 44</p> <p>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 18</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: The primeval god Amun was sometimes depicted as a goose, because the animal belonged to the area of creation-myths (due to the eggs it lays). The goose as a hieroglyph also means “son”.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: In later periods the goose belonged to the goddess Aphrodite, goddess of beauty, love and pleasure.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 4, 44.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 17-18.</p>
<p>GUILLOCHE/ ROPE PATTERN</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 88</p> <p>St.M. Nr. An. 5</p> <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 26</p>	<p>It is not clear if the motif was used to separate or define areas or spaces on e.g. a seal, or as an emblem of a deity, or simply ornamental.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia & Anatolia</u>: This motif probably originated in Syro-Hittite art, where it was the most favourite ornament, and could have evolved out of the spiral. Some researchers think the motif represents entwining snakes, while others see it as a symbol of running water.</p> <p><u>Egypt</u>: The Egyptian <i>helix</i>, or S-curve may have been an earlier form of the guilloche; this then was brought to Syria where it evolved into the guilloche.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: The Mycenaean guilloche developed probably from the Egyptian motif and is very elaborate and abundant.</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 6, 15, 39, 88-89, 102, 111; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 16-17, 19-22, 24, 26, 36, 46-47, 50 (?); (Shalmaneser: Cat. Nr. Mes. 52.</p> <p><u>Anatolia</u>: St.M. Nr. An. 5.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 26, 34; St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 6 (?), 16, 31, 44, 49, 58, 64-65, 118 (?).</p>
<p>HERO/GENIUS</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 107</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Heroes, sometimes wearing a horned cap as a symbol of their divinity, are often engaged in royal rituals or are acting as Master of Animals, standing on, or holding two animals. Only once, a hero is shown attacking a griffin (Cat.Nr. Mes. 9)</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 9, 17, 28, 30, (91?), 93, 107; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 14, 18, 56, 60, 64, 73, 75.</p>
<p>HORIZON</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 57</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: The horizon suggested both sunrise and sunset; it was protected by Aker, a double-lion or a double-headed lion, later replaced by a double- or double-headed sphinx. Aker was a complex being whose main feature was the connection between the world of the living and the world of the dead. In later periods temple and royal palace were called horizon, because</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nr. Eg. 57</p>

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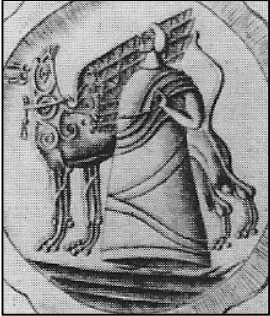



		they were thought to be the "horizon in which Ra dwells".	
HUNT	 Cat.Nr. Mes. 6 (detail)  Cat.Nr. Aeg. 16	<p>Hunting, and thus triumphing over the hunted animal, be it lion, bull or other animal, demonstrated that the hunter's power and strength were superior. Also, a good hunter made a good leader.</p> <p>In general, however, it could be said that hunting, as were fighting scenes and warfare, was a scene that symbolized the maintaining of cosmic order.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> The Royal Hunt affirmed the status and privileges of the king and high officials and demonstrated their domination of nature, and thus of the empire. When the king was depicted hunting, it was stressed that he was the person who defended his kingdom against chaos.</p> <p><u>Aegean:</u> Hunting, sacrifice and fighting/warfare are closely related and are parts of one cycle. Hunting and warfare, however, are exclusive male activities. Hunting-scenes glorify an elite youth and express culturally accepted ideas about manhood.</p> <p><u>Egypt:</u> When hunting, the pharaoh showed he was worthy of his kingship; he could maintain order and stability.</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> Cat.Nrs. Mes. 6, 9.</p> <p><u>Aegean:</u> Cat.Nr. Aeg. 16; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 8.</p> <p><u>Anatolia:</u> (nearby: Cat.Nrs. An. 3, 8-9, 15).</p>
Ka	  Cat.Nr. Eg. 11 	<p><u>Egypt:</u> The <i>Ka</i> is the creative and sustaining power of life; more specifically it is a kind of spiritual double that the creation-god Khnum makes on his potter's wheel together with the person himself (cf. 3.1. Composite Creatures). The <i>Ka</i> thus is born together with the person. It was the power of life that made the difference between a living and a dead person. When the person died, the <i>Ka</i> left the person and returned to its divine origin. It was this "spiritual double" that received the offerings for the deceased.</p> <p>The <i>Ka</i>-amulet protected the wearer against evil forces.</p> <p>Sometimes the <i>Ka</i> would be combined with the <i>Ankh</i>-sign (cf. supra), which could mean something like "life to thy spirit"¹²³³.</p>	<p><u>Egypt:</u> Cat.Nr. Eg. 11.</p>

¹²³³ *Libation Dish Depicting Ka-Arms Presenting an Ankh-Sign*, Early Dynastic, ca. 3100-2900 BC, Greywacke, 14,5 x 3,5 x 17,6 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 19.2.16.

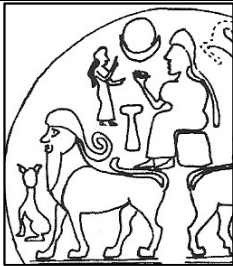



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<p>LAPIS LAZULI</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 3</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Considered to be an image of the sky with the stars it was a sacred stone, because blue was the colour of the gods. A jewel or amulet made of lapis lazuli and gold placed the wearer under the protection of heaven and sun.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nr. Eg. 3</p>
<p>LOTUS (-FLOWER AND- BUD) (SEE ALSO FLOWERS/BOUQUETS/ PLANTS)</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 51</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 123</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 52</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Water lilies, especially the blue ones, were often depicted in Egyptian art, because they were appreciated for their beauty and smell¹²³⁴. At the same time, they were connected to the sun, because they rose from the water every morning as the sun rises from the horizon. So, they had an important symbolic meaning as well, and as such were also seen as signs of rebirth and hope. The lotus could also be used as a symbol of Upper-Egypt. A faded lotus-flower symbolized death, while a lotus-bud stood for rebirth.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: Imported from Egypt to Crete. In frescoes the lotus is often combined with papyrus or with spirals.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 21, 30, 51.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 6-7, 13, 34, 37, 91, 96, 123, 125, 127-128; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 19, 41, 46-47, 50. (Shalmaneser: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 36, 40, 42-47, 50, 52, 56, 73, 78).</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 10, 32, 52, 64, 69, 80, 125.</p>





¹²³⁴ Fine fragrances were appreciated so much that they even had their own god, Nefertem, who was depicted with a blue lotus on his head: Hagen and Hagen 2005: 131. An image of the god can be seen in the Tomb of Horemheb, Valley of the Kings KV57 (18th Dyn.): Wilkinson 1996: Hagen and Hagen 2005: 131; <http://egyptian-gods.99k.org/Nefertem.html>

<p>MASTER/MISTRESS OF ANIMALS</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 107</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 24 (detail)</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. An. 4 (detail)</p>	<p>(cf. 8.3. Sphinx/Griffin/Criosphinx Under Control)</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> Cat.Nrs. Mes. 1, 4, 5, 28, 30, 83, 91, 100, 107, 119; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 14, 42-43, 56, 68, 70, 73.</p> <p><u>Aegean:</u> Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 9-10, 17, 23-24, 26, 33; St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 7-9.</p> <p><u>Anatolia:</u> Cat.Nr. An. 4, 7, 10; St.M. Nrs. An. 6, 18.</p>
<p>MOON(-CRESCENT)</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 81 (detail)</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 35 (detail)</p>	<p>In general, the moon and moon-crescent can be regarded as a symbol of rebirth, as the moon "is born again" after each cycle of growing and waning.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> Generally, the moon-crescent is the symbol of the Moon-god Nanna. It probably was a protective symbol. In later periods, moon-crescent and sun were often combined and then referred to one or two deities.</p> <p><u>Egypt:</u> The moon was regarded as the sun that shone at night; its different phases were considered as symbols of life and death</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> Cat.Nrs. Mes. 9, 81-82, 119, 126, 130; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 2-3, 21, 26, 75.</p> <p><u>Aegean:</u> Cat.Nr. Aeg. 35; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 9, 19.</p> <p><u>Anatolia:</u> St.M. Nrs. An. 1, 6-7, 10.</p>






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	 <p>St.M. Nr. An. 6 (detail)</p>		
<p>MUSIC/MUSICIAN/ DANCING/ MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 13 (detail side D)</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 7 (detail)</p>  <p>Systrum</p>	<p>In general, one could say that music and singing next to being used as entertainment (for the living as well as for the deceased), also served in some rituals, where it could e.g. show reverence.</p> <p><u>Egypt</u>: Most common attribute of the goddess Hathor was the systrum, a rattle-like instrument (Cat.Nr. Eg. 19: no image).</p>	<p><u>Aegean</u>: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 13; St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 31, 40, 64, 99.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nr. Mes. 7.</p> <p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nr. Eg. 18 (no image).</p>

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<p>NAKED FEMALE/ NAKED GODDESS</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 4 (detail)</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. An. 7</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> (see also 4. The Sphinx in Syro-Mesopotamia – 4.2. 1600-800 BC) Figurines of naked females, already appearing in prehistoric times, are mostly similar. Probably they were intended to stimulate fertility, while they suggested attractiveness, pride and dignity. On seals, naked female figures often stand on plinths, which suggests they represent cult statues. They sometimes appear to receive worship, although they never wear the horned cap of divinity. In later periods, Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian, the figure could represent Ishtar (or the demoness Lilītu, who is especially dangerous to pregnant women and who caused sterility and impotence in resp. women and men), as she then does wear a horned cap.</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> Cat.Nrs. Mes. 4, 100; St.M. Nr. Mes. 35. <u>Anatolia:</u> Cat.Nr. An. 7.</p>
<p>NEBET-SIGN</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 49</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. Mes. 24 (detail)</p>	<p><u>Egypt:</u> The wicker basket called "Neb" could mean "all", or "lord", "master". When it is used in images, it usually has one of these meanings.</p>	<p><u>Egypt:</u> Cat.Nrs. Eg. 4-5, 7, 10, 11, 19, 21, 22, 49, 68; St.M. Nrs. Eg. 33, 38. <u>Syro-Mesopotamia:</u> St.M. Nrs. Mes. 24, 59. (Shalmaneser: Cat.Nr. Mes. 117)</p>

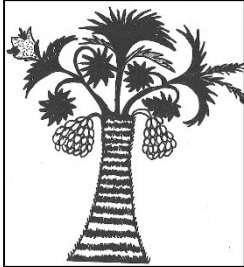



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<p><i>NEMES</i></p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 14 (detail)</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 125 (detail)</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 10 (detail)</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: cf. 5. The Sphinx in Egypt.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 3, 9, 11, 13-16, 18-20, 22, 26-28, 30-31, 33-35, 45, 48, 52, 56-57, 59, 61-63, 66, 69, 72-73, 75, 78-79, 86-87; St.M. Nrs. Eg. 1, 4, 6, 17-18, 21, 29-30, 37-38, 41-42, 45, 51-52, 56, 58-59, 61.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 7, 37, 80, 124-125, 127; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 45-46. (Shalmaneser: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 40-41, 44-48, 50-59, 61-71, 73-76, 115-118.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 10.</p>
<p><i>NEMSET-VASE</i></p>	 <p>St.M. Nr. Eg. 40</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: A libation vessel used in ritual contexts. When the vase had a lid in the shape of a rams-head, it was filled with water from the Nile that was taken at the beginning of a flood.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 58, 61-62, 86; St.M. Nr. Eg. 40.</p>
<p><i>NEST</i></p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 36</p>	<p>Probably in general seen as a symbol of or a reference to fertility.</p>	<p><u>Aegean</u>: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 36; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 29.</p>

<p>OFFER/ FOOD-OFFERINGS/ GRAVE GOODS/ SACRIFICES</p>	<div data-bbox="515 194 718 461"></div> <div data-bbox="544 465 699 495" data-label="Caption">Cat.Nr. Eg. 63</div> <div data-bbox="485 499 754 728"></div> <div data-bbox="536 732 707 761" data-label="Caption">Cat.Nr. Mes. 98</div> <div data-bbox="485 766 754 927"></div> <div data-bbox="474 931 770 960" data-label="Caption">St.M.. Nr. Aeg. 112 (detail)</div> <div data-bbox="478 965 750 1193"></div> <div data-bbox="496 1198 748 1227" data-label="Caption">St.M. Nr. An. 1 (detail)</div>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Images of devote kings offering to a god were very popular; they helped the king in his mediating role between men and gods¹²³⁵. The two identical <i>Nu</i>-bowls (holding water, wine or milk) he mostly holds in his hands represent both parts of his land.</p> <p>Because life after death must be the same as it was before death, it was only natural to give the deceased every possible item he might need, be it food, jewellery, weapons, furniture, pots, tools,</p> <p>Flowers also were regarded as precious offers</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Because the gods created men to act as their servants, they expected to be fed and taken care off by them. Regular offerings took place daily at meal times, while occasional offerings were made at e.g. days of festivals.</p> <p>There were three categories of offerings. The most regular ones were "useful" to the gods. Often worshippers put statues of themselves before the god to be able to pray to him constantly. Lastly there were offerings made as a form of request.</p> <p>A religious ritual in which an object is offered to a god is called a sacrifice; sacrifices were made in the hope of establishing or restoring a satisfactory relationship with the god. The most common animals to be sacrificed were sheep.</p> <p>Animal offerings found in graves, however, were usually meant as food for the deceased.</p> <p>Offerings of oil, food and drink for the dead were essential, for them not to wander the world of the living. These funerary offerings were called <i>kispū</i>.</p> <p>Grave goods, like pots and vessels, jewellery, cosmetics, drink and food and occasionally also tools and weapons served a variety of purposes: to use in or on the way to the Underworld, to display wealth, to show individual possessions, ...</p> <p>During the Neo-Assyrian Period (ca. 1180-612 BC) the royal hunts that are often depicted can be a form of animal sacrifice.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat. Nrs. Eg. 5, 51, 56, 59, 61, 66-67, 81-82; St.M. Nrs. Eg. 7, 40, 51-52.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 7, 90, 96-98, 102, 104; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 23, 50, 53-54. (Shalmaneser: Cat.Nr. Mes. 112).</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 17, 19; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 112.</p> <p><u>Anatolia</u>: Cat.Nrs. An. 3, 6, 16; St.M. Nr. An. 1, 9.</p>
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¹²³⁵ The king was often depicted offering as a sphinx, e.g. Cat.Nr. Eg. 63, St.M. Nrs. Eg. 7, 52.

PART 1 – 13. SUPPLEMENTS

		<p>Libations, the offering of water or wine, was an essential accompaniment to all sacrifices and offering rituals.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: Offerings and hunting are parts of one cycle and are thus closely related.</p>	
<p>(DATE) PALM TREE/ PALM BRANCH FIG TREE¹²³⁶ (SEE ALSO TREE (SACRED))</p>	  <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 4 (detail)</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. Mes. 63</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 20 (detail)</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: The palm tree related to Ra, but Hathor also was sometimes called Lady of the Date Palm or of the Fig Tree. Fig trees, or <i>sycamores</i> were believed to stand at the eastern gate of heaven through which Ra travelled each day¹²³⁷.</p> <p>The <i>sycamore</i>-tree was also seen as a representation of the goddesses Hathor ("Lady of the <i>Sycamore</i>"), Isis and Nut. In this capacity, it was often depicted in tombs, its trunk merging with the body of either Hathor or Nut, the goddess of the heavens, giving food and drink to the deceased¹²³⁸. Whoever ate the fruits or drank the water lived on eternally. On Cat.Nr. Eg. 4 the god <i>Heh</i> is holding a palm branch in each hand. <i>Heh</i> probably was one of the primeval deities, but, more importantly, he is the personification of eternity.</p> <p>Both fig- and palm-trees are considered as Trees of Life or Sacred Trees (cf. infra), because they grow only in places where enough water is found. They also give shade and fruits and are therefore regarded as general symbols of fertility.</p> <p>The palm-tree is also the heraldic plant of Upper Egypt and as such often depicted as a palm column, while the palm-branch is the sign for "year".</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: The Minoans adopted the image of the palm-tree from the Egyptians. Rituals often taken place near palm-trees, which are regularly shown together with flowers, and are often depicted on larnakes.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nr. Eg. 4</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: St.M. Nrs. Mes. 22, 63.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 20, 30; St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 13, 37, 59, 73, 86, 125.</p>

¹²³⁶ For more information about the palm tree motif in Egypt: Kantor 1945: Ch. VII.

¹²³⁷ During the New Kingdom, many tombs were decorated with an image that showed two sycamore trees through which a bull-calf, representing the sun-god Ra, appeared, e.g. in

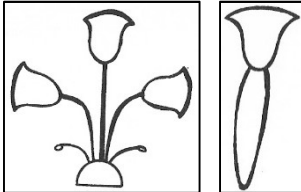
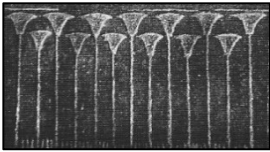



Bull-calf Appearing through Two Sycamore-trees, Relief (detail), Deir el-Medina, Tomb of Irynefer (TT 290):

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/mana4u/11432987694/in/pool-68357217@N00/>

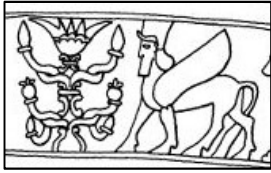




¹²³⁸ One example e.g. *Sycamore Tree Providing Fruits and Water for Sennedjem and his Wife*, Mural (detail), Thebes (TT 1), Tomb Sennedjem:

http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/artisans/sennedjem1/e_sennedjem1_03.htm

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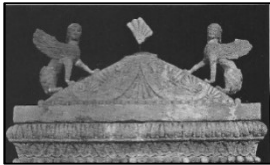
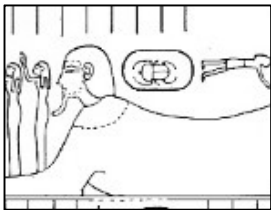


		<p>It is generally thought that trees in Minoan iconography replace the Egyptian bouquets of flowers. Palm trees in Aegean iconography serve a double function: next to marking the place of death, they also signify life.</p>	
PAPYRUS	 <p>a & b</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 43 (detail)</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 34 (detail)</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: In the beginning of time, papyrus held up Nut, the sky. It was a symbol of life force and vitality, and when it was depicted as a column, supporting a temple, of the daily manifestation of creation itself. Papyrus bundles, often given to a deceased person, stood for victory and joy.</p> <p>Papyrus also was the heraldic plant of Lower Egypt (a). Wadjet, the goddess of Lower-Egypt, often carried a papyrus sceptre (b), but other goddesses (e.g. Hathor, Bastet) also sometimes carried a staff in the shape of papyrus.</p> <p>Papyrus was also economically important to the Egyptians; it was used not only to make paper, but also, among others, food, baskets, sails, sandals.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: The Egyptian papyrus was a very common motif on the Minoan larnax.</p> <p>The papyrus was often combined with the lotus-flower, also an import from Egypt.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 4, 30, 33, 43, 45; St.M. Nr. Eg. 33.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 6-7, 34; St.M. Nr. Mes. 46.</p>
(DJED-)PILLAR/ COLUMN	  <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 45</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Although the original meaning is not known, overall the <i>Djed</i>-pillar related to fertility and became a symbol of stability.</p> <p>From the Old Kingdom onwards, the <i>Djed</i> related to Ptah, the spouse of Sakhmet (cf. 3.1. Composite Creatures) and the chief god of creation, architects and craftsmen in Memphis. Depictions of the god often show him near a large <i>Djed</i>-column.</p> <p>When Ptah had been equated with Sokar (cf. supra) and Osiris, it was regarded as the latter god's backbone. Raising the <i>Djed</i>-pillar became a royal ritual that probably was a reference to the rebirth of a deceased king and to the stability of his reign and of the cosmos.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: This is one of only three symbols (next to the <i>Ankh</i>-sign and the winged sun-disc) that the Mesopotamians took over from</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nr. Eg. 45</p>

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		<p>the Egyptians. The <i>Djed</i>-pillar can be seen on some Syrian seals from the 18th and 17th cent. BC.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: The sacred pillar could be an aniconic manifestation of a deity.</p>	
PINE CONES	 <p>St.M. Nr. Mes. 47 (detail)</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: A pine cone (<i>mullilu</i> = "purifier"), often carried by a god together with a bucket (<i>banduddû</i>), can be associated with purification (cf. Sacred Tree). Purification actions are mostly metaphors, e.g. water-sprinkling, incense-burning or sweeping.</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: St.M. Nr. Mes. 47.</p>
ROSETTE ¹²³⁹	 <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 4</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 43</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 111</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. An. 3 (detail)</p>	<p><u>Aegean</u>, <u>Egypt</u>, <u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u> and <u>Anatolia</u>: known symbol of the sun. The symbol is probably derived from plant-forms. Rosettes can also represent the stars in heaven.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: From the Uruk-period onwards, the rosette is a symbol of control. In the Temple of Ishtar in Aššur, many rosettes dating from the Middle Assyrian Period have been found. Therefore, it is possible that the rosette sometimes replaced the star as Ishtar's symbol. In the Neo-Assyrian monumental art, single rosettes were often worn on the wrist by both human and hybrid figures. The meaning of this adornment, however, is not clear.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u> & <u>Anatolia</u>: The symbolism of the rosette suggested the divine origin of kingship, therefore it was reserved for the elite and, more specifically, royals.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: The rosette seems to be connected also to the tomb-symbolism and, as Demisch claims, functions as does the Sacred Tree in Syro-Mesopotamia. The rosette was probably inspired by the rose-motif and was sometimes replaced by the spiral. Rosettes (and spirals) may signify life, death and the regenerative cycle, both of nature and in men. In a chain or string of rosettes, each rosette might mark a single event in time and the whole may indicate continuous, revolving movement.</p>	<p><u>Aegean</u>: Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 4, 6, 8, 14, 25-26, 34; St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 4, 7, 12, 17-18, 21, 31-32, 42-44, 46-47, 49, 53-55, 58, 61-62, 64-66, 70, 78, 80-81, 83, 89-90, 99.</p> <p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nr. Eg. 43.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 18, 38, 88, 93, 111; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 15, 22, 25, 48.</p> <p><u>Anatolia</u>: Cat.Nr. An. 3</p>

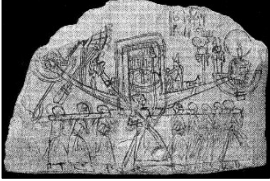


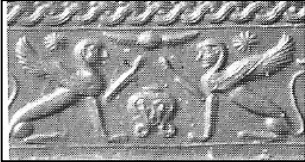
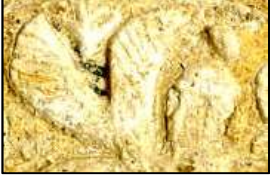

¹²³⁹ For more detailed information about the rosette in the iconography of Egypt: Kantor 1945: Chs. IV-V.

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		<p><u>Egypt</u>: The rosette, taken over as a symbol of control from the Mesopotamians, was very popular during the late Predynastic Period, occurs, however, only seldom in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, but again frequently in the New Kingdom.</p>	
<p>SARCOPHAGUS/ TOMBS/ LARNAKES</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 88</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 103</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Sarcophagus/Coffin = "Lord of Life". Gives the deceased eternal power through magical images, spells and symbols. Doors painted on the in- and outside gave the deceased the possibility to leave and return at any time.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: Larnakes not only depicted visions of the After-world but also showed how the deceased would enjoy himself there¹²⁴⁰. Cf. 9.4. Goddess/Chariot Drawn by Griffins.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nr. Eg. 88</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 26; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 103.</p>
<p>(WINGED) SCARAB</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 57 (detail)</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 34 (detail)</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 12 (detail)</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: <i>Khepri</i>, i.e. "he who came forth from the earth". Was regarded as a form of the sun-god (rolled the ball of dung as the sun-god rolled the solar disc across the heaven). Image of self-creation and symbol for the renewal of life. Amulets in the shape of a scarab were placed on the heart of the deceased.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 57, 87-88; St.M. Nr. Eg. 51.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 13, 34. (Shalmaneser: Cat.Nr. Mes. 116)</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 12.</p>

¹²⁴⁰ For more information on the (decoration of the) Minoan larnakes: Watrous 1991; Dietrich 1997: 32-38.





<p>SPIRAL</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 7</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 25 (detail)</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. An. 18 (detail)</p>	<p><u>Aegean</u>: The spiral is related to the rosette and can perhaps be traced back to depictions of roses. It probably is a religious or magical sign. Spirals are often combined with depictions of the lotus-flower. When combined with the sun, as is the case in e.g. building Xeste 3 (level 3) in Akrotiri, the spiral is a transubstantiation of the Great Goddess in her heavenly realm.</p> <p><u>Egypt</u>: The spiral, a protective motif, is the line of life, symbolizing the cycle of death and rebirth. The spiral-form was the first Aegean motif that reached Egypt (already during the Middle Kingdom)</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia & Anatolia</u>: It is possible the spiral evolved into the guilloche in Syro-Mesopotamia, a motif very popular in Syro-Hittite art. (cf. Guilloche)</p>	<p><u>Aegean</u>: Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 3, 5-7, 12, 17, 21, 24-25, 28, 31, 34; St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 1-2, 11, 16-18, 28-29, 31, 34, 42, 44, 49, 58, 64-66, 76, 81, 97, 110, 112-113, 120, 127.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 6, 8, 24-25, 39, 89, 91, 104; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 20-21, 24, 26.</p> <p><u>Anatolia</u>: Cat.Nr. An. 2, 8, 17-18; St.M. Nrs. An. 2-3, 6, 9.</p>
<p>(8-POINTED) STAR</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 82 (detail)</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 39</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. An. 10 (detail)</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Normally, but not always, the 8-pointed star is the symbol of Ishtar. From ca. 2000 BC (Old-Babylonian Period) onwards, the star is often enclosed within a disc.</p> <p><u>Egypt</u>: Stars were related to the Afterlife in two ways: they were thought not only to be inhabitants of heaven, but also of the Underworld. As "followers of Osiris", they could represent souls in the Underworld and, because they were related to the concept of immortality (<i>ba</i>), stellar constellations and deities (e.g. Nut, who gave birth to the sun and re-absorbed it every day) were often depicted on the ceiling of temples and tombs.</p>	<p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 1, 32, 82, 129; St.M. Nr. Mes. 21.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: St.M. Nr. Aeg. 39.</p> <p><u>Anatolia</u>: Cat.Nr. An. 10.</p>

<p>SUN-BARK/ SOLAR-BARK</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 74</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. Mes. 9</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Because of the importance of the Nile for Egypt and its people, sacred boats were important too, and because the heavens were regarded as a stretch of water, solar bodies travelled in barks. The most important was the Sun-bark, of which there in fact existed two: the night bark, <i>Mesektet</i>, and the day bark, <i>Mandjet</i>. Most of the time other deities accompany the sun-god in his boat, and sphinxes (or human-headed lions) often have a place there too, perhaps representing the king as a look-out (cf. Horus-Eye).</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Boats were essential to life in Syro-Mesopotamia, and so it was only proper for gods to have them too. They used their boats to make e.g. ritual journeys to visit each other. The Sun-god in his boat is often accompanied by a sphinx or a human-headed lion. Cf. 3.2.2. Human-headed Lions.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 73-74.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: St.M. Nrs. 1, 3, 5-11.</p>
<p>(WINGED) SUN-DISC</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 20</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 88</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 14 (detail)</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. An. 10 (detail)</p>	<p>This motif can be traced from Egypt, through Anatolia, the Levant, northern Syria and Syria. Its meaning always depends strongly on accompanying motifs.</p> <p>The motif of the sun generally was regarded as a reference to "universality"</p> <p><u>Egypt</u>: The sun-disc is one of the most often used symbols, because the sun was the most important element in Egyptian religion. It first was revered as Horus, then as (Horus)-Ra, later as Amun-Ra. As it represents the Eye of Horus (and of Ra), it was often depicted alone, or on the head of a falcon. Its appearance during the day was linked with <i>Khepri</i>, the winged scarab (morning), Ra (midday) and the ram-headed god Khnum (evening; cf. 3.1. Composite Creatures). Lotus and <i>sycamore</i>, and sphinx and griffin, snake and lion are some of the plants and animals that were connected to the sun or used to represent it. Often, the sun-god Ra is depicted as a falcon-headed human wearing a sun-disc with <i>Uraeus</i> on his head. Wings originally were a symbol of heaven; only later (5th Dyn.) a sun disc was placed between the wings.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 20, 30, 33, 42, 57, 62, 68, 82, 87-88; St.M. Nrs. Eg. 32, 34, 41, 44, 46-47, 49, 51, 53, 56.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 1-2, 5, 29, 33, 79, 88, 92, 95, 99, 125, 128; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 2, 21, 45, 59, 65, 68, 76. (Shalmaneser: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 44, 52, 63, 67, 70-71, 76, 78, 115);</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 6, 10, 12, 14.</p> <p><u>Anatolia</u>: Cat.Nr. An. 16;</p>

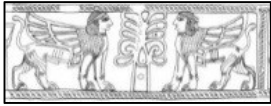


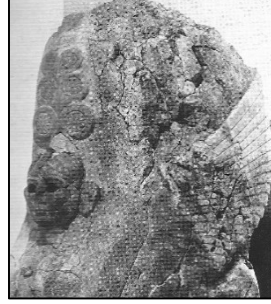
PART 1 – 13. SUPPLEMENTS

		<p>At the end of the Old Kingdom, two <i>Uraei</i>, part of royal symbolism, surrounded the disc.</p> <p>In later periods the winged sun-disc was used as a protective symbol above doors and gateways of temples and in temples themselves.</p> <p>The earlier history of the sun can be seen in the mythical image of Aker, the double-lion or –sphinx.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: The winged sun-disc is one of only three symbols (next to the <i>Ankh</i>-sign and the <i>Djed</i>-pillar) that the Mesopotamians took over from the Egyptians, although greatly modified.</p> <p>Often the disc is supported by hybrid creatures, such as sphinxes, bull-men or scorpion-men.</p> <p>From the Akkadian period, onwards (ca. 2350 BC), it is often depicted as a disc enclosing a 4-pointed star with between the points 3 wavy lines. The disc is the sign of the sun-god Shamash, hence the Akkadian name <i>šamšatu</i>. It was regarded as the god's "divine image" par excellence.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: Sunlight shining in through doorways may have been utilized in rituals (e.g. in the Throne room in Knossos)¹²⁴¹.</p> <p><u>Anatolia</u>: The winged sun-disc was mostly used as royal symbol, because next to his warlike aspect, the Hittite and Hurrian kings wanted to emphasize their status as "universal" ruler. The sun, for the Hittites referred to political dominion.</p>	St.M. Nrs. An. 1, 6-7, 10.
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¹²⁴¹ For more information about the sun in Minoan rituals: Goodison 2001.






<p>THRONE</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 35</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 96 (detail)</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 6</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. An. 18</p>	<p>Sphinxes near thrones or decorating them in general probably are there to enhance the divine rank of the ruler or divinity occupying the throne cf. 8.4. Sphinx/Griffin/Criosphinx Flanking/Decorating Throne.</p> <p><u>Egypt</u>: The throne is the most undisputable and obvious symbol of kingship and rule.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: (Representations of) thrones are primarily Minoan¹²⁴².</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 35, 47; St.M. Nrs. Eg. 49, 56-57.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 7, 96, 102. St.M. Nrs. Mes. 50, 54.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: Cat.Nr. Aeg. 6; St.M. Nr. Aeg. 50.</p> <p><u>Anatolia</u>: St.M. Nrs. An. 12, 17-18.</p>
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¹²⁴² For more information on thrones in the Aegean: Rehak 1995b.

<p>(SACRED) TREE (OF LIFE) (SEE ALSO (DATE) PALM TREE/PALM BRANCH/FIG TREE)</p>	 <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 15 (detail)</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 37</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Aeg. 2</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. An. 6 (detail)</p>	<p>Syro-Mesopotamia: The Sumerian god of food and vegetation Tammuz, was represented by the Sacred Tree, which represented the gifts of life, but more commonly, this tree represented the divine creative powers. It is thus related to fertility and, in general, refers to the ruler who must protect and enhance the prosperity of his people. In a way, it symbolizes the beneficence of the king to his people.</p> <p>The (stylised) Tree is often flanked by animals or composite creatures, and, also often, at least in scenes from the 2nd and 1st mill. BC, the semi-human genies that flank the Tree, are holding a bucket (<i>banduddû</i>) and a cone (<i>mullilu</i> = "purifier"). It is highly probable that they were engaged in a religious ritual, presumably one of purification.</p> <p>Egypt: Tree cults were very popular in Egypt, because it was believed many gods were born out of a tree (e.g. Horus out of the acacia-tree); the Sacred Tree could even be a form of the Sun-god Re-Herakhty himself and thus was regarded as a cosmic celestial tree.</p> <p>It was also believed twin trees stood at the Gate of Heaven from which the sun rose every morning.</p> <p>The <i>ished</i>-tree (<i>Persea</i>), a fruit-bearing species, had solar significance and was constantly threatened by Apophis (cf. 3.1. Composite Creatures). It was the Great Cat (a form of Ra), who protected the tree from the serpent¹²⁴³.</p> <p>The willow was sacred to Osiris; his soul often sat as a bird in this tree and the many Osiris tombs in the land all had willow groves. The willow was a symbol of rebirth and life.</p> <p>In tombs, there are many pictures of trees because people, deceased and living, enjoyed their shade.</p> <p>Aegean: A tree in general is the marker of a sacred place and a symbol of fertility. The Sacred Tree</p>	<p>Syro-Mesopotamia: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 5-6, 13, 15, 17, 29-30, 35, 39, 79, 93, 100, 103; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 13, 22, 25, 47, 49, 51, 53, 60, 65, 68. (Shalmeneser: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 53-54)</p> <p>Egypt: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 13, 37, 41.</p> <p>Aegean: Cat.Nrs. Aeg. 2, 9-10, 12, 15, 19, 23, 29; St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 6, 12, 16, 19, 22, 56, 87, 97, 120.</p> <p>Anatolia: Cat.Nr. An. 6, 16; St.M. Nrs. An. 10, 13, 14.</p>
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¹²⁴³ An example of this can be seen in the tomb of Inherkhau in Thebes: *Apophis attacked by the Great Cat*, Mural (detail), Thebes, Tomb of Inherkhau:
<http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/egypt/deirelmedina/tombanh2.jpg>

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		<p>appears here in forms and types known from oriental examples. Trees in Minoan iconography appear to replace the Egyptian bouquets and they suggest a potential divine epiphany (as do columns). It is known that the Minoans practised a tree cult.</p> <p>However, the Sacred Tree is often replaced by a rosette.</p>	
URAEUS	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 34 (detail)</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 34 (detail)</p>  <p>St.M. Nr. Aeg. 8 (detail)</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cf. 5. The Sphinx in Egypt. The <i>Uraeus</i> represents the rearing cobra and symbolizes the fire-spitting eye of the sun-god.</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 3-4, 6, 9, 11-13, 18-20, 22, 31, 33-36, 42, 44-46, 48-49, 52, 55, 59, 61-64, 66, 68, 71, 75, 79, 83-86; St.M. Nrs. Eg. 1, 4, 18, 21, 25-26, 31-32, 37, 39, 41-42, 46, 47, 56, 61.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 13, 34, 86, 98; St.M. Nrs. Mes. 17, 20, 45-46. (Shalmaneser: Cat.Nrs. Mes. 36, 44-45);</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: St.M. Nrs. Aeg. 8, 12, 97.</p>
WINGS	 <p>Cat.Nr. Eg. 47</p>  <p>Cat.Nr. Mes. 102</p>	<p>The wings of the sphinxes themselves are not mentioned here.</p> <p><u>Egypt</u>: (The wings some sphinxes have, are thought to be those of the falcon, thus referring to Horus.) However, the wing-motif on its own also had a specific meaning in ancient Egypt; it was believed the wings of a great falcon, the god Horus, were the sky (as said before his eyes were the moon and the sun, and the dots on its underbelly were the stars). Later, from the 5th Dyn. onwards, a sun-disc was often placed between the two wings, connecting the wings to the sun-god Ra (cf. (Winged) Sun-Disc). The broken wings some sphinxes have, may refer to the <i>rhj.t</i>-bird, who is often depicted standing before the</p>	<p><u>Egypt</u>: Cat.Nrs. Eg. 23, 47, 51, 64, 73, 81; St.M. Nrs. Eg. 49, 51.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: Cat.Nr. Mes. 102; St.M. Nr. Mes. 41.</p>

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		<p>pharaoh's name with outstretched wings thus symbolizing the Egyptian people worshipping their king. Some deities have wings as attributes, mostly in a protective context.</p> <p><u>Syro-Mesopotamia</u>: For a long time, it was thought that (bird-)wings (and talons) identified a creature as belonging to the Underworld and therefore as being malevolent. However, beneficent creatures also have wings, so this appears not to be the case.</p> <p><u>Aegean</u>: Wings characterise the swift movements in the air. Wings are also characteristic features of the dead, who float in the air like Horus.</p>	
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13.8 STF LVII – TYPES OF SPHINXES BEFORE 1600 BC

<i>SPHINX</i> <i>HUMAN-HEAD</i>	<i>SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA</i>	<i>EGYPT</i>	<i>ANATOLIA</i>	<i>AEGEAN</i>
<i>RECUMBENT</i>	5	24	3	4
<i>WINGED</i>	2		1	1
<i>BEARD</i>	3	5	1	
<i>NEMES/URAEUS</i>		5		
<i>LION-MANE/-EARS</i>		4		
<i>FEMALE</i>		2		
<i>HUMAN-HANDS/OFFERING</i>		1		
<i>SNAKES OUT OF BODY</i>			1	
<i>SEATED/CROUCHING</i>	2	4	5	1
<i>WINGED</i>	2		1	
<i>BEARD</i>			2	
<i>HATHOR-CURLS</i>			2	
<i>FEMALE</i>		4	3	
<i>STANDING/STRIDING</i>	20	2	4	1
<i>WINGED</i>	2		1	
<i>BEARD</i>	11	1	3	
<i>HAT/(HORNED) CROWN</i>	4		1	
<i>ENEMY</i>	2	2		
<i>TRAMPLING SNAKES</i>	2			
<i>BUTTERFLY-WINGS</i>				1
<i>UPSIDE DOWN</i>	2			
<i>WINGED</i>	2			
<i>PAIR OF SPHINXES</i>	7	2	4	
<i>SACRED TREE</i>	1		1	
<i>MASTER/GENIUS</i>	1			
<i>ROYAL NAME/FIGURE</i>	1			
<i>DIVINITY</i>	1		1	
<i>ANIMALS</i>	1			
<i>MYTH./COMPOSITE CREATURE</i>	1			
<i>POLITICAL/RELIGIOUS RITUAL</i>	2			
<i>ENTRANCE/GATE</i>		1		

<i>BULL-SPHINX</i> <i>BULL-BODY</i>	<i>SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA</i>	<i>EGYPT</i>	<i>ANATOLIA</i>	<i>AEGEAN</i>
<i>STANDING/STRIDING</i>	2			
<i>WINGED</i>	2			
<i>BEARD</i>	1			
<i>CROWN</i>	2			
<i>CRIOsphinx</i> <i>RAM-HEAD</i>	<i>SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA</i>	<i>EGYPT</i>	<i>ANATOLIA</i>	<i>AEGEAN</i>
<i>HIERAKOSPHINX/GRIFFIN</i> <i>FALCON/HAWK-HEAD</i>	<i>SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA</i>	<i>EGYPT</i>	<i>ANATOLIA</i>	<i>AEGEAN</i>
<i>STANDING/STRIDING</i>		2		
<i>CROWN/HORNS</i>		1		
<i>ENEMY</i>		1		
<i>PAIR OF GRIFFINS</i>		1		
<i>ENEMY</i>		1		

13.9 STF LVIII – TYPES OF SPHINXES 1600-800 BC

<i>SPHINX</i>	<i>SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA</i>	<i>EGYPT</i>	<i>ANATOLIA</i>	<i>AEGEAN</i>
<i>HUMAN-HEAD</i>				
<i>RECUMBENT</i>	13	54	1	6
<i>WINGED</i>	9	5		2
<i>BEARD</i>	3	29		
<i>HAT/(HORNED) CROWN</i>	1	7		2
<i>NEMES/URAEUS</i>	2	21		
<i>FEMALE</i>		4	1	
<i>HATHOR-CURLS</i>		1		
<i>HUMAN-HANDS/OFFERING</i>	3	11		
<i>DOUBLE-SPHINX (AKER)</i>		3		
<i>LION-MANE/-EARS</i>		3		
<i>SEATED/CROUCHING</i>	15	10	1	6
<i>WINGED</i>	12	3		6
<i>BEARD</i>	4	5		
<i>CROWN</i>	2	1		
<i>NEMES/URAEUS</i>		1		
<i>HATHOR CURLS</i>	1		1	
<i>FEMALE</i>	1		1	
<i>SNAKEHEAD</i>		1		
<i>STANDING/STRIDING</i>	62	22	13	10
<i>WINGED</i>	60	4	10	8
<i>BEARD</i>	13	9	1	1
<i>HAT/(HORNED) CROWN</i>	25	5	7	5
<i>NEMES/URAEUS</i>		7		
<i>FEMALE</i>	5	1	1	
<i>ENEMY</i>	2	8		
<i>LION-HEAD ON CHEST</i>	4		2	
<i>EAGLE-CLAWS</i>	1			
<i>BIRD-TAIL</i>	1			
<i>RAISED STANDING</i>	10		1	3
<i>WINGED</i>	8		1	3
<i>BEARD</i>	3			
<i>HAT/(HORNED) CROWN</i>	1			1
<i>FEMALE</i>	1		1	
<i>UPSIDE DOWN</i>	1			
<i>WINGED</i>	1			
<i>HAT/(HORNED) CAP</i>	1			
<i>PAIR OF SPHINXES</i>	24	14	6	10
<i>SACRED TREE</i>	5	3	1	4
<i>MASTER/GENIUS</i>	5		1	2
<i>ROYAL NAME/FIGURE</i>		3		
<i>DIVINITY</i>	1			
<i>ANIMALS</i>	1	1		
<i>MYTH./COMPOSITE CREATURE</i>	1		1	
<i>POLITICAL/RELIGIOUS RITUAL</i>	1			
<i>ENEMY</i>		2		
<i>ENTRANCE/GATE</i>	2	2	3	
<i>HATHOR-HEAD</i>	1	1		
<i>POTTERY</i>	1			

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BULL-SPHINX BULL-BODY	SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	EGYPT	ANATOLIA	AEGEAN
<i>STANDING/STRIDING</i>	3			1
<i>WINGED</i>	3			1
<i>HAT/(HORNED) CROWN</i>	3			1
<i>SEATED/CROUCHING</i>	1			
<i>WINGED</i>	1			
<i>BEARD</i>	1			
<i>PAIR OF BULL-SPHINXES</i>	1			1
<i>SACRED TREE</i>				1
<i>ENTRANCE/GATE</i>	1			
CRIOSPHINX RAM-HEAD	SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	EGYPT	ANATOLIA	AEGEAN
<i>RECUMBENT</i>	4	3 + 1 head		
<i>WINGED</i>	4			
<i>CROWN</i>	2	2		
<i>HUMAN-ARMS/OFFERING</i>	2			
<i>STANDING/STRIDING</i>	8			
<i>WINGED</i>	8			
<i>CROWN</i>	5			
<i>PAIR OF CRIOSPHINXES</i>	2			
<i>SACRED TREE</i>	1			
HIERAKOSPHINX/GRIFFIN EAGLE/FALCON/HAWK-HEAD	SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	EGYPT	ANATOLIA	AEGEAN
<i>RECUMBENT</i>	4	1	1	2
<i>WINGED</i>	4		1	
<i>CROWN</i>	3			
<i>HUMAN-ARMS/OFFERING</i>	2			
<i>SEATED/CROUCHING</i>	2	1		
<i>WINGED</i>	2			
<i>ENEMY</i>		1		
<i>STANDING/STRIDING</i>	11		1	9
<i>WINGED</i>	11		1	9
<i>CROWN</i>	5			
<i>ENEMY</i>	3			
<i>PAIR OF GRIFFINS</i>	6			8
<i>SACRED TREE</i>				1
<i>ENTRANCE/GATE</i>	2			1
<i>ENEMY</i>	2			
<i>NEST</i>				1
<i>THRONE</i>				1
<i>CHARIOT</i>				3

13.10 STF LIX – IMAGES IN CONTEXT¹²⁴⁴

CONTEXT	SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	EGYPT	ANATOLIA	AEGEAN
<i>PRECEDING 1600 BC</i>				
<i>RELIGIOUS</i>	-	11	-	-
<i>DIVINITY</i>	11	3	5	-
<i>TEMPLE</i>	-	1	-	-
<i>DEATH</i>	1	1	-	-
<i>rites</i>	3	1	2	-
<i>POLITICAL</i>	10	1	3	5
<i>RULER</i>	4	16	-	-
<i>PALACE</i>	-	-	2	-
<i>DURING</i>				
<i>RELIGIOUS</i>	4	35	1	4
<i>DIVINITY</i>	11	15	2	4
<i>TEMPLE</i>	4	9	1	-
<i>DEATH</i>	5	10	-	7
<i>rites</i>	10	6	2	6
<i>POLITICAL</i>	23	7	8	12
<i>RULER</i>	4	42	1	-
<i>PALACE</i>	58	1	-	-
<i>AFTER 800 BC</i>				
<i>RELIGIOUS</i>	1	3	-	-
<i>DIVINITY</i>	6	11	1	14
<i>TEMPLE</i>	-	3	-	5
<i>DEATH</i>	1	3	-	13
<i>rites</i>	5	2	-	7
<i>POLITICAL</i>	24	2	2	75
<i>RULER</i>	1	5	2	1
<i>PALACE</i>	5	-	1	-
<i>BEFORE</i>	29	31	11	5
<i>DURING</i>	129	92	18	36
<i>AFTER</i>	48	30	7	123
TOTAL	206	153	36	164

¹²⁴⁴ Although the number of the last four rows are correct (Before, During, After and Total, the other ones are not, because some images are mentioned twice or even thrice (e.g. a political image, that belonged to a ruler and that was found in a palace), while other images are not mentioned at all (miscellaneous).

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13.11 STF LX – CONTEXTS & USED MEDIA				
CONTEXTS	MEDIA SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA	MEDIA EGYPT	MEDIA ANATOLIA	MEDIA AEGEAN
As Master of Animals	on a seal			
Alone or in Pair	as architectural elements; in the round; on amulets, artefacts, coin, seals;	as architectural elements; in the round; on amulets, architectural element, furniture, jewellery, seals	in the round; on architectural element, artefact, jewellery, pottery, seals	in the round; on altar, amulet, architectural elements, artefacts, coin, jewellery, pottery, seals, temple
With Sacred Tree or Sun-disc or Rosette	on architectural elements, artefacts, jewellery, pottery, seals	on artefacts, sarcophagus in the round; on amulets, artefact	in the round; on seal	on amulet, architectural elements, jewellery, pottery, seal
As Sole Sphinx with Divinity	on amulet, seals		on seal	on pottery
Offering/Worshipping	on artefact	in the round; on artefact, architectural elements, on jewellery, weapon		
Being Offered (to)/Worshipped		on architectural element		
Forming a Pair with Another (Composite) Creature	on artefact, seals	on artefact		on seal
Getting Attacked	as architectural element, on furniture, seals		on artefact	on amulet
Attacking/Trampling	as architectural element, on seals, artefacts	on amulets, jewellery, seal, architectural elements, artefact	on architectural element	on artefacts, pottery
Controlled	as architectural element; on artefact, on seals		on artefact, jewellery, seal	on artefact
As Antithetical Pair, Flanking a Fight, a Column, a Demon, a Divinity, a (Religious) Ritual, an Animal Held by Master/Mistress of Animals	in the round; on architectural element, artefacts, pottery, seal as architectural element; on seals on seals	on amulet, architectural element, artefact	as architectural element on artefact	in the round; on architectural elements, pottery on seal
As Pair Flanking a Throne	on artefacts, pottery, sarcophagus	in the round; on architectural elements, furniture	in the round	in the round
As Pair(s) Flanking/Forming Door/Gateway/Dromos	as architectural element	in the round	as architectural element	
As Antithetical Pair, looking at Each Other or looking Away	on artefacts, pottery, seals	on jewellery	on seals	in the round; on architectural elements, armour, artefact, jewellery, pottery, tomb
With Animals/Other Composite Creatures, Alone or in Group	as architectural element; on altar, artefacts, seals		on architectural element, artefact, seal	on jewellery; on pottery
As Companion of the Dead (Greek <i>Kere</i>/Egyptian <i>Aker</i>)	on artefacts	on architectural elements, vignette, papyrus	on architectural element, pottery	in the round; on pottery

14 LISTS OF FIGURES, STF & MP

14.1 LIST OF FIGURES

1. *Banksy's Sphinx*, New York, 2013, From NYC "Better out than in" Series: October 22, Mixed Media Sculpture, 127 x 137,16 cm, Original Street Work.
© The Miami Art Scene.
2. *Detail of Plate V*.
Dessenne 1957a: Pl. V.
3. A. *Detail Narmer Palette*, Early 3rd mill. BC, Egypt, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 14716.
© Wikipedia.com.
B. *Detail Cylinder Seal Clay Impression*, Early 3rd mill. BC, Syro-Mesopotamia, Paris, Musée du Louvre, MNB1167 N.2.
© Wikimedia.com.
4. *Lion-Centaur*
Black and Green 1992.
5. *Seal Imprint Lugaland of Lagash*, 24th cent. BC, Clay Imprint, Paris, Musée du Louvre, AO 13219.
© Wikimedia.com.
6. *Pair of Scorpion-Men with Lion Legs*, ca. 743-646 BC, Jasper, 2,8 x 0,7 cm, London, British Museum, 1841,0726.182.
© Wikipedia.com.
7. A. *Lion-Headed Demon*, Relief, 13th cent. BC, Turkey, Yazilikaya.
© Arts of Liberty.
B. *Lion-Headed Demon Drawing*.
Frankfort 1989: Fig. 263.
8. *Belt with Rows of Fantastic Winged Creatures* (Detail Drawing), ca. 780-700 BC, Bronze, 27 x 16 cm, Urartu, Jerusalem, BLMJ142.
Westenholz 2004a: 98-99.
9. *Attacking Lion-Bodied Centaur* (Detail of Cat.Nr. An. 12), 10th-9th cent. BC, Horse-Blinker, Bronze, Anatolia, Urartian, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1981.83.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
10. A, B & C: *Sealings with Minoan Genius*.
Yule 1981: Pl. 11, Motif 17B: 7-9.
11. Basic Type of Sphinx in Egypt – Anatomy.
Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: fig. 8.37.
12. A. *Restoration Sketch of Figurine of Ivory Sphinx*.
Evans 1930: 417 Fig. 281.
B. *Plumed Crest*, Ivory, Knossos Palace.
Evans 1930: 415 Fig. 278.
13. *Little Hierakonpolis Palette*, ca. 3100 BC, Nagada IIc/D-IIIa, Artefact, Schist, 42,5 x 22 cm, Hierakonpolis, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum of Art, E 3924.
Davis 1992: Fig. 26.
14. *Griffin-Demon Fighting with Griffin with Bird-Claws over a Calf*, Middle Assyrian Period, ca. 12th-11th cent. BC Cylinder Seal, Chalcedony, 4,2 x 1,65 cm, New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, Seal NO. 608.
© The Morgan Library & Museum New York.
15. *Recumbent Griffin* (Detail of Cat.Nr. Aeg. 6), ca. 1450 BC, Crete, Knossos, Palace, Throne Room.
Evans 1935b: Pl. XXXII + 911 Fig. 884.
16. *Minoan and Mycenaean Griffins on Frescoes*.
Cameron 1976: Fig. 56.
17. *Reconstructed Griffin*, 17th-16th cent. BC, Turkey, Alalakh.

- Cline and Yassur-Landau 2013: 41.
18. A. *Reconstruction Drawing by Papageorgiou of the Frescoes inside the Shrine of the Frescoes*, Mycenae, 13th cent. BC.
Morgan 2005b: Fig. 10.5.
B. *Reconstruction Drawing by Rehak of the Frescoes inside the Shrine of the Frescoes*, Mycenae, 13th cent. BC.
Rehak 1992: Pl. XVIIIa.
 19. *Egyptian Griffins and Minoan Derivatives*.
Evans 1921: Fig. 533.
 20. A. & B. *First Minoan Griffins*, Middle Minoan IIB, Seals, Phaistos Sealing Deposit.
Yule 1981: Pl. 11, Motif 17B: 4-5.
 21. *Stele of Bay, Dedicated to Amun*, New Kingdom, 19th-20th Dyn., Limestone, 24,5 cm, Deir el-Medina, Hathor-Temple.
© Lessingimages.com.
 22. *Khnum*, Figure, Late Period, ca. 660-330 BC, Bronze, 13 x 3,5 x 4,8 cm, London, British Museum, EA11040.
© British Museum.
 23. *Bull-Man* (Detail Seal), Drawing.
Westenholz 2004a: 73.
 24. A. *Recumbent Bull with Man's Head*.
© Musée du Louvre.
B. *Human-Headed Bulls Flanking Sacred Tree*.
Demisch 1977: Abb. 92.
 25. *Narmer Palette* (Backside Detail), Predynastic, Ca. 31st cent. BC, Siltstone, 64 x 42 cm, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 14716.
© Wikipedia.com.
 26. A. *Bull-Head Rhyton*, Ca. 1600-1500 BC, Silver, Gold, Aegean, Greece, Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave IV, Athens, National Archaeological Museum.
© Wikimedia.com.
B. *Bull-Head Rhyton*, Ca. 1550-1450 BC, Steatite, Shell, Red Jasper, Rock Crystal, 30,6 cm (without Horns), Aegean, Crete, Knossos, Heraklion Museum.
© Archaeology for Amateurs. The Mysteries of Crete.
 27. *Theseus Killing the Minotaur* (Detail of St.M. nr. Aeg. 123).
Demisch 1977: detail Fig. 234.
 28. *Winged Bull-Centaur (St.M. Nr. An. 17) as Decoration on Throne* (Reconstruction drawing by R.D. Barnett).
Barnett 1950: Fig. 22.
 29. A. Human-headed Lion on Syro-Mesopotamian Cylinder Seal, 24th-21st cent. BC, (Detail ST.M. NR. Mes. 3).
Hempelmann 2004: fig. 45.
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2. *Pair of Sphinxes and Pair of Griffins*, 15th cent. BC, Middle Assyrian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Syro-Mesopotamia.
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3. *Scarab Recumbent Bearded Sphinx*, 15th cent. BC, 1479-1425 BC, Amulet, Scarab, Steatite (?), Jasper (?), 2,55 x 1,75 x 1,2 cm, Egypt (?), Found in Syria, Arban, London, British Museum, N.1290.
© British Museum.
4. *Master of Animals and Nude Female Figure*, 15th-14th cent. BC, 1500-1350 BC, Levantine/Cypriote, Cylinder Seal, Hematite, Syro-Mesopotamia, Syria, North-Syria, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 98.703.
© Boston Museum of Fine Arts.
5. *Master of Animals with Lion – Sphinx and Griffin*, ca. 14th cent. BC, Middle Assyrian, Cylinder Seal, Rock Crystal, 2,7 x 1,3 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Syria, New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, Seal no. 592.
© The Morgan Museum New York; Drawing: Demisch 1977: fig. 107.
6. *Golden Bowl Winged Sphinx with Animals and Mythological Creatures*, 14th cent. BC, Syro-Phoenician, Bowl, Gold, 4,7 x 17,5 cm, Syria, Ugarit (Ras Shamra), Aleppo, National Museum, M10129 (4572).
Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: 241 Cat. 146; Drawing: Demisch 1977: Fig. 109.
7. *Relief Winged Sphinx Decorating Throne*, 14th-12th cent. BC, 1400-1100 BC, Artefact, Ivory, 26 x 5,7 cm, Israel, Canaan, Megiddo, Israel Antiquities Authority, IAA 38.780.
© Lessingimages.com; Drawing: Frankfort 1954: fig. 316.
8. *Winged Griffin Megiddo*, 13th cent. BC, Late Bronze II, Architectural Element, Relief, Ivory, 3,9 x 9,1 cm, Israel, Megiddo, Palace, Chicago, Oriental Institute, OIM A22212.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.
9. *Hero Attacking Griffin*, 13th cent. BC, Middle Assyrian Period, Cylinder Seal Impression, Chalcedony, 4,7 x 1,8 cm, Northern Syro-Mesopotamia, Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum, BLMJ426.
Westenholz (ed.) 2004a: 185 nr. 153.
10. *Sphinx Attacks Wild Goat*, 13th cent. BC, Late Bronze II, Artefact, Ivory, Israel, Megiddo, Chicago, Oriental Institute.
Demisch 1977: fig. 157.
11. *Pairs of Winged Sphinxes and Lions*, 13th-12th cent. BC, ca. 1250-1150 BC, Artefact, Ivory, 13,5 x 12 x 7,5 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Levant, Megiddo, Israel Antiquities Authority, IAA 38.816.
Westenholz 2004a: 134 nr. 93; Reconstruction Drawing: Loud 1939: Pl. 2, 1c.
12. *Winged Sphinx with Eagle-claws*, 11th-10th cent. BC, ca. 1000 BC, Assyrian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Lapis lazuli, 4,1 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Paris, Musée du Louvre, AO 4485.
© Lessingimages.com; Drawing: Demisch 1977: fig. 148.
13. *Bowl Winged Sphinxes and Winged Scarabs*, 2nd-1st mill. BC, 16th-4th cent. BC, 1550-300 BC, Phoenician (?), Copper Alloy, 18 cm, Syria, Iraq, Nimrud, North West Palace, London, British Museum, N.25.
© British Museum.

14. *Disc with Sphinxes and Winged Bulls*, 10th-9th cent. BC, Iron Age II, Artefact, Bronze, 36,2 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Iran, Western Iran, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 55.136.
© Metmuseum.
15. *Pyxis Pairs of Sphinxes Flanking Sacred Tree*, 10th-9th cent. BC, ca. 900 BC, Pottery, Pyxis, Ivory, 7 x 14,7/13,4 cm, Syria, Tell Halaf, Found in Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Baghdad, Iraq Museum.
Gilibert 2011b: fig. 18.
16. *Recumbent Winged Sphinx*, 10th-8th cent. BC, 925-700 BC, Iron Age II, Stamp Seal, Israel/Palestine.
Schmitt 2001: fig. 117.
17. *Throne Winged Female Sphinx Attacked by Winged Geniuses*, 9th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Artefact, Throne, Copper Alloy, 31,3 x 13,6 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Iraq, North Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), North West Palace, London, British Museum, N.2073.
© British Museum.
18. *Relief Winged Sphinxes Attack Winged Bull*, 9th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Architectural Element, Relief, Syro-Mesopotamia.
Demisch 1977: fig. 156.
19. *Winged Sphinx Attacking Wild Goat*, 9th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Serpentine, 4 x 1,5 cm, Asia, London, British Museum, N.1101.
© British Museum; Drawing: Demisch 1977: fig. 155.
20. *Winged Sphinx with Horned Crown*, 9th cent. BC, 883-859 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Architectural Element, Figure, 350 x 371 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Iraq, North Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Palace Assurnasirpal II, London, British Museum, ME 118802.
© British Museum.
21. *Winged Bull-sphinx with Horned Crown*, 9th cent. BC, 883-859 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Architectural Element, Figure, 309 x 315 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Iraq, North Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Palace Assurnasirpal II, London, British Museum, ME 118872.
© British Museum.
22. *Nimrud Palace Lamassu*, 9th cent. BC, 883-859 BC, Architectural Element, Figure, Syro-Mesopotamia, Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Palace Assurnasirpal II.
Ritter 2011: fig. 5.
23. *Nimrud Gate Lamassu*, 9th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Architectural Element, Relief, Syro-Mesopotamia, Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu).
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24. *Relief Winged Bearded Sphinx with Horns*, 9th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Architectural Element, Relief, Syro-Mesopotamia, Syria, Tell Halaf, Palace, Hilani Façade.
Demisch 1977: fig. 121.
25. *Relief Winged Sphinx with Horns*, 9th cent. BC, Neo-Hittite, Architectural Element, Relief, Limestone, 66,5 x 37,49 x 19,99 cm, Syria, Tell Halaf, Palace, Hilani Façade, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 43.135.4.
© Metmuseum.
26. *Relief Female Winged Sphinx with Lion Protome*, 9th cent. BC, Neo-Hittite, Architectural Element, Relief, Basalt, 61 x 41 cm, Syria, Tell Halaf, Palace, Hilani Façade, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen.
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27. *Relief Female Winged Sphinx*, 9th cent. BC, Neo-Hittite, Architectural Element, Relief, Basalt, 65 x 46 cm, Syria, Tell Halaf, Palace, Hilani Façade, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen.
© Wikimedia Commons.
28. *Relief Winged Genius Holds Winged Sphinxes Upside Down*, 9th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Architectural Element, Relief, Syro-Mesopotamia.
Demisch 1977: fig. 168.
29. *Relief Winged Sphinx Threatened by Winged Genius*, 9th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Architectural Element, Relief, Syro-Mesopotamia, Nimrud, Palace Assurnasirpal, London, British Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 160.

30. *Winged Genies Standing on Winged Sphinxes*, 9th cent. BC, 850-825 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Cylinder Seal + Impression, Cornelian, 4,95 x 1,9 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, London, British Museum, 1846,0523.350.
© British Museum.
31. *Pair of Sphinxes with Ram-head*, 9th cent. BC, 850-800 BC, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, Syria, Arslan Tash (Hadatu), Aleppo, National Museum.
© Demisch 1977: fig. 113.
32. *Archer in a Sphinx-drawn Chariot Attacking a Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Stone, 2,8 x 1,1 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Syria, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986.311.58.
© Metmuseum.
33. *Sphinx with Double Egyptian Crown*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Architectural Element, Relief, Basalt, 80 cm, Syria, Damascus, Palace (?), Damascus, National Museum, 30.
© Lessingimages.com.
34. *Bowl Pair of Falcon-headed Sphinxes*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Artefact, Pottery, Copper Alloy, 21,7 x 2,85 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), North West Palace, London, British Museum, N.9.
© British Museum.
35. *Sphinx Fighting Archer*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Syro-Mesopotamia, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.
Demisch 1977: fig. 159.
36. *Ivory Plaque Depicting a Winged Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Phoenician, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 6,9 x 7,75 x 1 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, London, British Museum, 1963,1214.8.
© British Museum.
37. *Ivory Plaque Depicting a Standing Winged Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Phoenician, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 12,9 x 7,9 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, London, British Museum, 1962,1110.5.
© British Museum.
38. *Plaque Pair of Striding Sphinxes*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 5,21 x 15,7 x 0,71 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 62.269.4.
© Metmuseum.
39. *Pyxis Pair of Sphinxes*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Pottery, Pyxis, Ivory, Iraq, North-Iraq, Nimrud, London, British Museum.
Winkler-Horaček 2011 a: fig. 10.
40. *Plaque Winged Striding Sphinx Supported by Two Men*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 15,01 x 5,89 x 0,99 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 64.37.6.
© Metmuseum.
41. *Plaque with Standing/Striding Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 8,8 x 10,3 x 2,1 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 64.37.1.
© Metmuseum.
42. *Openwork Plaque with Standing/Striding Ram-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 7,8 x 8 x 0,8 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 64.37.7.
© Metmuseum.
43. *Plaque Winged Ram-headed Sphinx Supported by Two Men*, 9th-8th BC; BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 10,1 x 6,3 x 1,1 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 62.269.5.
© Metmuseum.
44. *Plaque Two Offering Crowned Ram-headed Sphinxes*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 4,7 x 15,2 x 0,7 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 67.22.3.

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45. *Openwork Plaque with Standing/Striding Human-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 7,59 x 7,49 x 0,89 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 64.37.8.
© Metmuseum.
46. *Plaque Standing/Striding Winged Sphinxes*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 8 x 15,7 x 0,8 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), North West Palace, London, British Museum, 1848,0720.23.
© British Museum.
47. *Standing Winged Human-headed Sphinx Trampling Enemy*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 6,6 x 7 x 0,6 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM60515.
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48. *Standing Winged Human-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 5,8 x 5,6 x 0,8 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM65185.
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49. *Standing Winged Human-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 7,1 x 3,2 x 0,6 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM65280.
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50. *Standing Winged Human-headed Sphinx with Bull*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 7,1 x 3,2 x 0,6 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM65350.
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51. *Standing Winged Human-headed Sphinx with Human*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 10,5 x 2,7 x 0,7 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, ND13640.
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52. *Standing Winged Human-headed Sphinx with Falcon-headed Man*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 10,2 x 3,1 x 0,5 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM65247.
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53. *Pair of Standing Winged Human-headed Sphinxes*, 9th-7th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 5,5 x 13,8 x 0,5 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, ND10547.
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54. *Pair of Recumbent Winged Human-headed Sphinxes*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 5,2 x 16,8 x 0,7 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM72082.
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55. *Striding Winged Human-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 3,9 x 4,5 x 0,6 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, ND9428.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.
56. *Striding Winged Human-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 5,8 x 7,2 x 0,5 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM62195.
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57. *Standing/Striding Winged Human-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 11,1 x 10 x 1,5 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM65472.
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58. *Standing/Striding Winged Human-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 3,5 x 5,2 x 0,7 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, ND13201.
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59. *Standing/Striding Winged Human-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 4,7 x 6 x 0,9 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM65231.
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60. *Standing/Striding Winged Human-headed Sphinx with Flower*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 11,2 x 8,2 x 0,8 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, ND13588.
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61. *Head, Wings Human-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th C BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, 2,2 x 4,9 x 0,9 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, ND13271.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.
62. *Head, Body Human-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 7,5 x 4,3 x 0,5 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, ND13363.
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63. *Head, Legs Human-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 10,5 x 4 x 1,2 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, ND9607.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.
64. *Recumbent Winged Falcon-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 2,1 x 2,5 x 0,4 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM62712.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.
65. *Seated Winged Falcon-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 5,9 x 2,4 x 0,6 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM62713.
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66. *Seated Winged Falcon-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 6,9 x 3,3 x 0,6 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM65391.
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67. *Standing Winged Falcon-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 5,4 x 3,2 x 0,9 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM65184.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.
68. *Standing Winged Falcon-headed Sphinx Trampling Enemy*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 6 x 6,8 x 0,6 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM65371.
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69. *Striding Winged Falcon-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 4,8 x 4,5 x 0,5 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM62699.
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70. *Pair of Standing/Striding Winged Falcon-headed Sphinxes*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 4,7 x 4,2 x 0,9 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM65227.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.
71. *Striding Winged Falcon-headed Sphinx with Two Men*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 20,6 x 3,3 x 0,8 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM65876.

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72. *Recumbent Winged Ram-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 5,1 x 8 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM65214.
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73. *Standing/Striding Winged Ram-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 7,1 x 7,2 x 1 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM62187.
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74. *Striding Winged Ram-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 11,2 x 6 x 0,8 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM72084.
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75. *Pair of Recumbent Winged Ram-headed Sphinxes*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 4,6 x 13,5 x 0,7 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM74801.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.
76. *Head, Wings, Legs, Ram-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 11,2 x 5,9 x 0,8 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM69985.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.
77. *Head, Wings, Legs Ram-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 8,3 x 4,6 x 0,9 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.
78. *Recumbent Winged Sphinx with Man Holding Blossoms*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Artefact, Plaque, Ivory, Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Baghdad, Iraq Museum, 62705.
Winter 1976: fig. 14.
79. *Openwork Plaque with Sphinx at a Tree*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Artefact, Ivory, 13,79 x 7,8 x 0,89 cm, Iraq, Nimrud, Palace Assurnasirpal II, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 52.23.1.
© Metmuseum.
80. *Two Winged Griffins Trampling an Asiatic*, 9th-7th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 8,4 x 19,7 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 61.197.8.
© Metmuseum.
81. *Two Standing Winged Sphinxes with Bearded Man*, 9th-7th cent. BC, 883-612 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Cylinder Seal + Impression, Chalcedony, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 36.211.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
82. *Sphinx with Griffin and Crescent*, 9th-7th cent. BC, 883-612 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Cylinder Seal + Impression, Chalcedony, Syro-Mesopotamia, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 36.215.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
83. *Sphinx Attacked by Archer*, 9th-7th cent. BC, 883-612 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Cylinder Seal + Impression, Faience, 2,2 x 0,8 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 65.1494.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
84. *Furniture Inlay Winged Sphinx Trampling Enemy*, 9th-7th cent. BC, 883-612 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Syro-Phoenician, Artefact, Furniture, Ivory, 7,8 x 9 cm, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 65.918.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
85. *Furniture Inlay Recumbent Winged Sphinx*, 9th-7th cent. BC, 883-612 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Phoenician or Syrian, Artefact, Furniture, Ivory, 4,4 x 8 cm, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 65.924.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.

86. *Scarab with Sphinx, Uraeus and Crown*, 9th-7th cent. BC, 850-650 BC, Amulet, Scarab, Glazed Composition, 2 x 1,3 x 0,75 cm, Syria, Aleppo, Tell Ahmar (Til Barsib), London, British Museum, 1908,0613.56.
© British Museum.

15.1.2 RELIGIOUS

87. *Scarab Recumbent Sphinx and Ankh-sign*, 16th cent. BC, 1539-1075 BC, New Kingdom, Scarab, Glazed composition, 1,4 x 1,7 x 0,95 cm, Egypt (?), Levant, Syria, Amrit, London, British Museum, 1884,0714.249.
© British Museum.
88. *Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Hathor-head*, 15th cent. BC, Cylinder Seal Impression, Syria, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.
Demisch 1977: Fig. 143.
89. *Goddess with Worshipper (King?)*, 15th-14th cent. BC, 1500-1350 BC, Cylinder Seal Impression, Hematite, 2,1 cm, Northern Syria (?), Syria, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 98.702.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
90. *Plaque Offering Sphinx*, 14th cent. BC, Plaque, Ivory, 9,6 x 7,1 cm, Israel, Palestine, Megiddo, Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum, OIM A 22213.
Wilson 1938: fig. 3.
91. *Gold and Silver Appliqué with Pair of Sphinxes*, 2nd mill. BC, 13th-11th cent. BC, ca. 1250-1000 BC, Artefact, Appliqué, Gold and Silver, 9,8 x 7,2 cm, Levant(?), Lebanon, Kāmid el-Lōz, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Kawami 1990: Cat.Nr. 59.
92. *Raised Sphinx before Throning Goddess*, 13th cent. BC, Late Bronze II, Cylinder Seal Impression, Syria or Cyprus, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology.
Demisch 1977: fig. 164.
93. *Pairs of Sphinxes on Hittite Ivory Relief*, 13th cent. BC, Late Bronze, Hittite, Artefact, Ivory, Relief, 10,4 cm, Israel, Megiddo, Chicago, Oriental Institute.
Demisch 1977: fig. 146; © Oriental Institute Chicago.
94. *Ain Dārā Sphinx Protomes*, 13th cent. BC, Hittite, Architectural Element, Relief, Syria, North-Syria, Ain Dārā, Temple.
© Hittite Monuments.
95. *Aleppo Sphinx Relief*, 13th cent. BC, Hittite, Architectural Element, Relief, Syro-Mesopotamia, Syria, North-Syria, Aleppo, Temple Weather-god.
Gilibert 2011b: fig. 4.
96. *Ahiram Sarcophagus*, 2nd mill. BC, 11th cent. BC, Early Iron, Phoenician, Furniture (throne; relief on a sarcophagus), Israel, Byblos, Tomb, Beirut, National Museum.
© Wikipedia.org; Drawing: Frankfort 1954: fig. 317.
97. *Pair of Recumbent Sphinxes with Offering Man*, 2nd-1st mill. BC, 16th-4th cent. BC, 1550-300 BC, Phoenician, Stamp Seal + Impression, Chalcedony, 1,8 x 1,4 x 0,8 cm, Israel/Phoenicia, Lebanon, Byblos, London, British Museum, 1950,1017.6.
© British Museum.
98. *Seated Winged Sphinx*, 2nd-1st mill. BC, 16th-4th cent. BC, 1550-300 BC, Phoenician, Stamp Seal + Impression, Stone, 1,7 x 1,4 x 2 cm, Levant, Lebanon, Byblos, London, British Museum, 1940,0210.7.
© British Museum.
99. *Ain Dārā Sphinx Protomes and Reliefs*, 2nd mill. BC, 11th cent. BC, Architectural Element, Relief, Syria, North Syria, Ain Dārā, Temple.
© Hittite Monuments.
100. *Ta'anach Cult Stand*, 1st mill. BC, 10th cent. BC, Artefact, Terracotta, 50 cm, Israel, Canaan, Jerusalem, Israel Museum.
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101. *Beaker Pair of Sphinxes with Aryballos*, 1st mill. BC, 10th-9th cent. BC, Iron Age II, Pottery, Bronze, Iran, Western Iran.
Demisch 1977: fig. 116.
102. *Pyxis Sphinx Decorating Throne Deceased Woman*, 1st mill. BC, 10th-9th cent. BC, ca. 900 BC, Pottery, Pyxis, Ivory, 6,5 x 14,4/13,1 cm, Syria, Tell Halaf, Found in Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Baghdad, Iraq Museum.
Gilibert 2011 b: fig. 19.
103. *Plate Female Sphinxes Flanking Tree*, 10th-9th cent. BC, ca. 900 BC, Pottery, Plate, Ivory, 7,6 x 15,9/12,6 cm, Syria, Tell Halaf, Found in Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Baghdad, Iraq Museum.
Gilibert 2011b: fig. 20.
104. *Entrance Door Sphinx*, 10th-9th cent. BC, ca. 900 BC, Architectural Element, Figure, Basalt, 158 x 220 cm, Syria, Tell Halaf, Palace, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen.
Gilibert 2011b: fig. 22.
105. *Man, with Sphinx, Scorpion-man and Lion*, 10th-9th cent. BC, ca. 900 BC, Architectural Element, Relief, Syria, Aleppo, Temple Weather-god.
Gilibert 2011b: fig. 11.
106. *God Controls Bull-Sphinx*, 10th-7th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Syro-Mesopotamia.
Ritter 2011: fig. 8.
107. *Pair of Sphinxes with Lakhmu and God*, 10th-7th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Syro-Mesopotamia.
Ritter 2011: fig. 9.
108. *Relief Winged Sphinx Grabbed by Bird-headed Demon*, 9th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Architectural Element, Relief, Syro-Mesopotamia.
Demisch 1977: fig. 161.
109. *Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Three Gods*, 9th cent. BC, Architectural Element, Figure, Syria, Tell Halaf, Palace, Hilani Façade, Berlin, Tell Halaf Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 145.
110. *Pyxis Mahmudiya*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Pottery, Pyxis, Stone, 5,6 x 8,5 cm, Iraq, Mahmudiya, Baghdad, Iraq Museum.
Gilibert 2011b: fig. 17.
111. *Box Winged Bearded Sphinx with Horned Crown*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Elamite, Artefact, Box, Faience, 18,8 cm, Iran, Susa, Tomb, Paris, Musée du Louvre.
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112. *Seated Winged Sphinx with Seated Woman*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Baghdad, Iraq Museum, 60553.
Winter 1976: fig. 16.
113. *Horse Bit with Pair of Winged Horned Sphinxes*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Iron Age II, Artefact (Equestrian), Copper Alloy, 18,5 x 16 x 12,5 cm, Iran, West-Iran, Luristan, London, British Museum, 1945,1015.4.
© British Museum.
114. *Offering Recumbent Winged Human-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 3,1 x 7,2 x 0,8 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, ND13217.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.
115. *Seated Winged Human-headed Sphinx with Sun-disc*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 11,2 x 2,4 x 0,6 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, IM65205.
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116. *Offering Recumbent Winged Falcon-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 3 x 3,4 x 0,6 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, ND13645.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.

117. *Offering Recumbent Falcon-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 6,2 x 2,8 x 0,4 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, ND9537.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.
118. *Offering Recumbent Winged Ram-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 4,5 x 7,6 x 0,8 cm, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, Chicago, Oriental Institute, ND13219.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.
119. *Bel-Marduk Holding Two Sphinxes*, 9th-8th cent. BC, ca. 800 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Chalcedony, 2,7 x 1,45 cm, Iraq, Philadelphia, Penn. Museum, B14482.
© Penn. Museum Philadelphia.

15.1.3 MISCELLANEOUS

120. *Furniture Ornament Seated Winged Sphinx*, 16th-15th cent. BC, ca. 1600 BC, Late Middle Bronze, Furniture ornament, Ivory, 8,4 x 4,6 cm, Levant, Paris, Musée du Louvre, AO 30256.
© Musée du Louvre
121. *Sphinx, Man, Gazelle and Ostrich*, 1595-1157 BC, Babylonian (Kassite), Cylinder Seal, Frit, 3,6 x 1,48 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 65.1552.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
122. *Striding Sphinx with Extended Wings*, 14th-13th cent. BC, Assyrian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Agate, 3 cm, Syria, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, VA 3257.
Demisch 1977: fig. 147.
123. *Ivory Relief Standing Winged Sphinx*, Artefact, Plaque, Ivory, Israel, Megiddo.
© Lessingimages.com.
124. *Recumbent Winged Sphinx Surrounded by Animals*, 20th-7th cent. BC, ca. 1900-600 BC, Assyrian (?), Stamp Seal + Impression, Chalcedony, 2,5 x 2 x 1,4 cm, Asia (?), London, British Museum, 103290.
© British Museum.
125. *Openwork Plaque Seated Winged Sphinx*, 10th-7th cent. BC, Artefact, Plaque, Ivory, 7,9 cm, Syria, Northern Syria, Arslan Tash (Hadatu), Aleppo, National Museum.
© Lessingimages.com.
126. *Openwork Plaque with Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 12,07 x 4,45 cm, Syria, Arslan Tash (Hadatu), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 57.80.1.
© Metmuseum.
127. *Openwork Plaque with Ram-headed Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, 12,7 x 10,16 cm, Syria, Arslan Tash (Hadatu), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 57.80.2.
© Metmuseum.
128. *Openwork Plaque with One Lying and One Seated Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Amulet, Plaque, Ivory, Gold foil, 6,4 x 10,8 cm, Syria, Arslan Tash (Hadatu), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 57.80.4a, b.
© Metmuseum.
129. *Scaraboid Seated Winged Sphinx with Two Men*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Phoenician, Jewellery, Scaraboid, Lapis lazuli, 1,9 cm, Levant, Lebanon, Byblos, London, British Museum, 1925,0613.4.
© British Museum.

15.2 EGYPT

15.2.1 POLITICAL

1. *Plaque Winged Sphinx Ahmoses I*, 16th cent. BC, 1550-1525 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn. (Early); Jewellery, Amulet, Steatite, 1,4 x 1,2 x 0,5 cm, Egypt, Thebes, el-Asasif, Tomb CC 47, Burial 13, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.7.121.
© Metmuseum.
2. *Sphinx of Ahmoses I*, 16th cent. BC, ca. 1550-1525 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn. (Early), Figure, Limestone, 71 x 38,2 x 49,5 cm, Egypt, Abydos, Edinburgh, A 1900.212.10.
Pharaonen und Fremde 1994: 262 Kat.Nr. 360.
3. *Bracelet Queen Aahhotep*, 16th cent. BC, 1550-1525 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn. (Early), Jewellery, Bracelet, Gold, Lapis lazuli, Cornelian, Turquoise, 11 cm, Egypt, Thebes, Dra Abu Naga, Tomb Aahhotep, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 52642.
Andrews 1990: fig. 140.
4. *Axe Ahmoses I*, 16th cent. BC, 1550-1525 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn. (Early), Artefact, Weapon, Wood, Copper, Gold, Semi-precious stones, 47,5 cm, Aegean (?), Found in Egypt, Thebes, Dra Abu Al Naga, Tomb Aahhotep, Cairo, Egyptian Museum.
Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: 119-120 Cat. 67.
5. *Scarab Seated Griffin Trampling Enemy*, 16th-15th cent. BC, 1550-1458 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 1,5 x 1,2 x 0,8 cm, Egypt, Upper Egypt, Thebes, el-Asasif, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.7.484.
© Metmuseum.
6. *Scarab Winged Sphinxes with Captives*, 16th-13th cent. BC, ca. 1550-1295 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Amulet, Scarab, Faience, Egypt, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.7.473.
© Metmuseum.
7. *Scarab Recumbent Sphinx*, 16th-13th cent. BC, ca. 1550-1295 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Amulet, Scarab, Faience, Egypt, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.7.474.
© Metmuseum.
8. *Sphinx Shaped Weight*, 2nd mill. BC, ca. 1300 BC, Late Bronze, Artefact, Bronze, 2,7 x 1,7 cm, Uluburun Shipwreck, Bodrum, Museum of Underwater Archaeology, 55.24.86 (KW468).
Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: 369 Cat. 235a.
9. *Sphinx-head 18th Dyn.*, 16th-13th cent. BC, 1539-1292 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figure, Glass, 3 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1869,0129.14.
© British Museum.
10. *Scarab Recumbent Sphinx with Nebet-sign*, 16th-11th cent. BC, 1539-1075 BC, New Kingdom, Scarab, Steatite, Egypt, Nubia, Gammai, Tomb, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 24.375.
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11. *Scarab with Seated Sphinx*, 16th-11th cent. BC, 1539-1075 BC, New Kingdom, Scarab, Egypt.
Demisch 1977: fig. 52.
12. *Scarab with Seated Winged Sphinx*, 16th-11th cent. BC, 1539-1075 BC, New Kingdom, Scarab, Egypt.
Demisch 1977: fig. 53.
13. *Winged Sphinxes with Sacred Tree*, 16th-11th cent. BC, 1539-1075 BC, New Kingdom, Relief, Wood, Egypt, Gurob.
Demisch 1977: fig. 61.
14. *Royal Sphinx Thutmoses III*, 15th cent. BC, 1479-1425 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figurine, Bronze, 7,8 x 2,85 cm, Egypt, Paris, E 10897.
© Wikipedia.org.
15. *Royal Sphinx Thutmoses III Cairo*, 15th cent. BC, 1479-1425 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figure, Egypt, Cairo, Archaeological Museum.
Dubiel 2011: fig. 1.

16. *King Thutmoses III as a Sphinx*, 15th cent. BC, 1479-1425 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figure, Quartzite, 34,6 x 11,4 x 23,3 cm, Egypt, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 08.202.6.
© Metmuseum.
17. *Recumbent Sphinx with Name Thutmoses III*, 15th cent. BC, 1479-1425 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Stamp Seal, Steatite, 1,6 cm, Egypt, Nubia, Sudan, Meroe, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 23.858.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
18. *Plaque Striding Sphinx Trampling an Enemy*, 15th cent. BC, 1479-1425 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 1,1 x 0,8 cm, Egypt, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 10.130.187.
© Metmuseum.
19. *Scarab Recumbent Bearded Sphinx with Thutmoses III*, 15th cent. BC, 1479-1425 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 1,71 x 1,3 x 0,68 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1849,0929.61.
© British Museum.
20. *Plaque Striding Sphinx Trampling Enemy*, 15th cent. BC, 1479-1425 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 1,8 x 1,3 cm, Egypt, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 30.8.564.
© Metmuseum.
21. *Finger-ring Striding Sphinx Trampling Enemy*, 15th cent. BC, 1479-1425 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Jewellery, Ring, Gold, Glass, 1,6 x 2,5 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1857,0811.40.
© British Museum.
22. *Plaque Striding Sphinx Trampling Enemy*, 15th cent. BC, 1479-1425 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Amulet, Scarab, Carnelian, 1,5 x 1 cm, Egypt, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.7.179.
© Metmuseum.
23. *Finger-ring Recumbent Sphinx*, 15th cent. BC, 1479-1425 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Jewellery, Ring, Gold, Steatite, 1,7 x 1,8 cm, Egypt, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 62.810.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
24. *Recumbent Bearded Sphinx Hatshepsut*, 15th cent. BC, 1473-1458 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figure, Limestone, 106,7 x 33 x 63,5 cm, Egypt, Thebes, Deir el-Bahri, Senenmut Quarry, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 31.3.94.
© Metmuseum.
25. *Recumbent Bearded Sphinx Hatshepsut Deir el-Bahri*, 15th cent. BC, 1473-1458 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figure, Limestone, Egypt, Thebes, Deir el-Bahri, Senenmut Quarry, Cairo, Egyptian Museum.
© Egyptopia.com.
26. *Recumbent Bearded Sphinx Hatshepsut*, 15th cent. BC, 1473-1458 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figure, Granite, 283 x 79,5 x 130 cm, Egypt, Thebes, Deir el-Bahri, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen.
© ArtKnowledgeNews.
27. *Recumbent Bearded Sphinx Hatshepsut*, 15th cent. BC, 1473-1458 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figure, Egypt, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 53113 (?).
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28. *Recumbent Bearded Sphinx Hatshepsut*, 15th cent. BC, 1473-1458 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figure, Granite, 343 x 164 cm, Egypt, Thebes, Deir el-Bahri, Temple, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 31.3.166.
© Metmuseum.
29. *Sphinx of Hatshepsut*, 15th cent. BC, 1473-1458 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figure, Granite, 41 x 80 cm, Egypt (?), Found in Italy, Rome, Iseo Campense, Temple, Rome, Museo Barracco, 13.

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30. *Striding Sphinx*, 2nd mill. BC, 15th cent. BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Architectural Element, Relief, Limestone, 27 x 26 x 3 cm, Egypt, Deir el-Bahri (?), Cambridge, The Fitzwilliam Museum, E.1.1992.

© The Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge.

31. *Recumbent Sphinx Amenhotep II*, 15th cent. BC, 1427-1400 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figure, Sandstone, 19 x 7,5 x 10 cm, Egypt, Thebes (?), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 30.8.72.

© Metmuseum.

32. *Plaque Striding Sphinx Wearing Double-crown*, 15th cent. BC, 1427-1400 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 0,43 x 1,77 x 1,27 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1900,0409.102.

© British Museum.

33. *Relief Recumbent Winged Sphinx with Atef-crown*, 14th cent. BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Relief, Egypt.
Demisch 1977: fig. 72.

34. *Plaque Recumbent Sphinx with Bird*, 14th cent. BC, 1400-1390 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 1,4 x 1,1 x 0,4 cm, Egypt, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 10.130.207.

© Metmuseum.

35. *Arm Panel Striding Sphinx Trampling Enemies*, 14th cent. BC, 1400-1390 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Furniture, Wood, 25,1 cm, Egypt, Thebes, Valley of the Kings, Tomb, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 30.8.45a-c.

© Metmuseum.

36. *Plaque Recumbent Sphinx and Ibex*, 14th cent. BC, 1400-1390 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 1,5 x 1,1 x 4,5 cm, Egypt, Found in Israel, Gezer, London, British Museum, 1912,1012.6.

© British Museum.

37. *Winged Female Sphinxes with Sacred Tree*, 14th cent. BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Artefact, Egypt.
Demisch 1977: fig. 49.

38. *Winged Female Sphinx with Cartouche*, 14th cent. BC, 1390-1352 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Plaque from Bracelet, Sardonyx, 4,2 x 6,5 cm, Egypt, Thebes, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.7.1342.

© Metmuseum.

39. *Seal Sphinx Trampling Enemy*, 14th cent. BC, 1353-1336 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Stamp Seal Impression, Clay, 4,4 x 3,3 cm, Egypt, Meru-Aten, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 10.130.1556.

© Metmuseum.

40. *Talatat Two Sphinxes on Boats Trampling Enemies*, 14th cent. BC, 1353-1336 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Architectural element, Limestone, 22,5 x 51,5 x 5,3 cm, Egypt, el-Amarna, Found in Egypt, Hermopolis, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1989.104.

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41. *Winged Female Sphinxes with Sacred Tree*, 14th cent. BC, ca. 1330 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Artefact, Textile, Egypt, Cairo, Archaeological Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 50.

42. *Pair of Sphinxes Trampling Enemies*, 14th cent. BC, ca. 1330 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Artefact, Throne, Wood, Cairo, Archaeological Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 66.

43. *Winged Female Sphinx with Queens's name*, 14th cent. BC, ca. 1310 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Artefact, Relief on throne, Egypt, Turin, Museo Egizio.
Dubiel 2011: fig. 24.

44. *Finger-ring Recumbent Sphinx with Blue Crown*, 13th cent. BC (?), ca. 1250 BC (?), New Kingdom, Jewellery, Ring, Gold, Glazed composition, 2,59 x 1,75 x 1,19 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1840,1215.33.
© British Museum.
45. *Window of Appearance*, 13th cent. BC, 1298-1187 BC, New Kingdom, 19th Dyn., Artefact, Architectural Element, Limestone, 128 x 79 cm, Egypt, Memphis, Palace of Merenptah, Philadelphia, University Museum, E. 13564.
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46. *Ostrakon Deir el-Medina*, 13th-12th cent. BC, New Kingdom, 19th-20th Dyn., Artefact, Limestone, 18 x 20 cm, Egypt, Deir el-Medina, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, 21434.
Sfinx 2006: 114 Cat. 12.
47. *Standing Bearded Sphinx Decorating Throne*, 12th cent. BC, New Kingdom, 20th Dyn., Architectural Element, Mural Painting, Egypt, Medinet Habu.
Demisch 1977: fig. 58.
48. *Sphinx of Osorkon I*, 10th-9th mill. BC, ca. 922-887 BC, New Kingdom, 22nd Dyn., Figure, Granite, Egypt, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 52.
Mysliwiec 1988: Pl. XVIIb.
49. *Scarab Seated Bearded Sphinx*, 2nd mill. BC, 16th-11th cent. BC, New Kingdom or 1st mill. BC, 7th-6th cent. BC, 685-525 BC, Late Period, 26th Dyn., Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 1,7 x 1,3 x 7 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1867,0809.14.
© British Museum.

15.2.2 RELIGIOUS

50. *Scarab Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Hawk*, 17th-16th cent. BC, 1630-1539 BC, Second Intermediate, Hyksos, Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 1,12 x 2,83 x 2,01 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1913,0501.1.
© British Museum.
51. *Stele of Regal Cult Amenhotep I*, 16th cent. BC, 1526-1506 BC, New Kingdom, 19th Dyn., Architectural Element, Relief, Limestone, 29 x 18 cm, Egypt, Deir el-Medina, Turin, Museo Egizio, CGT 50049.
Ziegler 2002: 146 fig. 2.
52. *Rekhmire and his Wife before Two Sphinxes*, 16th-13th cent. BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Architectural Element, Mural Painting, Egypt, Thebes, Tomb Rekhmire (TT 100).
© Flickr.com; © Osiris.net.
53. *The Making of a Sphinx*, 16th-13th cent. BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Architectural Element, Mural Painting, Egypt, Thebes, Tomb Rekhmire (TT100).
© Osiris.net; Lepsius 1849-1856: nr. 357.
54. *Ear Stele with Recumbent Sphinx*, 16th-11th cent. BC, 1539-1075 BC, New Kingdom, Architectural Element, Stele, Relief, Limestone, 12,7 x 9,1 x 2,2 cm, Egypt, Giza, Cemetery, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 27.787.
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55. *Scarab Recumbent Bearded Sphinx*, 16th-11th cent. BC, 1539-1075 BC, New Kingdom, Scarab, Faience, 1,5 x 1,3 x 0,8 cm, Egypt, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 67.1088.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
56. *Vignette Book of the Dead*, 16th-11th cent. BC, 1539-1075 BC, New Kingdom, Vignette, Egypt, London, British Museum, BM 10.010.
Demisch 1977: fig. 62.
57. *Aker Double-Sphinx Royal Tomb*, 15th cent. BC, 1479-1425 BC, New Kingdom, Architectural Element, Mural, Egypt, Thebes, Tomb.

- Demisch 1977: fig. 610.
58. *Offering Sphinx*, 14th cent. BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Architectural Element, Relief, Limestone, 19,6 x 25,3 x 4,5 cm, Egypt, Deir el-Bahri, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, E 5016.
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59. *Figure Recumbent Bearded Sphinx*, 15th cent. BC, 1427-1400 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figure, Alabaster, 800 x 400 cm, Egypt, Memphis, Temple of Ptah.
© Lessingimages.com.
60. *Figure Ram-head of Sphinx*, 15th-14th cent. BC, ca. 1400 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figure, Sandstone, 118 cm, Egypt, Karnak, Temple of Mut, London, British Museum, .14.
© British Museum.
61. *Offering Sphinxes Temple*, 14th cent. BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Architectural Element, Mural Painting, Egypt, Luxor, Temple.
Dubiel 2011: fig. 12.
62. *Dream Stele Thutmoses IV*, 14th cent. BC, 1400-1390 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Stele-relief, Granite, 361 x 218 cm, Egypt, Giza.
© Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt; Demisch 1977: fig. 28.
63. *Recumbent Offering Sphinx Amenhotep III*, 14th cent. BC, 1390-1352 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figure, Faience, 25,1 x 13,3 x 7 cm, Egypt, Thebes, Karnak (?), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972.125.
© Metmuseum.
64. *Queen Tye as Trampling Sphinx*, 2nd mill. BC, 14th cent. BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Architectural Element, Relief, Egypt, Thebes, Tomb of Cherueb (TT 192).
© Osirisnet.net.
65. *Pair of Striding Sphinxes Queen Tye*, 14th cent. BC, 1390-1352 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn. Relief, Egypt, Sedeinga, Temple.
Drawing: © The New York Public Library Digital Collections; Image: © Flickr.com.
66. *Toilet Box with Winged Sphinxes*, 14th cent. BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Artefact, Toilet Box, Wood, 3,5 x 13,5 cm, Egypt, Medinet el-Gurab, Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 11041.
Sphinx 2006: 292 Cat. 178.
67. *Sphinx Attributed to Akhenaton*, 14th cent. BC, 1353-1336 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figure, Quartz or Gneiss, 33 x 53 cm, Egypt, Karnak, Temple of Amun, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37485.
Ziegler 2002: Cat.Nr. 48.
68. *Offering Recumbent Sphinx Akhenaten*, 14th cent. BC, 1349-1336 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Architectural Element, Relief, Limestone, 51 x 105,5 x 5,2 cm, Egypt, el-Amarna (?), Temple, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 64.1944.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
69. *Sphinx of Tutankhamen*, 14th cent. BC, 1347-1338 BC, New Kingdom, 18th Dyn., Figure, Calcite, 53 cm, Egypt, Karnak, Temple of Mut, Luxor, Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art.
Sabbahy and Sabbahy 1985: 221.
70. *God as Striding Sphinx*, 14th cent. BC, New Kingdom, Late 18th Dyn., Figure, Wood, 8,9 x 9,4 cm, Egypt, Thebe (?), New York, The Brooklyn Museum, 56.100.
© The Brooklyn Museum New York.
71. *Relief Pair of Seated Sphinxes*, 14th-13th cent. BC, ca. 1300 BC, New Kingdom, 19th Dyn., Architectural Element, Relief, Egypt, Abydos, Temple of Seti I.
Demisch 1977: fig. 54.
72. *Relief Sphinx Before Bastet*, 14th-13th cent. BC, ca. 1300 BC, New Kingdom, 19th Dyn., Architectural Element, Relief, Egypt, Abydos, Temple of Seti I, Room V.
Mariette 1869: Pl. 40.
73. *Aker Double-sphinx*, 13th cent. BC, 1300-1275 BC, New Kingdom, 19th Dyn., Architectural Element, Mural Painting, Egypt, Thebes, Tomb Sethos I.

- Demisch 1977: fig. 603.
74. *Ostrakon Procession Boat of Amun*, 13th-12th cent. BC, New Kingdom, 19th-20th Dyn., Artefact, Limestone, 11,2 x 17,5 cm, Egypt, Deir el-Medina, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, 21446.
Ziegler 2002: 168 fig. 7.
 75. *Funerary Papyrus of Steward Seth-Nakhte*, 13th-11th cent. BC, New Kingdom, Ramesside Period, Artefact, Papyrus, 36,8 x 443,2 cm, Egypt, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 35.9.19a-e.
Hayes 1959: fig. 243.
 76. *Avenue of Recumbent Human-headed Sphinxes*, 13th cent. BC, 1279-1213 BC, New Kingdom, 19th Dyn., Architectural Element, Dromos, Figure, Egypt, Luxor, Thebes, Temple of Amun.
© Lessingimages.com.
 77. *Avenue of Recumbent Ram-sphinxes with Pharaoh*, 13th cent. BC, 1279-1213 BC, New Kingdom, 19th Dyn., Architectural Element, Dromos, Figure, Egypt, Thebes, Karnak, Great Temple of Amun.
© Lessingimages.com.
 78. *Recumbent Crowned Sphinx Ramses II*, 13th cent. BC, 1279-1213 BC, Figure, Egypt, Wadi es-Sebua, Temple.
© Wikipedia.org.
 79. *Amulet Ramses II*, 13th cent. BC, 1279-1213 BC, New Kingdom, 19th Dyn., Jewellery, Amulet, Coralline, 2,05 x 3,1 cm, Egypt, Paris, Musée du Louvre, N 721.
Sfinx 2006: 229 Cat. 85.
 80. *Hawk-headed Statue*, 13th cent. BC, 1279-1213 BC, New Kingdom, 19th Dyn., Figure, Limestone, 106,5 x 33 cm, Egypt, Abu Simbel, Temple Ramses II, London, British Museum, .13.
© British Museum.
 81. *Pair of Sphinxes with Ankh-Signs*, 13th cent. BC, 1213-1203 BC, Architectural Element, Door Lintel, Limestone, Memphis, Death Tomb Merenptah, Penn. Museum, UPM Object # E2096.
Image and Drawing: Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: fig. 7.92.
 82. *Scarab Ram-headed Sphinx with Crown*, 13th-12th cent. BC, ca. 1295-1186 BC, New Kingdom, 19th Dyn., Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 1,3 x 1,1 cm, Egypt, Found in Aegean, Cyprus, Enkomi, Tomb 2, London, British Museum, 1897,0401.6.
© British Museum.
 83. *Sphinx-Standard*, 13th-12th cent. BC, ca. 1295-1185 BC, New Kingdom, 19th Dyn., Figure, Bronze, 14 x 4,1 x 12,7 cm, Egypt, New York, The Brooklyn Museum, 61.20.
© The Brooklyn Museum New York.
 84. *Scarab Bearded Sphinx with Maat*, 13th-12th cent. BC, 1295-1186 BC, New Kingdom, 19th Dyn., Amulet, Scarab, Steatite (?), 3,7 x 2,6 x 1,6 cm, Egypt, Found in Syria, London, British Museum, 1926,1009.12.
© British Museum.
 85. *Pair of Offering Recumbent Sphinxes*, 12th cent. BC, New Kingdom, 20th Dyn., Architectural Element, Mural Painting, Egypt, Karnak.
Demisch 1977: fig. 38.
 86. *Ramses III Offering a Sphinx*, 12th cent. BC, New Kingdom, 20th Dyn., Architectural Element, Mural Painting, Egypt, Karnak, Khonsu Temple.
© Wikipedia.org.
 87. *Sun Bark and Aker Double-sphinx*, 12th-11th cent. BC, ca. 1100 BC, New Kingdom, Architectural Element, Mural Painting, Egypt, Thebes, Tomb Ramses VI.
Demisch 1977: fig. 602.
 88. *Coffin with Sphinxes and Divinities*, 11th-10th cent. BC, ca. 1000 BC, Third Intermediate, 21st Dyn., Artefact, Sarcophagus, Wood, 185 cm, Egypt, Luxor, Deir el-Bahri, Tomb, London, British Museum, 1893,0514.184.
© British Museum.

89. *Amulet Seated Sphinx*, 11th-8th cent. BC, Third Intermediate, Jewellery, Amulet, Glazed Composition, 3,03 x 1,15 x 2,2 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1930,0712.21.
© British Museum.
90. *Figure Snake-headed Seated Sphinx*, 11th-7th cent. BC, 1070-664 BC, Third Intermediate, 21st-25th Dyn., Artefact, Amulet, Glazed composition, 4,3 x 1,47 x 3,23 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1946,1204.134.
© British Museum.
91. *Scarab Recumbent Ram-headed Sphinx with Atef-crown*, 16th-11th cent. BC, 1539-1075 BC, New Kingdom or 7th-4th cent. BC, 664-332 BC, Late Period, Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 1,3 x 1,8 x 0,75 cm, Egypt, Found in Phoenicia, London, British Museum, 1884,0714.148.
© British Museum.

15.2.3 MISCELLANEOUS

92. *Sphinx with Nubian Head*, 16th-11th cent. BC, 1539-1075 BC, New Kingdom, Architectural Element, Relief, Egypt, Erment (?).
Demisch 1977: fig. 56.

15.3 ANATOLIA

15.3.1 POLITICAL

1. *Sphinx with Animals and Composite Creatures*, ca. 1500 BC, Hittite, Artefact, Ivory, 4,6 cm, Turkey, Böğazköy (Hattusha).
Demisch 1977: fig. 111.
2. *Zincirli Door Sphinx*, 14th-13th cent. BC, 1350-1200 BC, Hittite, Architectural Element, Figure, Basalt, 190 cm, Turkey, Anatolia, Zincirli, Gaziantep, Yesemek Open Air Museum.
Gilibert 2011a: Fig. 3.
3. *Pair of Gate-Sphinxes*, 14th-13th cent. BC, ca. 1300 BC, Architectural Element, Figure, 210 cm, Turkey, Alaça Hüyük.
© Hittite Monuments.
4. *Tablet of Ini-Teshub*, 13th cent. BC, Late Bronze, Hittite, Artefact, Tablet, Terracotta, 8,75 x 6,75 cm, Turkey, Karkemish, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Accession Number 1977.114.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston; Drawing: Gilibert 2011a: fig. 11.
5. *Yerkapi Sphinx*, 13th cent. BC, Late Bronze, Hittite, Architectural Element, Figure, Turkey, Hattusha (Boğazköy), Istanbul, Museum of Oriental Antiquities.
Schachner 2015: fig. 12.
6. *Figure Winged Sphinx with Horned Crown and Sacred Tree*, 13th cent. BC, Late Bronze, Hittite, Architectural Element, Figure, Basalt, 258 cm, Turkey, Boğazköy (Hattusha), Southern Gate, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, Museum number VA 10980.
© Wikimedia Commons; Schachner 2013: 122.
7. *Bronze Horse-bit Master of Animals*, 10th cent. BC, Artefact, Equestrian, Turkey, Anatolia, Tell Tayinat.
Gilibert 2011b: fig. 10.
8. *Striding Winged Sphinx*, 9th cent. BC, Syro-Hittite, Architectural Element, Relief, Basalt, 100 x 135 cm, Turkey, Anatolia, Zincirli, Citadel, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, Museum Number VA 2711.
Gilibert 2011b: cat. 21.

9. *Striding Winged Griffin*, 9th cent. BC, Syro-Hittite, Architectural Element, Relief, Basalt, 100 x 100 cm, Turkey, Anatolia, Zincirli, Citadel, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, Museum Number VA 2710.
Gilibert 2011b: Cat. 22.

15.3.2 RELIGIOUS

10. *Finger-ring Schauschga Standing on Sphinx*, 13th cent. BC, Late Bronze, Hittite, Jewellery, Ring, Turkey, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 144.
11. *Two Sphinxes Attack Winged Horse*, 10th cent. BC, Neo-Hittite, Architectural Element, Relief, Turkey, Anatolia, Karkemish.
© Hittite Monuments.
12. *Horse-blinker with Striding Winged Sphinx*, 10th-9th cent. BC, Iron Age II, Urartian, Artefact (Equestrian), Bronze, 16,5 x 9,5 cm, Turkey, Anatolia, Eastern Anatolia, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Accession Number 1981.83.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
13. *Zincirli Eastern Orthostatic Sphinx*, 9th cent. BC, 900-875 BC, Syro-Hittite, Architectural Element, Relief, Basalt, 95 x 72 x 84 cm, Turkey, Anatolia, Zincirli, Citadel, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, Museum Number VA 2657.
Gilibert 2011b: Cat. 19.
14. *Zincirli Winged Griffin and Winged Sphinx*, 1st mill. BC, 9th cent. BC, Neo-Hittite, Architectural Element, Relief, Turkey, Anatolia, Zincirli, Citadel Gate, Istanbul, Oriental Museum, 7711.
© Hittite Monuments.
15. *Zincirli Winged Sphinx with Man*, 9th cent. BC, Neo-Hittite, Architectural Element, Relief, Turkey, Anatolia, Zincirli.
© Hittite Monuments.
16. *Pyxis Ancestor Cult with Sphinxes*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Neo-Hittite, Pottery, Pyxis, Steatite, 5,2 x 9,5 cm, Turkey, Anatolia, Zincirli (?), Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 61.1075a.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.

15.3.3 MISCELLANEOUS

17. *Sphinx with Lion-head on Breast*, 10th cent. BC, Neo-Hittite, Architectural Element, Relief, Plaster, 116,5 x 137,5 x 10,5 cm, Turkey, Anatolia, Karkemish, London, British Museum, C.144.
© British Museum.
18. *Figure Recumbent Female Sphinx*, 9th-8th cent. BC, Figure, Basalt, Stone, 25,4 x 24,4 cm, Turkey, Tell Tayinat, Chicago, Oriental Institute, OIM A27853.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.

15.4 THE AEGEAN

15.4.1 POLITICAL

1. *Terracotta Figure of a Sphinx Hagia Triada*, 16th cent. BC, 1550-1500 BC, Figure, Terracotta, Crete, Hagia Triada.
Demisch 1977: fig. 176.
2. *Finger-ring Pair of Sphinxes with Sacred Tree*, 16th-13th cent. BC, Jewellery, Ring, Mycenae.
Demisch 1977: fig. 180.
3. *Finger-ring Recumbent Winged Sphinx*, 2nd mill. BC, 16th-13th cent. BC, Jewellery, Ring, Electrotpe (Reproduction), Aegean, Greece, Mycenae, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.5383.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston; Drawing: Demisch 1977: fig. 182.
4. *Comb Recumbent Sphinxes with Rosette*, 15th cent. BC, Mycenaean, Artefact, Comb, Ivory, Aegean.
© Flickr.com.
5. *Plaque Recumbent Sphinx with Expanded Wings*, 15th cent. BC, Mycenaean, Artefact, Plaque, Ivory, Greece, Attica, Spata.
Demisch 1977: fig. 181.
6. *Griffins Flanking Throne*, 15th cent. BC, ca. 1450 BC, Architectural Element, Mural, Crete, Knossos, Palace.
Demisch 1977: fig. 170.
7. *Winged Sphinx with Breast-spiral*, 15th-14th cent. BC, ca. 1400 BC, Artefact, Mirror-handle, Ivory, Crete, Zater Papura.
Demisch 1977: fig. 179.
8. *Winged Sphinx with Rosette-medallion*, 15th-12th cent. BC, Artefact, Stone, Crete, Hagia Triada.
Demisch 1977: fig. 177.
9. *Master of Animals with Pair of Sphinxes*, 15th-11th cent. BC, Cylinder Seal Impression, Cyprus, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.
Demisch 1977: fig. 193.
10. *Pair of Winged Sphinxes Flanking Man*, 14th cent. BC, Late Bronze, Late Cypriot II, Cylinder Seal Impression, Hematite, 2 cm, Cyprus, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999.325.206.
© Metmuseum.
11. *Pectoral with Sphinxes and Stylized Tree*, 14th-13th cent. BC, 1400-1230 BC, Late Bronze Age II, Jewellery, Pectoral, Gold, 20,3 x 9,4 cm, Cyprus, Enkomi, Tomb, Paris, Musée du Louvre, AM 2164.
© Musée du Louvre.
12. *Relief Pair of Winged Sphinxes Flanking Column*, 13th-12th cent. BC, ca. 1200 BC, Architectural Element, Relief, Ivory, Aegean, Greece, Mycenae.
Demisch 1977: fig. 184.
13. *Vessel-stand Striding Winged Sphinx*, 13th-12th cent. BC, 1225-1100 BC, Late Cypriot II C (?), Late Cypriot III A (?), Artefact, Bronze, 29,21 cm, Aegean, Cyprus, London, British Museum, 1946.1017.1.
© British Museum.
14. *Vase Bull-sphinxes with Sacred Tree*, 12th cent. BC, Late Mycenaean, Pottery, White Painted, 41 x 36,6 x 40,05 cm, Aegean, Cyprus, Enkomi, Tomb, London, British Museum, 1897.0401.1260.
Demisch 1977: fig. 200.
15. *Figure Standing Bearded Sphinx*, 1st mill. BC, 10th cent. BC, Minoan, Amulet, Figurine, Bronze, 5,4 x 4,8 cm, Aegean, Crete, London, British Museum, 1930.0617.2.
© British Museum.

15.4.2 RELIGIOUS

16. *Hunting Griffin*, 16th cent. BC, Mural painting, 25 x 221 x 11 cm, Thera, Easter Wall West House/Room 5, Museum of Prehistoric Thera.
Morgan 2010a: Fig. 13.
17. *Goddess with Griffin, Monkey & Crocus-Gatherers*, 16th cent. BC, Mural Painting, Thera, Akrotiri, Xeste 3.
© Wikimedia Commons; Drawing: Morgan 2005: fig. 1.25.
18. *Antithetical Griffins*, 16th-15th cent. BC, Mural Painting, Knossos, Palace, Great East Hall.
© Joachim Bretschneider
19. *Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Tree*, 16th-15th cent. BC, 1550-1400 BC, Late Cypriot, Seal, Cylinder Seal, Steatite, 2,5 cm x 0,95 cm, Cyprus, Enkomi, Tomb, London, British Museum, 1897,0401.41.
© British Museum.
20. *Diadem Sphinx and Palmettes*, 16th-11th cent. BC, 1550-1050 BC, Late Cypriot I B, Jewellery, Diadem, Gold, 12,5 x 3,8 cm, Cyprus, Enkomi, Tomb, London, British Museum, 1897,0401.474.
© British Museum.
21. *Diadem/Mouth-piece Seated Winged Sphinxes*, 16th-11th cent. BC, 1550-1050 BC, Late Cypriot I B, Jewellery, Mouth-piece or Diadem, Gold, 17 x 2,6 cm, Cyprus, Enkomi, Tomb, London, British Museum, 1897,0401.518.
© British Museum.
22. *Mouth-piece Seated Winged Sphinxes*, 16th-11th cent. BC, 1550-1050 BC, Late Cypriot I B, Jewellery, Mouth-piece, Gold, 9,1 x 5 cm, Cyprus, Enkomi, Tomb, London, British Museum, 1897,0401.473.
© British Museum.
23. *Signet Ring Goddesses in Chariot Drawn by Griffins*, 16th-15th cent. BC, Early Mycenaean, Jewellery, Ring, Gold, Greece, Antheia, Tholos Tomb, Greece, Kalamata, Archaeological Museum of Messenia.
© Flickr.com.
24. *Griffin Led by Priest*, 15th cent. BC, Mycenaean, Stamp seal, 2,2 cm, Jasper, Greece, Vaphio, Tholos Tomb, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1761 (CMS I 223).
Image: Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: 139 Cat. 78; Drawing: Demisch 1977: fig. 197.
25. *Griffin Flanking Shrine-Door*, ca. 1450 BC, Architectural Element, Mural, Crete, Knossos, Palace.
© fotolibra.com.
26. *Goddess in Chariot Drawn by Griffins*, 14th cent. BC, Sarcophagus, Painted limestone, L 137 cm, Crete, Hagia Triada, Tomb, Heraklion, Archaeological Museum.
© Wikimedia Commons.
27. *Golden Plaque with Winged Sphinx*, 14th cent. BC, Mycenaean, Plaque, Gold, 13 x 6,7 cm, Rhodes, Ialysus, Tomb, London, British Museum, 1870,1008.3.
© British Museum; Drawing: Demisch 1977: fig. 210.
28. *Pyxis with Sphinxes*, 14th-13th cent. BC, Late Helladic III A-B, Pottery, Ivory, 4,8 cm, Aegean, Greece, Thebes, Chamber Tomb, Thebes, Archaeological Museum, 42459.
Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.): 144 fig. 83.
29. *Pictorial Style Vase*, 13th cent. BC, Late Helladic III B, Pottery, Pictorial Style, 24,2 x 27,1 cm, Aegean, Cyprus, Enkomi, Tomb 48, London, British Museum, 1897,0401.927.
© British Museum.
30. *Pictorial Style Krater*, 13th cent. BC, Late Helladic III B, Pottery, Pictorial Style, 32,2 x 33,8 cm, Aegean, Cyprus, Enkomi, Tomb 45, London, British Museum, 1897,0401.928.
© British Museum.

31. *Pair of Recumbent Sphinxes on Shrine*, 13th cent. BC, Late Bronze II, Architectural Element, Mural, Aegean, Greece, Pylos, Shrine.
Demisch 1977: fig. 185.
32. *Goddess Flanked by Griffins and Genii*, 13th cent. BC, Late Bronze II, Stamp Seal, Greece, Thebes, Thebes Archaeological Museum, TH Wu 50/TH Museum 8819.
Sketch and Colour Picture: Courtesy of Prof. Dr. John Younger (University of Kansas).
33. *Box Procession with Sphinx and Men*, 13th-11th cent. BC, 1250-1050 BC, Late Cypriot II C (?), Late Cypriot III (?), Artefact, Box, Ivory, 6,5 x 4,8 cm, Aegean, Cyprus, Enkomi, Tomb 75, London, British Museum, 1897,0401.1126.
© British Museum; Drawing: Demisch 1977: fig. 196.
34. *Pairs of Winged Sphinxes Decorating Cult-wagon*, 11th-10th cent. BC, Artefact (Religious), 34 cm, Aegean, Cyprus, Enkomi, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen.
Demisch 1977: fig. 195.

15.4.3 MISCELLANEOUS

35. *Winged Sphinx and Lion Flanking Deer*, 14th cent. BC, Late Bronze, Late Cypriot II, Cylinder Seal Impression, Cyprus, Ayia Paraskevi (?), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 74.51.4313.
© Metmuseum.
36. *Alabastron Two Griffins with Nest*, 12th-11th cent. BC, ca. 1100 BC, Pottery, Aegean, Euboea, Lefkandi.
Demisch 1977: fig. 188.

16 LIST OF STUDY MATERIAL

16.1 SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA & THE LEVANT

16.1.1 PRECEDING 1600 BC

1. *Striding Bearded Sphinx with Animals and Bird-Man*, ca 2550-2340 BC, Early Dynastic, Cylinder Seal Impression, Lapis lazuli, 3,6 x 2,3 cm, Iraq, Southeast Iraq, Ur, Baghdad, National Museum.
Frankfort 1936/1937: fig. 2; Drawing: Hempelmann 2004: fig. 20.
2. *Bearded Sphinx Taken by Tail and Beard*, 24th-21st cent. BC, 2350-2000 BC, Akkadian, Cylinder Seal Impression, 4,3 x 2,8 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Paris, Musée du Louvre, AO 10920.
Hempelmann 2004: fig. 40.
3. *Bearded Sphinx with Boat and Chariot*, 24th-21st cent. BC, 2350-2000 BC, Akkadian, Cylinder Seal Impression, 5,1 x 1,77 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, VA 2952.
Hempelmann 2004: fig. 45.
4. *Bearded Sphinx with Scorpion and Deer*, 24th-21st cent. BC, 2350-2000 BC, Akkadian, Cylinder Seal Impression, 5,02 x 1,96 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum.
Hempelmann 2004: fig. 63.
5. *Striding Bearded Sphinx with Boat Sun-god*, 24th-21st cent. BC, 2350-2000 BC, Akkadian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Stone, 2,2 x 1,4 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Buffalo, Museum of Science, C13150.
Hempelmann 2004: fig. 68.
6. *Bearded Sphinx Striding behind Boat Sun-god*, 24th-21st cent. BC, 2350-2000 BC, Akkadian, Cylinder Seal Impression, 3,2 x 2,2 cm, Iraq, Tell Asmar (Eshnunna), Baghdad, National Museum, IM 15627.
Drawing: Hempelmann 2004: fig. 69; Image: Frankfort 1955: nr. 516.
7. *Striding Sphinx with Boat Sun-god*, 24th-21st cent. BC, 2350-2000 BC, Akkadian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Marble, 2,2 x 1,6 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.
Hempelmann 2004: fig. 38.
8. *Striding Bearded Sphinx with Boat Sun-god*, 24th-21st cent. BC, 2350-2000 BC, Akkadian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Limestone (brown), 2,8 x 1,7 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, New Haven, Yale University, NBC 9119.
Hempelmann 2004: fig. 16.
9. *Standing Bearded Sphinx with Sun-god in Boat*, 24th-21st cent. BC, 2350-2000 BC, Akkadian, Cylinder Seal Impression, 3,7 x 2,1 cm, Iraq, Tell Asmar (Eshnunna), Chicago, Oriental Institute, A 11396.
Demisch 1977: fig. 99; Drawing: Hempelmann 2004: fig. 73.
10. *Sphinx Driven by Stick*, 24th-21st cent. BC, 2350-2000 BC, Akkadian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Syro-Mesopotamia, Baghdad, National Museum, IM 11497.
Hempelmann 2004: fig. 72.
11. *Striding Bearded Sphinx with Sun-god and Animals*, 23rd cent. BC, Akkadian, Cylinder Seal + Impression, Serpentine (black), 4,05 x 2,61 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, London, British Museum, 1966,0218.23.
© British Museum; Drawing: Hempelmann 2004: fig. 71.
12. *Finger-ring Recumbent Sphinx with Man*, 23rd cent. BC, Middle Bronze, Jewellery, Ring, Steatite, Bronze, 3,8 x 3,9 x 1,9 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Israel, Levant, Lachish, Tomb 0119, London, British Museum, 1980,1214.12232.
© British Museum.
13. *Standing Human-headed Lion*, 23rd-21st cent. BC, 2250-2000 BC, Akkadian, Figure, Clay, 6 cm, Iran, Elam, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

- Demisch 1977: fig. 98.
14. *Master of Animals Holds Sphinxes Upside Down*, 2nd mill. BC, Mitanni, Cylinder Seal Impression, Syria, Paris, Musée du Louvre, AO 22350.
Demisch 1977: fig. 167.
 15. *Pair of Sphinxes with Sacred Tree on Back*, 2nd mill. BC, Cylinder Seal Impression, Syria.
Demisch 1977: fig. 118.
 16. *Animal Combat with Sphinx on Snake, Lions and Goats*, early 2nd mill. BC, Old Syrian, Cylinder Seal + Impression, Hematite, 1,19 cm, Syria, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 66.76.2.
© Metmuseum.
 17. *Seal Impression with Trampling Sphinx*, 2000-1800 BC, Old Syrian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Clay, Syria, Qatna.
Arúz 2015: fig. 11.
 18. *Sphinx Trampling Serpents*, 19th cent. BC, Old Syrian, Cylinder Seal + Impression, Hematite, 2,2 x 1,1 cm, Syria, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991.368.4.
© Metmuseum.
 19. *Seal of I'aus Addu*, 19th-18th cent. BC, 1820-1740 BC, Old Syrian, Cylinder Seal Impression (Modern Drawing), Obsidian, Syria, Buzuran, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Arúz 2015: fig. 12.
 20. *Deity, Stag, Worshipper, Sphinxes, Bull and Leaper*, 19th-18th cent. BC, 1820-1730 BC, Old Syrian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Hematite, 2,4 x 1,2 cm, Syria, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999.325.133.
© Metmuseum.
 21. *Royal Worshipper before a God*, 19th-18th cent. BC, 1820-1730 BC, Old Syrian, Cylinder Seal + Impression, Hematite, 1,9 x 1,2 cm, Syria, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991.368.5.
© Metmuseum.
 22. *Investiture Zimri-Lim*, 18th cent. BC, Amorite, Architectural Element, Mural, 175 x 250 cm, Syria, Mari, Palace, Paris, Musée du Louvre, AO 19826.
Parrot 1937: Pl. XXXIX.
 23. *Mari Offering Scenes Chapel Inanna*, 18th cent. BC, Amorite, Architectural Element, Mural, 280 x 335 cm, Syria, Mari, Palace, Room 132.
Gates 1984: 75 (top).
 24. *Royal Worshipper before Bird-headed God*, 18th cent. BC, Middle Bronze, Cylinder Seal + Impression, Hematite, 2 cm, Syria, Paris, Musée du Louvre, AO 22 364.
© Lessingimages.com.
 25. *Pair of Seated Winged Sphinxes with Royal Figures*, 18th-17th cent. BC, 1720-1650 BC, Old Syrian, Cylinder Seal + Impression, Hematite, 2,75 x 1,3 cm, Israel, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991.368.6.
© Metmuseum.
 26. *Seal with Presentation Scene and Mythical Creatures*, ca. 1800-1600 BC, Old Syrian, Cylinder Seal, Hematite, 2,1 x 1,2 cm, Israel, Jerusalem, BLMJSeal 561.
Westenholz 2004a: 129 nr. 88.
 27. *Scarab Recumbent Winged Sphinx*, 17th-16th cent. BC, 1700-1550 BC, Hyksos, Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 1,7 x 1,2 x 8 cm, Israel, Tell el-Ajjul, London, British Museum, 1971,1214.4.
© British Museum.
 28. *Scarab Standing/Striding Sphinx*, 17th-16th cent. BC, 1700-1550 BC, Hyksos, Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 1,7 x 1,2 x 7 cm, Israel, Gezer, London, British Museum, 1912,1012.34.
© British Museum.
 29. *Sphinx Amulet*, 17th-16th cent. BC, ca. 1670-1550 BC, Hyksos, Amulet, Carnelian, 2 x 3 cm, Israel, Canaan, Tell el-Ajjul, Israel Antiquities Authority, IAA 33.1721.
Westenholz 2004a: 132 nr. 91.

16.1.2 AFTER 800 BC

30. *Kohl Container Sphinx and Lion*, 8th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Hittite (?), Artefact, Stone (black), 8,9 x 4,4 cm, North Syria, Found in Turkey, Şanlıurfa (Edessa), London, British Museum, 1869,0619.1.
© British Museum.
31. *Plaques in the Form of Sphinxes*, 8th cent. BC, Iron Age II, Neo-Assyrian, Artefact, Plaque, Bronze, 12,4 cm, Syria, Nimrud, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 53.120.1–2.
© Metmuseum.
32. *Ivory Winged Sphinx*, 1st mill. BC, 9th c. BC, Phoenician, Syro-Mesopotamia, Syria, Arslan Tash, Ivory, 12 cm.
Wilkinson 1960: fig. 23.
33. *Openwork Plaque with Striding Winged Sphinx*, 8th cent. BC, Iron Age II, Neo-Assyrian, Artefact, Plaque, Shell, 5,59 x 6,3 cm, Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 60.145.9.
© Metmuseum.
34. *Standing/Striding Winged Bull-sphinx*, 8th cent. BC, Iron Age II, Neo-Assyrian, Architectural Element, Figure, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Khorsabad (Dur Sharrukin), London, British Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 137.
35. *Naked Goddess with Pair of Sphinxes*, 8th cent. BC, Iron Age II, Neo-Assyrian, Figure, Ivory, 35 cm, Syria, Damascus, National Museum, RS 16.404, 7360.
Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: fig. 127.
36. *Plaque Recumbent Sphinx with Outspread Wings*, 8th cent. BC, Iron Age II, Neo-Assyrian, Artefact, Plaque, Ivory, 7 cm, Syria, Nimrud (Kalhu), London, British Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 152.
37. *Bowl with Victorious Sphinxes*, 8th cent. BC, Phoenician, Artefact, Bronze, Silver, Gold, 18,7 x 0,3 cm, Phoenicia, Private Collection Schlomo a Aliza Moussaieff.
Westenholz 2004 (ed.): 138 nr. 98.
38. *Khorsabad Aladlammū*, 8th cent. BC, 712-705 BC, Neo-Assyrian, Architectural Element, Relief, Gypsum (?), 493,5 x 491,4 cm, Iraq, Khorsabad, Palace Sargon II, Chicago, Oriental Institute, OIM A7369.
© Oriental Institute Chicago.
39. *Horse Bit with Standing Winged Horned Sphinx*, 8th-7th cent. BC, Iron Age II, Artefact, Equestrian, Bronze, 18 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, AO 20530.
Demisch 1977: fig. 124.
40. *Standing Winged Horned Sphinx*, 8th-7th cent. BC, Iron Age II, Artefact, Equestrian, Bronze, 11,2 cm, Iran, Luristan, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen.
Demisch 1977: fig. 122.
41. *Shell Engraved with Winged Female Deity, Sphinxes and Lotus Plants*, 8th-7th cent. BC, Iron Age II, Artefact, Shell, 7 x 3,8 cm, Israel, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999.81.
© Metmuseum.
42. *Winged Geniuses Step on Sphinx*, 8th-7th cent. BC, Late Babylonian, Cylinder Seal + Impression, Chalcedony, 3,6 x 1,6 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, London, British Museum, 1905,1014.2.
© British Museum.
43. *Master of Animals with Pair of Sphinxes*, 8th-7th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Syro-Mesopotamia, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.
Demisch 1977: fig. 163.
44. *Plaque with Striding Winged Sphinx*, 8th-7th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Artefact, Plaque, Glass, 3,2 x 4,2 x 0,3 cm, Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Fort Shalmaneser, London, British Museum, 1966,1217.8.
© British Museum.
45. *Horse Blinker with Seated Winged Sphinx*, 8th-7th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Artefact, Equestrian, Ivory, 10,49 x 18,59 cm, Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 54.117.1.

- © Metmuseum.
46. *Openwork Plaque with Striding Winged Sphinx*, 8th-7th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Artefact, Plaque, Ivory, Gold, 19 x 15 cm, Iraq, Nimrud (Kalhu), Baghdad, National Museum, Nr. 61882.
© Lessingimages.com.
47. *Plaque Winged Creatures Approaching Stylized Tree*, 8th-7th cent. BC, Iron Age II, Artefact, Plaque, Gold, 21,2 cm, Iran, North-western Iran, Ziwiye, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 54.3.5 and 62.78.1a, b.
© Metmuseum.
48. *Pair of Winged Sphinxes with Rosettes*, 8th-7th cent. BC, Iron Age II, Artefact, Panel, Ivory, 2,69 x 10,59 cm, Iran, North-western Iran, Ziwiye, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 51.131.17.
© Metmuseum.
49. *Sphinx Kneeling Before Sacred Tree*, 8th-6th cent. BC, Elamite, Cylinder Seal + Impression, Faience, 2,65 x 0,11 cm, Iran, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 65.1418.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
50. *Scarab Winged Sphinx Decorating God-throne*, 8th-3rd cent. BC, Phoenician, Amulet, Scarab, Jasper, 1,8 x 1,3 x 1 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Found in Italy, Sardinia, Tharros, Tomb, London, British Museum, 1856,1223.1130.
© British Museum.
51. *Seal-Ring Two Sphinxes Flanking Tree*, 7th cent. BC, Iron Age, Jewellery, Ring, Silver, 2,2 cm, Iran, Luristan (?), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996.82.2.
© Metmuseum.
52. *Striding Winged Sphinx*, 7th cent. BC, Stamp Seal Impression, Israel, Edom, Umm el-Biyara. Morenz and Bosshard-Nepustil 2003: fig. 51.
53. *Altar with Sphinxes and Lions (?)*, 7th cent. BC, Artefact, Furniture, Clay, Israel, Palestine, Taanakh, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 153.
54. *Pair of Recumbent Sphinxes Flanking Goddess*, 7th cent. BC, Phoenician, Figure, Alabaster, Israel, Palestine, Madrid, Archaeological Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 141.
55. *Relief Recumbent Winged Sphinx*, 7th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Architectural Element, Relief, Iraq, Nineveh.
Demisch 1977: fig. 138.
56. *Pair of Sphinxes with Winged Hero (Master of Animals)*, 7th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Chalcedony (grey), 2,8 x 1,25 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, London, British Museum, N.1076.
© British Museum.
57. *Figure Standing Winged Sphinx*, 7th cent. BC, Neo-Assyrian, Architectural Element, Column Base, Limestone, 9,1 x 8,3 x 3,8 cm, Iraq, Nineveh, Kouyunjik, London, British Museum, SM.2500.
© British Museum.
58. *Vessel/Decorated Egg from Isis Tomb*, 7th cent. BC, 625-600 BC, Phoenician, Punic, Artefact, Eggshell (ostrich), Syro-Mesopotamia & Levant, Found in Italy, Vulci, Polledrara Cemetery, Isis Tomb, London, British Museum, 1850,0227.5.
© British Museum.
59. *Scarab Recumbent Bearded Sphinx*, 1st mill. BC, Late Period, Amulet, Scarab, Glazed Composition, 2,3 x 1,65 x 8 cm, Iran, South-western Iran, Susa, London, British Museum, 1908,0411.86.
© British Museum.
60. *Hero with Two Sphinxes*, 7th-6th cent. BC, Neo-Babylonian, Cylinder Seal Impression, Quartz, Chalcedony, 2,95 x 1,45 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, London, British Museum, 1929.63.3.
Gräff and Ritter 2011: fig. 9.
61. *Sphinx and Winged Lion*, 7th-6th cent. BC, 625-539 BC, Neo-Babylonian, Stamp Seal Impression, Chalcedony, 2,2 x 1,5 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 03.1003.

- © Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
62. *Sphinx Attacked by Griffin*, 7th-6th cent. BC, 625-539 BC, Neo-Babylonian, Cylinder Seal + Impression, Carnelian (orange), 2 x 1 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 65.1377.
- © Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
63. *Sphinx with Tiara*, 7th-6th cent. BC, 625-539 BC, Neo-Babylonian, Cylinder Seal, 2,8 x 1,2 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 65.1547.
- © Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
64. *Hero Attacks Sphinx*, 7th-6th cent. BC, 625-539 BC, Neo-Babylonian, Cylinder Seal, Amethyst, Quartz, 2,6 x 1,2 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 65.1547.
- © Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
65. *Relief Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Winged Sun-disc*, 6th-5th cent. BC, ca. 500 BC, Persian, Architectural Element, Relief, Iran, Persia, Persepolis, Apadana Palace, Chicago, Oriental Institute.
- Demisch 1977: fig. 134 a & b.
66. *Finger-Ring Winged Bull-Sphinx*, 6th-4th cent. BC, Achaemenid, Jewellery, Ring, Syro-Mesopotamia.
- Ritter 2011: fig. 12.
67. *Persepolis Bull-Sphinx*, 6th-4th cent. BC, Achaemenid, Architectural Element, Figure, Iran, Persia, Persepolis.
- Ritter 2011: fig. 13.
68. *Hero Standing on Pair of Sphinxes*, 6th-4th cent. BC, Achaemenid, Cylinder Seal Impression, Iran, Persia, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.
- Demisch 1977: fig. 169.
69. *Pair of Sphinxes with Lions, Bulls and Winged Lions*, 6th-4th cent. BC, Achaemenid, Cylinder Seal + Impression, Chalcedony, 4,7 x 3,5 x 1,6 cm, Syro-Mesopotamia, London, British Museum, 1945,1013.140.
- © British Museum.
70. *Master of Animals with Pair of Bes-headed Sphinxes*, 6th-4th cent. BC, Achaemenid, Stamp Seal Impression, Clay, 2,5 x 2,2 cm, Iraq, Ur, Tomb, London, British Museum, 1932,1008.198.
- © British Museum.
71. *Pair of Sphinxes*, 6th-4th C BC, 550-331 BC, Achaemenid, Stamp Seal Impression, Chalcedony, Iran, Persia, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 27.653.
- © Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
72. *Recumbent Winged Sphinx*, 6th-4th cent. BC, 538-331 BC, Achaemenid, Stamp Seal + Impression, Chalcedony, 1,5 x 1,6 x 2,3 cm, Iran, Persia, London, British Museum, 1906,1110.33.
- © British Museum.
73. *Master of Animals*
- © British Museum.
74. *Sphinx with Wings Ending in Head of Bird of Prey*, 5th cent. BC, Achaemenid, Artefact, Gold, 5 cm, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Takht-I Kuwad, London, British Museum, 1897,1231.26.
- © British Museum.
75. *Hero Slaying Sphinx*, 5th cent. BC, Achaemenid, Stamp Seal + Impression, Lapis lazuli, 2,5 x 2,5 cm, Iran, Persia, London, British Museum, 1945,1015.17.
- © British Museum.
76. *Pair of Sphinxes with Winged Sun-disc*, 5th cent. BC, Achaemenid, Architectural Element, Mural, Glazed siliceous brick, 117 x 120 cm, Iran, South-western Iran, Susa, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Sb3325.
- © Musée du Louvre.
77. *Coin Seated Winged Sphinx*, 5th-4th cent. BC, Levantine, Coin, Silver, Israel, Palestine, Samaria, London, British Museum, 1903,0306.1.
- © British Museum.

16.2 EGYPT

16.2.1 PRECEDING 1600 BC

1. *Great Recumbent Sphinx*, 27th-26th cent. BC, ca. 2600 BC, Old Kingdom, 4th Dyn., Monument, Figure, Calcite, 20 x 73,5 m, Egypt, Giza.
© Lessingimages.com.
2. *Pairs of Recumbent Sphinxes Decorating Valley Temple of Chephren*, 27th-26th cent. BC, ca. 2600 BC, Old Kingdom, 4th Dyn., (Reconstruction) Architectural Element, Figure, Egypt, Giza.
Schmitt 2001: fig. 9.
3. *Figure of a Female (?) Sphinx*, 27th-26th cent. BC, ca. 2600 BC, Old Kingdom, 4th Dyn., Figure, Calcite, Egypt, Abu Rawash, Death Temple Djedefre, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE35137.
Dubiel 2011: fig. 20.
4. *Head of Sphinx of Djedefre*, 26th cent. BC, 2565-2558 BC, Old Kingdom, 4th Dyn., Figure, Sandstone, 33,5 x 28,8 x 26,5 cm, Egypt, Abu Rawash, Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 12626.
© Musée du Louvre.
5. *Griffin Trampling Enemies*, 26th-25th cent. BC, ca. 2500 BC, Old Kingdom, 5th Dyn., Architectural Element, Relief, Egypt, Abusir, Temple of Sahure, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen.
Demisch 1977: fig. 63.
6. *Sphinx Trampling Enemies*, 24th-23rd cent. BC, ca. 2300 BC, Old Kingdom, 6th Dyn., Architectural Element, Relief, Egypt, Saqqara, Temple of Pepi II.
Demisch 1977: fig. 64.
7. *Sphinx Merenre I Offering*, 23rd cent. BC, 2287-2278 BC, Old Kingdom, 6th Dyn., Figure, Egypt, Heliopolis, Edinburgh, National Museum of Scotland, 1984.405.
Dubiel 2011: fig. 10.
8. *Mane Sphinx Merenre I*, 23rd cent. BC, 2287-2278 BC, Old Kingdom, 6th Dyn., Figure, 5,9 cm, Egypt, Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts.
Dubiel 2011: fig. 18.
9. *Pendant in Shape of Recumbent Sphinx*, 22nd-20th cent. BC, 2130-1980 BC, First Intermediate, Jewellery, Pendant, Gold, Electrum, Egypt, El Mustagidda, Grave 637, London, British Museum, 1929,1015.494.
© British Museum.
10. *Amulet in Shape of Recumbent Sphinx*, 24th-16th cent. BC, 2400-1550 BC, Amulet, Jewellery, Carnelian, 2,7 cm, Egypt, Nubia, Kerma, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 20.1733.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
11. *Beaded Collar with Sphinx and Falcon Amulet*, 21st-17th cent. BC, 2061-1640 BC, Middle Kingdom, 11th-13th Dyn., Jewellery, Necklace, Steatite, Gold, Electrum, 18,5 cm, Egypt, Naga el-Deir, Sheikh Farag, Tomb SF 43, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.3609.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
12. *String of Beads and Seated Female Sphinx Amulet*, 21st-17th cent. BC, 2061-1640 BC, Middle Kingdom, 11th-13th Dyn., Jewellery, Necklace, 17 cm, Egypt, El-Rizeigat, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 04.1862.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
13. *String of Beads and Pair of Seated Female Sphinxes Amulets*, 21st-17th cent. BC, 2061-1640 BC, Middle Kingdom, 11th-13th Dyn., Jewellery, Amulet, Amazonite, 10 cm, Egypt, El-Rizeigat, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 04.1863.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
14. *String of Beads and Seated Female Sphinx Amulet*, 21st-17th cent. BC, 2061-1640 BC, Middle Kingdom, 11th-13th Dyn., Jewellery, Necklace, Carnelian, Amethyst, Amazonite, Garnet, Faience, Glass, 29 cm, Egypt, Sheikh Farag, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 25.1508.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.

15. *Recumbent Sphinx Figurine*, 20th cent. BC, 1980-1938 BC, Middle Kingdom, 11th Dyn., Figure, Wood, Egypt, Thebes, el-Asasif, Tomb 816, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 31.3.64.
© Metmuseum.
16. *Sphinx with Name of Princess Ita*, 20th cent. BC, 1938-1904 BC, Middle Kingdom, 12th Dyn., Figure, Sandstone, 58 x 161 x 26 cm, Egypt, Found in Syria, Tell el-Mishrife, Temple Nin-Egal, Paris, Musée du Louvre, AO 13075.
© Musée du Louvre.
17. *Great Sphinx of Tanis*, 20th-19th cent. BC, ca. 1900 BC, Middle Kingdom, Figure, Granite, 206 x 479 cm, Egypt, Tanis, Temple of Amun, Paris, Musée du Louvre, A 23.
© Musée du Louvre.
18. *Ivory Sphinx with Captive*, 20th-19th cent. BC, 1943-1899 BC, Middle Kingdom, 12th Dyn., Figure, Ivory, 5,6 cm, Egypt, Abydos, Tomb 477, London, British Museum, 1920,0214.11.
© British Museum.
19. *Amulet Female Sphinx*, 20th-17th cent. BC, 1980-1630 BC, Middle Kingdom, Jewellery, Amulet, Amethyst, 2,31 x 1,77 x 0,85 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1925,0112.73.
© British Museum.
20. *Stamp Seal in the Form of a Recumbent Sphinx*, 20th-16th cent. BC, 1980-1539 BC, Middle Kingdom, 2nd Intermediate, 12th-17th Dyn., Stamp Seal, Steatite (blue), 2 cm, Egypt, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.7.52.
© Metmuseum.
21. *Amulet in the Form of a Recumbent Sphinx*, 20th-13th cent. BC, Middle Kingdom, 2nd Intermediate, New Kingdom, Jewellery, Amulet, Gold, 2,5 x 1,4 x 1 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1899,0314.38.
© British Museum.
22. *Pectoral Mereret – Pair of Griffins Trampling Enemies*, 19th cent. BC, 1878-1839 BC, Middle Kingdom, 12th Dyn., Jewellery, Pectoral, Gold, Turquoise, Carnelian, Amethyst, Lapis lazuli, 6,1/7,9 x 8,6/10,5 cm, Egypt, Cairo, National Museum, JE 30875.
© Tour Egypt; Drawing: © TakeNote.it.
23. *Sphinx of Sesostris III*, 19th cent. BC, 1878-1839 BC, Middle Kingdom, 12th Dyn., Figure, Diorite, 73 x 29,3 x 42,5 cm, Egypt, Thebes, Karnak, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.9.2.
© Metmuseum.
24. *Headless Recumbent Sphinx of Senwosret III*, 19th cent. BC, 1878-1839 BC, Middle Kingdom, 12th Dyn., Figure, Quartzite (brown), 50 x 42 x 107 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1974,0722.1.
© British Museum.
25. *Sphinx of Amenemhat III*, 19th cent. BC, 1860-1814 BC, Middle Kingdom, 12th Dyn., Figure, Granite (black), 140 x 225 cm, Egypt, Tanis, San el-Hagar, Cairo, National Museum, JE 15210 CG 394.
Demisch 1977: figs. 32-33.
26. *Recumbent Sphinx of Amenemhat III*, 19th cent. BC, 1860-1814 BC, Middle Kingdom, 12th Dyn., Figure, Granite (grey), 88,9 cm, Egypt, Bubastis (Tell Basta), Cairo, National Museum.
© Flickr.com.
27. *Headless Sphinx of Amenemhat III*, 19th cent. BC, 1860-1814 BC, Middle Kingdom, 12th Dyn., Figure, Granodiorite, 170 x 45,8 x 56 cm, Egypt, Tell Nabasha, Temple of Wadjet, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 88.747.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
28. *Figurine Sphinx of Amenemhat III*, 19th cent. BC, 1860-1814 BC, Middle Kingdom, 12th Dyn., Figure, Obsidian, 2,8 x 5,2 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1951,1008.2.
© British Museum.
29. *Sandstone Figure of a Sphinx*, 19th-18th cent. BC, ca. 1800 BC, Middle Kingdom, 12th Dyn., Figure, Sandstone, 23,7 cm, Egypt, Found in Lebanon, Sinai, Serabit el-Khadim, London, British Museum, 1905,1014.118.

© British Museum.

30. *Sphinx of Amenemhat IV*, 18th cent. BC, 1786-1777 BC, Middle Kingdom, 12th Dyn., Figure, Gneiss, 38,1 x 20,2 x 58,5 cm, Lebanon, Beirut, London, British Museum, 1928,0114.1.

© British Museum.

31. *Female Sphinx-shaped Seal*, 18th-15th cent. BC, 1794-1492 BC, Middle Kingdom, 2nd Intermediate, New Kingdom, Stamp Seal, Steatite, 1,1 x 0,7 x 1,5 cm, Egypt, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 2007.256.

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16.2.2 AFTER 800 BC

32. *Ram-headed Sphinx and Crocodile*, 9th-4th cent. BC, ca. 800-350 BC, Kushite Period, Seal, Stamp Seal, Bronze, 4,4 x 3,1 cm, Sudan, Meroe, Temple of Amun-Ra, London, Petrie Museum, UC 43960.

© The Petrie Museum.

33. *Chair Leg in the Shape of a Sphinx*, 8th-7th cent. BC, 760-656 BC, Third Intermediate, 25th Dyn., Artefact, Furniture, Wood, 42,3 x 7 cm, Egypt, Sudan, London, British Museum, 1893,0514.37.

© British Museum.

34. *Amulet with Sphinx and Scarab*, 8th-4th cent. BC, 760-332 BC, Third Intermediate, Late Period, Amulet, Scarab, Faience, 2,8 x 3,3 cm, Egypt, Giza, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 26-1-455.

© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.

35. *Amulet in the Shape of a Seated Sphinx*, 8th cent. BC, 743-712 BC, Late Period, Napatan Period, Jewellery, Amulet, Faience (blue), Sudan, Nubia, El-Kurru, Tomb King Piankhy, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 24.630.

© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.

36. *Pendant with Seated Ram-headed Sphinx*, 8th cent. BC, 743-712 BC, Late Period, Napatan Period, Jewellery, Pendant, Silver, Lapis lazuli, Glass, 9 cm, Sudan, Nubia, El-Kurru, Tomb King Piankhy, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 24.972.

© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.

37. *Figure Recumbent Bearded Sphinx*, 8th-1st cent. BC, 760-30 BC, Late Period, Hellenistic Period, Figure, Bronze, 6,5 x 2,5 x 9,2 cm, Egypt, Giza, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 31.785.

© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.

38. *Taharqo Trampling an Enemy*, 7th cent. BC, 690-664 BC, Late Period, Napatan Period, 25th Dyn., Architectural Element, Relief, Egypt, Kawa, Temple. Dubiel 2011: fig. 19.

39. *Lion-maned Sphinx of Taharqo*, 7th cent. BC, ca. 680 BC, Late Period, Napatan Period, 25th Dyn., Figure, Granite gneiss, 40,6 x 73 cm, Sudan, Northern Dongola, Kawa, Temple T, London, British Museum, 1932,0611.1.

© British Museum.

40. *Recumbent Offering Sphinx Shepenupet II*, 7th cent. BC, ca. 660 BC, Late Period, 25th Dyn., Figure, Granite, 46,5 x 82 cm, Egypt, Karnak, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Inv. 7972. Scharff 1931: Fig. 4.

41. *Hathor-cow Protects a Sphinx*, 8th-4th cent. BC, Late Period/25th Dyn., Figure, Limestone, 59,5 x 11,8 x 6 cm, Egypt, Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum der Universität, Inv. 5145. Sfinx 2006: 153.

42. *Sphinx of Priest Wah-ib-re*, 7th-6th cent. BC, Late Period, 26th Dyn., Figure, Calcite, Egypt, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, AE_INV_76.

© Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna.

43. *Scarab Bearded Sphinx with Captive*, 7th-6th cent. BC, 664-525 BC, Late Period, 26th Dyn., Sait Period, Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 0,9 x 1,24 x 0,6 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1909,0508.24.
© British Museum.
44. *Scarab Recumbent Sphinx above Cartouche Thutmoses III*, 7th-6th cent. BC, Late Period, 26th Dyn. (imitation of), Phoenician, Amulet, Scarab, Steatite (?), Schist (?), 1,15 x 1,5 x 0,7 cm, Egypt, Syria, Amrit, London, British Museum, 1884,0714.149.
© British Museum.
45. *Figure Standing Bearded Sphinx*, 7th-4th cent. BC, 664-323 BC, Late Period, Figure, Bronze, 17,4 x 17,3 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1946,1204.80.
© British Museum.
46. *Coffin Decoration with Griffin*, 7th-4th cent. BC, 664-323 BC, Late Period, Artefact (funerary), Wood, 13,5 x 34,8 cm, Egypt, Tomb, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 72.4799.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
47. *Figure Recumbent Ram-headed Sphinx*, 7th-4th cent. BC, 664-323 BC, Late Period, Figure, Bronze, 5,8 x 8,2 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1946,1204.58.
© British Museum.
48. *Figure Recumbent Falcon-headed Sphinx*, 7th-4th cent. BC or 4th-1st cent. BC, Late Period or Ptolemaic Period, Figure, Ivory, Egypt, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.194.2474.
© Metmuseum.
49. *God Throne with Pair of Sphinxes*, 6th cent. BC, Late Period, Artefact, Throne, Bronze, 15,5 cm, Egypt, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, ÄM 4580.
Demisch 1977: fig. 39.
50. *Sphinx of Amasis II*, 6th cent. BC, Late Period, Figure, 90 cm, Egypt, Found in Rome, Rome, Museo Capitolino, MC0035.
© Museo Capitolino Rome.
51. *Obelisk Psamtik II*, 6th cent. BC, 595-589 BC, Late Period, 26th Dyn., Architectural Element, Relief, Granite, 31,5 x 60 cm, Egypt, Heliopolis, Temple of Re, Rome, Piazza Montecitorio. Dubiel 2011: Cat. 4.
52. *Royal Sphinx of Pharaoh Apries*, 6th cent. BC, 589-570 BC, Late Period, 26th Dyn., Figure, Bronze, Egypt, Paris, Musée du Louvre, N 515.
© Wikipedia.org.
53. *Figure Sphinx with Long Neck*, 6th cent. BC, 550-525 BC, Late Period, Figure, Terracotta, 29 cm, Egypt, Thebes, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA 939.
© Musée du Louvre.
54. *Gold Cloisonné Sphinx*, 6th-5th cent. BC, 550-400 BC, Late Period, Jewellery, Amulet, Gold, Athens, Benaki Collection.
Kozloff 1976: Pl. 33, fig. 7.
55. *Striding Human-headed Sphinx with Ram's head at the Back of his Head*, 6th-5th cent. BC, 525-404 BC, Late Period, 27th Dyn., 1st Persian Period, Figure, Glazed Composition, 5,26 x 2,05 x 7,43 cm, Egypt, London, British Museum, 1923,1013.14.
© British Museum.
56. *Isis with the Child Horus on a Throne Decorated with Two Sphinxes*, 1st mill. BC, 6th-4th cent. BC, Artefact, Bronze, 22,5 x 26,5 x 12,5 cm, Egypt, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, L VI.66.
© Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Leiden.
57. *Pair of Sphinxes Decorating Goddess' Throne*, 4th cent. BC, Artefact, Throne, Terracotta, 23 cm, Egypt, Thebes, Munich, Staatlichen Antiken Sammlungen.
Demisch 1977: fig. 256 b.
58. *Royal Sphinx of Pharaoh Achoris*, 4th cent. BC, 393-380 BC, Late Period, 29th Dyn., Figure, Basalt, 78,5 x 151 x 44 cm, Egypt, Found in Italy, Rome, Temple, Paris, Musée du Louvre, N 27.
© Musée du Louvre.

59. *Luxor-Karnak Avenue of Sphinxes*, 4th cent. BC, ca. 380-362 BC, Late Period, 30th Dyn., Architectural Element, Dromos, Figure, Egypt, Luxor, Karnak, Temple.
Siliotti 1994: 162-163.
60. *Sphinx of the 30th Dyn.*, 4th cent. BC, 380-343 BC, Late Period, 30th Dyn., Figure, Egypt, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Lansing 1931: 6-7 + fig. 7.
61. *Processional Way of Sphinxes*, 4th-3rd cent. BC, 378-361 BC or 306-246 BC, Late Period, 30th Dyn. or Early Ptolemaic Period, Architectural Element, Dromos, Figure, Limestone, 130 x 43 x 74 cm, Egypt, Saqqara, Serapis Temple, Paris, Musée du Louvre, N 391.
© Musée du Louvre.

16.3 ANATOLIA

16.3.1 PRECEDING 1600 BC

1. *Kültepe Cylinder Seal*, 20th-19th cent. BC, 1950-1830 BC, Cylinder Seal Impression, Turkey, Anatolia, Kültepe (Kanesh), Iraq, An Nasiriyah City Museum.
Gilibert 2011a: fig. 1.
2. *Female Sphinx with Hathor-style Curls*, 18th cent. BC, Middle Bronze, Artefact, Ivory, Gold foil, 12,7 x 10,4 cm, Turkey, Acemhöyük, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 32.161.46.
© Metmuseum.
3. *Plaque Female Sphinx with Hathor-style Curls*, 18th cent. BC, Middle Bronze, Artefact, Plaque, Ivory, 7,29 x 5,69 cm, Turkey, Acemhöyük, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 36.70.11.
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4. *Winged Sphinx*, 18th cent. BC, Middle Bronze, Stamp Seal Impression, Ceramic, 2,8 x 2,15 cm, Turkey, Acemhöyük, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 37.143.34.
© Metmuseum.
5. *Sphinx with Snakes Coming out of its Body*, 19th-18th cent. BC, 1815-1750 BC, Stamp Seal Impression, Turkey, Anatolia, Acemhöyük.
Gilibert 2011a: fig. 2 (top right).
6. *The Sphinx as a Symbol of the Wild*, 19th-18th cent. BC, 1815-1750 BC, Stamp Seal Impression, Turkey, Anatolia, Acemhöyük.
Gilibert 2011a: fig. 4 (left).
7. *The Sphinx as a Symbol of the Wild*, 19th-18th cent. BC, 1815-1750 BC, Stamp Seal Impression, Turkey, Anatolia, Acemhöyük.
Gilibert 2011a: fig. 5.
8. *Confronting Sphinxes*, 18th cent. BC, Middle Bronze, Stamp Seal Impression, Ceramic, 5,84 x 2,53 cm, Turkey, Acemhöyük, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 37.143.33.
© Metmuseum.
9. *Relief Vessel with Sphinxes*, 18th cent. BC, Middle Bronze, Pottery, Ceramic, 10,2 cm, Turkey, Karahöyük, Konya, Konya Museum, 1975.25.41.
Arüz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: 142-143 Cat. 81.
10. *Sphinxes with Sacred Tree*, 17th cent. BC, Hittite, Stamp Seal Impression, Turkey, Boğazköy (Hattusha).
Gilibert 2011a: fig. 7.
11. *Confronting Male and Female Sphinx*, 17th cent. BC, Cylinder Seal Impression on Plaque, Clay, 5,5 x 4 cm, Turkey, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 48.1446.
© The Walters Art Gallery Baltimore; Drawing: Canby 1975: fig. 2 a.

16.3.2 AFTER 800 BC

12. *Figure Winged Lion-centaur*, 8th cent. BC, Urartian, Artefact, Figure, Bronze, Stone, 16 cm, Turkey, East-Anatolia, Toprakkale, Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum.
© Hermitage Museum Saint Petersburg.
13. *Column Base with Double Sphinxes*, 8th cent. BC, Late Hittite, Architectural Element, Relief, Basalt, Turkey, Zincirli, Istanbul, National Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 136; Drawing: Gilibert 2011b: fig. 23.
14. *Striding Winged Sphinx with Snakehead-tail*, 8th cent. BC, Late Hittite, Architectural Element, Relief, Turkey, Sakçagözü, Ankara, Archaeological Museum, 1811.
Winter 1976: fig. 18.
15. *Sphinx with Scorpion Tail*, 8th-7th cent. BC, Iron Age III, Stamp Seal Impression, Marble, 1,89 cm, Turkey, Urartu, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1984.383.41.
© Metmuseum.
16. *Pin with Sphinx*, 8th-7th cent. BC, Urartian, Artefact, Jewellery, Silver, 6,7 x 1,1 cm, Turkey, East Anatolia, Urartu, Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum, BLMJ740.
Westenholz (ed.) 2004a: 140 nr. 100.
17. *Winged Bull-Centaur*, 8th-7th cent. BC, ca. 700 BC, Figure, Bronze, 17,78 x 21,59 cm, Turkey, East-Anatolia, Toprakkale, London, British Museum, ME 91247.
© British Museum.
18. *Pair of Sphinxes Decorating Goddess Throne*, 7th-5th cent. BC, Artefact, Throne, Limestone, 16,5 x 10 x 11 cm, Turkey, Knidos, Paris, Musée du Louvre, AM 1724.
© Musée du Louvre.

16.4 THE AEGEAN

16.4.1 PRECEDING 1600 BC

1. *Malia Sphinx*, ca. 1800 BC, Middle Minoan, Figure, Crete, Malia, Heraklion, Archaeological Museum, II 19818.
Aruz, Benzel and Evans (eds.) 2008: 143 Fig. 46.
2. *Recumbent Sphinx Archanes*, 19th-17th cent. BC, Stamp Seal Impression, Jasper, Crete, Archanes.
Demisch 1977: fig. 172.
3. *Recumbent Sphinx Hagia Triada*, 18th-16th cent. BC, Figure, Steatite, 13,5 cm, Crete, Hagia Triada.
Demisch 1977: fig. 173; Symington 1991: Pl. XXI c.
4. *Recumbent Winged Sphinx Knossos*, 18th-16th cent. BC, Architectural Element, Mural, Crete, Knossos.
Demisch 1977: fig. 174.
5. *Sphinx with Butterfly Wings*, 18th-16th cent. BC, Stamp Seal Impression, Crete, Zakros.
Demisch 1977: fig. 175.

16.4.2 AFTER 800 BC

6. *Cup Sphinxes Trampling Enemies*, 8th cent. BC, Phoenician, Artefact, Silver, Gold, 19,5 cm, Cyprus, Dali, Paris, Musée du Louvre, AO 20134.
© Musée du Louvre.
7. *Plate Winged Sphinx Pulling War-chariot*, 8th cent. BC, Artefact, Bronze, Greece, Delphi.
Demisch 1977: fig. 208.
8. *Plate Winged Sphinx Pulling Hunting-chariot*, 8th cent. BC, Artefact, Bronze, Greece, Olympia.
Demisch 1977: fig. 209.

9. *Sphinx Pulling a Chariot*, 8th cent. BC, Pottery, Bronze, Syria (?), Found in the Aegean (?), Princeton, University Museum.
Winkler-Horaček 2011a: fig. 20.
10. *Horse Bit with Winged Sphinx Trampling a Black Man*, 8th cent. BC, 725-700 BC, Artefact, Equestrian, Bronze, 19,5 cm, Cyprus, Salamis.
Demisch 1977: fig. 205.
11. *Krater Seated Winged Sphinxes with Warriors*, 8th cent. BC, 725-700 BC, Pottery, Greece, Attica.
Demisch 1977: fig. 232.
12. *Bowl Recumbent Sphinxes with Uraeus*, 8th-7th cent. BC, 750-600 BC, Cypro-Phoenician, Pottery, Silver, 18,7 x 3,6 cm, Phoenicia or Cyprus, Found in Cyprus, Amathus, Tomb, London, British Museum, 1931,0819.1.
© British Museum.
13. *Kettle with Sphinxes and Lions*, 8th-7th cent. BC, ca. 700 BC, Late Hittite, Pottery, Greece, Olympia.
Demisch 1977: fig. 214.
14. *Scarab Seated Sphinx with Sun-disc and Ankh-symbol*, 8th-6th cent. BC, 750-500 BC, Cypro-Phoenician, Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 1,9 x 1,5 x 0,8 cm, Phoenicia or Cyprus, Found in Cyprus, Amathus, Tomb 201, London, British Museum, 1894,1101.427.
© British Museum.
15. *Scarab Winged Crowned Sphinx*, 8th-6th cent. BC, 750-500 BC, Phoenician, Amulet, Scarab, Steatite, 1,5 x 1 cm, Cyprus, Amathus, Tomb 242, London, British Museum, 1894,1101.413.
© British Museum.
16. *Plate with Pair of Sphinxes Smelling Sacred Tree*, 8th-7th cent. BC, 725-675 BC, Artefact, Silver, 3,1 x 16,8 cm, Cyprus, Curium, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 74.51.4554.
© Metmuseum.
17. *Vase Sphinx and Griffin with Deer and Goose*, 7th cent. BC, Pottery, Rhodes, Paris, Musée du Louvre.
Demisch 1977: fig. 211.
18. *Oinochoe Winged Sphinx with Goose*, 7th cent. BC, Pottery, Rhodes.
Demisch 1977: fig. 212.
19. *Finger-ring Pair of Seated Bearded Winged Sphinxes*, 7th cent. BC, Jewellery, Ring, Cyprus.
Demisch 1977: fig. 201.
20. *Two Sphinxes Wearing Helmets*, 7th cent. BC, Artefact, Metal, Crete, Kavousi.
Demisch 1977: fig. 189.
21. *Pendant Standing/Striding Winged Sphinx*, 7th cent. BC, Orientalizing Period, Jewellery, Pendant, Gold, 3,5 cm, Rhodes, London, British Museum, 1860,0201.61.
© British Museum.
22. *Alabastron Winged Sphinx, Bulls and Tree*, 7th cent. BC, Pottery, Glazed Composition, 10,4 x 3,9 cm, Rhodes, Kamiros, London, British Museum, 1860,0404.66.
© British Museum.
23. *Terracotta Relief Winged Sphinx*, 7th cent. BC, Artefact, Plaque, Crete, Lato, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 192.
24. *Figure Seated Winged Sphinx with Incense Burning Plate*, 7th cent. BC, Artefact, Figure, Terracotta, 33,5 cm, Greece, Athens.
Demisch 1977: fig. 217.
25. *Figure Winged Sphinx with Snake-head Tail*, 7th cent. BC, Figure, Ivory, Greece, Corinth, Perachora.
Demisch 1977: fig. 218.
26. *Vessel in the Shape of a Sphinx*, 7th cent. BC, Pottery, Terracotta, Greece, Corinth, London, British Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 219.
27. *Bronze Plate with Striding Sphinx*, 7th cent. BC, Artefact, Plate, Bronze, Greece, Attica, Eleutherae.

- Demisch 1977: fig. 220.
28. *Amphora Striding Winged Sphinx*, 7th cent. BC, Pottery, Greece, Milos.
Demisch 1977: fig. 223.
29. *Krater Winged Sphinx with Athena*, 7th cent. BC, Corinthian, Pottery, Greece, Samos, Samos Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 259.
30. *Alabastron Winged Sphinx with Helmet*, 7th cent. BC, Pottery, Crete, Fortezza.
Demisch 1977: fig. 266.
31. *Loutrophoros Sphinxes, Snake and Chariot Procession*, 7th cent. BC, ca. 690 BC, Orientalizing Period, Pottery, Terracotta, 80 x 27,5 cm, Greece, Athens, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA 2985.
© Musée du Louvre.
32. *Bowl Sphinxes and Griffins Flanking Lotuses*, 7th cent. BC, 675-625 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Silver, Gold, 4,2 x 15,7 cm, Cyprus, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 74.51.4552.
© Metmuseum.
33. *Kettle Seated Winged Sphinx with Crown*, 7th cent. BC, 660-640 BC, Pottery, Clay, Crete, Aphrati, Heraklion, Archaeological Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 215.
34. *Terracotta Figure Winged Sphinx with Palmette*, 7th cent. BC, ca. 650 BC, Figure, Terracotta, 12 cm, Crete, Gortyn.
Demisch 1977: fig. 191.
35. *Small Sphinx Olympia*, 7th cent. BC, ca. 650 BC, Figure, Bronze, 13 x 14 cm, Greece, Olympia, Athens, National Museum, Br 6235.
Winkler-Horaček 2011b: 132 Cat. 29.
36. *Pyxis Sphinxes with Lions, Dogs and Human-head*, 7th cent. BC, 650-630 BC, Corinthian, Pottery, 9,4 cm, Greece, Corinth, Found in East-Greece, Ephesus, Temple of Artemis, London, British Museum, 1907,1201.790.
© British Museum.
37. *Corinthian Helmet*, 7th cent. BC, 650-625 BC, Archaic, Artefact (Military), Bronze, 20 cm, Greece, Corinth, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Br 1101.
© Musée du Louvre.
38. *Square Gold Plaque with Seated Sphinx*, 7th cent. BC, 650-600 BC, Archaic, Artefact, Plaque, Gold, 2 cm, East-Greece, Ephesus, Temple of Artemis, London, British Museum, 1907,1201.39.
© British Museum.
39. *Seated Winged Sphinx*, 7th cent. BC, 650-600 BC, Archaic, Stamp Seal Impression, Micaceous Stone, 2,7 cm, Greece, North-eastern Greece, Melia, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 42.11.7.
© Metmuseum.
40. *Armour with Raised Standing Pair of Sphinxes*, 7th cent. BC, 650-600 BC, Artefact (Military), Bronze, Aegean.
Demisch 1977: fig. 228.
41. *Pythos with Sphinxes*, 7th cent. BC, ca. 630 BC, Pottery, 16 cm, Crete.
Demisch 1977: fig. 190.
42. *Dinos with Sphinxes, Panthers, Goats and Lions*, 7th cent. BC, 630-615 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Terracotta, Black figure, 18,4 cm, Greece, Corinth, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.36.
Ancient World 1997: 11.
43. *Amphora Friezes with Sphinxes and Boars*, 7th cent. BC, 625-600 BC, Archaic, Pottery, 45 x 29 cm, Greece, Corinth, London, British Museum, 1914,1030.1.
© British Museum.
44. *Oinochoe Wild-goat Style with Griffin*, 7th cent. BC, 625-600 BC, Archaic, Pottery, 33 cm, Rhodes, Kamiros, Paris, Musée du Louvre, A 318.
© Wikipedia.org.
45. *Figure Seated Winged Sphinx*, 7th cent. BC, 625-600 BC, Archaic, Figure, East-Greece, Ephesus, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 216.

46. *Plate Two Winged Sphinxes with Animals*, 7th cent. BC, 625-600 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Bronze, Greece, Corinth.
Demisch 1977: fig. 227.
47. *Gorgon Bowl with Sphinxes, Deer, Lions and Siren*, 7th cent. BC, 625-600 BC, Archaic, Pottery, 8,06 x 36,2 cm, Rhodes, Kamiros, Tomb, London, British Museum, 1861,0425.46.
© British Museum.
48. *Pair of Seated Winged Sphinxes Flanking God Statue*, 7th cent. BC, 625-600 BC, Architectural Element, Relief, Terracotta, Corfu, Korkyra, Temple.
Demisch 1977: fig. 257.
49. *Chios Bowl with Sphinxes, Female Heads, Oars, Lions and Goats*, 7th cent. BC, 620-600 BC, Pottery, 17,7 cm, Aegean, Chios, Temple of Aphrodite, London, British Museum, 1888,0601.456.
© British Museum.
50. *Pair of Winged Sphinxes Decorating Throne*, 7th-6th cent. BC, Furniture, Throne, Terracotta, 20 cm, Cyprus, Agia Irina, Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 202.
51. *Lid Three Recumbent Sphinxes with Lion*, 7th-6th cent. BC, Archaic, Pottery, Glazed Composition, Rhodes, London, British Museum, 1867,0506.2.
© British Museum.
52. *Plate Seated Winged Sphinx*, 7th-6th cent. BC, Pottery, Aegean, Found in Libya, Cyrenaica, Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 664.
Demisch 1977: fig. 222.
53. *Vase Winged Sphinxes Between Animals*, 7th-6th cent. BC, Corinthian, Pottery, Aegean, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 226.
54. *Tripod Pyxis with Sphinxes, Women and Animals*, 7th-6th cent. BC, 620-590 BC, Archaic, Corinthian, Pottery, Terracotta, 12,1 cm, Greece, Corinth, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 22.139.4 a, b.
© Metmuseum.
55. *Olpe Pair of Winged Sphinxes Flanking Hermes*, 7th-6th cent. BC, ca. 600 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Aegean, London, British Museum, 1867,0508.1010.
Demisch 1977: fig. 258.
56. *Sphinx or Griffin, Bearded Man and Bes-like Figure*, 7th-5th cent. BC, 650-450 BC, Cypro-Archaic, Stamp Seal + Impression, Steatite, 3,2 x 2,7 x 1,9 cm, Cyprus, London, British Museum, 1912,0228.2.
© British Museum.
57. *Tomb Stele with Sphinxes Flanking Loutrophorus*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Architectural Element, Relief, Greece, Attica, Tomb, Athens, National Archaeological Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 247.
58. *Lidded Jar with Sphinxes, Goats and Flora*, 6th cent. BC, Pottery, Bichrome, 25 cm, Cyprus, Achna, London, British Museum, GR 1905.7-12.2.
© British Museum.
59. *Rod Tripod Stand with Recumbent Sphinxes and Palmettes*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Artefact, Bronze, 75,2 x 44,5 cm, Greece, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.145.1.
Ancient World 1997: 10.
60. *Bronze Handle with Recumbent Sphinxes*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Artefact, Bronze, 26,7 x 25 cm, Aegean, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 06.1093.
© Metmuseum.
61. *Vase Pair of Seated Winged and Crowned Sphinxes*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Pottery, Aegean, Aegina.
Demisch 1977: fig. 224.
62. *Krater Pair of Seated Winged Sphinxes Flanking Fight*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Pottery, Greece, Corinth, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.
Demisch 1977: fig. 233.

63. *Votive Bronze Figure of Sphinx*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Figure, Bronze, 5 x 6,35 cm, Greece, East-Greece, Çeşme, London, British Museum, 1875,0313.13.
© British Museum.
64. *Bichrome Bowl with Pair of Sphinxes, Men, Women and Flora*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Pottery, Bichrome, 10,16 x 34,29 cm, Cyprus, Achna, London, British Museum, 1905,0712.1.
© British Museum.
65. *Amphora with Sphinxes, Women and Rosettes*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Pottery, Bichrome, 66 cm, Cyprus, Karpas Peninsula, London, British Museum, 1896,1015.1.
© British Museum.
66. *Fragment of Plate with Head and Torso of Sphinx*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Pottery, Terracotta, 4,2 cm, Greece, East-Greece, Klazomenai, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 55.71.10.
© Metmuseum.
67. *Jasper Scarab with Seated Winged Sphinx*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Amulet, Scarab, Jasper (green), 1,25 cm, Magna Graecia, Sardinia, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 14.40.772.
© Metmuseum.
68. *Gold Enamelled Ring with Seated Winged Sphinx*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Jewellery, Ring, Gold, 1,6 cm, Cyprus, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 74.51.4061.
© Metmuseum.
69. *Marble Lamp with Sphinxes, Griffins and Sirens*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Artefact, Marble, Calcite, 6,4 x 16,5 cm, Greece, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 06.1072.
© Metmuseum.
70. *Aryballos with Sphinx and Tigers*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Pottery, 12,8 x 1,8 cm, Greece, Corinth, London, British Museum, 1867,0508.890.
© British Museum.
71. *Chios Coin with Seated Winged Sphinx and Wine Jar*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Aegean, Chios, London, British Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 267.
72. *Figure Winged Sphinx with Snake-head Tail*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Figure, Aegean, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen.
Demisch 1977: fig. 269.
73. *Relief Two Sphinxes with Tree*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Architectural Element, Relief, Limestone, 84 cm, Aegean.
Demisch 1977: fig. 230.
74. *Comb Pair of Sphinxes Attacking Man*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Artefact, Comb, Ivory, Greece, Sparta, Athens, National Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 72.
75. *Frieze Two Pair of Seated Winged Sphinxes*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Architectural Element, Relief, East-Greece, Assos, Temple of Athena.
Demisch 1977: fig. 250.
76. *Relief Altar Winged Standing Sphinxes*, 6th cent. BC, Archaic, Architectural Element, Relief, East-Greece, Miletus, Temple.
Demisch 1977: fig. 253.
77. *Vase in the Shape of a Sphinx*, 6th cent. BC, 600-580 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Greece, Corinth, Paris, Musée du Louvre, A 476.
© Musée du Louvre.
78. *Pyxis with Sphinxes, Lions, Sirens and Birds*, 6th cent. BC, 600-575 BC, Archaic, Pottery, 17,7 x 22,5 cm, Greece, Corinth, London, British Museum, 1873,1012.1.
© British Museum.
79. *Perfume Bottle in the Shape of a Recumbent Sphinx*, 6th cent. BC, 600-575 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Terracotta, 6,5 x 8,2 x 3,6 cm, Greece, Corinth, Found in Rhodes, Kamiros, London, British Museum, 1860,0404.35.
© British Museum.
80. *Kylix Pair of Sphinxes with Swan*, 6th cent. BC, 600-575 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Black figure, 18,54 x 7,62 cm, Greece, Corinth, Found in Greece, Aegina, London, British Museum, 1852,0707.14.

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81. *Oinochoe Sphinxes, Leopards, Boars, Lions and Goat*, 6th cent. BC, 600-575 BC, Archaic, Pottery, 38,1 cm, Greece, Corinth, London, British Museum, 1814,0704.491.
© British Museum.
82. *Column Krater Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Bird*, 6th cent. BC, 600-575 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Black figure, 17,5 x 30,4 cm, Greece, Attica, Temple of Aphrodite, London, British Museum, 1888,0601.563.
© British Museum.
83. *Dinos Standing/Striding Winged Sphinx*, 6th cent. BC, 600-570 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Black figure, Late Wild Goat, 12,2 x 17 x 1 cm, East-Greece, Ionia, Found in Egypt, Naukratis, London, British Museum, 1888,0601.546.b.
© British Museum.
84. *Golden Ring with Sphinxes and Lions*, 6th cent. BC, 600-550 BC, Archaic, Jewellery, Ring, Gold, 1,5 cm, Cyprus, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 74.51.4056.
© Metmuseum.
85. *Attic Black-figure Dinos with Sphinxes, Sirens, Deer and Wild Cats*, 6th cent. BC, ca. 580 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Terracotta, Black figure, 93 cm, Greece, Attica, Found in Italy, Cerveteri (Caere), Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 874.
© Musée du Louvre.
86. *Plate Pair of Seated Winged Sphinxes*, 6th cent. BC, ca. 580 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Greece, Corinth, Copenhagen, National Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 221.
87. *Vase Pair of Seated Winged Sphinxes Flanking Tree (François vase)*, 6th cent. BC, ca. 580 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Black figure, 66 cm, Aegean, Florence, Museo Archeologico.
Demisch 1977: fig. 229.
88. *Marble Sphinx Capital*, 6th cent. BC, 580-575 BC, Archaic, Figure, Marble, 72 cm, Greece, Attica, Tomb, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 24.97.87.
© Metmuseum.
89. *Ampersand Pyxis*, 6th cent. BC, 580-570 BC, Corinthian, Pottery, Pyxis, Terracotta, Black figure, 14 x 15 x 15 cm, Greece, Corinth, Chicago, The Art Institute, 1905.343a-b.
© The Art Institute Chicago.
90. *Pyxis or Lekanis with Sphinx, Sirens and Swans*, 6th cent. BC, 580-560 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Black figure, 31 x 33 cm, Greece, Attica, Athens, London, British Museum, 1837,0412.207.
© British Museum.
91. *Spata Sphinx*, 6th cent. BC, 575-550 BC, Figure, Marble, 69,3 x 57 x 17 cm, Greece, Spata (probably from a grave), Athens, National Museum, 28.
Schröder 2011: cat. 33.
92. *Naxian Seated Winged Sphinx*, 6th cent. BC, 570-560 BC, Archaic, Architectural Element, Figure, 222 x 135 cm, Cyclades, Naxos, Found in Greece, Delphi, Temple of Apollo, Delphi Museum.
© Wikipedia.org.
93. *Terracotta Little Master Cup*, 6th cent. BC, 565-550 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Terracotta, 16,8 x 25,1 cm, Greece, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 03.24.31.
© Metmuseum.
94. *Oinochoe Sphinxes and Griffins Attack Deer*, 6th cent. BC, 560-550 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Terracotta, 14,6 x 8,9 cm, Greece, East-Greece, Miletus, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 74.51.365a, b.
© Metmuseum.
95. *Scarab with Sphinx and Satyr*, 6th cent. BC, ca. 550 BC, Archaic, Amulet, Scarab, Sardonyx, 1,8 cm, Greece, Attica, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 23.577.
Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
96. *Kylix with Seated Winged Sphinx*, 6th cent. BC, ca. 550 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Terracotta, Black Figure, 9,1 x 24,5 cm, Greece, Attica, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41.162.126.
© Metmuseum.

97. *Sculpted Capital Two Sphinxes Behind Hathor*, 6th cent. BC, ca. 550 BC, Archaic, Cypro-Archaic, Architectural Element, Capital, Limestone, 133 x 74 x 37 cm, Cyprus, Larnaca, Paris, Musée du Louvre, AM 93.
© Musée du Louvre.
98. *Hydria Two Sphinxes with Eagle*, 6th cent. BC, ca. 550 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Terracotta, Black figure, 22,7 cm, Greece, Euboea, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 68.11.40.
© Metmuseum.
99. *Neck-Amphora Two Sphinxes with Apollo*, 6th cent. BC, ca. 550 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Black figure, 39,5 cm, Greece, Attica, Athens, Found in Magna Graecia, Italy, Vulci, London, British Museum, 1843,1103.98.
© British Museum.
100. *Kylix with Two Sphinxes, Siren and Panther*, 6th cent. BC, 550-540 BC, Pottery, Terracotta, Black figure, 10,3 x 14,1 cm, Greece, Attica, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 98.8.16.
© Metmuseum.
101. *Band Cup with Eris and Men*, 6th cent. BC, 550-525 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Black figure, 13,3 cm, Greece, Attica, Found in Magna Graecia, Italy, Vulci, London, British Museum, 1867,0508.975.
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102. *Kylix with Sphinx and Naked Men*, 6th cent. BC, 550-525 BC, Archaic, Pottery, 12,7 cm, Greece, Attica, Found in Cyprus, Amathus, Tomb 83, London, British Museum, 1894,1101.207.
© British Museum.
103. *Sarcophagus Pair of Seated Winged Sphinxes*, 6th cent. BC, 550-500 BC, Archaic, Figure, Cyprus, Amathus, Tomb, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Demisch 1977: fig. 242.
104. *1/24 Stater of Kyzikos*, 6th cent. BC, 550-500 BC, Archaic, Coin, Electrum, 0,6 cm, Greece, East-Greece, Kyzikos, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 04.1368.
© Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
105. *Limestone Winged Sphinx Tamasos*, 6th cent. BC, 550-500 BC, Cypro-Archaic, Figure, Limestone, Cyprus, Tamasos, Tomb, Cyprus, Lefkosia, Cyprus Museum.
© Department of Antiquities Cyprus.
106. *Kylix with Sphinxes and Amazon-scene*, 6th cent. BC, ca. 540 BC, Pottery, Terracotta, Black figure, 12,9 x 25,4 cm, Rhodes, Found in Magna Graecia, Italy, Capua, New York, Metropolitan Museum, 06.1021.161.
© Metmuseum.
107. *Amphora with Sphinx and Procession of Women*, 6th cent. BC, ca. 540 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Black figure, 46 x 16 cm, Greece, East-Greece, Klazomenai, Found in Egypt, Tell Dafana, London, British Museum, 1888,0208.71a.
© British Museum.
108. *Figure Bronze Seated Winged Sphinx*, 6th cent. BC, ca. 540 BC, Figure, Bronze, 8,2 cm, Aegean, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 51.2469.
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109. *Amphora Winged Sphinx with Man*, 6th cent. BC, 540-530 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Black figure, 19,6 cm, Greece, East-Greece, Klazomenai, Found in Egypt, Tell Dafana, London, British Museum, 1888,0208.101.
© British Museum.
110. *Hydria Pair of Sphinxes Flanking Gorgon*, 6th cent. BC, 540-530 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Black figure, 39,37 cm, Greece, Sparta, Found in Magna Graecia, Italy, Vulci, London, British Museum, 1849,0518.14.
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111. *Relief Pair of Facing Sphinxes*, 6th cent. BC, 540-525 BC, Archaic, Architectural Element, Relief, Trachyte, 82 x 190 cm, Greece, East-Greece, Found in Anatolia, Assos (Behramkale) Temple of Athena, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 84.68.
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112. *Amphora Seated Winged Sphinx and Men*, 6th cent. BC, 540-520 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Black figure, 43 x 35,5 cm, Greece, Athens, Found in Magna Graecia, Italy, Vulci, London, British Museum, 1843,1103.62.
© British Museum.
113. *Tomb Stele Seated Winged Sphinx, Youth and Little Girl*, 6th cent. BC, ca. 530 BC, Archaic, Figure, Marble, 423,4 cm, Greece, Attica, Tomb, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 11.185 a–c, f, g.
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114. *Seated Winged Sphinx on Capital*, 6th cent. BC, ca. 525 BC, Archaic, Artefact, Figure, Bronze, 2,8 cm, Greece, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1975.365.
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115. *Figure Two Sphinxes on Temple Apollo Delphi*, 6th cent. BC, ca. 525 BC, Archaic, Architectural Element, Figure, Greece, Delphi, Temple of Apollo.
Demisch 1977: fig. 251.
116. *Lekythos Sphinx Attacked by Oedipus*, 6th cent. BC, 525-500 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Aegean, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.
Demisch 1977: fig. 279.
117. *Figure Standing Winged Sphinx*, 6th-5th cent. BC, Archaic, Figure, Lead, Greece, Sparta, Temple of Artemis Orthia, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 24.195.110.
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118. *Finger-ring Pair of Standing Winged Sphinxes*, 6th-5th cent. BC, 550-450 BC, Archaic, Jewellery, Ring, Gold, 2,2 x 2 cm, Aegean, London, British Museum, 1846,0629.19.
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119. *Lekythos Sphinx Looking at Tomb*, 6th-5th cent. BC, 540-480 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Black figure, 20,32 cm, Greece, Corinth, London, British Museum, 1865,0727.1.
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120. *Pair of Sphinxes Touching Sacred Tree*, 6th-5th cent. BC, ca. 500 BC, Archaic, Architectural Element, Relief, Cyprus, Athienou, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Demisch 1977: fig. 204.
121. *Cut Stone Winged Crowned Bull-sphinx*, 6th-5th cent. BC, ca. 500 BC, Archaic, Artefact, Amulet, Stone, Aegean, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 270.
122. *Lekythos Winged Sphinx Attacking Man*, 6th-5th cent. BC, ca. 500 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Aegean, Paris, Cabinet des Medailles.
Demisch 1977: fig. 272.
123. *Plate Two Striding Winged Sphinxes with Theseus Killing the Minotaur*, 6th-5th cent. BC, ca. 500 BC, Archaic, Pottery, Aegean, Munich, Staatlichen Antiken Sammlungen.
Demisch 1977: fig. 234.
124. *Cut Stone Winged Sphinx with Conquered Man*, 6th-5th cent. BC, ca. 500 BC, Archaic, Artefact, Amulet, Stone, Aegean, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen.
Demisch 1977: fig. 236.
125. *Figure Female Wearing Sphinx-diadem*, 5th cent. BC, 500-475 BC, Figure, Limestone, 30 cm, Cyprus, London, British Museum, 1917,0701.147.
© British Museum.
126. *Stele Seated Winged Sphinx*, 5th cent. BC, ca. 450 BC, Figure, Marble, Greece, Attica, Athens (?), London, British Museum.
Demisch 1977: fig. 248.
127. *Amphora Oedipus and the Sphinx of Thebes*, 5th cent. BC, 450-440 BC, Pottery, Ceramic, Red figure, 33,2 x 16,7 cm, Greece, Attica, Athens, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 06.2447.
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128. *Gold Pendant in Shape of Winged Sphinx*, 4th cent. BC, Jewellery, Pendant, Gold, Crete, Curium, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Demisch 1977: fig. 263.