

# **The Sphinx Revealed: A Forgotten Record of Pioneering Excavations**

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Patricia Usick and  
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*The Sphinx Revealed: A Forgotten Record of Pioneering Excavations*

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Front cover: Sketch No. 54, inscribed: 'A sketch of the Sphinx &  
Captain Caviglia's excavations, April 1817, [signed] H. Salt

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Giovanni Battista Caviglia in 1827, drawn by Henry Salt from life. Ms. Wilkinson dep.D.119, fol. 140r, the National Trust (Gardner-Wilkinson Archive at the Bodleian Library, Oxford), photo © The Bodleian Library

Memor  
on Pyramids and  
Sphinx,

by

H. Salt, Esq<sup>r</sup>,

with an introductory letter  
by Col. W. M. Leake,

and Notes appended

by

J. L. Burckhardt, Esq<sup>r</sup>,

and others.

[1821]

and for the most part in ruins, <sup>of a great number of them</sup>

Cyclopes I know  
generally such as were  
found in large & rude  
stone piles, another without  
any doorway at all  
with steps & pyramids probably  
it contained the gate of  
the labyrinth  
they have a square hole  
in the middle  
at some of the at all  
the 2 things about  
the pyramids  
(except when a doorway  
is in the middle)  
it is the same as  
seen at the top in  
Greek masonry & that done  
to complete the work as in  
the wall of the

Mr Banks!  
my eyes  
are not  
equal to  
reading this.  
C.Y.

(N 12 in)  
ground plan  
sketch N 1

same manner as those of the so called  
Cyclopean buildings in Greece, or rather  
of Asia (have been called Cyclop. com. by modern antiquaries) in Italy  
Some have doorways curved  
like those at the entrance of the  
catacombs, ornamented above  
with a ~~sort of~~ <sup>sort of</sup> ~~white~~ <sup>white</sup> ~~stone~~  
with hieroglyphics, while others  
have small square apertures in  
the side gradually narrowing  
as they advance inwards, for  
the purpose of admitting the  
light into their several chambers.

These doors and windows are  
invariably found on the Northern  
and Eastern sides. Many have  
been constructed without apertures,  
being ornamented with grooves  
only, that give the false appearance  
of portals, of which a better idea  
may be gathered from the  
accompanying sketches, than from  
any verbal description.

Not only the doorways, but  
the whole upper line of one of these  
edifices bears the traces of having  
been adorned with hieroglyphics  
and it is worthy of remark

Page 31 of the text with corrections by Salt and Yorke, showing annotations in the central margin by 'Mr Banks' and 'C.Y.', and below this, Salt's note linking the text to his groundplan

# The Sphinx Revealed: A Forgotten Record of Pioneering Excavations

In the spring of 2002 when the library and archives of the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan at the British Museum were being relocated after the department had moved its offices, two volumes of manuscript material attracted our attention. The volumes had been catalogued but never studied in depth and many of the illustrations appeared to be otherwise unknown. Both volumes had been bound in maroon buckram with an imitation sharkskin finish and brown calf spines and corners for what was then known as the Department of Antiquities.<sup>1</sup> The smaller volume, 33 by 23cm, was inscribed in gilt on the spine: *Dept. of Antiquities. Salt. Memoir on Pyramids and Sphinx. Text*; the larger one, 62.5 by 49cm, was entitled *Dept. of Antiquities. Salt. Memoir on Pyramids and Sphinx. Atlas*.

Henry Salt (1780–1827), British Consul General in Egypt from 1816 until his death in 1827, had carefully prepared this work for publication and sent it to London where it had been edited by his colleagues. It was the dramatic account of the discoveries made in 1817 by the Genoese mercantile captain, Giovanni Caviglia (1770–1845), at the Great Pyramid of Giza, including a survey and excavations at the surrounding necropolis and the first clearance of the Sphinx since ancient times, Napoleon Bonaparte's scientific expedition having revealed only the contours of its back.

Caviglia had been let down on ropes through intense heat and foul air and had unblocked the various stages of the deep vertical shaft or 'well' inside the pyramid. At the very bottom he had burned sulphur in an attempt to clear the air. Later, while exploring and clearing the passage which descended from the main entrance, he smelled the sulphur, realised that he must be close to the bottom of the shaft, and broke through into the junction of the shaft and passage. On clearing the rest of the descending passage he discovered that it led to a previously unknown subterranean chamber below the centre point of the pyramid. Caviglia also climbed through the space at the top of the great gallery to explore the chamber, discovered in 1765 by Nathaniel Davison, which lay directly over the King's Chamber.

Turning to the Sphinx, Caviglia uncovered a vast, and since demolished, Roman staircase and esplanade as well as fragments of the Sphinx's missing beard and the *uraeus* from its headdress. Caviglia and his workmen defied the precariously cascading sands to dig out a great trench before the Sphinx, bringing to light many Greek and hieroglyphic inscriptions. Standing between the huge paws was an ancient open-air chapel containing a pink granite stela with a long hieroglyphic inscription which Salt carefully copied. Now known as the 'Dream Stela' and erected by pharaoh Tuthmosis IV (c.1400–1390 BC) it described how, as a young prince, he had fallen asleep in the shade of the Sphinx and was told in a dream that he would become king of Egypt if he cleared away the sand which even then engulfed the already ancient and revered monument. In 1817 this stela could not be read. The study of decipherment was

still in its infancy, with Jean-François Champollion in France yet to discover the key to Egyptian hieroglyphs, and Thomas Young in England still calling for more accurate copies of the script for his own researches.

Why had Salt's carefully prepared work never been published as planned and how had it come to be lying in the museum's archives? Our first researches showed that various and partial versions of the contents had in fact appeared on three separate occasions: in the periodical the *Quarterly Review*, volume 19, Number 38, July 1818, as Article VIII, 391–424, Observations relating to some of the Antiquities of Egypt, from the Papers of the late Mr Davison, Published in Walpole's Memoir, 1817; in J.J. Halls's biography, *The Life and Correspondence of Henry Salt, Esq., F.R.S. &c., his Britannic Majesty's late Consul General in Egypt*, 2 vols., (London, 1834); and later in Colonel<sup>2</sup> R.W. Howard Vyse's *Operations carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh in 1837: with an account of a voyage into Upper Egypt*. 3 vols. (London, 1840, 1842). However, the connections between the illustrations and text had been lost, many drawings had never been published, and our study of the history and contents of the manuscript was to reveal much previously unknown information.

## The Memoir text

The *Text* volume contains Henry Salt's 105-page hand-written description of the pioneering excavations of Captain Giovanni Caviglia at and around the Pyramids and Sphinx at Giza in 1817. Other material concerned with the editing had been added when the papers were bound. The *Text* begins with a rough ink-stained sheet which explains the main contents in Salt's own hand: 'VII [with '1124' added in pencil] Memoir on the Pyramids & Sphinx, accompanied by upwards of 70 plans & sketches as per list — by H. Salt.' The plans and sketches referred to are to be found pasted into the *Atlas* volume. The title page which follows: *Memoir on Pyramids and Sphinx, by H. Salt, Esq<sup>re</sup>, with an introductory letter by Col. W.M. Leake, and Notes appended by J.L. Burckhardt, Esq<sup>re</sup>, and others. [1821]*, appears to have been inserted when the papers were bound. Next comes Colonel William Martin Leake's letter to one Mr Harding,<sup>3</sup> written from Nottingham Place (London) on 11th May – no year given. Leake, who had travelled in Egypt in 1801 at the time of the British expedition to expel Napoleon's army, had 'looked over the work of Mr Salt' (whom he knew from the African Association) and suggested some slight changes in pencil (mainly for clarity or felicities of phrase rather than fact). These pencilled corrections are inked over in the manuscript by 'CY': undoubtedly Charles Yorke, former First Lord of the Admiralty and a colleague of Leake's. Yorke was a friend and patron of Henry Salt and strongly advocated the sale of Salt's collection of Egyptian antiquities to the British Museum.<sup>4</sup> Leake's letter also proposed altering the order of Salt's original title to reflect a

rearrangement of the text, placing the part relating to the Sphinx at the beginning rather than the end, 'for the sphinx is decidedly the most important part of the discovery and that which it is most desirable to publish, as that excavation has been entirely covered again'. The title therefore was now to read: *Sphingographia, or Drawings descriptive of the result of the Excavation made at the great Sphinx of Ghizeh in the year 1818, together with a memoir on the Excavation of the Sphinx, by Henry Salt Esquire, His Majesty's Consul General in Egypt, to which are added Drawings of some antiquities found in some of the sepulchres near the Pyramids, with Explanations*. The date, which Salt had left blank, had been inserted by Leake as 1818, but incorrectly so since Captain Caviglia, who carried out the work, arrived at Alexandria on 26 December 1816 and began work at the site in January 1817.<sup>5</sup> (Salt's original text had omitted the year, and Leake's comments in the manuscript's margin show that he had been uncertain whether to add 1817 or 1818.) At the beginning of the *Memoir*, Leake also crossed out the initial 'Sir', thereby altering the format of the original from that of a letter to a memoir, which he considered to be more appropriate.

The *Text* volume exhibits a confusion of different hands. The first 14 pages are in the flowery script of Henry Beechey (c.1789–1862), son of the fashionable portrait painter Sir William Beechey, who accompanied Salt to Egypt in early 1816 as his secretary. Mid-sentence on the 15th page, Beechey's hand is replaced by another in a clear but simpler style which continues to the end of the section on Caviglia's discoveries.<sup>6</sup> Beechey left Egypt in October 1819 and perhaps had not yet completed this fair copy of the Consul General's work. The second hand might be that of Nathaniel Pearce, a sailor who had accompanied Salt to Tigre in Abyssinia (Ethiopia) and lived there from 1809–19, when he joined Salt in Egypt. Pearce sometimes acted in a secretarial capacity to Salt after Beechey's departure. Salt himself was still working on this material as late as May 1820. The wide margins are full of Salt's own notes, relating sections of text to his illustrations in the *Atlas* volume and adding further descriptions and comments. A few pages describing other ruins on the Sphinx plateau are written in brown ink by Salt himself. There are many alterations to the text, some by Salt and others apparently by Leake and Yorke. Finally there was added a separate three-page extract from the 12th-century Arab geographer al Idrissi's history of the pyramids, copied out and translated by the explorer and Arabic scholar J.L. Burckhardt (who died in 1817).<sup>7</sup> Some 'Observations' in the margins of page 56 are attributed to 'Mr [William John] Bankes' who also scrawled a rough pencil note on 'Cyclopean walls' (masonry with immense and irregular stones) on page 31, to which C[harles] Y[orke] has added despairingly, 'My eyes were not equal to reading this.'<sup>8</sup>

### **The Atlas**

In the *Atlas* volume are Salt's accomplished drawings (some in pencil, others in ink and wash) of the excavations at the Great Pyramid, at the Sphinx and in the Giza necropolis, together with plans, details, and copies of inscriptions and reliefs, all of which are linked to his text. Salt appended his original numbered list of the illustrations, dated 'Old Cairo, May 30th, 1820: *List of Plates and Sketches accompanying memoir of Pyramid and Sphinx consigned to Mr William Hamilton Secretary of State by the hand of Mr. N. Pearce*. This list is now superimposed with more than

one series of numbers as perhaps editors and then assistants at the museum checked through the drawings.

Salt's biographer J.J. Halls was informed by Captain James Mangles, a traveller in Egypt 1817–18, 'who had good opportunities of ascertaining the fact', that Salt's survey and drawings were 'remarkable for the extraordinary fidelity and accuracy with which they are executed.'<sup>9</sup> Captain James Mangles and his companion Captain Charles Irby had joined Salt to view the excavations.<sup>10</sup>

### **The first draft**

The contents of the *Memoir* have been published three times, as noted above, but never in the fully complete form envisaged by Salt. They were first used as the source material for the 33-page Article VIII in the July 1818 issue of the *Quarterly Review*, the scholarly periodical published by John Murray, the title of which, 'Observations relating to some of the Antiquities of Egypt, from the Papers of the late Mr Davison, Published in Walpole's Memoir, 1817', obscures the actual subject matter. The anonymous article discusses Davison's discoveries in the light of Salt's new account.

Salt, who enjoyed a difficult and acrimonious relationship with Giovanni Belzoni, another of his excavators, had been annoyed by the *Quarterly Review* Article VI, volume 19, number 37, April 1818, a review of Henry Light's *Travels in Egypt, Nubia, Holy Land, Mount Libanon, and Cyprus, in the Year 1814*, written by John Barrow based on documents supplied by Salt,<sup>11</sup> of which an 'Addendum', discussing Belzoni's recent claim to have found a human skeleton in the sarcophagus of the pyramid of Khephren, included 'a misstatement'. Salt considered the report to be a 'fair account... (except in so far as concerns the first researches in the Pyramids, and the excavation of the Sphinx, with which he had nothing to do, the chief merit of that belonging to Captain Caviglia)'.<sup>12</sup> The *Quarterly Review* had mentioned the antiquities Caviglia had discovered at the pyramids and Sphinx, but 'the chief merit [was] given to Mr. Belzoni, who was then in Upper Egypt!' (In 1818, Belzoni had, however, discovered both the entrance to the second pyramid, that of Khephren, and the sarcophagus chamber.) To set the record straight, Salt wrote to the *Quarterly Review* asking them to publish the work of Caviglia, given that, to date, Belzoni had made himself conspicuous by 'taking to himself *all* the merit of the late discoveries'. Salt expressed satisfaction on seeing the article printed in the following issue of the *Quarterly Review* of July 1818, declaring that it would have the desired effect of 'putting our discoveries in a proper light, and of rendering justice to my worthy friend Caviglia; it also sets Mr. Belzoni's too exalted pretensions in their true light, and has given a very wholesome rebuke to the boasting vanity of our neighbours at Paris.'<sup>13</sup> This final jibe refers to the article's attack on the accuracy of the *Description de l'Égypte* the great publication of the *savants* and engineers who accompanied Napoleon Bonaparte's 1798 invasion of Egypt. Salt wrote to Halls on 7th May 1819: 'The Quarterly Review has at length, I see, done me justice with respect to our late Egyptian discoveries.'<sup>14</sup>

### **Men at work**

The work of four men sets the scene for this important manuscript: first, Nathaniel Davison, then Henry Salt and Captain Giovanni Caviglia, and later Colonel Richard William

Howard Vyse.

In 1763, Mr Nathaniel Davison (fl. 1763–1809), then British Consul in Algiers, accompanied the notorious Edward Wortley Montagu (1713–76), son of the famed Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, to Egypt. Despite the outrageous behaviour of Mr Montagu with one Caroline Dormer of Alexandria, Davison found time for serious research at the pyramids with another traveller, the Duc de Chaulnes. He and the duke sailed together to Leghorn, where during their quarantine in the Lazaretto the duke ‘contrived, by means of a false key, to get possession, and to take copies of Mr. Davison’s papers and drawings’. In 1783 he brought them to London apparently intending to publish them as his own research. Davison issued ‘a written remonstrance... which obliged him to relinquish his design’.<sup>15</sup> Only in 1817 were Davison’s papers finally published as part of Robert Walpole’s *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, edited from Manuscript Journals*, (London, 1817). In this way, the world came to know of his measurement of the Great Pyramid of Cheops and, more importantly in the present context, of his descent into the ‘well’ within the Great Pyramid and his discovery of a second chamber (which would eventually bear his name) directly over the King’s Chamber. It was the lowest of five stress-relieving chambers used in the construction of the pyramid.

In its April 1818 issue, the *Quarterly Review* had discussed Walpole’s *Memoirs*, but had not described Davison’s work at the pyramids, so, in the following issue of July 1818, the editors were delighted to examine his account of the ‘well’ and the chamber and then to relate them to ‘some recent unpublished discoveries’.<sup>16</sup> As we have seen, their publication of this material was in fact prompted by Salt. The anonymous article was based, with numerous digressions, on the documents sent by Salt, and was written by John Barrow and Thomas Young, the latter being responsible for the restoration and translation of the Greek inscriptions on the Sphinx (copies of which Salt evidently included) and probably for the linguistic discussion.<sup>17</sup> An accompanying sketch showing a reconstruction of the elements of the Sphinx chapel was based on (but not a direct copy of) Salt’s own plans and descriptions. The article featured various attacks on the inaccuracies of previous accounts, in particular those of Dr Edward Daniel Clarke and of M. Edmé Jomard as editor of the *Description de l’Égypte*, and an apology ‘for ascribing (in our last Number) the operation of uncovering the Sphinx to Belzoni – he had no concern in this enterprise.’

The ‘recent unpublished discoveries’ had been drawn up ‘roughly’, according to the *Quarterly Review* by ‘our consul-general, Mr. Salt; by whose zeal, personal exertions, courage and perseverance, influence with the pashaw [the Pasha of Egypt, Mahommed Ali], and great pecuniary liberality, many of the hidden treasures of Egypt have been brought to light; some of which have already found their way, and others are following, to that magnificent depository of nature and art, the British Museum’.<sup>18</sup> It was clear to the writer of the *Quarterly Review* article that Salt had not seen Davison’s *Narrative* when he wrote up the first draft of his researches, and this is confirmed by Salt’s dry comment in the margin of his *Text*: ‘all memory of his having gone down the well had been lost at Cairo, which speaks highly for the intellectual capacity of its elder inhabitants’.<sup>19</sup> However, by the time Salt had completed the *Memoir*’s text, he was aware of the fact that Davison had explored the ‘well’ in the chamber of

the Great Pyramid some 54 years before Caviglia’s descent. Davison himself had found a rope-ladder in the ‘grotto’ leading to the final part of the shaft which had been abandoned some 20 years earlier by the scholar and traveller Robert Wood, the author of the account of the ruins of Palmyra and Baalbek.<sup>20</sup>

A brief biography of Henry Salt further underlines the importance of the archive find. Salt (1780–1827), a trained artist, had in 1802–6 accompanied Viscount Valentia (later Lord Mountnorris), as his artist/secretary, to India, the Red Sea and Egypt and had been the first important explorer in Abyssinia since James Bruce. His topographical paintings of India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) have been compared favourably with those of the famed William and Thomas Daniell; his pictures of Abyssinia are unique and prints of them are still sold in Ethiopia. Salt returned to Abyssinia in 1809–10 on behalf of the British government and the African Association, and in 1814 provided an account, *Voyage to Abyssinia*, which remains an important document for the history of that country.

In 1816 Salt arrived in Egypt again, now as British Consul General, a post he held until his death in 1827. At the request of Sir Joseph Banks, Salt gathered important collections of Egyptian antiquities which were to enrich the British Museum, London, and the Louvre Museum, Paris.<sup>21</sup> Salt financed much of the work undertaken by excavators such as Belzoni, Giovanni d’Athanasia, and, at the pyramids of Giza, another extraordinary character, Giovanni Caviglia.

Caviglia arrived in Egypt in December 1816 at the age of 46 and worked at Giza for over two decades. A deeply religious man with an interest in mysticism and the occult, he devoted his working life in Egypt to a quest to reveal the mysteries of the Pyramids. Salt’s *Memoir* description of Caviglia’s work at Giza in 1817 is based on Caviglia’s own contemporary autograph report, written in Italian.<sup>22</sup> Caviglia, as he tells us in his introduction, had been drawn to Egypt through his belief that the inscriptions on its ancient monuments held the key to religion and all the mysteries. (At Salt’s request, Caviglia’s introduction was not included in the copies which were made of the report.) Caviglia was an Old Testament literalist whose views were published in 1827 in four ‘AVVISI’ leaflets which created a scandal amongst the Catholics living in Cairo, and, according to Edward Lane, led to these works being excommunicated. Lane wrote that Caviglia possessed a thorough knowledge of the Bible

but on these doctrines, this rock, as a foundation, he has reared a pyramid of the most extraordinary mysticism – astrology, magnetism, magic, (his familiar study) are its corner-stones, while on the face of the airy vision he sees inscribed in letters of light, invisible to all but himself, elucidatory texts of scripture, which he read of to us, with undoubting confidence, in support of his positions.<sup>23</sup>

Given Caviglia’s religious views, his report is a surprisingly brief and prosaic account of his discoveries, stressing his desire to uncover a hieroglyphic inscription with a Greek translation as a second Rosetta Stone for decipherment. He chose Giza above all other sites because it had not been adequately covered by the French *savants* and because he believed that the etymology of ‘pyramid’ included the Greek for fire (*fuoco*), to which, he claimed, the ancient Egyptians had devoted a cult (*ed a cui l’antichi Egiziani rendevano un culto*). The tapering shape of the pyramid, like fire or flame, seemed to confirm his hypothesis. The word pyramid actually derives from the Greek

word *piramis*, the name for a wheat cake of pyramidal shape. Caviglia gives an account of his excavations and discoveries in the Great Pyramid and at the Sphinx, a list of measurements for the Great Pyramid, its 'well', and the King's, Queen's and Davison's chamber, but leaves a description of the tombs to Salt, whose drawings and notes, he writes, will make the work intelligible.

Salt's account is a much fuller version, even when one discounts the numerous comments, expressions of aesthetic appreciation and intellectual speculation that he interjected. The events of the discovery are more dramatically portrayed and the finds more fully described. Salt was a frequent visitor to the site, actively exploring the new passages and chambers of the pyramid and searching the surrounding tombs. According to Caviglia, one of his two original patrons, Mr Kabitzsch, an Austrian, had suggested recruiting associates to fund the project's mounting expenses. Caviglia chose Salt and his associate Samuel Briggs, a British merchant and banker of Alexandria, over several other offers of help so that any finds would go to the Society of Antiquaries of London, for whom he says he had the honour of working. According to the *Memoir*, the work cost Salt 18,000 piastres, or £450 (Briggs' contribution to the funding is not stated). Although Salt speaks of sending the antiquities to the British Museum, Caviglia always refers to the Antiquaries as the recipients. Briggs was also honoured by Caviglia for his encouragement by having one of the three small pyramids flanking the Great Pyramid named for him as the 'Piramide del Sign. Briggs.'

#### **The manuscripts and finds come to London**

On 6th October 1817 Salt wrote to the antiquary and diplomat William Richard Hamilton, Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, that he 'had forwarded some curious articles discovered in the neighbourhood of the Pyramids and in front of the Sphinx'. These objects belonged 'by agreement' to Captain Caviglia who 'made the late researches'. On leaving Egypt for a time, Caviglia had begged Salt to forward them to the British Museum, 'as a testimony of his esteem for our Nation.' Salt went on to say that he was sending home some drawings with Lt. Colonel Straton (an officer in the 6th Enniskilling Dragoons who had recently travelled in Egypt as far as Abu Simbel).<sup>24</sup> In Straton's dispatch went the first draft of the *Memoir* which the *Quarterly Review* were eventually to publish.<sup>25</sup> Although Salt writes that the value of the Caviglia antiquities would be more clearly understood on receipt of his drawings and memoir which were ready to be sent off with Straton, it seems that the drawings were not in fact sent at this time.

Caviglia's finds, which he was donating to the British Museum, left Alexandria on 12th October 1817. The four cases of antiquities from his excavations were officially described as: *Fragments of a statue, Mansion 14 near the Pyramid; the Head of another adjoining; Pots from the base of the Sphinx; Statue of a Lion Sphinx; Bust of Sphinx and Lion, with Inscriptions; portions of plaited beard of the Sphinx.*<sup>26</sup> With them sailed another donation, this one from Salt and Burckhardt, the colossal bust of Ramesses II, removed by Belzoni from the Ramesseum at Thebes and known as the 'young Memnon'.<sup>27</sup>

We can now chart the history of the museum's *Text* and *Atlas* volumes. Salt wrote to Lord Mountnorris (formerly Viscount Valentia), his patron, on 18th May 1818, telling him that,

although he was sending home some drawings, 'My memoir and sketches of the Pyramids and Sphinx is kept back to be sent home by Mr Bankes...'.<sup>28</sup> A second letter, written on 7th August 1818, stated that he would 'send home by the first man-of-war, all the sketches and plans of the Pyramids, which might very well be published as a first livraison'; works on other subjects might follow.<sup>29</sup> William John Bankes left Egypt in the autumn of 1819<sup>30</sup> but evidently without the manuscripts since Salt's list in the *Atlas* volume announces that they are now to be sent to London with Nathaniel Pearce. They were to go to the address of William Hamilton, who was requested by Salt to show them to Charles Yorke.<sup>31</sup> Pearce was in Alexandria awaiting a ship 'at the latter end of May 1820', presumably with the manuscripts, as well as antiquities for the British Museum and other interesting articles for 'different noblemen and gentlemen in England'. Tragically, Pearce never left Alexandria with his cargo, having been seized with a fever of which he died on 12th August 1820.<sup>32</sup>

Salt evidently sent the manuscripts to London by a later shipment not long afterwards for it appears from the title page that the *Memoir* was in London by 1821. It was probably among the 'many drawings, sketches and memoirs' which Salt sent to Bingham Richards, his agent, in the autumn following Pearce's death, and which he once more asked Yorke to look over.<sup>33</sup> Halls comments that these were 'designed for publication; but, on inquiry, the expense of bringing them out in an advantageous form was estimated at so high a rate, that his friends did not think themselves justified in entailing upon him so heavy a charge, more especially as, from the nature of the works, it was not probable they could generally interest, or hold out any rational prospect of their ever repaying him the expenses of their publication.' Salt had obtained a leave of absence to return home and had decided to wait until he was back to supervise any such publication. Pressure of work however prevented his return and he was to die in office in Egypt in 1827. Many of his papers and drawings were subsequently lost, some of them destroyed by him in his last days.

The second appearance of the material came in 1834 when Halls, in his biography of Salt, confined himself to a 'very rapid sketch' of the discoveries since 'a detailed and finished account of his [Caviglia's] undertakings, written by Mr. Salt, and accompanied by numerous illustrations, is likely to be laid before the public.' Halls based his summary on the first draft of the manuscript, which had been lent to him by Hamilton, adding this to information from the July 1818 *Quarterly Review* article.<sup>34</sup> Halls concluded his description with what is clearly a reference to the museum's manuscripts:

In the peculiar circumstance in which I am placed, I have been precluded from dwelling on the variety of interesting remains discovered by Caviglia in the progress of his researches. These are, to a certain degree, detailed in an article in the *Quarterly Review* already noticed; but the documents with which its intelligent author was supplied, were of an inferior description to the *finished* memoir by Mr. Salt, which, with its accompanying illustrations, will I trust be yet laid before the public.

The third appearance of Salt's material is in the publication by Colonel R.W. Howard Vyse (1784–1853), who had travelled to Egypt and Syria in 1835, and who subsequently excavated at Giza and other pyramid fields.<sup>35</sup> Initially, the now elderly and somewhat eccentric Caviglia had worked for him, but the two had an acrimonious falling-out, and from 1837 Vyse worked with

the civil engineer John Shae Perring. By now we can see that Salt's manuscripts were in the possession of his patron, Lord Mountnorris, whom Vyse thanks for allowing access to the documents. Presumably because of the illegibility of the manuscript *Text*, Vyse states that his account of the pyramids was still based on Halls' version and the July 1818 *Quarterly Review* article, but, in respect of the Sphinx, Vyse also published, for the first time, a number of the illustrations from the *Atlas*, which were lithographed for him by Francis Arundale. Vyse, after dismissing Caviglia, belittles his achievements in the Great Pyramid by pointing out that Caviglia's discovery of the passage circuit was made inadvertently since 'whilst directing his attention to another object, [he] unintentionally made a most important discovery.'<sup>36</sup>

Following the death of Lord Mountnorris in 1842, the manuscripts appear in the catalogue of the sale of the contents of his home, Arley Castle, Staffordshire, which took place on 6th December 1852. Among numerous original drawings by various different artists, including many by Salt, was Lot No. 1124: 'Memoir on the Pyramids and Sphinx, with upwards of seventy plans and sketches by Salt.' Although antiquities purchased from the sale are noted in the acquisition registers of the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan in the British Museum, there is no evidence in their archives of the purchase of the *Memoir*. (This is to be expected since generally only antiquities required formal registration and were allocated register numbers when acquired.) However, at least one other book in the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan's library has been identified as having been purchased at the Arley Castle sale.<sup>37</sup> That the museum's manuscript came from this auction is confirmed by the number '1124' which is pencilled on to the first title page. It is possible that the group of 'Salt Watercolours',<sup>38</sup> now in the museum, might also have been purchased at this sale, rather than arriving with Salt's collections, since at least one of them is annotated by Salt as being a gift for Mountnorris.<sup>39</sup>

The *Atlas* drawings are certainly linked to Salt's own list of his drawings, which together with various others are now owned by Salt's descendants in Dorset. Two drawings listed in the *Atlas* but missing (Sketches nos 33 and 58) are to be found in that collection, while one drawing in the *Atlas* should be in Dorset.<sup>40</sup> It appears that the *Atlas* drawings and the Dorset drawings returned on the same shipment, since the Dorset list is headed 'Sketches by HS sent home by M. N Pierce (*sic*) packed up in box No. 12', and the verso of the list bears the note 'Copied by B[ingham] R[ichards] as ordered, 29 Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1821.' This date fits in with a letter from Richards (in London) to Taylor Combe, Keeper of Antiquities at the British Museum, 22nd January 1821, announcing that he has packages from Salt to be delivered to the Museum against a receipt. Other cases from Salt were deposited on the 23rd and 24th January.<sup>41</sup> The verso of the list of Salt's illustrations in the *Atlas* bears the note: 'copied by B R as directed 25 Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1821'.

### The previously unpublished material

The museum's manuscript text, which is the finished version submitted for publication, is very close indeed to the rough first draft which was to be the basis of the *Quarterly Review* article, for which Salt's text was rearranged and occasionally summarised, but often left verbatim. The main interest lies in

the references to the necropolis tombs surrounding the pyramids, missing from the *Quarterly Review* version, which link descriptions in the text to Salt's plans and drawings in the *Atlas*; links also absent from any published version of the *Memoir*. These references link all the tombs described to those shown on Salt's ground plan and thereby provide provenances for various antiquities discovered at the site. For example the statue head, EA 114, known to be from Giza but otherwise unprovenanced, is said by Salt in his text to be in the British Museum, but was not identified by Yorke, who added the query '?whereabouts?' to the text.<sup>42</sup> It can now be shown to be from 'mausoleum 14' and the present identity of the tomb is known. The uninscribed life-sized limestone statue, EA 35, can now be located to a specific chamber of 'mausoleum 14'.<sup>43</sup>

In addition, Salt describes a fragmentary statue

found by Captains Charles Irby, and Mangles, when in company with us at the Pyramids, who by accident discovered the body of a Priest about a foot high in basalt, holding before him a tablet on which is sculptured the figure of Osiris – this fragment, it is strange to observe lay close to one of the most frequented paths, in the neighbourhood of the Pyramids.<sup>44</sup>

Salt's comment in the margin, 'It is in the British Museum', is also queried by Yorke, '? Whereabouts?' Although no reference is given in the text, the find spot can now be identified as no. 77 on the ground plan, just beyond the south-west corner of the Great Pyramid, 'here a small statue of a priest holding a tablet with Osiris on it was found'. This piece, EA 514, the 27cm high lower part of a dark stone statue of Harbes, Overseer of the Department during the XXVth Dynasty, kneeling and holding the *menat* of Selket, is already assumed to come from Giza because of other monuments of Harbes from a nearby subsidiary pyramid chapel reconstructed during Dynasty XXI.<sup>45</sup> The early painted label on the statue, 'Salt 1821', shows it to be part of Salt's own first collection.

Both Salt and Caviglia refer to the discovery of a damaged figure of a limestone bird, which Caviglia thought to be an owl, near the altar between the Sphinx's paws. This must be EA 437, a limestone hawk, the top of the head lost, known to have been donated by Caviglia but previously only provenanced to Giza. Similarly, the fragmentary 'horn' of the limestone altar, EA 443, and the fragment of the Sphinx's *uraeus*, EA 1204, are also finds from the chapel.

According to the *Text*, shortly after Caviglia's discovery of new passages in the Great Pyramid, Salt and Briggs offered to share in the expenses of excavation, purely, we are told, for the advancement of science and relinquishing any share in possible finds. Salt now made frequent visits to the site and began to record the discoveries.<sup>46</sup> Interestingly, Salt describes the area in front of the Sphinx both as Caviglia's excavation and as the 'Excavation made by Egyptian Society at the sphinx.'<sup>47</sup> This mention of an Egyptian Society may simply refer to those in Egypt who together contributed to funding the excavations. However, the reference may be a later addition to Salt's manuscript, as the Sphinx excavations took place in the first half of 1817 and, by the autumn of that year, Thomas Young, in London, was considering forming an Egyptian Society with the sole purpose of getting all known hieroglyphic inscriptions published in order to further the study of decipherment.<sup>48</sup> By 1819 there were about 50 members of Young's Egyptian Society subscribing to the publication of inscriptions, including many

names associated with Salt's manuscript: Lord Mountnorris, William Hamilton, Sir Joseph Banks, William John Bankes, Colonel Leake, Taylor Combe and Salt himself.<sup>49</sup> The cost of the undertaking unfortunately proved greater than the subscriptions, leaving Young out of pocket and the project having to be adopted by the Royal Society of Literature. Young had hoped to employ 'some poor Italian or Maltese to scramble over Egypt in search of more' but there seems to be no evidence that his Egyptian Society officially contributed to the 1817 Sphinx excavations, although Salt's contributions to the Egyptian Society volume published in 1828 included his copy of the text of the 'Dream Stela' of Tuthmosis IV (Sketch 36). According to the *Quarterly Review* the expenses of Caviglia's early excavations were financed by Salt 'and two or three other gentlemen' who are not named. It is not however until 1822 that Salt writes from Cairo that

We have formed a new society here to assist Caviglia, who has returned, in making new researches in the neighbourhood of the Pyramids & he has made several interesting discoveries, about which I will give you more particulars in a short time....<sup>50</sup>

The names of 'Paisley and Munro' whose graffiti were discovered at the far end of a passage out of the Queen's Chamber of the Great Pyramid are given in the *Quarterly Review* and in Vyse. However, from an alteration to the text made by Leake, it appears that 'Paisley' was in fact 'Pasley'; probably Sir Charles William Pasley (1780–1861) who made a private visit to Egypt in 1802 on leave from the army.<sup>51</sup>

The diary of his visit with plans of the monuments is now in the British Library (Add. Ms. 41973) although, presumably because of the mistake in spelling his name, he does not appear in Vyse's list of early visitors to the pyramids.<sup>52</sup>

One of the editorial cuts to Salt's *Text* is his acknowledgement of the value of the work of his 'Mussulman' predecessors at the Pyramids. In addition to including an extract from al Idrissi in the *Memoir*, Salt had commented: 'The Arab Authors of best repute have recounted even the details of this discovery [of the "real sanctuary" or inner chamber of the Great Pyramid] and every circumstance, under the present aspect of the pyramid, serves as a confirmation of their veracity.'<sup>53</sup> Halls' version of the description also quotes Salt's remarks on 'the liberality of Mahomed Ali Pasha, who on this occasion, as on many others, exerted himself to facilitate the researches carried on by Europeans connected with science'.<sup>54</sup> The rather less diplomatic opinion of Caviglia in his own report was that the devastated state of the Giza necropolis, from which he despaired of making any worthwhile discoveries, could be put down to the depredations of Mahommed Ali's army. Salt also identifies and praises the Egyptian overseer of Caviglia's excavations, 'Arrian' [Aryan], whose portrait in miniature, directing operations, appears in Sketch 54. Aryan also features in d'Athanasios's book as the first man to enter the second pyramid during Belzoni's excavations, although he cannot be recognised since his name is spelled differently: 'Amongst our labourers was an Arab, named Argian, which in the Arab language means "naked", a man of gigantic height, but as thin as a stock-fish. This extraordinary man was able, with much difficulty and exertion, to creep through the aperture into the tomb...'. This feat was impossible for Belzoni 'on account of his bulk' and even d'Athanasios could only enter after removing his clothes.<sup>55</sup> Salt's portrait shows 'Arrian' as tall and thin.

Vyse saw all the manuscript material when he consulted the papers held by Lord Mountnorris; his illustrations taken from the *Atlas* are evidence of this. Nevertheless, Vyse's description of the Giza necropolis in the extracts he published from Salt and the *Quarterly Review* is cursory.<sup>56</sup> Some of Salt's drawings, reproduced by Vyse, show the monumental Roman stairway and viewing platform east of the Sphinx, excavated by Caviglia in 1817. This stairway no longer exists; it was removed between 1925 and 1936 during the clearance and repair of the Sphinx carried out by the archaeologist Émile Baraize for the Egyptian Antiquities Service. On the basis of fragments found on the spot, Salt reconstructed both podiums with a pair of pillars. Salt considered that the podiums enabled the spectator to witness 'the full effect of the admirable expression of countenance, which characterises the features, whilst, as he descended the successive flights of stairs, the stupendous image rose before him...'.<sup>57</sup>

One of the drawings of Caviglia's excavations, published by Mark Lehner in his study of the Sphinx, is not included in the *Atlas*.<sup>58</sup> This is a ground-plan showing Caviglia's discoveries of walls and tombs behind and around the Sphinx, as well as the staircase in front of it. This plan was first published in 1852–3 by Samuel Birch, later Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, to illustrate his account 'On Excavations by Capt. Caviglia, in 1816, behind, and in the neighbourhood of, the Great Sphinx'.<sup>59</sup> Caviglia had excavated the small rock-cut tombs of the Saite Period in the Western Cliff of the north-west corner of the Sphinx amphitheatre.<sup>60</sup> According to Birch, the plan had been discovered by a Mr Cottrell in the autumn of the previous year (therefore around 1851–2) among the unpublished papers of Dr [Alessandro] Ricci 'in the Egyptian room of the Santa Caterina Museum<sup>61</sup> at Florence' and Cottrell made an accurate copy of Ricci's drawing, while moving the descriptions from the face of the plan to a list at the side. The plan is undated but Birch assumed that the excavation was carried out in 1816, when he believed excavations began (actually, as we now know, in 1817). Ricci's unpublished portfolio was studied in 1998 and not all the drawings were considered to have been Ricci's own work.<sup>62</sup> For this drawing it was noted that 'The style of the title and the annotations, which are written in sepia ink in a neat hand, suggest the work of Henry Salt.' Birch suggests that Ricci had drawn the plan while assisting Caviglia with these excavations but there is no other mention of Ricci's presence at the site and he may have obtained the drawing from Salt later.

However, by far the most valuable aspect of the discovery of the *Memoir* is that some 40 of the 68 drawings and sketches by Salt have never been published and are otherwise unknown. Some, dated to September 1816, were probably made on his first visit to the pyramids, shortly after his arrival and before Caviglia reached Egypt. There are also subtle differences between some of Salt's originals and the published versions in Vyse, while Salt's copies of inscriptions, poorly engraved, may repay further study. Salt could not read the hieroglyphic inscriptions he copied; this is both their strength and their weakness.<sup>63</sup> Salt's drawings of certain fragments and inscriptions were rearranged and details altered for Vyse's plates. Although there are few actual omissions, Sketch 34 includes 'a colour pot with blue colour in it found near the building represented in Sketch 50'; this pot is not reproduced in Vyse.

Sketch 31 (published by Vyse) shows a fragmentary relief of

a kneeling king facing left, part of the right hand side of the beard of the Sphinx and its supporting element. This is one of the fragments of the New Kingdom reconstruction, referred to by Professor Dr Saleh Ahmed Saleh, in his 1983 conservation report on the beard of the Sphinx, as being missing and now only known from Sketch 31. It represents the opposite side of the large relief fragment in the Cairo Museum: Cairo Mus. 57119. Saleh wrote: 'It is believed also that, the rest of the beard was discovered during the excavation carried out in 1818 by Captain Caviglia and the drawings given by Salt for the findings still show some other fragments of the beard which are not available now.'<sup>64</sup>

Of Salt's many other projects, there remains sadly little evidence today. We know that he intended to write something on the Colossi of Memnon and their inscriptions, on the tomb of Sety I, a copy of the 'Harper's tomb' (Ramesses III) and a work on Memphis and its quarries (for all of which, interestingly, there are drawings on the Dorset list).<sup>65</sup> If any accompanying texts were ever completed they may have been lost with other papers after his death. However, with the discovery of the *Memoir*, it now seems possible that less material is lost than was first supposed, and a number of other drawings reached England and are referred to in the Arley Castle sale, although they cannot today be identified or traced. Halls says of Salt's projected works: 'None of these ever reached England, with the exception of the work on the Pyramids and the Sphinx, and that on the Kings' tomb [Sety I]... I believe the great expense of engraving the plates, in both, was the reason that the idea of publishing them was dropped.'<sup>66</sup> Some very fine coloured drawings of the Sety tomb are part of the Salt Watercolours group in the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan's archives in the British Museum.

### The List of the Atlas drawings

Drawings marked \* do not appear to have been published. To Salt's original ink list have been added a different numbering system and numerous pencil annotations and alterations, apparently inserted later when the *Atlas* plates were checked off against the list. These pencil comments are initialled R.S.P. (probably Reginald Stuart Poole who began work in the British Museum in 1852) and H.A.M. (perhaps Henry Aubury Mealy, 2nd Class Assistant in the Department of Antiquities 1857–98). Drawings may have several different numbers on them and, confusingly, do not always reflect the list in content or order. Our comments are in square brackets [ ]; remarks inscribed by Salt on the drawings are within square brackets in quotation marks.

### Old Cairo, May 30th 1820

**List of Plates & Sketches accompanying memoir of Pyramids, and Sphinx, [consigned to Mr W. Hamilton, Secretary of State, by the hands of Mr. N. Pearce' added in Salt's hand, and he has initialled the end of the list. On the verso: 'copied by B[ingham] R[ichards] as directed 25 Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1821'.]**

\*Plate I Ground sketch or plan of the pyramids of Gheza from actual measurements. [A very detailed ground plan with 24 alphabetical and 83 numbered references showing the

positions of tombs excavated and recorded and details of finds including '77', the find spot, close to the south-west corner of the Great Pyramid, of 'a small statue of a priest holding a tablet of Osiris' (EA 514). Caviglia's 'residence' in a rock-cut tomb in the escarpment NE of the Sphinx is at '63'. Salt dedicated the plan to Hamilton. Black ink.]

\*Plate II Section of the great Pyramid [with numbered references and showing Caviglia's tent at the entrance. Also, a ground plan of the underground chamber and a copy of the inscription found on the ceiling. Black ink.]

\*Sketch No. 1 of Mausoleum marked in ground plan 12. [Stone-built mastaba tomb G 5210 of Khemtnu, King's *wab*-priest, Prophet of Khufu, Steward of Kawab, [Hetep]heres [II] and Meresankh [III], etc. Time of Khufu to end of Dyn. IV or early Dyn. V. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 155, with '(a) detail of figures & hieroglyph<sup>ks</sup> over the portal – volute of the portal marked ix – detail of hierog. on the stone under rr.' Black ink and wash.]

\*Sketch No. 2 (*sic*) [Not on any of Salt's lists in the *Memoir* but pasted into the *Atlas* volume below Sketch No.1, is a drawing of hieroglyphic inscriptions marked 'hieroglyphicks in detail belonging to No. 1 as vide references A. B. + quarries. These hieroglyphicks belong to sketch (blank) taken from the quarries'. This drawing is evidently the missing drawing '2 - detail of hieroglyphicks in 1', from the Dorset list of Salt's drawings.<sup>67</sup> The cartouche on this drawing is of Nectanebo II and 'belonging to No. 1' refers to drawing 1 from the Dorset list: 'Tablet – King offering to Isis, Orus, Thoth in favour of the workmen represented below'. This is the stela of Nectanebo II offering a field to Thoth, Nehemawat and Neferhor from Masara quarries. (Continuing through the Dorset list, the next drawing is numbered '3' – 'Inscriptions on ceiling of a quarry' and shows various graffiti from the vicinity of Tura and Masara). Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]<sup>68</sup>

\*Sketch No. 2 Mausoleum marked in ground plan 13 [Stone-built mastaba tomb G 5230 of Babaf, Hereditary prince, Companion, Overseer of all works of the King, etc. End of Dyn. IV to early Dyn. V. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 155. This is possibly the find spot of a red granite sarcophagus now Cairo Mus. 48853. Salt's Plate I index gives: 'Mausoleum in which is a well opened by the French leading to a chamber with a granite sarcoph<sup>s</sup>. Black ink and wash.]

\*Sketch No. 3 Ground plan of Mausoleum 14 [PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, plan XVI, Giza cemetery, the northernmost of the two unnumbered square tombs adjacent to the east side of tomb G 5230. The description of finds on this drawing is more immediate and detailed than the version in the *Quarterly Review*, 402–3, and relates to a diagram of the tomb. In the area marked B were 'several fragments of granite with hieroglyph<sup>ks</sup> and from some fragments discovered it seems that there was a statue here as large as life of breccia. In C were found fragments of a statue of calcareous stone coloured as the one in D. Several fragments of small statues of Theban Granite and many bones in D. A statue nearly intire of calcareous stone – coloured, two fragments of a granite statue with hieroglyphicks and a sort of pedestal [horseshoe-shaped diagram] coloured – a hand of a smaller statue calcareous. In 3 the pedestal with feet of a larger statue of calcareous stone many bones head intire – fragment of a mummy cover with hieroglyph<sup>ks</sup> & the mummy of a bird of an iron(?) brown colour about the size of a pidgeon with a long tail & and small porcelain representation of an eye. The corridor A

communicated by windows with the other apartments (as marked 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 narrowing inwards as in old castles) and may have been intended for the friends to look at the statues of their ancestors placed in front of them at 9 – 10 – 11 – 12. The openings behind 5 – 6 – 7 – 8 admitted some light but were too small to let the statues pass – so that they must have been put in before the building was closed – No trace of hieroglyphics on the building – 13 – 14 – 15 – 16 narrow grooves to admit the light – higher up than those at 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 so that the rays might fall directly on the latter – 17 the port of entrance.’ Black ink with red ink plan, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 4** Statue as large as life, calcareous stone, coloured found in [Chamber D] Mausoleum 14. [PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, plan XVI, Giza cemetery, the northernmost of the two un-numbered square tombs adjacent to the east side of tomb G 5230.] Salt notes: ‘Head restored from another found in the same place.’ It represents EA 35, shown here as complete, although now the head and right arm are missing and sections of the legs have been repaired. Black ink and pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 5** Boat at entrance of Mausoleum (4) in Plate I also sketch of a figure in another boat; on back of the same [verso] various objects [‘from different Mausoleums’. Stone-built mastaba tomb G 6020 of Iymery, Prophet of Khufu, Steward of the Great Estate, Scribe of the archives, etc. (Known as the ‘Tomb of Trades.’) PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 171 (1). Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 6** Carpenters at work from Mausoleum 4 [Stone-built mastaba tomb G 6020 of Iymery, Prophet of Khufu, Steward of the Great Estate, Scribe of the archives, etc. (Known as the ‘Tomb of Trades.’) PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 171 (3). Black ink and pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 7 [a and b]** – 2 parts representing a boat fight from d<sup>o</sup>. [Two separate drawings copied from the wall of ‘chamber b’. Verso of 7b are rough ground plans of Mausoleums 2 and 4; an ink diagram appears in *Text*, 42. Stone-built mastaba tomb G 6020 of Iymery, Prophet of Khufu, Steward of the Great Estate, Scribe of the archives, etc. (Known as the ‘Tomb of Trades.’) PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 173 (11). Black ink and pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 8** Men ploughing the ground or breaking clods from same [Stone-built mastaba tomb G 6020 of Iymery, Prophet of Khufu, Steward of the Great Estate, Scribe of the archives, etc. (Known as the ‘Tomb of Trades.’) PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 173 (10). Black ink, red wash (figures), yellow wash (hoes).]

\***Sketch No. 9** Agricultural scenes from excavation numbered 62 in P[late] I. [Rock-cut tomb LG 63 of Kaemnefert, Director of King’s hairdressers, Director of the Palace, Keeper of the diadem etc. Dyn. V-VI. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 208 (2). Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 10** accouchement of a cow from the wall of 4. [Salt notes: ‘The same mode of accouchement (in a vert[ical] position) is still practiced in Egypt and a little salt given to the cow to lick’. Stone-built mastaba tomb G 6020 of Iymery, Prophet of Khufu, Steward of the Great Estate, Scribe of the archives, etc. (Known as the ‘Tomb of Trades.’) PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 172 (7). Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 11** a proprietor of land &c. from 62 [rock-cut tomb LG 63 of Kaemnefert, Director of King’s hairdressers, Director of the Palace, Keeper of the diadem etc. Dyn. V-VI. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 209 (2). Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 12** a view of the ruined Mausoleum marked 50

in P[late] I. [Stone-built mastaba tomb G 7060 of Nefermaet, King’s son, Hereditary prince, Overlord of Nekheb, etc. (Vizier of Khephren). Time of Khufu to Khephren. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 183. Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 13** boat from Mausoleum 9. [Stone-built mastaba tomb G 4940 of Seshemnufer, Royal Chamberlain, One belonging to the estate ‘Mansion of Har-Kheper (Razedef)’, Prophet of Heket, Judge and Boundary official etc. Time of Sahure or Neferirkare. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 142 (2). Black ink and pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 14** ground plan of portal in front of 2d pyramid [‘with hieroglyphics on one of the walls of the same. Hieroglyphics on the walls at 78’. Mortuary temple of Khephren. Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 15** hieroglyphics engraved on the rock close to 2d pyramid [Inscribed: ‘hierog<sup>s</sup> carved in rock at 75 on the ground plan’ and ‘on the wn side of 2nd pyramid on the rock marked RR on ground plan’. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 229, plan XIX [2]. Graffiti of the time of Ramesses II, (a) May, Overseer of works in Akh-ra’messe-meriamun, etc., son of Bekenamun, etc. (b) May. Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 16** players on a sort of clarionet from Sheik’s cave [Inscribed ‘from the cave near the sphinx 11th Sept<sup>r</sup>. 1816’. Rock-cut tomb LG 90 of Debhen, Overlord of Nekheb, Secretary of the Toilet-house, Master of the largesse in the Mansion of Life, etc. Time of Menkaure. (‘Tomb of Hammed es Samaan’) PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 236 (3). Black ink and wash.]

\***Sketch No. 17** harper from d<sup>o</sup>. – [‘From the same cave as No. 6 (16?) being the adjoining chamber to that which 123 are taken (‘in the same cave’ crossed out) In front of these figures – with several others playing musical instruments is a large figure sitting with a monkey under his chair – for whose amusement they are playing’. Rock-cut tomb LG 90 of Debhen, Overlord of Nekheb, Secretary of the Toilet-house, Master of the largesse in the Mansion of Life, etc. Time of Menkaure. (‘Tomb of Hammed es Samaan’) PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 236 (3). Black ink and wash, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 18** deer from d<sup>o</sup>. [‘Pyramids Sept<sup>r</sup>. 11th’. Rock-cut tomb LG 90 of Debhen, Overlord of Nekheb, Secretary of the Toilet-house, Master of the largesse in the Mansion of Life, etc. Time of Menkaure. (‘Tomb of Hammed es Samaan’) PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 236 (5). Black ink and wash.]

\***Sketch No. 19** Ibex or wild goat from d<sup>o</sup>. [‘Pyramids Sept<sup>r</sup>. 11th’] Rock-cut tomb LG 90 of Debhen, Overlord of Nekheb, Secretary of the Toilet-house, Master of the largesse in the Mansion of Life, etc. Time of Menkaure. (‘Tomb of Hammed es Samaan’) PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 236 (5). Black ink and wash, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 20** Gazelle from caves marked in P[late] I [Inscribed: ‘from the excavation marked N in ground plan’. Rock-cut tomb LG 86 of Nebemakhet, King’s son of his body, Chief Justice and Vizier, etc. Time of Khephren to Menkaure or a little later. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 231 (4). Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 21** boat [?] wilding [cattle] &c. from d<sup>o</sup>. [Rock-cut tomb LG 86 of Nebemakhet, King’s son of his body, Chief Justice and Vizier, etc. Time of Khephren to Menkaure or a little later. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 231 (4). Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 22** Apis and Monkey (the cynocephales) from d<sup>o</sup>. [Rock-cut tomb LG 86 of Nebemakhet, King’s son of his body, Chief Justice and Vizier, etc. Time of Khephren to Menkaure or a little later. These are perhaps separate images, the bull from PM

III<sup>2</sup>, Part I, 231 (5) and the baboon from (6). Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 23** birds and hare from d<sup>o</sup>. [Rock-cut tomb LG 86 of Nebemakhet, King's son of his body, Chief Justice and Vizier, etc. Time of Khephren to Menkaure or a little later. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part I, 230–1 (4). Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 24** fish from d<sup>o</sup>. [Rock-cut tomb LG 86 of Nebemakhet, King's son of his body, Chief Justice and Vizier, etc. Time of Khephren to Menkaure or a little later. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part I, 230–1 (4). Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 25** wine press from d<sup>o</sup>. [Rock-cut tomb LG 86 of Nebemakhet, King's son of his body, Chief Justice and Vizier, etc. Time of Khephren to Menkaure or a little later. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part I, 231 (6). Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 26** harpers from Cap<sup>n</sup>. Caviglia's cave [Inscribed: 'marked in ground plan 62'. Salt's 'excavation' 62, i.e. rock-cut tomb LG 63 of Kaemnefert, Director of King's hairdressers, Director of the Palace, Keeper of the diadem etc. Dyn. V-VI. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part I, 208–9; perhaps (5). Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 27** a young bull [?]pirquetted (as at present) from 62. [Salt's 'excavation' 62, i.e. rock-cut tomb LG 63 of Kaemnefert, Director of King's hairdressers, Director of the Palace, Keeper of the diadem etc. Dyn. V-VI. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part I, 208–9, (3) or (6)–(7). Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 28** gazelles (tame), cows, and killing of cow from d<sup>o</sup>. [Salt's 'excavation' 62, i.e. rock-cut tomb LG 63 of Kaemnefert, Director of King's hairdressers, Director of the Palace, Keeper of the diadem etc. Dyn. V-VI. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part I, 208–9, (6)–(7). Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 29** restoration of the fore part of the great sphinx [Inscribed: 'Restoration of the front of the Andro-Sphynx in front of the Pyramids'. Black ink and wash with pink wash for the Dream Stela.]

**Sketch No. 30** part of the beard and ornamented wall that supported d<sup>o</sup>. of the sphinx [The measurements are listed and the '1st and 2nd fragment put together'. Black and pink wash drawing, black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 31** other fragment d<sup>o</sup>. and reverse of 30 [This fragment is now missing. Black and pink wash drawing, black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 32** another fragment (back of this [i.e. verso] is part 2 of ground plan 35). [Measurements are noted and that 'the whole coloured red'. Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 33** sphinx from a stone in possession of Mr. Drovetti [this sketch is missing, but is probably the Dorset drawing entitled: 'Sketch 33. From a stone in possession of Mr. Drovetti', which shows Turin 1672.<sup>69</sup>]

**Sketch No. \*33** – marked 20 by mistake Hippopotamus from a cave near the pyramids. ['Pyramids Sept<sup>r</sup>. 11th'. Rock-cut tomb LG 90 of Debhen, Overlord of Nekheb, Secretary of the Toilet-house, Master of the largesse in the Mansion of Life, etc. Time of Menkaure. ('Tomb of Hammed es Samaan') PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part I, 236 (8). Black ink and wash, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 34** various fragments, a head of serpent on the forehead of sphinx. [The serpent's head/*uraeus* is EA 1204; the fragment of Ramesses II is EA 442; (b), the decorative *uraei* and border corner fragment, is inscribed 'found near the building represented in Sketch 50'; (d) is inscribed 'a colour pot with blue colour in it found near (b)'. Black ink and wash, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 35 [a and b]** ground plan of the temple &c. in front of the sphinx in 2 p[ar]ts, one at back of Sketch 32 [Bottom left inscribed 'wall of sunburnt brick – extent unknown'. Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 36** Granite tablet in front of sphinx [A very fine copy of the reliefs and inscriptions on the Dream Stela. Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 36a** upper part of d<sup>o</sup>. [Red ink drawing, black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 37** tablet, calcareous stone, on the right side of small temple ['in front of the Sphinx – the other side similar but reversed'. This drawing of the stela which remained *in situ*, now Louvre B18, shows Ramesses II before a seated Sphinx, thought to be a representation of the Great Sphinx.<sup>70</sup> According to Piankoff, the left side of this stela is damaged, which may explain why Salt shows the king wearing the white crown (not the *nemes* head-cloth) and holding out a long censer in his left hand (not a vase with handle and curved spout) and a loaf in his right (not the pot-shaped censer). Salt also shows the fallen stela (now Louvre B19) incorrectly as identical to this drawing in Sketches 34 and 53, rather than the reversed image he has described. Red ink drawing, black ink.]

**Sketch No. 38** altar in front of sphinx [Pink, ochre and black wash, black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 39** Lion that ornamented one of the walls in front of sphinx [EA 441, plinth inscribed 'Lion from enclosure of a small temple between the paws of the Sphinx (Presented by Capt. Caviglia 1817)'. Black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 40** Inscriptions on paws of sphinx [Black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 41** Inscription on left paw of sphinx [Black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 42** D<sup>o</sup>. on right paw [A faint pencil translation below the Greek text. Salt notes: 'the name of Ischurion [(?)Ischyron] is found in Nicephorus Call.187. I.' [Nicephorus Callistus, the 14th century Church historian of the Byzantine period. Black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 43** as 40 [Black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 44** old inscription written in the wall [Black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 45** view of steps & spectator, back turned to the sphinx [Black ink, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 46** d<sup>o</sup>. more in front [Black ink and wash, pencil]

**Sketch No. 47** a stand, or spectator, built by one of the Emperors. [a & b – 'building partly restored from the stones & columns which lay close to it.' Black ink and wash, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 48 [a and b]** inscription on d<sup>o</sup>. [Two drawings making up the 'Inscription on the front of the lower small edifice on the platform facing the sphinx'; faint pencil lines of Greek below the ink copy. Black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 49** inscription on a stela engraved by order of Nero [Black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 50** a second edifice erected by the Emperor Severus ['columns were found laying down'. Black ink and wash, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 51** inscription on d<sup>o</sup>. [Black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 52** stela engraved by order of Antoninus & Verus [Annotated below the sketch in William John Bankes' hand alongside his copy of a similar Greek inscription discovered 'on s

side of a stone pier carried forwards into the Nile at the mouth of a large canal called [?] Gunmir [Kom Mer?] about 3 hours above Esne'. EA 438. Black ink and wash, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 53** general view of granite tablet and little temple [Black ink and wash, pencil, with red ink for the Dream Stela.]

**Sketch No. 54** View of Captain Caviglia's operations in front of Sphinx [Inscribed: 'A sketch of the Sphinx & Captain Caviglia's excavations, April 1817, (signed) H. Salt - taken whilst the men were at work. The chief workman with a whip in his hand was named Arrian - a most useful fellow.' Black ink, pencil.]

**Sketch No. 55** Various votive offerings found in front of Sphinx ['Various (illegible) in calcareous stone found in front of the Sphinx. (b), (d), (e), appears to me the top stones of a sort of altar where oil was poured out in libation - or perhaps merely votive offerings as (a). (d) is 14 inches square, (e) 12 inches by 11, (c) a loose stone.' The fragment (a) is EA 436. Black ink and wash.]

\***Sketch No. 56** Sketch of the Sphinx's head [inscribed in pencil 'drawn September 11th 1816'. Given the presence of the complete *uraeus*, some hypothetical restoration appears to have been made by the artist here and in Sketch 57. Pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 57** D<sup>o</sup>. [inscribed 'Sphinx near the Pyramids - Sept 11th 1816 - No. 4.' Black ink and wash, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 58** Demoiselle, Male & female from Mausoleum 50. [This drawing is missing from the *Atlas* but in its place a note reads 'Sketch No. 58 wanting - Demoiselle, Male & female from Mausoleum'. It must be a drawing at Dorset, although not on the Dorset list, inscribed: 'Sketch 58. From the wall in inside of the broken mausoleum 50 in the 'Gizeh plain'. Sept. 11th, 1816, No. 5'. That drawing shows two cranes from the stone-built mastaba tomb G 7060 of Nefermaet, King's son, Hereditary prince, Overlord of Nekheb, etc. (Vizier of Khephren). Time of Khufu to Khephren. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part I, 183 (1).]<sup>71</sup>

\***Sketch No. 59** Mausoleum marked 6 in P[late] I [Stone-built mastaba tomb G 6040 of Shepseskaf' ankh, Steward etc. Time of Neferirkare. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part I, 175. Black ink and wash.]

\***Sketch No. 60** Opening of great Pyramid sketched by Mr. Ruppel of Frankfurt.<sup>72</sup> [inscribed; 'sketched by Mr Ruppel and corrected by me on the spot.' Black ink and wash, pencil.]

\***Sketch No. 61** sketch of head of Sphinx to view the facial line [inscribed: 'a sketch of sphinx as it remains to show the facial line'. Pencil drawing, black ink.]

\***Sketch No. 62** a sketch of a very curious sphinx which I discovered in a subterranean passage at [Kom] Ombos [This drawing is missing and is perhaps the Dorset drawing described as 'Sketch of a wall-relief? with a representation of Tutu as a human-headed sphinx, also with the heads of a lion, jackal, crocodile, preceded by a hawk-headed god and a smaller sketch of a hawk-headed sphinx.']<sup>73</sup>

\* [Unnumbered small sketch of a landscape inscribed 'Cape' (South Africa?); another on verso. Marked '1123' so probably from the previous Arley Castle auction lot by mistake. Pencil drawing, black ink.]

## Notes

- 1 Therefore indicating that the volumes had been bound pre-1860 when the 'Department of Antiquities' was split into three separate departments.
- 2 Later Major-General Vyse.
- 3 Unidentified.
- 4 Bierbrier, 1995, 454.
- 5 Lehner, 1994, vol. I, 32.
- 6 *Text*, 28.
- 7 Part of the extract is quoted in Vyse, 1842, vol. II, 71, n.7. Vyse had been entirely unaware that the third pyramid had been opened previously until he saw Burckhardt's copy of al Idrissi in the British Museum's manuscript, then with Lord Mountnorris. The full extract is given in Vyse, 1842, vol. II, Appendix, 334.
- 8 Bankes left Egypt with Beechey in 1819, and had returned to England in the spring of 1820.
- 9 Halls, 1834, vol. II, 103.
- 10 Although the Sphinx was covered again, *Text*, 41; Irby and Mangles 1821, 156.
- 11 *Quarterly Review* Archive, Jonathan Cutmore, Editor, <<http://www.rc.umd.edu/reference/qr/>> (Website).
- 12 Halls, 1834, vol. I, 493.
- 13 Halls, 1834, vol. II, 126.
- 14 Halls, 1834, vol. II, 113.
- 15 *Quarterly Review*, vol. 19, number 38 (July 1818), Art. VIII, 391.
- 16 *Quarterly Review*, vol. 19, number 38 (July 1818), Art. VIII, 392-5.
- 17 *Quarterly Review* Archive, Jonathan Cutmore, Editor, <<http://www.rc.umd.edu/reference/qr/>> (Website).
- 18 *Quarterly Review*, vol. 19, number 38 (July 1818), Art. VIII, 395.
- 19 *Text*, 24.
- 20 Wood, 1753; 1757.
- 21 For Salt, see Halls, 1834; Manley and Rée, 2001.
- 22 British Library Add. Ms. 54195, papers of Henry Salt, ff. 79-83. This volume also contains a contemporary copy of Caviglia's manuscript, and a copy in Salt's hand of his list of plates and sketches for the *Memoir*. A further copy of Caviglia's report, lacking his introduction or measurements, can be found in Add. Ms. 26,602, the papers of Dr John Leyden (d. 1811) and William Erskine (1773-1852). Erskine, historian of India, arrived in Bombay in May 1804 and helped found the Literary Society of Bombay, forerunner of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Caviglia's report is bound in with other journals covering travels in the Near East and India, including a manuscript of James Silk Buckingham's journal of Nubia, 1813. Erskine may have come into contact with the latter in India.
- 23 Lane, 2000; quoted in Marco Zatterin, 'Giovanni Battista Caviglia and the Lost Tongue of Egypt', paper read at the 2001 Conference of the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East.
- 24 *Salt and Sloane Collections Ms. Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities and various BM Correspondence*. Item 2, AES Ar.235, Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan Archives, the British Museum.
- 25 Halls, 1834, vol. II, 64.
- 26 Foreign Office Letter Book 78/89, 9 December 1817. Public Records Office, Kew. A list in Salt's own hand (*Salt and Sloane Collections Ms. Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities and various BM Correspondence*, Item 2. AES Ar.235, Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan Archives, the British Museum) gives a far more detailed account of the contents of the cases including assigning fragments of the statue now EA 35, and mentioning 'five colour pots - found at the base of the sphinx'. This is not the colour pot illustrated in Sketch 34, to which Salt gives a provenance elsewhere in Giza. The five colour pots are difficult to trace in the Museum's record although similar items were acquired from Salt's posthumous sale in 1835 (EA 5531, 5529 and 5528).
- 27 EA 19.
- 28 Halls, 1834, vol. II, 52.
- 29 Halls, 1834, vol. I, 495-6.
- 30 Halls, 1834, vol. II, 52.
- 31 Halls, 1834, vol. II, 162.
- 32 Halls, 1834, vol. II, 157-8.
- 33 Halls, 1834, vol. II, 168.
- 34 Halls, 1834, vol. II, 64-103.
- 35 See Vyse, 1842, vol. II, 288, for Caviglia's 1817 excavations at the Great Pyramid, 'taken from Mr. Salt's letters, and from some remarks upon them in the nineteenth volume of the *Quarterly Review*'; vol. III, 107, for Caviglia's Sphinx excavations 'taken from the papers of the late Mr. Salt'.

- 36 Vyse, 1842, vol. II, Appendix, 161.
- 37 A collection of printed papers by Thomas Young and William Sankey, bound together with letters to Mountnorris from Young and R. Payne Knight. Rare Book Collection, AES library, the British Museum, RBC.YOU.
- 38 Bierbrier, 1983, 9.
- 39 A missing watercolour from this group appeared on the open market a few years ago. It is from Sety I's tomb, and shows the king receiving the *menat* collar. It is described in Henry Salt's handwritten list, (now in the possession of the Salt family in Dorset) as 'F - Same subject opposite the other by M. Beechey', and inscribed by Henry Salt: 'Mr. Beechey opposite to E'. Another drawing, offered for sale with it, was Beechey's version of the blind harper from the tomb of Ramesses III. This shows the same subject as a drawing by Salt, also on the list, but now missing. (Pers. comm. Dr Nicholas Reeves.)
- 40 Malek and Smith, 1983, 35.
- 41 *Salt and Sloane Collections. Ms. Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities & various BM Correspondence*, Item 13. AES Ar.235, Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan Archives, the British Museum. The *Memoir* itself is numbered 'VII' without explanation; the individual drawings on the list in Dorset run from I to VI, but it is also possible that VII might represent a case number since 'sundry' cases V, VI, XII and XIII are also mentioned by Richards.
- 42 *Text*, 73.
- 43 Sketch No. 4.
- 44 *Text*, 51.
- 45 PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part I, 19, (d); Zivie-Coche, 1991, 123-6, pls.25-6.
- 46 *Text*, 13-14.
- 47 Reference number 64 on Plate I of the *Atlas*, Salt's ground plan of Giza.
- 48 Letters of Thomas Young quoted in Wood, 1954, 224-5, 324-5.
- 49 Young, 1982.
- 50 Letter from Salt to William John Bankes, Cairo, 6 January 1822. Bankes Kingston Lacy correspondence, HJ/1, 169, Dorset County Record Office.
- 51 *Text*, 24.
- 52 *Text*, 24. For Pasley, see Bierbrier, 1995, 320.
- 53 *Text*, 23.
- 54 Halls, 1834, vol. II, 102-3.
- 55 d'Athnassi, 1836, 21-2. With thanks to John Taylor and Okasha el Daly for this information.
- 56 *Quarterly Review*, July 1818, 401-6.
- 57 Lehner, 1994, 33, quoted from Vyse, 1842, 113.
- 58 Lehner, 1994, 34 and fig. 2.2.
- 59 Birch, 1852-53, 2: 27-34.
- 60 Lehner, 1994, 34 and fig. 2.2.
- 61 The drawings are now in the Museo Egizio, Florence.
- 62 Usick, 1998, 73.
- 63 Another manuscript copy by Salt of the 'Dream Stela' is discussed in detail in Malek and Smith, 1983, 45.
- 64 'Study of the Reconstruction of the Beard of the Sphinx.' Summary presented to the Egyptian Organization of Antiquities by Prof. Dr Saleh Ahmed Saleh, January 1983, Part One, Cairo University, Faculty of Archaeology, Department of Conservation. Copy of typescript, AES Ar.607, Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan Archives, the British Museum, pp. 5, 23. There are remaining fragments of the beard in the Cairo Museum and the British Museum.
- 65 Halls, 1834, vol. I, 495-6.
- 66 Halls, 1834, vol. II, 496.
- 67 Malek and Smith, 1983, 39.
- 68 Malek and Smith, 1983, 46.
- 69 Malek and Smith, 1983, 39.
- 70 See Piankoff, 1932, 155-8.
- 71 Malek and Smith, 1983, 39.
- 72 The German zoologist E.W.P.S. Rüppell (1794-1884).
- 73 Malek and Smith, 1983, 39.

Old Cairo. May 30<sup>th</sup> 1820

List of Plates & sketches accompanying  
memoirs of Pyramids, and Sphinx  
consigned to Mr W Hamilton Secretary of State by the hands of Mr W Pearce.

\* Plate I ground sketch or plan of the pyramids of Gizeh from  
actual measurement.

Plate II Section of the great Pyramid

Sketch No 1 of Mausoleum marked in ground plan 12 with details  
of hieroglyphs

5 - x 2 Mausoleum marked in ground plan 13 X

7 - x 3 Grand plan of Mausoleum 14

8 + 4 Statue as large as life, calcareous stone, coloured found in  
Mausoleum 14 +

9 - x 5 Boat at entrance of Mausoleum (14) in Plate I also  
sketch of a figure in another boat; and on back of <sup>the</sup> same  
various objects +

10 + 6 Carpenters at work from Mausoleum 4 +

11 + 7 2 parts representing a boat fight from D. X

12 - x 8 Men houghing the ground or breaking clods from same +

26 - 9 Aqueductual scenes from excavation numbered 62 in PI X

13 - x 10 accouchement of a cow from the wall of 4 +

25 - 11 a proprietor of land &c from 62 +

6 - x 12 a view of the ruined Mausoleum marked 30 in PI +

15 - x 13 boat from mausoleum (9) X

31 - 14 ground plan of portico in front of 2<sup>d</sup> Pyramid & hieroglyph +

32 - 15 hieroglyphicks engraved on the rock close to 2<sup>d</sup> Pyramid +

27 + 16 players on a host of clarions from Shicks cart. +

28 + 17 harpers from do +

29 + 18 deer from do +

30 + 19 Sheep or wild goat from do +

16 + 20 Gazelle from caves marked in PI +

+ 21 boat with dingy &c from D. +

+ 22 apes and Monkey (the cynocephalus) from D.

Henry Salt's list of the plates and sketches for the Memoir. Cairo, 20 May 1820

19	+ 23	Birds and bones from D <sup>o</sup> +
20	x 24	fish from D <sup>o</sup> X
21	+ 25	Wine press from D <sup>o</sup> X
22	x 26	harpers from Capt. Levington's cave X
23	x 27	a young bull piquetted / as at present / from 62 X
24	x 28	garretts / tams / cows, and killing of cow from D <sup>o</sup> X
36	x 29	restoration of the fore part of the great sphinx X
50	x 30	part of the beard and ornamented wall that supported D <sup>o</sup> of the sphinx X
51	* 31	other fragments D <sup>o</sup> and reverse of 30 X
-	* 32	another fragment / back of this is part of ground plan 33
	33	Sphinx from a stone in possession of M. Drovetti
52	x 34	various <sup>fragments</sup> head of serpent on the forehead of sphinx X
	35	front side of the temple etc. in front of the sphinx - in 2 <sup>nd</sup> line of back of sketch 32
38	x 36	granite tablet in front of sphinx
39	x 36a	Upper part of D <sup>o</sup>
	x 37	tablet, calcareous stone, on the right side of small temple
45	x 38	Altar in front of sphinx X
46	x 39	Lion that ornamented one of the walls in front of sphinx
	x 40	Inscriptions on jaws of sphinx
48	x 41	Inscription on left jaw of sphinx
	x 42	D <sup>o</sup> on right jaw
	x 43	as 40
47	x 44	Old Inscription written in the wall
41	x 45	view of steps <sup>and</sup> <sup>IV</sup> spectators back turned to the sphinx
42	x 46	D <sup>o</sup> more in front
43	x 47	a stand, or (spectatory) <sup>built</sup> <sup>written</sup> by one of the Emperors
-	x 48	Inscription on D <sup>o</sup>
49	x 49	Inscription on a stela engraved by order of Nero
44	* 50	a second edifice erected by the Emperor. Several
-	x 51	inscriptions on D <sup>o</sup>
	52	stela engraved by order of Antoninus & Venus

Henry Salt's list of the plates and sketches for the Memoir. Cairo, 20 May 1820

37 x 53 general view of granite tablet and little temple  
 35 x 54 View of Captain Cavignia's operations ~~in front of sphinx~~  
 53 x 55 Various votive offerings found in front of sphinx  
 34 x 56 Sketch of the sphinx's head X X  
 - 2 x 57 D. - Another - X (61257)  
 14 x 58 Demoielle, Male & female from Mausoleum 50 X  
 3 - x 59 Mausoleum marked 6 in. P I X  
 60 Opening of great Pyramid sketched by M. Ruyet of  
 Frankfurt. X  
 \* 61 - sketch of head of Hippo below the facial line  
 62 a sketch of a very curious sphinx which I discovered in  
 a subterranean passage at Omboi. (wanting RSP)  
 33 - marked 20 by mistake H. Salt.  
 \* Hippopotamus from a Cave near the Pyramids  
 40 - 35 Ground plan of the temple between the paws of the sphinx and X  
 \* of the approach to it - (not found H.A.M.)  
 - View of the approach and of the buildings erected on it -  
 - of the same in front (not found H.A.M.)

Henry Salt's list of the plates and sketches for the *Memoir. Cairo*, 20 May 1820

# References from Plate I, Salt's Ground Plan of the Pyramids of [Gheza] Giza

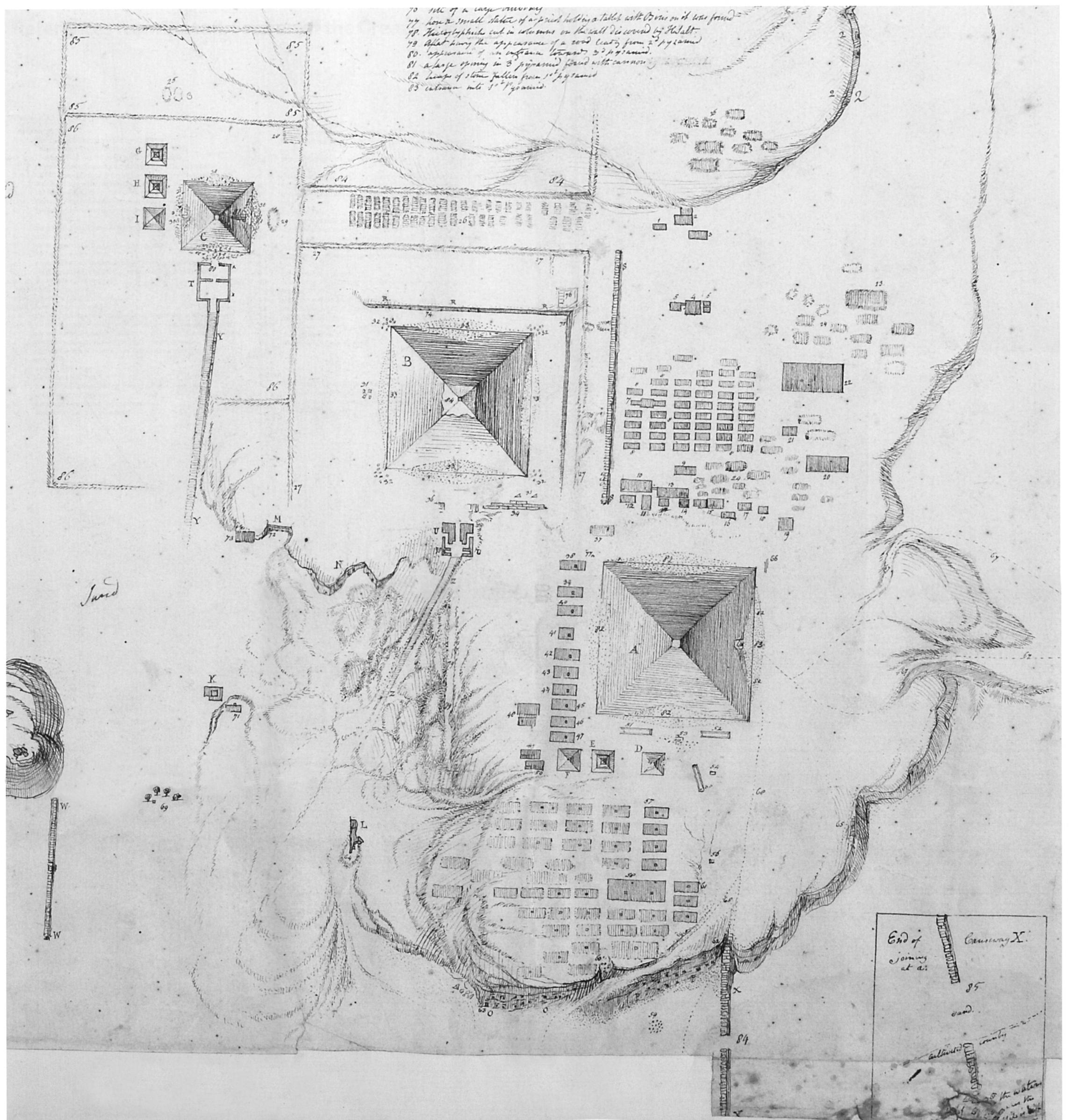
From actual measurements by Henry Salt Esq<sup>r</sup> F.R.S., AD 1817

## References

- A** The largest Pyramid in which the new passage and chamber were discovered by Capt<sup>n</sup> Caviglia.
- B** The second Pyramid with part of its covering (84) entire, unopened.
- C** The third Pyramid (having a few stones of the granite covering remaining in their places), unopened.
- D** A smaller pyramid opened by Captain Caviglia.
- E** Another pyramid formed in stages, unopened.
- F** Another like D unopened.
- G** A still smaller pyramid in stages, unopened.
- H** The same as G.
- I** Another of the same size but in steps.
- K** A Cemetery, partly pyramidal.
- L** The Sphinx, the front of which was excavated by Capt<sup>n</sup> Caviglia (64).
- M** Catacombs, one of them called the Sheik's dwelling, in an inner chamber of which lies a granite sarcophagus.
- N** Catacombs in which are fine hieroglyphicks of fish, birds, making wine &c.
- O** Catacombs much destroyed, but over the doors of most of them are hieroglyphicks.
- P** Catacombs – in 62 some interesting hieroglyphicks – ploughing – gathering corn – &c.
- Q** Catacombs, entering many hundred feet in the rock and very extensive like those in Alexandria.
- R** Chambers cut in the rock once covered with sculptured and painted hieroglyphicks.
- S** A wall built with stones of enormous size.
- T** A portal to the third pyramid – wall xx 170 feet long is composed of only 10 stones.
- U** Portal to the second pyramid, with a few hieroglyphicks on one of the walls at (78).
- V**
- W** A kind of causeway, built of large stones, for what purpose uncertain.
- X** An immense causeway extending down to a canal of the Nile full of water in September.
- Y** A causeway leading from the third pyramid, partly constructed of large stones – partly rock.
- Z** A causeway leading from the second pyramid, partly rock, partly built.
- 1** A Mausoleum.
- 2** Mausoleum divided into several apartments as 14, without hieroglyphicks, cleared by Capt<sup>n</sup> C.
- 3** Mausoleum cleared to the base by Capt<sup>n</sup> C.
- 4** Mausoleum with apartments covered with beautiful sculpture and H<sup>cks</sup> – cleared by Capt<sup>n</sup> C.
- 5** Mausoleum in ruins to which a causeway conducts from 4.
- 6** Two Mausoleums separated by a double wall, in one a chamber was cleared by Capt<sup>n</sup> C in which are some H<sup>cks</sup> on plaster worthy observation.
- 7** Mausoleum shaped differently from all the rest.
- 8** Several Mausoleums disposed with great regularity – now in ruins.
- 9** Mausoleum, a chamber of which Capt<sup>n</sup> C cleared out – the colours of the sculptured figures very brilliant.
- 10** Mausoleum in ruins from which a causeway conducts to 13.
- 11** Mausoleum in ruins.
- 12** Mausoleum ornamented externally with a band of hieroglyphicks, and the top stones rounded.
- 13** Mausoleum in which is a well opened by the French leading to a chamber with a granite sarcoph<sup>s</sup>.
- 14** Mausoleums – the one to the north was entirely cleared by Capt<sup>n</sup> C and many fragments of statues found in it.
- 15** Mausoleum, chambers opened in it where are sculptured various designs.
- 16** Mausoleum with chambers open.
- 17** M<sup>m</sup> in ruins.
- 18** M<sup>m</sup> in ruins.
- 19** M<sup>m</sup> in ruins.
- 20** A Mausoleum in ruins of unusual dimensions.
- 21** Mausoleum in ruins.
- 22** The largest of the Maus<sup>ms</sup> most perfect on N side.
- 23** M<sup>m</sup> in ruins.
- 24** Tumuli or decayed Mausoleums.
- 26** (*sic*) Tumuli apparently regularly disposed.
- 25** (*sic*) Tumuli.
- 27** Remains of a wall round the second pyramid.
- 28** Site, probably, of a temple.
- 29** Remains of a small building at N front of 3d pyr<sup>d</sup>.
- 30** Granite blocks fallen from 3d pyr<sup>d</sup> (red granite).
- 31** Remains (probably) of a small temple (large stones).
- 32** Blocks of [theban] thebic granite lying at 4 angles of 2d pyr<sup>d</sup>.
- 33** Heaps of stone fallen from second pyr<sup>d</sup>.
- 34** Wall formed of immense blocks of stone.
- 35** Triangular stones apparently inserted in the rock.
- 36** Blocks of stone.
- 37** Mausoleum in ruins.
- 38** Mausoleum in decay with a mummy pit.
- 39** D<sup>o</sup>.
- 40** D<sup>o</sup>.
- 41** Opened by Capt<sup>n</sup> Caviglia, painted walls, and many skeletons.
- 42** Mausoleum; all have the appearance of having been forcibly opened, and are in decay, like all the rest marked in ruins.
- 43** D<sup>o</sup>.
- 44** D<sup>o</sup>.
- 45** D<sup>o</sup>.
- 46** D<sup>o</sup>.
- 47** D<sup>o</sup>.
- 48** Mausoleums in ruins on first examination look as if they were one, and that it was square like a pyramid.
- 49** Mausoleum in which is a chamber open with hieroglyphicks and figures sculptured on the walls.
- 50** Mausoleum like the last.
- 51** A deep trench – we looked for a door at N end – but without effect – found the basement of the rock to be 25 feet deep.
- 52** A similar trench.
- 53** Many blocks and fragments of basalt – on digging found a mummy pit filled up below – and a foundation of large stones.
- 54** Discovered a door-way here which opens on an inclined passage like that in 1st and 4th pyramids cut in the rock.
- 55** A deep trench.
- 56** Discovered a door here conducting to catacombs in the rock.
- 57** Mausoleum with mummy pit 37 ½ feet deep emptied by Capt<sup>n</sup> which leads to an empty chamber below.
- 58** One of the largest Mausoleums, in ruins, with mummy pits.
- 59** Block of basalt worked and once forming (perhaps) a small temple.
- 60** Many blocks of basalt lying on the brow of a hill – in a water-course.
- 61** Mausoleum, wall of which is pretty perfect to the North.
- 62** A catacomb with interesting sculpture.
- 63** Captain C's residence – some musicians with harps sculptured on the wall.
- 64** Excavation made by Egyptian Society at the Sphinx.
- 65** Remains of large stones placed to equalize the face of the rock.
- 66** Rock cut into steps.
- 67** Roads leading up to the Gt Pyramid from the plain – frequented most when Nile high.
- 68** Roads leading up to the pyramids – frequented when Nile is low.
- 69** A well and trees in a sandy plain where, perhaps, may have formerly have been a lake.
- 70** A Mountain with regular strata like a wall.
- 71** A catacomb opened by Capt<sup>n</sup> C to which you descend by a deep pit into large chambers.
- 72** Catacomb commonly called Sheik's residence or 'Beit l' Marabout'.
- 73** Mausoleum in decay.
- 74** A subterranean chamber in the rock the ceiling of which is cut to resemble date trees.
- 75** Curious hieroglyphicks cut in the rocks – and a door-way just commenced.
- 76** Site of a large building.
- 77** Here a small statue of a priest holding a tablet with Osiris on it was found.
- 78** Hieroglyphicks cut in columns on the wall discovered by H. Salt.
- 79** A (?) flat having somewhat the appearance of a road leading from 2d pyramid.
- 80** Appearance of an entrance towards 3d pyramid.
- 81** A large opening in 3d pyramid forced with cannon.
- 82** Lumps of stone fallen from 1st pyramid.
- 83** Entrance into 1st pyramid.



70. One of a large quarry  
 77. Here a small statue of a priest holding a tablet with Osiris on it was found  
 78. Hieroglyphs cut in columns on the wall discovered by Belzoni  
 79. What being the appearance of a road leading from 2<sup>d</sup> pyramid  
 80. appearance of an entrance towards 3<sup>d</sup> pyramid  
 81. a large opening in 3<sup>d</sup> pyramid found with cannon  
 82. heaps of stone fallen from 1<sup>st</sup> pyramid  
 83. entrance into 1<sup>st</sup> pyramid



Sand

End of  
 joining  
 at a:

Causeway X.  
 85  
 sand.  
 alluvial country  
 the water  
 of the Nile

Detail of Plate IA ground sketch of the Pyramids

# References from Plate II: Section of the Great Pyramid

## References

- A** The chamber commonly called the King's.  
**B** Chamber commonly called the Queen's.  
**C** Chamber in the rock discovered by Captain Caviglia.  
**D** Chamber lined with polished granite discovered by Mr Davidson.  
**E** Grand Gallery conducting to King's and Davidson's chambers.  
**F** The Grotto cleared by Captain Caviglia.  
**G.G.** The Base line.  
**H.H.** The level of the Nile when it covers the capital of the Mikias column.<sup>1</sup>  
**I.I.** The present summit of the pyramid.
- a** the outside stone in front of entrance.  
**b** the entrance.  
**c** commencement of Captain Caviglia's passage.  
**d** here the rock commences.  
**e** a remarkable cleft in the rock, filled up with composition.  
**f** the door discovered by Capt<sup>n</sup> C. communicating with the well.  
**g** the end of inclined passage.  
**g to h** horizontal passage.  
**h to i** breadth of Caviglia's chamber.  
**i to k** narrow horizontal passage.  
**l** the three granite blocks which originally impeded the entrance above.  
**l.m.** ascending passage leading to the three upper chambers and the well.  
**n** the well examined, cleared and ascertained by Capt<sup>n</sup> C./rock begins at n.  
**o** commencement of passage leading to Queen's chamber.  
**p** commencement of inclined plane in the Gallery leading to King's chamber.  
**q** a step, 9 inches high.  
**r** a step three feet high.  
**s** end of Grand Gallery and beginning of horizontal passage.  
**t** end of horizontal passage.  
**u** the sarcophagus in the King's chamber.  
**w** entrance to Davidson's chamber.

- x** passage, narrow and curved, leading to D<sup>sons</sup> chamber.  
**y** fractured stones which prove the passage to have been forced at this point.  
**z.z.** antechamber, intent of which is inexplicable.
- 1** a step in passage leading to the Queen's chamber (?) 3 feet 7 inches high.  
**2** end of horizontal passage conducting to the Queen's chamber.  
**3** an opening at East end of the Queen's chamber where is a passage 46 feet long.  
**4** the inclined roof.  
**5** end of perpendicular descent in the well.  
**6** where the granite and the stones impeding the passage were found.  
**7** here the passage is cased with stones – which extends to **g** and was done on account probably of the supposed weakness of the rock – the grotto being a defect or hollow in the rock filled with gravel.  
**8** here is (... illegible).  
**9** end of passage lined with stone.  
**10** a cleft in the rock which seems to correspond with **ee** in Caviglia's passage.  
**11** end of the wall communicating with Caviglia's passage.  
**12** the rock broken up in Caviglia's chamber.  
**13** Captain Caviglia's tent.  
**14** heap of stones and rubbish partly fallen from the pyramid and partly taken from the inside.  
**15** the rock at north Eastern angle.

## Notes

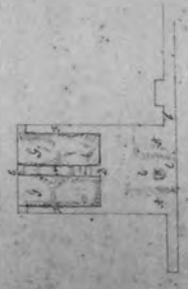
- 1** The Mikyas al Nil was a Nilometer in the Islamic period, used to measure the height of the Nile. Shaped like a well, it contained an octangular marble pillar with measuring signs. It was situated on the southern tip of the Island of Roda.

Plate II Section of the Great Pyramid

Scale of English Feet



Ground Plan of Chamber C without walls



IA-MER  
 2H  
 MA  
 b

- References
- The chamber, measured when the pyramid was first discovered.
  - Measurements taken by the French in 1798.
  - Measurements taken by the English in 1822.
  - Measurements taken by the French in 1828.
  - Measurements taken by the English in 1842.
  - Measurements taken by the French in 1858.
  - Measurements taken by the English in 1868.
  - Measurements taken by the French in 1878.
  - Measurements taken by the English in 1888.
  - Measurements taken by the French in 1898.
  - Measurements taken by the English in 1908.
  - Measurements taken by the French in 1918.
  - Measurements taken by the English in 1928.
  - Measurements taken by the French in 1938.
  - Measurements taken by the English in 1948.
  - Measurements taken by the French in 1958.
  - Measurements taken by the English in 1968.
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  - Measurements taken by the English in 1988.
  - Measurements taken by the French in 1998.
  - Measurements taken by the English in 2008.

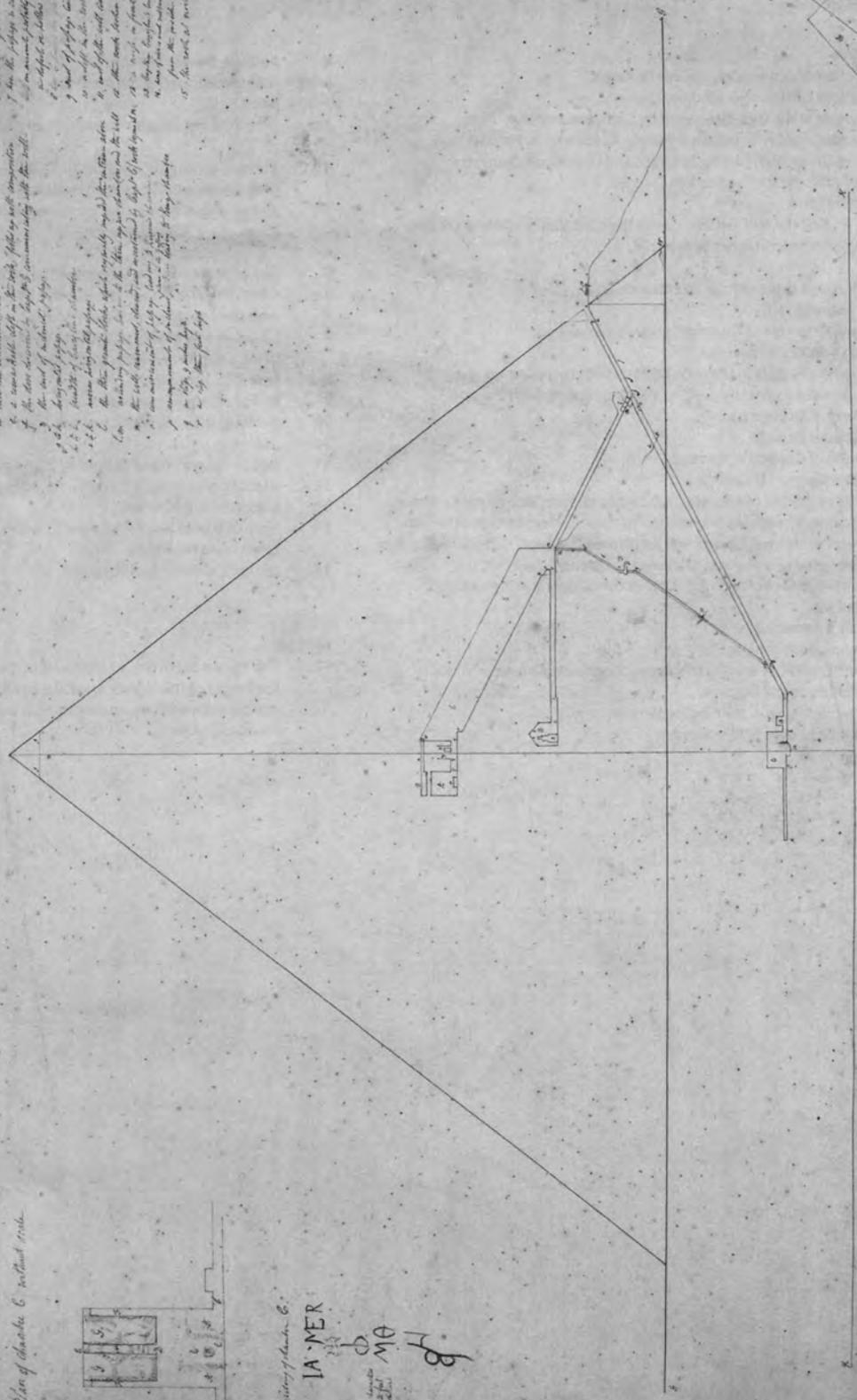
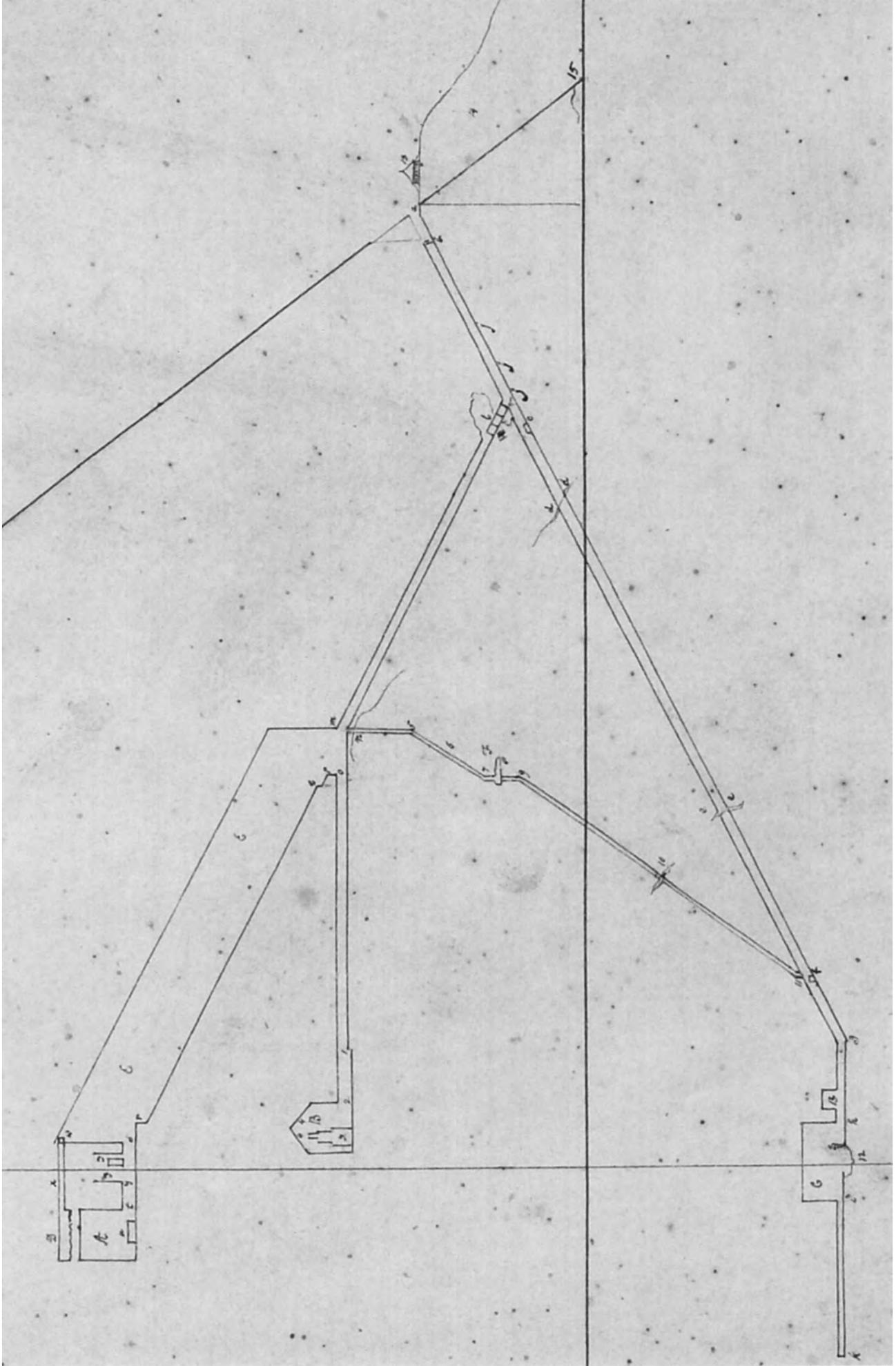


Plate II Section of the Great Pyramid

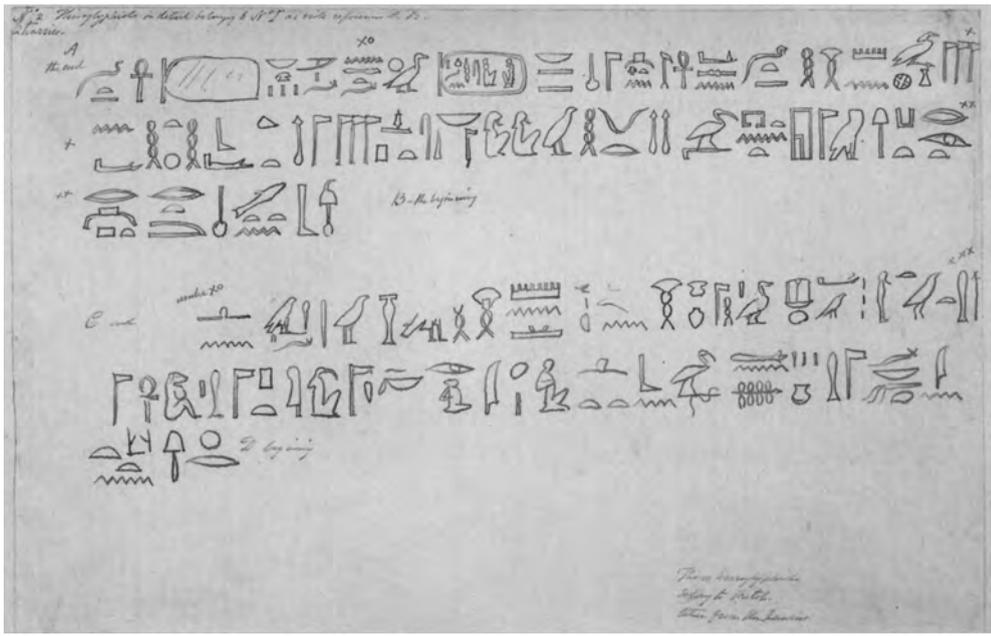


Detail of Plate II, Section of the Great Pyramid

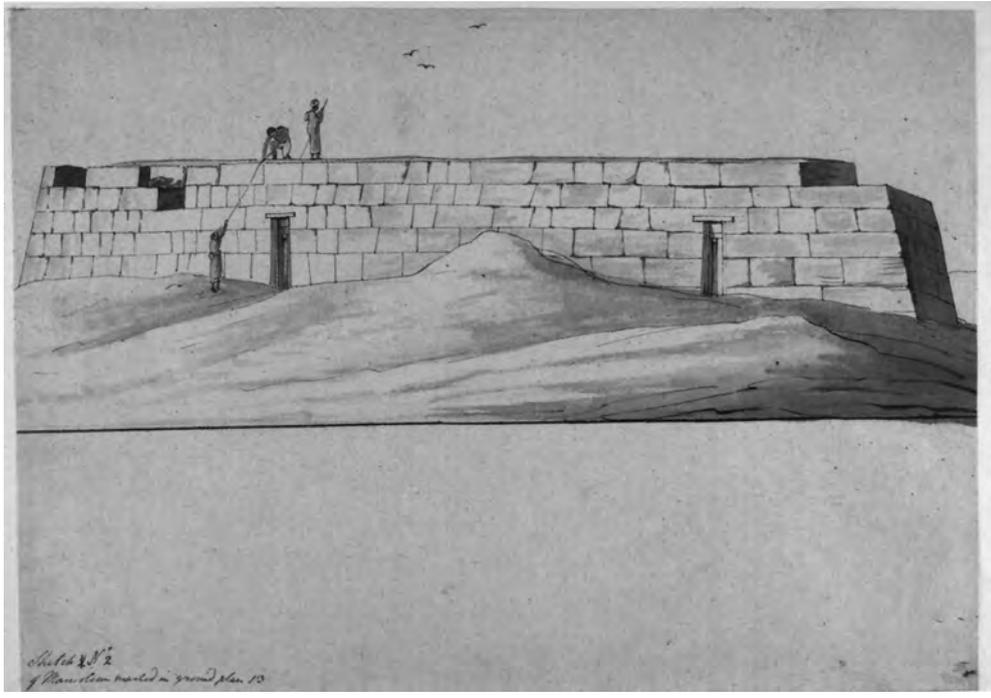
Sketches from Henry Salt's Atlas



Sketch 1



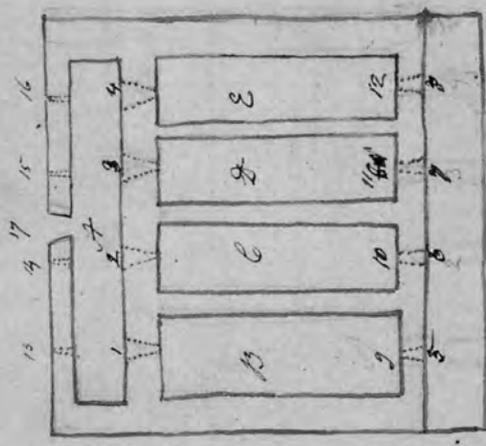
Sketch 2 (sic)



Sketch 2

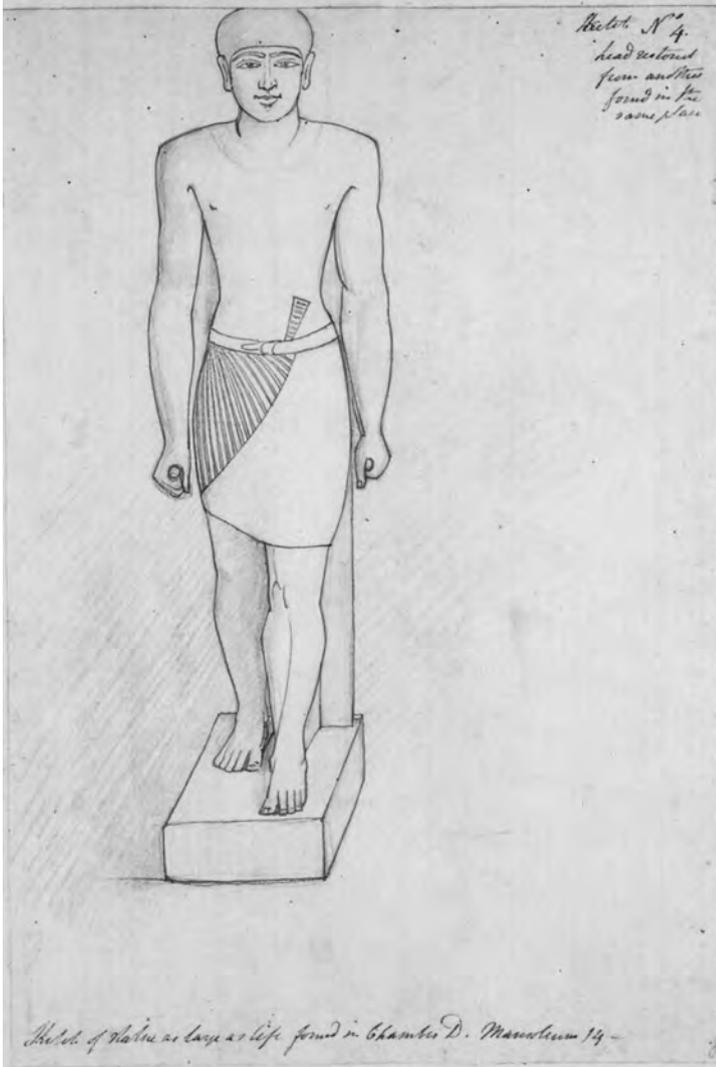
Sketch 3. Ground plan of Monument 14.

1. The <sup>two</sup> ~~one~~ discovered small fragments of granite with hieroglyphs and from some fragments discovered I think that there was a statue, as large as life of Amenhotep. In C were found fragments of a statue of calcareous stone colored in the one in D. Several fragments of small statues of Theban Granite and gray limestone colored in the nearly entire of calcareous stone - colored, two fragments of granite statue with hieroglyphs and a  and a  fragment of a mummy case with hieroglyphs and the mummy case of calcareous stone many bones head in two - fragment of a mummy case with hieroglyphs and the mummy of a bird of an iron brown color about the size of a pigeon with a long tail - x 2 small porcelain representation of an eye.



The corridor A communicated by windows with the other apartments as marked 1, 2, 3, 4 necessary windows as indicated for the ground to look at the statues of Amenhotep placed in front of them at 9, 10, 11, 12. The openings behind 5, 6, 7, 8 ~~too~~ admitted some light but were too small to let the statues pass - so that they must have been put in before the building was closed. The trace of hieroglyphs on the building - 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

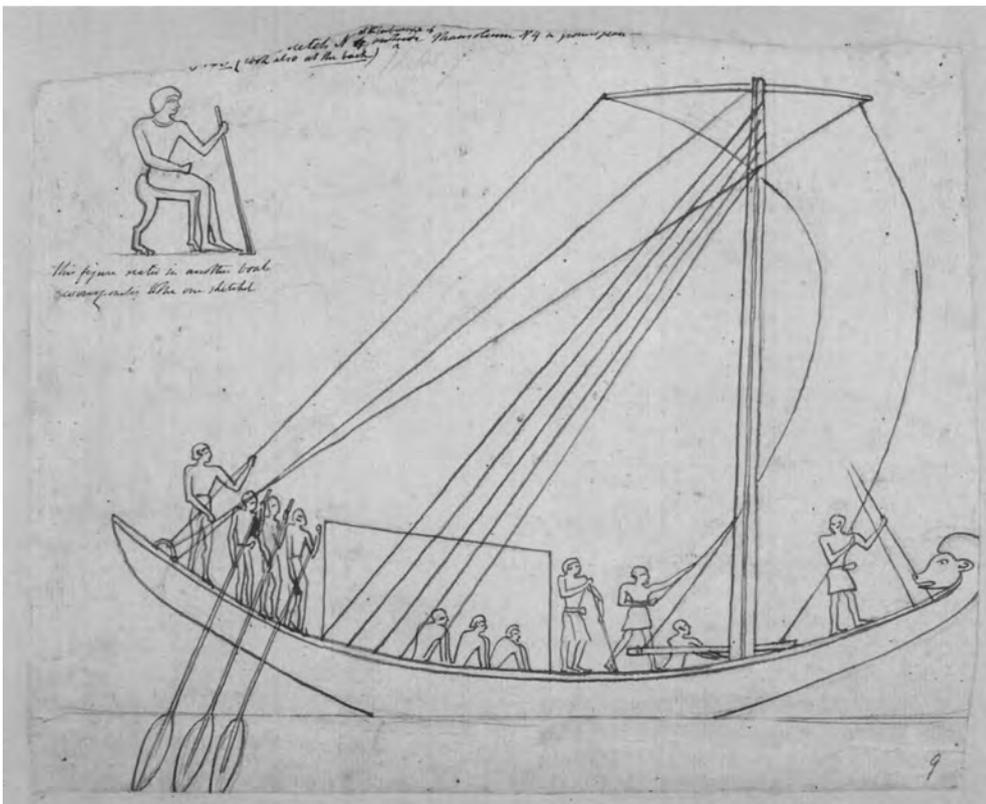
Sketches from Henry Salt's Atlas



Sketch 4

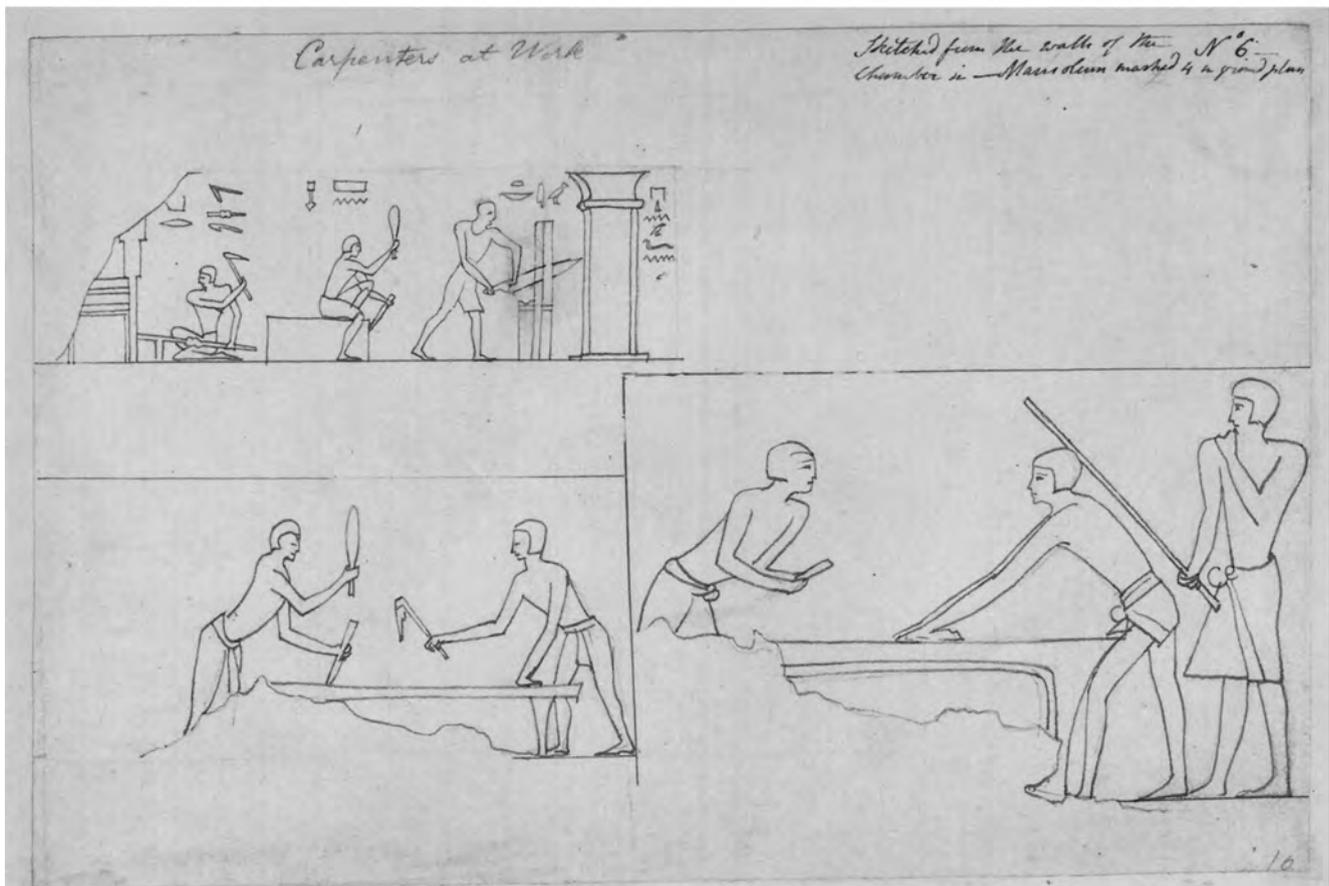
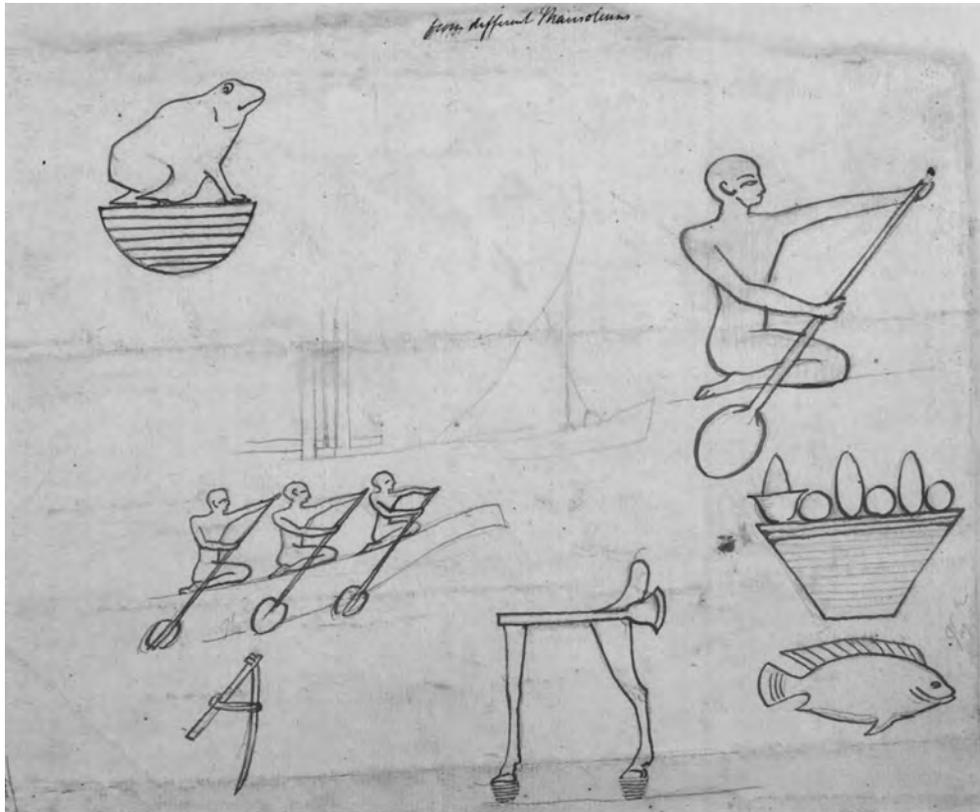


EA 35, the British Museum



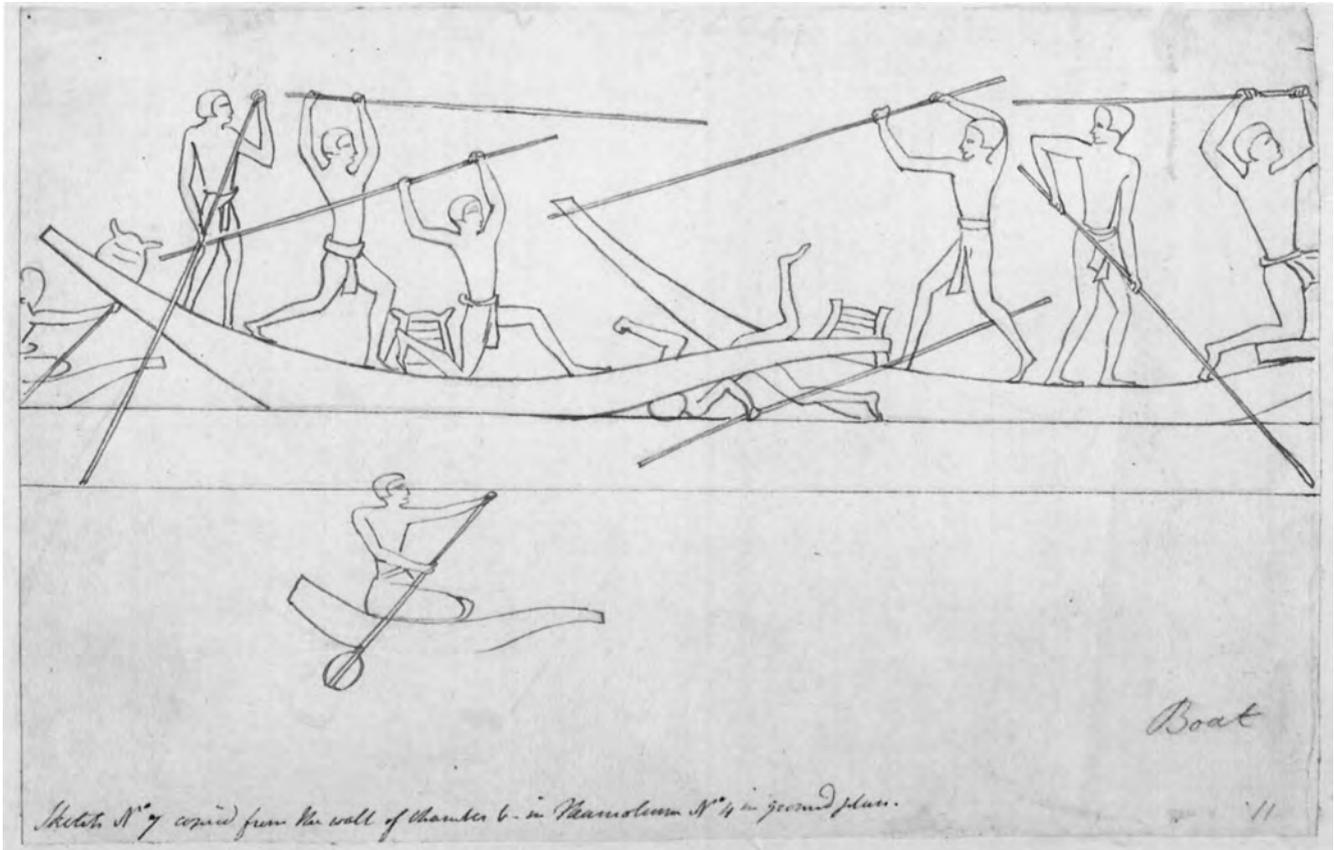
Sketch 5

Sketch 5 verso

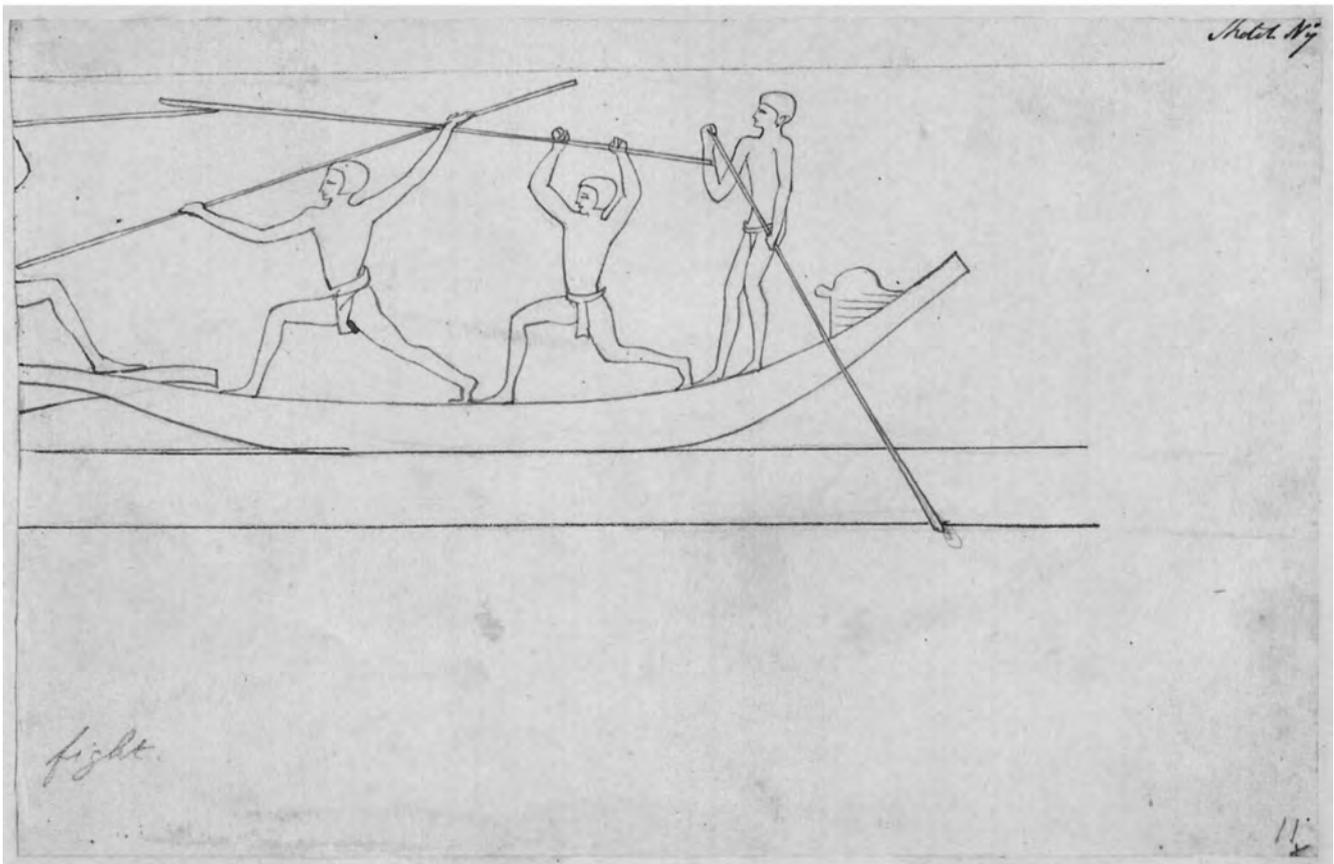


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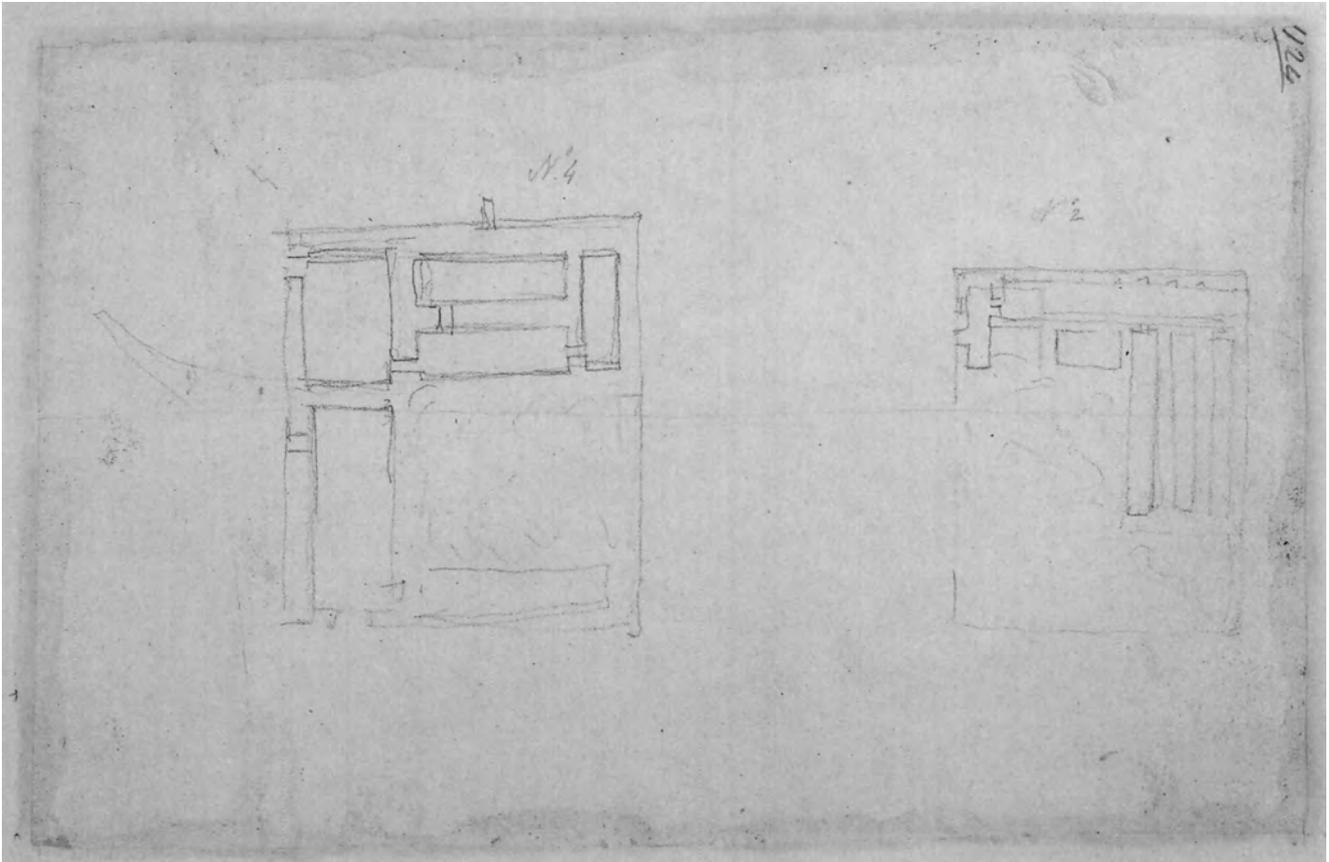
Sketches from Henry Salt's Atlas



Sketch 7b

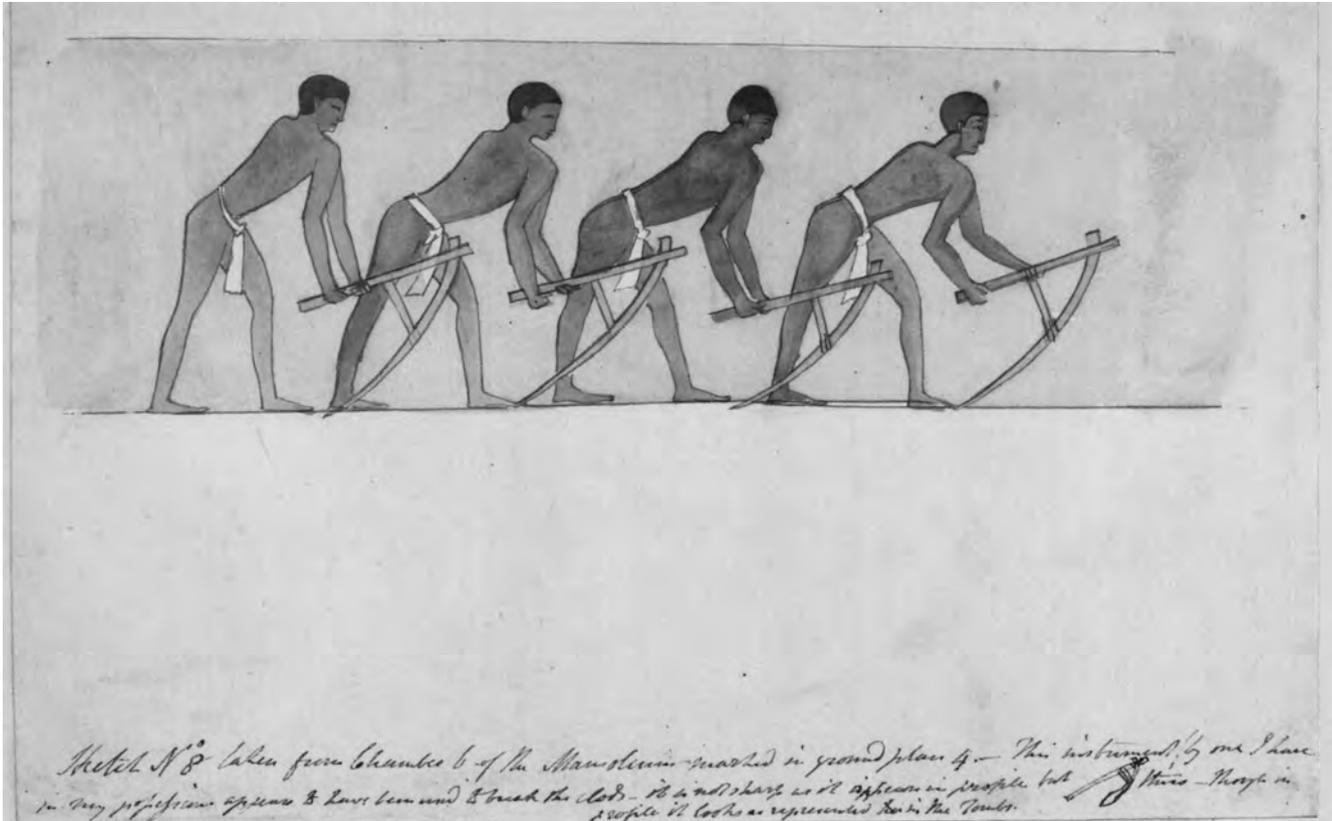


Sketch 7a

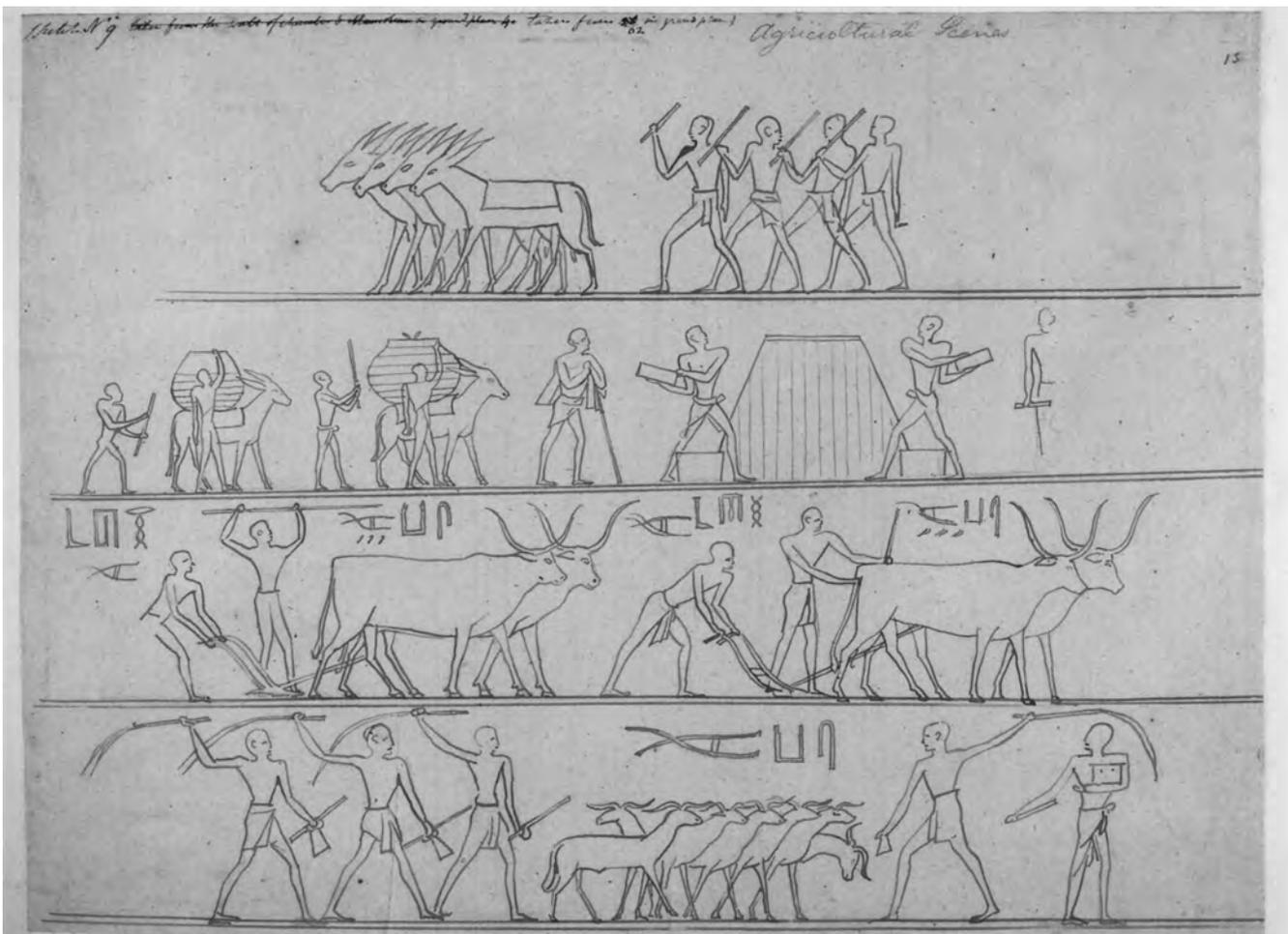


Sketch 7b verso

Sketches from Henry Salt's Atlas

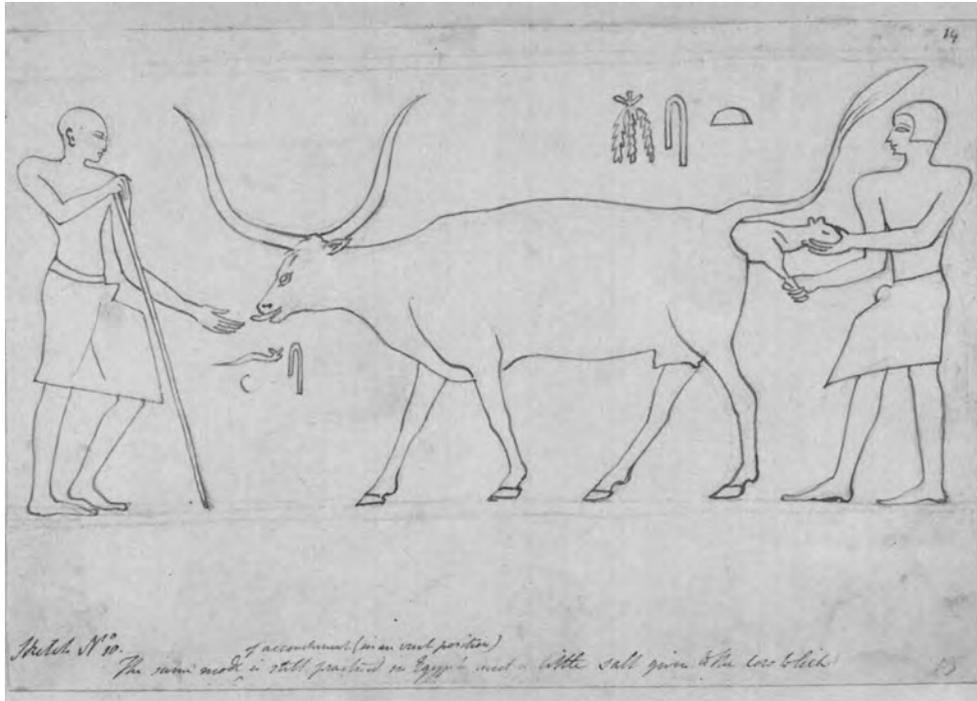


Sketch 8



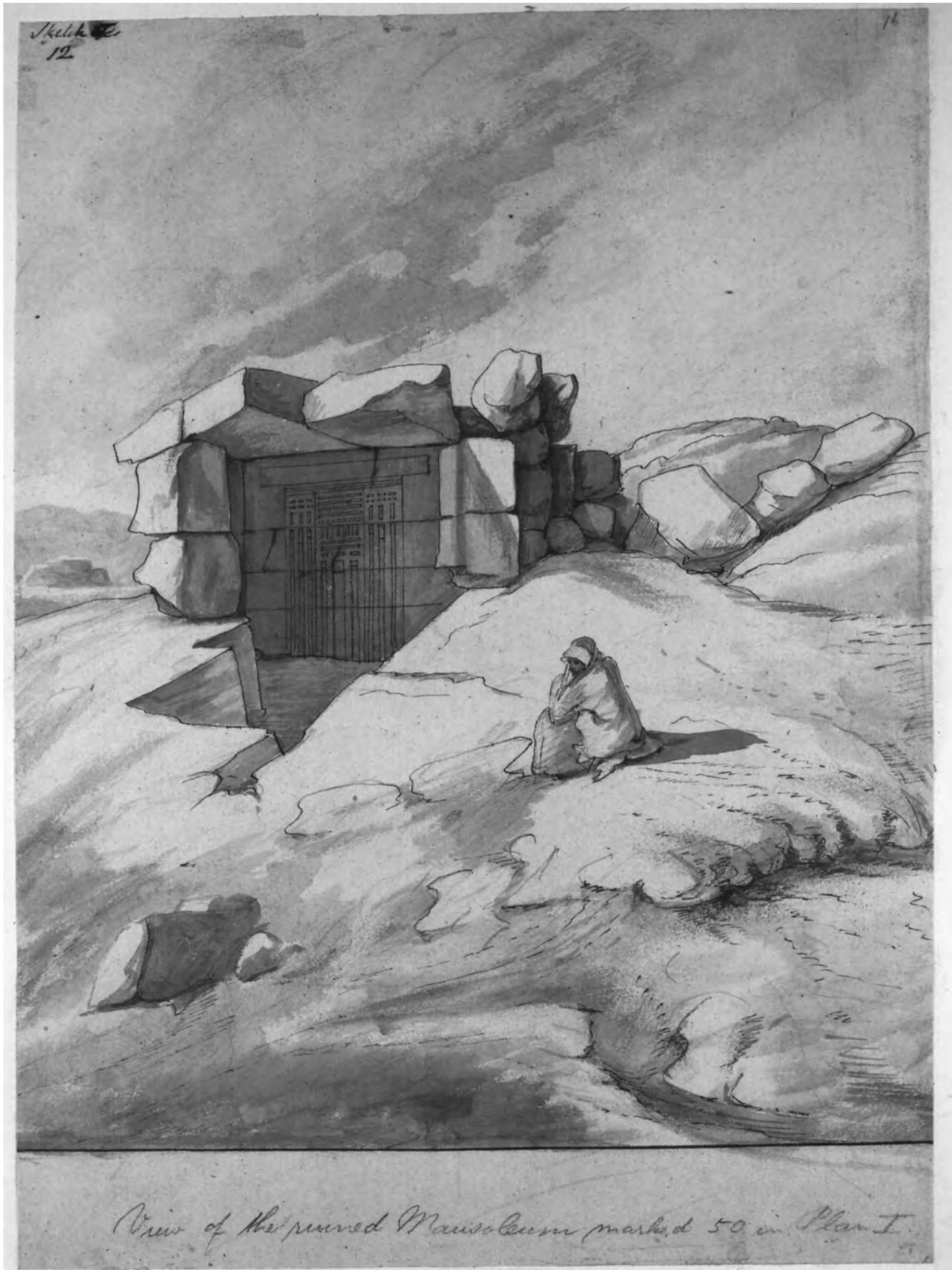
Sketch 9

Sketch 10



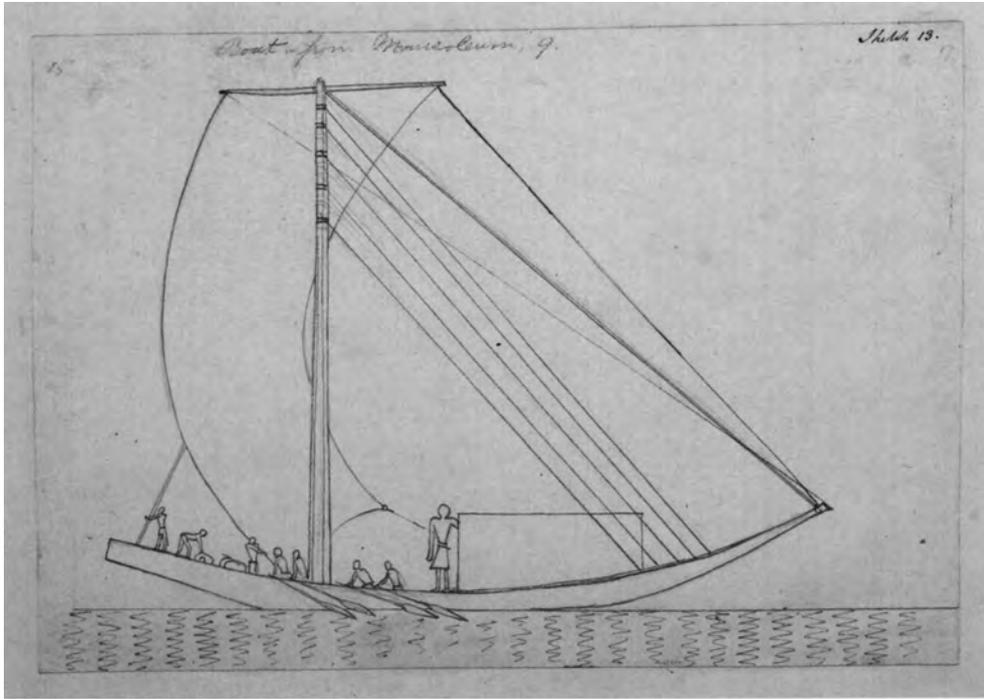
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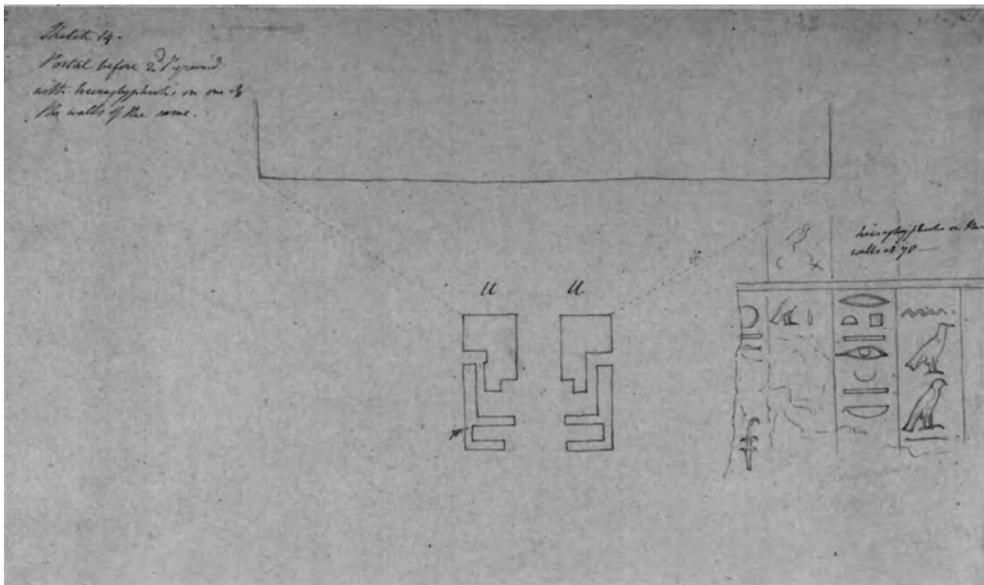


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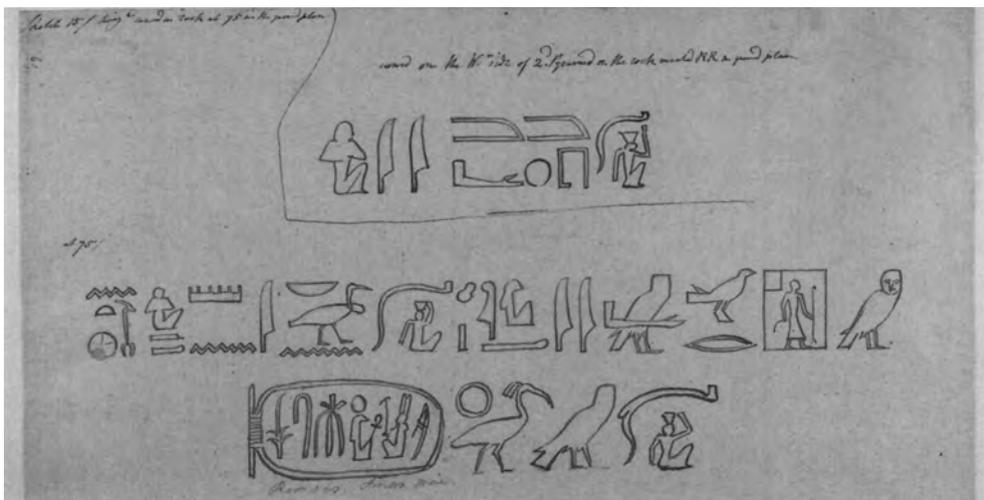
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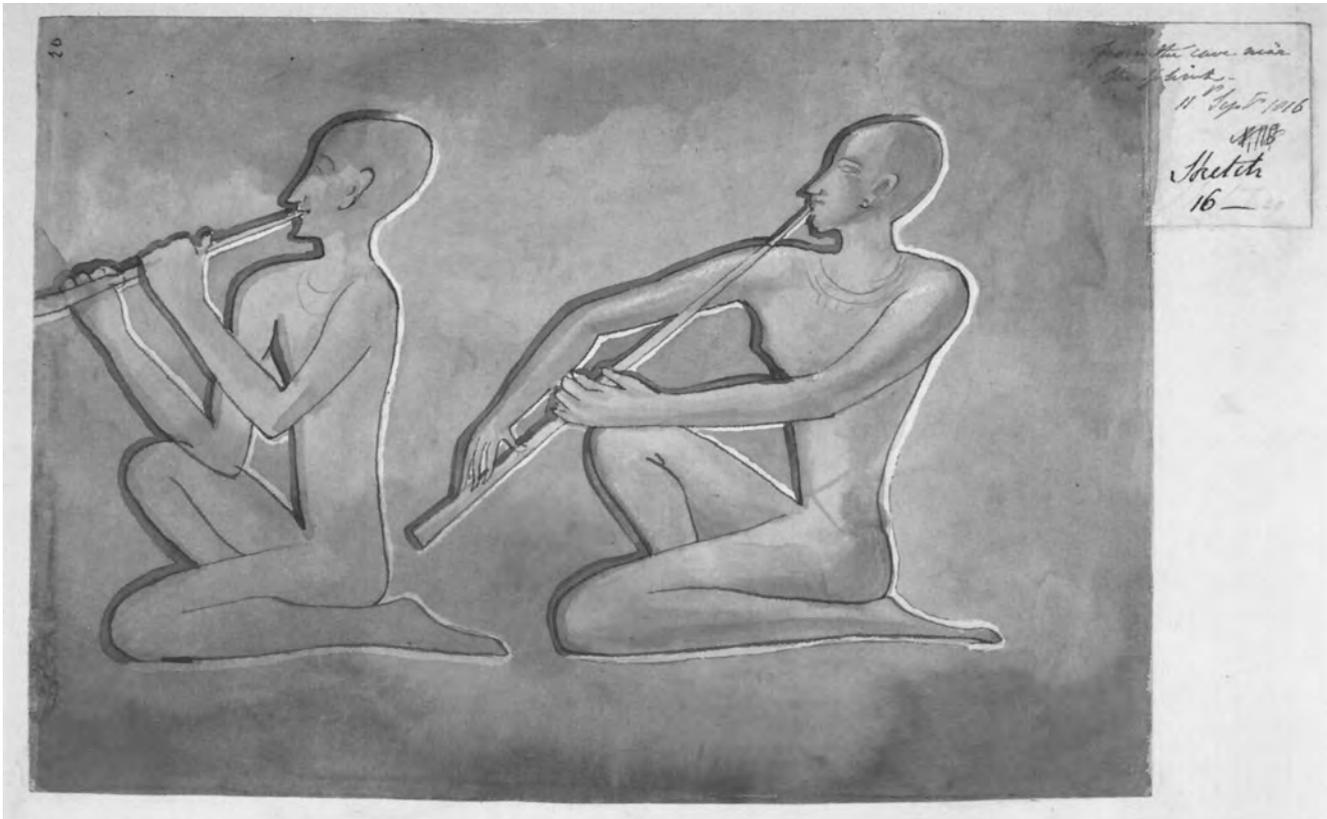


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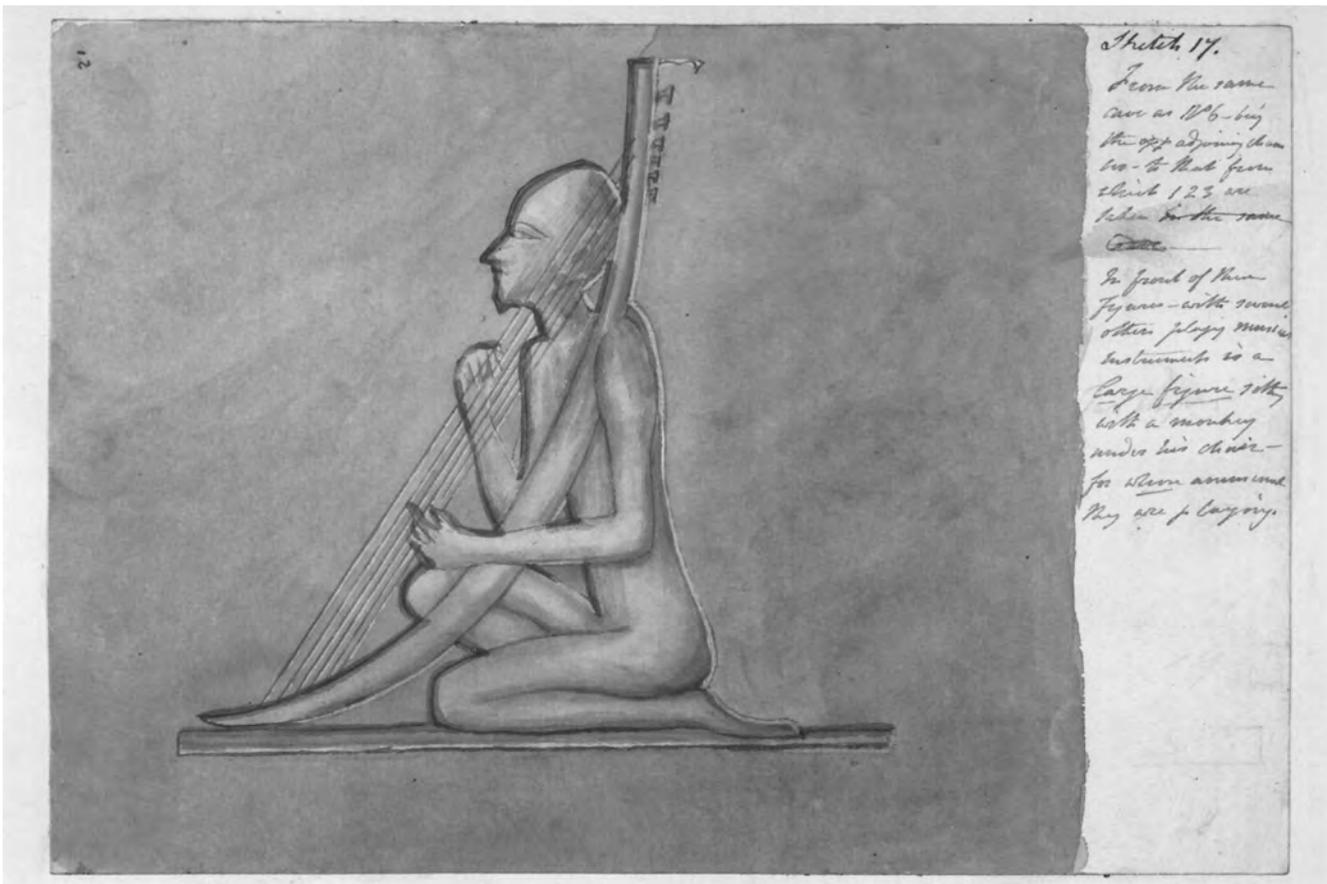


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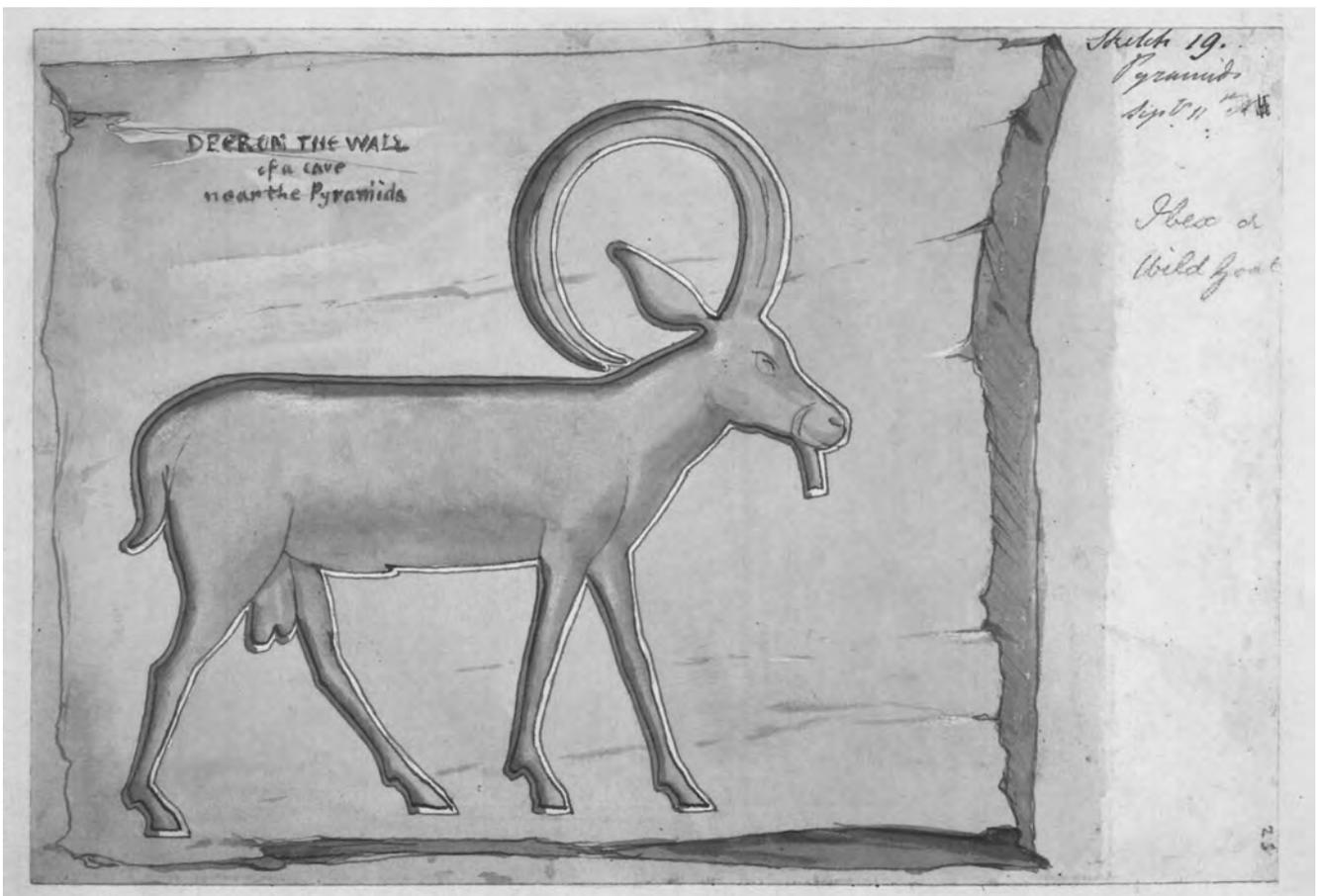
Sketch 16



Sketch 17

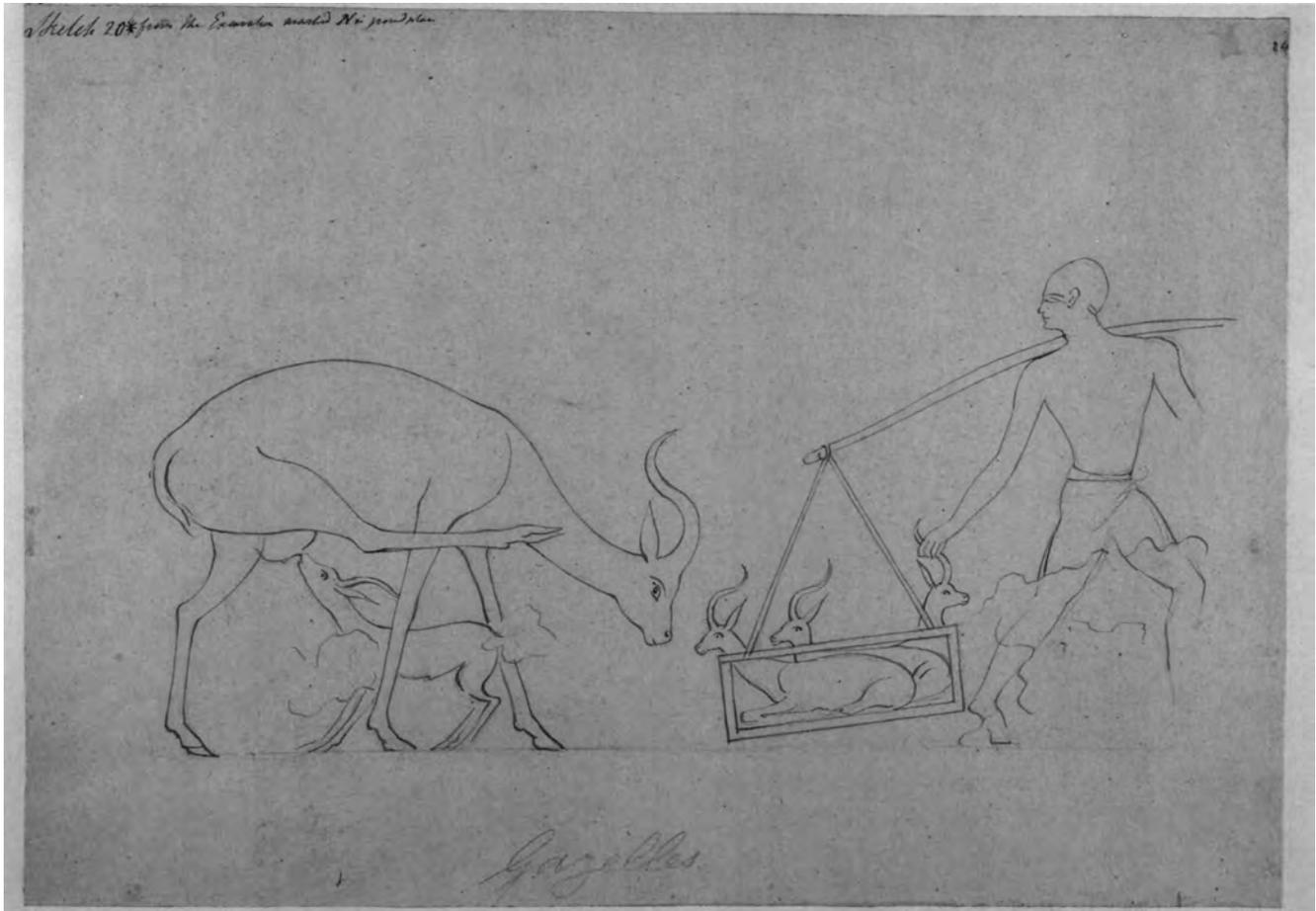


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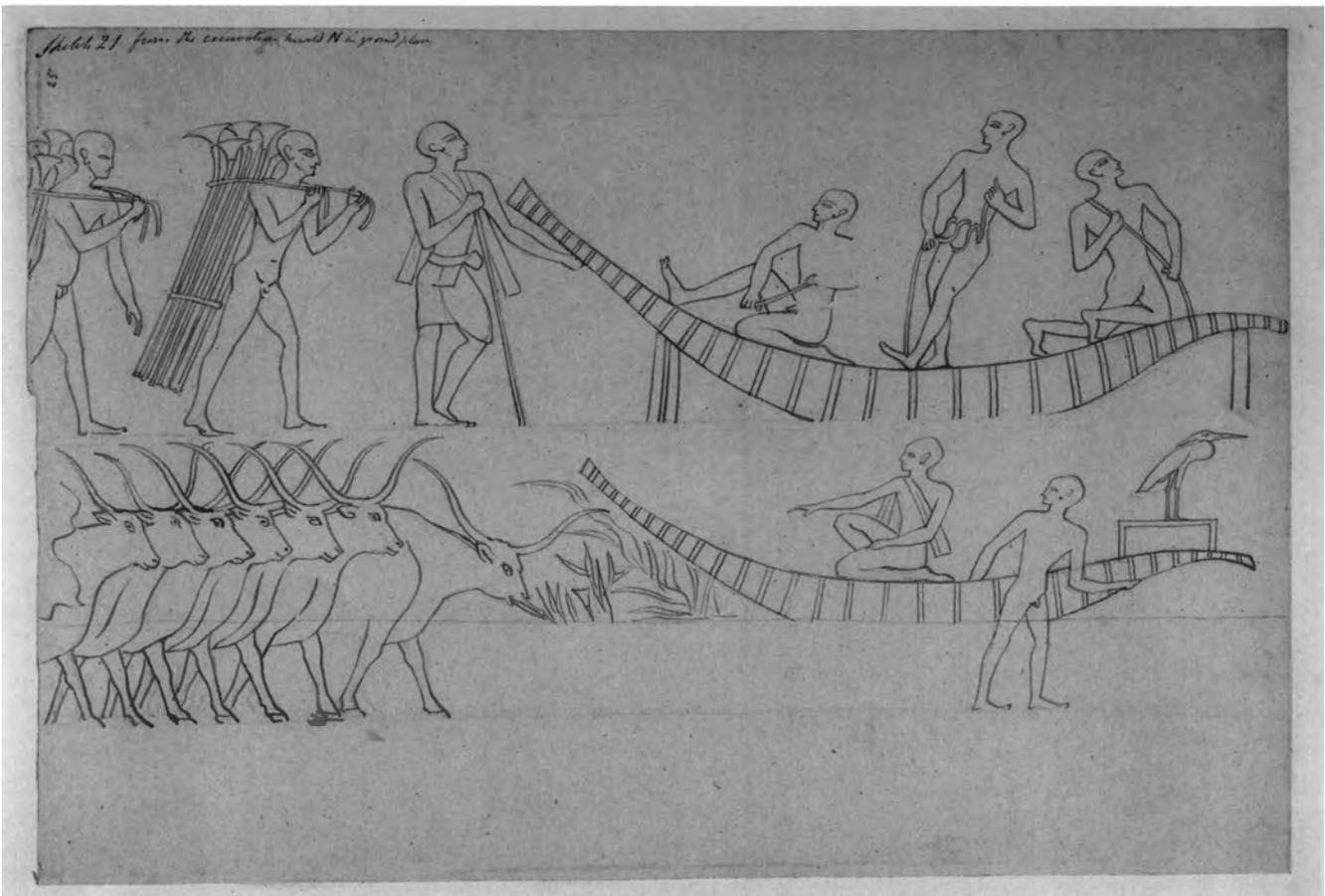


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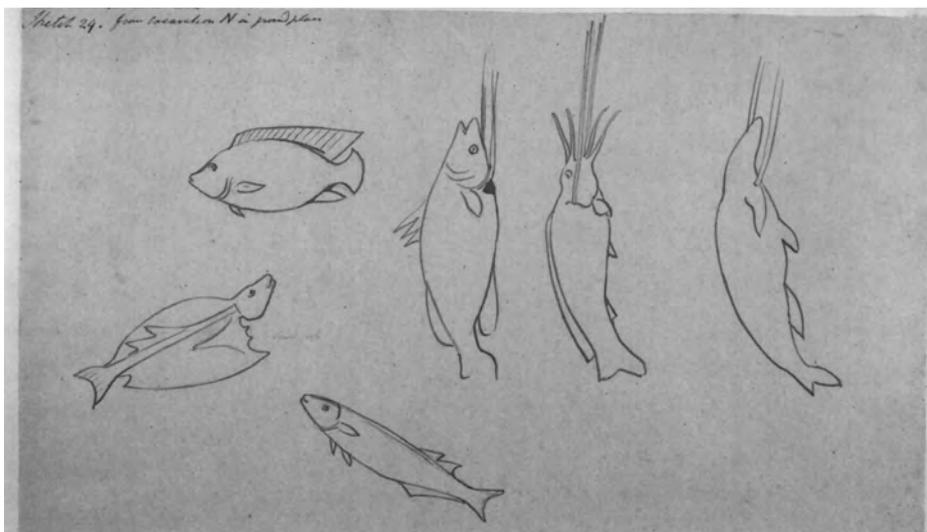
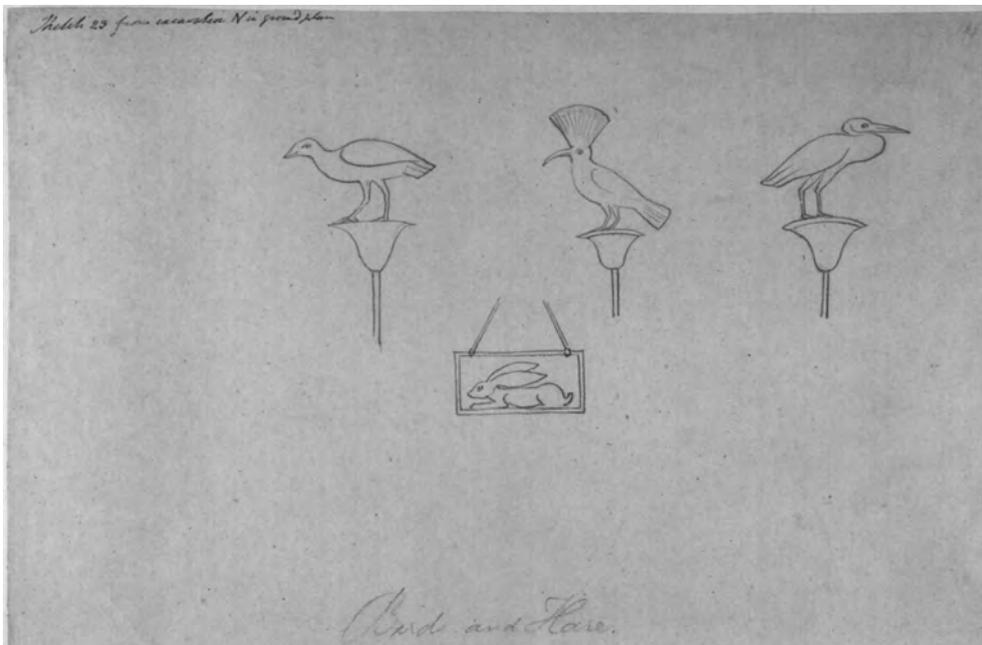
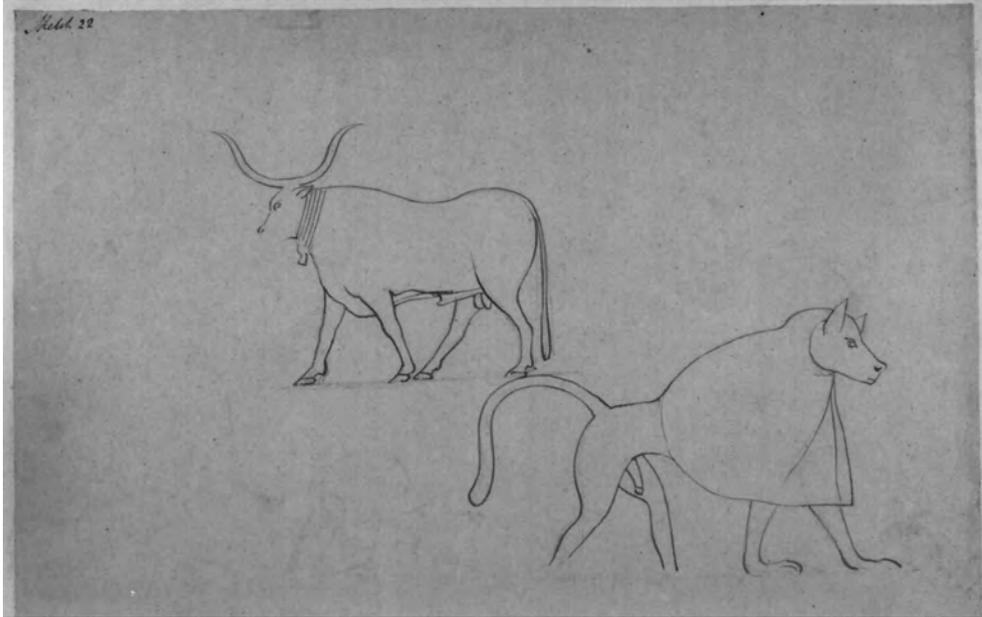
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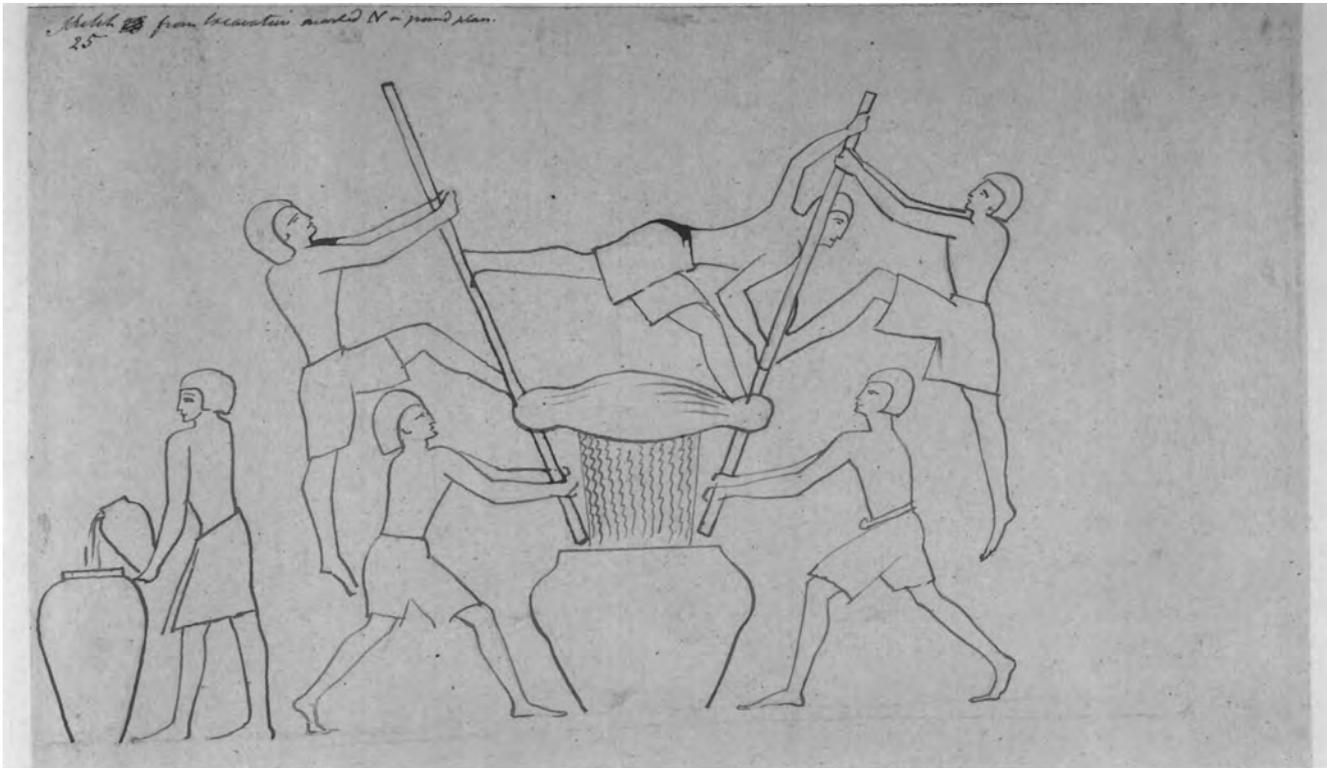
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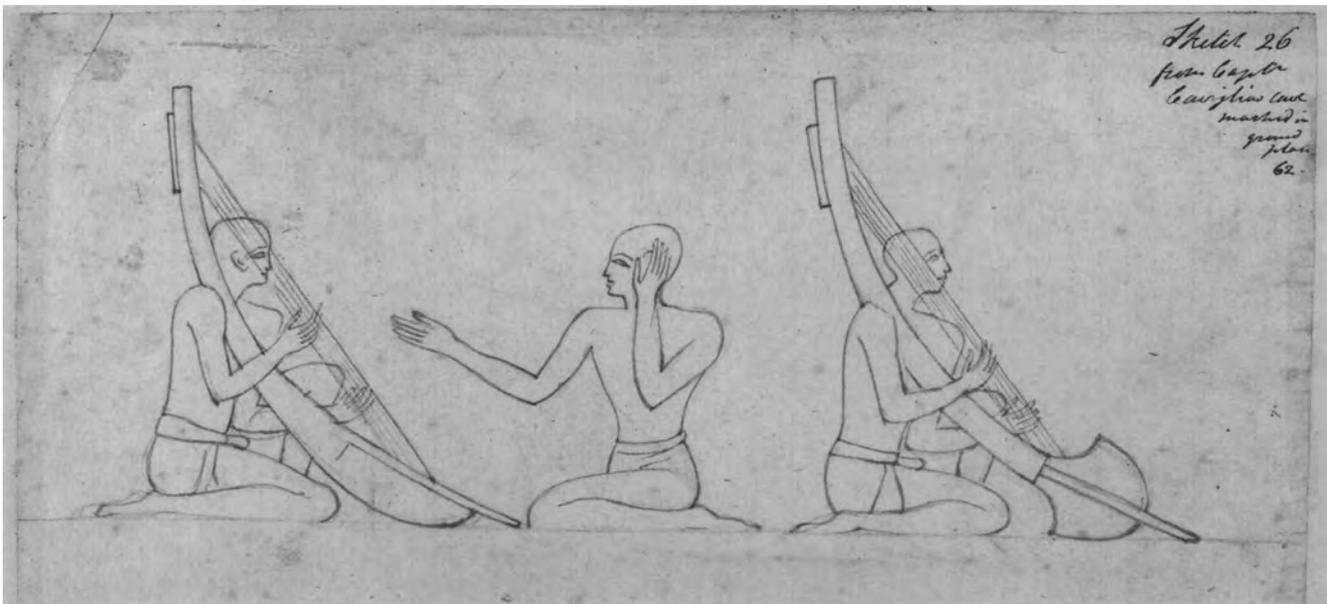
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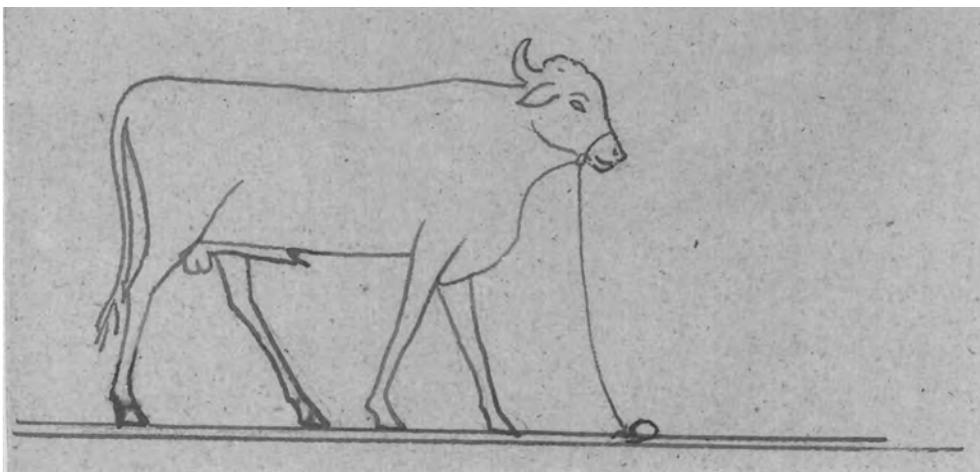
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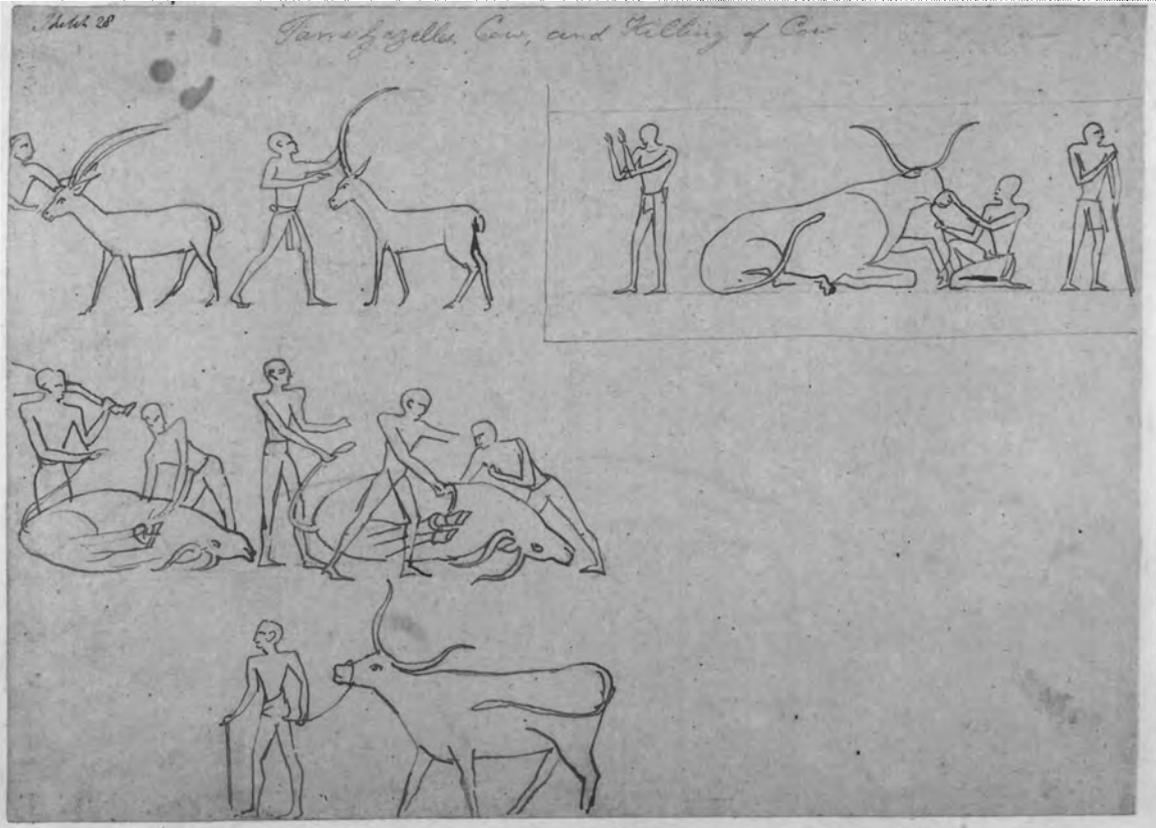
Sketch 25



Sketch 26



Sketch 27



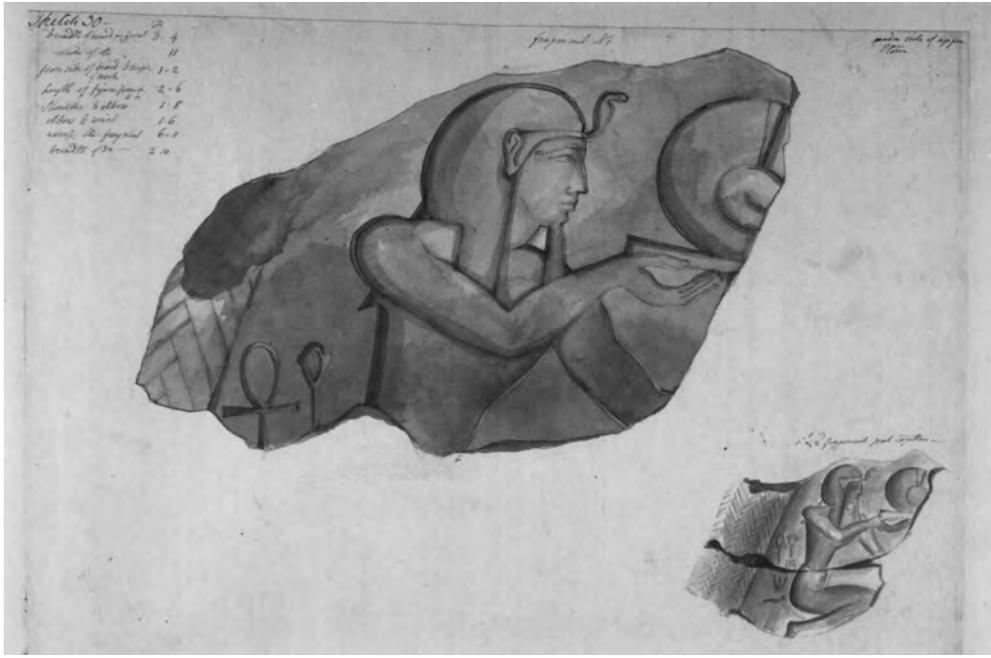
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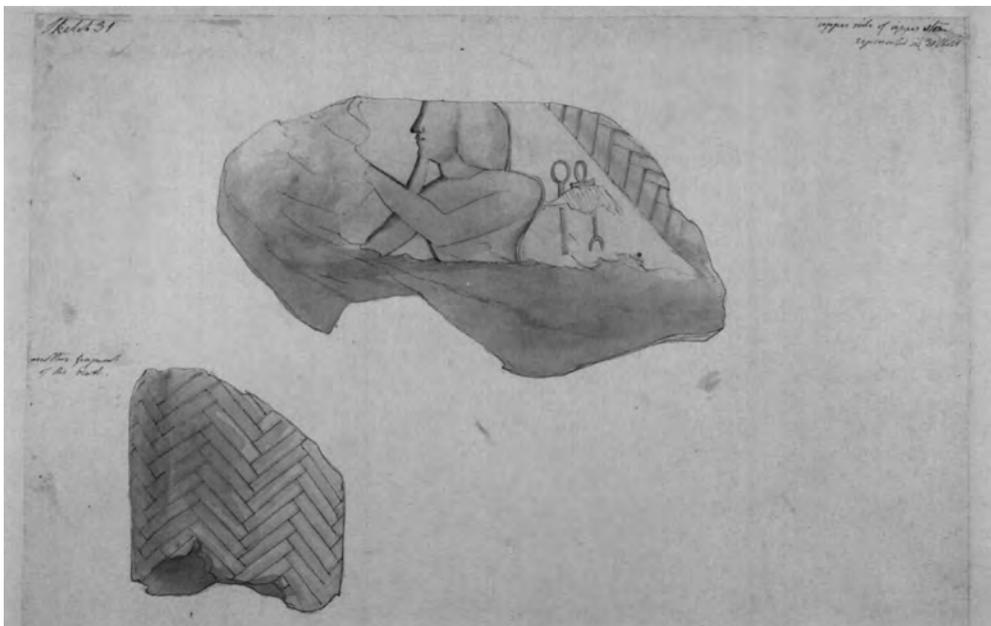
Sketch 29

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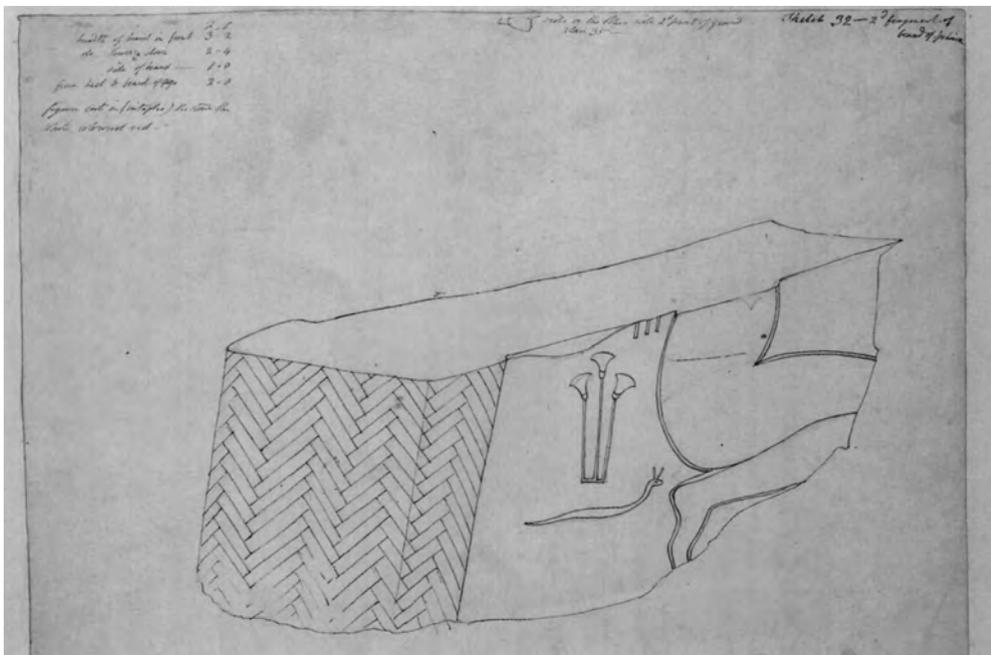
Sketch 30



Sketch 31

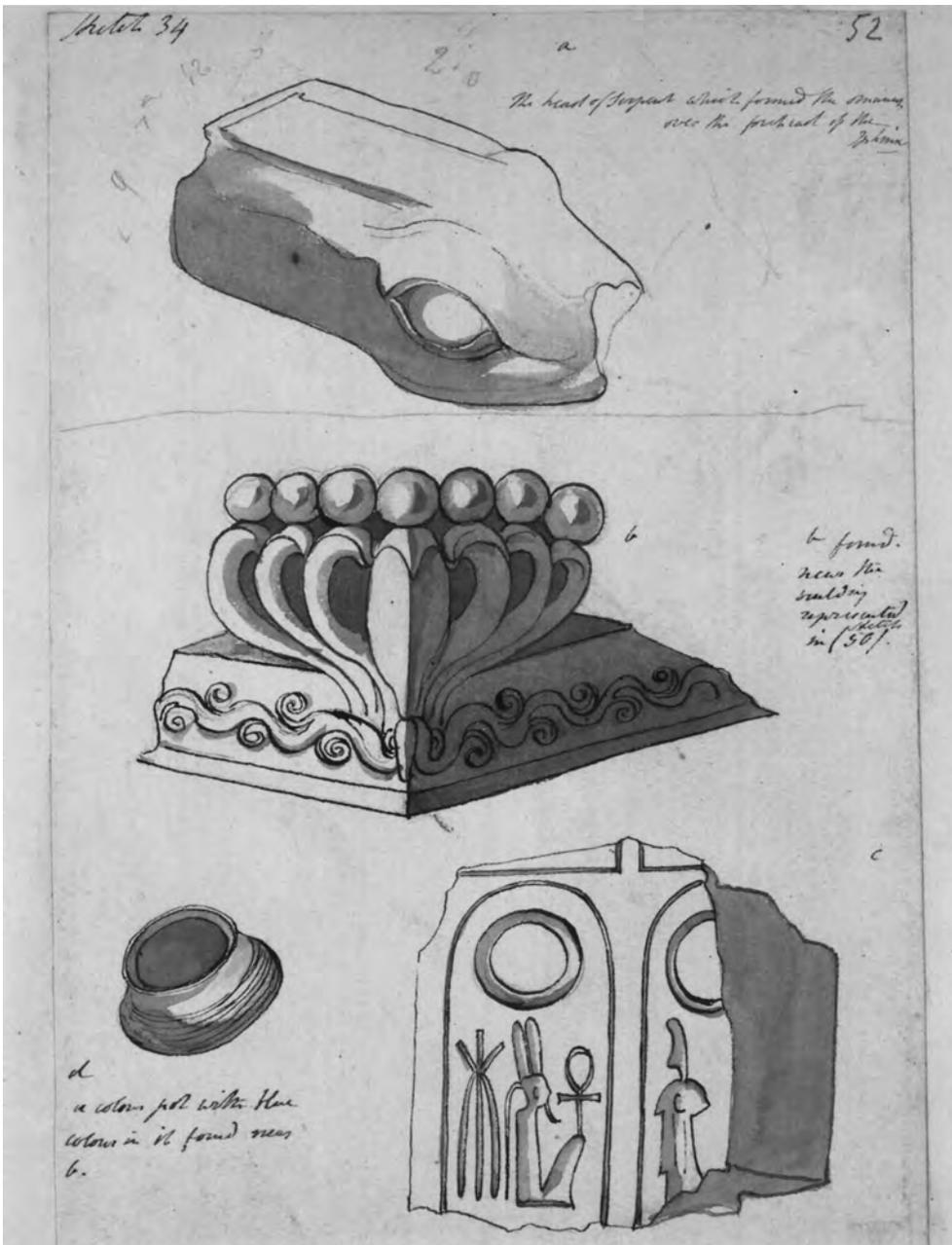


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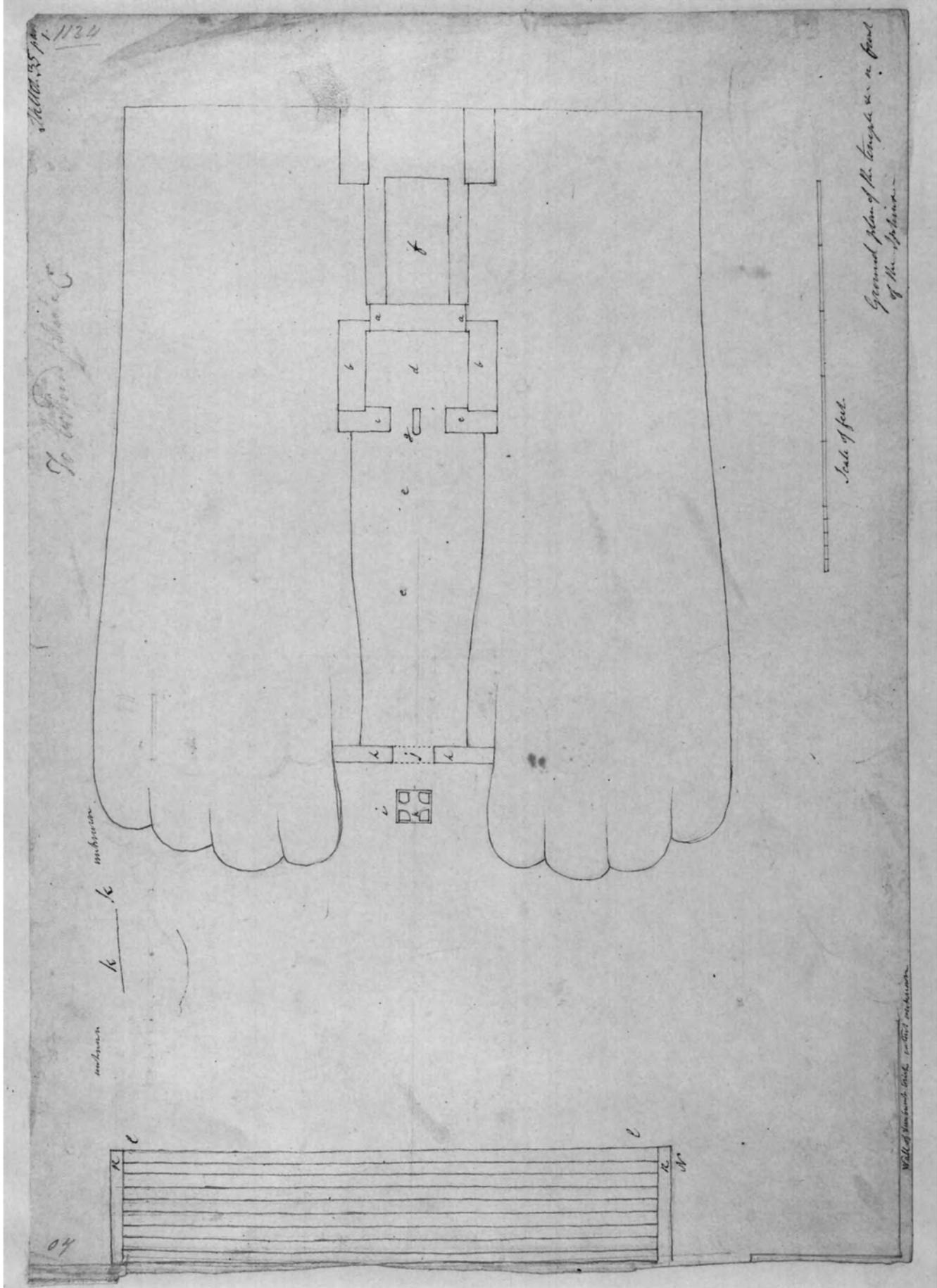




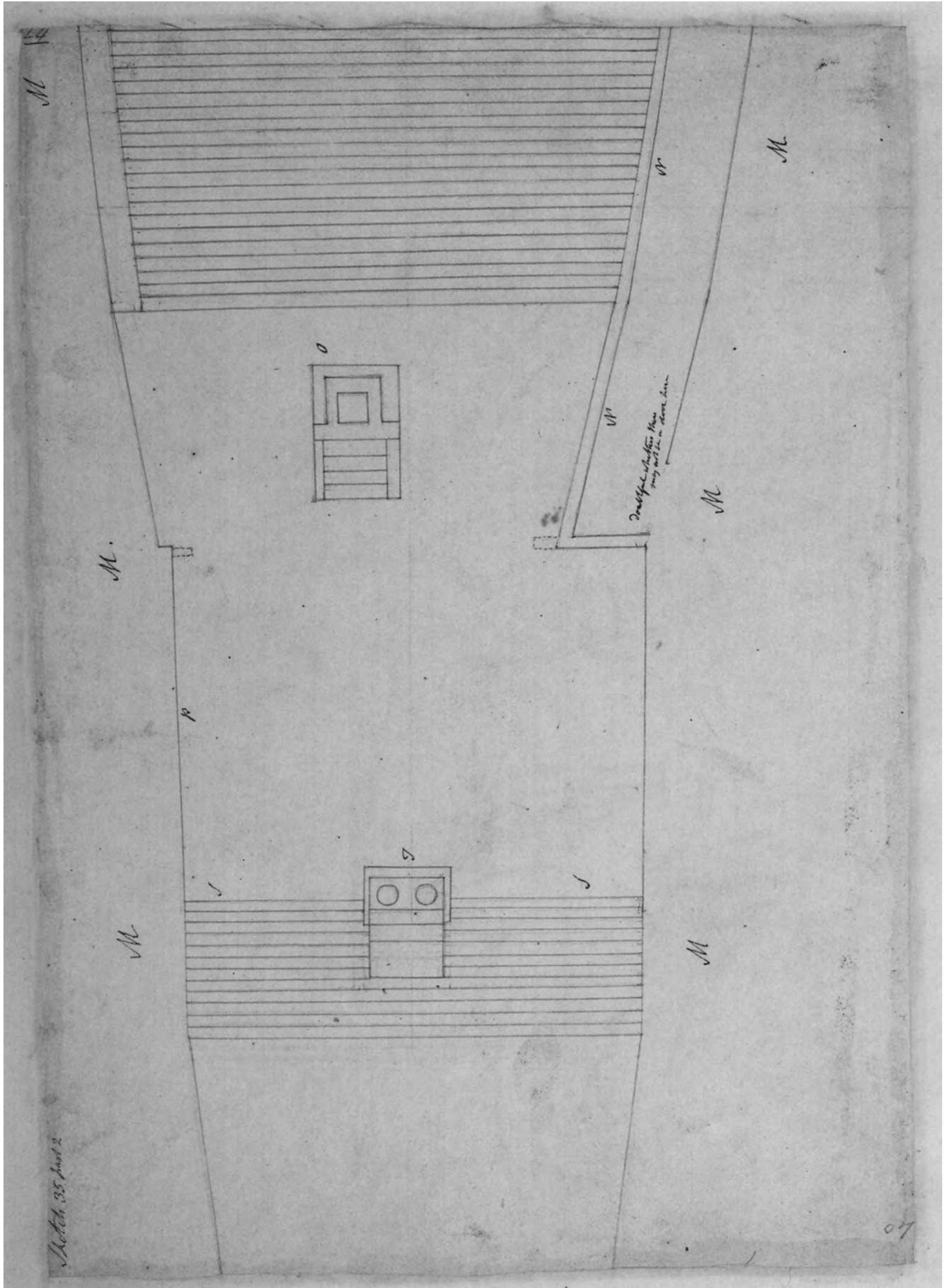
**\*Sketch \*33**  
Note: Sketch 33 is missing



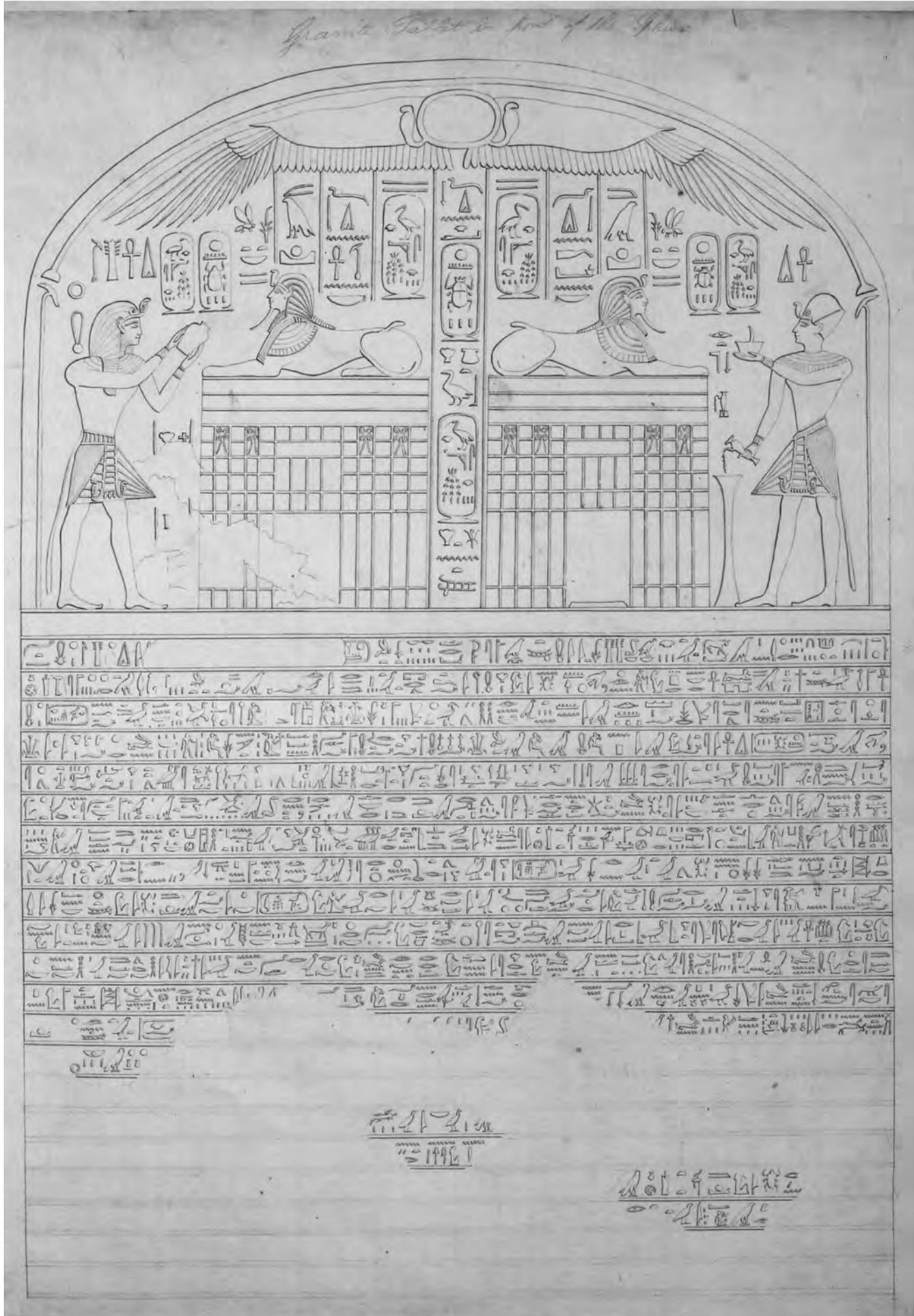
Sketch 34



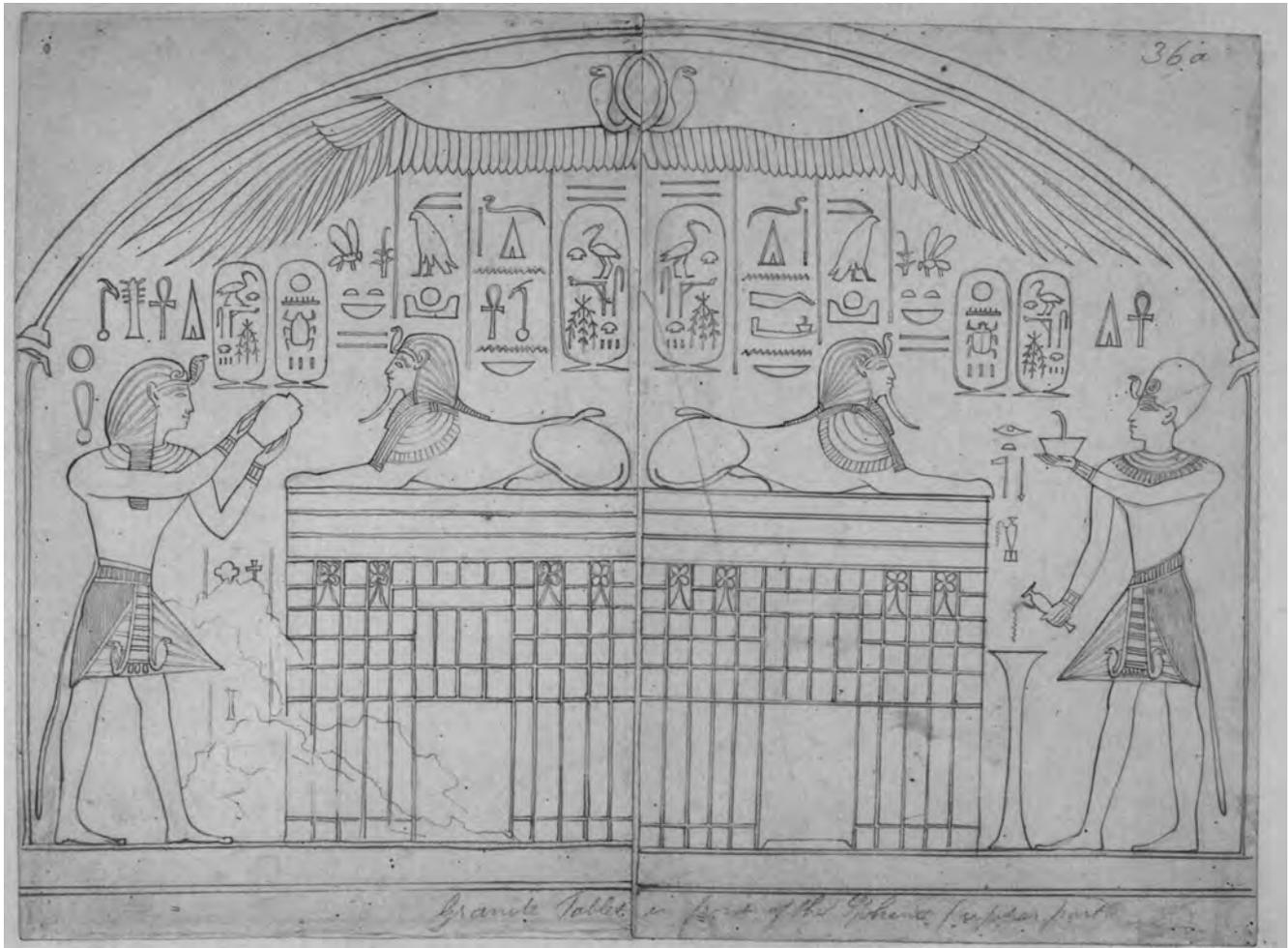
Sketch 35a



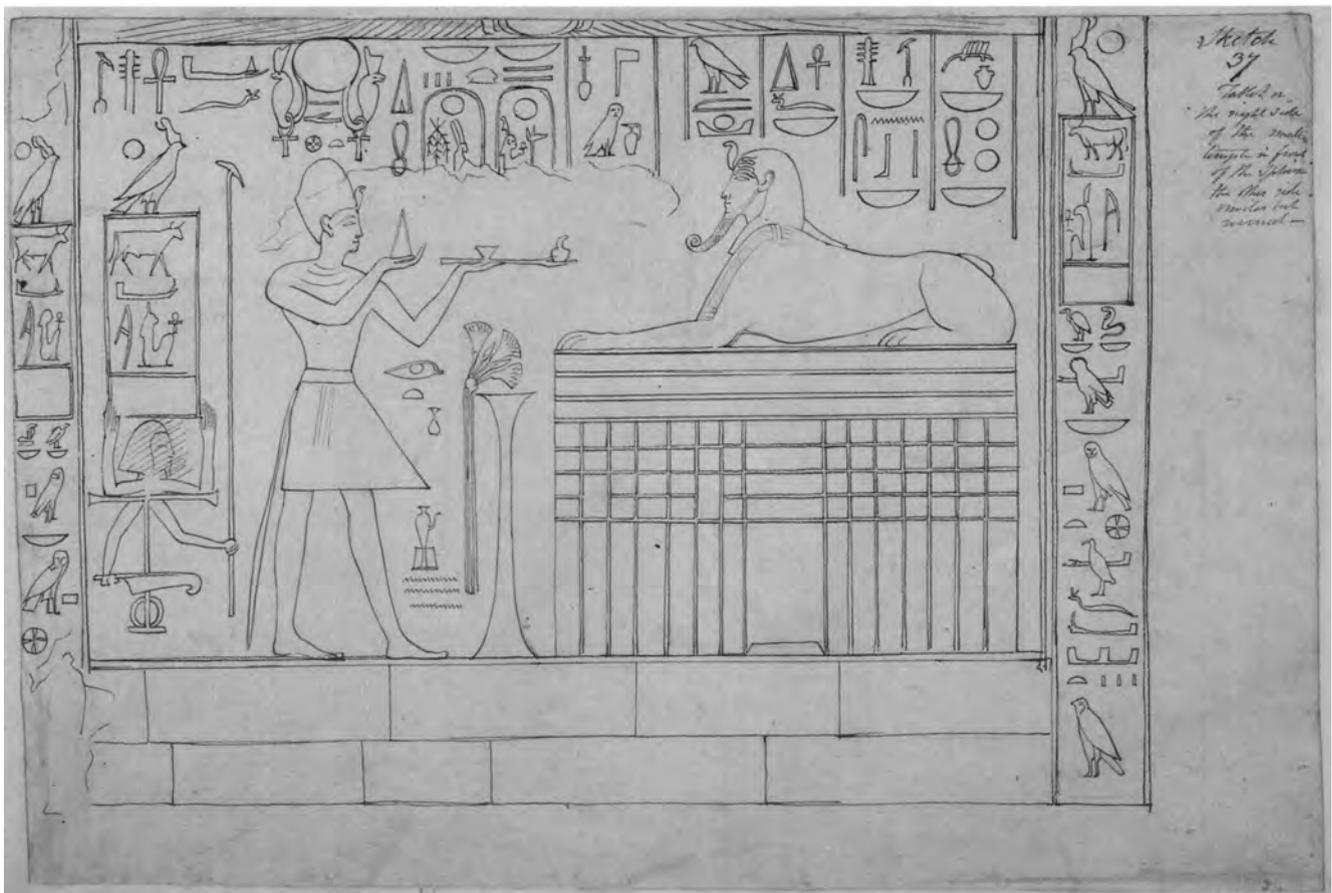
Sketch 35b



Sketch 36

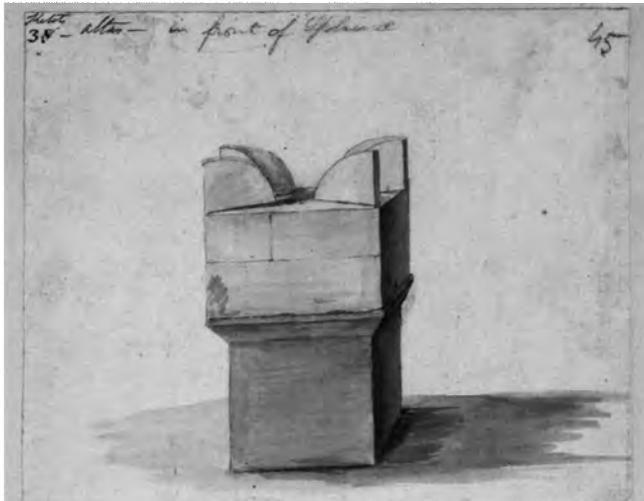


Sketch 36a

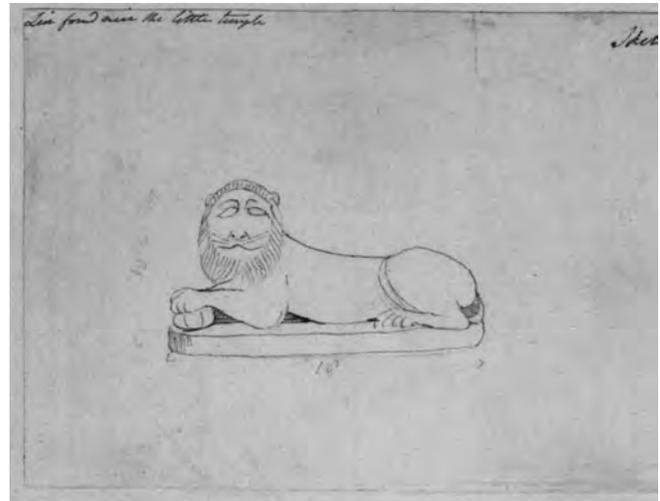


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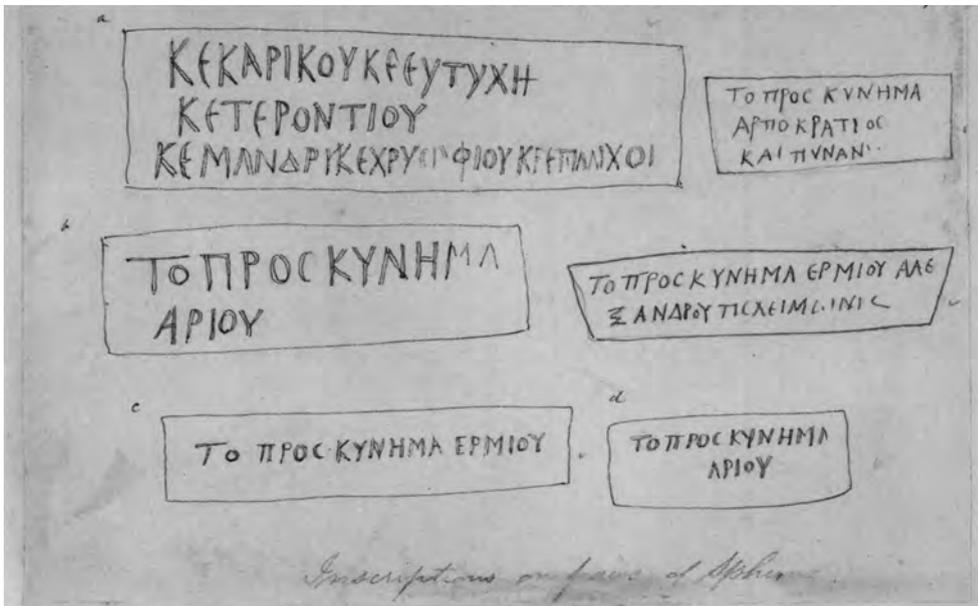
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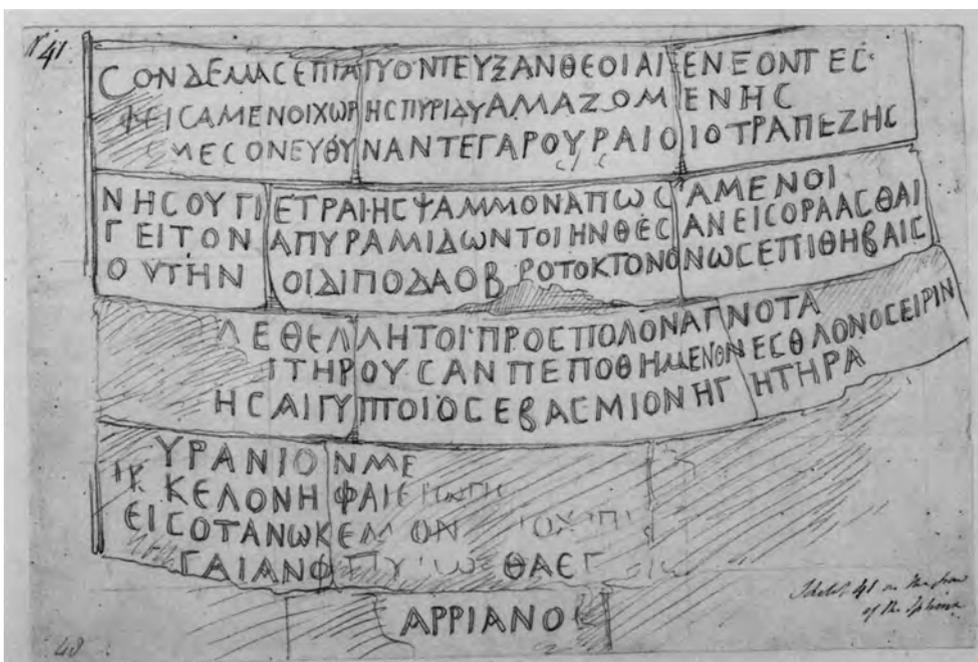
Sketch 38



Sketch 39

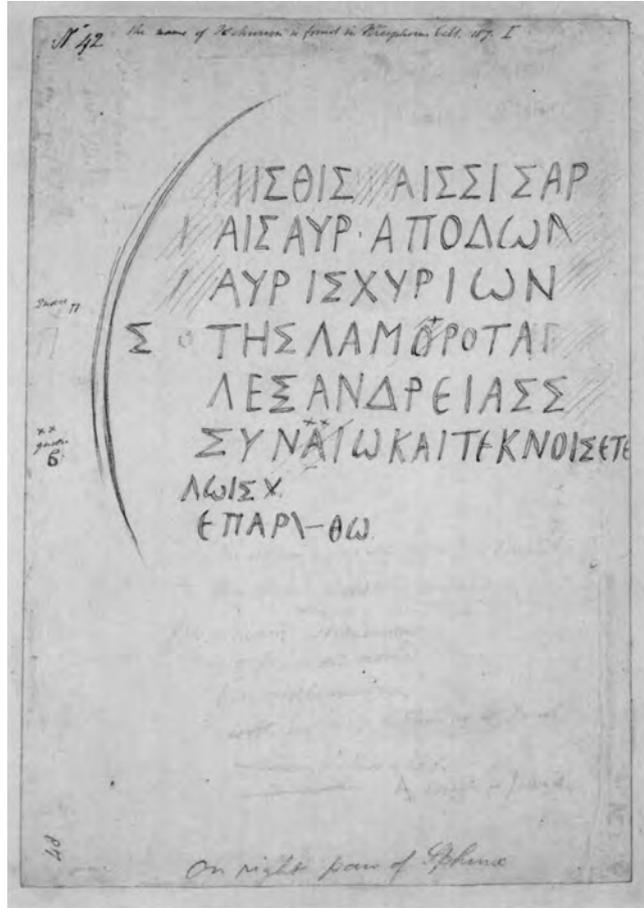


Sketch 40



Sketch 41

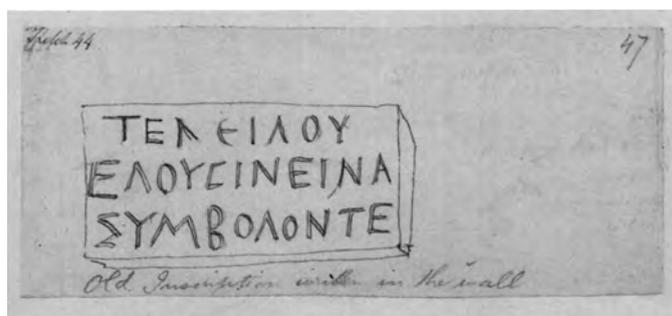
Sketch 42

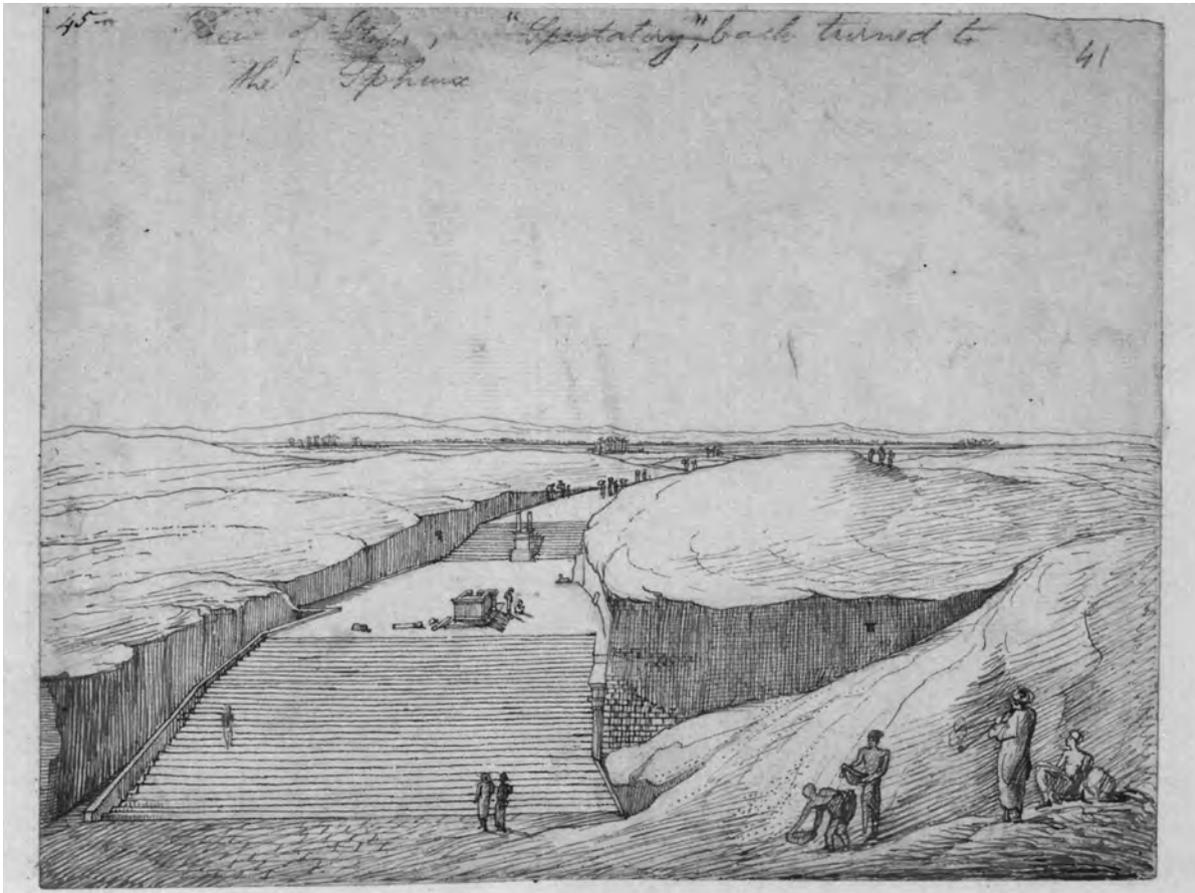


Sketch 43

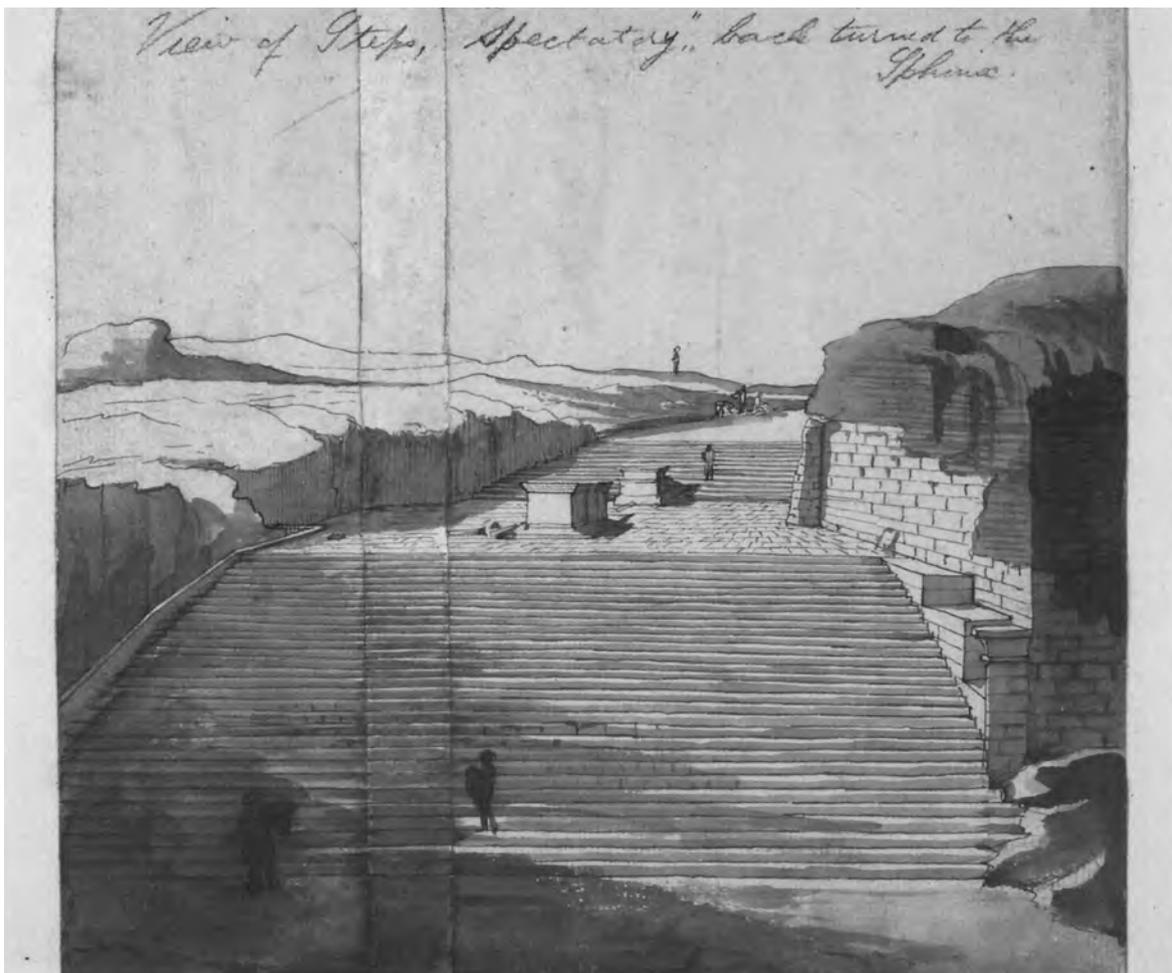


Sketch 44

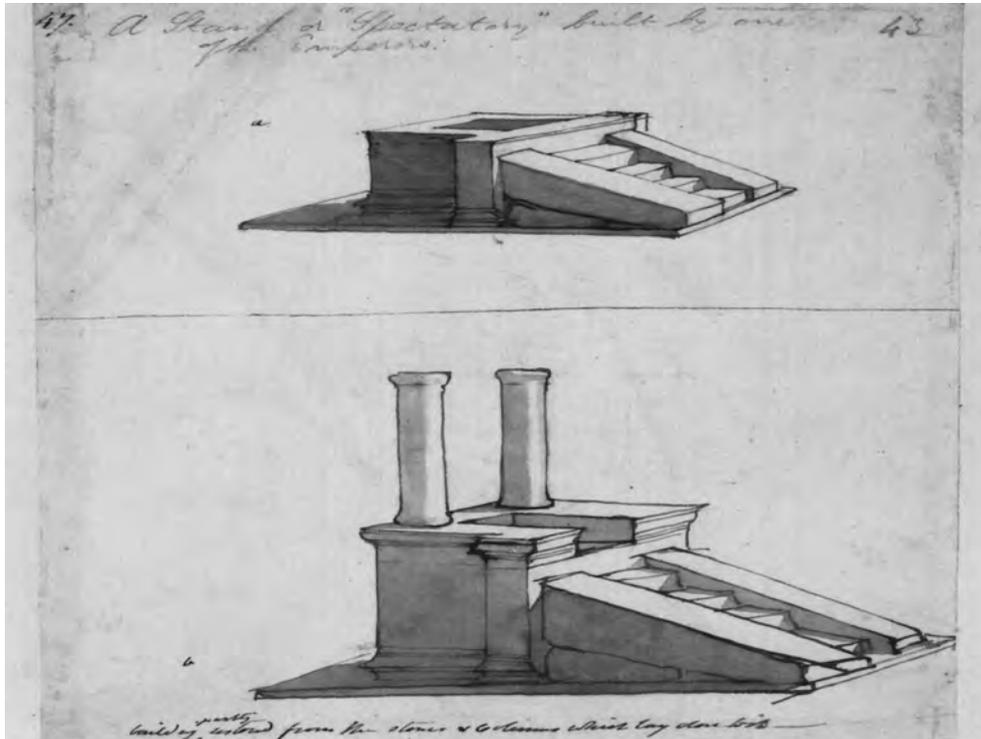




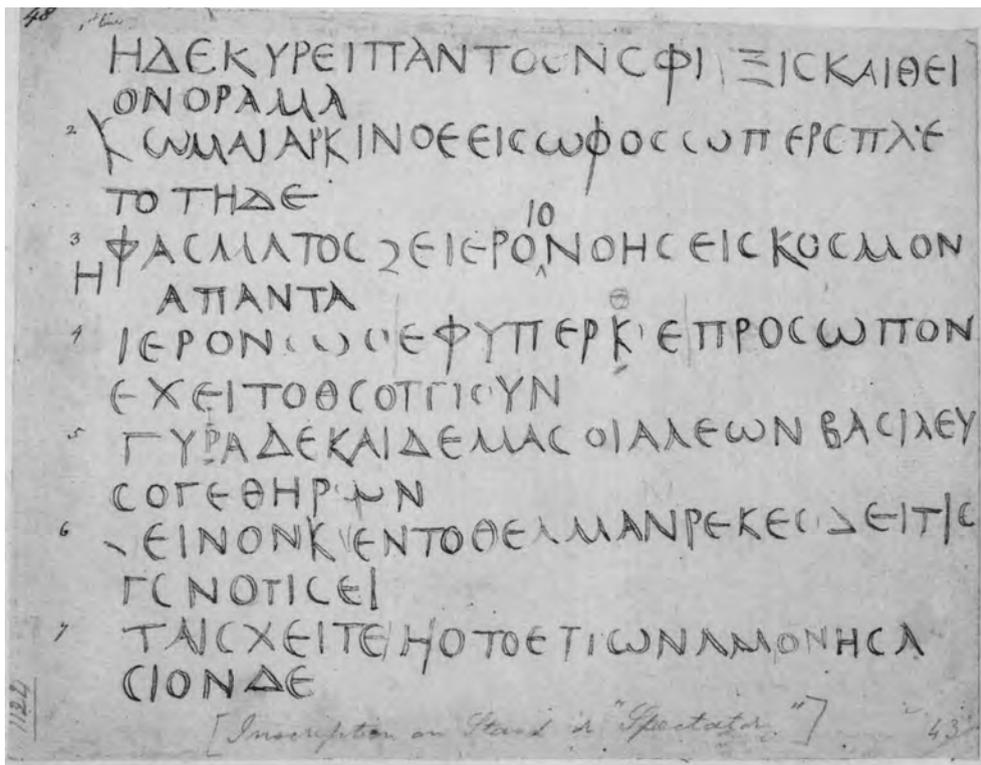
Sketch 45



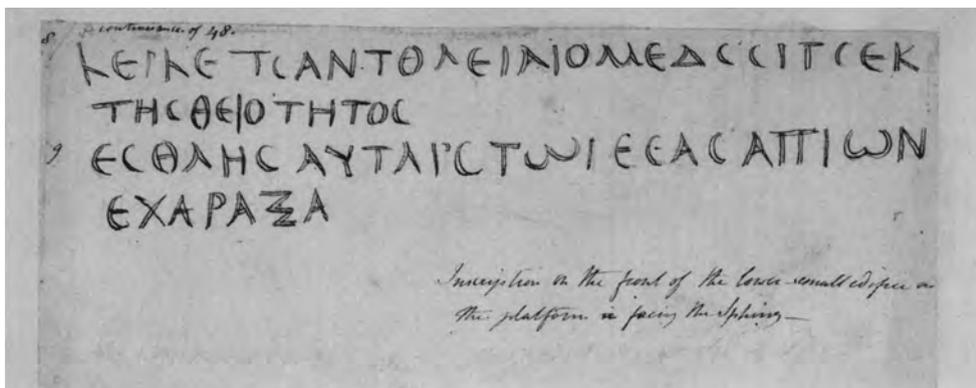
Sketch 46



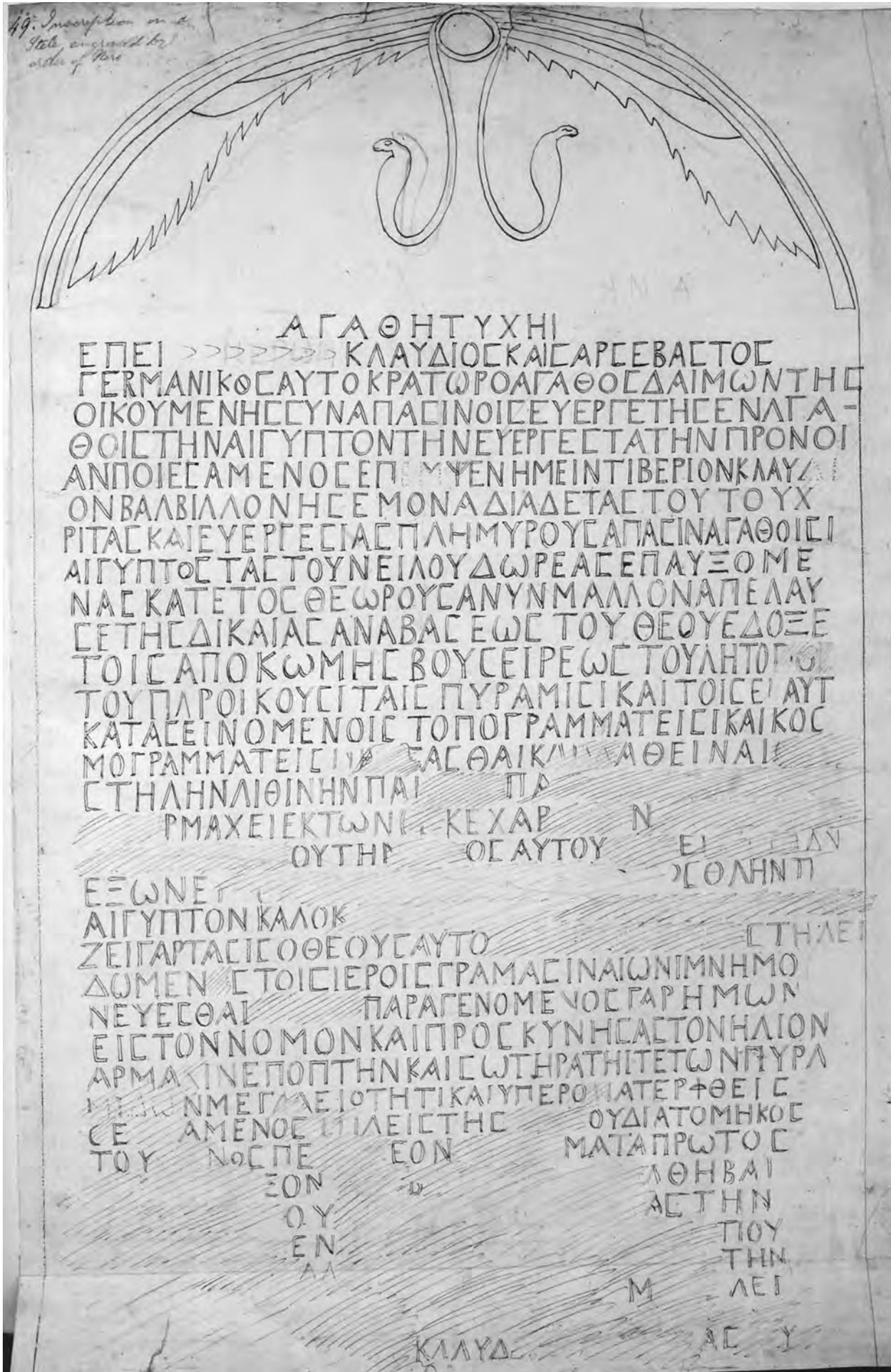
Sketch 47



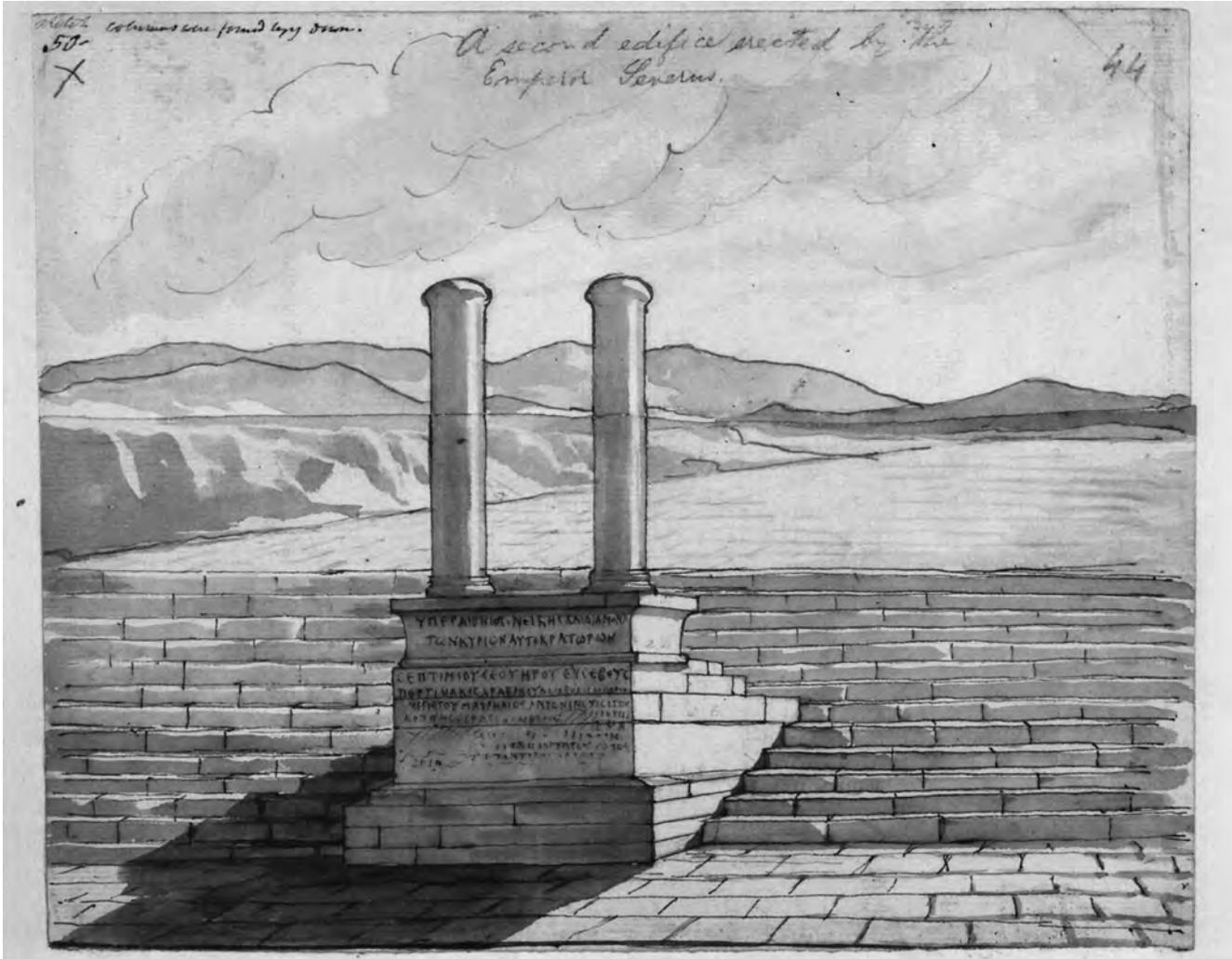
Sketch 48a



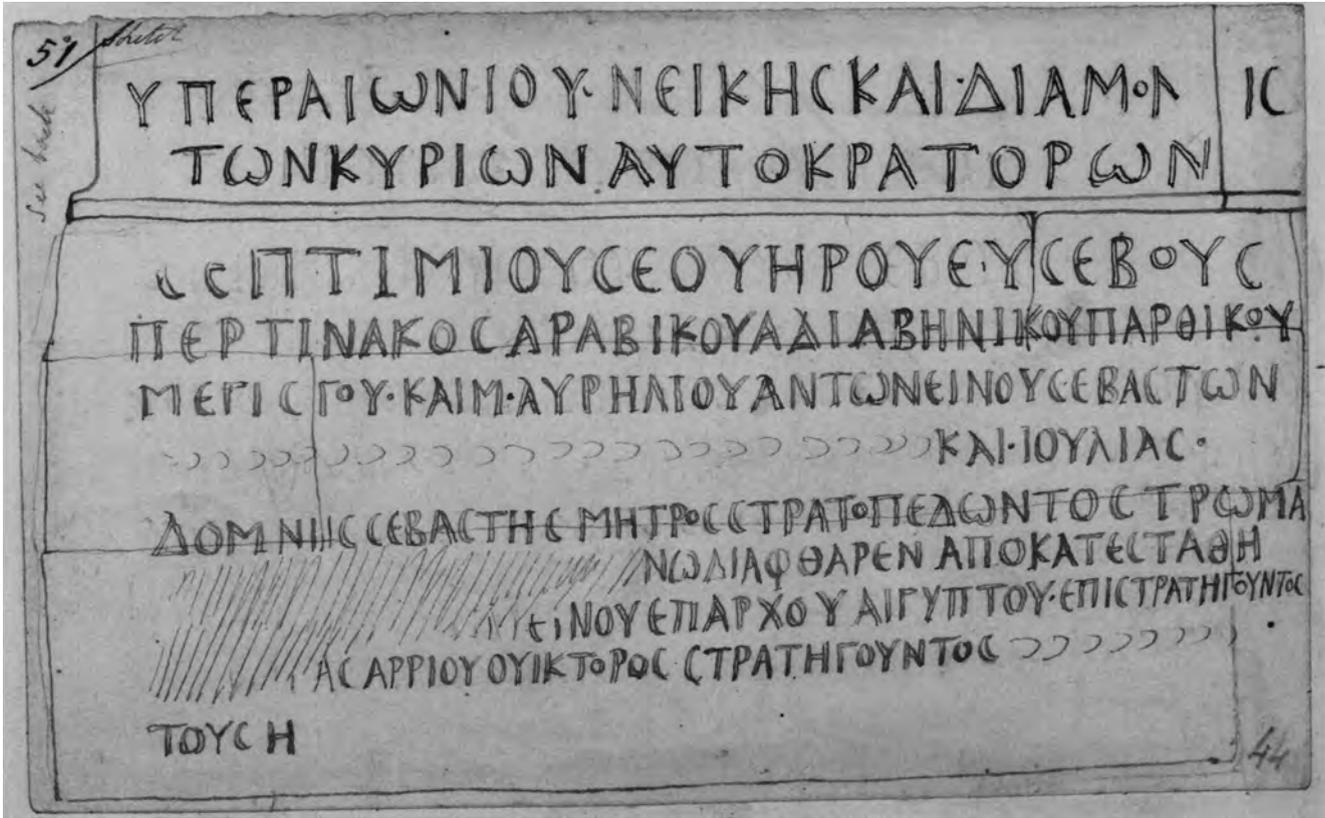
Sketch 48b



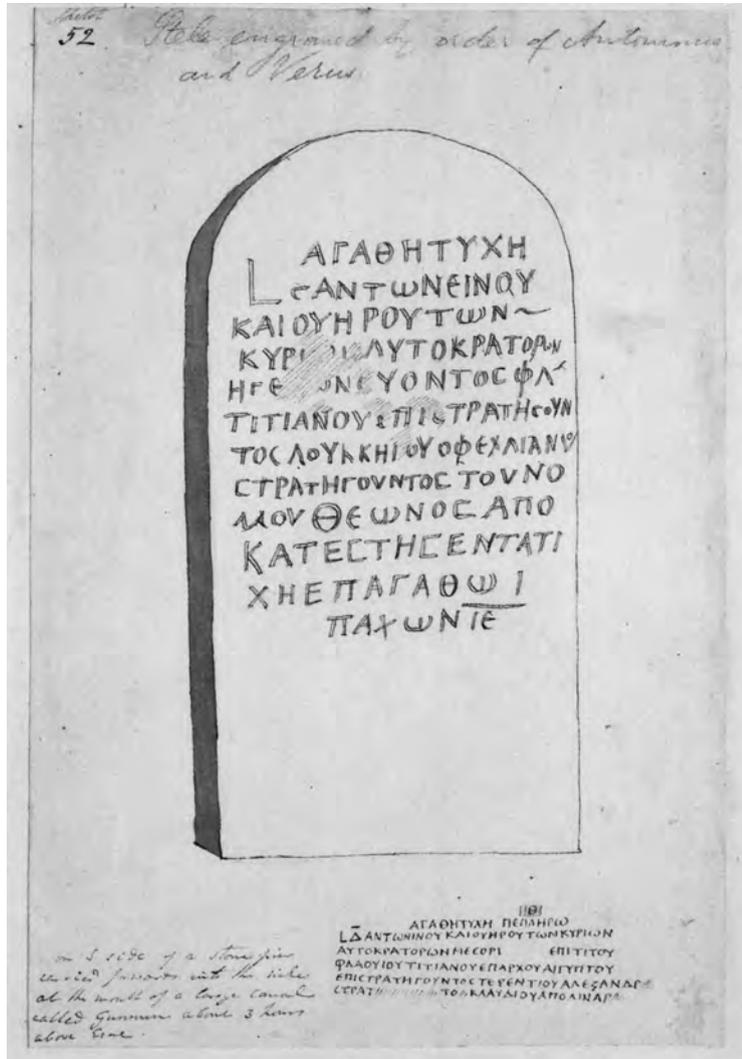
Sketch 49



Sketch 50



Sketch 51

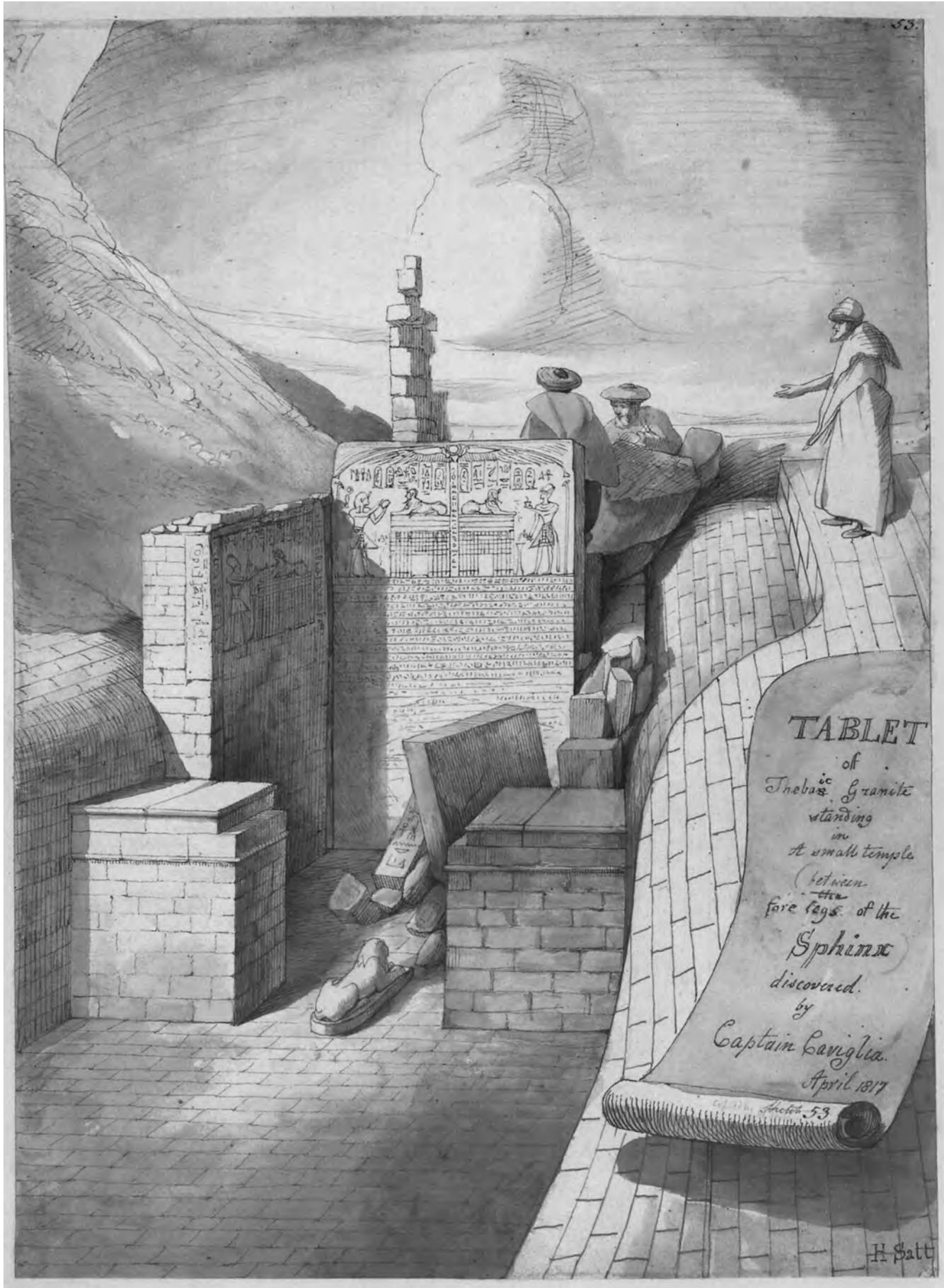


Sketch 52

For Sketches 53 & 54 see following pages

Sketch 55





sketch 53



Sketch 54



Sketch 56



Sketch 57



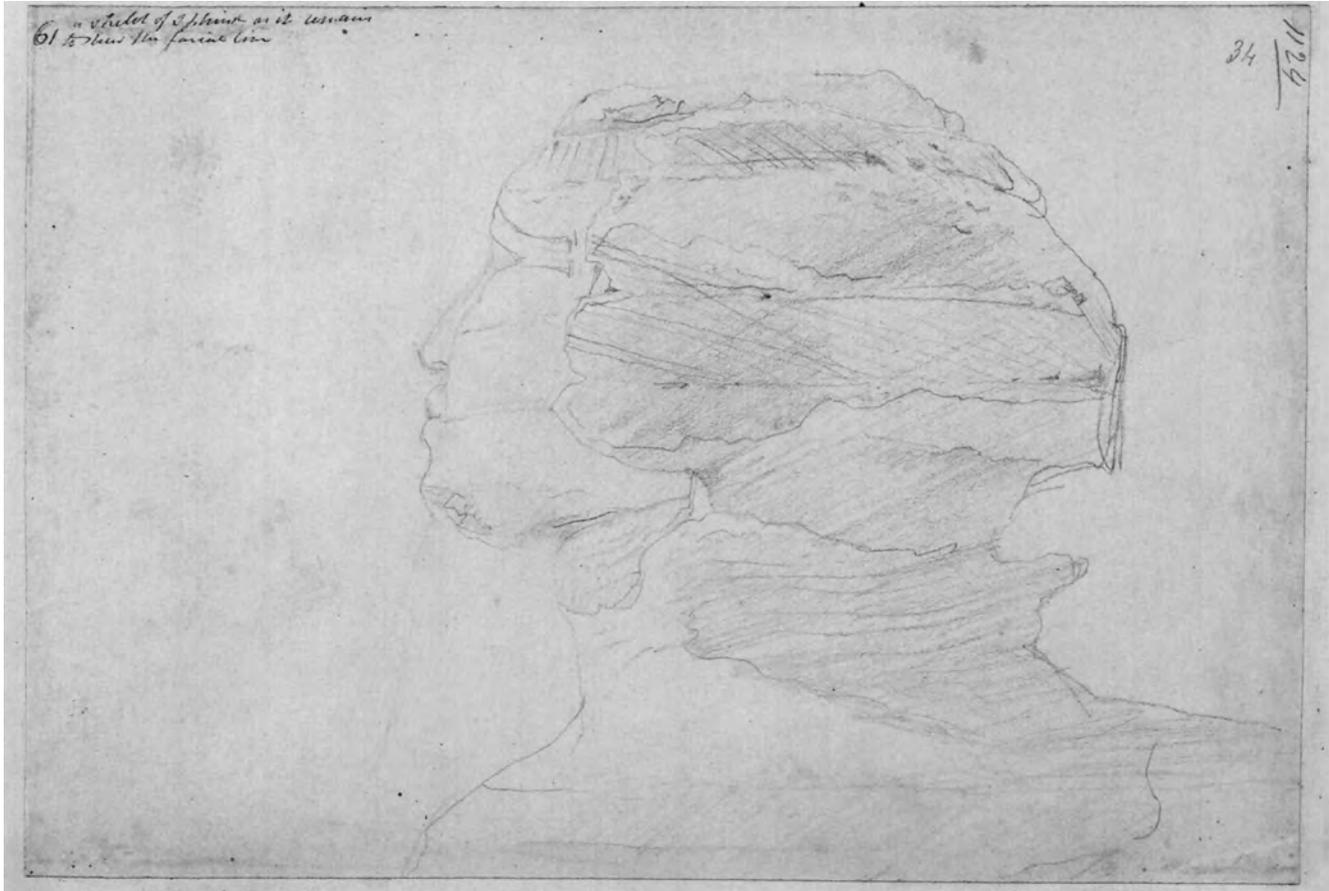
Sketch 59

Note: Sketch 58 is missing



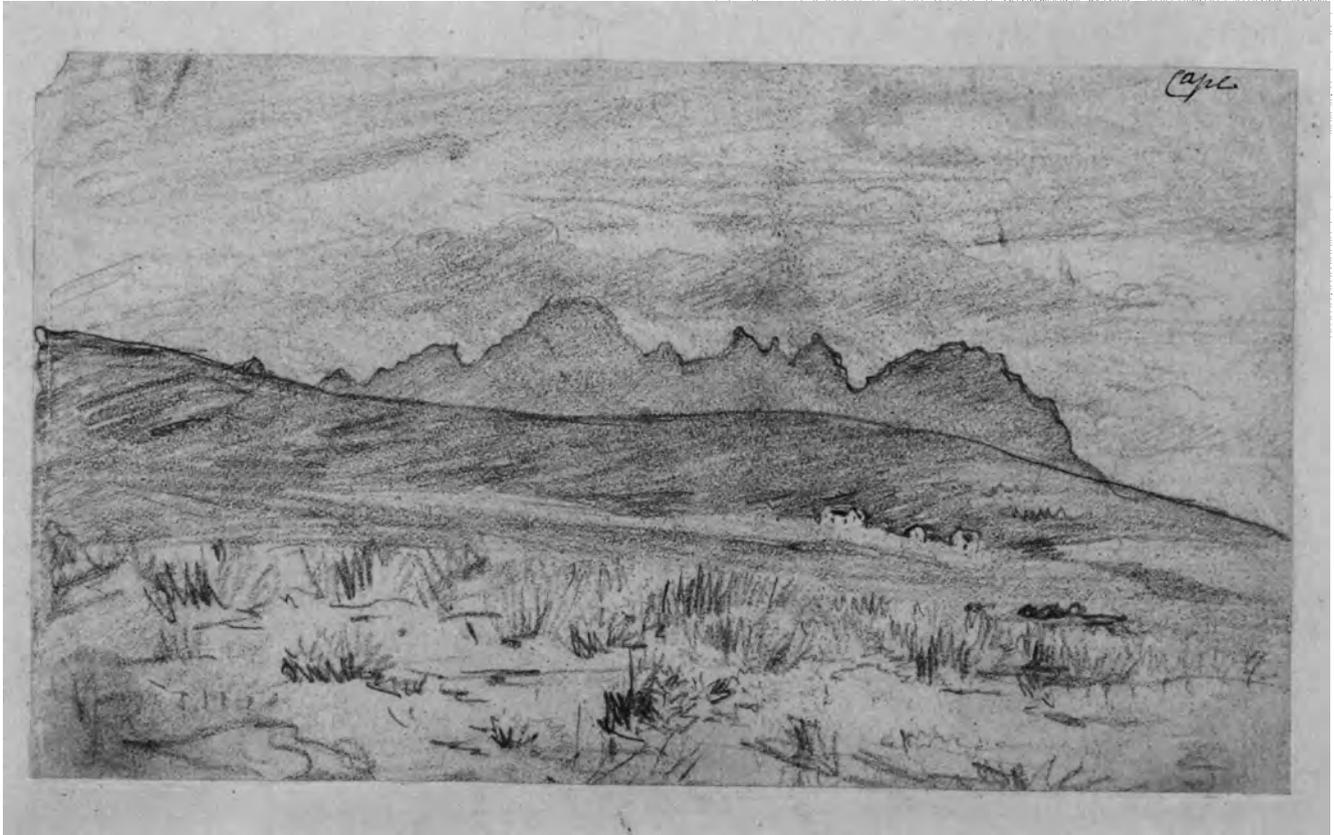
Sketch 60

Sketches from Henry Salt's Atlas

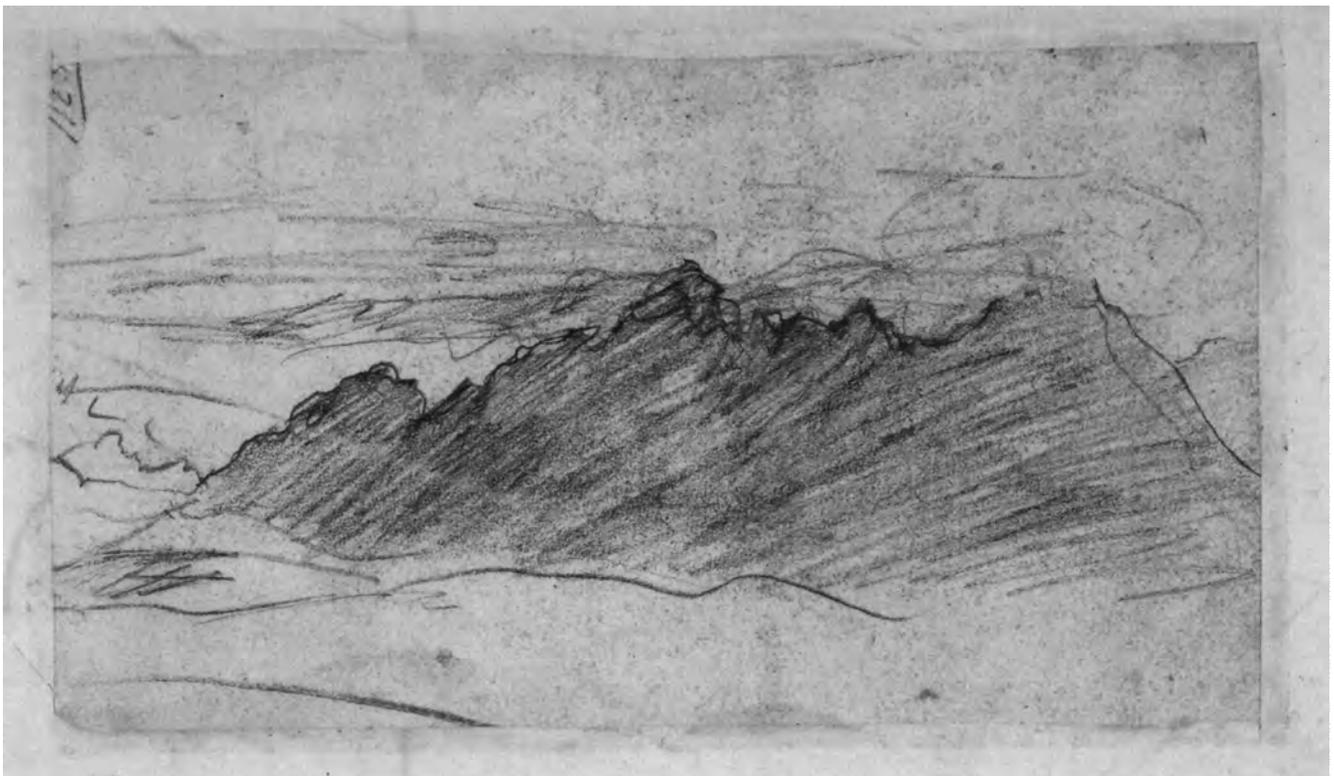


Sketch 61

Note: Sketch 62 is missing



Unnumbered Sketch recto



Unnumbered Sketch verso

# Transcription:

## Memoir on the Pyramids & Sphinx

### by Henry Salt

#### Editors' notes

In square brackets are words crossed out by the editor Charles Yorke (alterations in Henry Salt's hand have simply been included in the text).

In Italics are words added by the editor Charles Yorke.

Figures and numbers in parentheses, e.g. (n n) or (5) are Salt's text references to his ground plans in the *Atlas*.

Curly brackets, e.g. {66}, denote page numbers found in red ink, bottom of each right-hand page.

Footnotes are the notes added in the margins of the text by Salt except where otherwise stated.

Salt's use of double quotation marks has been replaced by single quotes, otherwise spellings (including many variations), punctuation, and use of capital letters has been retained except in a few minor instances to clarify the text.

Editors' notes are by Usick and Manley who have also inserted (blank), (illegible) and (?) for uncertain words, and have attempted to interpret Salt's Greek.

#### Measurements

Imperial	Metric
1 inch [in]	2.54cm
1 foot [ft] (12 in)	0.3048m
1 yard [yd] (3 ft)	0.9144m

***Sphingographia***  
***or Drawings descriptive of the result***  
***of the Excavation made at the great***  
***Sphinx of Ghizeh in the year 1818***  
***together with a memoir on the Excavation of the Sphinx***  
***to which are added Drawings of some antiquities found in some***  
***of the sepulchres near the Pyramids; with explanations***  
***by Henry Salt Esquire***  
***His Majesty's Consul General in Egypt***

[Sir,

I have at length the satisfaction of sending you] *This memoir contains an account of some of the discoveries*[lately] made by Captain Caviglia at the Pyramids during a period of nearly six months in 1817/18 – *Is this the right date?* in which he was actively engaged in carrying on his researches with a disinterested zeal that merits general admiration, and will insure to him the gratitude of all who take pleasure in the studies of the [Antiquarian] *Antiquary*.

This gentleman, in whose amiable character is blended an ardent enthusiasm for such pursuits, had long entertained an opinion that, among the antiquities so celebrated in Egypt, much yet remained to be explored which might throw a light upon the peculiar rites and usages of its ancient inhabitants, and, as nothing had excited his attention more than the

Pyramids, he had determined whenever the opportunity might occur, to exert his utmost effort towards clearing up the mystery which still hung over the interior {2} chambers of these venerable piles.

At length the occasion for carrying his plans into execution fortunately presented itself, for being in Alexandria in December 1817? on his second voyage to this country, the winter proved so severe, as to render all idea of his obtaining a cargo, for some months at least, hopeless and he in consequence [he] at once determined on undertaking a voyage to Cairo.

There he arrived on the 26th December of 1817?/18? and soon afterwards entered into an arrangement with two gentlemen named Sig<sup>r</sup> Kabitzsch and Sig<sup>r</sup> La Fuentes to go over, with cords and other necessary apparatus, to the Pyramids, which [accordingly] *arrangement* was put into execution on the 8th January.

The first object, Capt. C had in view, was to examine the 'well' in the Great Pyramid<sup>1</sup> which had so long baffled all research and respecting which various rumours had been propagated of persons having {3} been let down at different times, who never had returned to explain the mystery, in which it was enveloped, a circumstance that had deterred many others from what was so generally [was] considered as a desperate attempt.

Everything being prepared, Capt<sup>n</sup> C. by means of a cord tied round his waist, the other end of which was passed over a cross bar of wood laid a[c]ross the mouth of the well, proceeded with a lamp in his hand upon this hazardous undertaking, his friends remaining above with the rest of the cord in their hands (at n) to let him gradually down, and to render him, in case of need every necessary assistance.

After descending about seventy feet in a perpendicular direction, he arrived at a sort of landing place (5) and there discovered, that the passage began to take rather a sharp inclination to the south which *direction* after having advised his companions of the circumstance, he began to follow.

He had not however advanced above fourteen feet when he found {4} the way impeded by several stones (at 6) too large, and too unwieldy to be removed by his single efforts.

He therefore reascended and with great difficulty persuaded one of the boldest of the Arabs to go down with him, when by his assistance together with that of his companions at the mouth of the 'well', he succeeded after an hour's hard labour in removing three of the stones [illegible], which he placed in a small recess in the rock, being still obliged to leave *in its place* a large block of granite about 2 ½ feet in diameter [in its place that] which afforded a passage barely sufficient for a man to pass.<sup>2</sup> {5} Having so far got over the difficulty – Mr La Fuentes was directed to remain at top – Mr Kabitzsch descended to the block of granite, and Capt<sup>n</sup> C. recommenced his enterprise.

About fourteen feet lower down he came to a perpendicular

descent (7) lined with mason-work, opening almost immediately on a small grotto [8] (F) seventeen feet in diameter, and 4 feet in height. This at first sight appeared to be a cavern excavated in the rock & filled with rubbish, but on a more particular examination was found to be situated in a stratum, or rather an isolated bed, of gravel, which forms what I believe miners call 'a flaw' in the rock.

Here Capt<sup>n</sup> C. ascertained that the 'well' continued its course downwards, but that the passage was difficult of access – He therefore called to his companions to take up new positions and in consequence {6} Mr Fuentes descended to the granite stone and Mr Kabitzsch into the grotto.

Soon afterwards, with a rope, attached to him as before, Capt<sup>n</sup> C. again began to descend. He now discovered that the artificial lining of mason work continued *in a perpendicular direction* about the same distance [only in a perpendicular direction] below the grotto (to g) *at which it began* above, and therefore concluded with great probability, that it had been merely intended as a support to the surrounding gravel. Afterwards, the channel took as before a steep inclination towards the south. The descent however, was by no means so arduous, owing to [illegible] there being a succession of holes in the rock, like rough steps, which afforded a tolerably secure footing. Still as he got [lower and] lower the danger of his situation every moment increased – The heat became excessive – the air very impure and the lamp burnt with a faint and glimmering light, while, though he had advanced above a hundred feet<sup>3</sup> from the grotto, where {7} he had left his companions – the passage continued to open below him like an unfathomable abyss, always in the same direction, and nearly of the same dimensions – nothing occurring to relieve its solemn sameness, except a single break of gravel (10) in the rock at about fifty five feet from the grotto.

As long however, as the cord would last, or the lamp burn, Capt<sup>n</sup> C. was resolved not to turn back, and at length, at the depth of one hundred and seventy five feet, he was rewarded by arriving at the conclusion of this his first labour. The passage finishing by a short perpendicular descent (11) ending amidst a collection of loose stone and rubbish.

By this time he was so much exhausted, that he hastened to return to his companions, but had scarcely time to reach the grotto, when {8} all their lamps, one after another, became extinguished – a circumstance, that gave considerable alarm and obliged the whole party to make a very precipitate retreat. On the same day Capt<sup>n</sup> C. and his companions returned to Cairo, where they were overwhelmed with congratulations by their acquaintances, some of whom had before blamed the rashness, and *others* had wisely foretold the failure of the attempt.

[It is a trite observation, though applicable in the present occasion, that an enterprise like this once accomplished appears in retrospect to be divested of more than half its difficulties – everyone feels surprised it was not attempted before, and almost every one thinks, he could himself have executed it – but those] *Those* who have visited the Pyramids, and have seen the stoutest men faint in getting up even to the Gallery, who have experienced the enervating effects of the foul air [in] *throughout* these subterraneous channels, and have heard the various histories current {9} at Cairo of persons supposed to have formerly perished in [the attempt] *attempting this descent* will still know how to appreciate the firmness of nerve & undaunted

resolution [admirable presence of mind displayed throughout this adventure, the rare union of which could alone] *which could alone* have [brought it to a successful conclusion] *accomplished such an enterprize*.

Capt<sup>n</sup> Caviglia not being yet satisfied with the termination of the well, and conceiving that it must still have some concealed outlet (a suspicion strongly confirmed by the ground having sounded hollow *underneath* his feet) determined to try, if he could not by excavating make some further discovery, Mr Kabitzsch also being highly pleased with their success in the first instance, agreed to contribute an equal share to the expenses which might be incurred, though his occupations were such as to prevent his taking any very active part in the labour.<sup>4</sup> In consequence {10} of this arrangement Capt<sup>n</sup> C. on the 18th Jan<sup>y</sup>. went over with all the necessary implements, and took up his permanent residence at the great Pyramid, having for that purpose pitched two small tents upon the mound in front of its entrance.

He immediately proceeded with some Arabs, he had hired at an extraordinary rate of wages, to commence his operations at the bottom of the well (11) and with baskets and cords to draw up the loose earth from beneath, but though he laboured almost continually himself at the bottom for the sake of encouraging the others, he proceeded so slowly, on account of the extreme reluctance they showed to the work, that he was soon compelled to suspend his enterprise until an order<sup>5</sup> could be procured from the Kiaya Bey to the Shechs of the adjoining villages to furnish him daily with a certain number of men and proper persons to superintend their labours. Notwithstanding that this order in some degree {11} facilitated his progress – it is still almost inconceivable, how he could so far surmount the prejudices of these people as to induce them to work in so confined a space, where a light, after the first half hour, would not burn, and where consequently every thing was to be done by feeling, and not by sight; the heat at the same time being so intense, and the air so suffocating, that in spite of all precautions it was not possible to stay below *half* an hour at a time without suffering from its pernicious effects. At length indeed it became so intolerable, that an Arab was brought up nearly dead, and several others on their ascending fainted away, so that at last in spite of the restraint laid upon them, they almost entirely abandoned their labour, declaring that 'they were willing to work for him, but not to die.'

Under these discouraging circumstances Capt<sup>n</sup> C. was induced to turn his attention towards clearing the principal entrance in to the Pyramid (at j) which had from time immemorial been so blocked up, as to oblige [those] *the persons* who entered to creep in on their hands {12} and knees – as he hoped by so doing to open a free passage to the air.

This is not only effected, but fortunately led to an unexpected conclusion of his labour – for on proceeding he discovered that the main channel below the entrance [at (blank)] did not terminate, as it had been always supposed, and so roundly asserted by Maillet at (c), but that, on the contrary, though obstructed by large masses of calcareous stone<sup>6</sup> and granite apparently placed there for that purpose it still continued on the same inclined angle downwards, of the same dimensions, and the sides worked with equal care, as in the channel above, though filled up nearly to the top with earth and fragments of stone.

In excavating this new channel the Capt<sup>n</sup> had again to encounter a renewal of embarrassments, for after advancing about one hundred and fifty feet the same impurity of the air, and suffocating heat was experienced; *as in the well* and it was only by great conciliation, additional wages and promises of a speedy {13} conclusion to their labours, that the Arabs were tempted to go on, being allowed at the same time to work only a few hours in the morning and to count it for a day's labour, by which indulgence a longer period also was obtained for the air to renew itself in the channel below. Even the Captain's health at this time began to be visibly impaired, for having caught cold with the sudden changes experienced in going in and out of the Pyramid, he was attacked with a spitting of blood, that gave very serious alarm to his friends at Cairo. Nothing however could [seduce] induce him to desist from his pursuits.

About the period of the discovery of the new passages Mr Briggs and myself returned from Alexandria and being struck with admiration at the exertions already made, and [being sensible] aware of the great expenses thereby incurred, which the result was only likely in a scientific point of view to repay, we proposed to the Capt<sup>n</sup> and his colleague to share in the {14} disbursements, under the condition of leaving to their sole disposal whatever statues or other interesting objects might be discovered, and to this they obligingly consented.

By way of assisting Capt<sup>n</sup> C. and of doing all in my power towards illustrating his discoveries, I began also to make frequent excursions to the Pyramids, and commenced the plan, measurements, and series of sketches forwarded with this memoir.<sup>7</sup>

By the 14th of March Capt<sup>n</sup> C. had excavated [as] so low down as 200 feet in his new passage, without anything particular occurring, having ascertained only that the mason work ends at (d), when the rock commences, and that at about 116 feet below, there is a wide fissure in the rock (e.e.) which seemed to answer to the one (10) in the lower channel of the well.

Soon afterwards, while I happened to be at the Pyramids, a doorway (f) on the [left] right hand of the channel was discovered, {15} and in a few hours more the smell of sulphur being perceived, it became probable that this doorway communicated with the well, as the Captain had caused some to be burnt there for the purpose of purifying the air.

The earth too became of a darker colour, and a portion of it being removed a bat flew out. Expectation was now wound up to the highest pitch, and in a little time gratified by the channel opening at once upon the bottom of the 'well' dis-covering to view the baskets, implements & cords employed there by Capt<sup>n</sup> C. in the late excavation.

The pleasure of such moments is not to be described; this far at least was cleared up the mystery of this heretofore inexplicable channel, and a {16} thousand vague ideas crossed the mind as to the ulterior objects it might lead to.

The value of the dis-covery was also felt in another respect for whereas it was before almost impracticable and certainly imprudent to go on with the excavations, on [either side by their offering] account of the impurity of the atmosphere a free circulation of air was [admitted that] now obtained by means of this passage which obviated all danger for the future.

I may here be excused for mentioning that before I returned to Cairo, I had the satisfaction of being the first person (after

Captain Caviglia) to ascend from the doorway lately discovered to the entrance of the well in the great Gallery above.

{17} Captain Caviglia having proceeded with his excavation, soon afterwards discovered that the new passage ended in a spacious chamber, situated almost perpendicularly beneath the central point of the Pyramid, which chamber on the 26th of Feb<sup>y</sup>. I had an opportunity of examining.

After passing the doorway (f) communicating with the well, the passage continues 23 feet farther on the same inclined plane to (g) where it becomes narrower, and takes an horizontal direction for about 28 feet, till it opens upon the North Eastern corner of the chamber (C at h). On the right hand of the horizontal passage is cut a recess in the rock (13) about five feet across and three feet deep, answering in its position to that in front of the King's chamber (33). {18} The new chamber (C) is forty six feet long by twenty seven wide, somewhat irregularly excavated, and with a flat roof. When first discovered it was almost entirely filled up with loose stones, and rubbish, which Capt<sup>n</sup> Caviglia subsequently removed.

From the singular manner in which [it] this chamber is disposed, it is difficult to convey any correct notion of its general appearance.

The rock on each side at the East end (A,A.) (*vide* ground plan, of the chamber C) forms a floor on a level with the horizontal passage, (h) extending about half way along the chamber [and the chamber there is] which is thus far fifteen feet high, whilst in the central compartment (C) the rock is excavated five feet lower down [with] into a hollow in the middle of which B there is {19} all the appearance of the commencement of a well. [On descending into the lower compartment it is found to continue lengthways gradually narrowing to three feet wide and] <sup>8</sup> *In the centre at D, is a channel rising by irregular steps [at d] up to the western end of the chamber, (E) where there remains scarcely room between the floor and the ceiling to stand upright.*

In the same direction also are cut two smaller horizontal passages on the sides (F.J.) close to the walls, each about three feet wide, terminating in rude seats carved in the rock, that may formerly have served as seats or pedestals for statues; The intermediate platforms (G,G,) being distant not more than three feet from the ceiling and rudely shaped, as if broken up in search of treasure.

Over the northern platforms were found some Roman characters,<sup>9</sup> smoked with the flame, of a candle, and rudely formed so as to be quite unintelligible, as will be seen by the annexed copy; a circumstance {20} partly to be attributed to the rock having mouldered away, especially between the letters (H) and (M) most probably from the effects of damp, the whole chamber bearing indeed evident marks of moisture, occasioned by the rain water finding its way in at particular seasons from the entrance.

On the south side of this chamber is excavated another passage<sup>10</sup> just wide and high enough for a man to creep along upon his hands and knees; It enters 54 feet, horizontally into the rock and there abruptly terminates.<sup>11</sup>

[Before I quit this chamber, I must observe, that though it now bears so rude and unfinished an appearance, yet after comparing it very carefully with many other subterraneous chambers that have been disfigured, by the effects of time and the rude hands of curious engineers, I {21} cannot help

entertaining an opinion that it was once highly wrought, and perhaps used for carrying on some secret mysteries.]

I confess, that I flattered myself, before this chamber was cleared out, that we should find it answering to that described by Herodotus, as containing the tomb of Cheops, and into which, according to the usual interpretation of the passage, was introduced a canal, from the Nile; but after the necessary examination, I was reluctantly compelled to relinquish this idea, from there being no channel or inlet for the water to enter, and from finding that the Nile, according to the late French observations does not rise to within thirty feet of its level *even* when the river [stands] *is* at its highest elevation.

From an expression however in Strabo, that the entrance {22} leads directly down to the chamber, in which stood the θηκη<sup>12</sup> there seems some reason to believe, that the new chamber was the only one open in that author's time, a circumstance confirmed by Pliny's making mention only of what he calls 'a well' at 86 cubits below the surface, which very nearly agrees also with the actual depth of this chamber.

It was left for a Mussulman to discover the real sanctuary and to despoil the tombs of their contents;<sup>13</sup> *The Caliph Al Mamoun*, the son of Haroun al Raschid, prompted by the treasure-searching spirit of the age, effected this laborious undertaking, and though the difficulties could have been by no means equal to what the (?)prosing genius of Maillet has supposed, yet they might well have defied {23} any efforts by those of a *powerful* sovereign enthusiastic in the pursuit.

The Arab Authors of best repute, have recounted even the details of their discovery, and every circumstance, under the present aspect of the pyramid, serves as a confirmation of their veracity.

Captain Caviglia's next operation was the cleaning out of the Queen's chamber<sup>14</sup> which he undertook and completed with the hope of finding a sarcophagus there, similar to the one in the chamber above.

His labour, however, was but ill repaid, as he found nothing but the bare walls, incrustated with a thick coat of salt, so that if such a sarcophagus ever was deposited there, it must have been long ago removed.

He also examined, and cleared out an horizontal passage<sup>15</sup> much incumbered with loose stones, which commences under a kind of arch at the East end of the [same] apartment. It was traced *eastward* about forty feet into the solid body of the pyramid.

{24} The first twelve or fourteen feet, appear[s] to form a recess, large enough for the admission of a sarcophagus, that may be coeval with the erection of the pyramid, but the rest has been in all probability more recently excavated with the expectation I conceive of discovering another outlet, and the rubbish removed in the attempt, may have been that which incumbered the Queen's chamber.

This passage has been noticed before by Monsieur Olivier, and the names of 'Pa[i]sley and 'Munro' were found inscribed at the farther end.

The travellers Niebuhr and Bruce having mentioned another apartment [likewise] first discovered by Mr Davidson<sup>16</sup> to which there is an entrance (w) from the great gallery, Captain Caviglia, by means of a rude scaffolding, constructed a rope ladder, to get up to it, and after creeping through a narrow, horizontal curved passage (x) came by a break in the wall, to the chamber (D)

which proved it to be of {25} somewhat larger dimensions as to length and breadth than the King's chamber, over which it is immediately situated, while in height it does not exceed four feet.

The sides and roof are coated with red granite of the finest polish while the floor is disposed in [a kind of] regular ridges (like those of a corn field) occasioned as was ascertained by its being [formed] *constructed* of the back parts of the individual blocks of granite, which [constitute] *form* the roof of the chamber below.

This chamber had to all appearance lain for a long time undisturbed, as the floor was found to be covered eighteen inches deep with the faeces of bats.

Its singular dimensions and the circumstance of its being so highly adorned with polished granite led to the expectation of some farther discovery, but after the most rigid examination, subsequent to its being cleared out, no communication with the inferior chamber {26} nor *any* other outlets could be discovered.

The polish on the granite, it may be noticed *seemed* to afford [an unanswerable refutation of some] *a reason for doubting an* observation[s] made by Norden (blank) respecting the remote antiquity of the Pyramids beyond that of the other edifices of Egypt, deduced from the supposition that 'the art of polishing this material was unknown, at the time of their erection in Egypt.'

Before I quit the interior of this pyramid I have to mention that in the section accompanying this, all the apartments and channels have been laid down from repeated and accurate observation [and measurements],<sup>17</sup> the exterior of the Pyramid having been first determined by [a] measurements of the two angles, and of the base, which can scarcely fail to be correct since they agreed precisely in {27} their result, with the height given by Monsieur Nouet, as reported in Mr Hamilton's *Aegyptiaca*, which unfortunately was the only modern publication I happened to have in my possession, referring to the recent labours of the French Savans in Lower Egypt.

In the same section<sup>18</sup>, may be traced the actual line, of the rock on which the Pyramid is built, shewing itself externally at the North Eastern angle (15) in the main descending channel at (d,d.) and again at (n) close to the mouth of the well, which satisfactorily determines to a certain extent, a long disputed point as to how far the rock was made use of in the construction of this edifice.

That I may omit nothing I shall also remark that the stone lining the channel which forms the main entrance is not composed of 'white marble', though the polish it has received from the hands of those who have gone down, has led {28} several travellers into this error.

Indeed there is no such substance as marble used throughout the whole edifice, nor is there any granite, except the three blocks (l) which close the original ascent, and that in the King's chamber, Anti-chamber, and *the* chamber above.

With respect to the outside, I have merely to observe that on the North Eastern corner, about half way up is found a small cell or chamber, mentioned by some of the old travellers.

It can scarcely be supposed coeval with the original construction, but may rather have been subsequently excavated for the purpose of affording an habitation to some one of the numerous Anchorites, who were once spread over Egypt.<sup>19</sup>

{29} Having finished my remarks on the late discoveries in

the Great Pyramid, I shall proceed to describe the result of Capt<sup>n</sup> Caviglia's labours in the environs; with which I shall intersperse such general observations as occurred to me in the course of my perambulations over the peninsula *on which the Pyramids of Giza appear to stand*, referring to the ground plan annexed<sup>20</sup> for the site of the different ruins examined in the course of our researches, and which are there laid down from my own actual admeasurements.

The first general view of the circumjacent ruins from the top of the Great Pyramid<sup>21</sup> is sufficient to convince an attentive observer, that they consist of nothing [else] *more* than a vast assemblage of tombs – besides the other pyramids, an almost countless number of tumuli, and oblong square buildings lie stretched out beneath the eye, so detached from one another and of such different magnitude, that the mind *at once* becomes satisfied [at once] they could only be intended for sepulchral monuments.

As no particular account, to my knowledge, [has] *had* before been {30} given of these edifices (which I shall term Mausoleums; by way of distinction) they became particular objects of our research, and the success which attended Captain Caviglia's endeavours to penetrate into their interior apartments will give them a new interest in the eyes of succeeding travellers.

They are in general of an oblong form placed longitudinally North and South, and are solidly constructed of large masses of stone, having the walls slightly inclined from the perpendicular inwards, a circumstance peculiarly characteristic of Egyptian Architecture.

They all appear to have had flat roofs, with a sort of parapet round the outside, formed of stones rounded at top, and rising about a foot above the level of the terrace.

The stones with which the walls are constructed [being] *are* of various and unequal size, seldom rectangular, though very neatly fitted to each other, somewhat in the {31} same manner as those of the, *so called*, Cyclopean buildings in Greece, or rather of what have been called Cyclopean (by modern antiquarians) in Italy.<sup>22</sup>

Some have doorways carved like those at the entrance of the catacombs ornamented above with a [sort of] volute, covered with hieroglyphics, while others have small square apertures in the side gradually narrowing as they advance inwards, for the purpose of admitting the light into their several chambers.

These doors and windows are invariably found on the Northern and Eastern sides. Many have been constructed without apertures, being ornamented with grooves only, that give the false appearance of portals, of which a better idea may be gathered from the accompanying sketches, than from any verbal descriptions.

Not only the doorways, but the whole upper line of one<sup>23</sup> of these edifices bears the traces of having been adorned with hieroglyphics and it is worthy of remark {32} that one of the stones which is ornamented externally has also hieroglyphics and figures, on its reverse, turned upside down, and incomplete, a circumstance which proves beyond doubt, that it had constituted part of some other edifice, previous[ly] to its being placed in its present position.

The greater part however of these mausoleums appear to have been quite plain, having a few unornamented chambers only & one well or more in the centre of each, of considerable depth, which conducts to a small apartment that served as a

receptacle for the dead.<sup>24</sup>

These I consider as very antient, and a few of them it is to be noticed are of such unusual magnitude, that had not the pyramids existed, they would have been considered as objects of the greatest curiosity.

Only one of these monuments was found entire<sup>25</sup> or nearly so, the rest being broken up {33} and for the most part in ruins, [even] the stones [themselves] *of a great number of them* presenting all the different stages of decomposition [according to the respective antiquity of the several edifices] from which it may be reasonably inferred that the adjacent tumuli are also composed of the mouldering relics of similar monuments.

It has been thought by many writers on the subject, that these edifices are of posterior construction to the Pyramids, owing to the circumstance of some of them being ornamented with hieroglyphics, but this *observation* even if it merit serious attention<sup>26</sup> can only be applied to those which are so adorned, the rest being constructed upon as plain and simple a principle as the Pyramids themselves whilst the total decomposition of several of the largest, notwithstanding that they were built of the same materials, and have been exposed only to the same accidents of climate almost demonstrate their equal if not greater antiquity.

{34} For my own part, after the closest inspection, I cannot help entertaining [the opinion] *a suspicion* that this spot served as a place of sepulchre[s] to the antient Kings of Egypt anterior as well as posterior to the construction of the pyramids, and that it was connected as such *possibly* with the City of On<sup>27</sup> or Heliopolis in the earliest periods of the Egyptian Empire [had been transferred to Memphis] & *certainly with Memphis*.

[On a first view of the subject, it might appear more probable, that the tombs attached to this City should have been excavated in the neighbouring mountains of the Mokattam, but no such excavations have been found there – {35} and from their known veneration for the Nile, it is not unreasonable to suppose that its superstitious inhabitants preferred carrying their dead over the waters of the Sacred River to this spot, so happily adapted for the purpose, so convenient from its peninsular situation and proximity.]<sup>28</sup>

An [other] argument in favour of the equal antiquity of the Mausoleums, may be drawn from the structure of the Pyramids themselves, for it is somewhat against the natural order of things to consider a monument like that of the Great Pyramid, as a first effort in architecture. On the contrary it must have required a long [period] *series* of years to bring the arts to that perfection *which is* requisite for the completion of so unrivalled an edifice, since, whatever may be said of its simplicity and want of ornament, yet its vast and exact proportions, the adaptation {36} of the several parts to each other, the artful design evinced in the preparation of the stones to fill it up and of the roofs of the Chambers and Galleries to bear their superincumbent weight, – together with the judicious arrangement for distributing air throughout the several apartments so remote from any external opening – attest beyond all dispute that consummate skill of the artist who designed and the workmen who executed so stupendous an undertaking.

Hence it is fair to suppose that many such monuments as the larger Mausoleums, as well as the smaller pyramids [must] *may* have been previously constructed and that the improvement which results from long experience at length led to the point of

perfection here exhibited.

Returning from this digression, I shall briefly describe the internal structure of a few of the mausoleums, cleared out by Capt<sup>n</sup> Caviglia, the {37} greater part of which were found filled up with sand and rubbish, a circumstance that clearly attests the length of time they must have been neglected, since [their first being] *they were first* opened [by the Natives].

The first which attracted Captain Caviglia's attention was the one marked (41) on the Ground plan, where a small chamber was laid open, covered with stucco, and ornamented with rude paintings on the walls, one of which, though much [destroyed] *defaced* evidently represented the sacred boat, and another a procession of figures marching along, each with a lotus in his hand. The Southern end of the same chamber contained a considerable number of mouldering mummies laid in a recumbent posture one over the other, with a few fragments of wooden cases.

{38} Many of the bones remained entire and among the rest was a skull with a part of its cloth-covering inscribed with hieroglyphical characters. The second<sup>29</sup> examined by Captain Caviglia proved to be still more interesting, not from its paintings, for it was quite plain, but from the peculiar distribution of its chambers, and from its containing several fragments of curious statues both in calcareous stone and granite.

The most valuable of these was found in the chamber (D)<sup>30</sup> consisting of two pieces, forming the entire body of a figure almost as large as life, in the act of walking, with the left leg stretched forwards, and the two arms hanging down and resting on the thighs.<sup>31</sup> From the position in which this statue stood at N<sup>o</sup> (11) exactly fronting the opening groove, (N<sup>o</sup> 3 ground plan of mausoleum 14) as well as from the pedestal {39} and foot of another of equal dimensions being discovered in the compartment (E – ground plan of Mausoleum 14) in a similar position, we felt inclined to believe that they had been thus placed expressly for the purpose of being seen from the corridore (A – ground plan of Mausoleum 14) the relative situation of the chambers, door, windows, and grooves to each other, having [confirmed] *excited in* us all the idea, that the friends of the deceased were accustomed to visit this corridore occasionally for the purpose of obtaining a sight of the statues so placed, which in all probability represented the Chiefs of their respective families.

This is rendered more likely by the style of the statues themselves, which bear the evident marks of [being] *having been* intended as Portraits of the person whose images they bear, the several parts being marked with a strict attention to nature and {40} coloured after life, [with] *they have also* artificial eyes of glass or transparent stone, so that when complete they must have had very much the air of a living man.<sup>32</sup>

It is greatly to be regretted that we could not find the [identical] head *actually* belonging to this statue, though we were fortunate enough to discover another of the same fashion and material, ([probably] belonging *possibly* to the foot and pedestal before noticed) which serves in a great measure to supply the deficiency.

This head even in its present state, I consider as [extremely] valuable, from its similarity in style and features to that of the Sphinx, having the same facial line, the same sweetness of expression and marking in the mouth, and the same roundness

and peculiarities which {41} characterise the rest of the features, circumstances which [tend to prove its almost equal antiquity] *render it probable that it was executed about the same period.*<sup>33</sup>

It is to be observed that the opening into the chamber (D)<sup>34</sup> was so small, that the statue could not, even in its present state, be in any way forced through it, and that it took eight hours hard labour<sup>35</sup> to break away a sufficient portion of the wall to admit of its being removed, facts which decidedly prove that it must have been placed there prior to the finishing of the mausoleum.

The other fragments in granite and alabaster found in the chambers B & C<sup>36</sup> are also interesting from their contributing to give a better idea of Egyptian Sculpture than that, which we have been usually accustomed to entertain; as a closer attention is shewn to the marking of the bones {42} and muscles,<sup>37</sup> without descending too much to particularities, than [what] is generally [occurs] *observable* in their statues; while the alabaster fragments evince, that they were not [behind-hand] *inferior* in finishing, even [with] *to* the Sculptors of Greece.

It is to be observed that in all the fragments of hands which were found, was held a small roll, which may possibly have represented a scroll of papyrus, containing the claims of the several parties to the favours of their patron-Gods.

The next mausoleum opened (N<sup>o</sup> 4 – general ground plan) is distributed in a somewhat different manner from the last, [as will be seen by the ground plan (blank)] the principal opening to its chambers {43} being situated at the South East corner.<sup>38</sup> Over this entrance is carved a line of hieroglyphics now much defaced, and on each side as you go in, is sculptured a boat of large size,<sup>39</sup> [differing in its] having a square sail [from any now employed on the Nile].<sup>40</sup>

The first apartment<sup>41</sup> is small but adorned with the usual paintings in bas relief of oxen, deer, birds, men engaged in planning and preparing certain pieces of furniture<sup>42</sup> having blocks of wood, and pressing out skins of either wine or oil, all of which, it is to be regretted have been sadly disfigured [by the Natives].

This chamber conducts to a second of larger size (b – *small ground plan*) the top of which is hollowed out in the form of an arch. {44} In this apartment the figures and hieroglyphics are singularly interesting and beautiful – On the right is represented a quarrel between some boatmen, executed with great spirit (Sketch N<sup>o</sup> 7), and a little farther on a number of men *are* engaged in the different pursuits of agriculture, *such as* ploughing, [houghing] *hoeing* up the ground,<sup>43</sup> bringing in their corn upon asses,<sup>44</sup> stowing it in magazines, and other similar occupations.<sup>45</sup> At the west end are several vases painted in the most vivid colours, and on the South side a band of musicians playing on the harp, flute, and a species of Clarionet, together with a groupe of dancing women, [tinged] of a yellow colour [as is the case in most of the Temples in Upper Egypt] *the tint usually allotted to women by the artists of Egypt & Nubia.*

On the same wall are represented a Cow bringing forth {45} its young,<sup>46</sup> some *sacred* bulls with splendid ornaments suspended round their necks, and several persons engaged in the different branches of cooking.

These form only the more remarkable designs, executed [in small] *within the* linear compartments, besides which a male<sup>47</sup> and female figure as large as life, without any symbols of divinity, appear presiding over the whole, and in all probability are intended as portraits (like the statues in the plain

mausoleum before described) of the persons to whom [was dedicated] this tomb *was dedicated*.

Parallel to the chamber just described, is another apartment nearly of the same dimensions, rudely cut out and unadorned; (c – small ground plan on preceding page) and to the westward of both, is a small chamber transversely situated (d – d<sup>o</sup>.) on the walls of which are carved a variety of figures and hieroglyphicks.

{46} Before quitting this mausoleum, I must notice that at its northern end [stands] is another chamber likewise cleared out by Captain Caviglia, which presents some [interesting] hieroglyphicks *chiefly interesting* on account of their being executed on a thick coat of white plaister by means, it would appear, of a wooden stamp or mould, a circumstance [that] *which* may perhaps serve as a limit to some ingenious artizan in Europe, to introduce *into general practice* and at little expence, this simple yet elegant mode of ornamenting chambers [into general practice].

The South side of this same mausoleum is connected by a sort of causeway to (N<sup>o</sup> 5 – general ground plan) and about the center of the same side is a stone spout intended to draw the water off from the roof. {47} Farther to the West stands another Mausoleum (2 – general ground plan) which was found to be distributed like (N<sup>o</sup> 14) into a suite of apartments, consisting of a corridore lighted up by three small windows, [which] (corresponding exactly to three niches on the opposite wall) *and* communicating with as many chambers situated transversely, [and] *which were* probably intended for the same purpose as those in (14)

This monument [too] is *also* constructed of [rough] *plain* stones, without any of the usual embellishments above described<sup>48</sup> on its walls. {48} The other mausoleums are in like manner distributed into various sized apartments, according, perhaps, to the wealth or caprice of those who erected them.

[Among the rest the] *The Chamber* in N<sup>o</sup> 9 general ground plan) from the delicacy of its colours and its general pleasing effect, particularly merits attention; the Boats also delineated on the Eastern wall are very complete, and executed in a superior style to those before described (*vide* Sketch 13).

In the mausoleums (N<sup>o</sup> 15 or 16 – general ground plan)<sup>49</sup> are sculptured some musicians playing on the harp, and other instruments which [do not] deserve *not* to be overlooked.<sup>50</sup>

I shall here venture to offer a few cursory remarks on the very peculiar specimens of sculpture and painting above {49} described, which may fairly be considered as presenting *some of* the most antient examples, of art now extant in the World.

The objects in which the artists have best succeeded are the animals and birds, several [instances] of which may be pointed out, [that are] *as* executed with a boldness of outline and an attention to *the form of nature* [in the form] that evince a considerable progress in design.

The human figures, it is true, are in general drawn sadly out of proportion, though the actions in which they are engaged [is] *are* almost always intelligible and [sometimes] *often* energetically expressed.

The colours in many of the chambers retain a considerable degree of their original freshness, and present (from their being generalized, perhaps, by the reflections of the surrounding sand, pale coloured stone, and clear {49} blue sky) a softened and harmonious effect, [notwithstanding their rival colours], that is

very grateful to the eye. In the chambers of the mausoleums 4 and 9 especially, I have remained for hours contemplating with peculiar satisfaction the effect of these singular and early efforts in Art [the combination of bas-relief and of colouring after life, serving to embody the forms, and to present a species of reality, that mere painting can with difficulty produce].

A considerable portion of the pleasure derived from these paintings, must undoubtedly be attributed to the association of ideas, coming from local circumstances connected with them, but could a man divest himself even of these feelings, he might allow that their simplicity, the highly finished manner in which they are executed, the unbroken tints which are employed, the variety of subjects which are delineated, and the {51} occasional elegance of form, together with the infinite variety of hieroglyphics used to balance and full up the several designs, display a rich assemblage of ornament, that render this style of art particularly adapted for the embellishment of apartments.<sup>51</sup>

I have mentioned that some of these mausoleums have one or two deep wells or pits in the center, which appear to have been always left open to the sky. {52} The one in (N<sup>o</sup> 13 – general ground plan) which is upwards of 60 feet deep, had been opened by the French,<sup>52</sup> but had since become partially filled up by the stones thrown in by the Arabs, and the sand that had blown in from the desert.

Captain Caviglia in a few days succeeded in clearing it, and at the bottom found an opening, on the southern side, leading to a chamber of moderate size, in which stands a plain though highly finished sarcophagus.<sup>53</sup> Its dimensions are much the same as those of the sarcophagus in the Great Pyramid, but the granite of which it is composed, retains a much higher polish. The cover also is still entire, though removed about two feet from its original position.

Another pit of nearly similar dimensions was opened in (N<sup>o</sup> 57 – general ground plan) {53} which owing to the quantity of rubbish it contained, cost Capt<sup>n</sup> Caviglia fifteen days hard labour to clear it out, with as many hands as he could conveniently employ.<sup>54</sup> At the bottom was found a chamber somewhat similar to that in (13) but without a sarcophagus. He afterwards opened another pit, in the southern rock at (71 – ground plan) into which we descended, but found only a set of spacious and desolate apartments, from which the [mummies] *contents* had been long since removed.

Respecting the Catacombs marked (Q.Q. – general ground plan) to the west of the Pyramids, I have little to say. We entered into one, and followed up our researches through rude and craggy vaults, several hundred yards into the rock, creeping at times on our hands and knees, among the bones, {54} and carcasses of camels and other animals carried there by the hyenas, which frequent these caves. At last we entered by a forced passage through a thin wall into a spacious chamber, which presented nothing to our view, but bare and mouldering walls. This chamber communicated with three others of equal dimensions, whence issued many labyrinthick passages, which had too intricate and uninteresting an appearance to induce us to advance. Capt<sup>n</sup> Caviglia informed me that he afterwards advanced in another direction, three hundred feet farther but found nothing to tempt him to continue his researches.<sup>55</sup>

The Portals to these Catacombs, are ornamented externally, and one of them, may be seen, from the path, before you mount up {55} the hill on which [stands] the pyramids *stand*.

Proceeding southwards, by the plan, an extended wall or causeway (ground plan S.S.) built with immense stones, arrests the attention. The object of its construction appears perfectly inexplicable, except it were meant as an inclosure to the mausoleums, lying Northward of it, and even then, it can only be thought an useless expenditure of labour.

Of the second pyramid, (B) I have only to remark, that the portion of the outward covering (ground plan 84) still remaining at the top, is composed of a whitish calcareous stone, but so polished on the surface, as to have been mistaken {56} for marble. There [is] *are* now [an] *two* Arabs living in the neighbourhood, who mounted up in my presence for two Piasters to its summit.<sup>56</sup> At the four corners of the same pyramid, lie many large fragments of red granite (32 – general ground plan) so shaped as to lead to the idea, that the four angles must have been originally coated with that material.

On the East side of the second Pyramid stand the remains of an edifice (U.U. – ground plan) constructed with immense blocks of stone, which seems to have formed a kind of triple Portal, to the center division of the Tombs.<sup>57</sup>

The plan of it will be seen in the general sketch, to which I have nothing to add, {57} excepting the notice of some carved hieroglyphics, before alluded to, on one of the walls fronting the East at (78).<sup>58</sup> If I am not mistaken these hieroglyphicks were remarked by Greaves, or some one of the older writers on the subject, but have been sought for in vain, by succeeding travellers.

To the Southward of the second Pyramid, opposite the center, are found also the remains of a small edifice<sup>59</sup> of a square form, (perhaps a temple) constructed like the portals, of large blocks of calcareous stone.

The caves cut in the rock (R.R.) bounding the platform, on which the Pyramid stands, should not be passed over.<sup>60</sup> In several of them, are the traces of painted sculpture, which once adorned the walls, and in most of them are {58} mummy pits, all emptied of their contents [by the Arabs]. In (N<sup>o</sup> 74 – general ground plan) is found a singular roof, carved in imitation of layers of date trees, affording an additional proof (if any were wanted) that the Egyptians borrowed their ideas of architecture from the *various* objects which surrounded them.<sup>61</sup>

Upon the rock (at 75 – ground plan) bounding the Northern side of the platform, are carved some remarkable hieroglyphicks, of which *I give* (Sketch 15) an exact copy. There are also a few conspicuous on the western rock given on the same paper.

Of the third pyramid a few remarks likewise will suffice. The dimensions of the ground plan occupy very nearly one fourth of those of the Second, while the three smaller pyramids situated to the South, measure only one ninth in proportion to the third. In the {59} stages also of one of the smaller pyramids (H – ground plan) a particular scale appears to have been adopted [the first measuring in diameter, the second and the third].

Among the heaped up masses of granite which encumber the base of the third pyramid, Mons<sup>r</sup> Sylvester de Sacy has observed justly one might expect to find the inscription engraved on it by order of Micerinus<sup>62</sup> but I spent many hours vainly in the research.

[Some] *Part* of the granite remains still in its original position, especially some large blocks on the western side (at 30 – general ground plan). Here our stone-cutters were employed

several days by Captain Caviglia, in the hope of discovering an aperture, but their labours were *as* vain as my search for the inscription.

It may [be] here *be* proper {60} [time] to notice, the several inclosures delineated in the plan; (27, 84, 85, 86) and then to resume the general narrative.

The walls which [they] *these inclosures* are marked out, appear to be of great antiquity, [from] the stones of which they are built being almost entirely decomposed. Their object I suppose to have been to mark the precincts, of the second and third pyramids.

Passing from the 3d Pyramid eastward, the Portal, or Temple T, (80) well merits attention, one of the walls (x, x) being a hundred and seventy feet long, and composed only of eleven stones.<sup>63</sup> Keeping hence along the causeway (Y) it soon brings the traveller to a set of catacombs excavated in the rock (M). The Eastern chamber of which is {61} commonly called the Sheik's residence.<sup>64</sup> It is divided into several compartments & on the walls are some curious pieces of sculpture, representing a [set] *party* of musicians playing on different instruments<sup>65</sup> & a procession of deer (Sketches 18 – 19 –) and other animals,<sup>66</sup> part of which are being led up an ascending plane, to the presence of a *small* figure seated in a temple.

On the north side of the same apartment is carved the figure of an hippopotamus<sup>67</sup> on the borders of a circle, which I conceive once to have formed part of a Zodiack – the sign 'Pisces' still remaining, though all the rest of the wall has been destroyed.<sup>68</sup>

In a small interior chamber lies a granite sarcophagus nearly buried in the sand, {62} which on [its] being [excavated] *cleared* proved to be without ornament.

Though the Caves just described are but a short distance from some others marked (N – general ground plan) [yet] they are *nevertheless* so completely separated by the sands, that it frequently occurs to travellers to miss either one or the other. The accompanying plan, I should hope, will in future [obviate] *prevent* this [mistake] *omission*.

Several of the apartments at (N) are particularly interesting on account of the figures sculptured on the walls – From there I selected the Sketches (*vide* Sketches 20, [21], 22, 23, 24)<sup>69</sup> which will serve to confirm the Remarks I have before made on Egyptian art, as far *at least* as refers to their delineation of animals {63} and birds; the little composition of the gazelle [especially] (20)\* in particular [being] in every respect beautiful, [both] *as well* for the natural simplicity of the action, *or for* the correctness of the form, and the admirable feeling which pervades the design.

This subject afterwards became a favourite one among the Romans in adorning their walls, as is evinced by the several examples of it *found* at Herculaneum and (if I recollect well) Pompeiia [which contributes to prove that even in painting, the Romans did not disdain to copy from their predecessors]. The fish too (24) and birds (23) are here so very accurately described, that their species may be distinguished at a glance, particularly the hoopoo {64} paddy bird (blank) & Indian hen and among the fish, the mullet, and the 'boolty' which latter is *now* reckoned by far the best fish in the Nile.

The sketch of Men engaged in working a wine-press<sup>70</sup> is taken also from an adjoining chamber.

Not far from these Catacombs stands a large pile of building (K in general ground plan)<sup>71</sup> the lower basement of which, is cut

out of the rock; it is of an irregular quadrangular shape, having a large chamber, supported by Columns excavated on its Eastern side. The upper part forms a regular pyramid, in three stages, built of large masses of stone – which {65} bear the marks of having been richly ornamented on the outside. This edifice forms an interesting object in the general *coup d'oeil* of the Pyramids from the neighbouring Mountains, as well as from several other points of view.

Passing the Sphinx [which I reserve for the conclusion of this memoir] I shall briefly notice the range of Catacombs (O.O.) that are excavated in the Eastern brow of the rock on which [stand] the pyramid *stands*.

Those that are still uncovered by the sands are very numerous, of irregular dimensions, and excavated one above the other as appeared most convenient with regard to the original surface of the rock. {66} Mutilated pieces of sculpture and fragments of statues placed in niches in the walls, prove that many of [them] *these catacombs* were once highly adorned, and the greater part of them have a roll of hieroglyphicks, carved over the doorway [by way] *perhaps for the purpose* of ornament [one of which I have copied as a specimen].<sup>72</sup>

[It is inserted over the] The apartment inhabited by Captain Caviglia during his laborious operations at the Sphinx, *is one of those distinguished by this ornament* and from the inside of the same cave are taken the musicians in the sketch marked (26). From another cave close to the causeway (X in ground plan) are copied {67} the agricultural scenes in Sketch (9) which are frequently repeated throughout these sepulchral apartments. The sketches 27, 28 come from the same excavations.

Before I terminate the general sketch, of this part of our researches, I shall add a few words respecting the causeways or long piles of stones marked (W. X.)<sup>73</sup> on the plan.

That to the North (X,X,) bears all the appearance of having been erected for the purpose of conveying the materials used in building the Pyramids up from the Nile.

At its junction with the rock, great art is displayed in its construction, and at {68} that point it measured above sixty feet in height, and about forty in breadth. The rest of the pile is much in ruins, but the stones that remain are of immense size, and [it] extend[s] no less than 600 feet in an angular line down to the bed of the waters which cover the country during the inundation of the Nile.

At [its] *the termination of this causeway* stand some masses of stone of a harder material, [that] *which* may perhaps have formed part of a Quay.

It ought to be observed that there are two interruptions to the line of this causeway, one at (84) and the other at 85 where no vestiges even of the {69} foundation can be traced.

The second Causeway (W) has *hitherto* been [heretofore] described *by travellers* as having been in like manner constructed for the purpose of conveying stones and other materials up to the second and third pyramids; but neither its direction nor its construction tend in the slightest degree to confirm [this conjecture] *the supposition*.

If I may hazard an opinion drawn from a close inspection of the ground [intervening] *which lies* between [it] *this* and the causeways (Y) & (Z) I should say that the whole of that space [was] *may have been* formerly occupied, by a canal or lake, and in that case [it] *this causeway* may have served as a quay, from which all ordinary communication {70} was carried on,

between Memphis and the 'rocky Island' on which stand the Pyramids, and this idea is confirmed by an examination of the causeways *themselves* (Y, Z;) which being brought down on rather a rapid descent terminate in the sand and seem to mark pretty precisely the opposite boundaries of the water.

The term 'Rocky Island' above employed is drawn from an inscription found in front of the Sphinx, and an accurate survey of the ground subsequently taken, seems to authorize the idea, of its having been at least a peninsula, {71} while it [remains still to be proven] *becomes matter of Enquiry* [if] *whether* the isthmus joining it to the continent at (87) was not the one, perforated by Cheops for the purpose of opening a passage for the waters, a circumstance if I am not mistaken, obscurely alluded to by Herodotus, in those remarks, which have hitherto proved inexplicable to his translators.

My ideas on this subject will be more clearly developed by a reference to the plan, where the whole space [was] marked 'sand' I conceive may have been once occupied by the waters.<sup>74</sup>

#### {72} The Sphinx

The exertions made by Capt<sup>n</sup> Caviglia in clearing out the chambers and passages *which* I have *already* had occasion to describe, may be considered as sufficiently arduous, but the whole [together is not] *of these united exertions cannot* in any degree [to] be compared with the extreme laboriousness of his operations at the Sphinx; in [which] *these* he displayed an indefatigable perseverance [that became the astonishment of] *which astonished* every person who witnessed [his labours] *it* and [that] *which* led at length to the discovery of the valuable remains of antiquity hereafter to be described.

{73} This monument so imposing in it's aspect *even* in the mutilated state [even] to which it has been reduced, has always excited the admiration of those who possessed sufficient knowledge of art to appreciate its merits; for though [on a] *at the first glance*, to an untutored eye, there remains so little of the features as scarcely to give more than a general idea of the human head, yet, after repeated and accurate observation, the several parts may be sufficiently traced [so as] to afford a tolerably complete idea of its original perfections.

The contemplative turn {74} of the eye, the mild expression of the mouth & the beautiful disposition of the drapery at the angle of the forehead sufficiently attesting the admirable skill of the artist engaged in its execution.

It is true that there is no attention paid to those proportions we are *usually* accustomed to admire, nor does the pleasing impression which [it] *this head* produces result from any known rule adopted in its execution, but [it] may [be] rather *be* attributed to the unstudied simplicity in the conception, the breadth yet high finish of the several parts, and the stupendous magnitude of the whole.

Such are the sentiments {74} which a repeated view of [it] *this extraordinary work of art* has inspired. At first, I confess [that] I felt like many other travellers, that the praises lavished by Norden, Denon and others [was] *were* exaggerated, but the more I studied it at different hours of the day [and] under different effects of light and shade, the more I became satisfied that they have barely done justice to its merits.

It must *indeed* be allowed [indeed] that the drawings by both these Gentlemen [above mentioned] but faintly accord with their encomiums<sup>75</sup> [both being but indifferent performances]

but after having repeatedly attempted [it] *the same task* myself with little success,<sup>76</sup> I must admit {76} that the difficulties which attend the undertaking, are sufficient to baffle any one, not professionally dedicated to the arts.

Before I proceed, I must premise, that the general impression made upon me by this monument has been produced by a [leisurely] *deliberate* contemplation of it, when the whole front was laid open to its base, with the fragments of its beard resting beneath its chin, its paws reaching out fifty feet in advance, with the Temple, granite tablet, and altar, represented in the accompanying sketches spread out on a regular platform in its front.

These interesting objects, which no one for ages back had had {77} an opportunity of seeing, have undoubtedly tended to exalt it in my estimation, and that I may endeavour to convey something of the same feeling to others, I shall proceed to a detailed account of what was discovered by Captain Caviglia, which together with the several sketches taken on the spot during the progress of his operations, may remain as a record of his labours at a period when the objects themselves may be destroyed, [shall again have become buried in the Sands] or *again entombed in the moving Sands*.<sup>77</sup>

From various reports in circulation in Egypt, I was given to understand that the French Engineers, during {78} their stay here, had made a considerable excavation in front of the Sphinx, and that they had just discovered a door, at the time they were compelled [by untoward circumstances] to suspend their operation.

This account was confirmed by the repeated assertions of the Arabs, several of whom declared they had been present at the discovery and said [it] *that the door* led into the body of the Sphinx, while other affirmed that it conducted up to the second Pyramid.

Though little stress could be laid upon such asseverations, yet they rendered Captain Caviglia very unwilling {79} to give up his researches, without doing all in his power at least to ascertain the facts.

To this end, he first began to open a deep trench on its left or Northern side, opposite the shoulders of the statue, and though the sand was so loose, that the wind drove back at night, more than half of what he could excavate in the day, yet he managed by the aid of planks, arranged so as to support its falling side, to dig down in a few days to its base.

As the trench however was [but] not more than twenty feet across at the top and not above three feet wide at the bottom, the situation of the workmen below became evidently dangerous, since {80} if any large body of sand had fallen in (and the planks were very weak) it must have irrecoverably smothered those who were working near the base.

In consequence it became necessary to abandon [it] *this first excavation*, – the only result of [this] *which* [first excavation] was [to ascertain the height which the statue measures] *the measurement of the statue* [that] from the top of the head to the base [the statues measures (blank) feet]. The external surface of the body in this part was found to be composed of irregularly sized stones, built up with much care, and covered with red paint, with no very clear indications of the form, but having three protruding ledges, one below the other, {81} sufficiently broad for a man to walk upon, [that] *and which* formed in all probability the lines of the mantle, or dress: *this I have expressed*

in the accompanying design (Sketch 29) which is drawn according to my ideas of what [it] *the statue* must have appeared after being restored, as I conceive it to have been, by the Romans.

This result, though not very satisfactory, stimulated Captain Caviglia to undertake another excavation on a larger scale in front, which was commenced in the beginning of March,<sup>78</sup> and continued without intermission until the end of June, during which time from sixty to one hundred persons {82} were [daily] *constantly* employed.

The first discovery of any interest, was that of two large fragments of stone, ornamented in a particular manner in front, to represent the plaiting of hair, with a kneeling figure and various hieroglyphicks, sculptured on the two sides.<sup>79</sup>

Upon the first sight of these fragments, I was led to the idea, that they constituted portions of the Beard, or at least of that singular appendage generally denominated the Beard so frequently attached to the chins of male personages,<sup>80</sup> in Egyptian sculpture, and this idea was confirmed by the size {83} of the fragments, and by the position in which they lay, the largest or that which must have been nearest the chin, having been found uppermost.

My conjecture on the subject [afterwards] became *afterwards* verified by the discovery of three tablets, on which were sculptured several figures of the Sphinx in bas-relief, two of which had beards plaited precisely in the same way; (Sketches 36, 37) and I subsequently was favoured with the sight of another stone (Sketch 33) representing the Sphinx with a similar appendage.<sup>81</sup>

Four or five other fragments of the plaited part of the beard, were afterwards found buried in the sands, {84} and from the whole of *these pieces* together I was induced to restore it, as it appears in Plate (Sketch 29). About the same time a fragment [of] *inscribed with* hieroglyphics engraved in a double row<sup>82</sup> was dug out, which, from its dimensions and ornaments, I conceive to have formed a part of the wall or pillar, which must necessarily have been left for the support of the beard, part of which built of stone, remained in its position at the bottom, and this I have in like manner, introduced into the design.<sup>83</sup>

Most of the fragments abovementioned were found lying in a small and tolerably regular chamber, (f)<sup>84</sup> [about] ten feet long by five broad [so] *and situated* immediately under the chin, *and* which, if the account of Pliny may be believed, it is not unlikely [to] *may* have contained the body of Amasis,<sup>85</sup> one of the Kings of Egypt, though the silence of Herodotus respecting this Statue, is a strong argument against the fact of its having been constructed by the one who reigned before Apries.

Soon after this discovery, a large block of granite became visible<sup>86</sup> which proved to be highly embellished, on the face fronting the East, with sculpture in bas relief, representing two sphinxes seated on pedestals, with Priests<sup>87</sup> holding out offerings, and a long inscription beneath in hieroglyphicks beautifully {86} executed, [beneath]. The whole design [ed] being canopied with the sacred globe, serpent and wings. This tablet constitutes part of a small open Temple<sup>88</sup> the two sides of which were composed of other tablets, of calcareous stone, somewhat similarly adorned - Sketch (37) – b.b. in ground plan (Sketch 35) – one of which only, remained in its place, the other having fallen on its front, has been since removed and forwarded to the British Museum.<sup>89</sup>

Between the front walls of this edifice was discovered a small lion, well carved (g.g. ground plan) apparently in its original position, with the head turned towards the breast of the Sphinx<sup>90</sup> {87} besides several fragments of other lions rudely carved, and the fore part of a Sphinx of tolerable workmanship,<sup>91</sup> all of which as well as the tablets walls and platform *or other flooring* of the little temple, were ornamented with red paint, a colour, it would seem appropriated here, as in India, to sacred purposes.<sup>92</sup>

A considerable portion of the left leg being now laid open, and the *stone* platform still continuing, it became a new incentive to proceed, and in about a fort'night more Captain Caviglia succeeded {88} in completely cleaning the paw, when he discovered the outer walls of the temple (h, h)<sup>93</sup> together with a granite altar<sup>94</sup> standing in front, and one of the stones ornamenting the corners in its place, (k)<sup>95</sup> which may not be unreasonably likened to what the Jews term 'the horns of the altar'.<sup>96</sup> It must be observed that the opening (j)<sup>97</sup> between the two walls (h h) deserves the name rather of a window than a door, from its being raised nearly two feet from the ground, so that none but the Priests, were I conceive allowed to enter, farther than this point.<sup>98</sup>

The Altar it appears from {89} the effects of fire evident on the stone, must have been formerly used for burnt offerings.

Close to the same spot were discovered another lion, with its head turned to the left<sup>99</sup> the figure of an owl, and three small altar stones (55.); the lion, from the position of its head, may be supposed to have been seated as an ornament on the wall (h ground plan 35), and in all probability, the interior walls (e.e. ground plan 35) may in like manner have been surmounted with Sphinxes, one fragment of which has been before noticed.

On the side of the paw were cut several short and distinct inscriptions in {90} Greek, addressed to different deities; one of which (a) (Sketch 40) appears to be a mere play upon words, another commencing with the usual phrase το προςκυνημα<sup>100</sup> and ending with the name of Aurora, εός<sup>101</sup> and a third [contained] *containing* the word παχων<sup>102</sup> one of the Egyptian months answering to May.

On the second digit might be clearly distinguished a carved line representing the nail, and on the third was cut out in pretty deep characters an inscription in verse, of which before it was disturbed, I took an exact copy (Sketch 41).

[The signature of Arrian placed under this inscription {91} gives it a particular interest, though it remains for persons better versed in the language to decide whether it deserves to be ascribed to the celebrated Historian of that name, called by Gibbon 'the eloquent and philosophick Arrian']

[It at least] *This inscription* shews the [high admiration in which] *veneration attached to* [the] *this* monument [was regarded] at the time when it was written and confirms the panegyric of Pliny 'quasi (?)sylvestre numen accolentium'<sup>103</sup> besides containing some peculiar expressions, that may serve to clear up one or two dubious points respecting the antiquities in the neighbourhood, particularly the 'νήσου πετραίης'<sup>104</sup> {92} which has been before alluded to in this memoir.<sup>105</sup>

At this time the excavation had advanced more than a hundred feet from the Sphinx, measuring it on the surface, owing to the necessity of allowing a sufficient space for the shelving of the sand. It is difficult for any person unused to operations of this kind to form any idea of the difficulties Capt<sup>n</sup>

Caviglia had to surmount when working at the depth of the base, as, in spite of all precautions, the slightest breath of wind, or concussion *of any kind* set all the surrounding particles of sand in motion, so that the {93} impending sides began to crumble in, and mass after mass came tumbling down, till the whole surface took no unapt resemblance to a cascade.

Even when the sides appeared most firm, if the labourers suspended their work but for an hour, they found on their return that they had the greater part of their labour to do again.

This was particularly the case on the Southern side of the right paw, where the whole of the people were employed for seven days without making any sensible advance, the sand rolling down in one continual and regular {94} torrent. All that could be done therefore in this direction was to examine the ends of the paw, where an imperfect inscription Sketch (42) was discovered on the 2d digit, and a few of the usual dedicatory phrases in homage to Harpocrates, Mars, and Hermes – Sketch 40 b.c.d., 43 and Sketch 38 a.b.c.<sup>106</sup> It was also ascertained that at about two feet south of the last digit, the stone platform at (k.k. ground plan Sketch 35) abruptly terminated.

[This] *The* latter circumstance led to the conjecture, that the whole body of the Sphinx might be placed upon a pedestal.

In this however we were [strangely] *altogether* mistaken for on {95} carrying on the operations towards the Northern side in front it was dis-covered that the platform there continued on an uninterrupted level, and soon after to our great surprise, an ascending flight of steps became visible (b.b.) which in contradiction to our supposition proved the Sphinx to be placed in a hollow.

The sides of these steps were soon after ascertained to be bounded by two immense walls<sup>107</sup> formed of unbaked brick, like those which surround the ancient Cities and temples of Egypt, and lined on the side next the steps with stone<sup>108</sup> & one side was coated with plaister. {96} The angular direction which these walls take towards the North and South, also lead to the idea of their forming part of a large inclosure which surrounds the Sphinx, a fact still left to be ascertained.

The steps thus discovered are in number 30, each being about a foot broad, and about 8 inches high. They terminate abruptly on the Northern side (N N ground plan) leaving a space, between them and the wall, not unlike the passage which conducts to the pit of a modern theatre.<sup>109</sup>

This *aditus* was never very satisfactorily examined, so that it still remains to be seen whether it may not, as is likely {97} conduct to some subterraneous habitations, or have served as a private entrance for the priests.

The top of the steps was found to terminate in a regular stone platform (as before) on which stands a small edifice (O ground plan Sketch 35) that from its peculiar construction and several inscriptions found near it, I conceive to have been used as a stand, or station [for] *from which* the Emperors or other great personages visiting the Pyramids, [to] *might* witness the ceremonies performed at the altar below. The measurements of this stand will be seen in the ground plan, and a tolerably correct notion of its general structure may be collected from the accompanying sketch (47). {98} On the front of this edifice [is] *was* carved an inscription somewhat effaced [from] *by* the effects of time, (Sketch 48) *and* which appears to have been written by a certain Apion [the grammarian perhaps, of that name who flourished the time of Caligula] Another inscription

(Sketch 49) carved on a regular 'stela' was formed at the spot marked (P. ground plan), erected in the time of the Emperor Nero and which at the commencement gives him the extraordinary appellation of ο αγαθος δαιμων<sup>110</sup> (which title is also found on his coins with the figure of a crowned serpent)<sup>111</sup> an instance of abject flattery fully equal to that of styling Caricalla 'piissimus' [that occurs in another] {99} as we found in an inscription [discovered] in Upper Egypt from which [very stone it is to be observed] the name of his murdered brother (Geta) has, [probably] *perhaps* by his own order, been erased.

From the top of the steps the platform rapidly narrows, which circumstance, together with the ornamental abutments (R.R. ground plan o)<sup>112</sup> on the South side of the steps, contributed at first to give the whole the appearance of a theatre.

A few days additional labour brought to light a second flight of thirteen steps<sup>113</sup> with another small edifice<sup>114</sup> somewhat similar in construction to the one beforementioned, {100} and probably erected for the same purpose by the Emperor Septimus Severus, as may be gathered from the inscription on its front (Sketch 51) in [which] *this* it may be observed, the same circumstance occurs of the erasion of the name of Geta, [alluded to] before *alluded to* as may be seen also upon the triumphal arch erected by the same Emperor at Rome. Near the spot was also found another inscription placed there in the reign of Marcus Antoninus [pius] and [his son] *Lucius Verus*. It is written on a small stela, *vide* (Sketch 52) which has likewise been forwarded to the British Museum.<sup>115</sup>

The second flight of {101} steps ends at top in [a smaller] *another stone* platform or slightly ascending terrace, which is carried out upwards of 135<sup>116</sup> feet further, as was traced by Captain Caviglia, and *continues* by the line of the Southern wall, till it arrives within a foot of the old level of the ground above where the rock begins to take [a pretty rapid] *rather rapidly* a descent towards the Nile; whether the Rock or the descending side, was also graduated with steps remains yet to be discovered.

Though it is impossible to give any very clear idea, even by drawings, of this approach to the Sphinx, {102} scarcely any thing can be conceived more imposing than its general effect, or better calculated to set off to advantage the statue in front, particularly in the evening, when the Sun sets [in all its Majesty] behind the head.

The great Art of the Architect appearing [to consist] *to have consisted* in his bringing the spectator forward on a level with the breast, and thereby giving him the full effect of that admirable expression of countenance which [characterises] *characterised* the features, while afterwards as he [descends] *descended* the steps, the figure gradually [rises] *rose* to view, bought as it were into a focus by the {103} wall on either hand, [and] *while the statue [remaining] remained* even when he [has] *had* reached the bottom, at a sufficient distance for him to comprehend the whole at a glance.

Such was the result of Captain Caviglia's exertions in June, when, in consequence of his exposing himself too much to the sun, he was unfortunately seized by an attack of ophthalmia, that compelled him to suspend his operations, and shortly afterwards he returned to take charge of his ship at Alexandria.

[The] *It is perhaps a circumstance unexampled*

[circumstance] in *Mahometan countries* that these operations [were] *should have been* carried on by a single individual, attended occasionally {104} only by one soldier, without the slightest molestation [being] *having been* offered, or any unpleasant circumstance [occurring] *having occurred*, notwithstanding that numerous parties of idle soldiers went every day to inspect [his labours] *the excavation* and *that* thousands of Arabs during part of the time were encamped in the neighbourhood, *and this circumstance indeed, strange as it may appear in Europe* presents the most unequivocal proof of the tranquillity reigning in Egypt, and does honour [at the same time] to the [liberality] *government* of Mohamed [Alli] Alè Pashaw, who on this occasion as *well as on* many others, I have to testify has shewn a remarkable liberality in facilitating the researches carried on by Europeans *in any way* connected with Science.

{105} The whole expence of these operations amounted to about eighteen thousand piastres,<sup>117</sup> and I have to add, that Capt<sup>n</sup> Caviglia', to whom by our engagement was left the free disposal of everything that might be discovered, very handsomely requested me to forward the whole of what I might think interesting to the British Museum, as a testimony of his attachment to our Country, under the flag of which he has for some years sailed.

Henry Salt

[I enclose a list of these articles which are already on their way, the greater part of which are chiefly interesting from the spot in which they were discovered.]

#### Notes

- 1 *Vide* n-11, plate II.
- 2 Note: This block afterwards gave Capt<sup>n</sup> C. – much trouble. He tried to get it up, but in vain – he then endeavoured to force it down, but before he could accomplish this he was obliged to break off with indefatigable labour *by means only of a hammer* all the irregular angles *of the stone* [with a hammer] and occasionally to widen the well itself, and *when* at last [when] he had got it close to the grotto – it slipped from the ropes and fell in to the channel below – from which it required great exertion to extricate it – He did however at last succeed in depositing it safe in the grotto.
- 3 Note – the slowness and caution, with which Capt<sup>n</sup> C. was obliged to proceed on account of the light made the descent appear, as he described it, 'more than double its actual distance.'
- 4 Mr La Fuentes at this time returned to Cairo and [henceforth ceased to take any] *took no further* interest in the undertaking.
- 5 This was got by Mr Kabitzsch.
- 6 Editors' note: limestone.
- 7 *Atlas*.
- 8 Second ground plan of chamber C. Editors' note: this refers to a separate enlarged plan of the chamber on Plate II.
- 9 (H).
- 10 (i section of the pyramid Pl. II).
- 11 (k).
- 12 Editors' note: Salt has written *Thèke*, meaning coffin or sarcophagus, however the *Quarterly Review* version (July 1818, Art. 8, p. 399) reads θνα , (the receptacle of the dead), apparently an error as this Greek word reads *thya*, meaning odorous cedar.
- 13 By following a passage at (C) Pl. II.
- 14 (B) Pl. II.
- 15 (3) that goes out of the Queen's chamber.
- 16 Mr Davidson's account of the pyramids has been lately published but was, when this was written, unknown to me – and all memory of his having gone down the well, had been lost at Cairo, which speaks highly for the intellectual capacity of its older inhabitants.
- 17 The mode of measuring the base was by carrying out two lines a,a, from the northern angles to the flat plain in front & then measuring

- with a line the distance across b. (Editors' note: ground plan sketched in margin.) The height was taken by actually measuring from point to point the North Eastern angle upwards and the North Western angle downwards – and though the measurements were made at unequal distances as the stones best favoured the object – the result of the two agreed within a foot and a half of which I took the median.
- 18 P. II.
- 19 Note: As many persons are not aware of the very different angles which the pyramids form to the eye according to the relative situation in which they are viewed I have given in Plate II the greatest acute as well as obtuse angle (K) of the great pyramid resulting from its lateral or diagonal section – and it follows of course that one of the intermediate angles is a right angle – under which aspect it is occasionally seen.
- 20 Plate I.
- 21 (A) ground plan.
- 22 Editors' note: the following is scrawled in pencil in the margins across the centre fold by William John Banks:  
Cyclopean walls I conceive generally to be such as were constructed of very large & rude stones piled on one another without having ever been wrought at all into shape as at Tyrins probably it is true that in the gate of the lions at Mycenae they have been squared but the mode of construction does not resemble at all that of the buildings about the pyramids. In fact (excepting in temples & (illegible) buildings) a certain irregularity in the form of the stones is almost always to be found in Greek masonry & that down to comparatively late times as in the walls of (?) Mycenae. Observations by Mr Banks. Under this Charles Yorke pencilled the comment: 'My eyes were not equal to reading this. C. Y.'
- 23 (N<sup>o</sup> 12 in ground plan) & Sketch N<sup>o</sup> 1.
- 24 Some appear to have been quite solid excepting the well, or pit – of which (13) in ground plan to be hereafter noticed is a remarkable instance.
- 25 (13) ground plan & Sketch N<sup>o</sup> 2.
- 26 It may be proper to mention here that I found myself some traces of hieroglyphics, extending from stone to stone, and which appear to have occupied considerable space (78) on the great Portal (U) ground plan, in front of the second pyramid, which has always been allowed coeval with the pyramid itself, and if Historians of the best credit are to be believed, even the Pyramids themselves were once similarly adorned. [Besides on all the remains of the most antient Cities as On – (?) Zoan & c – hieroglyphics are found, which if the pyramids were built by the Sovereigns mentioned in Herodotus (of which I see no reason to doubt) were of more antient date than the pyramids – It may also be noticed that the same hieroglyphics, which are conspicuous on the obelisk at Heliopolis are also prominent on the tablets at the Sphinx.  
Editors' note: Yorke has added 'Query all this?' and 'Ignore – this is not (?) true.'
- 27 Editors' note: Yorke has written: 'Q this? He must mean Memphis.' Salt is referring to the ancient city of Heliopolis (now within a suburb of Cairo) known to the Greeks as the ancient city of On.
- 28 Editors' note: Yorke has written: 'query this? Memphis was on the same side of the Nile as the Pyramids and mausolea.'
- 29 (14 in the ground plan).
- 30 Vide ground plan of this mausoleum. Sketch 3. Editors' note: the following numbers and letters in Salt's description refer to the enlarged ground plan of Mausoleum 14 in Sketch 3.
- 31 (Sketch N<sup>o</sup> 4).
- 32 Several of the Eastern Catacombs have had somewhat similar statues carved in the rock and attached to the walls – the most entire of which is in (62).
- 33 Editors' note: Salt has written: 'It is now in the British Museum.' Yorke has added: 'Q. whereabouts?'
- 34 N<sup>o</sup> 11 ground plan of mausoleum 14.
- 35 In which labour my friends Captains Irby & Mangles took a part and otherwise assisted as much in the measurements and cheered us with their society.
- 36 Sketch 3.
- 37 Vide in particular the fragment of a leg, in which there is a fullness of the parts, and thickness of proportion, not unlike the school of Michael Angelo. This ought to be in the British Museum. Editors' note: Yorke has added 'Q. whereabouts?'
- 38 Editors' note: in the margin is a small ground plan of Mausoleum 4 (G 6020) with the chambers marked a, b, c, and d.
- 39 Sketch 5.
- 40 Editors' note: Yorke has crossed out Salt's [There have been a few introduced of late for carrying stone.]
- 41 (a) small ground plan (other page). Editors' note: Salt here refers to a ground plan of Mausoleum 4 in the opposite margin showing the entrance and chambers a – d.
- 42 Sketch N<sup>o</sup> 6.
- 43 Sketch N<sup>o</sup> 8.
- 44 As in Sketch N<sup>o</sup> 9 which is copied from another place.
- 45 One in Sketch 9 represents the treading out of the fields by sheep as mentioned by Diodorus, chapt. IV book I, as well as the ploughing. 'When they have sowed they either put their sheep into the field to tread in the seed with their feet or else they turn over the earth lightly upon it with a small plow'. 'old translation'.
- 46 Sketch N<sup>o</sup> 10.
- 47 As in Sketch N<sup>o</sup> 11 taken from another tomb.
- 48 In 6 (vide a sketch of this Mausoleum (Sketch 59) the open chamber is to the North where a man appears entering), 49 & 50, general ground plan, are small chambers, which have long been opened to view; [and] that in 50 particularly deserves notice, on account of some birds (Sketch 58), figures, and an ornamented doorway carved on its walls; the latter resembles, in style, the ornaments on some of the fallen obelisks at Axum – vide Sketch N<sup>o</sup> 12 – [in (56) also was sketched the two birds (demoiselles) N- ].
- 49 Editors' note: this originally read 'In Mausoleum 15 are sculptured some musicians...' before Salt amended it to read 'or 16'.
- 50 In all the mausoleums, above referred to, were found fragments of bitumen, quantities of mummy cloths and a great number of human bones, so that there remains no doubt of their having served the purpose of tombs.
- 51 It is worthy of particular notice, that throughout these mausoleums, as well as the catacombs in the neighbourhood there is not one representation among the numerous paintings or fragments of statues, which appears to bear [the slightest] a decided reference to any of the Egyptian Deities. The only relic of this kind, was found by Captains Charles Irby and Mangles, when in company with us at the Pyramids, who by accident discovered the body of a Priest about a foot high in basalt, holding before him a tablet on which is sculptured the figure of Osiris – this fragment, it is strange to observe lay close to one of the most frequented paths, in the neighbourhood of the Pyramids. It is in the British Museum. Editors' note: Yorke has added: 'Q? Whereabouts?'
- 52 The names of several French Gentlemen were smoked on the ceiling.
- 53 Editors' note: sarcophagus with palace-façade decoration, red granite, possibly from here, in Cairo Mus. Ent. 48853 (tomb G 5230 of Babaf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part I, 155).
- 54 Editors' note: the pit of Salt's Mausoleum 57 (G 7110 + 7120) is unlikely to be the sloping shaft G7120 A of PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part I, 187, as this contained a sarcophagus.
- 55 These catacombs resemble much those at Alexandria but have nothing Greek about them.
- 56 Sir Frederick Henniker Bart & Captain McDon (illegible) R.N. have since performed the same daring exploit – May 1820 – H. Salt. Editors' note: Henniker is said to be the first known traveller to have made the difficult climb over the smooth casing stones at the apex of the Second Pyramid to its summit. The captain with him was Thomas McDonell.
- 57 I conceive that the only access to the Pyramids, was by the three causeways – X, Y & Z, and that the rock elsewhere was so scarped as to be inaccessible, or else was defended by walls. Editors' note: Portal UU is the mortuary temple of Khephren.
- 58 Vide Sketch 14 where the same ground plan is given on a larger scale.
- 59 (31 – ground plan). Editors' note: the satellite pyramid of Khephren.
- 60 Editors' note: the Quarry cemetery west of the Second Pyramid.
- 61 Editors' note: rock-cut tomb LG 12 of Nebemakhet 'Tomb of Palm-tree Beams'. Time of Khephren to Menkaure or a little later. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part I, 229.
- 62 Editors' note: Mycerinus or Menkaure.
- 63 Editors' note: the mortuary temple of Menkaure.
- 64 Editors' note: LG 90, tomb of Debhen.
- 65 Sketches 16 and 17.
- 66 Sketch 19 particular deserves attention as being the representation of the male Ibex still found in Egypt – I had two caught (?) behind (?) first of which I send drawings to England.
- 67 Sketch N<sup>o</sup> 20. Editors' note: Salt became confused over the references on this page. The hippopotamus drawing is titled '33 – marked 20 by mistake'. Not having been given a correct sketch number it appears as the penultimate drawing in the *Atlas*.

- 68 Editors' note: 'Pisces' was presumably a fish from this marsh scene.  
 69 There are two 20s by mistake – to distinguish them I add to one \*.  
 70 I conceive it to be so, from the liquor which oozes out of the bag – being painted of a deep red colour. (Sketch 25 and the building of a boat Sketch 21).  
 71 Editors' note: LG 100, sarcophagus-shaped tomb of Khentkaus [I], Mother of the two Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, Daughter of the God etc. End of Dyn. IV or early Dyn. V. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 288.  
 72 Mislaid.  
 73 Editors' note: should read 'W. and X'.  
 74 Editors' note: at the foot of the page Salt has scrawled in pencil (and Yorke has edited out) the following: [Before Captain Caviglia began on the Sphinx, Mr Kabbitzhe (*sic*) left off his contributions – nothing but a very liberal spirit having enabled him to go on so far – This note belongs to the next page.]  
 75 Perhaps the latter part of this critique were better omitted. Editors' note: Salt had first written 'being very wretched performances...'.  
 76 *Vide* (Sketch 56) (Sketch 57).  
 77 The Count De Forbin, author of a very superficial work on Egypt has accused me of 'great egotism' in again covering up these monuments with the sand – but the fact is that the whole executive part was Captain Caviglia's – & he only was induced to cover up the paws – granite tablet & little temple on finding that the Arabs began to take away the stones which they found of a most convenient size – The little edifices visited by the Emperor were left open & in consequence were intirely destroyed.  
 78 Editors' note: Yorke has queried 'of 1818? or 1817.'  
 79 Sketches 30 & 31-32. Editors' note: fragment of plaited beard, EA 58, the British Museum.  
 80 There is one female figure, and only one, emblematic I conceive of the Nile which has always this appendage as may be seen on the pedestal of Memnon's statue and in most of the temples of Egypt, but there the breasts are conspicuous and so they would be I conceive on the Sphinx had that been intended to be female.  
 81 There is little doubt but that all the sphinxes in Egypt – that is of Egyptian workmanship – were Andro-sphinxes in all my researches I have never seen a female one – The antient authors Herodotus, Strabo &c always speak of them as Andro sphinxes – On this point I know that I [am at issue with] *differ from* the French Savans who assert that 'all the sphinxes in Egypt were female except perhaps the great one near the Pyramids' *vide* observations on the ruins of Karnak in this great work – but then I have on my side Zoega – who is a (?) proof in himself. Editors' note: Andro-sphinxes are male sphinxes. Yorke has added the following, using the Greek *gynaiko* for female sphinxes: 'Note. *There is now no doubt that there are Gunaico as well as Andro-Sphynxes.*'  
 82 Sketch 34 (c). Editors' note: EA 442.  
 83 Here also was found the serpent's head which once ornamented the top of the Cap – *vide* (a) Sketch 34. It is about 2 ½ long and 1 ½ thick – its original position will be seen in the restoration (Sketch 29). Editors' note: EA 1204.  
 84 *Vide* ground plan of the temple in front of the Sphinx on two pieces of paper Sketch N<sup>o</sup> 35 – one is on the back of Sketch (32).  
 85 Editors' note: Yorke has added: 'Note. *This may mean Amasis the 11th King of the 18th dynasty (illegible) Amasis if entombed at all it was at Sais. The silence of Herodotus proves little. He does not mention the Ruins at Thebes &c &c. C.Y.*'  
 86 Sketch 35 - (a) on ground plan. Editors' note: the Dream Stela.  
 87 Editors' note: Yorke has added: 'Kings? *Vide the Cartouches.*'  
 88 *Vide* (d) ground plan (Sketch 35).  
 89 Editors' note: Yorke has added: 'Q? *if received where is it deposited?*' The fallen stela, Louvre B19, did not reach the British Museum but is in the Louvre Museum, Paris, with its companion, B18.  
 90 I judge that this was its original position from the circumstance of the small statues of the bull (Mahdeo) being always so placed in the Indian Temples – Editors' note: this appears to be the recumbent lion on a plinth, EA 439, said to have been presented by Caviglia in 1817. There is also a recumbent andro-sphinx, recognisable from the description in Long, *Egyptian Antiquities*, vol. I, 221, as his No. 24, Birch's No. 444\*, now in the BM store with no EA number visible, but inscribed on the plinth 'PRESENTED BY [CA]PT. CAVIGLIA [1817]'. This was from on top of one of the chapel walls according to Samuel Birch (Birch slips, AES Archives, the British Museum).  
 91 Editors' note: the head of a limestone sphinx, EA 464, donated by Caviglia 1817. Excavated from the chapel in front of the Sphinx according to Samuel Birch (Birch slips, AES Archives, the British Museum).  
 92 Editors' note: the following may be notes inserted by William John Bankes, although the final initials appear to be Salt's: There is mention in Pausanias of an idol (I think a Bacchus) that was painted red. (Mr B). Diodorus also mentions that the kite was worshipped (as some say) for bringing a book to the Priests of Memphis written in red ink – and hence those who wrote the sacred letters wore a red head dress – Book II. H.S.  
 93 Ground plan Sketch 35.  
 94 *Vide* (i) D<sup>o</sup>.  
 95 *Vide* also Sketch 38.  
 96 Editors' note: EA 443 Horn of a limestone altar.  
 97 Ground plan Sketch 35.  
 98 To obtain an idea of this temple & the granite tablet *vide* Sketches (53) 54 and the sketch in red ink in the hands of Mr Ham (illegible). Editors' note: probably Hamilton.  
 99 *Vide* Sketch 39.  
 100 Editors' note: *to proskyrēma*, the arrival of dawn.  
 101 Editors' note: *Εως*, meaning dawn.  
 102 Editors' note: *pachōn*, the Egyptian calendar month.  
 103 Editors' note: 'Ante [the pyramids] *est sphinx vel magis narranda, de qua siluere, numen accolentium.*' In front of them [the pyramids] is the Sphinx, which deserves to be described even more than they, and yet the Egyptians have passed it over in silence.' Pliny, *Natural History*, Libri XXXVII, 77.  
 104 Editors' note: *nēsou petrāiēs*, rocky island.  
 105 Dr Young from a bad copy has read the eighth line wrong instead of alluding to any of the Emperors it is clearly (for it is now in my house) εσθλον Οσειριυ. And this confirms what one of the old authors has hinted at that the Sphinx was considered as the guardian of the tomb of Osiris. May we suppose then that the tomb of the God be still somewhere in the body of the statue? Or was the pyramid behind it his tomb? At all events it gives the inscription a double value.  
 106 Editor's note: Salt's error, this should read 'Sketch 48'.  
 107 (M M M.) ground plan Sketch 35.  
 108 The whole of the stonework appears to be comparatively modern, several of the Stones having upon them fragments of inscriptions, in Greek (44) which evidently had before formed part of some other Greek or Roman buildings. One of the inscriptions mentions they were restored by Antoninus & Verus.  
 109 As may be seen also in the Sketches 43 and 46 – which were drawn with the back to the sphinx.  
 110 Editors' note: *agathos daimon*, the good spirit.  
 111 Dr Young has conjectured that the Agathes Daemon is represented ordinarily in Egyptian mythology by the globe and wings – but this is against all history. The snake with the swelled head is the true symbol of the αγαθος δαιμων – the wings possibly are emblematic of Pthar – and the globe pretty certainly of Phre; the three united being altogether the symbol of the great Gods.  
 112 Or, as best seen in the Sketches 45-46.  
 113 (S.S. ground plan Sketch 35).  
 114 (J) ground plan Sketch 35 – *vide* also Sketch 50.  
 115 The purport of this inscription is to testify that the walls were restored in the 6th year of the Emperor Antoninus and Verus on the 15th of Pachon, answering to 10th May – with it is given another inscription of the same period discovered by Mr Bankes.  
 116 At 135 feet the stone platform began to be broken up but it appeared to have extended still further, 13 or 14 feet.  
 117 i.e. 450 sterling.

Extract of Sireef Djemal ed dyn Aboo Djafar Mohammed  
el Edrissy's history of the Pyramids  
written in 123 A. H.

Aboo Zeid el Balkhy  
# the author of a Geo  
graphy.

Referring to what Aboo Zeid #, Aboo e' Salt  
others relate of the passages by which one ascends  
the interior of the Pyramid towards the top, and the  
passages that descend down to its lowest recesses,  
we shall relate here, that we ourselves entered into the  
great Pyramid, & entered into the cubic Chamber  
in which the decayed & rotten stuff was found. The  
way to this Chamber from the aperture that was opened  
by Mamoon is ~~the following~~ as follows:

Who enters the Pyramid continues in it for  
about 20 Draas, in some places in an upright; in  
others in a bent posture. Daylight shines upon him  
while he turns, walking upright, to his left hand  
where he finds a sloping alley which he ascends, to  
the distance of a man's length without meeting with  
any level step. Below this alley is a pit said to be  
well protected here, the ~~size~~ <sup>width</sup> of which admits a feeble  
light. A slender person only can enter into it. The  
learned Moor ed dyn el Tabary has informed me  
that he crept into it upon his stomach to the distance  
of less than a man's length & then walked in it upright  
upon his legs, about 20 Draas after which he reached the

The first page of J.L. Burckhardt's extract from al Idrissi's history of the Pyramids

# A Transcription of J.L. Burckhardt's Manuscript Extract from al Idrissi's history of the Pyramids

## Editors' note

The following three pages are in J.L. Burckhardt's own handwriting. Charles Yorke has edited it (original text shown in square brackets; alterations in italics).

Extract of Shereef Djemal eddyn Aboo Djafar Mohamed el Edrysy's history of the Pyramids  
Written in 623 AH.<sup>1</sup>

Referring to what Aboo Zeyd<sup>2</sup>, Aboo e' Salt & others relate of the passages by which one ascends in the Interior of the Pyramid towards the top, & of the passages that descend down to its lowest recesses, we shall relate here, that we ourselves entered into the great Pyramid, & entered into the cubic Chamber in which the decay'd & rotten stuff was found. The way to this Chamber from the aperture that was open'd by Mamoon is as follows:

Who enters the Pyramid continues in it for about 20 Draas,<sup>3</sup> in some paces in an upright, in others in a bent posture. Daylight shines upon him untill he turns, walking upright, to his left hand where he finds a sloping alley which he ascends, to the distance of a man's length without meeting with any level step. Below this alley is a pit said to be a well [practiced] *formed* here, the [issue] *opening* of which admits a feeble light. A slender person only can enter into it. The learned Noor eddyn el Tabary has informed me that he crept into it upon his stomach to the distance of less than a man's length & then walk'd in it upright upon his legs, about 20 Draas after which he reached the {page 2} exterior of the Pyramid at a place elevated above the breach practiced on the northside right in front of him who enters. – To return now to the description of the alley. It is ascended until a [gate] *door* is reach'd near a block of stone, by which one ascends towards another sloping alley. To the right of him who ascends is a well, situated between the two alleys & the just mention'd [gate] *door*, but below the Second alley. By this [gate] *door* (or opening) a Square room is entered with an empty [bason] *vessel* in it, on the roof of the room are writings in the most ancient characters of the heathen priests. Returning from [here] *hence* to the place through which one enters the Second alley is ascended. On both sides of it are blocks of Stone in which cavities have been cut out with axes to facilitate the ascent. They are about 1 Draa distant from each other. Another Square room is than finally reached, in which is a hole, which appears to have been [dig'd out] *excavated* there. An empty [bason] *vessel* is Seen here Similar to the former. Yoosuf el Baba e'Sherr Aby derr has

told me that, in company with Kalyan the Persian, he [has (illegible)] *entered* into some of the descending passages of the Pyramid which led them to a place [where] *from whence* they found no way to proceed [further on].

A few years ago, the red Pyramid, which is the third or smaller one, was open'd on its lower skirt on the Northside, but it is not known who open'd it. An alley was found leading down about 20 Draas or more & on its extremity a narrow place that affords room for one person only. After which a road is enter'd of difficult & fatiguing passage where one creeps along upon the stomach for above 20 Draas more until an oblong Square room is reach'd in which Several pits are Seen that were [dig'd] *dug* by those who went in quest of treasures. From thence another room is entered the 4 walls of which are formed by 6 or 7 chambers with arch'd doors as on the doors over the small private Chambers in the baths. In the middle of the Space on the Side & round which these chambers extend, is a blue, long [bason] *vessel* quite empty. The Shereef Aboo el Hosseyn of the family of Mymoon Ibn (?) Hamse has told me that he was present when the opening into this Pyramid was [practiced] *effected* by people who were in Search after treasures; they work'd at it with axes for 6 months, & they were in great numbers. They found in this bason after they had broken the covering of it, decay'd, rotten remains of a man, but no treasures on his Side, except Some golden tablets inscribed with characters of a language nobody could understand. Each man's share of these tablets amounted to roo Deenars.

Editors' note: following Burckhardt's extract from 'Edrissi' are two small notes stuck on to the following page. One, in Salt's hand, gives some scrawled measurements of walls from the 'End of pavement'; the other has some lines in Greek, marked in pencil (6).

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Editors' note: Vyse copied these notes into his *Operations*, vol. II, pp. 334-6. According to Vyse, *Operations*, vol. II, p.334, n.7, the date is incorrect; 'See Edrisi's preface to his own work, translated by Jaubert, p.22'. AH stands for *Anno Hegirae*, Latin for in the year of the Hijra in the Islamic calendar.
- <sup>2</sup> Aboo Zeyd el Balkhy the author of a *Geography*.
- <sup>3</sup> Editors' note: Yorke has underlined 'Draas' in pencil and in the margin added: '*Q? the measurement*'. The 'Draa' is an Islamic cubit based on the Nilometer on the Island of Roda.

# Indexes

**Note:** All dates AD unless otherwise stated.

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# The Identification of Mausoleums and Tombs Mentioned by Henry Salt

**Mausoleum 2** = an un-numbered tomb shown in PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, plan VII, south of Junker Cemetery (West). Ground plan on verso of Sketch 7.

**Mausoleum 4** = PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 170. Stone-built mastaba tomb G 6020. Iymery, Prophet of Khufu, Steward of the Great Estate, Scribe of the archives, etc. (Known as the 'Tomb of Trades').

**Mausoleum 5** = PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 169. Stone-built mastaba tomb G 6010 of Neferbauphtah, Steward of the Great Estate, Prophet of Khufu, Sahure, Neferirkare, and Neuserre etc. Middle to end of Dyn. V.

**Mausoleum 6** = PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 175. Stone-built mastaba tomb G 6040 of Shepseskaf'ankh, Steward etc. Time of Neferirkare.

**Mausoleum 9** = PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 142. Stone-built mastaba tomb G 4940 of Seshemnufer, Royal Chamberlain, One belonging to the estate 'Mansion of Har-Kheper (Razedef)', Prophet of Heket, Judge and Boundary official etc. Time of Sahure or Neferirkare.

**Mausoleum 12** = PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 155. Stone-built mastaba tomb G 5210 of Khemtnu, King's *wab*-priest, Prophet of Khufu, etc. Time of Khufu to end of Dyn. IV or early Dyn. V.

**Mausoleum 13** = PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 155. Stone-built mastaba tomb G 5230 of Babaf, Hereditary prince, Companion, Overseer of all works of the King, etc. End of Dyn. IV to early Dyn. V.

**Mausoleum 14** = PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, plan XVI, Giza cemetery, the northernmost of the two un-numbered square tombs adjacent to the east side of tomb G 5230.

**Mausoleum 15** = PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 159. Stone-built mastaba tomb G 5340 of Kaseuza, Overseer of commissions, Director of Interpreters, Herdsman of the White Bull, etc. Middle Dyn. IV.

**Mausoleum 16** = not identified.

**Mausoleum 41** = appears to be PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 219, stone-built mastaba tomb G IV S of Niankhre, time of Menkaure. No wall-scenes are recorded in PM for G IV S, but fragmentary wall-reliefs are noted from the adjacent stone-built mastaba S 127/129.

**Mausoleum 50** = PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 183. Stone-built mastaba tomb G 7060 of Nefermaet, King's son, Hereditary prince, Overlord of Nekheb, etc. (Vizier of Khephren). Time of Khufu to Khephren.

**Mausoleum 57** = PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 187. Stone-built twin mastaba G 7110 + 7120 of Kawab, King's eldest son of his body, Hereditary prince, Chief lector-priest etc. and wife Hetepheres [II] (later, wife of King Razedef). Time of Khufu.

**Mausoleum 71** = probably rock-cut tomb LG 99, Tomb of Nufer, Director of the Palace, Director of King's hairdressers, Prophet of Khephren, etc. Middle Dyn. V or later. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 258 and plan XXIII, E6.

**Salt's 'excavation' 62** i.e. rock-cut tomb LG 63 of Kaemnefert, Director of King's hairdressers, Director of the Palace, Keeper of the diadem etc. Dyn. V-VI. PM III<sup>2</sup> Part 1, 208-09.

**Catacombs marked QQ** = probably the rock-cut tombs of cemetery G 1600. PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, 65 and plan XVII.

## Objects from Caviglia's Excavations Identified in the British Museum

EA 35 limestone statue of a man  
 EA 58 part of the limestone beard of the Sphinx  
 EA 114 limestone head from a statue  
 EA 436 limestone fragment with Greek text and carved foot  
 EA 437 limestone hawk  
 EA 438 limestone stela of Antoninus and Verus  
 EA 439 limestone recumbent lion on plinth  
 EA 440 fragment of a limestone stela of Ramesses II  
 EA 441 limestone lion on a plinth  
 EA 442 limestone fragment inscribed with the name of Ramesses II

EA 443 horn of a limestone altar  
 (no visible EA number but catalogued by Birch as ES 444\*) recumbent andro-sphinx on plinth  
 EA 464 head of a limestone sphinx  
 EA 514 kneeling statue (found by Irby and Mangles)  
 EA 1204 head of the *uraeus* of the Sphinx  
 EA 5143 redware pottery jar  
 EA 5144 Roman pottery bowl  
 EA 5145 Roman pottery bowl

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