Image of Brahmā
South Indian
Gift of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller
Recent Discoveries in the Egyptian Department

One of the most difficult and yet most fascinating of the problems confronting the museum worker in Egyptology is to fit into their proper framework of time and place those isolated fragments of sculpture all record of whose origin seems to be lacking. Travellers and dealers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought back from Egypt statues and reliefs, often with only the vaguest knowledge of their provenance, and it happened frequently that the sculptures from a single temple or tomb were scattered far and wide amongst the museums and private collections of the world. However, as scientific excavation and publication of site after site now proceeds, these various elements can be brought together, sometimes through the medium of photographs and drawings, occasionally in actual fact; and fairly complete monuments are reassembled, correctly placed and dated.

Such has been the case with the two colossal statues of King Eye, successor to Tutankhamen, which once flanked the entrance to the broad hall of the mortuary temple of Eye and Horemheb at Medinet Habu. Long before the actual excavation of this building was carried through, the major portions of the two statues were removed, one being taken to Berlin by Richard Lepsius, who recorded and published certain fragments at Medinet Habu, and the other going to the Cairo Museum. But their exact origin remained uncertain until the Oriental Institute of Chicago, clearing the site of the hitherto unknown temple, found fragments fitting onto each statue, thus establishing their provenance and former position. As now restored, these two great figures, originally about 5.20 metres high (Fig. 1), represent King Eye wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and seated upon a throne the sides of which were carved in sunk relief with the traditional scene “Uniting the Two Lands”: two Nile gods tying the heraldisic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lily and the papyrus, around the hieroglyphic sign meaning “to join.” One of the recently found fragments was the Upper Egyptian half of this scene from the right side of the Cairo throne, fitting onto part of the Lower Egyptian half preserved on the statue itself. Now there has long been exhibited in the Museum of Fine Arts a fragment of sunk relief, lent by Mr. Edward W. Forbes, which shows the upper half of a Nile figure from a scene of “Uniting the Two Lands” (Fig. 2). The similarity in style between this piece and the Medinet Habu fragment is so striking that the possibility of their belonging to the same monument at once suggests itself. Their scale in actual measurement is identical and a reconstruction based on tracings from photographs bears out the conclusion: the figures on the two reliefs are exactly alike in the majority of details, with only the slight variation that

Hölscher, The Excavation of Medinet Habu II, The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Pl. 112 d

Fig. 1. Colossus of Eye
Cairo Museum
Courtesy of The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

Fig. 3. Sketch of relief fragment Lepsius, Denkmäler, III, Pl. 112 d
could naturally be expected. Still further evidence comes from another direction. When Lepsius visited Medinet Habu, he recorded, along with the Berlin torso, two other fragments which have since disappered. One of them reproduces the head of a Nile god crowned with the papyrus plant of Lower Egypt and, above, the lower half of the cartouche of Horemheb, his Horus name, and the remains of an inscription (Fig. 3). This fragment, if recovered, could fit onto the Medinet Habu piece, where the upper half of the same cartouche is preserved. Since the Forbes piece retains traces of the lower part of the Lepsius inscription, as well as a closely corresponding representation of the Nile figure, it is
tempting to suggest that we have here the lost Lepsius fragment with the major part of its inscription broken away. Miss Suzanne Chapman and I have prepared a reconstructed drawing (Fig. 4), putting the two known pieces together and restoring the Lepsius inscription above the fragment here in Boston. It cannot be regarded as absolutely certain that the Forbes piece comes from the Cairo statue without the test of actually fitting it into place, especially since the Nile figure from Medinet Habu wears bracelets and the Forbes figure does not, although this is a bit of carelessness that might easily occur. But it seems to me to be quite clear that our piece belonged originally to one or the other of the two colossi of King Eye.

The cartouches of Horemheb, the general who became king, are those preserved on these two statues, but they were, as Lepsius observed, put in
over an erased inscription, and on the Medinet Habu fragment the Horus name of Eye is still faintly visible under the later carving. Eye, like the other feeble successors to Akhenaten, had but a short reign, never even completing his funerary temple, which was finished by Horemheb. It would be quite natural, therefore, for the latter to take over his predecessor’s statues along with the building itself, and inscribe his name upon them. But there was probably an even stronger reason for this procedure. The stormy reign of Akhenaten had left Egypt in such a weakened and turbulent condition that Horemheb, in his attempt to restore economic and social equilibrium to the state, judged it expedient to obliterate every record of the reigns, not only of the hated Heretic King, but of his insignificant successors, and he therefore consistently usurped all their monuments. His stem policies and drastic reforms seem to have been thoroughly successful, and it was this restoration of Egypt to order and prosperity that made possible the campaigns and victories of his better-known successors, Seti I and Ramesses II, just as, earlier in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the outwardly peaceful reign of Hatshepsut had laid the foundations for the spectacular conquests of Tuthmosis III.

Elizabeth S. Eaton.

II. TWO FRAGMENTS FROM HATSHEPSUT’S KARNAK OBELISK.

Of the innumerable tourists who have admired the great obelisk of Queen Hatshepsut in the temple of Karnak at Luxor, few have given much thought to the upper part of its shattered mate that lies nearby. Certainly they did not suspect that two fragments from the shaft of this second obelisk of the famous queen have long been in the Boston Museum.

The standing obelisk of Hatshepsut is the tallest remaining in Egypt. It is 97 feet high, and with its partially destroyed companion flanked the entrance to the Vth Pylon built by the Queen’s father Tuthmosis I. The cutting, transportation and erection of these two obelisks was one of the achievements of her remarkable reign in which Hatshepsut took the greatest pride. The work was under the direction of her favorite, Senmut, the architect of the temple of Deir el Bahari. Senmut was one of a circle of brilliant men who enabled the queen to rule the country, not just as a co-regent with her nephew Tuthmosis III, but actually under the titulary of King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Hatshepsut’s obelisks, like her expedition to Punt, were intended to celebrate her devotion to the great god Amen of Thebes, but they also served as symbols of her power. Instead of placing them in an open space before the temple, she had them erected in a hall built by her father between his two pylons. A large part of this hall had to be dismantled in order to drag the great shafts into position. There was

probably a deliberate design behind this action, for it was in this hall that Tuthmosis II had arranged to have his son Tuthmosis III proclaimed his successor by means of an oracle emanating from the divine statue of Amen carried in procession by the priests at a temple festival. Since in order to usurp his powers it was necessary for Hatshepsut to dominate the young prince, it is not unlikely that such an alteration of the scene of his youthful elevation by the Amen priesthood was part of a consistently executed policy. Certain it is that when Tuthmosis III finally came into his own he wreaked a special vengeance upon the obelisks. He again rebuilt the columned hall and walled up the obelisks with masonry to a height of about 82 feet so that a person passing along the main axis of the temple would be unable to read the inscriptions glorifying the hated queen. In fact a visitor could scarcely see the obelisks at all, except for the upper part of the shafts protruding from the roof of the hall, and these only at a considerable distance obscured by surrounding structures.

The figures and inscriptions on the lower 82 feet of the obelisks remained unaltered behind their masonry casing. It is a curious fact that while Tuthmosis III altered the exposed inscriptions on the southern (now broken) obelisk, inserting his name in the cartouches of Hatshepsut in the central vertical columns of large hieroglyphs on two faces, he did not change the exposed part of the northern obelisk. Akhenaten’s workmen did a more thorough job during his religious revolution, rubbing out the name of Amen on the upper parts of both shafts, while Seti I restored the name of the god with equal care on the exposed parts of both obelisks above the protecting sheath of masonry. It seems impossible to determine by what agency or at what time the southern obelisk was shattered, but it would appear that the upper part of the shaft now preserved at Karnak broke off just above the masonry casing.

Fig. 5. Block from northeast corner of Hatshepsut’s broken Karnak obelisk. Dynasty XVIII

Gift of the Heirs of Francis Cabot Lowell.

1 Reg. Nos. 75.12, 75.13; gift of the Heirs of Francis Cabot Lowell, 1875.
The fact that two granite blocks in the Museum's collection belonged to the same monument has long been overlooked although they were acquired at the same time and obviously resemble each other in style and material. They were actually photographed together in the old Museum in Copley Square. The piece with the figure of the queen (Fig. 7) was recognized as part of Hatshepsut's obelisk by Joseph Lindon Smith as long ago as 1899, but the accuracy of this observation did not receive the attention that it deserved. This portrait of Hatshepsut has not hitherto been exhibited because the inscribed surface formed only a small part of an unwieldy block. Part of the shapeless mass at the back has now been removed and, placed in a proper light, it is possible to appreciate the clean, crisp quality of the sunk relief. It should be emphasized that representations in relief of this remarkable lady are exceedingly rare outside of Egypt.

As in most of her portraits, Hatshepsut is dressed as a man, wearing the royal beard, and, in this case, with the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt surmounting a headcloth. Originally there were eight royal figures making offerings to the god Amen on each face of the upper part of both obelisks. These flanked the central inscription in successive registers. That our figure must have come from one of the four lowest registers on the southern broken obelisk is plain, but when an attempt is made to assign it to a definite position difficulties arise. From the direction in which the queen faces we can be sure that she was on the north or the west side. I should have liked to suggest that we had the lowest figure on the north face (8th register), since the corresponding representation of the queen on the south face of the north obelisk also wears the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. However, Hatshepsut wears the same crown in at least two other registers on the south obelisk. Also, traces of a pleated skirt show on our block. This skirt differs from the tunic with bead girdle pendants worn by the figure of the queen in the lowest register on all the faces of the north obelisk (see Fig. 8, lower right). Thus the lowest register seems to be eliminated as a possibility. We are restricted, therefore, to the fifth, sixth and seventh registers on either the west or the north face. It is not impossible that the block belongs to the seventh register facing the figure of Amen on our corner block (Fig. 6) which we shall see belongs to this register on the north face of the broken obelisk.

It is possible to be much more precise in assign-
ing the corner block to the south obelisk (Fig. 5).
In Fig. 8 is a drawing adapted from Plates 23 and 24 of the old publication of the obelisks in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, Part III. This shows the upper part of the east faces of the two obelisks, the standing northern obelisk on the right and the broken southern shaft on the left. To simplify the explanation I have omitted the royal figures and those of the god Amen on the apex and in the five upper registers. The central inscription continues below the eighth or lowest register for a considerable distance to the base of the shaft. It will be immediately apparent that these two central inscriptions are identical on the two flanking monuments except that the direction in which the large hieroglyphs face is reversed. The signs on the right hand, or northern, obelisk face left toward the figures of the god Amen, while those on the southern shaft face to the right. As has already been mentioned, Tuthmosis III altered the inscriptions on the upper part of the southern obelisk and these changes have been indicated simply by cross-hatching. The hieroglyphs of the original inscription show through in several places and are sufficient to prove that it corresponded to that on the northern obelisk.

It is easy to see that our figure of Amen (Fig. 9), with part of the central inscription in front of him, is to be placed in a position corresponding to the 7th figure of the god from the top of the complete obelisk. Curiously enough, further proof of this comes from an unexpected quarter. Drovsey recognized a fragment from this obelisk at Abu Tig in 1888. From the hieroglyphic text and description which he gives it is evident that this block contains part of the fifth, sixth and seventh registers of the east face and probably fits above our stone as I have indicated in the drawing (Fig. 8). This adds a large portion of the vertical inscription that is again identical with that on the northern obelisk.

One cannot help speculating about the travels of the Abu Tig fragment. It made a journey of at least 200 miles, probably by river boat, from Karnak northward to Abu Tig. It had been cut into the shape of a millstone and was found closing the mouth of a pit. Such speculation is idle, of course, as is any attempt at present to discover whether the stone is now in the Cairo Museum, is still at Abu Tig, or has disappeared altogether. Some day it may be possible to find it, but the stone has at least served a purpose in helping us to identify one of the faces of our block. Of course the adjoining face (Fig. 6), with its similar head of the god Amen, must have formed part of the northern face of the broken obelisk, again corresponding to the 7th figure from the top on the complete northern shaft. It should be mentioned that at least one other fragment from the south obelisk appears in an old photograph in the possession of the Egyptian Department. This clearly formed part of the lowest register of figures at the southwest corner. The figure of the queen appears on each face wearing the tunic with bead girdle pendants and carrying staff, mace and 'emblem of life' much as in Fig. 8, lower right. Part of the inscription on the basis of this obelisk is also known, but whether other fragments still exist at Karnak I am unable under present conditions to determine.

These newly recognized fragments of Hatshepsut’s fallen obelisks serve to remind us of one of the most vivid dramas of family strife that have survived from ancient times. For once the obscurity of bare king lists and official proclamations lifts and we can glimpse passions and jealousies that appear to us human and understandable. The reconstructions and erasures in the temple of Karnak clearly form part of this vigorous expression of feeling. They become more interesting when we remember that the

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principal protagonists of this family feud were two of the greatest characters in Egyptian history. Hatshepsut was the only woman who at the zenith of Egypt's political and economic development succeeded in ruling the country as a king. Tuthmosis III, after long chafing under the oppression of his hated aunt, succeeded by his brilliant foreign conquests in consolidating Egypt's power abroad into a great Empire.

It was suitable that one of the scenes of bitter family antagonism should have been laid in the hall built by Tuthmosis I at Karnak. Both Hatshepsut and the young Tuthmosis took every opportunity to emphasize their relationship to this king as the source of their right to the throne. Only Hatshepsut was in the direct line of descent through her mother Queen Aahmes, but as a woman she needed the prestige which she claimed as the designated heir of her father Tuthmosis I. Her husband, Tuthmosis II, and her step-son and nephew, Tuthmosis III, were both sons of minor queens. Tuthmosis III felt that he needed to stress the fact that he was a grandson of Tuthmosis I. The attempt to exploit this association with Tuthmosis I is shown by another monument in this Museum. It is the well-known sarcophagus (Fig. 10) prepared for that king by Hatshepsut when she decided to transfer his burial to her own tomb. The quartzite coffin had just been completed for the queen when she made her decision. Instead of making a new coffin for her father she had this one altered so that the inscriptions were suitable for Tuthmosis I. Then she had an even finer coffin prepared for herself. In view of the grandiloquent statement of the honours which she was paying to her father, this was rather shabby treatment. It must have particularly infuriated Tuthmosis III. William Hayes has plausibly suggested that after the queen's death Tuthmosis had a new quartzite coffin made for his grandfather and removed the body back to its original tomb, away from the hated association with Hatshepsut.

The sunk reliefs of the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I resemble those on the blocks from the Karnak obelisk. In these monuments we have the finest workmanship of the royal craftsmen, representing at its best the style of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The coffin is the earlier of the two, prepared about 1500 B.C. when Hatshepsut was planning her terraced temple of Deir el Bahari in conjunction with her second tomb in which she re-buried her father. Incidentally, some of the model vessels and tools from the foundation deposits of both temple and tomb have long been exhibited in the Museum's collection. The Karnak obelisks were completed about ten years later in the sixteenth year of Hatshepsut's reign. The work of quarrying the two enormous shafts had taken just seven months.

William Stevenson Smith.
Fig. 9. East face of block from Karnak obelisk  
Dynasty XVIII  
Gift of the Heirs of Francis Cabot Lowell

Fig. 10. Sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I  
Gift of Theodore M. Davis  
Dynasty XVIII