
THUTMOSE III

A New Biography

ERIC H. CLINE &
DAVID O'CONNOR,

Editors

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Royal Portrait and Ideology: Evolution and Signification of the Statuary of Thutmose III

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It has long been recognized that the statues of Thutmose III do not always show the king with the same face.¹ This particularity was often explained by the theory that “two distinct trends characterize Egyptian royal art of this period, an official idealizing style based on older royal portraiture and a second style stemming from the genre tradition of naturalistic portraiture evident even in the very descriptive reserve heads and wood sculpture of the Old Kingdom.”² Thirty-seven years ago, archaeological evidence gave us a clue to challenge this undemonstrated and dissatisfying explanation: in her preliminary report about the recently discovered portraits of Thutmose III in the Djoser Akhet at Deir el Bahari, a temple built during the last decade of the ruler’s reign, Lipinska showed that the representations of the king made during this later part of the sovereign’s lifetime form a physiognomically homogeneous group that differs from the earlier portraits.³ By establishing the fact that an iconographical shift occurred in royal portraiture during the later years of Thutmose III’s reign, Lipinska proved that the diversity of the king’s sculpted faces had to be explained, at least partially, from a chronological point of view, by an evolutionary process, and so she “laid the basis for the study of the development of Tuthmosis III’s sculpture.”⁴

The statuary of Thutmose III offers especially good conditions for such a study since the now preserved sculptures of the king are quite numerous⁵ and because the chronology of his long reign is very well documented and thus not so difficult to establish.⁶ But this kind of analysis of the evolution

of a Pharaoh's portraiture raises at least two important methodological questions:⁷ (1) how can a royal statue be dated within the reign of its model, and (2) how can we explain the iconographical modification of the statuary of an ancient Egyptian king?

The only criterion that is really usable and consistent for dating an ancient Egyptian royal statue within a king's reign is the architectural context.⁸ The overwhelming majority of a pharaoh's sculpture was intended to stand in a temple.⁹ Of course, lots of these statues—theoretically all of them except for the so-called Osiride colossi—could be moved, a fact that implies that the original location of each sculpture must be critically analyzed.¹⁰ On the other hand, when the initial position of a statue can be stated so can its architectural dating. Indeed, it can be demonstrated that the statuary program of a monument was conceived together with its architecture and two-dimensional decoration.¹¹ This is shown, for instance, by the numerous interruptions in wall decoration that correspond to the ancient presence of a statue¹² and by some bedding hollows for sculpture bases that can even run under the walls,¹³ indicating that the location of the statue was prepared before the erection of the walls. In some cases, it is also very clear that royal sculptures were put in position before the completion of the architecture, since they are larger than the only door through which they could have been moved in or out.¹⁴

Moreover, since Lipinska has shown that the evolution of the king's iconography is visible in both statuary and two-dimensional art, this method of dating the statues by their architectural context may be improved by a comparison with the reliefs on the walls of the monuments.

Regarding the interpretation of modifications in the king's iconography, from a theoretical point of view one can avoid proposing an aesthetic discourse about the styles of the statues that might have nothing in common with what really happened in the mind of the people who conceived and made these sculptures by replacing the results of the art historical research in their cultural context, and especially in their political and ideological context, since we are dealing here with a royal art. As royal portraiture, the statues of a king are at the same time the image of a man—though not of any human being—and the image of an institution, the image of the state and the royalty. So we cannot neglect the political and ideological dimension of ancient Egyptian royal portraiture, like any other royal portraiture.¹⁵ Moreover, textual evidence shows that a pharaoh devoted a lot of attention to the production of his portraits, giving instructions to his sculptors concerning his iconography and the style of his statues and ensuring—notably through his vizier—that his commands would be properly executed.¹⁶ These facts suggest that modifications in royal iconography were ordered, or at least

agreed upon, by the king himself and were most probably not free from ideological implications.

These methodological considerations determine the structure of my analysis of the evolution of Thutmose III's statuary: with architectural dating criteria, some statues of the king will be selected for a certain period of the reign; the physiognomy of the ruler on these sculptures will then be stylistically analyzed; and an examination of the king's policy in the same period will be undertaken to help us establish whether the modifications in pharaoh's iconography can be explained by their ideological context. Since the different periods of Thutmose III's reign are not equally documented and because the main iconographical shift in the king's portrait, which helps to understand the whole evolution, occurred in the last part of the ruler's lifetime, the analysis will follow a reversed chronological order, starting with the last twelve years, then dealing with the beginning of the autonomous reign, and finally addressing the time when he shared the throne with Hatshepsut, namely, the regency and the coregency periods.¹⁷

THE PORTRAITS OF THE KING DURING THE
LAST TWELVE YEARS OF HIS REIGN:
YEARS 42 TO 54

As Lipinska has shown, the images of the king from the Djoser Akhet temple at Deir el Bahari, in statuary as well as in two-dimensional representations, differ "in some features from the numerous already known portraits of Tuthmosis III, and seem to form by themselves a separate type."¹⁸ The date of Djoser Akhet is perfectly established by a set of ostraka that evoke its construction from year 43 to year 49.¹⁹ On the other hand, the location of the temple, its size, and the fine style of its decoration indicate that the ruler's portraits made for the monument "express the strict 'official' line, and there is no point to regard the difference in style as caused by any other reason than the officially approved change in the representation of the king's likeness."²⁰

The most striking differences between these newly excavated portraits (figs. 7.1a and 7.1b) and the older ones (figs. 7.2a and 7.2b) are: the shape of the nose, whose profile is almost perfectly straight instead of prominent and curved; the eyes and eyebrows, which are fundamentally horizontal, drawn in almost straight lines, with nearly an angle on the upper eyelid where the latter is going down to the inner canthus, producing a wide-open eye; and the basic structure of the face, which is more right angled, mainly because of the importance of the maxillary.²¹ So the physiognomy of the king is modified more in its spirit than in some of its precise details: the overall composition of the face is no longer based on the curved line but on the straight one, the

plain surface replaces the rounded one, and the spherical volume is changed into a more cubic one. From a sculptural point of view, the modeling is less subtle than it is, for instance, on the statues from the Akh Menu (fig. 7.2), giving the impression of some sort of archaism.²²

The chronological significance of these changes is proved by the fact that exactly the same physiognomic features appear on the reliefs of any monument erected by the king after year 42: Djoser Akhet, of course, but also the “Annals chambers” in Karnak, mentioning the royal military campaigns from year 22 to year 42;²³ the granite bark shrine of Amun on the same site, listing the ruler’s offerings till year 46;²⁴ and the *speos* of Ellesiya, carved around year 51.²⁵ These comparisons with two-dimensional representations allow us to infer that the date of the introduction of this new royal iconography cannot be posterior to years 42–43.

Some statues of Thutmose III from temples other than Djoser Akhet show the same physiognomy, but it may be impossible to be precise about their dates, since their definite architectural contexts are unknown. One can mention here the famous Turin seated statue of the king (1376), dated on stylistic grounds to the latter part of the reign by Müller, long before the discoveries of Lipinska,²⁶ the statue in the Cairo Museum, CG 42057, from Karnak, the inscriptions on the back pillar of which are in the name of Amenhotep II,²⁷ a fact that might suggest a late date for the sculpture; or the small sphinx Turin supplemento 2673 from Heliopolis,²⁸ a town where the building activities of Thutmose III are attested during the latter part of his reign.²⁹

From an art historical point of view, it must be noted that this late iconography of Thutmose III will be reused by Amenhotep II,³⁰ and it appears to be at least inspired by, if not copied from, the sculpted faces of Thutmose I and Thutmose II.³¹ The question is, of course: why did Thutmose III decide to change his official portrait so late in his reign, making it look more like his father’s and his grandfather’s?³²

During year 42 of Thutmose III’s reign, when this iconographical shift occurred, a very important political event occurred: the beginning of the proscription of Hatshepsut. As Dorman has definitely shown, the architectural evidence from the central part of Karnak implies that “Hatshepsut’s persecution cannot be dated earlier than year 42.”³³ On the other hand, the excavations of Djoser Akhet at Deir el Bahari indicate that this *damnatio memoriae* must have begun before the twenty-third day of the first month of *peret* of year 43, the date of the first attestation of the construction works of this temple,³⁴ whose function was to replace the nearby Djoser Djaseru of Hatshepsut,³⁵ since destroyed monuments of the proscribed queen were found reused in the masonry of the temple and under its causeway.³⁶ The south fa-

cade of Pylon VIII of Karnak and the so-called gateway of Thutmose I at north Karnak, actually two creations of Hatshepsut, were usurped by Amenhotep II,³⁷ an epigraphic fact that demonstrates that the persecution lasted till at least the beginning of the reign of the son of Thutmose III. On the other hand, the royal names of Hatshepsut were respected by Thutmose IV and Akhenaten.³⁸ Finally, the queen seems to have been proscribed anew during the Ramesside period, since she is systematically missing in the king list of that time and some of her monuments were usurped by the first rulers of the Nineteenth Dynasty.³⁹ These latter appropriations are not uninteresting; they show that two centuries after the reign of Thutmose III some monuments of Hatshepsut were still in a state that justified such a recuperation. In fact, it is well known that some figures of the queen are still intact today.⁴⁰ So the proscription appears not to have been carried through to completion when it was stopped under Amenhotep II. These considerations suggest that the problem that was supposed to be resolved by the persecution of Hatshepsut concerned only Thutmose III and his son and that the aim of the proscription was reached before every testimony of the queen's reign was destroyed.

It has been noted many times that Thutmose III only exceptionally usurped the monuments of his aunt in his own name but usually rededicated them to his father and his grandfather.⁴¹ By doing this, the king clearly tried to rewrite recent dynastic history, the so-called Thutmoside succession,⁴² "in an apparent effort to absorb her reign into historic lifespans of her two male predecessors."⁴³ The importance of Thutmose I and Thutmose II in this latter part of the reign of Thutmose III is noteworthy. As Hatshepsut did in her ideology of legitimation, Thutmose III justified his claims to the throne by a miracle of Amun and by the will of his father.⁴⁴ He dedicated many statues and monuments, or parts of monuments, to Thutmose II,⁴⁵ and he obviously paid great respect to his royal grandfather.⁴⁶ This politically motivated attitude was patently accentuated during the last decade of the reign: the overwhelming majority of the monuments of Hatshepsut were reinscribed to the first two Thutmose kings; a specific cult chamber was dedicated to them in Djoser Akhet;⁴⁷ Thutmose I was referred to in the Annals text of his grandson;⁴⁸ the latter made a new sarcophagus and a new tomb for his grandfather and buried him anew, away from the grave of Hatshepsut, where his mummy had previously been brought by his daughter;⁴⁹ and a colossal statue of Thutmose II was *snfr*, "perfected" or "restored," in front of Pylon VIII during year 42.⁵⁰ By so honoring his direct royal ancestors and negating Hatshepsut's kingship, Thutmose III appears to have tried to affirm an uninterrupted dynastic continuity from father to son, from his grandfather to himself.

Another member of the bloodline of the king was also involved in the proscription of Hatshepsut: the young prince Amenhotep, the future Amenhotep II, under whom the persecution continued and ended. Many documents from the reign of Amenhotep II show the ruler together with his royal father.⁵¹ Whether or not these monuments are considered evidence for a coregency between the two kings, they clearly show that Amenhotep II insisted on his ties with his father. In his Sphinx stela, he even says that when he was still a prince his father said "in his heart: he is the one who will be the master of the whole land."⁵² By writing this, Amenhotep obviously justified his legitimacy on the throne of Egypt by means of his links with Thutmose III.

On the other hand, some clues help define the attitude of Thutmose III toward his son and successor, the prince Amenhotep. In her dissertation about royal nurses and tutors during the Eighteenth Dynasty, Catharine Roehrig has shown that, instead of having one nurse and one tutor like most royal children, the future Amenhotep II was provided with at least two tutors and nine nurses.⁵³ Roehrig explains this exceptional proliferation as follows: "Since Amenhotep was in his late teens at his accession, he was born relatively late in his father's reign, probably around year 37. Tuthmosis III may have believed that this prince would inherit the throne while still a child, as he had himself." So the king "may have had some worries about his succession. . . . By giving the child to numerous wet nurses, Tuthmosis III may have been binding a group of strong and trusted courtiers to the child. Not only would this have ensured the loyalty of a number of seasoned advisers for the future king, but it would have provided a group of future courtiers in the form of foster brothers and sisters with extremely close ties to their sovereign."⁵⁴ Roehrig also established that Thutmose III had lost several sons before Amenhotep became heir to the throne, a circumstance that could have increased the worries of the king regarding his succession.⁵⁵ These unusual protective measures surrounding prince Amenhotep suggest that the succession of Thutmose III was more problematic than it seemed. The proscription of Hatshepsut was initiated around year 42, when Amenhotep was only six years old, at a time when it was far from sure that he would survive to assume the throne after his father. From a chronological point of view, the persecution of the queen and the protection of prince Amenhotep are contemporaneous and seem to be part of the same wider policy of enhancing the royal bloodline of Thutmose III.

So the king appears to have persecuted his aunt in order to define his bloodline as the only legitimate line on the throne of Egypt in the past, as in the future, since special care surrounds Thutmose I and Thutmose II as well as the young crown prince Amenhotep. The late date of the persecution

and the protagonists involved in it can only be explained, in my opinion, by a problem of succession. The fact that the persecution ends under Amenhotep II indicates that this problem concerned only Amenhotep and his father, as if Thutmose III had tried to resolve his succession anticipatively. In this context, the proscription of Hatshepsut and the wider policy it was part of appear quite clearly to have been intended to protect the heir of the royal bloodline of Thutmose III, the young prince Amenhotep.

The posthumous involvement of Thutmose II and Thutmose I in the persecution suggests that the problem faced by Thutmose III was going back to the lifetime of his two predecessors. As is shown by the legitimation policy of Hatshepsut, if Thutmose III wanted to justify his own power, or his son's, he could merely have referred to the royalty of his father, and this is precisely what he did before the last twelve years of his reign.⁵⁶ The artificial presence of Thutmose I in the proscription of his own daughter suggests that the problem originated in the reign of this king. Thutmose I had children from at least two different beds: Thutmose II, son of Mutnofret, and Hatshepsut, daughter of Ahmose. When he died, the kingship went to the branch of the family in which a son was still alive, namely, Thutmose II, but with the premature death of the latter and the youth of his son and successor, the boy king Thutmose III, the other branch of the family also had access to the throne through the royalty of Hatshepsut. The fact that both Thutmose III and Hatshepsut only referred to their own branches of the family on their monuments supports the assumption of a royal family divided into—at least—two rival lines.⁵⁷ In this dynastic context, the reign of the queen appears as a dangerous precedent that could have compromised the future of the very young prince Amenhotep if it was used by a descendant, or an alleged descendant, of Thutmose I to support his claims to kingship.⁵⁸ Negating the royalty of Hatshepsut amounted to a negation of any right to a pretender to the throne of Thutmose III's heir. Whether or not the danger of a collateral succession excluding the future Amenhotep II from the crown was real or hypothetical, it seems obvious that Thutmose III took this political danger as an effective one.⁵⁹ When Amenhotep II was firmly installed on the throne of his father, the succession was settled and there was no reason to continue the proscription anymore.

In this political context, it seems obvious that the modification of the king's iconography is directly linked to the persecution of Hatshepsut. The chronological coincidence between the two events is perfect, and every monument erected during or because of the *damnatio memoriae* of the queen exemplifies the new royal portraiture.⁶⁰ Moreover, the policy initiated by Thutmose III during year 42 gives sense to the change in the physiognomy of the king's figures. The modifications noted earlier concern the features that char-

acterize Hatshepsut's face (the rounded face with a triangular facial plan and a small maxillary, the elongated eyes drawn with curved lines under high and very curved eyebrows, and the prominent and hooked nose)⁶¹ and so correspond to a rejection of any physiognomic detail that could have recalled the iconography of the proscribed queen and to the revival of an older model, that of one of the ruler's two direct royal ancestors, Thutmose I and Thutmose II, which will be continued by Amenhotep II. This is in fact a summary of the proscription of Hatshepsut in artistic language. So the iconographical shift introduced by Thutmose III in his portraits during year 42 appears to be only a part of the wider policy initiated by him at the same time, an artistic consequence of the persecution of the queen.

This interpretation nevertheless implies that the previous physiognomic type of Thutmose III could, in the eyes of the king himself, recall Hatshepsut enough to require a change in his iconography when the proscription of the queen was decreed. To resolve this problem and its political and historical implications, we have to consider the ruler's portraits during the first part of his autonomous reign, between the death of Hatshepsut and her *damnatio memoriae*, between year 21 and year 42.

THE PORTRAITS OF THE KING AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS AUTONOMOUS REIGN, BEFORE THE PROSCRIPTION OF HATSHEPSUT: YEARS 21 TO 42

A very important monument was erected by Thutmose III at the beginning of his independent reign: Akh Menu in the precinct of Amun at Karnak. The foundation of this temple was performed by the god himself on the last day of the second month of *peret* of year 24,⁶² and 62 days later the king promulgated a decree concerning the monument.⁶³ The date of the temple is also confirmed by an inscription from year 25, which accompanies the famous depiction of the so-called Botanical Garden of Thutmose III in the antechamber of the sanctuary.⁶⁴ Even if Akh Menu is badly damaged nowadays, many of its original statues are still preserved, notably because some of them were thrown into the Karnak *cachette*,⁶⁵ while others were discovered in situ by Auguste Mariette, during his very early clearing of the site in the middle of the nineteenth century.⁶⁶

These sculptures show a very homogeneous iconography (fig. 7.2), which contrasts with the royal portraits subsequent to year 42 (fig. 7.1). The face has a rounded shape with very delicate modeling. This roundness is notably determined by the lesser importance of the maxillary, which is more integrated in the cheeks' plasticity. The eyes appear elongated, drawn with curved lines, with no angle on the upper lid, under high and curved eyebrows. The

nose presents a very distinctive aquiline profile with a rounded and fleshy tip. Despite some stylistic similarities to the statues of the last decade of the reign, the composition of these portraits is based on different—if not reversed—principles, since the straight line is here replaced with the curved one, the plain surface with the rounded one, the angle with the smooth transition, and the cubic volume with the spherical one. These features are systematically present in the other statues of Thutmose III made for Akh Menu,⁶⁷ on the reliefs of this temple,⁶⁸ and on the other royal monuments of the same period, whatever the site considered,⁶⁹ a fact that demonstrates the chronological significance of this iconography.

The resemblance between the Akh Menu statues of Thutmose III and the late portraits of Hatshepsut has already been noted by some scholars. For instance, Tefnin wrote: "Touthmosis III, par sa statue du Caire CGC 594, évoque de plus près les grandes statues de granit d'Hatshepsout que ses propres effigies à Deir el-Bahari ou à Turin. Et la différence entre ces images de Touthmosis III apparaît bien plus considérable que la nuance minime qui distingue les plus récentes d'entre elles de l'image donnée d'Aménophis II par sa statue du Caire CGC 42073."⁷⁰ It is precisely the features modified around year 42 that are in keeping with the queen's iconography: "Les joues bien rondes, le menton large . . . un léger resserrement aux tempes donnent au visage une forme générale presque sphérique et un contour régulier. . . . Sous des sourcils arqués, les yeux sont moyennement ouverts, un peu allongés vers les tempes . . . et dessinés en courbes régulières. . . . Le nez est . . . de profil aquilin, saillant, avec une légère rupture au niveau du premier tiers de l'arête."⁷¹ But even if the principles of the composition and the majority of the physiognomic details are almost the same—if not identical—some slight differences still oppose the portraits of the former coregents: the protruding and low cheekbone of Thutmose III's face determines a horizontal depression under the eye, which never appears on the statues of Hatshepsut; the chin of the king has an S-shape in profile view, while it is straight and vertical on the faces of his aunt; and the tip of the nose, the lobule, is fleshy and rounded on the sculptures of Thutmose III instead of being thin and pointed, as on the portraits of Hatshepsut.⁷² These differences are indeed not very important in the overall appearance of the face, but they are absolutely systematic and so they constitute criteria useful to distinguish unincised sculpted faces of Hatshepsut from anepigraphic portraits of her nephew.⁷³ The fact that they meant something to Thutmose III and his sculptors is proved by some reliefs originally made in the late style of the coregency with Hatshepsut but recarved according to the new royal iconography.⁷⁴

In two-dimensional representations, this change is mainly visible in the shape of the nose lobule. On some reliefs of the monuments completed by

Thutmose III after the death of his aunt—the Red Chapel (*chapelle rouge*), the Hatshepsut suite in the central part of Karnak and the Satet temple of Elephantine—the king may still have the pointed nose characteristic of Hatshepsut.⁷⁵ This suggests that the transformation of the queen's iconographic model did not occur immediately after her death, that is, in year 21,⁷⁶ but only sometime later. It must be recalled here that Tefnin has shown, in his study of the female bust British Museum EA 93, that the late style of Hatshepsut was most probably in use till year 22 of Thutmose III.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the Akh Menu type, with the rounded nose lobule, is already attested in the initial decoration of the complex of Pylon VI at Karnak, made between the disappearance of Hatshepsut and the famous battle of Megiddo, which occurred in the very first days of year 23.⁷⁸ Thus, it is clear that the modification in the king's iconography was only introduced during year 22, the year that followed the death of his royal aunt.

The Akh Menu statues of Thutmose III, and especially CG 42053 (fig. 7.2), have often been interpreted as representing the real face of the king.⁷⁹ The comparison with the sovereign's mummy supports this idea,⁸⁰ and even if, at the beginning of his independent reign, the ruler clearly reused the iconographic model elaborated by Hatshepsut, the modifications noted earlier may have been inspired by the actual physiognomy of Thutmose III, since these new features are not attested in the statuary of previous kings and so cannot be explained as references to a specific ancestor.⁸¹

These art historical conclusions raise new questions of interpretation: why does Thutmose III seem to have wanted to look like Hatshepsut, especially if a quarrel of legitimacy was opposing the former coregents, as it appears from the analysis of the proscription of the queen? The fact that the king reused his aunt's physiognomic model while personalizing it also calls for an explanation.

The political attitude of Thutmose III vis-à-vis Hatshepsut after her death can be approached through the analysis of two different types of sources: archaeological and textual. The former help us to determine what the king really did, while the latter explain what he said he did. The confrontation of both kinds of evidence might be interesting, since actions and official intentions do not always coincide.

From an archaeological point of view, it is very clear that Thutmose III completed—or started to complete—in his own name the monuments left unfinished by Hatshepsut but not without modifying the queen's initial plans. This is, for instance, the case with the famous Red Chapel. The decoration of this monument was obviously left unfinished when the queen died, since its doors and upper registers—namely, the eighth and part of the seventh—were carved in the sole name of Thutmose III, including the dedica-

tion inscription on the south facade.⁸² Moreover, if the king did not cause the reliefs of Hatshepsut to be recarved (with the exception of block 24, where the cartouche of the queen was changed into his nephew's),⁸³ recent researches made by the French-Egyptian Center of Karnak have shown that the architecture of the monument was altered, the heightened facade, for example, being an innovation of Thutmose III.⁸⁴ And eventually the king decided to dismantle this exceptional edifice before it was fully completed.⁸⁵ This last operation certainly occurred early in the independent reign of Thutmose III, undoubtedly before the proscription of Hatshepsut, in year 42, as Dorman and Van Siclen have demonstrated,⁸⁶ and perhaps even during or before the construction of Akh Menu in years 24–25, according to a hypothesis of Vergnienx, who suggests that the quartzite blocks of the naos in the sanctuary of Akh Menu came from the queen's chapel.⁸⁷

The Hatshepsut suite, the so-called Palais de Maât, exemplifies a very similar attitude. The southern part of this monument was also left unfinished after the death of Hatshepsut, and Thutmose III completed its decoration in his sole name, beginning with his aunt's iconography and ending with his own.⁸⁸ When the sovereign decided to erect Pylon VI in front of the Hatshepsut suite, he also ordered the construction of two rows of shrines connected to the new pylon, which had undoubtedly not been planned by Hatshepsut, since one of their doors was hiding part of the queen's decoration on the north facade of the Palais de Maât.⁸⁹

This rearrangement of Hatshepsut's projects also occurred very early during the newly autonomous reign of Thutmose III, since these monuments, the Palais de Maât and the complex of Pylon VI—as well as the Red Chapel—are mentioned in the Text of the Youth, which was written on the south facade of the queen's suite before the battle of Megiddo, and so before the beginning of year 23, according to Gabolde and Mathieu, who are preparing a new edition of this important inscription.⁹⁰ It must be noted here that this is when the iconography of the coregency was modified and personalized for Thutmose III, since the royal figures on the west facade of pylon VI and those on the walls of the chapels connected to this gate do not show Hatshepsut's pointed nose anymore but rather that of her nephew, with a rounded and fleshy lobule.⁹¹

In the dedication inscription of these new monuments, the Text of the Youth of Thutmose III,⁹² the king never confesses that he either dismantled, hid, or modified the constructions of his aunt. Actually, Hatshepsut is never explicitly referred to after her death. Thutmose III insists in this text on what he really "did by himself":⁹³ Pylon VI and its courts, depicted with many details as real marvels,⁹⁴ and the completion but not the entire realization of the Red Chapel⁹⁵ and—probably—of the Palais de Maât.⁹⁶ He also depicts

himself as a pharaoh elected by Amun to rule Egypt and full of respect for his predecessors,⁹⁷ an assertion that certainly prevented him from confessing that he was disturbing the original plans of his former coregent. So, just after the death of the queen, Thutmose III began to complete the works initiated by Hatshepsut, but during year 22 he decided to modify the projects of his aunt and asserted his own personality as a king, insisting on his own actions while continuing to present himself as a pious continuator of his predecessors.

Exactly the same attitude is perceptible through an analysis of the evidence concerning the construction of Akh Menu. This temple, erected in year 24 after the victorious return of the Megiddo expedition,⁹⁸ certainly replaced another foundation of Hatshepsut in the same area,⁹⁹ indeed, in some parts, using reused blocks from a monument of the queen.¹⁰⁰ On a stela made to commemorate the foundation of Akh Menu (CG 34012), Thutmose III does not go so far as to say that the site of his future temple was free from any construction: he explains that he had only found there a brick enclosure wall with a floor rising almost to the top of the walls because of the rubbish resulting from an inundation and that he ordered the cleaning of the area.¹⁰¹ He never explicitly mentions the monument erected there by Hatshepsut and insists on the truth of his statement when he claims: "I have never acted on the monument of another."¹⁰²

Again the portraits of the king appear as a plastic translation of his policy. After a long period of sharing his throne with someone else, Thutmose III decided, on the one hand, to assert his own personality as a monarch and, on the other, to keep placing himself in the continuity of his predecessors, a guarantee of his legitimacy. So he followed the model of his direct predecessor, his former coregent, but not without introducing some innovations in year 22 in order to adapt this model to his own personality. The orientations of this policy—personal assertion, deep respect for the predecessors, and great devotion toward Amun,¹⁰³ the god who gives rightful kingship—suggest that the ruler was in need of legitimation after a long partition of his power with Hatshepsut,¹⁰⁴ since they precisely constitute ways to justify claims to the throne. This need of legitimation is indeed very obvious in the Text of the Youth of Thutmose III, which relates the miraculous election of the king by Amun. It most probably motivated the apparently ambiguous attitude of the ruler toward his aunt: official continuation of her model but with personal assertion.

With the triumph of Megiddo at the beginning of year 23, the king seems to have been more comfortable regarding this problem, and he did not hesitate to dismantle at least one monument of his aunt, replacing it with a new one entirely of his own and for his sole glory: Akh Menu. Nevertheless, in

the official version of what he has done he always presents himself as a pious ruler, full of respect for his predecessors. So the beginning of the autonomous reign of Thutmose III, after the death of Hatshepsut, appears in many respects to be a normal succession, with a new king stepping “into his predecessor’s shoes,”¹⁰⁵ but the archaeological evidence shows a certain will to challenge and shade the queen’s creations and so reveals a certain animosity between the former coregents.

Only few figures of Thutmose III can be dated with certainty to the period between the construction of Akh Menu, started in year 24, and the beginning of the proscription of Hatshepsut in year 42.¹⁰⁶ These representations show that the iconography of the king did not evolve—at least significantly—during the fourth decade of his reign. The ideological discourse seems also to remain unchanged till the persecution of the queen. For example, in the text inscribed in the door of Pylon VII at Karnak, which evokes the famous military campaign of year 33,¹⁰⁷ the sovereign again justifies his legitimacy by explaining that he received his kingship from Amun himself while still a child.¹⁰⁸ But this theme, which was the central topic of the Text of the Youth, is here reduced to a very small preamble to a long description of what the king has done for Amun. This suggests that the problem of legitimation felt by Thutmose III at the beginning of his independent reign, after his long coregency with Hatshepsut, had become less important. The less frantic building activity in the temple of the god of kingship, at Karnak, and the vigorous foreign policy of the king during that period,¹⁰⁹ which implies a stable or stabilized home situation, also support this interpretation of Thutmose III’s ideology during the fourth decade of his reign.

So during the autonomous reign of Thutmose III the king’s image appears to have been shaped by his attitude toward his deceased former coregent. Imitation, inspiration, and rejection of the queen’s model indeed determined the ideology *and* the iconography of the sovereign when he ruled Egypt alone. These facts of course incite one to investigate the way the ruler was represented during the first twenty years of his reign, when Hatshepsut “was administering the country.”¹¹⁰

THE PORTRAITS OF THE KING UNDER THE REGENCY OF HATSHEPSUT: YEARS 1 TO 7

At the very beginning of his reign, under the regency of Hatshepsut, the boy king Thutmose III was depicted on the walls of royal monuments as an adult pharaoh performing his ritual duty alone, without any overshadowing from his aunt, as appears in the initial decoration of the temple of Semneh.¹¹¹ So as titular sovereign statues of him were certainly made during this period,

but none of them can be identified through either architectural or epigraphic criteria. Nevertheless, the analysis of two-dimensional images helps to specify the king's iconography during the regency period. At least four royal monuments can surely be dated to this phase of the reign: the oldest part of the Semneh temple of Thutmose III, erected during year 2;¹¹² a chapel from Karnak dedicated to the memory of the late Thutmose II by his widow, still a queen but already facing the gods like a king;¹¹³ another chapel of Hatshepsut on the brink of her accession to the throne as pharaoh, reused at north Karnak;¹¹⁴ and a series of blocks from a temple that preceded Akh Menu in the eastern part of the precinct of Amun at Karnak, initiated by the boy king but completed by the queen when she was about to assume real kingship and later dismantled by her nephew.¹¹⁵ These monuments can be divided into two chronological groups respectively situated at the beginning and at the end of Hatshepsut's Regency. Human figures on their reliefs show exactly the same physiognomy, which is in fact that of Thutmose I and Thutmose II, with a straight nose and a well opened eye under an almost horizontal eyebrow. Since R. Tefnin has shown that the first portraits of Hatshepsut as pharaoh also present the same face,¹¹⁶ it is clear that there is an iconographical continuity from the reign of Thutmose I till the beginning of the coregency between his grandson and his daughter. This means that Thutmose III's iconography was exactly the same at the beginning and end of his reign, during the first seven years¹¹⁷ and the last twelve, being in both cases a faithful imitation of his father's and grandfather's model.

On this stylistic ground, few statues inscribed with the name of Thutmose III might be proposed as plausible portraits of the king made during the regency of his aunt. The most convincing one is a sculpture from Karnak, now in Cairo Museum (RT 14/6/24/11 [fig. 7.3]),¹¹⁸ whose plastic treatment conveys an impression of archaism, which could simply be due to the old date of the statue within the reign of Thutmose III.

THE PORTRAITS OF THE KING DURING THE COREGENCY WITH HATSHEPSUT: YEARS 7 TO 21

It has often been noticed that during the coregency with Hatshepsut, "qu'il s'agisse de temples aussi éloignés que ceux de Bouhen, de Qasr Ibrim, de Kumma ou de Ouadi Halfa, aussi essentiels théologiquement que celui de Médinet-Habou, du coeur même du sanctuaire de Karnak, d'édifices provinciaux, tels les deux spéos du Batn el-Baqara, ou d'une simple stèle, Thoutmosis III est toujours et systématiquement associé à l'œuvre de la reine."¹¹⁹ Indeed, in two-dimensional decoration of the monuments of her reign the queen nearly always gave a small place to her nephew.¹²⁰ The fact that stat-

ues of the boy king could also be made during the same period is proved by the group sculpted in high relief in the rear wall of the third shrine of Qasr Ibrim, where Thutmose is sitting beside his reigning aunt.¹²¹ Unfortunately, this group is totally defaced and unusable for defining the king's physiognomy during the coregency. Moreover, no architectural or epigraphic evidence allows us to find a statue of the young Thutmose made during the reign of Hatshepsut. Stylistic comparison with the portraits of the queen can, however, be used to identify such statues, since many scholars have drawn attention to the fact that in two-dimensional representations, at least, the coregents shared a common iconography.¹²² The stylistic evolution of Hatshepsut's statuary has been studied by R. Tefnin, who showed that three successive main stages can be distinguished in the queen's iconography.¹²³

As Gabolde noted: "Le passage à l'état de pharaon fut lent, hésitant et progressif."¹²⁴ The first step toward kingship was the representation of Hatshepsut acting as a real regent, namely, as a substitute for the pharaoh. The status of the queen started to be modified when she appeared on the temple walls in order to replace her nephew in his ritual function vis-à-vis the gods.¹²⁵ At that time, Hatshepsut is still represented as a queen, with female dress and headgear, bearing her titles of king's wife, king's daughter, and, more frequently, god's wife.¹²⁶ After this change in official behavior, the regent queen transformed her titulary, adopting such new epithets as "mistress of the double land"¹²⁷ or, more suggestively, "the one to whom her father Re has given the real kingship in the middle of the ennead."¹²⁸ When she is first represented as a king, with the *Ny-Swt Bity* title and her crown name Maatkare, she still appears as a woman, with feminine anatomy and dress.¹²⁹ According to ritual necessities, she might adopt some definitely royal insignia. For instance, on a block from Karnak she is wearing the *ibw* wig and the *sw.ty wr.ty* crest of a pharaoh when offering wine to Amun,¹³⁰ and on her oldest statues from Deir el Bahari, in the sanctuary of the Djoser Djoseru, she is represented as an Osiride colossus, with a beard, a long cloak, and a kingly crown, but still as a woman, since her skin is painted in yellow.¹³¹ During this first phase of ascension, the face of Hatshepsut is always represented in the style of her three royal predecessors, in continuity with the iconography of the regency period, itself being a copy of the portraits of Thutmose I and II.

The first physiognomic modifications are visible on a set of sphinxes depicting the queen still as a woman, as is signified by the yellow color of her skin, but with elongated eyes under curved eyebrows.¹³² These feline eyes appear again on two seated statues of Hatshepsut wearing a female dress. The first one, MMA 30.3.3,¹³³ is almost completely defaced, but the second one, MMA 29.3.3,¹³⁴ presents new features: the chin is considerably lessened and

the maxillary has lost its importance, giving a distinctive triangular shape to the face; the modeling of the face has been simplified, with an extremely flat facial plan and a very geometric nose, whose profile is still perfectly straight; and the mouth is small and narrow at the corners of the lips. The famous seated statue MMA 29.3.2 shows a very similar physiognomy, but its nose is now clearly hooked.¹³⁵ More strikingly, on this sculpture the queen has almost lost her feminine anatomy and has exchanged her female dress for the *shendyt* loincloth of male pharaohs. The same modification is visible on the Osiride colossi from the rear wall of the upper terrace of Djoser Djoseru, which have this same physiognomy, with skin now painted in orange, between the yellow of women and the red of men.¹³⁶ This masculinization of Hatshepsut's official image is demonstrated by two additional facts: on the one hand, on the oldest monuments of her reign the queen still appears explicitly as a woman,¹³⁷ while she is systematically represented as a male king after year 16 at least;¹³⁸ and, on the other hand, she caused some of her female figures to be recarved according to her new masculine iconography.¹³⁹ At the same time, the queen appears to insist on her own personality through a much more individualized physiognomy, which does not have any antecedent in the portraits of her predecessors.¹⁴⁰ So this second phase of the evolution of Hatshepsut's iconography is obviously characterized by the queen's desire to assert her own personality as a king.

Nevertheless, this image of Hatshepsut was ephemeral. Her iconography changed again, and she eventually appeared as a definitely male pharaoh, with explicitly masculine musculature¹⁴¹ and red skin.¹⁴² Her physiognomy is also modified and becomes a synthesis of her two first official faces,¹⁴³ so a compromise between her very individualized previous portrait, which was probably inspired by her actual facial appearance, and the iconography common to her three male predecessors. This third face of Hatshepsut is the last one, and it appears on the majority of the queen's two-dimensional representations and on approximately two-thirds of her statues from Djoser Djoseru, a fact of statistical importance that suggests that the whole evolution took place within a short period of time.¹⁴⁴

A few statues inscribed for Thutmose III resemble some of these portraits of Hatshepsut. The first one to be mentioned here is a quartzite sphinx now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, whose chest is inscribed with the name "the perfect god Menkheperre, beloved of [Amu]n" (fig. 7.4).¹⁴⁵ So it undeniably represents Thutmose III and was probably intended for the precinct of Amun at Karnak. The majority of its physiognomic features closely recalls the second phase of Hatshepsut's iconography and more specifically the limestone seated statue MMA 29.3.2—with a rather triangular face, a little chin, a small pursed mouth (narrow at the corners of

the lips), and a prominent and hooked nose¹⁴⁶—but the eyes, surprisingly, are still drawn in the style inherited from the regency period and the reigns of Thutmose I and II, wide open under almost straight, horizontal eyebrows. It is tantalizing to explain this strange particularity with the hypothesis that this sphinx was a work of transition between phases 1 and 2, but this assumption is inconsistent with the fact that it is precisely the eyes and eyebrows that are the first physiognomic features to be modified when the queen's first face is changing into the second one. On the other hand, the evolution of the shape of Hatshepsut's nose makes it impossible to date the New York sphinx prior to the seated queen MMA 29.3.2. In other words, the sphinx MMA 08.202.6 presents the last transformations that lead to the second phase, not the first ones. This apparent paradox can be resolved if we hold Thutmose's sphinx to be posterior to or contemporaneous with MMA 29.3.2 but with an archaic treatment of the eyes and eyebrows, which, of course, calls for an explanation. In fact, the eyes and eyebrows of the New York sphinx are shaped in the previous royal style, namely, the official style of the boy king during the regency of his aunt. Other physiognomic features of this quartzite sculpture differ from Hatshepsut's portraits and recall those of her nephew: the position of the cheekbone, low and slightly protruding, determining a horizontal depression under the eye; and the shape of the chin, whose profile draws a double curve. These details are systematically present on any sure statue of Thutmose III,¹⁴⁷ and they support the idea of an iconographic concession for the official image of Hatshepsut's nephew regarding the treatment of the eyes and eyebrows of his sphinx MMA 08.202.6.

Another statue of Thutmose III looks like the sculpture of Hatshepsut made during the second phase of her iconographic evolution. It is a seated statue inscribed with the king's names, found in Karnak in the middle of the last century and now in the Cairo Museum under the number CG 578 (fig. 7.5).¹⁴⁸ Here the shape of the eyes and the drawing of the eyebrows are those of the queen's second style, and many scholars have compared this statue with the limestone seated Hatshepsut MMA 29.3.2.¹⁴⁹ In my opinion, the closest parallel to CG 578 in the queen's statuary is the one proposed by Müller: the Berlin sphinx of Hatshepsut, Bode Museum 2299.¹⁵⁰ Fay has recently shown that a head now in New York, MMA 66.99.22, presents the same physiognomy of CG 578, although it is slightly smaller and beardless.¹⁵¹ As on the sphinx MMA 08.202.6, a few differences from Hatshepsut statues are visible on these two sculptures: the depression under the eye because of the position of the cheekbone and the shape of the chin, drawing an *S* in profile. These details, absolutely constant in Thutmose III's iconography and never attested in the queen's statuary,¹⁵² allow us to attribute with certainty the broken and anepigraphic head MMA 66.99.22 to Hatshepsut's royal nephew.

The maxillary and chin of CG 578 and MMA 66.99.22 are also wider than those of the queen's portraits made during phase 2. The only exception in the latter group regarding this physiognomic feature is the sphinx Berlin 2299, a work of transition between phases 2 and 3, according to Tefnin.¹⁵³ This scholar has drawn attention to the fact that such a widening of the chin could be due to the presence of a heavy beard,¹⁵⁴ but this cannot be the case here since MMA 66.99.22 is beardless. It seems likely that these three sculptures, the Berlin sphinx, the seated statue in Cairo, and the New York head, are contemporaneous, but, since a square maxillary and an important chin characterize the portraits of Thutmose III made before and after the coregency, these physiognomic details may also constitute concessions granted to the portraits of the boy king under the royal authority of his aunt, as well as the hollow under the eye and the shape of the chin in profile. This last explanation appears all the more plausible because, from a physiognomic point of view, Berlin 2299 is unique in the set of the granite sphinxes from Djoser Djoseru and in all the preserved statues of Hatshepsut.¹⁵⁵

Another anepigraphic head deserves to be mentioned here. Purchased by the Berlin Ägyptisches Museum a few years ago and recently published by Schoske,¹⁵⁶ this head, Berlin 34431 (1/86), very closely resembles the third phase of Hatshepsut's iconography, but the presence of a hollow under the eye and the shape of the chin in profile allow us to state that it must be a portrait of Thutmose III made under the reign of his aunt. This time the nose of the statue is preserved. Its tip is interestingly more rounded than the one on Hatshepsut's sculptures but more pointed than on the statues of Thutmose made at the beginning of his autonomous reign.¹⁵⁷ Again this slight difference seems to be a concession to the portraits of the young Thutmose III under the coregency, just like the shape of his cheekbone and that of his chin in this head.

These sculptures invite the following conclusions. It is indeed possible to identify using stylistic criteria some statues of Thutmose III made during the coregency with Hatshepsut. These portraits, as well as two-dimensional representations, show that the official image of the young king was heavily influenced by that of his reigning aunt, but not without a few slightly divergent details, which undoubtedly indicate a concession granted to Thutmose's iconography, since they correspond to constant features in the ruler's statuary. The influence of Hatshepsut seems to have been gradual. On the other hand, since Tefnin has shown that the last iconographic phase of the coregency was a synthesis of styles 1 and 2, namely, a synthesis of the image of the first three Thutmoses and the individualized portraits of Hatshepsut, it seems that this influence of the queen finally turned into a compromise between her iconography and the one recognized as that of her nephew before

her accession, giving birth to an image of royal power that could fit both coregents.¹⁵⁸ These stylistic deductions, and the fact that Hatshepsut eventually abandoned her female appearance for a definitely masculine one,¹⁵⁹ suggest that the presence of the young Thutmose III beside his reigning step-mother could have had an effect on the evolution of the queen's iconography and on her political self-definition. So there would have been mutual influence. This hypothesis calls, of course, for a confrontation with the evidence regarding the political attitude of Hatshepsut vis-à-vis her nephew during their coregency.

As Teeter wrote in 1990: "In the course of the last half-century, many historians have painted the queen with a brush evoking images of a wicked step-mother and an overly ambitious, scheming woman" who took advantage of the youth of her royal nephew.¹⁶⁰ Nowadays this historiographic trend seems to be reversed, and scholars usually insist on "la correction du comportement de la reine" vis-à-vis the young Thutmose.¹⁶¹ This vision is certainly not false regarding the last part of the coregency, the period contemporary with the third iconographic phase, when both coregents appear together, with masculine anatomy and the last physiognomy of Hatshepsut. Nevertheless, it must be recalled that in these later images, although he was chronologically the first king of the reigning couple, Thutmose is represented five times less frequently than his aunt,¹⁶² always behind her or in a secondary function,¹⁶³ and he is excluded from politically essential scenes such as those depicting the coronation rites.¹⁶⁴ So, even during this period of apparent sharing of the throne, there is a clear dichotomy between the "effective king" and her younger coregent,¹⁶⁵ maybe still considered at that time as "the one who is in his nest."¹⁶⁶

Moreover this late attitude does not necessarily imply that the queen always behaved properly toward the boy king. Some evidence indeed demonstrates that, before this period of conciliation with the young Thutmose, there was a time when Hatshepsut tried to evict her nephew. On the blocks of a monument from Karnak initiated in the name of Thutmose III during the regency, Gabolde has found a few cartouches of the boy king that were erased and replaced by those of Hatshepsut or Thutmose II, obviously by order of the queen.¹⁶⁷ According to the iconography of these blocks, this tentative eviction occurred during the transition from the regency to the real reign of Hatshepsut. In their study of the Hatshepsut chapel reused at Karnak North, one of the few monuments whose decoration was surely completed just after the coronation of the regent queen, Gabolde and Rondot have noted that: "Le décor de la chapelle . . . est encore remarquable dans la mesure où Thoutmosis III n'y est nulle part figuré ni même mentionné. Le reine exerce à ce moment le pouvoir seule et considère apparemment le rôle

de l'héritier légitime comme négligeable. Cette "mise à l'écart" de Thoutmosis III—qui est pourtant roi en titre—semble particulière au début de la corégence, du moins à Karnak."¹⁶⁸ The obelisks of Hatshepsut on the eastern side of this site, which were put in position at the beginning of the queen's reign,¹⁶⁹ are another example of this attitude vis-à-vis the boy king, since blocks in the name of Thutmose II and Thutmose III were found in their foundations.¹⁷⁰

So the epigraphic, iconographic, and archaeological evidence undoubtedly shows that "la correction du comportement de la reine" was some kind of window dressing and, more importantly, that it resulted from a process of evolution. Obviously, Hatshepsut saw her nephew as a rival, and her attitude toward him changed throughout her reign.

During the transition between the regency and the coregency, and at the beginning of her reign, Hatshepsut paid great attention to the memory of her late husband, Thutmose II. She dedicated to him a pair of obelisks to complete his unfinished festival court at the entrance of Karnak,¹⁷¹ a chapel where he is shown greeted by Osiris,¹⁷² and, also, on the same site, a bark shrine¹⁷³ and a temple whose reliefs depict him, his wife—and sometimes their daughter, Neferura—performing the rituals of the divine cult.¹⁷⁴ The deceased king is also represented in the sanctuary of Djoser Djoseru, in the oldest part of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el Bahari,¹⁷⁵ and a statue of him was made for the temple of Satet at Elephantine at the beginning of the reign of his wife.¹⁷⁶ By doing this, Hatshepsut seems to be using the memory of her royal husband to justify her kingly behavior and claims. She still legitimizes herself like a queen, and not yet like a real king, referring to her father, as she will do later. We must remember that at the same time she is shading the role of her nephew, since on the same monument she causes the cartouches of the young Thutmose III to be recarved in her name or the name of Thutmose II.¹⁷⁷ So, while insisting on the continuity between herself and her predecessors, especially her royal husband, she asserts her own power, to the detriment of that of her royal nephew.¹⁷⁸

At the end of this first stage of her assumption of the throne, Hatshepsut dares to be represented alone in front of the gods as a real pharaoh, and the boy king Thutmose III totally disappears from the iconography.¹⁷⁹ Her legitimacy as a king is so important that her titles, her behavior, her clothes, and eventually her anatomy are gradually adapted to depict not a regent or reigning queen but a real masculine pharaoh. When this metamorphosis is completed, the references to Thutmose I replace those to Thutmose II, the father replaces the husband in the legitimizing discourse of Hatshepsut, and the queen becomes a real king. When the image of her kingship is totally masculinized, Thutmose III begins to reappear.¹⁸⁰ Why, although she obvi-

ously tried to replace him, she changed her mind and adopted a political attitude of tolerance is hard to determine. It seems that, whatever his age was, the sole presence of the boy king, a male pharaoh crowned for many years, was enough to challenge and question the validity of Hatshepsut's claims.¹⁸¹ So she finally decided to appear more conciliatory and integrate the young Thutmose III into her kingship.

Again there is perfect concordance between policy and royal iconography. When the three stages of the political evolution of the reign of Hatshepsut—the slow ascension toward kingship in the apparent continuity of her predecessors, the personal assertion of the reigning queen with the overshadowing of the rival boy king, and the toleration of his presence on the political scene—are compared with the three phases of the evolution of her iconography, it becomes obvious that during the second iconographic phase the queen tried to absorb her coregent into her royalty—probably in order to make him disappear—and that the third and last style corresponds to a compromise, a desire to propose an image of her power that could include her royal nephew. This probably also explains why she seems to have been the only reigning queen of ancient Egypt who eventually waived her female appearance for a masculine one.¹⁸² Evidently, there was mutual (but not equal) influence, and again the royal portraits appear as an accurate translation of current ideology in iconographic language.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Now that the whole reign of Thutmose III has been considered, it is possible to summarize the evolution of his iconography in table 7.1.

The perfect correspondence between the political stages of the reign and the phases of the royal iconography shows that the evolution of Thutmose III's statuary was essentially the result of political factors. The sharing of the throne with Hatshepsut determined the whole history of the king's royalty. Because of this event, the sovereign seems to have had legitimation problems, which could not be totally dispelled by thirty years of a most brilliant reign, as is shown by the very late persecution of the queen. Every time Thutmose III adjusted his legitimation ideology anew, he caused his official portrait to be modified in order to evoke, more or less explicitly, one or another of his predecessors. This quarrel of legitimation between the king and his aunt stemmed from the problem of the succession of Thutmose I, as it was set by Hatshepsut when she claimed the royal legacy of her father.

From an art historical point of view, the proscription of the queen resulted in the annihilation of half a century of stylistic evolution, since the portraits of Thutmose III made after year 42 and those sculpted at the be-

Regnal Year	Political History	Iconography	Statuary
Year 1	Regency of Hatshepsut	Continuation of the model of Thutmose I and Thutmose II	RT 14/6/24/11 (fig. 7.3) (?)
Year 7	Coregency with Hatshepsut	Influence of Hatshepsut Phase 1: continuity Phase 2: personal assertion of Hatshepsut Phase 3: compromise	MMA 08.202.6 (fig. 7.4) CG 578 (fig. 7.5) and MMA 66.99.22 Berlin 34431
Year 20	Disappearance of Hatshepsut	Continuity with the coregency	
Year 22	Beginning of the autonomous reign	Personalization of the model of the coregency Continuation of the model elaborated during year 22	Statues at Akh Menu (fig. 7.2), and the like
Year 42	Proscription of Hatshepsut	Rejection of any reference to Hatshepsut and revival of the model of the regency	Statues at Djoser Akhet (fig. 7.1), and the like
Year 54	King's death		

gining of his reign are identical. So the subtle modeling of the royal face on the statues subsequent to the coregency is replaced with a much more geometric and archaizing construction, in direct continuity with the art of the first kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty. On the other hand, it must be noted that after the end of the *damnatio memoriae* of the queen some iconographical formulas invented by Hatshepsut's sculptors reappear in royal portraits; for instance, the almond-shaped eye under a high and curved eyebrow is indeed visible again on some sculptures of Amenhotep II and eventually becomes a characteristic feature of the portraits of Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, and Akhenaten.¹⁸³ Was it a conscious revival, since the proscription of Hatshepsut was over, or a natural evolution of art, which by itself would evolve into a more stylized form?¹⁸⁴

The fact that some physiognomic features are absolutely constant in the whole iconography of the king—the shape of his chin, the importance of his maxillary, and the position of his cheekbone—and the comparison between his statues and his mummy, which presents these very details,¹⁸⁵ may

justify the use of the term *portrait*, since they denote an inspiration taken from the real appearance of the model.¹⁸⁶ But the variation in other physiognomic details—for example, the shape of the king's nose—and the revival of the iconography of his predecessors show that the diversity of the ruler's statuary cannot be explained by realistic and idealizing trends,¹⁸⁷ realism and idealization being concepts obviously too much opposed and absolute to be applied to ancient Egyptian art. As for the other works of pharaonic art, the formal relationship between the statues of Thutmose III and their model is in fact analogic, as that between essence and appearances of things and beings according to pharaonic thought. The ancient Egyptian theology of image informs us that it is precisely in this context that iconic representations were supposed to function, as magically living and efficacious embodiments of their models, depicting the essence rather than the lying and ephemeral perceptual appearances of things and beings.¹⁸⁸ This theory of image allows the king to become, through his statues, the living image of his ideology, while only slightly modifying the features of his real face. The problem with Thutmose III's statuary is that the political self-definition of the king, his ideological essence, changed during his reign.¹⁸⁹

— NOTES —

This chapter is a slightly modified version of a paper read at the Ägyptologisches Institut of the Ruprecht-Karls Universität of Heidelberg, November 19, 1996. It proposes a synthesis of the results of the author's Ph.D. dissertation researches about the statuary of Thutmose III. This dissertation has been published as Laboury (1998a). My transcription of the birth name of the king is Thutmose and not Tuthmose, since its transliteration is *Dḥwty-ms* not *Dwthy-ms* (*Wb* V.606.1–2; the erroneous transcription of the king's name is due to the approximate Greek notation of the name of the god, *Dḥwty* as Θθ(υ)θ [1–2]).

1. For instance, see the remarks of G. Legrain (1906) about CG 42053 and what was supposed at the beginning of the twentieth century to be “les traits classiques de Thoutmôsis III” in CG 42053.

2. Friedman (1958) 2 (referring to Aldred [1951] 9). It must be noted, by the way, that the realistic nature of the so-called reserve heads has been seriously questioned by Tefnin (1991: 64–73) and Junge (1995).

3. Lipinska (1966a).

4. Fay (1995) 11, n. 4.

5. More than 160 statues or fragments of statues of the king have been preserved. For these sculptures and their precise analysis, cf. Laboury (1998a).

6. *Ibid.*, 17–58.

7. There is also the very important question of the existence of “a monolithic royal style” (Dorman [1988] 112). It will not be approached here from a theoretical point of view, but the examples quoted in what follows will demonstrate that during the same period of the reign, the representations of the king, in both two- and three-dimensional arts, show the same phys-

iognomic features all over the country. On this subject, cf. Laboury (1998a) 76–77; and Johnson (1994) 130.

8. The chronology of the statuary of Amenemhet III, Hatshepsut, and Amenhotep III is also based on the criterion of the architectural context. See Polz (1995) 250; Tefnin (1979); Johnson (1990) 26–46; Vandersleyen (1988) 9–30; and Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 98–177.

9. In the statuary of Thutmose III, the only sculptures whose origins are surely not a temple are the wooden statuettes from the king's tomb (CG 24901–11 and CG 24978 bis). Some small images of the ruler could also have stood in private houses; see Kemp (1989) 283–85.

10. Even the biggest statues could be moved; see the colossi in front of the second pylon of Karnak, initially a pair of sculptures of Thutmose III nearly ten meters high, recently analyzed by Sourouzzian (1995: 505–29).

11. Again, some exceptions may be found, as when additional statues were set up after the completion of the monument. For an example that shows very clearly that this kind of addition was quite unusual, see Loeben (1995) 15.

12. For an example from the reign of Thutmose III, see, for instance, Barguet (1962) 171.

13. Lauffray (1969) 187, fig. 2 (room 26).

14. Examples include CG 576–77 in the so-called Botanical Garden of Thutmose III in the Akh Menu of Karnak (Beaux [1990], 15 [plan V, no. 16–17], 20) and the group statue of Thutmose III and Amun from the Thutmoside temple of Medinet Habu (Hölscher [1939] 9, 13–14, 50, pl. 1–3, 24); see Laboury (1998a) 71–72, 163–66, 179–81, 248–51, 537.

15. On royal portraiture in general, see Kantorowicz (1957); and Marin (1981).

16. For instance, see the very explicit workshop inspection scene in the tomb of the vizier Paser, published by Assmann (1992: 43–60). For other clues concerning the relationship between the king and his portrait sculptors, see Laboury (1998a) 74–77, 652–53.

17. This order also allows me to render homage to J. Lipinska, whose discoveries were of such great importance for the present study.

18. Lipinska (1966a) 130.

19. Lipinska (1967) 25–33; Marciniak (1979); Van Siclen (1982–83) 140–42. The hypothesis that the Djeser Akhet is an older temple of Hatshepsut only slightly modified between year 43 and year 49 (Vandersleyen [1993] 257–62) is inconsistent with the description of the works given by the ostraka, which evoke the complete construction of a temple, with walls (*imb*), columns (*wh3*), floor (*š3 t*), causeway (*šm t*), and platform (*šn t*) (Hayes [1960], respectively, pls. 12, no. 17, recto 4; 13, no. 21, rectos 3 and 7; 13, no. 21, recto 4; 13, no. 21, recto 2; and 12, no. 19, recto 2, and no. 4, verso 1). It also contradicts the archaeological evidence, since monuments from the reign of Hatshepsut were reused in the temple's masonry (Lipinska [1977] 24; idem [1984] 7) and under its causeway (Winlock [1942] 75, 77, 91; Roehrig [1990b] 28–33).

20. Lipinska (1966a) 130.

21. My analysis differs slightly on some details from the one proposed in *ibid.*, 130–38; for the justification for this, see Laboury (1998a) 461–68.

22. Lipinska seems to have had the same impression, since she proposes an influence by the “idealistic” style of Old Kingdom royal sculpture (Lipinska [1966a] 138).

23. *Urk.* IV.645–756. For the reliefs, see PM II², 89–91, 97–98.

24. Van Siclen (1984a) 53. For the reliefs, see PM II², 98–99.

25. *Urk.* IV.811.10. For the reliefs, see Desroches-Noblecourt, Donadoni, and Moukhtar (1968).

26. Müller (1953) 72–73, 76, 78–79, figs. 9–10.

27. CG 42057; PM II², 138; Manuelian (1987) 29, no. 44.

28. Donadoni-Roveri (1989) 147, fig. 218; Seipel (1992) 246–47, no. 86.
29. Radwan (1981) 404–7; *Urk.* IV.590.13–15.
30. Sourouzian (1991) 63.
31. Laboury (1998a) 478–81. For the iconography of these two kings, see Tefnin (1979) 62–66; Curto (1975) 93–101; Müller (1979) 27–31; Lindblad (1984) 49–63; Dreyer (1984) 489–99, pls. 19–22; and Gabolde (1987) pls. 2–3.
32. The explanation of the continuation of this late iconography of Thutmose III under his son is less problematic because of the direct chronological continuity between the two periods in question and because the analysis of the reign of Amenhotep II leads to the conclusion that this king “stepped into his father’s shoes” (Manuelian [1987] 216).
33. Dorman (1988) 65.
34. Marciniak (1979).
35. Dolinska (1994).
36. Cf. n. 19 in this chapter.
37. PM II², 175–76; Martinez (1993) 65; Van Siclen (1984b) 83.
38. CG 46004; Peterson (1967); Bryan (1991) 190–91; Donohue (1994); Pendelbury (1951) 90, 92, pls. 74, 8; regarding Amenhotep III, see Murnane (1977b) 177–78.
39. Schulman (1970) 34; Hari (1984) 96; Leblanc (1982) 301–3, pl. 55 (*Luxor J* 178).
40. See, for instance, Gilbert (1953) 219–22.
41. See, for instance, Hölscher (1939) 11; *Urk.* IV.283–84; Barguet (1962) 262; Naville (1908) pls. 166–67; and Lacau and Chevrier (1977–79) 94.
42. Edgerton (1933). The historiographic problems caused by this revisionist attitude since the theories of Sethe are very well described by Dorman (1988: 1–4).
43. Murnane (1980b) 77.
44. *Urk.* IV.180.10–12.
45. See Cairo Museum RT 6/11/26/4 (PM V, 165) and RT 27/3/25/5 (PM V, 204) and two colossi in front of Pylon VIII at Karnak (*Urk.* IV.606.2–8); Petrie and Weigall (1902) 43–44, pls. 61, 64 (Berlin 15980); Varille (1950), pl. 5.2 (this block is from a monument in the name of Hatshepsut, Thutmose II and Thutmose III, to be published by L. Gabolde); Fazzini (1984–85) 287–307; and Gabolde (1989) 127–78.
46. *Urk.* IV.840.846–48.
47. Dolinska (1994) 35. A similar room existed in Henketankh (Ricke [1939] 14–15, pl. 1c), but the state of preservation of the monument does not allow us to establish if this cult chamber was erected during the first stage of construction of the temple or the second one, which was contemporaneous with the proscription (Hayes [1960] 47–48, pl. 13, no. 21, recto 16).
48. *Urk.* IV.697.5.
49. Gabolde (1987) 78–81; idem (1989) 176–78; Manuelian and Loeben (1993) 121–28. For this new tomb of Thutmose I, see Romer (1974).
50. *Urk.* IV.606.4–8.
51. Manuelian (1987: 19–40), lists forty-eight documents.
52. *Urk.* IV.1281.18–19. If there was a coregency between Thutmose III and his son, it is very strange that Amenhotep II did not refer to this historical event and preferred evoking something his father would have said to himself, “in his heart.”
53. Roehrig (1990) 111–98, 336–37, 342.
54. *Ibid.*, 336–37.
55. *Ibid.*, 78–104, 336. Dodson (1990: 92–93) proposes the addition of two other princes, a certain Menkheperre and an Amenemope.

56. See nn. 44–45 in this chapter.

57. For Hatshepsut, see Naville (1906), pls. 141–45. For Thutmose III, see nn. 44–48 in this chapter; Lipinska (1966b) 83 (no. 53), pl. 21.1; CG 34015; CG 42072; Gauthier (1912) 235; and el-Saghir (1992) 71.

58. The fact that a “coup d’état” could be tried by a member of the royal family to compromise the planned succession of a king is proved by the criminal attempts against Pepi I, Amenemhet I, and Ramses III. For the other known children of Thutmose I who might have had a descendant, see Roehrig (1990a) 22–27; Dodson (1990) 92; Snape (1985); and Gauthier (1912) 227. For the examination of the possibility that Hatshepsut had children other than Neferura, see the chapter devoted to the proscription of Hatshepsut in Laboury (1998a) 483–512.

59. According to Bennett (1994) 35–37; and idem (1995) 37–44, such collateral succession had already occurred in the recent history of the dynasty.

60. When a figure of Hatshepsut was proscribed but reused and not totally erased, it was renamed as Thutmose I or Thutmose II and its face was usually rapidly recarved in the new iconographic style; for examples, see Mysliwiec (1976), figs. 40, 45–46.

61. For Hatshepsut’s iconography, see Tefnin (1979). This is, of course, the third phase of the queen’s iconographical evolution that is in question here, the most important one—chronologically and quantitatively—and the most recent one. Some of these Hatshepsut-like features reappeared in royal iconography under Thutmose IV (Bryan [1987]; idem [1991], pl. 15; Grimal and Larché [1995], pl. 28), when the queen was no longer proscribed (see n. 35 in the chapter), and in a totally different historical and political context.

62. CG 34012; *Urk.* IV.833–38; von Beckerath (1981). For a close analysis of this text, see Laboury (1998a) 561–68.

63. Gardiner (1952); *Urk.* IV.1251–75.

64. *Urk.* IV.777.2; Beaux (1990) 38–46.

65. CG 42053, CG 42070–1, and Luxor J 2 (Laboury [1998a] 160–62). CG 42060 and CG 42066 might also come from the Akh Menu.

66. See CG 576–7 (Beaux [1990] 15 [plan V, no. 16–17], 20); CG 594 (Mariette [1875] 34); and the statue of Thutmose III at the entrance of the open air Museum of Karnak (Laboury [1998a] 171). CG 633 could also have been discovered during the excavations of Mariette (1875: 216).

67. See CG 576–7, CG 594, CG 42070, and the Osiride colossus at the entrance of Akh Menu (PM II², 112).

68. Jéquier (1920), pl. 52; Beaux (1990) 12, 17, 26; Pecoil (2001).

69. See Schwaller de Lubicz (1982), pl. 304 for the Ptah temple of Karnak; for its date, see *Urk.* IV.767.3–4. See also Jéquier (1920), pls. 24, 4; Hegazy and Martinez (1993) 63 (south part of the Hatshepsut suite at Karnak, decorated by Thutmose III after the death of his aunt [Barguet (1962) 143–44]); Kaiser et al. (1980), pl. 58; and Mysliwiec (1976), fig. 79 (Satet temple of Elephantine, initiated by Hatshepsut and completed by Thutmose III). For other examples, see Laboury (1998a) 525–27.

70. See Tefnin (1974) 14–16. The same opinion is expressed in Vandier (1958) 3302; Müller (1970) 33 (no. 101); Bryan (1987) 4; and Russmann (1990) 89.

71. Tefnin (1979) 85–86.

72. Cf. pl. 7.2 with, for instance, *ibid.*, pls. 12–3, 20, 23. Tefnin has noted these divergences; see 156–58; and idem (1994) 271.

73. For instance, they allow us to state that British Museum 32624 (Müller [1981]), Brooklyn Museum 58.118 (Fazzini et al. [1989], no. 36), and Boston MFA 52.349 (Simpson [1977],

no. 18) represent Hatshepsut, while Bologna KS 1800 (Morigi Govi [1994] 67), CG 1135, London British Museum 986, and the so-called Heeramanek head (Fay [1995], 13–18, pls. 4–5) come from statues of Thutmose III.

74. Kaiser et al. (1980), pl. 58. While the figure of Satet was initially shaped in the style of the Akh Menu portraits of Thutmose III, the face of the king was clearly recarved, under the eye and on the profile of the nose, in order to fit with the new ruler's iconography.

75. Lacau and Chevrier (1977–79), pl. 17; Eggebrecht (1987) 245 (middle fig. = bl. 206 of the Red Chapel); Lange (1952), fig. 65 (Hatshepsut suite, south wall of room 16 [= photo of Marburg 86701]); Mysliwiec (1976), fig. 78 (Louvre B 64, from the Satet temple of Elephantine).

76. For the date of Hatshepsut's death, see Laboury (1998a) 29–30.

77. Tefnin (1983).

78. For the date of pylon VI and its court, see Laboury (1998a) 32–34.

79. See for instance, CG 61068 Daressy (1909) 35, fig. 4; Lipinska (1966a) 136–38; and Spanel (1988) 2.

80. Daressy (1909) 35, fig. 4; Lipinska (1966a), 36–38; and Spanel (1988) 2. For the identity of the mummy supposed to be that of Thutmose III, see Laboury (1997) 73–79.

81. The situation is the same for the second phase of Hatshepsut's iconography (see n. 149 of this chapter). For other examples of references to specific ancestors through the physiognomic definition of the king's portraits, see Tefnin (1979) 62–6; idem (1968–72) 433–37; Romano (1976) 97–111; and idem (1983) 103–15.

82. Lacau and Chevrier (1977–79) 259–63.

83. *Ibid.*, 48. For an analysis of this, see Laboury (1998a) 539–40.

84. These modifications were brought to light during the reconstruction of the chapel by Father Larché, the director of the centre, and Franck Burgos, a stonemason, who are preparing a new publication of the famous monument.

85. Despite the fact that many reliefs were painted, the dedication inscription, present on the south facade, was never carved on the northern one, although the surface of the blocks had been prepared accordingly (Lacau and Chevrier [1977–79] 259).

86. Dorman (1988) 50–55, pls. 2–4; Van Siclen (1989).

87. Carlotti (1995) 152. For a discussion of the date of the Red Chapel's dismantling, see Laboury (1998a) 541–42.

88. See nn. 69 and 75 in this chapter.

89. Legrain (1904).

90. Personal communication, for which I would like to thank L. Gabolde. For arguments supporting this view, see Laboury (1998a) 32–34. For the text itself, see n. 91 in this chapter.

91. *Ibid.*, 526, figs. 290–91.

92. *Urk.* IV.166–70. For an extensive analysis of this part of the text, see Laboury (1998a) 547–51.

93. *Urk.* IV.166.10; 169.13; and 170.17 in the following part of the text.

94. *Urk.* IV.167.15–169, 7.

95. *Ibid.*, 167.1–14.

96. *Ibid.*, 169.8–14.

97. *Ibid.*, 169.1–2, to be compared to the archaeological evidence (Barguet [1962] 126–27).

98. *Urk.* IV.745.11–4, and 1251–75 (Gardiner [1952]).

99. See among other evidence, the presence of obelisks of the queen at the east side of Akh Menu around the Eastern Sanctuary and enclosed in the girdle wall of Thutmose III (Varille [1950] 140–42). For a thorough analysis of this problem, see Laboury (1998a) 551–68,

awaiting the forthcoming publication of the surviving blocks of this monument by L. Gabolde.

100. Lauffray (1969) 179, 184, 191, 194.
101. Von Beckerath (1981) 41–49. For a new, annotated translation of this text, see Laboury (1998a) 562–68.
102. Von Beckerath (1981) 42, lgl. 5–6. This assertion is probably accurate, since archaeological and epigraphic evidence converge to suggest that the monument of Hatshepsut, probably the Netjery Menu, was not exactly at the location of Akh Menu but just to the east of it. See Laboury (1998a) 552–54 and the forthcoming publication of L. Gabolde; for another view, see Niedziółka (2000).
103. This is very clear from the program of actions for Amun (*Urk.* IV.162–65) and the long list of royal benefactions for the god in the Text of the Youth (166–77), as well as from the exceptionally important building activity of the king in Karnak at the beginning of his autonomous reign.
104. Gabolde (1989: 176), wrote that the reign of the queen “avait dû plus ou moins ternir” the legitimacy of the king.
105. The expression is borrowed from the description of Amenhotep II’s attitude toward his father by Manuelian (1987: 216).
106. For instance, some reliefs in the small temple of Medinet Habu, where the great queen accompanying the king is no longer Satiah, as in Akh Menu (Barguet [1962] 182) but Meryetre-Hatshepsut (PM II² 469 [46–47], 472 [72–73]), who outlived her husband. For some of these reliefs, see Laboury (1998a) 576–77, while awaiting the forthcoming publication of the temple by the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
107. *Urk.* IV.188.15–189.15.
108. *Ibid.*, 180.10–2.
109. *Ibid.*, 647–756 (the so-called Annals).
110. *Ibid.*, 60.1.
111. Caminos (1998) 14, pls. 20, 23–27, 38–41, 48–50, 57–59. Hatshepsut seems to have been represented only twice in the monument, in two secondary scenes that might not have been part of the original decoration and whose reliefs were unfortunately recarved many times (78, 79–84, pls. 38 and 42–43; see also the recent commentary in Dorman [1988] 20–22). About the regency period, see also chapter 2 in this volume.
112. Caminos (1998) 14, 43–44, pl. 25.
113. L. Gabolde (forthcoming). For some pictures, see Forbes (1994) and Callender (1995–96) 19 and cover.
114. Gabolde and Rondot (1996).
115. This structure will be soon published by Gabolde, who studied all the relevant blocks. Some of these have already been reproduced: Chevrier (1934) 172, pl. 4; idem (1955) 40, pl. 22; Grimm (1983). While waiting for the complete publication of this monument by Gabolde, probably to be identified with the Netjery Menu mentioned in the texts of the first part of Thutmose III’s reign, see Laboury (1998a) 552–61.
116. Tefnin (1979) 37–70, 121–28, 139–45, pls. 8–9, 14–16, 30–31a.
117. For the duration of the regency of Hatshepsut, see Dorman (1988) 18–45.
118. PM II², 281; Tefnin (1979) 148, n. 3; Vandersleyen (1993) 262, n. 17; Müller Arch. II/2021–23 (= card 40); Laboury (1998a) 212–15.
119. Chappaz (1993) 97.
120. In fact, the proportions of the appearances of Thutmose III with regard to those of

Hatshepsut on the monuments of the coregency might vary between 10 and 20 percent (Laboury [1998a] 591, n. 1747), and the king is usually absent from the decorations made at the very beginning of the coregency (see, e.g., Gabolde and Rondot [1996] 214). We will come to understand why in the following pages.

121. Caminos (1968) 51, 56–58, pls. 17, 21–22.
122. Mysliwiec (1976) 141, figs. 44, 51–60, 62, 66–71, 73–75, 78, 82, 86; Tefnin (1979), pl. 17; Schoske (1990) 81–93, pls. 15–23. The accuracy of the stylistic correspondence between statues and reliefs is amply demonstrated by the analysis presented in the previous pages.
123. Tefnin (1979). The evolution drawn by Tefnin has been questioned by Letellier (1981: cols. 305–8) and Dorman (1985: cols. 299–300, and 1988: 41, 112). For a critical examination of the validity of Tefnin's theory, cf. Laboury (1998a) 592–608 (the conclusion of this analysis is that there is no other way to explain coherently the diversity and characteristics of the queen's statuary).
124. Gabolde, cited in Vandersleyen (1995a) 275.
125. Chevrier (1955), pl. 22; Grimm (1983), pl. 1. This situation is to be compared with that exemplified by the Semneh temple, erected during year 2 (see n. 111 in this chapter), and by a stela of year 5 from Serabit el-Khadim (Gardiner, Peet, and Černý [1952–55], no. 175, pl. 56).
126. Vandersleyen (1995a: 265, n. 2) explains that “Selon L. Gabolde, sur 52 documents antérieurs à Hatshepsout-roi, ce titre apparaît 42 fois, alors que le titre de ‘grande épouse royale’ ou ‘épouse royale’ n’apparaît que 25 fois.” Since the god's wife was allowed to act in front of the divinity (on this function, see Gitton and Leclant [1977], cols. 799–812; and Gitton [1984]), it is very plausible that Hatshepsut used this title and function as a springboard to the kingship. Besides, the queen's coronation is described as follows: “It is in order that she wears the [insignia (*hkr.w*)] of Re, the Southern crown being united to the Northern one on her head, that the crowns (*ha.w*) of the God's wife were laid aside” (Lacau and Chevrier [1977–79] 116).
127. Robins (1990) 218.
128. *Urk.* IV, 396–97; PM V, 248; Habachi (1957) 92–96; Dorman (1988) 115–16. The epithet *hmt.t-Imn* is introduced in the cartouche of the queen before her accession to the throne, since it might appear with the god's wife title (Hayes [1959] 80, fig. 43 [middle, MMA 26.7.1437]), unless the latter title was kept in use for some time after the coronation, but this does not seem very plausible. It is also probably because of her function as a god's wife that Hatshepsut was said to be “united with Amun.”
129. Chevrier (1934) 172, pl. 4; Gardiner, Peet, and Černý (1952–55), no. 177, pl. 56. Some anomalies in the queen's titulary in the latter scene (the *Ny-Swt.t Bity* title before the nomen, the prenomen after the nomen, the expression ‘*nh.ti*’ following both cartouches) suggest that the assumption of kingship was very recent if they are not the result of a recarving after the coronation (for such recarving, see n. 139 in this chapter).
130. Chevrier (1934) 172, pl. 4.
131. Tefnin (1979) 37–40, 49–70, 121–28, 139–45, pls. 8–9.
132. *Ibid.*, 121–28, 139–45, pls. 30–31a. These sphinxes with yellow faces were in the first court of the temple, a fact that is inconsistent with the idea that this light color on the Osiride colossi mentioned earlier could have been due to their location “within the shadowy sanctuary” (Dorman [1988] 41).
133. *Ibid.*, 2–6, 19–31, 143 (n. 1), pl. 1a.
134. *Ibid.*, 6–11, 19–31, 139–46, pls. 1b–3a; Hayes (1959), fig. 55.
135. Müller (1953), figs. 7–8; Tefnin (1979) 11–16, 19–31, 139–46, pls. 3b–5.
136. Tefnin (1979) 41–43, 49–70, 139–46, pl. 10–11; Hayes (1959) fig. 50.

137. See nn. 125 and 128–29 in this chapter.
138. Tefnin (1979) 70.
139. Caminos (1974), pls. 65, 74, 82; Karkowski (1978) 76–81, figs. 9–11; Gabolde (1990), col. 640; Egberts (1995) 209, n. 16; Gabolde and Rondot (1996) 182, 214; Laboury (1998a) 598, n. 1783; These recarvings answer the question of Letellier (1981: col. 307), who wrote that “le conflit entre Hatshepsout-femme et Hatshepsout-pharaon” is yet to be demonstrated.
140. Tefnin (1979) 10, 14–16, 42–43, 66–70, 133, 139, 146.
141. *Ibid.*, 71–101, pls. 19–24; Hayes (1959), figs. 52–53.
142. Tefnin (1979) 44–70, pls. 12–13; Saleh and Sourouzian (1987), cover and no. 129.
143. Tefnin (1979) 47, 70, 168–69.
144. *Ibid.*, 66–67, 69, 143.
145. Hayes (1959) 121–23, fig. 63; Seipel (1992) no. 85; Laboury (1998a) 295–97.
146. Even though the nose is now broken, its root defines an angle sufficiently well preserved to state that it must have been prominent and curved—unless it resembled the famous nose of *Cyrano of Bergerac*, which has no parallel in ancient Egyptian statuary.
147. Laboury (1998a) 530, 611, 650 and *passim* in the catalog.
148. CG 578; Hornemann (1951–69) no. 670; Müller (1953) 70, 73, 76, fig. 6; PM II², 281; Fay (1995) 12–13, pls. 2(a, c) and 3(a); photo Marburg 155022 a; Müller Arch. I/842 (= card 40); Laboury (1998a) 208–11.
149. Müller (1953) 72–73, 76; Krieger (1960) 44–46; Friedman (1958) 4. Fay (1995: 12–13) proposed to compare CG 578 with the Senenmut’s statue British Museum EA 174; since on this latter sculpture, Hatshepsut is still called god’s wife, she assumed that both statues were made “during the short period between Tuthmosis III’s coronation and the assumption of the throne by his step-mother” and thus represent an alleged “coronation style” of Thutmose III (13). This theory of a very individualized coronation style for Thutmose III is in total contradiction to the evidence cited earlier about the royal portrait during the regency period (nn. 111–16 in this chapter). Moreover, the style of the Senenmut’s sculpture, indeed very close to that of CG 578, is also attested on other private sculptures undoubtedly made during the coregency, since the cartouches of both kings appear on them (see, e.g., British Museum EA 1131 of Inebny [James and Davies (1983) 63, fig. 69]). Finally, the title *nbt t3.wy* accompanying Hatshepsut’s name on British Museum EA 174 suggests a date very close to the coronation (Robins [1990] 218), and royal sculptures are obviously more precisely dated than private ones (Dorman [1988] 110ff.). So it seems very likely that the statue was promised to Senenmut, that its dedication inscription established when Hatshepsut was about to assume kingship, and that the sculpture was only completed when the second style was already in use, since the whole evolution was certainly very quick (Tefnin [1979] 66–67, 69, 143). For a more detailed discussion, see Laboury (1998a) 613–16.
150. Müller (1953) 73, n. 12; Priese (1991), no. 44.
151. Fay (1995) 12–13, pl. 2(b and d).
152. Tefnin (1979) 156; n. 147 in this chapter.
153. Tefnin (1979) 102–20, 139, 146, pls. 28–29(a).
154. *Ibid.*, 43.
155. See n. 153 in this chapter.
156. Schoske (1990); see also Laboury (1998a) 344–45.
157. Cf. Schoske (1990), pl. 16, and Tefnin (1979), pls. 13, 20–21, 23, for Hatshepsut’s portraits. Cf. Russmann (1990) 91 (40) and Laboury (1998a) 159, 162, 174, or fig. 7.2 of this chapter, for the statues of Thutmose III at the beginning of his independent reign.
158. Schoske (1990). From an ideological point of view, Chappaz has shown that during

this part of the reign the coregents might be considered as two complementary aspects of the royalty ([1993] 87–110).

159. She seems to have been the only ancient Egyptian reigning queen to have used such an iconographic fiction, according to Staehelin (1989).

160. Teeter (1990) 4.

161. Vandersleyen (1995) 276. For a detailed explanation of this opinion, see Chappaz (1993).

162. See n. 120 in this chapter.

163. See, for instance, Lacau and Chevrier (1977–79), pls. 7–9. On some rare occasions, Thutmose might be depicted alone in front of a divinity (pls. 3 [bl. 120], 7 [bl. 169], 8 [bls. 182 and 276], 10 [bls. 155, 174, 12, 108, 271]; Tefnin [1979] 56, n. 1).

164. Lacau and Chevrier (1977–79), pl. 11. Of course, the scenes on the eighth register (pl. 2) cannot be taken into consideration, since they were decorated by Thutmose III alone, after the death of the queen.

165. Murnane (1980a) 96.

166. *Urk.* IV.157.3.

167. Vandersleyen (1995a) 265, n. 3. On this monument, see nn. 98, 101, and 114 in this chapter.

168. Gabolde and Rondot (1996) 214.

169. For the precise date of these obelisks, see Laboury (1998a) 554–55.

170. Varille (1950) 140, pls. 5, 2; Laboury (1998a) 555, n. 1602.

171. Gabolde (1982–85).

172. See n. 113 in this chapter.

173. This monument is to be published soon by Gabolde, along with the one referred to in n. 114 in this chapter. Some of its blocks are now on display in the Luxor Museum (Karnak MPA 66, 87 CL 28–29, 87 CL 106, and MPA 481) and were commented on by Egberts (1995: 209, n. 16).

174. See n. 115 in this chapter.

175. Naville (1906), pl. 144. Thutmose II is also depicted in the sanctuary of the Buhen temple of Hatshepsut; see Caminos (1974), pl. 76.

176. Dreyer (1984). For the date of this statue, see Laboury (1998a) 626, n. 1890.

177. The monument itself seems to have been rededicated in the name of Thutmose II; see Delvaux (1988) 62 (n. nn), 66–67.

178. This attitude is to be compared with what Thutmose III did at the beginning of his autonomous reign vis-à-vis her former coregent.

179. See, for instance, the chapel reused at Karnak North, in Gabolde and Rondot (1996).

180. The reappearance of Thutmose III cannot have occurred later than year 12, since the first dated attestation of the cartouches of both kings, one beside the other, is an inscription of that year (Reineke [1977]).

181. In this process, the great people of the state could have played a role, since Dziobek (1995, 1998) has shown definitively that they could have a real influence on the king's policy.

182. See n. 159 in this chapter.

183. Müller (1953) 67–84; n. 61 in this chapter. On the evolution of the eyes in royal statuary of the Eighteenth Dynasty, see also Bryan (1987); and von Bothmer (1990).

184. Müller (1953) and Donadoni (1963) have suggested this. New ideological orientations (such as a certain deification of the king, as is, for example, the case for Amenhotep III and Akhenaten) might also have led to these iconographic formulas, almost haphazardly or at least without any intentional reference to Hatshepsut.

185. For a detailed comparison between the mummy and the statues of Thutmose III, see Laboury (1998a) 647–52. About the authenticity of the mummy CG 61068 as Thutmose III's, see Laboury (1997).

186. As Assmann (1991a: 138ff.) has brilliantly shown, the concept of resemblance in the ancient Egyptian mentality was different from the very restrictive one of our twentieth-century occidental civilization. For a thorough analysis of the question of whether the statues of Thutmose III can be or were considered by his contemporaries to be portraits, see Laboury (1998a) 653–55.

187. See n. 2 in this chapter.

188. For the theology of the ancient Egyptian image and its cultural signification, see Assmann (1991b) 50–63; and Laboury (1998b).

189. For a more detailed study of this important aesthetic implication of the evolution of the ruler's statuary, see Laboury (1998a) 653–55.

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PLATES

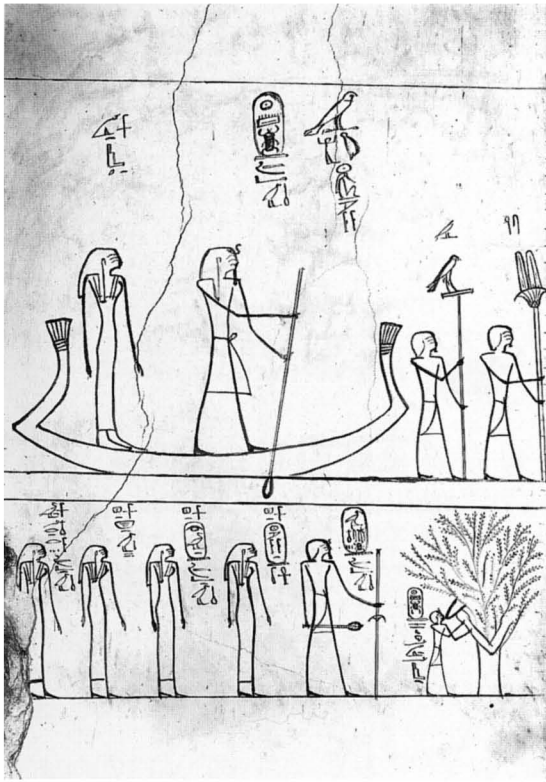


Figure 6.19. Vignettes on the north face of pillar I in the burial chamber of KV 34. (Photograph by Harry Burton. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Egyptian Art.)

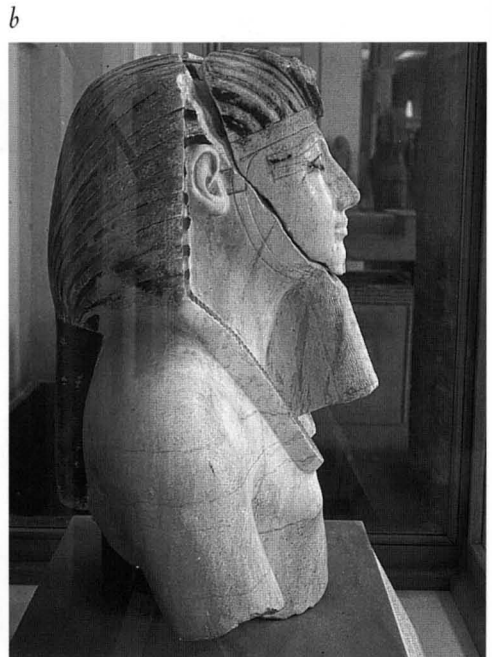
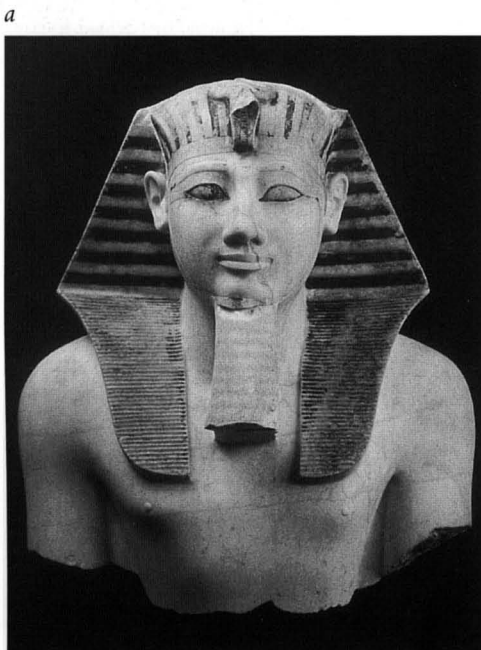


Figure 7.1. Cairo Egyptian Museum JE 90237 (mask) (a) and New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.230.3 (bust) (b) from Djoser Akhet, Thutmose III. Last twelve years of the reign. Front view after *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht* [Mainz, 1987] 187; profile view. (Photograph by Dimitri Laboury.)



Figure 72. Cairo Egyptian Museum CG 42053, from the “Karnak Cachette,” but initially in the Akh Menu. Thutmose III. Second half of the third decade of the reign. (a) Front view after Müller Arch. II/1454. (b) Profile view. (Photograph by Dimitri Laboury.)



Figure 73. Cairo Egyptian Museum RT 14/6/24/11, from Karnak. Thutmose III. Regency period, first seven years of the reign (?) (a) Front view after Müller Arch. II/2022. (b) Profile view after Müller Arch. II/2023.

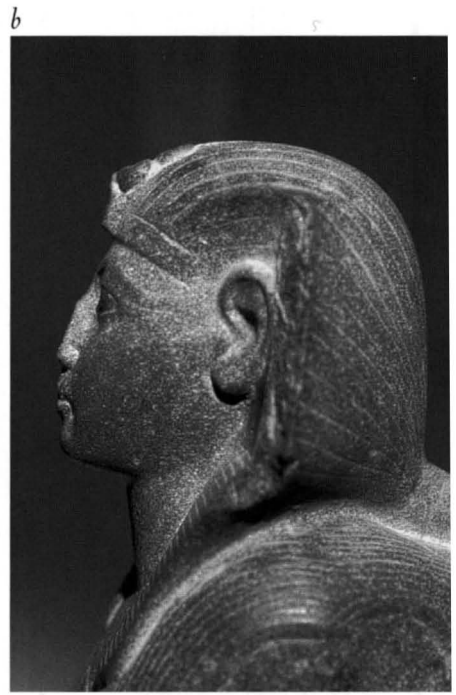
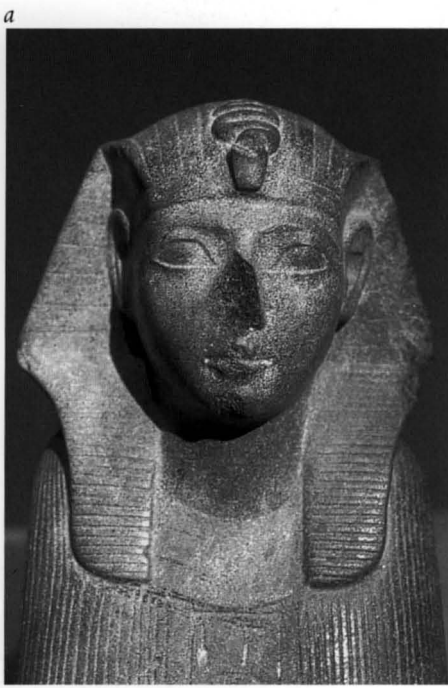


Figure 7.4. New York Metropolitan Museum of Art o8.202.6, from Karnak (?). Thutmose III. Beginning of the coregency with Hatshepsut, between year 7 and year 12 of the reign. (a) Front view. (b) Profile view. (Photographs by Dimitri Laboury.)

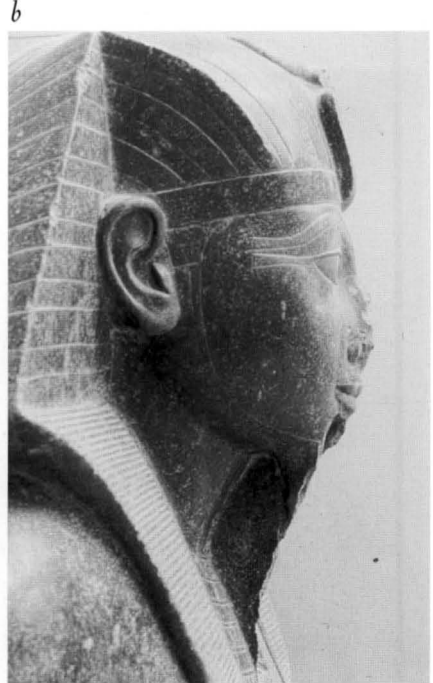


Figure 7.5. Cairo Egyptian Museum CG 578, from Karnak. Thutmose III. Beginning of the coregency with Hatshepsut, between year 7 and year 12 of the reign. (a) Front view. (b) Profile view. (Photographs by Dimitri Laboury.)