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THE THEBAN WORKSHOP

# Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut

*edited by*

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# How and Why Did Hatshepsut Invent the Image of Her Royal Power?

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## Introduction

Pharaoh Hatshepsut is indubitably one of the most debated characters of ancient Egyptian history. The nature of her royal power and the significance of her assumption of the throne seem to have become nowadays the subjects of endless discussions and controversies, often contaminated by the modern reception of her reign and the preconceived ideas or ideological orientations of the commentators.<sup>1</sup> The dispute about the interpretation of Hatshepsut's reign can be summarized by two basic issues: on the one hand, the masculine iconography of the queen during most of her reign, and on the other hand, her relationship with Thutmose III on a political level.

Both issues can — and actually must — be addressed through the investigation of the iconography of the reigning queen, through the analysis of the political discourse expressed by the official iconography of the central power of that time. Indeed, both are fundamentally iconographical issues, that is, matters that were managed by Hatshepsut on an iconographical level and directly related to the official image of the royal power. Thus, even if she decided to be depicted on the walls of her newly built temples as a male king, there is absolutely no doubt that Hatshepsut appeared during the inspection or the inauguration of those monuments with the guise and garments of a female pharaoh. Likewise, when her young coregent, King Thutmose III, was represented — or not — participating in the exercise of the cult behind her, it does not mean at all that such was the actual situation in the temples, nor that they were ruling Egypt together, side by side, as is usually inferred. So it is clearly the official image of the power, and not the reality of the actual political situation — and in such matters, it might be even more interesting to know and investigate what was meant, instead of what really was. Moreover, given the very nature of Egyptological material (mainly derived from temples or more or less sacred monuments, without any proper historical records), the analysis of this ideological discourse in images constitutes almost our only means to address that kind of historical and political question. And ultimately, it also offers a magnificent opportunity to demonstrate that sometimes, and quite often in ancient history, and especially in ancient Egyptian history, history can be made out of art.<sup>2</sup>

In this context, the aim of the present article is to examine how Hatshepsut gradually constructed the image of her kingly authority, where she found sources of inspiration, and when and how changes did occur. And, as usual, the question of how will lead us to the question of why.

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<sup>1</sup> For this Hatshepsut's *Rezeption* history within the history of Egyptology, see, notably, Keller in Roehrig 2005, pp. 294–97; Dorman 2001; Laboury 1998, pp. 623–24; Chappaz 1993, p. 87; Teeter 1990; and Dorman 1988, pp. 1–17.

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<sup>2</sup> For this perspective, see Laboury 1998, as well as the pioneering work of Tefnin 1979.

## The Necessity of a Diachronic Approach

Both addressed issues, namely the masculine iconography of Hatshepsut during most of her reign and her relationship with Thutmose III on a political level, need to be considered from a diachronic point of view.

It is indeed clearly indisputable that the official image of King Hatshepsut evolved from a purely female iconography to a definitely masculine one. There is of course not a single doubt about the actual femininity of the queen who was married to the male king Thutmose II and gave birth to their daughter, Princess Neferura. She started her kingly career as a female sovereign, consistently and systematically depicted and referred to as a female sovereign (i.e., with royal titulary and traditional regalia, but also with female dress and anatomy),<sup>3</sup> whereas on every late monument of her reign (and, in fact, on the majority of her royal productions), she appeared as a male pharaoh, with no more iconographical hint of her sexual identity and mixed feminine and masculine titles, epithets, and pronouns. As R. Tefnin was able to demonstrate (1979),<sup>4</sup> her statuary evolved gradually in the sense of a progressive and irreversible masculinization, and the same holds true for two-dimensional representations. For instance, in the sanctuary of her “temple of millions of years” at Deir el-Bahari, that is, in the earliest decorated part of this monument, a set of reliefs depicted the queen as Pharaoh Maatkara, in full regalia, including the royal kilt (and consequently a bare chest), and with a merely allusively feminine anatomy: with slender arms<sup>5</sup> and legs and a faint but nonetheless still perceptible female breast, all painted in pink-like light ochre, so a tone halfway between the traditional yellow for women and red for men (fig. 5.1). Later on, those figures were repainted in dark red, probably during Hatshepsut’s own reign, as A. Ćwiek convincingly suggested.<sup>6</sup> Such slender androgynous images of the reigning queen are also visible in the relief decoration of the temple of Buhen in Nubia, but here, in at least two cases, they were clearly recut from older female depictions wearing dresses, though with unusually elongated stride (fig. 5.2:a).<sup>7</sup> And wherever it has been possible to identify representations of Hatshepsut altered by herself during her own reign, the modifications always go in the same direction: from a female figure toward a masculinized iconography (fig. 5.2), and never the other way around.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, this evolution “from female to male” is only one aspect — indubitably the most obvious one — of a global iconographical metamorphosis that involved a very patent and absolutely systematic physiognomic evolution, attested on different types of statues of various kinds of material and sizes, as well as on two-dimensional representations.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See a fragmentary symmetrical scene from Karnak (Chevrier 1934, p. 172, pl. 4), a graffito in Sinai (Gardiner, Peet, and Ćerný 1952–55, no. 177, pl. 56), the seated statues MMA 30.3.3 and 29.3.3 (Tefnin 1979, pp. 1–36, pls. 1–3a; Roehrig 2005, fig. 65 and cat. no. 95), all made when Hatshepsut had already — but recently — assumed fully royal titulary (see below, section 2.3.1), as well as the monuments analyzed below, in section 2.2 of this article, dating to the end of the regency period.

<sup>4</sup> For a complete reassessment of his demonstration, which proved to be the only defensible one, see Laboury 1998, pp. 592–608.

<sup>5</sup> The significance of this detail for the queen is demonstrated by the clearly visible enlargement of her stature on secondarily masculinized reliefs, such as the one illustrated in fig. 5.2b.

<sup>6</sup> On those reliefs, see the recent and thorough study of Ćwiek 2007. They were already singled out in the middle of the previous century by Gilbert 1953. Whether the original color of these figures is to be described as orange or pink seems quite insignificant, since it technically consists of a mixture of red ochre and calcium carbonate (Ćwiek 2007, p. 8) and thus clearly constitutes a voluntarily lighter variant of red ochre, traditionally used for men, and a variant distinct from the yellow ochre for — normal — women.

<sup>7</sup> For the other scenes where Hatshepsut caused her own self-depictions to be modified, see Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 20, 26, 38, 49, 61, 68, 77, and 82; Karkowski 1978; Laboury 1998, p. 606.

<sup>8</sup> For other examples from the monument illustrated in fig. 5.2b, see Gabolde 2005, pp. 100–22, pls. 35–37. In their publication of another shrine decorated at the very beginning of Hatshepsut’s assumption of truly royal power (see below, section 2.3.1), L. Gabolde and V. Rondot noted that the only surviving representation of the queen, with *atef*-crown and masculine stature, resulted from the rework of a previous relief, adding that “L’aspect original de la reine est difficile à retrouver sous la modification et les martelages” (Gabolde and Rondot 1996, p. 182). A close examination of the block in question in the open-air Museum of Karnak nevertheless revealed clear remains of yellow pigment in the incisions of the carved face of the reigning queen, indicating that she was originally depicted as a woman. As Gabolde suggested (Gabolde 2005, pp. 17, 131), the unaltered female representations of Hatshepsut on official monuments (i.e., excluding the expeditions’ graffiti, like in Sinai or in the quarries of Aswan) were probably not masculinized because the buildings on which they appeared were dismantled before the queen decided to be depicted as a male pharaoh.

<sup>9</sup> See above, n. 4, and below, sections 2.3.2–3 of the present article.



Figure 5.1. Depiction of Hatshepsut offering to Amun in androgynous guise, in the first scene of the southern wall of the second room in the main sanctuary of her temple at Deir el-Bahari (author's photo; courtesy of the Polish-Egyptian Mission of the Temple of Hatshepsut)

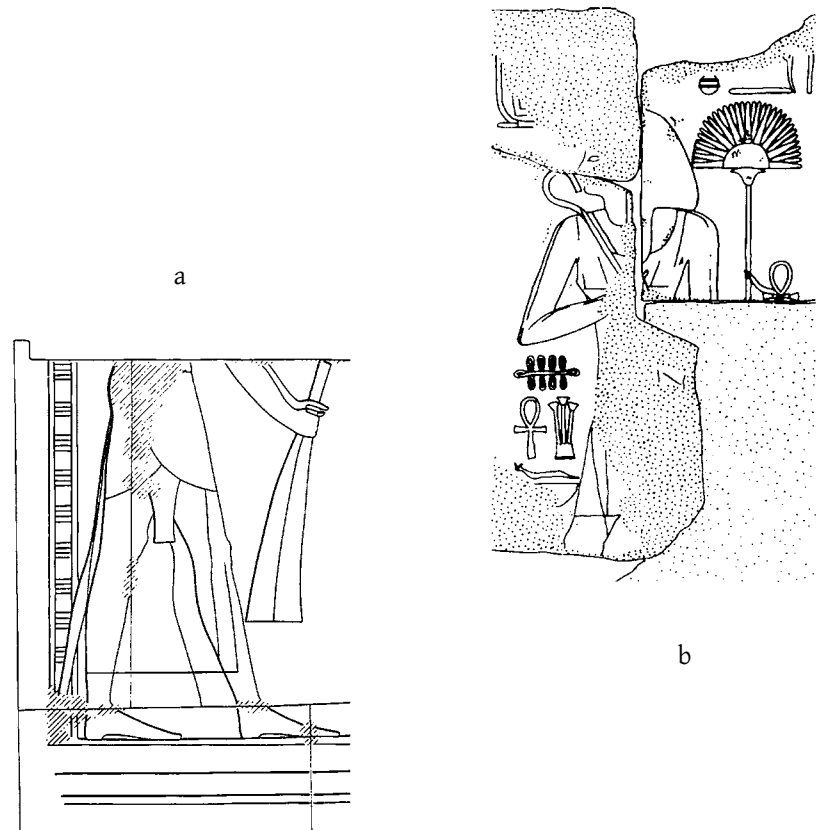


Figure 5.2. Reliefs depicting Hatshepsut originally represented as a woman and later masculinized, in the inner sanctuary of the southern temple of Buhen and on the upper register of the northern external wall of her Tura limestone bark shrine at Karnak (a: after Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pl. 82; b: after Gabolde 2005, pl. 36)

Regarding the political relationship between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, as E. Teeter (1990, p. 4) wrote, “In the course of the last half-century, many historians have painted the queen with a brush evoking images of a wicked stepmother and an overly ambitious, scheming woman” who took advantage of the youth of her royal nephew. Nowadays, this historiographic trend seems to be reversed, and there is a clear tendency to focus on or at least to stress the “politically correct” attitude of the reigning queen vis-à-vis her young nephew and coregent.<sup>10</sup> The main argument used to support this new conception of the relationship between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III is the fact that “on monuments of the time they frequently appear together as twin male rulers distinguished only by position (Hatshepsut usually takes precedence) or, occasionally, by regalia” (fig. 5.3) (Keller in Roehrig 2005, p. 96).<sup>11</sup> If we just consider this purely iconographical issue

<sup>10</sup> This inversion in the appraisal of Hatshepsut by Egyptologists is well emphasized by the title of Dorman's 2001 article, “Hatshepsut: Wicked Stepmother or Joan of Arc?” For this new trend, see, among other references, Teeter 1990; Dorman 2001 and 2006; the different contributions in Roehrig, ed., 2005; V. Davies 2004; Vandersleyen 1995, p. 276, who comments on what he calls “la correction du comportement de la reine”; and Chappaz 1993.

<sup>11</sup> For a good example of this reading, see V. Davies 2004. Another argument, notably used by P. Dorman (2001), is the late date of the proscription or *damnatio memoriae* of Hatshepsut, ordered by Thutmose III some twenty years after his aunt's disappearance, a fact that, indeed, “does not easily support the idea of personal

and long-anticipated revenge on the part of the younger king against his stepmother, whatever the degree of her wickedness. Vengeance will not easily abide a delay of two decades” (Dorman 2001, p. 2). But if vengeance cannot be the real or the sole motive for Hatshepsut's posthumous persecution (for an interpretation of this *damnatio memoriae* within the broader policy of Thutmose III during the last dozen of years of his reign, see Laboury 1998, pp. 483–512; for a summary in English, see Laboury 2006, pp. 263–66), it does not imply at all that the queen would have necessarily been kind, protective, or even politically correct vis-à-vis her young nephew during the coregency. A political rather than an emotional reason seems to be more appropriate to explain such a context.

— without any assessment of the historical conclusions that are usually inferred from them — a few details need to be heeded. First of all, when both coregents are depicted together, Hatshepsut always precedes her nephew,<sup>12</sup> even if he was chronologically the first king of the reigning couple, crowned almost seven years before his aunt. During the coregency, in a sequence of ritual scenes, Thutmose III could, sporadically, appear alone in front of the gods<sup>13</sup> — in complementary but inequitable distribution with Hatshepsut<sup>14</sup> — but he was systematically excluded from images of strong political significance, such as coronation scenes (fig. 5.4)<sup>15</sup> — as he was from dedicatory inscriptions.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, from a simply statistical point of view, she was depicted (or referred to in monumental inscriptions) much more often than her royal nephew, appearing in temple decoration approximately four times more frequently than her young coregent<sup>17</sup> and, therefore, fundamentally incarnating the image of the royal power of the time. As a matter of fact, even on a strictly iconographical level, the so-called sharing of kingship imagery, so much emphasized by commentators in the last years, was plainly more apparent than actual. But, above all, it is characteristic for the second — and longest — part of the coregency; and evidence from the first phase of Hatshepsut's reign clearly demonstrate that this was not the official image of the royal power when the regent queen decided to assume full kingship.

Thus, on some blocks of a monument from Karnak initiated in the name of King Thutmose III during the regency, L. Gabolde has found titularies of the boy sovereign that were erased and replaced by those of Hatshepsut or Thutmose II, obviously by order of the queen (figs. 5.5 and 5.14; Gabolde 2005, pp. 10–13). According to the iconography of these blocks, this tentative eviction — or at least obliteration — occurred during the transition from the regency to the real reign of Hatshepsut (for further details, see below, section 2.2). Moreover, in their study of a shrine of Hatshepsut reused at Karnak North, one of the few monuments

<sup>12</sup> Vanessa Davies (2004, pp. 62–63) suggests, “Because of the conventions of Egyptian art, a scene showing one king behind the other could be intended to indicate that they were positioned side by side,” concluding that “these scenes accentuate equality rather than the dominance of one partner over the other.” But in such a hypothesis, how can one explain that it is always the same one who was depicted in front of the other and that the latter was four times less represented than the former? (See below.)

<sup>13</sup> Among the hundreds of royal depictions that survived from the coregency down to us, V. Davies (2004, p. 62) was able to gather forty-two scenes that display Thutmose III alone, which constitute 62 percent of the total number of representations of Hatshepsut's young coregent (72 occurrences). To gauge the ratio of Thutmose III's images to those of Hatshepsut at that time, we can consider the case of the so-called *Chapelle Rouge* from Karnak (see the new and sumptuous publication of this monument, Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1): out of the 226 royal figures preserved from this monument that surely date back to Hatshepsut's kingship (i.e., excluding the last — mostly upper — scenes that were made at the very beginning of Thutmose III's sole reign), 201 depict the reigning queen, whereas only twenty-five are in the name of her royal nephew (i.e., ca. 11%), among which ten (i.e., ca. 0.5%) are to be found in scenes where Thutmose III is represented alone in front of a deity.

<sup>14</sup> See, for instance, the sequencing or the rhythm of appearances of each coregent in the depiction of the Opet procession on the third course — or register — of the southern external wall of the *Chapelle Rouge* (Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1, pp. 46–53) or in the set of offering scenes of the fourth and sixth registers of the same wall, where, despite the fragmentary state of preservation of the courses in question, it is usual to encounter three figures of Hatshepsut before finding one of Thutmose III (ibid., pp. 56–58, 68–73). In other rather well-preserved sections of the decoration of this chapel, like in the second, third, fifth, and sixth registers of the southern internal wall of the vestibule, almost completely preserved, every royal figure is

labeled Hatshepsut (ibid., pp. 173–77, 179–83); and in the sanctuary of the monument, everything is in the name of the reigning queen, except the latter additions completed after her demise by her ex-coregent, namely the last or eighth register and the blocks belonging to the doorframes (ibid., pp. 197–258).

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, the seventh course — or register — of the external wall of the *Chapelle Rouge*, which comprises depictions of the offering of monuments to Amun and coronation scenes by the latter, all in the sole name of Hatshepsut; see Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1, pp. 76–84, 124–28. The two coronation scenes of Thutmose III, on top of equivalent depictions with Hatshepsut, on the eighth course of the western façade of the *Chapelle Rouge*, were made, like the decoration of the doors and the upper levels of the monument, at the very beginning of Thutmose III's sole reign (ibid., pp. 7, 12–13, 140–41; Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 64–65).

<sup>16</sup> See, for instance, for various kinds of monuments, *Urk.* IV 294, 301–02, 312–13, 356–74, 381–91; Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1, pp. 46–52; Dreyer 1984; Wallet-Lebrun 2009, pp. 67–77.

<sup>17</sup> For instance, on the complete and well-preserved northern obelisk of Hatshepsut in the *Wadjyt* of Karnak, there are twenty-six images of the reigning queen, eight of Thutmose III, and four of Thutmose I, which means that the young coregent was represented in 21 percent of the royal imagery of the monument (L.D. III, pls. 22–23). For the *Chapelle Rouge*, only partly preserved, see above, n. 13. For the *Djeser-djeseru* temple at Deir el-Bahari, see the remarks of Murnane 1977, p. 56 nn. 99–100, about the doorframes of the temple (42 mention the name of Hatshepsut/10 Thutmose III, i.e., ca. 19%); those of Tefnin 1979, p. 56 n. 1, about the pillars of the middle portico (18 pillars in the name of Hatshepsut/4 in the name of Thutmose III, i.e., ca. 18%); and now the complete iconographical analysis made by Sankiewicz 2011. Even on small and symmetrical surfaces to decorate, like doorframes or double or symmetrical scenes, the distribution of references to both coregents was far from being always balanced; see, e.g., Epigraphic Survey 2009, pls. 26–29, 31, 40–45, 58–71.

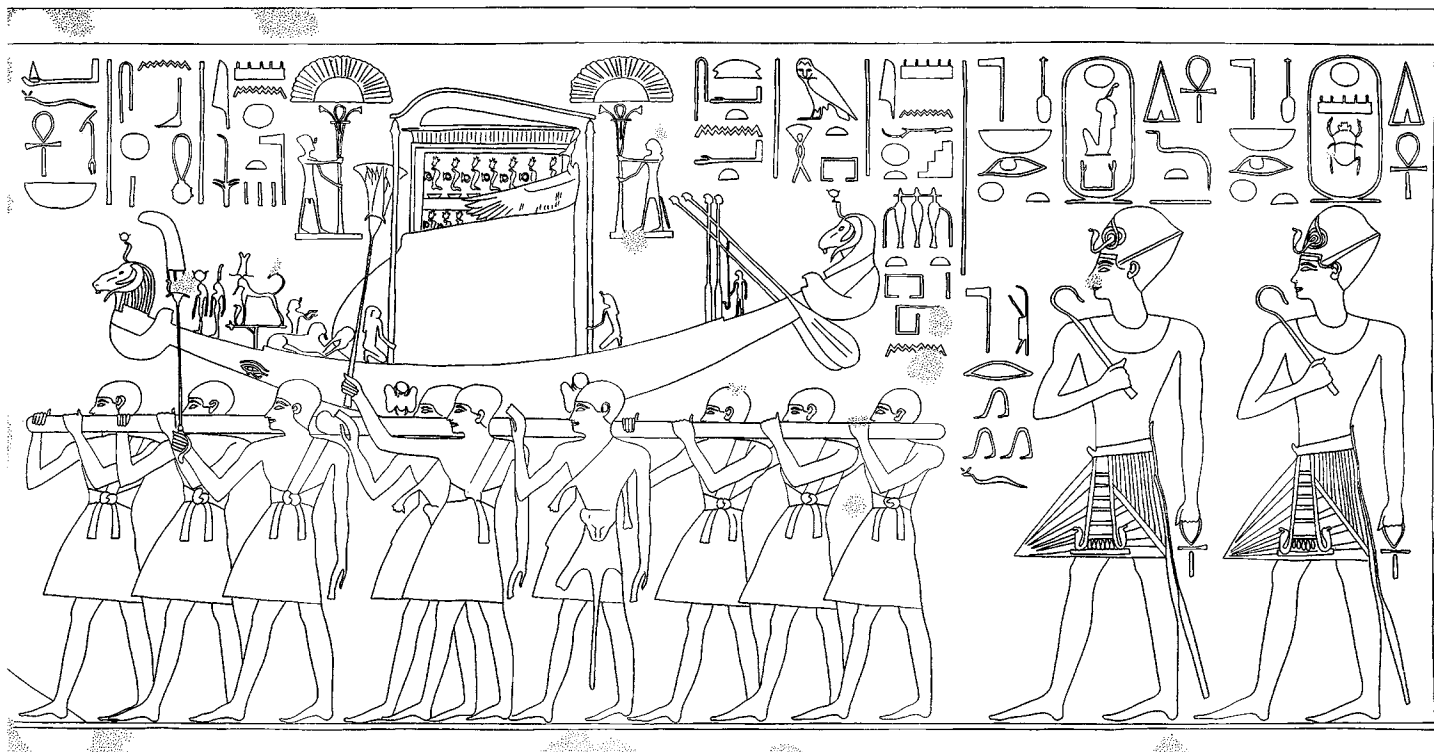


Figure 5.3. Representation of the procession of Opet with the portable bark of Amun followed by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III as coregents, on the third course of the southern external wall of the *Chapelle Rouge* at Karnak (block 26; after Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1, p. 51)

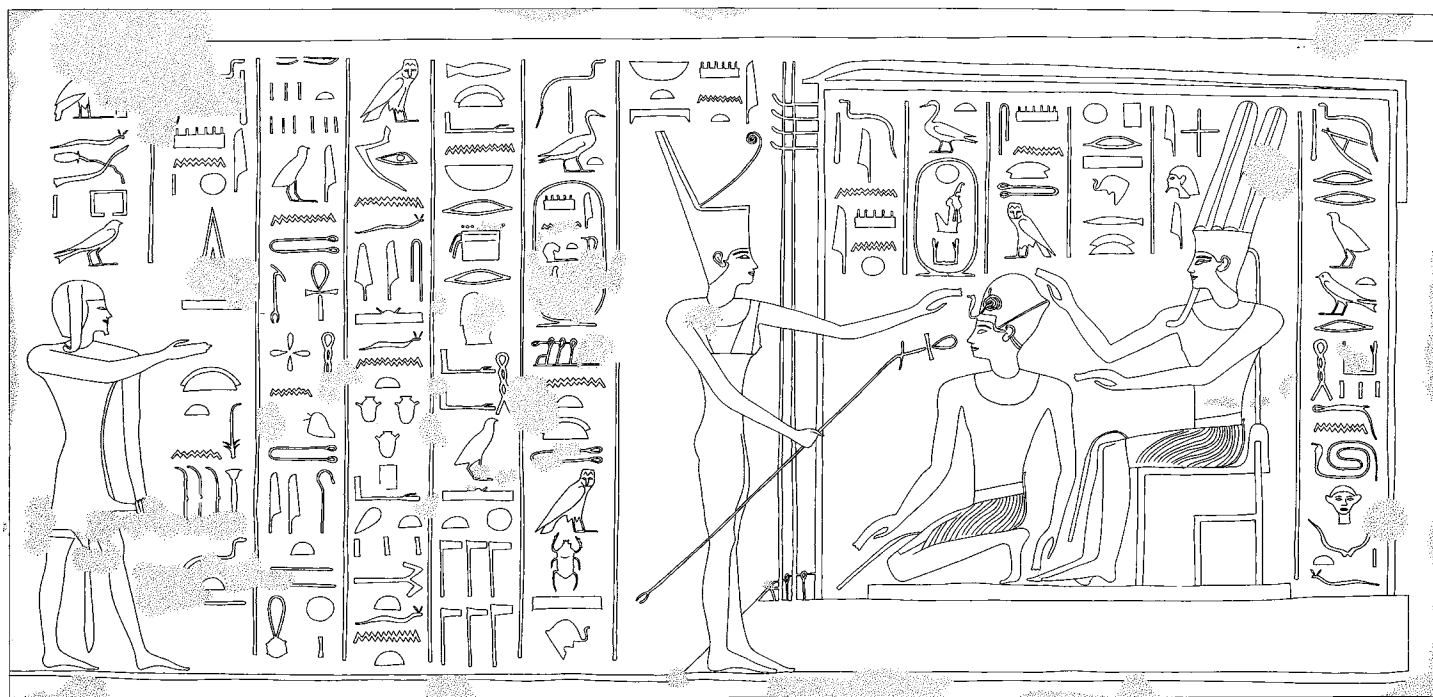


Figure 5.4. Coronation scene on the seventh register of the southern external wall of the *Chapelle Rouge* at Karnak (block 23; after Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1, p. 80)



whose decoration was surely completed just after the official assumption of full kingship by the regent queen, L. Gabolde and V. Rondot (1996, p. 214) emphasized the total absence of any reference to Thutmose III in the inscriptions and reliefs of that building:

Le décor de la chapelle (...) est encore remarquable dans la mesure où Thoutmosis III n'y est nulle part figuré ni même mentionné. La 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.<sup>18</sup>

The obelisks of Hatshepsut in the eastern part of Karnak, which were erected at the beginning of the queen's reign,<sup>19</sup> also exemplify this attitude vis-à-vis the boy-king, since blocks in the name of Thutmose II and Thutmose III were found reused in their foundations.<sup>20</sup> This epigraphic, iconographic, and archaeological evidence undoubtedly show that the so-called politically correct attitude of the reigning queen vis-à-vis her royal nephew and young coregent was some kind of window dressing and, even more importantly, that it resulted from a process of evolution.

The investigation of the official image of the royal power when Hatshepsut ruled Egypt thus clearly needs to be considered in a diachronic perspective.

## 2. The Chronological Development

### 2.1. The Regency

As is well known, the reign of Thutmose III started with a period of regency under the leadership of the widow of his father, the latter's half sister, Queen Hatshepsut. Given the apparent brevity of Thutmose II's reign, this situation was most probably induced by the young age of his heir.

Thutmose III was crowned on day 4 of the first month of *shemu*.<sup>21</sup> The event is alluded to in the biographical inscription displayed in the Theban tomb of one of the most powerful and favored courtiers of the time, "the director of the double granary of Amun, the director of all sealed items [i.e., the treasurer] in Amun's domain, the overseer of all works at Karnak, the mayor of Thebes," Ineni:<sup>22</sup>

Gone to heaven, he (King Thutmose II) united with the gods. His son stood in his place as king of the Double Land and it is upon the throne of the one who begat him that he assumed rulership, while his sister (the one of Thutmose II), the god's wife Hatshepsut, was conducting the affairs of the country, the Two Lands relying on her guidance. With Egypt in obeisance, one was working for her, the god's beneficent seed who has come forth before him (the god), the prow-rope of Upper Egypt, the mooring post of the southerners. It is (she who is) the excellent stern-rope of Lower Egypt, mistress of command, excellent of her counsels, the one who pleases the Two Banks when she talks. (*Urk.* IV 59, 13–60.11)

<sup>18</sup> More recently, L. Gabolde came back to this evidence and nuanced their assertion by underlining that Thutmose III was attested on the gate of the precinct in which the chapel might have stood (Gabolde 2005, p. 13 n. 19). But one has to note here that the connection between the blocks of the gate and those of the chapel under discussion is a pure hypothesis, inferred from a common context of reuse in Karnak North in the time of Amenhotep III. And moreover, in any case, those two monuments of Hatshepsut were definitely not made at the same time, since the figures of the queen were masculine from the beginning on the different parts of the gate (and especially the running figure on the lintel; see Gabolde and Rondot 1996, pp. 201, 206–08, 223, 225, 227), whereas those on the walls of the chapel needed to be masculinized in a second phase of decoration and are, thus, undoubtedly older.

<sup>19</sup> For the precise dating of these obelisks, see Laboury 1998, pp. 554–55.

<sup>20</sup> Varille 1950, pl. 5.2; Laboury 1998, p. 555 n. 1602; Gabolde 2005, pp. 78–80, 89–90, pls. 19 and 31.

<sup>21</sup> This date is established by four different and converging sources: the festival calendar at the end of the *Texte or Légende de la jeunesse*, at Karnak (*Urk.* IV 177); the coronation inscription of the king on the Seventh Pylon of the same site (*Urk.* IV 180.15); the account of the battle of Megiddo in the Annals, again in Amun's precinct at Karnak (*Urk.* IV 648.9); and a stela of the king from Buto (Bedier 1994, p. 50, fig. 5, pl. 6).

<sup>22</sup> On this personage, who was also the brother-in-law of the vizier Ahmose Aametju, see Dziobek 1992, and for his contextualization within his familial and professional network, see Shirley 2010b, and her contribution in this volume.

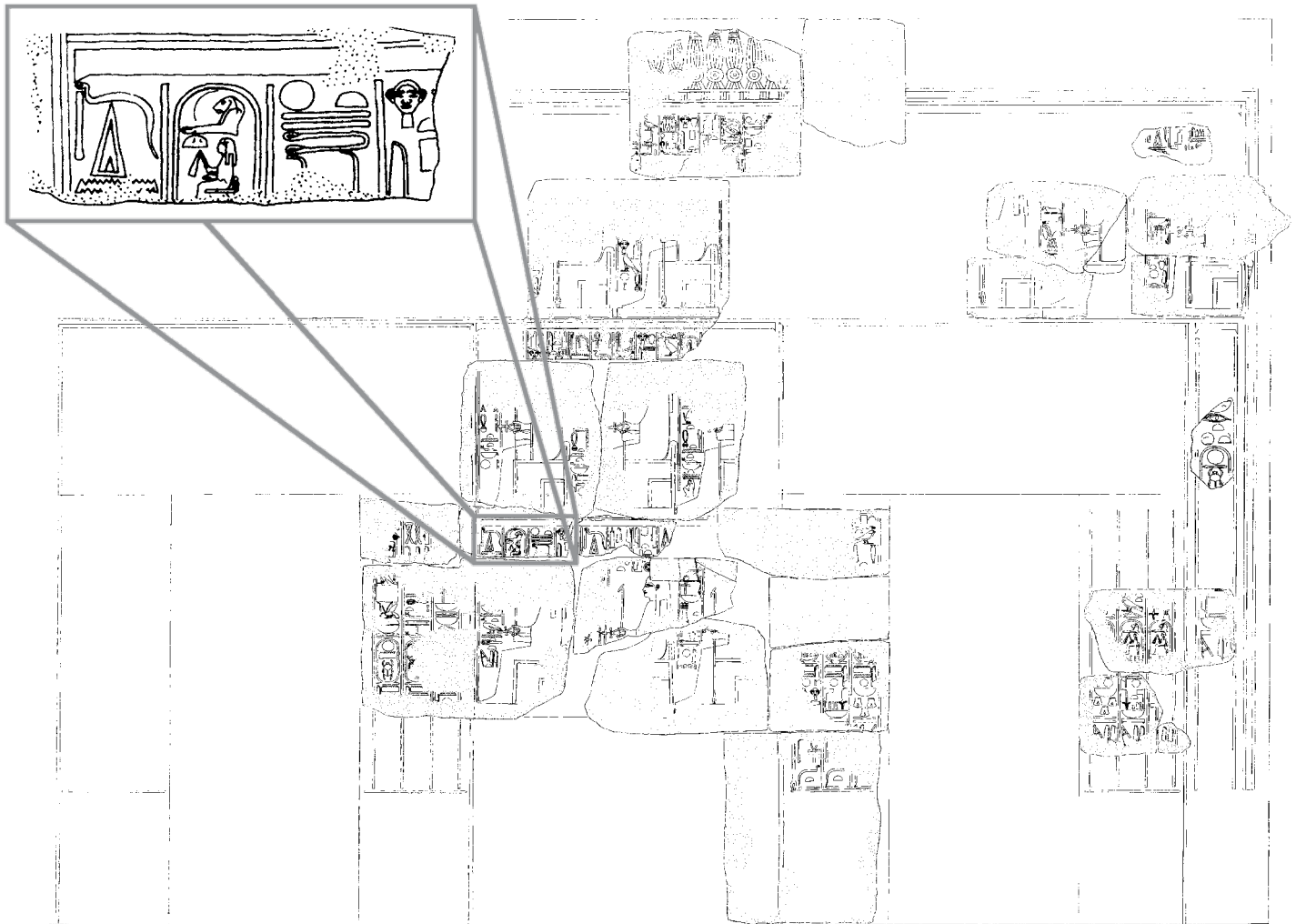


Figure 5.5. Detail of an inscription originally carved in the name of Thutmose III and later usurped for Hatshepsut still as regent, on an inner wall of the presumed *Netjery-menu* (after Gabolde 2005, pl. 16)

This extract is often taken as historical evidence that illustrates — if not demonstrates — the exceptional power the queen would have already enjoyed at the very beginning of Thutmose III's reign. Nonetheless, one has to bear in mind that it is part of a biographical text, whose focus is the tomb owner's life and achievements. Here, Ineni, who was closely tied to the royal household of his time, insists on Hatshepsut's authority because in the very next sentences he will deeply emphasize how much she rewarded him at what was to be the final stage of his long and fruitful career:

Her Majesty favored me, she got to love me, she got to know my excellence in the Palace, she enriched me with properties, she made me great and she filled my dwelling with silver and gold, with any beautiful linen from the King's House. (*Urk. IV 60.12–17*)

But moreover, this text is surely retrospective and was in all likelihood composed almost seven years after the events it recounts, since it quotes very specific passages of official eulogies that appeared on the queen's monuments when she was in the process of assuming full kingship.<sup>23</sup> Thus, on a block published by L. Habachi, that — as Gabolde and Rondot demonstrated — comes from a shrine erected by the queen when she was experimenting with her first attempts of really royal titulary, one can read the following description

<sup>23</sup> For the dating of this process, see below.

of Hatshepsut (*italics marking of the formulae common to both texts*) (fig. 5.6):<sup>24</sup>

[...] the protectress of Kamutef, *the [god's] beneficent seed who has come [before him]* [...] eternity, the one who makes the laws, *excellent of (her) counsels*, the divine [one] who has come from the god, the one who gives orders, the one [...] in fear, the Nubian land *in obeisance*, (for her) *the excellent prow-rope of Upper Egypt, the excellent stern-rope of [Lower Egypt ...]*.

If most of these epithets are quite frequent in royal – but not queenly – eulogies, the nautical metaphors of the “prow-rope of Upper Egypt” and “stern-rope of Lower Egypt” are really exceptional,<sup>25</sup> and their co-occurrence in such a context cannot be fortuitous, especially given the very close connection of Ineni to the royal power. So it is plain to see that this text pertains more to the situation when the queen had just become Pharaoh Maatkara or was about to do so (i.e., when the biography of Ineni was probably composed) than to the very beginning of the regency (i.e., to the time it alludes to) and thus cannot be used as a proof for an alleged exceptional authority Hatshepsut would have already enjoyed at the death of her husband. Quite the contrary, sources contemporaneous with the first years of the regency in the early reign of Thutmose III converge to give the impression that the boy-king was the nominal pharaoh, in whose name everything was officially done and ordered.

As Peter Dorman (2006, p. 42) noted,

The earliest document of the reign is a visitor's graffito from the Step Pyramid complex at Saqqara, left by one Ptahhotep, which begins “regnal year 1, fourth month of *akhet*, day 5, under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt *Mn-hpr-r'* (Thutmose III).” It then describes the king's benefactions in Thebes and concludes with Thutmose III's titulary, without mention of Hatshepsut. The graffito was inscribed only seven months into the new reign.<sup>26</sup>

The image of royal power that is given on a more official monument ordered six months later, on day 7 of the second month of *shemu* – so in the thirteenth month of the reign – is exactly the same. On this date, a royal command was issued to perpetuate divine offerings for the deified king Senwosret III on the site of modern Semna, in lower Nubia. The project consisted in building a small temple or shrine dedicated to the Middle Kingdom pharaoh and to the local god Dedwen, on one of the external walls of which the royal decree was immortalized (fig. 5.7):

Regnal year 2, second month of *shemu*, day 7, under the Majesty of the Horus “Victorious bull arising in Thebes,” the (one of the) Two-Ladies “Enduring of kingship,” the golden Horus “Holy of appearances,” beloved of Dedwen, foremost of Nubia, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperra, the son of Ra, Thutmose, given life. What was said in the Majesty of the Palace (life, prosperity and health)

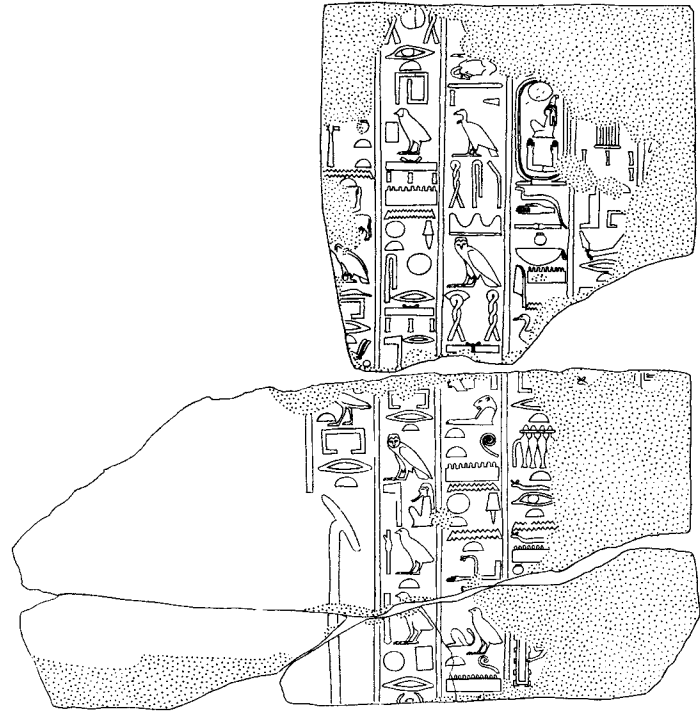


Figure 5.6. The so-called Labib Habachi block, from a chapel decorated in the name of Hatshepsut at Karnak just before her coronation (after Gabolde and Rondot 1996, p. 210)

<sup>24</sup> See Habachi 1957, pp. 101–04; Gabolde and Rondot 1996, pp. 196–67, 210–15; Gabolde 2005, pp. 141–44, 156–57, pl. 44.

<sup>25</sup> Gabolde (2005, p. 144) only mentions two more or less close parallels from the reign of Amenhotep III (*Urk. IV* 1649.16–17) and Sety I (Rondot 1997, pp. 28, 29 n. e, 53).

<sup>26</sup> For the graffito, see Firth and Quibell 1935, p. 80 (D); Navratilova 2007, pp. 85–86.



Figure 5.7. Decoration of the eastern external wall of the original temple of Thutmose III at Semna, with the foundation decree of the king (after Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pls. 24–27)

to the seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, unique friend, [king's] son and [overseer] of southern lands [Seni]:<sup>27</sup>

“Have the divine food offerings, which the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of ritual Khakaura (Senwosret III), the Horus divine of forms, made for all the gods [...] inscribed in the temple of his father, Dedwen, foremost of Nubia.” (Then follows a short panegyric of Senwosret's deeds for the gods.)

It was His Majesty (i.e., Thutmose III) who instituted those divine food offerings anew [... that] his [memory might endure (?)] in the house of his father Dedwen and in order that his name might be mentioned in the house of his father Khnum who opposes the bows, the smiter of bubals. (Then follows a description of the aforementioned offerings; Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pp. 43–47, pl. 25.)

It has sometimes been argued that the formulation “what was said in the Majesty of the Palace” might have been an euphemistic allusion to the fact that the boy-king Thutmose III was too young to give the order himself, implying that it was certainly issued in his name by regent queen Hatshepsut. However, as Dorman (2006, p. 43) underlined, “In any case, there is no mention or portrayal of Hatshepsut on this wall.” And, as a matter of fact, the text is absolutely explicit, beginning with the full five-name titulary of Thutmose III, just before the expression at issue, and reckoning the offerings for the deified Senwosret III and his wife, Queen Meretseger, after the sentence “It is His Majesty (Thutmose III) who instituted those divine food offerings (...) anew.”<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, on the entrance door (fig. 5.8), as well as on external and internal walls of the temple, on seven occasions, monumental inscriptions make perfectly clear that it is King Thutmose III “who has made” the monument (Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pls. 13, 20, 38, 40, 48, 57). So, the sentence “what was said in the Majesty of the Palace” appears as an elaborate or literary wording to introduce the royal command — after the full titulary of the king<sup>29</sup> — and should not be over-interpreted, whoever really gave the order to the king's son of Kush. Even if it seems very tempting or logical to think that such a command

<sup>27</sup> For the identification of the dignitary, see W. V. Davies 2008, pp. 46–47.

<sup>28</sup> The expression “anew” (*m m3w.t*) leaves absolutely no doubt regarding who “his Majesty” is, that is, Thutmose III and not Senwosret III, the original instigator of the Egyptian cult at

Semna to the local Nubian gods, as explained by the text itself; see above and Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pp. 43–44, pl. 25.

<sup>29</sup> Instead of the more traditional and usual infinitive form *rdi.t m hr n* (with the name of the dignitary in charge).

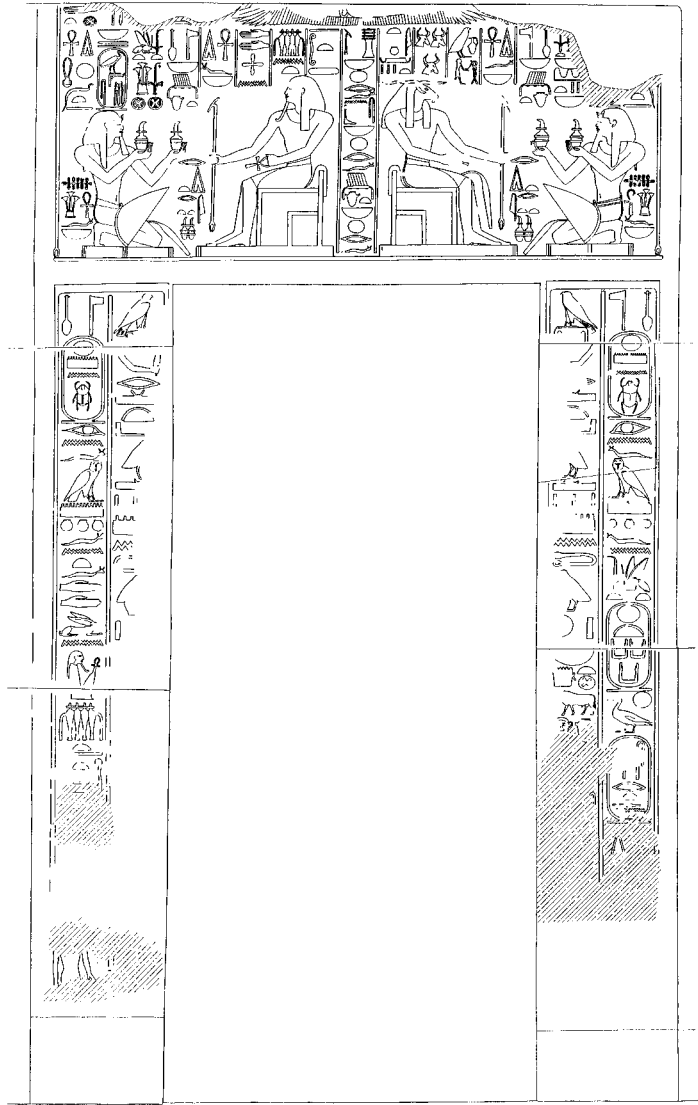


Figure 5.8. Façade doorframe of the original temple of Thutmose III at Semna, with dedication inscriptions in the name of the king (after Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pl. 20)

have brought her up. She is your [bodily] daughter. She made a monument for you and her reward from you is all health and all stability.”

It is also clear that, at some point, Hatshepsut was depicted under this last inscription, turned to the left — in front of the deified Senwosret III — and thus apparently attending the coronation of her young nephew.

This notable exception to the principle that structured the decoration of the temple — assigning the king’s role only to young Thutmose III — has sometimes been used as an argument to assert that, since the beginning of the regency, the queen could be represented on temple walls alone in front of the gods, almost like a king, that is, according to what was pharaoh’s prerogative in ancient Egyptian iconography.

The presence of Hatshepsut on this wall is, however, clearly secondary and resulted from an alteration of the original decoration of the temple. This is quite strongly suggested by the very content of both texts relating to the queen, which patently contradict all the other dedicatory inscriptions of the monument (see

was managed and issued by the regent queen, given the supposed young age of her royal nephew, the text does not make any allusion to such a situation and, on the contrary, offers an official version of the event that accords with the ideology of kingship and the fact that Thutmose III was the nominal king.

Though the temple of Semna was subjected to different modifications through time,<sup>30</sup> it is clear that its original decoration was made in the sole name of the boy-king Thutmose III: in every scene or inscription from this first stage in the history of the monument, the young pharaoh appears as the only interlocutor of the gods (including the deified Senwosret III). Nevertheless, there seemed to be one exception to this principle: on the exterior western wall, at each extremity of a large coronation scene that depicts the god Dedwen affixing the crown of the king of Upper Egypt on the head of “his bodily and beloved son” Thutmose III and affirming the latter’s kingship (fig. 5.9), appeared a panel of text, later erased, with the titulary of the regent queen Hatshepsut. On the northern — or left-hand side — end of the scene:

[the hereditary noble,] great of favor and charm, gr[eat of love...] the god’s wife and great king’s wife, Hatshepsut, she has made (this temple) as her monument for her father Dedwen, foremost of Nubia, that she might be living for ever.

And at the other extremity of the same wall (figs. 5.9–10):

Words spoken: “your beloved [daughter, Hatshepsut], your efficient heir, the god’s wife, the great king’s wife, she is your daughter, who has come forth from your [limbs]. With a loving heart you

<sup>30</sup> For an overview of the history of the monument, see Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pp. 12–15.



Figure 5.9. Current state of preservation of the decoration of the western external wall of the original temple of Thutmose III at Semna (after Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pls. 38-40, 42)

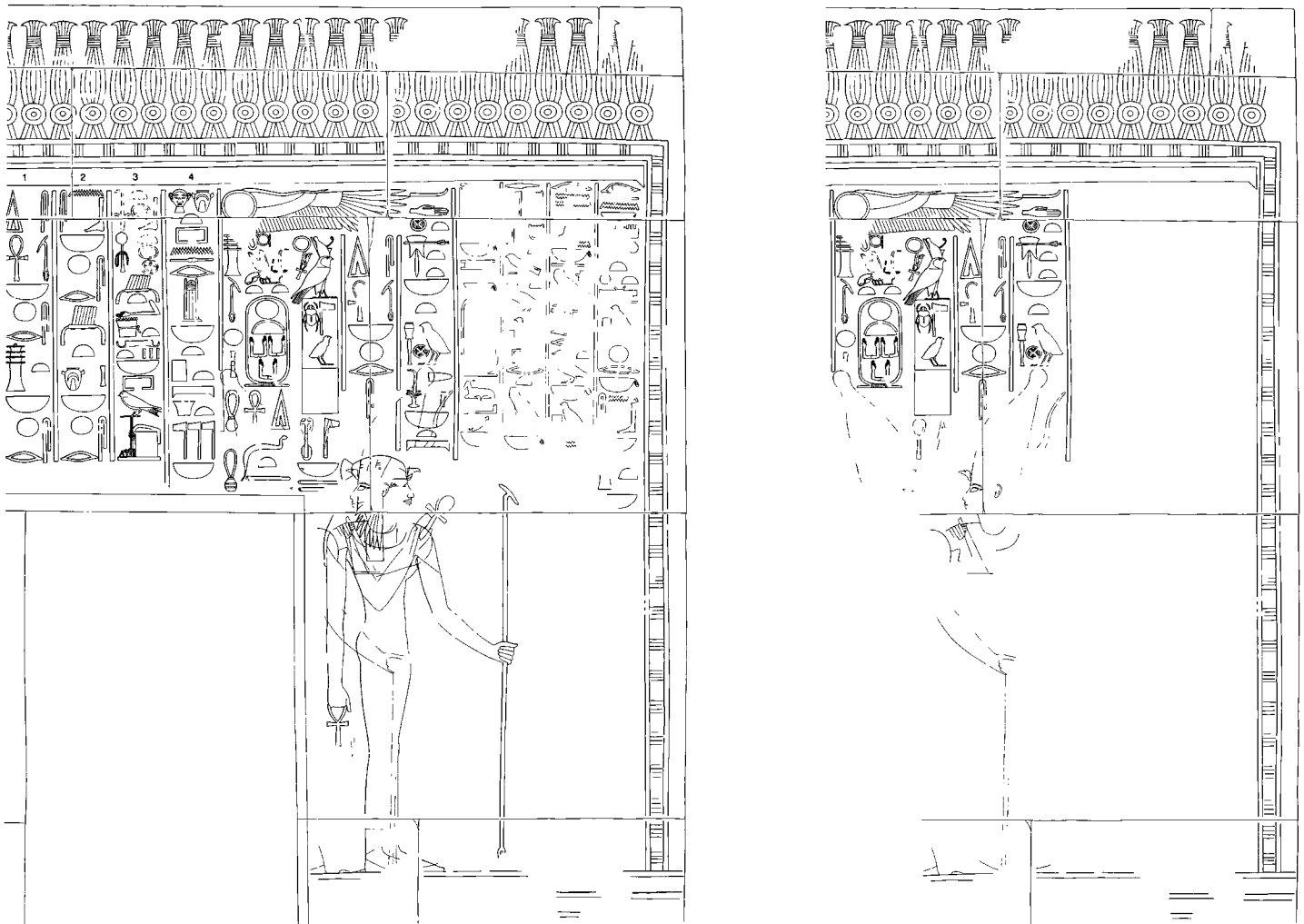


Figure 5.10. Present state of conservation of the southern scene of the western external wall of the temple of Thutmose III at Semna and remaining traces of its original decoration (after Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pl. 42)

above), and also by the fact that those two inscriptions mirror, in an abbreviated version, the inscriptions of the main scene depicting the coronation of Thutmose III:<sup>31</sup>

BEHIND WADJET, NEXT TO DEDWEN: “The perfect god Menkheperra, *he has made as his memorial for his father, Dedwen, foremost of Nubia*, and for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khakaura, the making for them of a temple of fine white sandstone of Nubia, after (my) Majesty had found it in bricks and very ruined, as a son does *with a loving heart* for his father, who ordained for him the Two Banks and *brought him up* to be the Horus lord of this land. The god put in my heart that I should make monuments (for) him, that I should cause him to be powerful as he caused me to be powerful, and that I should cause his house to be solid for eternity, in keeping with his being great compared to any god. He has given to me all life, stability and dominion like Ra for ever.”

AND IN THE WORDS OF THE IUNMUTEF PRIEST: “To Dedwen, the foremost of Nubia, the great god, lord of heaven: ‘Your beloved son, Menkheperra, he rests upon your seat, he inherits your throne and he acts as king of Upper and Lower Egypt in this land. There will be none to repeat him forever. Put his power and create awe of him in the hearts of the Bowmen and the Bedouins, in reward of this beautiful, solid and excellent monument he has made for you.’”

But more importantly, Ricardo Caminos established that the panel in front — or on the right — of this central coronation scene (fig. 5.10) originally depicted King Senwosret III, standing to the right and holding a stick, in front of the goddess Satet, wearing her typical tall crown, who was followed and held in a “loose embrace” (Caminos’ words) by an enigmatic figure whose forehead is still visible on the front shoulder of the goddess (Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pp. 80–81). In such an iconographical context, this figure holding Satet from behind must have been a deity — most probably the god Khnum of the First Cataract, traditionally paired with Satet<sup>32</sup> — but not Hatshepsut, since when a royal figure, whether a king or a queen, was represented embracing a deity, he or she always faces and never follows the latter.<sup>33</sup>

As for the other inscription referring to Hatshepsut, on the left-hand side end of the coronation scene, the last preserved column of text (number 27 on Caminos’ drawing) is clearly amputated, although it appears on the very edge of the original wall of the temple, as is implied by the floor slabs under the original rear and perpendicular wall (fig. 5.11). This shows, without any possible doubt, that the text of Hatshepsut was inscribed in a later phase, when the western wall of the temple had already been extended, that is, in a secondary stage in the making of the monument.

So, the presence of the queen on this wall was the result of an alteration of the original decoration of the temple, an alteration that occurred after the date of the royal order to make — anew — the temple of Semna, in regnal year 2, but before Hatshepsut assumed full kingship, since it is still her queenly titles that were used in this modification. Consequently, the entire decoration of the temple of Semna, commanded at the beginning of year 2, was definitely made — some time later — in the sole name of young King Thutmose III.

This iconographical solution, that is, with Thutmose III depicted as the official and only king, seems to have remained unaltered until at least year 5. Four documents can be related to that regnal year: a papyrus now in Turin (P. Turin 1878), which contains the beginning of a formal account of the appointment of Useramun as vizier by Thutmose III (*Urk.* IV 1384; Helck 1955); a stuccoed tablet with a list of official offerings made

<sup>31</sup> The disposition of the text is also much denser and less well organized than the one of the original inscriptions, relating to Thutmose III; in this context, note the abnormally flattened sign for *mnh* at the top of the second column, just above Hatshepsut’s titles of *hm.t-ntr hm.t-(ny-)zw(t) wr.t* (Caminos 1998, vol. 1, p. 81).

<sup>32</sup> Given the spare wall space behind Satet, it is quite probable that it was the complete divine triad, that is, Satet, Khnum, and Anuket, that was depicted in front of the deified king Senwosret III. Caminos was not absolutely sure of the date to ascribe to the forehead laid on Satet’s shoulder, but if it had been added when the figure of the goddess had already been redone to the right, so in a second stage of the history of this relief, the five fingers would have protruded from under her wig, which is quite un-

usual (in such circumstances, the hand is normally depicted on the shoulder, beyond the limit of the wig; see, for instance, Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter 1967, scenes C 17, H 11, J 9, L 5, L 12, R 2, compared to scene C 22 or H 12). And in any case, the fact that the original depiction — and description — of Satet and the panel of text referring to Hatshepsut were oriented in the same direction implies a most incongruous iconographical composition and clearly shows that the queen’s figure was added later.

<sup>33</sup> One should probably also note — even if it is an argument *ex silentio* — the total absence of any trace of a divine protective bird that one would expect above the queen’s figure in such a monumental context (see, on slightly more recent monuments, Gabolde and Rondot 1996; Gabolde 2005).

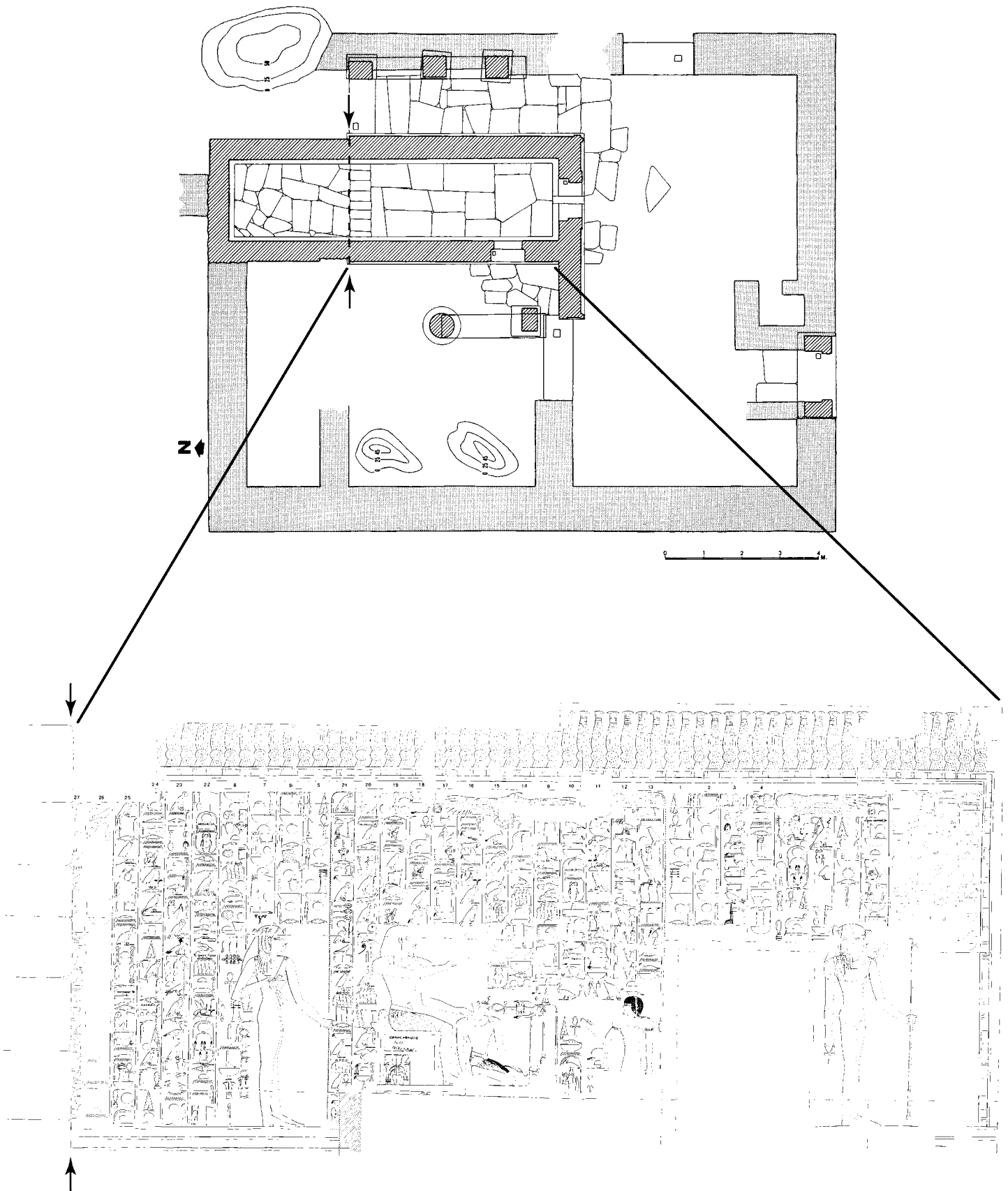


Figure 5.11. Position of the decoration of the western external wall of the original temple of Thutmose III at Semna on a plan of the monument showing the pavement slabs (after Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pls. 3, 38-40, 42)



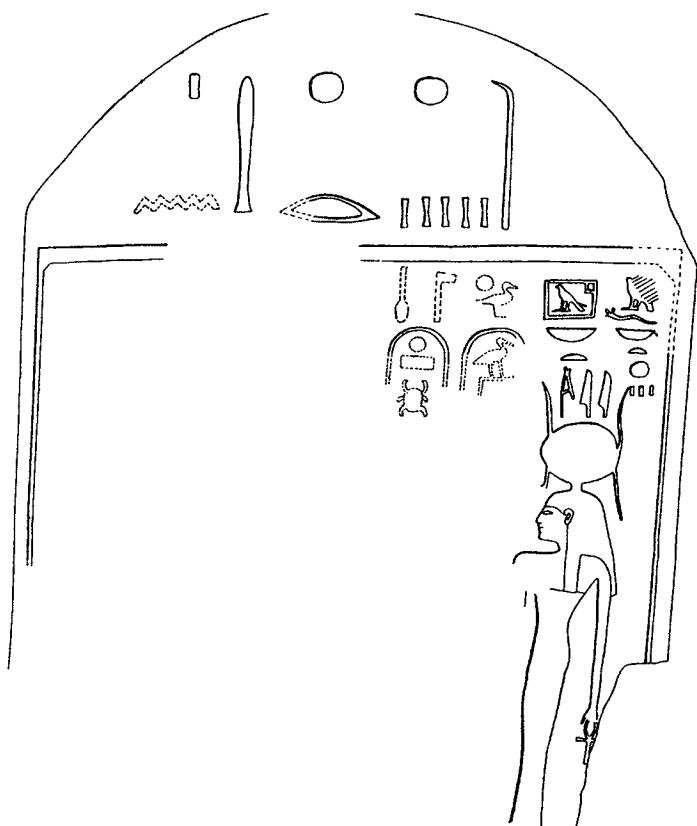


Figure 5.12. Rock-cut stela dated to year 5 of Thutmose III in Serabit el-Khadim, Sinai (after Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952–55, nos. 175–76, pls. 56–57)

by some dignitaries and some institutions, including the vizier Useramun and the Palace (*pr-ḳ*) (Vernus 1981); and two stelae in the temple of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim, in Sinai (fig. 5.12). The account tablet attests that Useramun was surely vizier in the last months of year 5 (precisely on day 26 of the second month of *peret*, i.e., sixty-nine days before the beginning of year 6), but, as Dorman noted, the Turin papyrus seems to be — again — retrospective and cannot be used as historical evidence to prove that the young king Thutmose III did really appoint the new vizier himself (Dorman 1988, pp. 33–34; Dorman 2006, p. 46),<sup>34</sup> nor that this nomination was officially presented in his name at that time — even if it seems more than likely. On the contrary, the two stelae in Sinai depicted Thutmose III apparently alone and, in any case, directly in front of the divine mistress of Serabit el-Khadim, thus continuing the traditional and normal imagery of kingship that we have seen in use since the beginning of the regency.

The evidence discovered by A. Lansing and W. C. Hayes in their excavation of the Theban tomb of Senenmut and his parents (TT 71) implies that Hatshepsut assumed royal status, with real kingly titles, during year 7. Dorman, editor of the funerary complex of Senenmut in the Theban necropolis, conveniently summarizes their demonstration as follows:

The burial chamber of Senenmut's parents, Ramose and Hatnofer, was discovered in excavations undertaken on the hillside of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in 1935–36 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Located just below the tomb chapel of their son (Theban Tomb 71), the chamber had been buried below the artificial terrace of the chapel, a construction formed by three retaining walls and an enormous mass of limestone chips pouring directly from the excavation of tomb 71—and therefore dated to the beginning of tomb construction. The chamber contained several amphoras bearing dates and seals that the excavators, Lansing and Hayes, immediately recognized had a bearing on the date of Hatshepsut's accession. One amphora bore a hieratic docket on its shoulder: "year 7, second month of *pr.t*, day 8," a date that must have preceded the sealing of the tomb; a second amphora, also bearing a hieratic docket of simply "year 7," was sealed with a jar stopper bearing the stamp of "the god's wife Hatshepsut." Two others bore seals with the royal prenomen: "the good goddess *Mḥ.t-k3-Rḥ*." The amphora date of year 7, 2 *pr.t* 8, provides only a *terminus post quem* for the sealing of the tomb; the *terminus ante quem* is apparently indicated by an ostrakon found by Norman de Garis Davies in the forecourt of tomb 71, referring to the beginning of construction "in this tomb" in year 7, fourth month of *pr.t*, day 2, after which limestone chips from the tomb would have begun covering the hillside just below. Lansing and Hayes deduced that Hatshepsut's accession therefore took place in year 7 between 2 *pr.t* 8 and 4 *pr.t* 2; and, while this date range (less than two full months) may be too narrow for most scholars, year 7 is universally accepted as the latest possible limit for Hatshepsut's assumption of royal titles. (Dorman 2006, pp. 48–49)

<sup>34</sup> The text on P. Turin 1878 starts with the date of day 1 of the first month of *akhet* of year 5, i.e., new year's day in the ancient Egyptian calendar. Whether this date is accurate or not for the designation of the new vizier, one has to take notice that

Useramun was surely attested as vizier in the list of offerings inscribed on the stuccoed tablet dated to day 26 of the second month of *peret* of the same year, i.e., almost six months later; see Vernus 1981, pp. 108, 110, 122.

Actually, if the tomb made for Hatnofer and Ramose was surely sealed between day 8 of the second month of *peret* of year 7 and day 2 of the fourth month of the same season, that is, between one and three months before the change to year 8, the jar stoppers with the queenly title of Hatshepsut as god's wife could have been stamped before this time span. Since one of these stoppers is still fastened to a jar bearing the mention of year 7, one can be sure that the end of the regency, with the assumption of kingly titulary by Hatshepsut, occurred in the course of year 7, before the last month of that regnal year.

A few monuments, identified and studied mainly by Luc Gabolde (2005), need to be situated just before this important and official political change, since their decoration offers an image of the royal power in which Hatshepsut now appears and plays a part normally devoted to a king, but still as a regent queen, with queenly titles and attributes. Those representations invite us to distinguish at the end of the regency a pre-coronation period, during which, on an iconographical level, Hatshepsut started to behave like a pharaoh, but still as the regent queen.

## 2.2. The Pre-coronation Period

The first monument to consider here is the one Gabolde convincingly suggested to identify with the *Netjery-menu*, referred to in few texts of the time. It was obviously a quite large monument almost completely made of local limestone (from el-Dababeya quarries)<sup>35</sup> and dedicated to Amun in the precinct of Karnak (most probably in the eastern part of the site; Gabolde 2005, pp. 20–21). Only a few rooms or walls (some of them adjacent) are preserved, through incomplete series of blocks (in total 204). The most striking characteristic of those preserved parts of the monument is the depiction of Queen Hatshepsut officiating in front of Amun just like the king, either following the latter, or alternating with him, or even alone (fig. 5.13). The second remarkable feature of these blocks is the fact that they bear quite numerous traces of recarving and palimpsestic inscriptions; indeed, among different barely perceptible signs of reworking of the reliefs,<sup>36</sup> in at least two decorated panels, the titulary of Thutmose III was scrupulously but surely recarved into the one of his deceased father, Thutmose II (fig. 5.14), and in a nearby inscription, it is the name and pronouns of Queen Hatshepsut that replaced the ones of her royal nephew (fig. 5.5; Gabolde 2005, pp. 10–13). Gabolde underlined the extreme carefulness of these recarvings, suggesting that they might have been more numerous than it seems now:

Ces étonnantes regravures des noms de Thoutmosis II à la place de ceux de Thoutmosis III ont été repérées de manière certaine en deux endroits, dans une légende de figure sur la paroi 2 v° et sur les montants d'une porte (paroi 8 v°). Elles sont néanmoins si soigneusement exécutées qu'en certains points les traces, visibles sur un bloc de la paroi, ne sont plus décelables sur les blocs adjacents où la titulature se poursuivait. Il est par conséquent bien possible que, sur d'autres reliefs, toute la titula-

<sup>35</sup> As is quite usual in stone architecture of that time, the supporting part of the lintels were often — if not always — made in sandstone (Gabolde 2005, p. 9).

<sup>36</sup> For instance, it is plain to see that, on wall 2 v° (Gabolde 2005, pl. 4), where the titulary of the king was altered, the legend of the god was also retouched (see the expression *hr.i*), as well as — at least — the end of the text relating to the royal figure (the sign *ḏ* in the expression *mi R' ḏ.t*) and the titulary of the queen in the next scene (see the curved sign visible under the expression *ḥnm.t nfr*, i.e., the white crown); the same holds true for the title of Amun on block MPA 6 from scene 3 v° (ibid., pl. 7); the cartouche of Thutmose II on wall 5 r° is also a palimpsest (ibid., p. 53, pl. 10); the vertical inscription on block 87 CL 96 — tentatively positioned by Gabolde at the right end of wall 8 r° — was obviously more than reversed, as can be seen through the remains of a previous sign under the basket hieroglyph in the expression *nb ir.t ḥ.t* (ibid., pl. 16). In this context, and given the

exquisite quality of the carving of these blocks, one should also note some oddities in their decoration, like the extreme closeness of certain signs in the text describing Hatshepsut on wall 7 r° (scene on the left, especially in the expression *irs n.f*; ibid., pl. 13) or the surprising narrowness of the hieroglyphs in the legend behind the queen on wall 3 r°, compared to those in the mirror inscription at the back of the king's figure (ibid., pl. 5). A close examination of the blocks themselves — now reassembled and partly re-erected in the open-air museum of Karnak by the Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak ([www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/index.php?page=programme-2](http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/index.php?page=programme-2)) — also revealed some strange features, like the incompleteness (or reworking?) of the two signs for *sntr* (surrounded by traces of chiselling) on the block 87 CL 255 from wall 7 r° (ibid., pl. 13) or the unexpectedly poor quality — or again the incompleteness — of the carving of the headgear, ear, and part of the chest of the figure of Hatshepsut, compared to her face, on wall 5 v° (ibid., pl. 11).

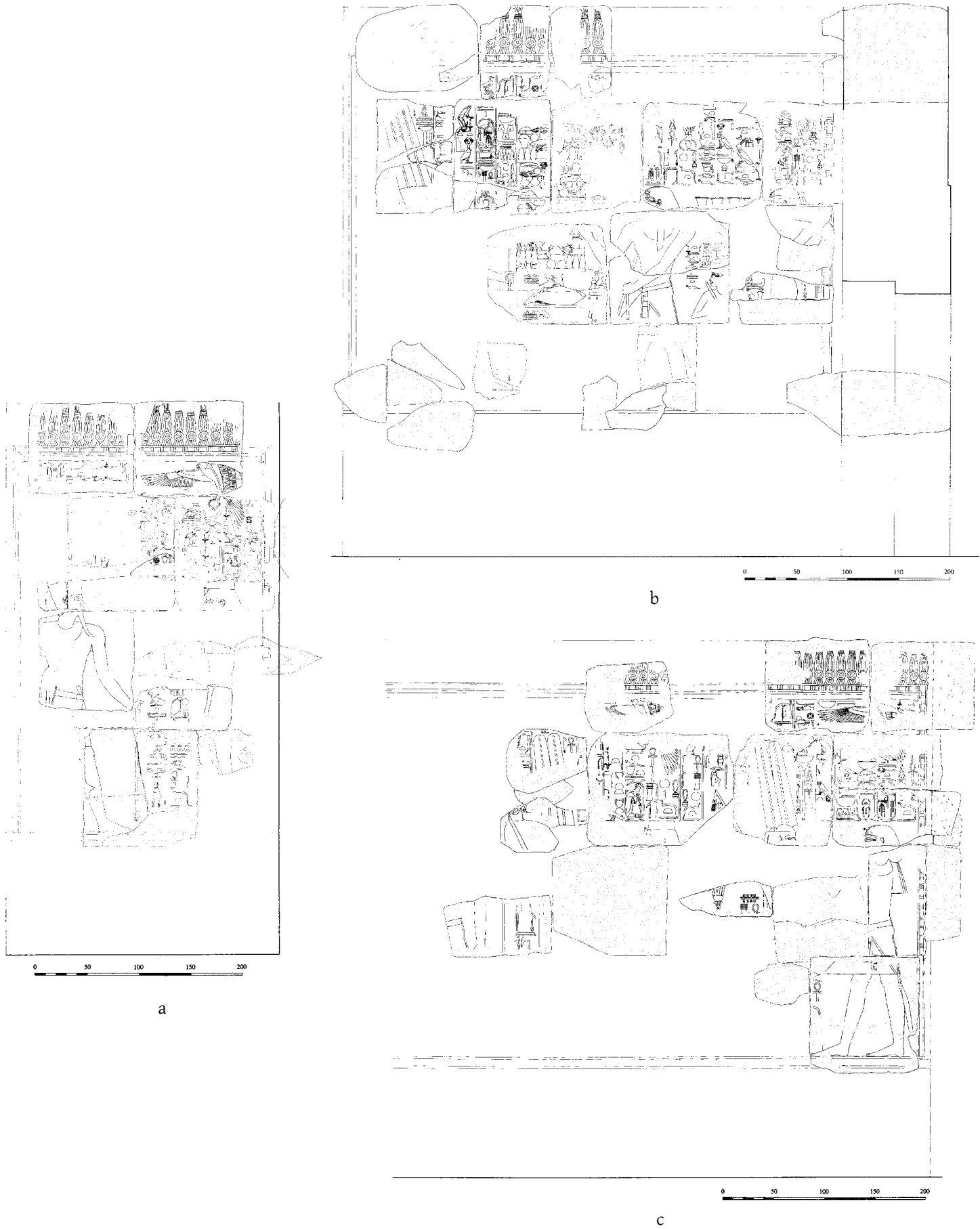


Figure 5.13. Scenes from the presumed *Netjery-menu* depicting regent queen Hatshepsut performing the royal cult of Amun alone, following the king or alternating with him (after Gabolde 2005, pls. 13, 3, 15)

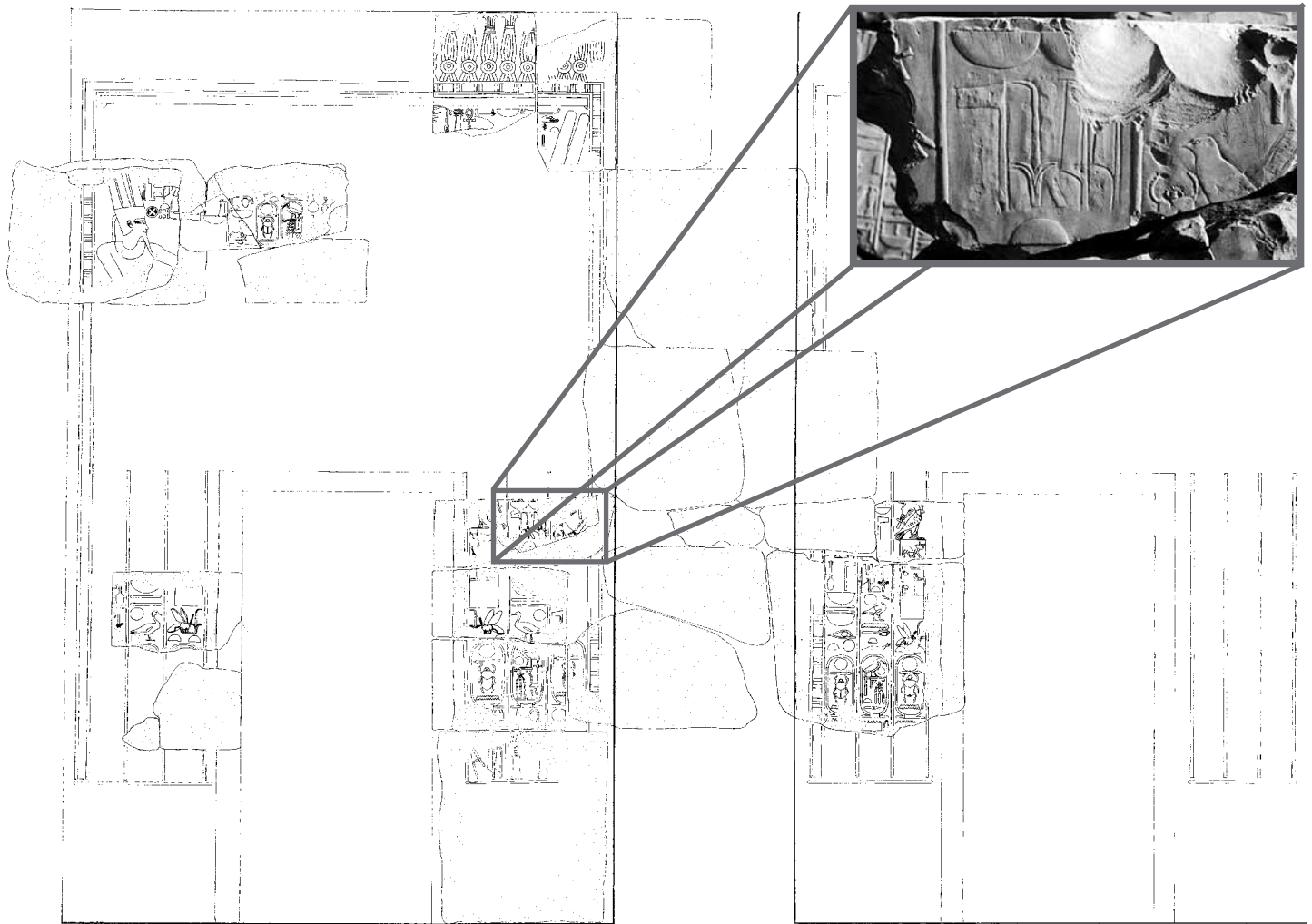


Figure 5.14. Detail of an inscription originally carved in the name of Thutmose III and later on usurped for Thutmose II by order of Hatshepsut, on an inner wall of the presumed *Netjery-menu* (after Gabolde 2005, p. 199, pl. 17)

ture de Thoutmosis II ait remplacé celle de Thoutmosis III, mais que ces retouches n'aient pas laissé de témoin repérable. (Gabolde 2005, p. 11)<sup>37</sup>

Despite the consequently rather important presence of Thutmose II on these blocks, Gabolde (2005, pp. 10–17) perfectly established that the monument under discussion was initiated during the early reign of Thutmose III, that is, during the regency of Hatshepsut, and eventually modified by the latter.<sup>38</sup> The regent

<sup>37</sup> A clue pointing in this direction is the case of wall 2 in the publication of Gabolde, where, on one side (2 r°), the remains of the titulary of Thutmose II appear un(re)touched and original, whereas on the opposite side of the very same blocks (2 v°), they result from an alteration of the name and titles of his enthroned son; see Gabolde, 2005, p. 15 (§22), pls. 3–4.

<sup>38</sup> In the hypothesis persuasively advocated by L. Gabolde to identify this monument with the *Netjery-menu* (Gabolde 2005, pp. 21–25; also Laboury 1998, pp. 556–60), the foundation ritual of the temple might have been accomplished by Thutmose III in person, since he claimed, in the so-called *Texte de la jeunesse*, to be the one “who did it himself with his two hands” (*Urk.* IV 166.10), and the building process would have been then supervised by the high priest of Amun Hapuseneb, as the latter re-

called in the inscription of his statue Louvre A 134 (Gabolde 2005, p. 22; Delvaux 1988, p. 57, pl. 2, fig. 3). At least three campaigns of modification of the monument by Hatshepsut can be distinguished: firstly, definitely before assuming full kingship, she ordered the replacement of references to Thutmose III with the name of Thutmose II or with her own one; later on, but before adopting a completely masculinized iconography, she decided to dismantle part of the building, including almost all the blocks gathered by L. Gabolde from this monument; and lastly, a block found reused in the foundation of the *Akh-menu* attests that the older representations of the regent queen were finally adapted to her new status, titles, and iconography (Gabolde 2005, pp. 10–17). Of course, we are only dealing here with the first of these three phases of alteration of the presumed *Netjery-menu*.

queen seems to have been depicted actively participating in the cult of Amun from a very early stage or even the very beginning of the decoration process of the temple. This new iconography of the central power on sacred monuments, which extends to the queen what was traditionally pharaoh's exclusive prerogative of direct interaction with the gods, clearly reveals the royal ambitions of Hatshepsut. Equally explicit are her epithets in these scenes: alongside normal titles for a queen of ancient Egypt at that time (like "mistress of the Double Land," "mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt," "wife, daughter, and sister of the king"),<sup>39</sup> she is described as "the one who is great of omens in her father's (the god's) house" (*ḳ.t b3.wt m pr it.s*; Gabolde 2005, pp. 33–34, pl. 3), the one for whom "he (the god) has caused that she performs for him the rites of purification in his sacred place" (*rdi.n.f ir.s n.f ḥ.(w)t w'ḅ m s.t.f ḏsr.t*; *ibid.*, pp. 59–60, pl. 13), or "the one who is watchful over what concerns him (the god), the one who makes enduring monuments for him as the one who has become king of Upper and Lower Egypt" (*rs.t-tp ḥr ḥr.t.f ir.t n.f mnw w3ḥ m ḥpr [ny-]zw.t bit[.y]*; *ibid.*, p. 44, pl. 7). Thus, with this new official image of pharaonic authority, Hatshepsut plainly emphasized her very close, personal, and traditionally royal relationship with the god of kingship, Amun.

In this context, it is certainly not irrelevant to note that the regent queen is — so far as we can see — systematically presented on these blocks as "the god's wife of Amun."<sup>40</sup> One also has to remember here that the so-called historical inscription — later — displayed on the second register of the *Chapelle Rouge* and in the façade portico of the upper terrace of the *Djeser-djeseru* temple at Deir el-Bahari relates the exceptional promotion of the queen by describing how Amun selected her as his god's wife and how she moved from that very position to the status of "efficient king." During an extraordinary processional appearance of Amun in his portable bark, the god is reported to have behaved in a very unusual and unexpected way and headed to the Karnak palace of the time. Then,

The mistress of the Double Land<sup>41</sup> came out from the splendors of her Palace and started to worship the lord of the gods, while approaching him. After that, she put herself on her belly in front of his Majesty, saying:

"How great this is compared to the (other) plans of your Majesty! It's my father, who conceived everything that exists. What is it that you want it to happen?"

Then the Majesty of this god started to make extremely great omens, very numerous and very grandiose. After that, he put her under his prow and advanced her to the great Palace of Maat, and she seized the insignias (*ḥkr.w*) of her Majesty, her equipment of god's wife, which (i.e., the equipment) is in his temple.

Then the Majesty of the Lord-of-All started to multiply the omens for this, next to her mother, the one who created her perfection, Hathor, who presides over Thebes (...). (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 99–100)

<sup>39</sup> For queenly titularies, see the now classic article of Gitton 1978. One can note the attestation of an interesting variation of the title *ḥnw.t t3.wy* into *ḥnw.t t3 r-ḏrf* (Gabolde 2005, pp. 33–34, pl. 3; Gitton 1978, pp. 391–92), i.e., on the model of the well-known royal epithet *nb (n) t3 r-ḏrf*.

<sup>40</sup> There is a clear emphasis on this title of the regent queen. It often occurs before the traditional designation as "king's wife" (Gabolde 2005, pls. 1, 3–4, 11, 13, 15), like in the titulary of the very influential god's wife of Amun Ahmose Nefertary, which was obviously of some inspiration for Hatshepsut's official behavior in this phase of her career. As noted by Gitton (1984, p. 63), in the inscriptions of the first sarcophagus of Hatshepsut (from the cliff tomb of the Wadi Siqqet Taqa ez-Zeid), still as a regent queen, *ḥm.t ntr* is attested twelve times, with only six occurrences of *ḥm.t n(y)-zw.t wr.t*, two of *ḥm.t n(y)-zw.t*, four of *z3.t n(y)-zw.t*, and four of *sn.t n(y)-zw.t*. From this phase on, when the scarcity of space induced a choice in the queen's titulary, it is the only title that was selected to introduce Hatshepsut's name

(Gabolde 2005, pl. 41, for the niches structure discussed below; see also Roehrig 2005, pp. 95, 143, 209, 217, for smaller objects, like scarabs or even kohl jars; or *Urk.* IV 34.15, 60.1, 396.11 and 14; 398.8, 403.2, 418.16, for references to her in private inscriptions). Since there is not a single reference to Hatshepsut securely datable to a period preceding this late and last stage of the regency (for the stela Berlin 15699, often considered of the time of Thutmose II, and the problem of its authenticity, see Krauss and Goedicke 1998), it is impossible to determine when the queen acquired this obviously very important dignity of god's wife of Amun. Therefore, one can perfectly imagine that such an event only took place during the regency, and even maybe at a quite late stage into the latter.

<sup>41</sup> One has to note the multivalence of the title used here, *nb.t t3.wy*, which is appropriate to the status of Hatshepsut before as well as after her assumption of full kingship. On the use of this title by Hatshepsut, see the remarks of Robins 1990, p. 218.

And when the queen was eventually enthroned,

The crowns (*h<sup>c</sup>.w*) [*sic*] of the god's wife were removed and she wore the insignias (*hkr.w*) of Ra, the Southern crown and the Northern one being united on her head. (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 116)

This sacerdotal function of god's wife of Amun probably offered Hatshepsut the opportunity to be depicted as a direct interlocutor of the god of kingship, so just like pharaoh.

In at least one scene from the so-called *Netjery-menu*, the title of "god's wife [and (god's) hand] of Amun" was borne by Hatshepsut as well as her daughter, Princess Neferura (Gabolde 2005, p. 55, pl. 11). The latter, presented as "the king's eldest<sup>42</sup> and beloved daughter," can appear with both of her parents (fig. 5.13b; Gabolde 2005, pl. 3) or accompanying only her officiating mother (ibid., pls. 7, 11, and 13).<sup>43</sup>

This unusual importance of the princess' depictions, together with the addition of the presence of Thutmose II in the temple decoration, clearly indicates an emphasis put on Hatshepsut's branch of the family, to the detriment of the nominal king who occupied the entire iconographical public space since the beginning of the regency, that is, to the detriment of Thutmose III.<sup>44</sup> And, as a matter of fact, the recarving of the mentions of the latter imposes us to distinguish two successive steps in this early evolution of the queen's iconographical behavior: first, she found her way in temple imagery by associating herself with the official king in the representation of the royal exercise of divine cult, sometimes alongside Thutmose III, sometimes — maybe later — in his stead; and subsequently, she decided to connect herself in this typically and fundamentally royal function not so much — or not anymore — to her royal nephew, but rather to her deceased husband, King Thutmose II, inevitably and even actively and explicitly (through these recarvings) to the detriment of the official pharaoh of the time, Thutmose III.<sup>45</sup> In any case, from this phase on, we do not encounter — in the current state of preservation of the monuments — any new reference to Thutmose III until the inception of the real coregency (see below, sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3).

Another Karnak building studied by Luc Gabolde is to be dated to this second phase of the queen's iconographical ascension to kingship: the so-called niches monument (Gabolde 2005, pp. 129–40, 155–56, 160–62, 191–93, pls. 41–43). It consists of seven blocks — again of local limestone — dismantled from a structure composed by a series of niches (at least three),<sup>46</sup> certainly intended to house royal statues. Given the dimensions of the walls of these statue niches (from 96 to 137 cm), each scene of their decoration displays a single royal figure at a time, interacting with the gods. The preserved parts of this monument — probably associated with the series of similar statue niches built a few decades earlier by Amenhotep I for the royal cult in Karnak temple (ibid., pp. 130–31, 156, 160–62) — thus bear depictions of Hatshepsut, Thutmose II,

<sup>42</sup> In such a monumental and official context, contrary to the suggestion of Gabolde (2005, p. 35), I do not think that this systematic epithet of "king's eldest daughter" (*z3.t wr.t*) alludes to the existence of a younger sister of Neferura born to Hatshepsut and Thutmose II. It seems to me more likely that it has here a quite polemical meaning regarding Thutmose III, just like the description of Hatshepsut on one of the blocks referred to above: "the one who makes enduring monuments for him (Amun) as the one who has become king of Upper and Lower Egypt" (*irt n.f mnw w3h m hpr [ny-]zw.t bit[y]*; ibid., p. 44, pl. 7).

<sup>43</sup> In the iconography of these blocks, the princess seems to be systematically depicted holding the *h<sup>t</sup>s* scepter of the god's wife, but she never takes part in the exercise of the divine ritual and merely attends the performance of her mother.

<sup>44</sup> The idea that all this would have been done in order to readjust the temple decoration according to the actual implication of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut in the making of the monument (Gabolde 2005, p. 173) seems unsustainable given the iconographical solution in use during the first part of the regency. Moreover, such a readjustment would be absolutely unprecedented and abnormal in the context of ancient Egyptian temple decoration and, in any case, would bear a strong politi-

cal meaning. And in this hypothesis, how can one explain the unusual presence of Neferura and the recarving of the names of Thutmose III into the ones of his deceased father? The fact that this recarving process was not completed everywhere in the preserved parts of the temple does not imply at all a wish of "fair" readjustment (ibid., p. 172), since those very parts of the monument were eventually dismantled before the queen had the time to adapt her titulary and her iconography according to her new status of effective king (see above, n. 38), as she did for all her other official representations (see nn. 7, 8).

<sup>45</sup> It seems reasonable to think that it is during this stage of reworking earlier decoration from the regency period that the queen decided to add her presence in the reliefs of the temple of Semna, as seen above (n. 32).

<sup>46</sup> Gabolde (2005, p. 130) underlined the fact that the block MPA 344 belonged to a dividing wall between two adjoining niches, but also that those two niches had slightly different sizes (the one for Thutmose II being larger and deeper). Since the fragments of rear walls (ibid., pls. 42–43) come from two different panels of exactly the same dimensions (96 cm wide), the preserved blocks necessarily imply the existence of at least three niches (one large niche and two smaller ones).

and Neferura. The princess, greeted by Amun and a cow-headed goddess called “the divine mother who resides in Karnak,”<sup>47</sup> is designated as “the king’s daughter and the king’s sister,” a title that securely dates the monument to the reign of Thutmose III, who is nonetheless — in the present state of conservation of this niches structure — totally absent.<sup>48</sup> The two preserved textual references to Thutmose II appear devoid of any trace of recarving and are therefore most probably original. The deceased king is depicted on a side wall of a larger niche just as if he were still alive and active, but — maybe significantly (*ibid.*, pp. 129, 134) — crowned by “Osiris [...] who resides in Karnak” and his consort “Isis of *Netjeret*.” On the other side of the same wall, so in the next niche, “the god’s wife Hatshepsut” is represented receiving life and dominion — like or as if she was a king — from Seth of Ombos “who presides at Upper Egypt” and his divine spouse Nephthys “who presides at Karnak” (fig. 5.15).

Hatshepsut appears again in conjunction with her royal husband Thutmose II on what remains of a prestigious bark shrine made in Tura limestone for Amun in Karnak (Gabolde 2005, pp. 99–128, pls. 35–40).<sup>49</sup> Only thirty-two blocks or fragments from this important monument have come down to us or can be identified. In their current state of preservation, they systematically display the queen in large ritual scenes following her royal husband, either attending his religious action (fig. 5.16) or participating in the exercise of the divine cult (fig. 5.17), with the exception of the façade of the shrine, where the surface available for the decoration was too narrow and only allowed for a single royal figure in front of the god. In this case, Thutmose II (on the lower register) or Hatshepsut (on the upper register) was depicted in interaction with Amun. If the mentions of Thutmose II do not present any visible trace of reworking and therefore appear original, the figures and titles of the queen were later modified<sup>50</sup> according to her new royal status, that is, during her actual reign, and all her depictions were thus masculinized (figs. 5.16–17, and above, 5.2b). So in the initial decoration of the monument, Hatshepsut was represented as a queen, systematically assisting her royal husband in the performance of the cult to the god of kingship. The inner door of the shrine — or at least what is preserved of its jambs — was apparently decorated in the sole name of Thutmose II and dedicated in his name (Gabolde 2005, pp. 122–26, pls. 38–39), but on the upper register of the façade, Amun was depicted embracing the queen and thanking her for “this beautiful and efficient monument thou (feminine pronoun) has done for me, may thou (feminine pronoun) act like Ra for ever” (*ibid.*, pp. 108–09, pl. 35).

Given the available evidence, there seem to be two options for dating this imposing bark shrine. As Luc Gabolde argued, one can be tempted to ascribe it to the reign of Thutmose II, assuming that the quoted inscription on the façade of the monument would have been added when the queen adapted her depictions and descriptions to her new fully royal status (Gabolde 2005, p. 100). But in such a hypothesis it becomes quite difficult to explain the very unusual role granted to the queen on these reliefs.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, this iconography of the queen systematically partaking in the royal exercise of divine cult would be without any parallel among the different monuments securely datable to the reign of Thutmose II (from the latter’s large festival courtyard that marked the entrance of Karnak temple and the fragments from his temples in Nubia or Sinai to small objects like scarabs or other faience wares), monuments that, actually, never make a single reference

<sup>47</sup> See the very interesting comments and interpretation of this goddess suggested by Gabolde 2005, p. 139.

<sup>48</sup> A fragmentary scene from the rear wall of a niche, preserved by only two joining blocks from its lower part, depicted a king standing between two masculine deities (one with wrapped legs, like Osiris; Gabolde 2005, p. 140, pl. 43). Unfortunately, the complete loss of its upper section — with the inscriptions — renders the definite identification of the king in this scene impossible, and one could argue that it was Thutmose II, patently honored in this monument, or his son.

<sup>49</sup> As Gabolde perfectly established, the outer doors of the monument were made in another stone, indubitably a precious material like granite, diorite, or even quartzite, and the shrine was divided in two inner rooms, in contrast to the architectural typology of processional bark shrines of the time, but just like the *Chapelle Rouge* and the granite bark shrine of Thutmose III (and

its later reproduction by Philip Arrhidaeus), two major monuments that might have replaced the building under discussion.

<sup>50</sup> Again, like on the walls of the so-called *Netjery-menu*, those recarvings were very carefully done, and, undoubtedly, some of them have now become invisible (see, e.g., Gabolde 2005, p. 116 [here fig. 5.16], about the *M<sup>3</sup>.t-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>* cartouche, without any remains of the previous inscription, but accompanying a figure of the queen clearly masculinized).

<sup>51</sup> The composition of the scenes clearly implies that the figures of Hatshepsut were part of them from the very beginning of the decoration process and could not have been added later on. Of course, as stressed by Gabolde (2005, p. 166), in the iconography of the time, a queen could be sporadically depicted alongside her royal husband in a temple scene; what is really exceptional here is the fact that Hatshepsut appears systematically in conjunction with her officiating royal husband.

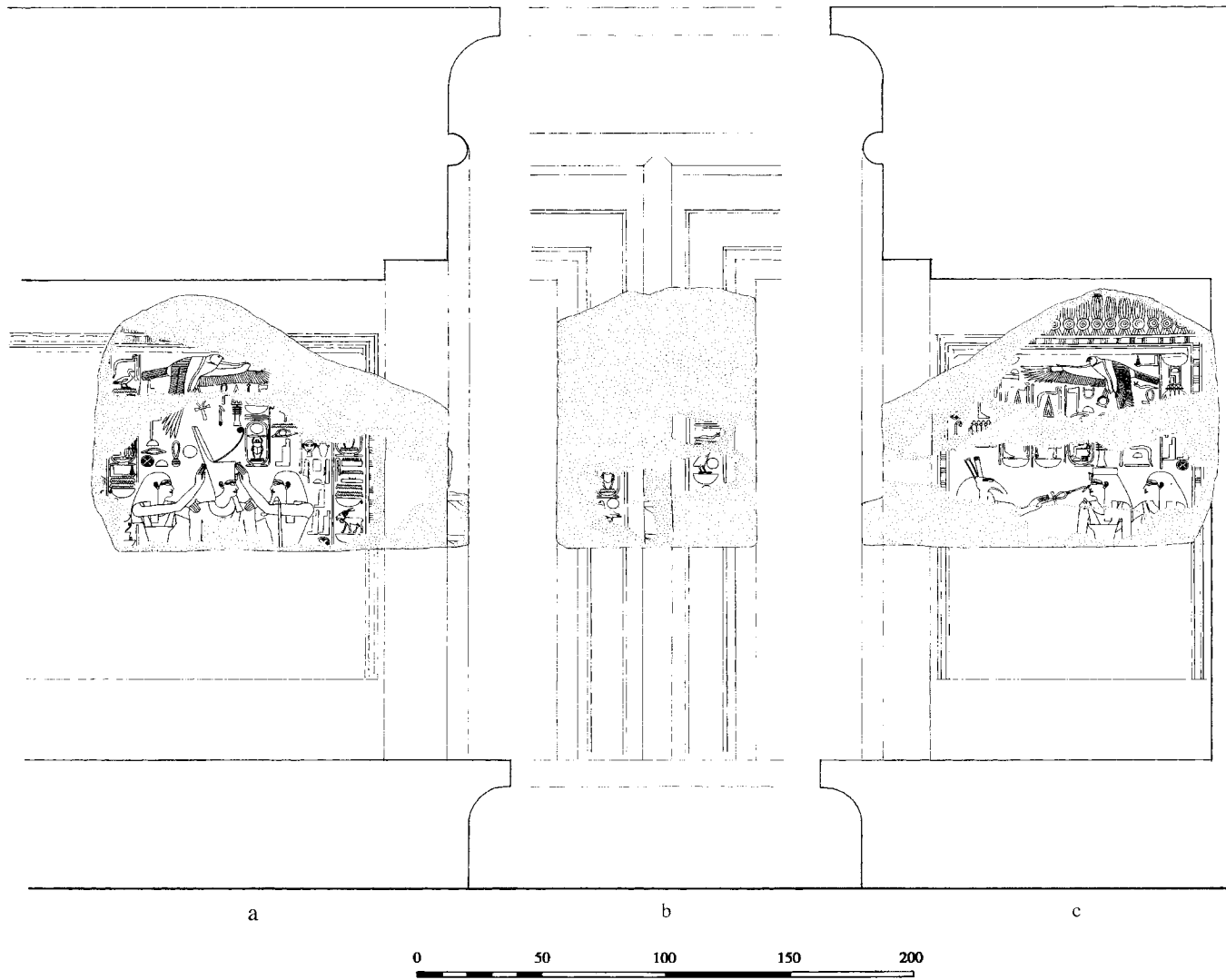


Figure 5.15. Decoration of a block from a niches structure erected by Hatshepsut in Karnak at the end of the regency period (after Gabolde 2005, pl. 41)



Figure 5.16. Detail of the preserved decoration of the upper register of the northern external wall of the Tura limestone bark shrine erected by Hatshepsut at Karnak (after Gabolde 2005, pl. 36)



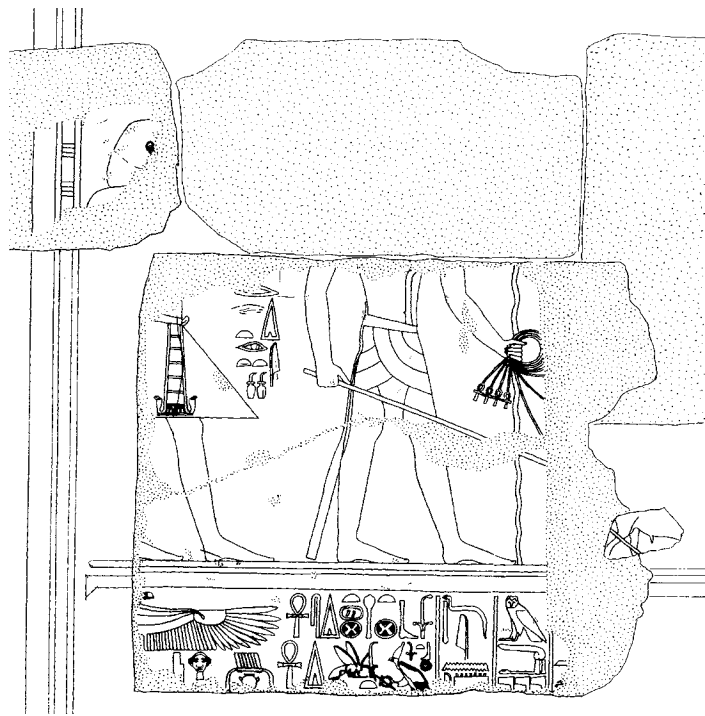


Figure 5.17. Detail of the preserved decoration of the upper part of the northern internal wall of the Tura limestone bark shrine erected by Hatshepsut at Karnak (after Gabolde 2005, pl. 37)

comes from (lit. what is on top of) his mouth, the seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the great steward of the king's daughter Neferura — may she live — Senenmut," caused to have himself depicted in a gesture of reverence in front of his mistress. The latter appears with queenly garb, including a double-feather headdress and a mace that could fit for a god's wife of Amun as well as for a king.<sup>54</sup> Again, the inscriptions accompanying the image of the regent queen leave no doubt about her official status and, at the same time, her royal ambitions at that moment of her career: "the noble, the great of praise and charm, the great of love, the one to whom Ra has given the kingship righteously in the opinion of the Ennead,<sup>55</sup> the king's daughter, the king's sister, the god's and king's great wife, [the mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt (?)] Hatshepsut — may she live — beloved of Satet mistress of Elephantine, beloved of Khnum lord of Elephantine." As explicitly royal or — better — oriented toward an assumption of real kingship is the action of the queen, who is referred to as the one who has charged Senenmut to cut "two great obelisks of eternity" in Aswan quarry, the commissioning of such monuments being, once more, an exclusive kingly prerogative in ancient Egypt, here performed by the queen on her own.<sup>56</sup>

to Hatshepsut in the present state of our documentation.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, if the position of the queen was already so royal and close to that of the king at the end of her husband's reign (as suggested in Gabolde 2005, pp. 151–72, 185), how can we understand that — as we have seen above — she completely withdrew from the official image of royal authority during the first years of the regency, when she was in charge of "conducting the affairs of the country," to eventually come back into kingship imagery before the end of year 7 and her own coronation? Her iconographical behavior would appear very erratic and it seems, on the contrary, much more likely and coherent to date this Tura limestone bark shrine to the second phase of her pre-coronation period, exemplified by the introduction of Thutmose II in the decoration of the so-called *Netjery-menu* and the niches structure discussed above.<sup>53</sup>

Another illustration of the kingly behavior of the queen before her formal coronation is also given by the famous graffito of Senenmut in the granite quarries of Aswan, at el-Mahatta (fig. 5.18). The dedicatory of this rock-cut graffito, that is, "the noble, the count, the great confidant of the god's wife, who pleases the mistress of the Double Land with what

<sup>52</sup> See n. 40 as well as Gabolde 2005, p. 165.

<sup>53</sup> If, as suggested by Gabolde (2005, pp. 103, 152), this exceptional Tura limestone bark shrine was replaced by the *Chapelle Rouge* at the end of the coregency and thus stood at the same place in the temple, i.e., in the middle of the festival court of Thutmose II (Laboury 1998, pp. 27–28), it could have been part of a project of the regent queen to complete the parvis of Karnak temple as it was built by her late husband, a project of completion that certainly started at the very end of the regency and was finalized by the erection of two obelisks at the beginning of the coregency (Gabolde 1987a; Gabolde 2003; and the discussion of these obelisks in this article, below).

<sup>54</sup> For the multivalence of the title of "mistress of the Double Land" in this context, see above, n. 41.

<sup>55</sup> For this translation of *di.n n.s R<sup>c</sup> ny(.t)-zw.t m3<sup>c</sup> hr-ib n psd.t*, see Niedziółka 2001, followed by Gabolde 2005, p. 119. Note that this very telling epithet also occurred in the inscriptions of a shrine erected at the very beginning of Hatshepsut's true reign (Gabolde and Rondot 1996, p. 191; and here below) and perhaps also on the Tura limestone bark shrine discussed above (Gabolde 2005, p. 119 [lines 8 and 9 need to be inverted]).

<sup>56</sup> The contrast with the case of the small temple erected in the name of Thutmose III at Semna in year 2 (discussed above) is in this respect very eloquent.



Figure 5.18. Rock-cut graffito of Senenmut in the granite quarries of Aswan, at el-Mahatta (after Habachi 1957, p. 94)

<sup>57</sup> I wish to thank here S. Biston-Moulin for drawing my attention to this undisputable fact (pers. comm.). It is quite usual that such graffiti do not provide the name of the site for which the obelisks were intended, even if the information can sometimes be stated; for a slightly more recent example, see Hawass 2009, pp. 147–48, figs. 22–24.

<sup>58</sup> For the bibliography of this pair of obelisks, see n. 53. L. Gabolde is currently preparing an atlas of the obelisks of Karnak, but, in the meantime, about Hatshepsut's obelisks on this site, one can refer to the very good synthesis of Gabolde 2000. If the so-called obelisks portico of Deir el-Bahari temple displays the dedication of two pairs of obelisks by Hatshepsut to Amun (Naville 1908, pl. 156), the connected river transportation scene depicts a single barge with only two obelisks (under the supervision of other dignitaries than Senenmut, namely “the steward of the queen's domain, the scribe Tetiemra, the chief of the double granary Minmose and the Prince of This Satepihu”; *ibid.*, pl. 154); there is therefore no reason to assume that these two sets of obelisks, definitely datable to the early reign of Hatshepsut, were brought to Karnak together. According to their respective decoration schemes (notably the original presence of Thutmose III's name on fragments from the eastern obelisks) and to the fact that the eastern obelisks of the reigning queen were erected

Though the graffito does not specify the temple in which this pair of “great obelisks” was to be erected,<sup>57</sup> it is very tempting — and it seems reasonable — to identify them with one of the two sets Hatshepsut made in her early reign for Amun's precinct in Karnak, and more probably with the earliest one, meant to stand in the middle of the festival courtyard of Thutmose II, at the main entrance of the temple.<sup>58</sup> In this hypothesis, and given the time needed to extract the *Wadjyt* obelisks in the same quarry at the turn of year 15 to year 16 (i.e., 7 months; *Urk.* IV 367.3–5), the regent queen would have commissioned Senenmut to produce those two “great obelisks” during the very last months before her official assumption of real kingship.

According to the evolution of the queen's iconographical behavior we have just considered, this shift from regent to pharaoh was, at that moment of the reign, merely a question of titles and titulary — granted, of course, during some ritual ceremonies.<sup>59</sup> In this context, one should note that the last attested step before the official coronation as king was the addition to the name of Hatshepsut, inside her cartouche, of the epithet *hnm.t 'Imn* “the one who's united with Amun,”<sup>60</sup> so a qualifier that was one of the central concepts of her royal ideology — and legitimation discourse — and, once again, put emphasis on the very close relationship that united the reigning queen and the god of kingship.<sup>61</sup>

after a partial dismantling of the presumed *Netjery-menu* (Gabolde 2000, pp. 43, 46; *idem* 2005, pp. 9, 17, 20, 26, 76, 89, 96, 155), it is clear that the large granite needles erected in the middle of the festival court of Thutmose II were the firsts of Hatshepsut in Karnak. In this context, there might have been a very coherent monumental program conceived by Hatshepsut regarding the main building of her late husband at the entrance of Karnak precinct (see n. 53), a program that would fit particularly well with the iconographical and political trends we have just seen.

<sup>59</sup> The event is recalled in detail by the so-called coronation or pseudo-historical inscription from the *Chapelle Rouge* and the Deir el-Bahari temple of Hatshepsut, in a highly formalized and ideologically (as well as mythologically) oriented way; see Yoyotte 1968; Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 92–153.

<sup>60</sup> This is clearly demonstrated by the small kohl jar MMA 26.7.1437, in the name of “the god's wife Hatshepsut-united-with-Amun, may she live like Ra for ever” (Roehrig 2005, pp. 216–17, cat. no. 140). From that time on, i.e., from this very last stage of the regency period, the birth name of Hatshepsut will always be complemented with the epithet *hnm.t 'Imn*.

<sup>61</sup> Many productions of her reign — from group statues to hieroglyphic compositions — express this concept one could define as some sort of a consubstantiation between Hatshepsut and Amun.

## 2.3. The Actual Reign

### 2.3.1. The Coronation Period or the Beginning of the Official Assumption of Kingship

Before the last month of year 7 (of the reign of Thutmose III), as the above quoted coronation inscription from the *Chapelle Rouge* and the *Djeser-djeseru* commemorated, “the crowns (*h<sup>c</sup>.w*) of the god’s wife were removed and she wore the insignias (*hkr.w*) of Ra, the Southern crown and the Northern one being united on her head.” A few monuments — or fragments of monuments — unequivocally demonstrate that Hatshepsut started this new kingly career with the iconography of a female pharaoh.

This might have been the case with a stela found in Serabit el-Khadim (fig. 5.19). Just like in the graffito of Senenmut in Aswan quarries (fig. 5.18), Hatshepsut is depicted with her queenly gown and a double-plumed headdress on top of her wig, embodying alone the royal authority, as she performs the cult directly — and on her own — in front of the local divinity, “Hathor, mistress of turquoise” (compare with fig. 5.12, above). She is followed by two dignitaries, most probably in charge of the expedition to Sinai the stela was supposed to recall. The figure of the officiating queen is labeled with an incompletely preserved panel of hieroglyphs in front of her head, where her two cartouches occur, behind the title of “king of Upper and Lower Egypt”: her birth name (including the recently added epithet “the one who’s united with [Amun]”) and, behind, her coronation name (or so-called prenomen), Maatkara. As Dorman (2006, p. 50) pointed out,

Oddly, they are carved in reverse order, the prenomen following the nomen, and each cartouche is followed by the same epithet, “may she live.” Is this an indication that the prenomen was added at a later time, to a relief already in existence, or is the stela an early witness to her new royal titles?<sup>62</sup>

A clearer image of the newly crowned reigning queen appears on the fragments of a symmetrical scene rediscovered by H. Chevrier in Karnak in 1933–34 (fig. 5.20).<sup>63</sup> Hatshepsut, described as “the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the mistress of the rites, Maatkara, may she live,” is represented with female garments and anatomy, wearing a rounded short wig that seems to be suitable for a god’s wife (fig. 5.21; Szafranski 2007; idem 2008, pp. 280–83) as much as for a king (the *ibes* wig), but complemented here with a definitely royal double-feather headdress.<sup>64</sup>

The same combination of royal insignia with clearly female iconography was also in use for the first statues of Hatshepsut in her temple at Deir el-Bahari. The diorite sculpture MMA 30.3.3, apparently the oldest preserved seated statue of King Maatkara from the site of Deir el-Bahari (Tefnin 1979, pp. 1–31), presents Hatshepsut in a fully feminine guise, with a sheath dress, different pieces of jewelry, a pose, and a plastic treatment all inspired from Middle Kingdom art. As Roland Tefnin noted, it is the only statue that displays the complete five names royal titulary of the female sovereign, with a constant use of feminine gender endings throughout (Tefnin 1979, p. 3; Roehrig 2005, p. 159, fig. 65). According to the tradition of royal iconography, her throne is decorated with the *sema-tawy* motif on its lateral sides, and her feet rest on the nine bows, conventional symbol for the enemies of the nation. The choice of her headgear, the *khat*, is quite interesting since this headcloth — not very frequent in statuary until then — could, again, be worn by male and female members of the royal family, as well as by some goddesses (Tefnin 1979, p. 21; Eaton-Krauss 1977).

<sup>62</sup> Such oddities can also be found in inscriptions of the time of Thutmose III at Serabit el-Khadim (Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952–55, nos. 162 and 203, pls. 60, 65A), implying that it is very difficult to use this argument in order to choose between the two options Dorman put forward.

<sup>63</sup> Since these fragments were reassembled by Chevrier during a sorting operation carried out in what he designated as the “Magasin sud” (most probably the so-called Sheikh Labib magazine) of Karnak, their archaeological context and, therefore, their architectural origin cannot be certified. As is usually assumed, the block they once formed was most probably part of a constructed lintel on top of a proper lintel (from a technical point of view), perhaps made in another material, like in the *Netjery-menu* (see Gabolde 2005, p. 9, pls. 18–19). As Dorman (2006, p. 65 n. 82) perfectly noted, “Although the scene to the left is no longer extant,

the probability of an identical pendant scene of Hatshepsut is strong; the end of a shoulder and upper tip of a rear plume are visible at the edge of the break.” This symmetrical royal figure was certainly not masculine, for the *sed* tale of the king, that always projects beyond his rear shoulder, is not visible here. Given the parallel one can draw with the preserved remains of the *Netjery-menu*, the orientation of the royal and divine figures suggests that the scene was initially displayed on the inner side of a door (see Gabolde 2005, pl. 17; maybe from an extension or a later decorated part of the *Netjery-menu* itself).

<sup>64</sup> This combination occurs as a determinative of the word *ibs* in the expression *ibs šw.ty wr.ty* on Amenhotep II’s sphinx stela (Urk. IV 1277.20). For another depiction of Princess Neferura with the insignia of the god’s wife of Amun and the *ibes* wig, see Ćwiek 2007, p. 36, fig. 6.

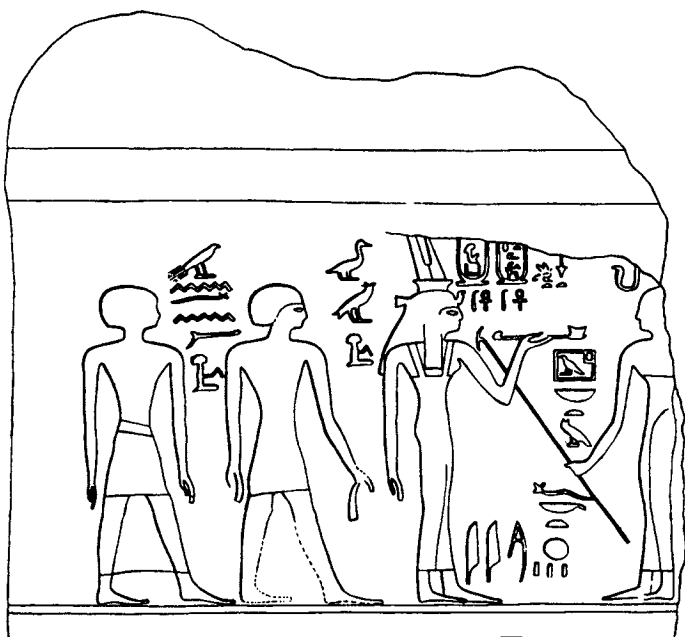


Figure 5.19. Rock-cut graffito in the name of Hatshepsut recently crowned as king, in Serabit el-Khadim, in Sinai (after Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952–55, no. 177, pl. 56)



Figure 5.20. Fragmentary limestone lintel from Karnak depicting the female pharaoh Hatshepsut offering to Amun (Luxor Museum J 771; after Chevrier 1934, p. 172, pl. 4)

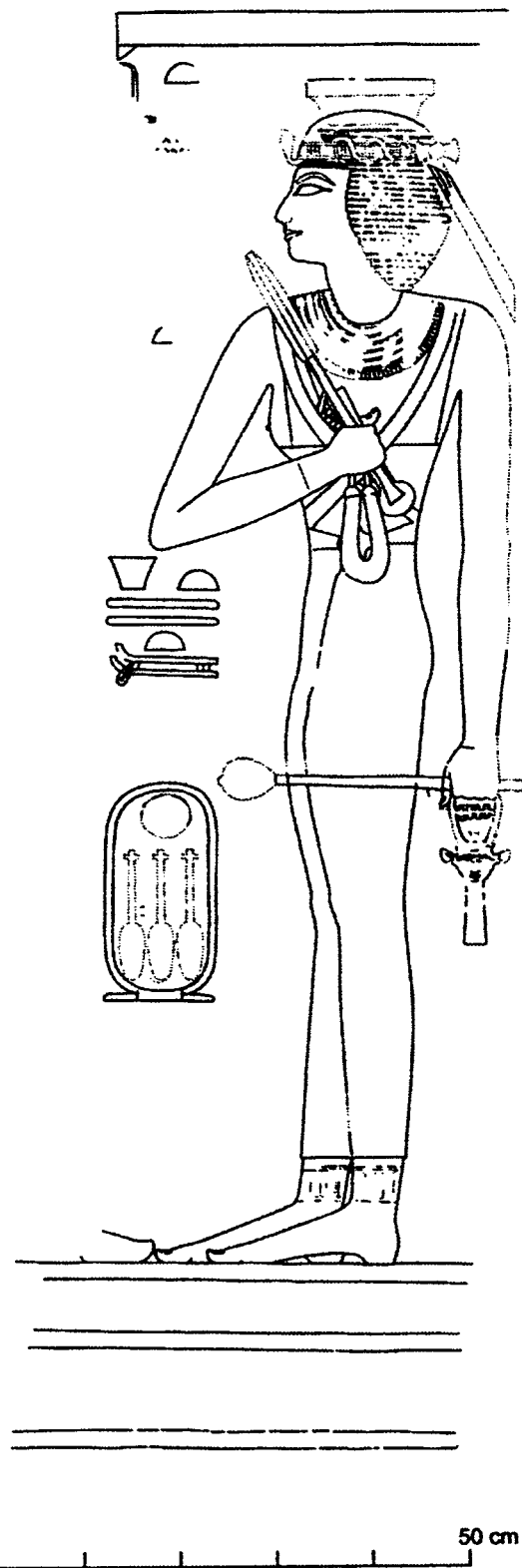


Figure 5.21. Figure of Princess Neferura in the guise of god's wife of Amun on the western wall of the upper courtyard of her mother's temple at Deir el-Bahari, on the south of the entrance to the main sanctuary (after Szafranski 2008, p. 282)

Among the very early statues of King Hatshepsut made for her royal complex at Deir el-Bahari, there was also a large series of sandstones sphinxes<sup>65</sup> and a set of four Osiride colossi (the Osirides A in the classification of R. Tefnin) that adorned each corner of the bark room, in front of the temple's main sanctuary (Tefnin 1979, pp. 37–70, 121–28). Those two very specific types of royal statuary, fundamentally masculine, were adapted to the femininity of the newly crowned pharaoh. The body shape of the lion, as well as the one of the cloak-wrapped standing king, was apparently considered impossible — or very problematic — to feminize,<sup>66</sup> but all these sculptures were systematically painted with yellow complexion, that is, with the traditional and conventional color for women's skin in ancient Egyptian art. And if some of the sandstone sphinxes were certainly designed with the usual and expected *nemes* headgear, on most of the chest and head fragments preserved from this series, Hatshepsut wears the *khat* — again — or the tripartite feminine or divine wig (Tefnin 1979, pp. 124–25).<sup>67</sup>

As mentioned above (at the end of section 1), in their study of the blocks reused in the foundations of the temple of Amenhotep III at north Karnak, Gabolde and Rondot were able to identify some elements from a limestone shrine also definitely datable to this very first phase of Hatshepsut's actual reign (Gabolde and Rondot 1996). No more than eleven blocks could be singled out as belonging to this small temple, apparently very similar in shape and dimensions to the one erected at Semna and commissioned in the sole name of Thutmose III at the beginning of year 2 (see above, section 2.1, and figs. 5.7–11). The structure might have been initiated just before the official assumption of kingship, for another block persuasively connected to this set by both authors, the so-called Labib Habachi block (fig. 5.6), was decorated with an encomium in which the birth name of the queen was later recarved into her coronation name, Maatkara.<sup>68</sup> In the different scenes those fragments allow to reconstruct (at least twelve), only one single figure of Hatshepsut survived. She appears now as a hacked masculine silhouette, wearing the *atef* crown, in front of Amun (fig. 5.22). But if the relief was obviously damaged during the proscription of Hatshepsut by order of Thutmose III, Gabolde and Rondot perfectly established, through the recarving of the fan behind the queen and the unusual repositioning of the plural strokes of the word *ꜥnh.w* in front of her crown, that the royal figure was first altered by Hatshepsut herself, who decided — notably — to have her headgear modified (Gabolde and Rondot 1996, p. 182). The clear remains of yellow pigment in the incisions of her carved face (fig. 5.23) doubtless reveal that she was originally represented as a woman,<sup>69</sup> while her kingly titles were left untouched, certifying that her appearance was, here again, that of a female pharaoh.

This wall decoration allowed for longer textual developments, and the possibility was intensively exploited on the long external lateral sides of the shrine: the reigning queen's titulary was indeed — partly — inscribed in hieroglyphs and columns smaller than those relating to the god, and, being more extensive than usual, it was also complemented by elements of eulogies that recall the ideological themes of that moment

<sup>65</sup> Agata Smilgin, in charge of the study of this series within the Polish-Egyptian Mission at Deir el-Bahari (Smilgin 2012), kindly informed me that it is possible to estimate the number of those sphinxes to about seventy units. It is a real pleasure for me to express here my warm thanks to her for sharing information about those statues.

<sup>66</sup> Leblanc (1980) has demonstrated that the so-called Osiride statue type was, functionally and morphologically, connected to the thematic of the *Heb Sed* and the renewal of kingship and cycles, in general. In this context, one can note that the only preserved *Heb Sed* statue of a queen, made during the autonomous reign of Thutmose III for his chief queen Satiah (JdE 37638; Sourouzian 1994, p. 518, no. 37), shows a jubilee cloak that almost completely conceals the body and therefore presents a neutralized — i.e., a masculine — anatomy, without any indication of feminine features, like female breast or hips. With this very formalized statue type, the sexual identity of the depicted personage was, it seems, only to be expressed by the inscriptions, the wig (here the so-called Hathoric one) and the scepters held by the queen.

<sup>67</sup> Fragments that can be surely attributed to the type of sandstone sphinxes with the *nemes* headcloth are actually very few, and R. Tefnin could pinpoint only one incomplete face of them (Berlin 2301). According to his analysis, this sphinx and maybe the subseries it was part of could have been made later than the other sandstone sphinxes wearing the *khat* or the tripartite wig (Tefnin 1979, pp. 126–28). For queenly sphinxes with the tripartite wig, see the examples of Nefertiti studied by Traunecker (1986, pp. 20–22).

<sup>68</sup> In their initial publication, Gabolde and Rondot (1996, pp. 196–67, 210–14) suggested that the Labib Habachi block came from a twin shrine, which was part of the same architectural project. Later, Gabolde (2005, p. 141) came back to the subject and assumed that all these blocks could come from one and the same monument. In any case, the typology of their decoration, both in terms of content and form (including the proportions and dimensions of the columns of hieroglyphs), strongly substantiates the connection advocated by Gabolde and Rondot.

<sup>69</sup> See n. 8.

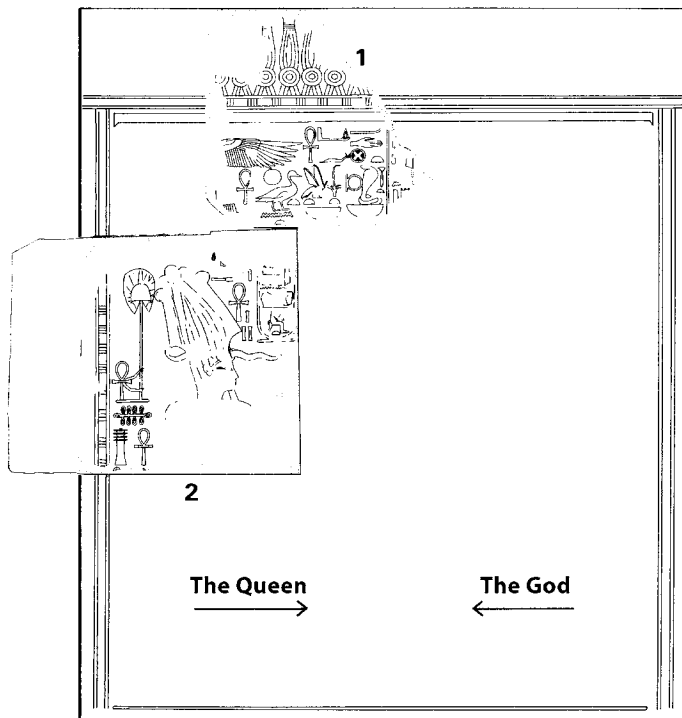


Figure 5.22. Current state of preservation of the decoration of the rear inner wall of a shrine erected for Amun in Karnak by Hatshepsut at the very beginning of her reign (after Gabolde and Rondot 1996, p. 183)



Figure 5.23. Detail of the head of Hatshepsut in the scene illustrated in figure 5.22 (author's photo)

of the reign.<sup>70</sup> This is how, for instance, we encounter one more time the epithet “the one to whom Ra has given the kingship righteously in the opinion of the Ennead,” already attested in the graffito of Senenmut in Aswan quarries, referred to above (fig. 5.18).<sup>71</sup>

So, all the monuments securely datable to the very beginning of Hatshepsut's official assumption of full kingship display a clear and coherent image of her power, combining the explicit expression of her femininity<sup>72</sup> with the one of her newly acquired kingly status, in a well-controlled and recurrent discourse, as is evidenced by the phraseological repetitions in the inscriptions of the time and by the subtle choices of the reigning queen's headgears. We also have to note the total absence – in the present state of our documentation – of Thutmose III in this new image of royal authority, since, from the graffito in Sinai to the temple wall decoration in Karnak, every preserved ritual scene now depicts Hatshepsut directly and entirely alone in front of the gods.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>70</sup> In this respect, see above, in section 2.1, the comments about the Labib Habachi blocks and the biography of Ineni.

<sup>71</sup> See n. 55.

<sup>72</sup> The female guise of Hatshepsut in this first iconography of her reign is mirrored on a textual level by the systematic use of feminine gender endings for any word relating to her, so far as one can judge from the state of preservation of the monuments commented in this section of the present article. G. Robins (1996) has also underlined the fundamentally feminine dimension of Hatshepsut's royal titulature, in terms of both form and content. Of course, this titulature was conceived for the inception of her reign.

<sup>73</sup> For instance, on the shrine reconstructed by Gabolde and Rondot, each time it is possible to identify the royal figure interacting with the image of the god (i.e., in nine scenes; Gabolde and Rondot 1996, pp. 183, 185, 189, 192, 198–99, 210), the names are always the ones of Hatshepsut (concerning the hypothesis that this small temple would have been erected within a precinct accessible through a gate where Thutmose III was represented; see above, n. 18). From a statistical point of view, if we consider the situation attested before (in the Semna temple or the *Netjery-menu*) and after (during the actual coregency; see above, nn. 12–17), the total absence of Thutmose III on the monuments of Hatshepsut's coronation period cannot be fortuitous.

### 2.3.2. *The Progressive Masculinization*

After this very first phase of the reign of Hatshepsut, when she represented her royal power through the iconography of a female pharaoh, the still recently crowned sovereign started to explore new means of expressing her exceptional status, notably, as is well known, in the sense of a progressive and irreversible masculinization. The successive steps of this evolution are fixed in the iconography of different monuments.

This is the case of the southern temple of Buhen, in lower Nubia, apparently commissioned soon after Hatshepsut's accession to full and official kingship — or even slightly before.<sup>74</sup> Four consecutive stages in its decoration process are still epigraphically preserved and — therefore— perceptible (fig. 5.24).

- First: At least one scene testifies that the cutting of the reliefs started with the just described model of a female pharaoh, represented with her queenly gown and, according to the tradition of ancient Egyptian art, with her feet set close together (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pl. 65).
- Second: On two reliefs of the nearby inner sanctuary, the reigning queen was originally still depicted garbed in a feminine dress but with an unusually elongated stride, between the one of women and the one of men (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 74, 82).<sup>75</sup>
- Third: Two other scenes clearly portrayed the female sovereign with the same posture but this time wearing a royal kilt, on a slender — androgynous — anatomy, that was later on enlarged and “further masculinized” (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 49, 68).
- Fourth: Finally, some reliefs showed from the beginning — it seems<sup>76</sup> — the reigning queen in a fully masculine guise (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 12, 29, 36, 41, 69, 79), while all her previously carved figures were, probably at the same time, altered to display the same image of a virile pharaoh, with larger stride and stature (ibid., pls. 20, 25, 26, 49, 61, 74, 77, 81, 82; Karkowski 1978). Many of these reworked depictions were simply smoothed and recarved, as usual. But in quite a number of cases, the surface of the wall was deeply cut out (on about 15 cm), following a rectangular frame all over the queen's figure, and the regular hole or niche (to use Caminos' words) thus produced was then filled with a new slab of stone (cemented with plaster), ready for a new decoration (Caminos 1974, vol. 1, pls. 9–10; vol. 2, pls. 2–4, 6, 10–11, 20, 23, 26, 29, 34–35, 38–39, 43–44, 62).<sup>77</sup>

In this final stage of the decoration of Buhen temple during the reign of Hatshepsut, it seems that the masculinized images of the reigning queen were displayed in more or less complementary distribution with the figures of a male pharaoh. Even if the situation is now blurred by the present state of conservation of the

<sup>74</sup> Since the upper courses of the temple are now lost (see below, n. 78), with the upper part of most of the scenes, where the titularies and crowns of royal figures appeared, the official status of Hatshepsut when she was still depicted as a woman cannot be surely established, though the majority of preserved original images of the queen on the temple walls supports a date after the formal coronation.

<sup>75</sup> Such a pose was already attested for the depiction of Queen Ahmose Nefertary in the time of her husband, King Ahmose, on the famous Karnak “donation stela” (Harari 1959, pls. 1–2), a monument that Hatshepsut must have been aware of. On the plausible inspiration the latter might have found in the role assumed by her very influential and close predecessor Ahmose Nefertary, see above, n. 40, and below in section 3. From a typological point of view (within ancient Egyptian artistic conventions) and given our knowledge of what will happen next, it is highly tempting to characterize this wider stride as a more masculine pose. It should nevertheless be noted here that, in the bark room of the temple of Buhen — i.e., only a few meters away — a scene showing the king conducted by the gods depicts a walking goddess with exactly the same stride, so in

an iconographical context where any masculinizing intention appears simply unthinkable (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pl. 56). Thus, the problem might have been more complex than the simple dichotomy male/female, and it could have included a dimension relating to dynamicity, or even something else.

<sup>76</sup> Once again, the ancient recarvings of these reliefs were so carefully done that it is sometimes difficult to be sure that the now visible decoration is truly original. A good case is given by scene 16 (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pl. 29; Karkowski 1978): the running figure of Thutmose I, with its identifying panel of inscriptions, looks perfectly untouched and, therefore, original, whereas some corrected feminine endings in the words spoken by the goddess Satet or in the protection formula behind the king demonstrate, without any possible doubt, that the scene initially depicted Hatshepsut!

<sup>77</sup> This second unusual and more time-consuming technique might have been chosen because the modification of the initial decoration was too important or too difficult to achieve on the original surface. In any case, it reveals the importance of the modification to be done in the eyes of the one who ordered it, i.e., undoubtedly Hatshepsut herself.

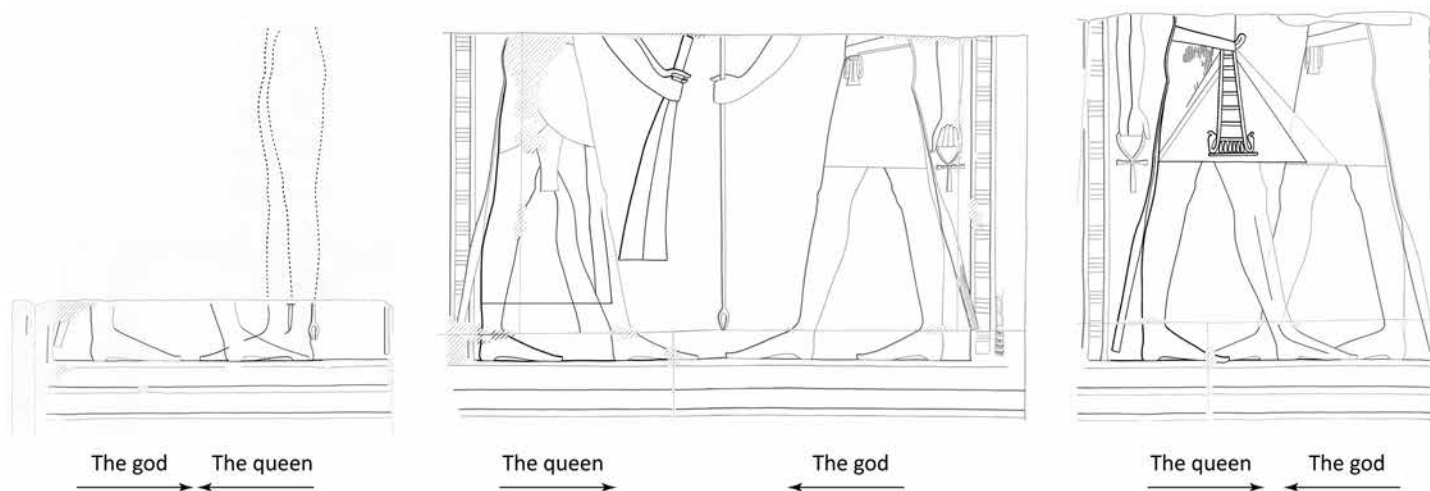


Figure 5.24. Successive steps in the masculinization process of Hatshepsut's royal image in the reliefs of the southern temple of Buhen: the sovereign depicted as a woman (later erased), as a woman with an elongated stride (later fully masculinized), and garbed in a male kingly ritual loincloth (with triangular apron) but still with androgynous anatomy and stride (later enlarged) (after Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 65, 82, 49)

monument (whose upper courses are lost)<sup>78</sup> and by the reworking of the decoration after Hatshepsut's death (at the beginning of the sole reign of her ex-coregent and during her proscription),<sup>79</sup> it is clear that, at that moment, Thutmose III was back in the iconography of kingship on temple walls, at least on five occasions in this monument (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 27, 47, 55, 57).<sup>80</sup> But, at the same time, his father, Thutmose II, still occupied a very prominent place in the iconographical discourse and therefore in the ideology of the yet recently crowned queen Hatshepsut. As Caminos explains,

In our monument not less than eleven records are explicitly commemorative of him in one way or another; in seven of them his name is a later interpolation, in four of them his name is undoubtedly original. (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, p. 4)

And this includes an exceptionally well-preserved scene where the deceased king — though presented as if he was still alive and active (*[di 'nh] dd w3s [mi-R<sup>c</sup>] dt*) — appears facing the local god, Horus of Buhen, in the innermost part of the temple's sanctuary (fig. 5.25).<sup>81</sup> But, despite this apparent sharing of temple decoration with one or another male king, every dedicatory inscription of the monument was engraved in the sole name of Hatshepsut (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 42, 63 [3–4]).

<sup>78</sup> At least a part of them was dismantled and reused in the Arab citadel of Faras; see Godron 1971; Karkowski 1972 and 1981.

<sup>79</sup> Caminos (1974, vol. 2, pp. 100–02) gives a very convenient overview of the different alterations of the initial temple decoration. As he stressed (*ibid.*, p. 4), the presence of Thutmose I is always secondary.

<sup>80</sup> In scene 8 (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 17, 18), the cartouche of Thutmose III appears to me dubious because of the very unexpected position of the sign *hpr* vis-à-vis the three plural strokes just below, and the general layout of the elements of the cartouche reminds the one of *Dhwtj-ms-nfr-h<sup>c</sup>.w*, i.e., Thutmose II. The two other occurrences of Thutmose III are the result of later modifications (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 10, 35).

<sup>81</sup> He might also have been depicted on the façade of the temple, attending the coronation or the establishment of the records of his royal consort, but the name of this unusual royal figure is now lost; see Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pl. 9. The importance of the

original presence of Thutmose II in the temple wall decoration might have induced the idea of reattributing the monument to his credit during the proscription of Hatshepsut (*ibid.*, pl. 42; for this reattribution policy within the context of Hatshepsut's persecution, see the references given above, n. 11). As far as one can figure out now, it seems that Thutmose II was very present in the decoration of the two innermost rooms of the temple (*ibid.*, pls. 66, 76), plausibly the earliest decorated ones (i.e., where the two first iconographical phases are attested), and maybe also on the façade of the monument (as suggested in this note and the previous one), whereas some sort of an alternation between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III prevailed in the front rooms, i.e., the vestibule, the bark room, and the north side room (*ibid.*, pls. 47, 55, 57), and the majority of the scenes on the external wall of the temple (except for the façade) were in her sole name (including some panels on the south wall with the depiction of a masculine pharaoh followed by a smaller female figure, perhaps princess Neferura [?]; *ibid.*, pls. 33, 35[?], 37).



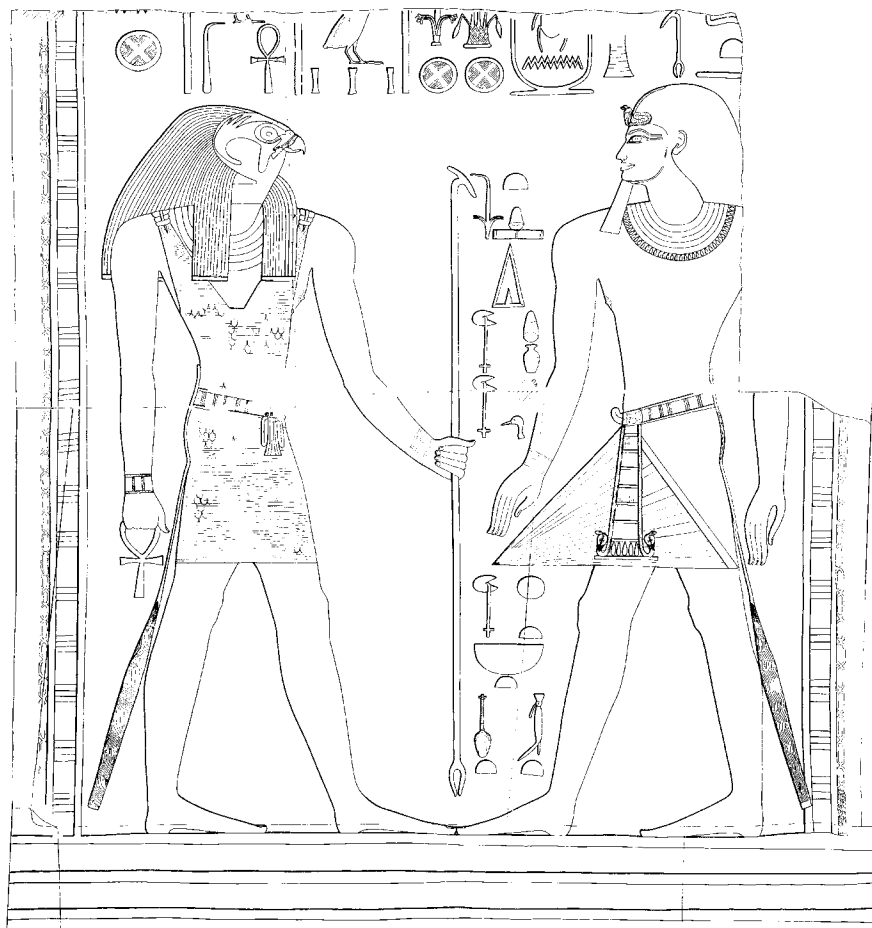


Figure 5.25. Depiction of Thutmose II in front of Horus of Buhen on the rear (or northeastern) wall of the inner sanctuary of the southern temple of Buhen (after Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pl. 76)

Another — much more important — monumental project of the female sovereign in this early period of her reign was, of course, her temple of millions of years, the *Djeser-djeseru* at Deir el-Bahari. Evidence from this site perfectly corroborates the different trends and characteristics highlighted by the decoration history of the southern temple of Buhen.

In this case, the initial architectural works were considerably more significant, and they no doubt took much more time. This is probably why, in wall decoration, only the last stages of the evolution of royal iconography attested at Buhen can be found in Deir el-Bahari. Indeed, as evoked above, P. Gilbert (1953), R. Tefnin (1979, pp. 59–60, pl. 14b), and, more recently, A. Ćwiek (2007) drew attention to the androgynous aspect of Hatshepsut's depictions in the main sanctuary of the temple, in all likelihood the earliest decorated part of the monument. Just like in phase 3 of Buhen temple's decoration, she is portrayed in full regalia, with the short ritual kilt of pharaohs, a naked chest, and a gracefully thin anatomical rendering, plainly more slender than the one of men in ancient Egyptian artistic conventions. And, maybe more importantly, substantiating this reading, Ćwiek has demonstrated that these androgynous figures — still with allusively feminine breast — were originally painted in pink-like or orange light ochre, that is, a hue willingly halfway between the traditional yellow for women and red for men (see fig. 5.1).<sup>82</sup> And like in Buhen, again, Thutmose III has now

<sup>82</sup> On the intentional dimension of this coloring, see above, n. 6. Ćwiek (2007, p. 25) also found another figure of the reigning queen with pink/orange complexion later repainted with red outside the main sanctuary: in the southernmost of the small niches of the western wall of the upper courtyard, whereas “In

all other niches and throughout the remaining parts of the temple, Hatshepsut is depicted with ‘male,’ red colour of the body.” For the early date of the decoration of this part of the monument, see below, the discussion about the Osirides B, in the large niches of the same wall, alternating with those small niches.

made his reappearance in the official imagery of royal authority: indeed, if such androgynous representations of Pharaoh Maatkara performing daily cult rites in front of (the statue of) Amun occupied the walls of the southern half of the main sanctuary (Ćwiek 2007, pp. 37, 39, 41, 42; Barwik 2010),<sup>83</sup> the decoration of the latter's north wall was composed by two scenes — around a door with a double dedicatory inscription in the sole name of Hatshepsut (!) — depicting the young king Thutmose III engaged in a ritual action that complemented the one of his aunt on the opposite wall (Ćwiek 2007, pp. 37–40).<sup>84</sup> As for Thutmose II, he was also portrayed — twice — just next door, in the previous room, the so-called bark hall (most likely decorated soon after),<sup>85</sup> under a panel with a similar image of his father, Thutmose I, the latter's wife, Queen Ahmes, and Princess Neferubity (apparently a deceased sister of Hatshepsut; Ćwiek 2007, pp. 32–35), all of them turning their backs to the sanctuary, as guest deities in the temple of Amun.

The analysis of the statuary program of the *Djeser-djeseru* temple allows for an even more precise characterization of the evolution of Hatshepsut's official image. The late R. Tefnin devoted his doctoral dissertation to the subject and was able to demonstrate that this evolution took place in three main phases (with two intermediate stages), which need to be distinguished: a first feminine phase, that is, with the iconography of a female pharaoh, for the inception of the reign (see above, section 2.3.1); then an androgynous step, when the reigning queen considerably reduced the iconographical explicitness of her femininity and, at the same time, put forward the insignias of her royal status; and, finally, a definitely masculine phase, with a fully masculinized image of her power, until the end of the coregency (Tefnin 1979; Laboury 1998, pp. 592–608). But, more significantly, he showed that this evolution involved an important physiognomic metamorphosis that we have to consider closely.

The first face of Hatshepsut's depictions was actually a feminine — or feminized<sup>86</sup> — version of the official physiognomy of her three direct predecessors (Tefnin 1979, pp. 37–40, 49–70, 139–45, pls. 8–9; Laboury 1998, pp. 585–90, 604; fig. 5.26), which was itself deeply inspired by — not to say copied from — the iconography of Senwosret I (Laboury 1998, pp. 478–81; idem 2013), conceived some five centuries earlier. This is a quite neutral — or unpersonalized — visage, with a rather strong angular jaw, that determines a more or less square face when seen from the front, well opened eyes under almost horizontal eyebrows, a slight but clearly perceptible smile, and a straight nose. This facial type is systematically attested on all the monuments from the regency period, including the Semna temple in the name of Thutmose III, the so-called *Netjery-menu*, the niches structure from Karnak, the Tura limestone bark shrine from the same site, and so on, but also on all the preserved faces from the original decoration of the southern temple of Buhen or on the just discussed Hatshepsut's reliefs of the main sanctuary in Deir el-Bahari. In statuary, the best examples are provided by the series of the Osirides A (fig. 5.26), from the four corners of the bark room, just before the main sanctuary.

Shortly into Hatshepsut's reign, this pseudo-genealogical mask nonetheless started to change into a previously unattested and very personalized triangular face, with more almond-shaped feline eyes under curved eyebrows, a small mouth, narrower at the corners, and an ostensibly hooked nose (fig. 5.27). The successive steps of this transformation were materialized in the early statuary of the reigning queen from Deir el-Bahari. The first physiognomic modifications can be detected on the set of sandstone sphinxes discussed above (section 2.3.1), which depicted the sovereign still as a woman, as is clearly signified by the yellow color of her skin, but already with more elongated<sup>87</sup> eyes under curved eyebrows. These feline eyes appear again on the two seated statues of Pharaoh Maatkara wearing a female dress (fig. 5.28). The first of those sculptures, MMA 30.3.3, is almost completely defaced,<sup>88</sup> but the second one, MMA 29.3.3, presents new

<sup>83</sup> It's a pleasure for me to express here my deepest gratitude to Z. E. Szafranski for allowing me to visit in January 2010 this part of the Polish concession at Deir el-Bahari in the best possible conditions one could hope.

<sup>84</sup> A similar situation apparently occurred in the bark room of the southern temple of Buhen (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 55–63).

<sup>85</sup> This is evidenced by the “early style” of the architectural statues of this room, the Osirides A (discussed in the previous section of this article and hereafter), as well as by the remains

of androgynous depictions of the reigning queen in the reliefs of the side niches of the hall (Tefnin 1979, pp. 59–60, pl. 14a).

<sup>86</sup> In the sense that her complexion was painted yellow; see above, section 2.3.1.

<sup>87</sup> Those new eyes give the impression of being more elongated, but, actually, their length remains the same, while their height or openness was reduced.

<sup>88</sup> Though the shape and position of her left eyebrow vis-à-vis the eye are plainly visible.

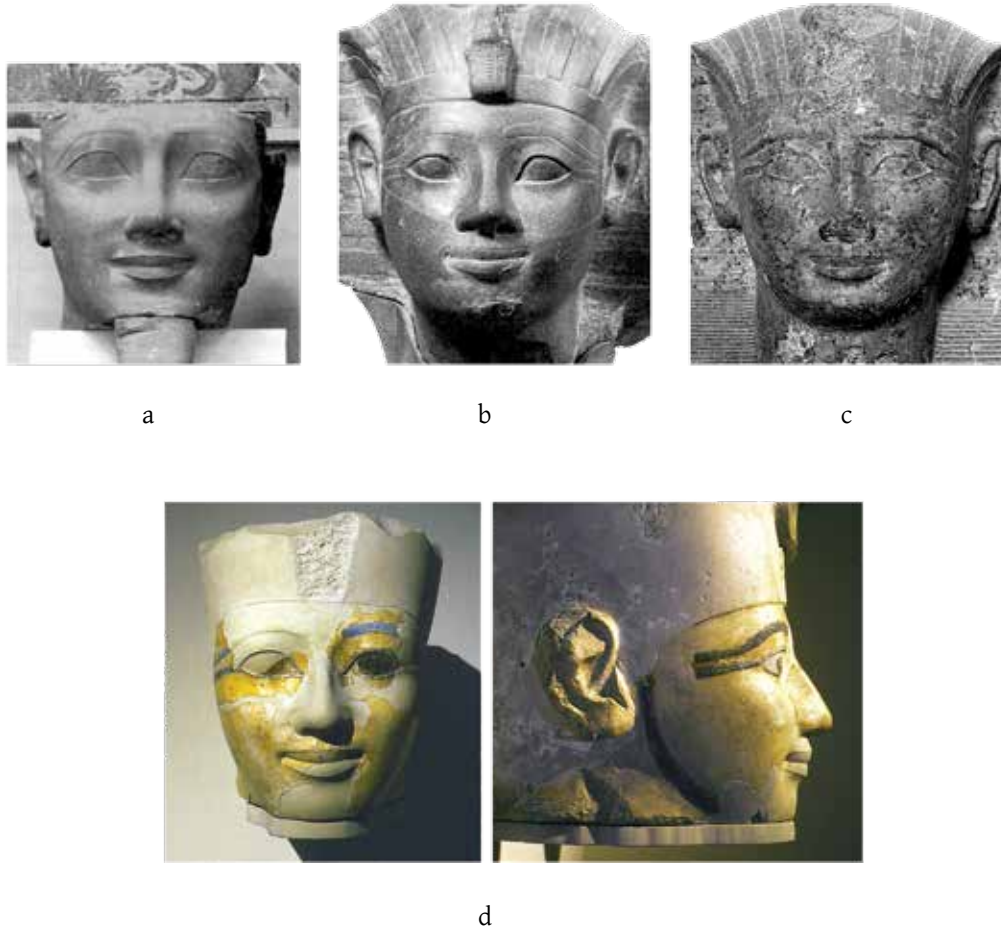


Figure 5.26. Comparison of the official portraits of Hatshepsut's direct predecessors. (a) CG 42051: Thutmose I (author's photo); (b) JdE 52364: Thutmose II (after Gabolde 2000, pl. 23a); (c) RT 14/6/24/11: Thutmose III, regency period (author's photo) with (d) her first Osiride colossi (A) from Deir el-Bahari (MMA 31.3.154-55 [author's photos])

features: the chin is now considerably lessened and the maxillary has lost its importance, giving a distinctive triangular shape to the face; the modeling of the visage has been simplified, with an extremely flat facial plan and a very geometric nose, whose profile is nevertheless still perfectly straight; and the mouth is small and narrow at the corners of the lips. The famous seated statue MMA 29.3.2 (Tefnin 1979, pp. 6-11, 19-31, 139-46, pls. 1b-3a) — known as the “white Hatshepsut” — shows a very similar physiognomy, but its nose is now clearly hooked. More strikingly, on this sculpture, the reigning queen emphasized her royal insignias, wearing a broader *nemes* headgear<sup>89</sup> and having exchanged her female gown for the *shendjyt* loincloth of traditional — male — pharaohs, while her anatomy is only allusively feminine, with still slim limbs but a faint, barely perceptible breast (figs. 5.27a and 5.28c). Exactly the same visage appears on the heads from the Osirides B (fig. 5.27b), initially carved in the large niches of the western wall of the upper courtyard of the temple (Tefnin 1979, pp. 41-43, 49-70, 139-46, pls. 10, 11). Mirroring the androgynous anatomy of the seated indurated limestone statue MMA 29.3.2, their complexion is painted in orange, that is, between the yellow of women and the red of men.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>89</sup> The *nemes* will become even wider on the next statue, MMA 27.3.163 (Tefnin 1979, pp. 16-31, pl. 6; see fig. 5.28d).

<sup>90</sup> On the Egyptological problem of the chromatic description of these different hues, see the interesting comments of Ćwiek 2007, pp. 24-25. Beyond the — rather pointless — question of vocabulary, the really important thing here is the intentionality behind these color choices, and, linked to it, their relative con-

trast, i.e., their contrast within the palette used by the painters of those different sets of sculptures. For instance, the pictures now accessible on the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)) perfectly allow the contrastive comparison between the tone of the queen's complexion and the red of the Lower Egyptian crown or the clear yellow and red of the uraeus on her forehead.

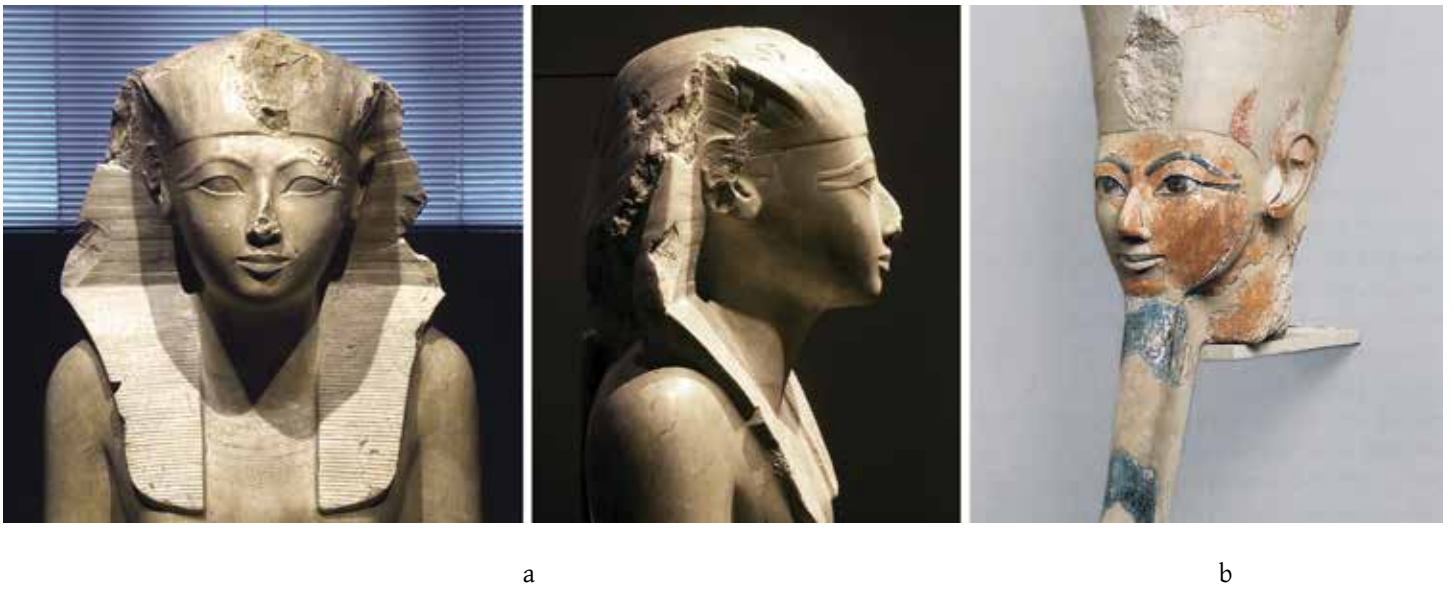


Figure 5.27. (a) MMA 29.3.2 (author's photos), and (b) head of Osiride colossi B MMA 31.3.164 (after Roehrig 2005, p. 140, cat. no. 74)



Figure 5.28. Seated statues of Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahari, in chronological order: (a) MMA 30.3.3, (b) MMA 29.3.3, (c) MMA 29.3.2, and (d) MMA 27.3.164 (author's photos)

So, this second step in the evolution of Hatshepsut's royal iconography — when the reigning queen decided to enhance the explicitness of her kingly status to the detriment of the one of her sexual identity — was characterized and even initiated by a progressive but not less patent physiognomic change (compare figs. 5.26 and 5.27) that consists in a clear departure from the dynastic model inherited from her three direct predecessors, including the young king Thutmose III during the regency period, to introduce an unprecedented and very individualized face, presumably inspired by her actual facial appearance.<sup>91</sup> As a matter of fact, as R. Tefnin perfectly stressed, this iconographical experimentation expressed the sovereign's desire to assert her own personality as a king.

The study of two-dimensional representations (in Buhen as well as in the main sanctuary of Deir el-Bahari temple) led us to notice that, with the properly androgynous phase, that is, when the stylistic continuity with the predecessors had been broken and the actual process of masculinization really engaged,<sup>92</sup> Thutmose III was reintegrated into the official image of royal authority, in some sort of a complementary distribution with his kingly aunt. The statuette of the young king seems to corroborate this observation: although not a single piece of sculpture in the round with his name could be connected to the *Djeser-djeseru*, three fragmentary statues attributable to Thutmose III — on epigraphic or stylistic grounds — show the strong and obvious influence of this second physiognomic type of Hatshepsut and were therefore probably made during this phase of her iconographical evolution (MMA 08.202.6, CG 578, and MMA 66.99.22; Laboury 1998, pp. 208–11, 295–97, 363–64, 609–17; idem 2006, pp. 275–77).<sup>93</sup>

Indeed, the metamorphosis resumed rather quickly and ended in a definitely male royal image of Hatshepsut, with explicitly masculine musculature, red skin, and, again, a new visage, which, as R. Tefnin rightly underlined, appears as a synthesis of her two first official faces, that is, a compromise between her very individualized previous portrait — plausibly inspired by her own facial appearance — and the conventional iconography of her three male predecessors (fig. 5.29). Thus, the distinctive triangular shape of the face when seen from the front (in phase 2) is considerably reduced through an augmentation of the cheeks, which recalls the plastic solution adopted for the Osirides A of phase 1, despite a very flat facial plan; the chin has become broad again, as well as the corners of the mouth, which is more smiling and pleasant; the intensity of the stare is lessened by the flattening of the curve of the eyebrows and the wide opened and less

<sup>91</sup> See Tefnin 1979, pp. 10, 14–16, 42–43, 66–70, 133, 139, 146. On the issue of portrait in royal sculpture, see Laboury 2010b. In this case, the question whether this second official visage of Hatshepsut actually reflects the real physiognomy of the queen or not is quite irrelevant; the significant fact in the present context is definitely that the female sovereign decided to free herself from her previous official portrait references to search for a new plainly individualized image of her power. In this sense, there is a clear personal assertion from a political point of view.

<sup>92</sup> The statues that manifest the process of transition from the first official face of King Maatkara to her second physiognomic type — i.e., the sandstone sphinxes, the two small limestone sphinxes, the seated statues MMA 30.3.3 and MMA 29.3.3 — clearly display an unambiguous expression of her femininity (through the color of the skin or definitely feminine dress and anatomy), which only started to vanish when the new visage was fully shaped, with the “white Hatshepsut” (MMA 29.3.2) and the Osirides B.

<sup>93</sup> The over-life-size seated statue CG 578 and the small quartzite sphinx MMA 08.202.6 bear inscriptions with an original titulary of Thutmose III and were therefore assuredly made to represent that king, while the head MMA 66.99.22 can only be dated on stylistic criteria, first brilliantly advocated in Fay 1995, pp. 12–13. The Cairo statue was found in Karnak (almost certainly by A. Mariette), whereas the New York sphinx is presumed to come from the same site, and the broken head MMA 66.99.22 has no known provenance. The closest parallel to those sculp-

tures of Thutmose III in the statuette of Hatshepsut is certainly the latter's granite sphinx Berlin 2299, which was persuasively dated by Tefnin to the transition between phases 2 and 3 of the queen's iconographical evolution (Tefnin 1979, pp. 103–07, 115–20, 135–46, pl. 28; for the comparison, see H. W. Müller 1953, p. 73 n. 12; Laboury 1998, pp. 611–13). Despite what I initially thought (Laboury 1998, pp. 609–11; idem 2006, pp. 275–76), and taking into account the size of the piece (height of the face: 4.6 cm), the rather wide-opened eyes of the small New York sphinx are probably to be interpreted in the same way, i.e., as a sign of transition between phases 2 and 3. The reliefs depicting Thutmose III at that moment of the reign also suggest a quite late date for the iconographical reintegration of the young king during the masculinizing process of Hatshepsut's iconography, i.e., during phase 2: in Buhen, the original representations of Thutmose III are to be found in the front — and probably later — parts of the temple (see above, n. 81), where only one single androgynous figure of the reigning queen is attested (Caminos 1974, pl. 49), all her other depictions being masculine from the beginning, it seems; in Deir el-Bahari, the only preserved face of Thutmose III in the main sanctuary (Ćwiek 2007, p. 38) was already carved in the last style of Hatshepsut's iconographical history, whereas at least one of the queen's portraits in the same room, with androgynous guise, was still in the first style (ibid., p. 37). For the delay with which a new physiognomic style elaborated in statuette was implemented in two-dimensional representations, see Laboury 1998, p. 607 n. 1828.

almond-shaped eyes; nonetheless, the profile of the nose remains hooked, though with a smoother break at the nasal bone.

### 2.3.3. The Masculinized Rulership and the Inception of the Real Coregency

The thorough analysis of Hatshepsut's portrait sculptures conducted by R. Tefnin revealed a dimension of the evolution of the queen's iconography that transcends the rather simple — and maybe simplistic — question of male versus female depictions: the issue of the (necessarily political) references to predecessors and their official image. In this respect, the emergence of the new, definitely masculine iconography of Hatshepsut's power was accompanied by two ideologically very important changes: on the one hand, the reintegration of Thutmose III, who had disappeared from the imagery of royal authority since the pre-coronation ascension of the then regent queen (see above, the second phase described in section 2.2), and, on the other hand, the soon replacement of Thutmose II by Thutmose I as the legitimizing ancestor of the female sovereign. As we have seen, the decoration of the main sanctuary of the *Djeser-djeseru* at Deir el-Bahari substantiates the existence of a transition period, during which both kings, the late husband and the deceased father, co-existed in the ideological discourse of the reigning queen — in the context of a selective family commemoration.<sup>94</sup> But later on, that is, on any other monument or part of a monument decorated after, the former vanished and the latter became the one and only royal legitimizing reference of Hatshepsut.

This apparently progressive switch might be of interest to estimate the chronology of the evolution we have just considered. First of all, the actual coregency, that is, with Hatshepsut and Thutmose III representing royal authority together, was certainly effective at the end of year 12, for the oldest preserved dated inscription in both of their names is a rock graffito in Tangur commemorating a military expedition in Nubia and beginning with the mention of that regnal year, “third month of *peret*, day 12, under the Majesty of the perfect god Maatkara — may (s)he be given life — (and) under the Majesty of the perfect god Menkheperra — may he be given life—” (Reineke 1977; Morkot 1987, p. 32; Hintze and Reineke 1989, no. 562, pl. 239). Moreover, Tefnin (1979, pp. 66–67, 69, 143)



Figure 5.29. Faces of Hatshepsut's Osiride colossi A (MMA 31.3.154–55), B (MMA 27.3.163), and C (JdE 56259A–56262), from Deir el-Bahari (after Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, no. 129, and author's photos)

<sup>94</sup> According to its style, the *Heb Sed* statue of Thutmose II dedicated by Hatshepsut (Elephantine Museum no. 1086; Dreyer 1984) was made quite early in the latter's reign, and certainly before the masculinizing or androgynous phase 2. As for the block with the cryptogram for Maatkara connected by L. Gabolde with the memorial temple dedicated to Thutmose II on the west bank of Thebes (the *Hut-shesepet-ankh*; Gabolde 2005, pp. 175–76), nothing in the available documentation allows us to

date this initial stage in the history of the construction of the monument (which was considerably modified by Thutmose III at the beginning of his independent reign; see Laboury 1998, p. 561). Furthermore, Gabolde does not provide the information that demonstrates the relation between this fragment and the monument in question, except for the fact that all their preserved elements are stored together in the same magazine at Deir el-Medina.

gathered some arguments suggesting a rather quick process. And, indeed, about two-thirds of the statuary of the *Djeser-djeseru* belong to the last, fully masculinized, iconographical phase,<sup>95</sup> as well as the overwhelming majority of the two-dimensional decoration of the temple. The statues and reliefs actually datable to the second — androgynous and physiognomically individualized — style are not very numerous,<sup>96</sup> and the fact that different successive stages are attested within quite small monumental spaces (in the main sanctuary area in Deir el-Bahari as well as in the temple of Buhen), again, hints at a rather fast evolution. But the most precise clue is perhaps to be sought in the graffito left by Senenmut in Aswan quarries (fig. 5.18). As we have seen (at the end of section 2.2), this graffito dates back to the very end of the regency period, when the queen behaved — iconographically, as well as in her actual commands — like a king, adopting epithets such as “the one to whom Ra has given the kingship righteously in the opinion of the Ennead,” so almost certainly during year 7. Though the inscription does not give any explicit information about the destination of the two obelisks Senenmut was commissioned to produce, those two monoliths are in all likelihood to be identified with the first pair of obelisks erected by King Hatshepsut in Karnak, in the middle of the festival courtyard of Thutmose II, at the monumental entrance of the temple.<sup>97</sup> If the project was evidently connected with the memory of Thutmose II, by its architectural context as well as by inscriptions,<sup>98</sup> a fragment from this pair of obelisks — pulled down during the construction of the Third Pylon under Amenhotep III — still preserves the remains of a dedicatory inscription by Hatshepsut to Thutmose I (Gabolde 1987a, pp. 146–47). This implies that those two obelisks were decorated — probably in the same phase as the bark hall of the *Djeser-djeseru* — when style 3 was already established, Thutmose III reintegrated in royal iconography and the proper coregency initiated. In the hypothesis that the obelisks of the festival court were the ones supervised by Senenmut, the parallel with the history of the *Wadjyt* obelisks — extracted eight years later in the same quarries, at approximately the same moment of the calendar, and in a period of seven full months (*Urk.* IV 367.3–5)<sup>99</sup> — suggests that the complete metamorphosis of King Hatshepsut, from regent queen on the brink to be officially crowned pharaoh with an entirely masculinized iconography reintegrating her young coregent, would have occurred within a few months or less than a full year, that is, within regnal year 8.<sup>100</sup>

So, the evolution of royal iconography during the first eight years of the reign of Thutmose III can be described and summarized by the following table:

<sup>95</sup> See Laboury 1998, p. 608 n. 1834. The calculation was made on the catalog established by Tefnin 1979. As Do. Arnold (in Roehrig 2005, pp. 270–76) undisputably showed, the numbers were even bigger.

<sup>96</sup> If we consider the statues that properly illustrate the real phase 2 of Tefnin’s classification, there are the two seated statues MMA 29.3.2 and MMA 27.3.163, and the series of the Osirides B, with initially ten colossi (even if only three heads out of them are well preserved). In this context, one may wonder whether this style 2 deserves to be qualified as a real phase or whether one should consider it an important stage within a broader evolution from style 1 to style 3.

<sup>97</sup> On these obelisks and the project they seem to have been part of, see above, nn. 53 and 58.

<sup>98</sup> According to Gabolde 1987a, p. 143, at least one reference to Thutmose II in the inscriptions of these obelisks is original and not palimpsest on the name of Hatshepsut. The preserved fragments of these texts also mention the making of a new Userhat bark for Amun (Gabolde 2003), i.e., the river processional bark of the god, which was almost certainly depicted in the decoration of the Tura limestone bark shrine (Gabolde 2005, pp. 109–11), described above. For a possible connection between this monument and the pair of granite needles erected by Hatshepsut in the festival courtyard, again, see above, nn. 53 and 58.

<sup>99</sup> According to the iconographical and textual content of Senenmut’s graffito, the great steward was sent to Aswan some time before the last month of *peret* of year 7 — i.e., the *terminus ante quem* for the coronation of his mistress — whereas the extraction of the *Wadjyt* obelisks started on the “second month of *peret*, day 1” (*Urk.* IV 367.3), apparently in haste, since the way Hatshepsut recounts the event suggests that the complete extraction procedure within seven months constituted some sort of an exploit, probably in order to be able to use the Nile flood for the transportation of the granite monoliths (for this latter idea, see Barguet 1962, p. 99 n. 6). If the obelisks supervised by Senenmut were the ones destined for the eastern area of Karnak’s precinct, the chronological deductions are the same, since those monoliths were decorated with original cartouches of Thutmose III next to those of Hatshepsut, i.e., when the true coregency had already been initiated; see n. 58.

<sup>100</sup> A shorter period of time is probably not thinkable, given the number of statues sculpted before the final establishment of style 3, and especially the series of about seventy sandstone sphinxes for the causeway of Deir el-Bahari temple (see n. 65), which, as far as one can tell, were all feminine, i.e., with yellow complexion.

1. The beginning of the reign of Thutmose III and the regency period (years 1–5/7): Thutmose III is the nominal king, in whose sole name everything is officially done. The style expresses a perfect continuity with the preceding reigns.
2. The pre-coronation period (between year 5 and the end of year 7): Using systematically her title and status of god's wife of Amun, Hatshepsut appears in royal iconography in a role normally restricted to the king, through two successive steps:
  - 2.1. The association with Thutmose III in the depiction of the official practice of divine cult.
  - 2.2. The beginning of the references to and association with Thutmose II, to the detriment of Thutmose III, actively (i.e., through recarvings) and, later on, passively (i.e., through the latter's subsequent total absence for a while in kingship imagery). With this disappearance, the regent queen insists on her own branch of the royal family, giving an unusually important iconographical place to Princess Neferura.
3. The actual reign of Hatshepsut (years 7–20/21):<sup>101</sup>
  - 3.1. The coronation period (end of year 7–beginning of year 8 [?]): Hatshepsut is depicted alone, as a female pharaoh.
  - 3.2. The search for new means of expressing her royal authority (year 7/8): rather quickly, the reigning queen initiates a metamorphosis in her iconography, starting to modify her official portrait according to a new unattested and very personalized visage (style 2), and, in a second step, entering into a process of masculinization of her own image. In a last stage of this experimentation, when this new visage is fully shaped and the appearance of Hatshepsut already androgynous, Thutmose III is reintegrated into royal iconography.
  - 3.3. The fully masculinized rulership imagery and the inception of the actual coregency (years 8–20/21): With the reintegration of Thutmose III in the official image of royal authority, the female pharaoh appears in a definitely masculine guise, with a new portrait style, synthesizing the two previous ones. And, at the same moment, Thutmose I starts to replace Thutmose II as the legitimizing ancestor of King Maatkara.

This evolution induces a few factual conclusions. First of all, as mentioned above, there is a plain and unavoidable co-occurrence of three very significant iconographical events at the beginning of the true coregency: first the invention of the so-much-debated fully masculine iconography of Hatshepsut, which actually took place within a broader metamorphosis, involving a new physiognomic style that appears as a compromise between the official Thutmoside mask and a very personalized face the reigning queen experimented in a process of asserting her own authority as king. Second, the reintegration of Thutmose III in kingship imagery, after an episode of – apparently – total disappearance. And third, the replacement of Thutmose II by Thutmose I as the legitimizing ancestor of King Hatshepsut. In addition to the simple chronological link between those three phenomena, the observed evolution implies also a semantic connection. Indeed, the third and last physiognomic style of Hatshepsut's portraits corresponds to an adaptation of her highly individualized visage to the official face of her three direct predecessors, including Thutmose III, who is precisely reintegrated in the image of royal authority at the same moment. As for the exceptional place granted to Thutmose II in kingly imagery of the time, it is also inevitably related to the iconographical situation of his son, since the former replaced the latter during the pre-coronation process.

By resurrecting her late husband iconographically, the regent queen used his memory to justify her kingly behavior and claims (acting “as the one who has become king of Upper and Lower Egypt”), while emphasizing the royal dimension of her own branch of the family, including notably their daughter, Princess Neferura. With such an iconographical strategy, she still legitimized herself like a queen, and not yet like a

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<sup>101</sup> For the date of Hatshepsut's disappearance and probable demise, see Laboury 1998, pp. 29–30.



real king, referring to her royal father, as she will do later, with the inception of the coregency and the emergence of the masculinized style 3. From an ideological point of view, when the father replaced the husband in the legitimizing discourse of Hatshepsut, the queen became a full pharaoh, according to the tradition.

The phenomenon of disappearance and reappearance of Thutmose III in the image of royal authority, precisely around the coronation of Hatshepsut as pharaoh, cannot be fortuitous, of course, and even strongly suggests a tension between the young king and his regent aunt. The fact that she alternates with him or replaces him — again, sometimes through recarvings — in the evocation of the royal relation with the gods, as well as the epithets of the queen (such as “the one who makes enduring monuments for him as the one who has become king of Upper and Lower Egypt”), and perhaps also of her daughter,<sup>102</sup> at the same moment of the reign, indicates a definitely polemical dimension in the attitude of Hatshepsut vis-à-vis her royal nephew, officially crowned and recognized as the legitimate king almost seven years earlier.

Finally, shortly into the queen’s own reign, and thus soon after the shading or the iconographical obliteration of the role and status of the young king Thutmose III, a crisis clearly occurred in the image of Hatshepsut’s pharaonic authority, a crisis in which the female sovereign tried to affirm her personality as pharaoh and that eventually led her to completely waive the iconographic expression of her sexual identity, that is, of one of the most basic defining criteria of any human being.

Investigating the sources of Hatshepsut’s inspiration in her gradual ascension to the supreme power will help us to interpret and understand these different correlated facts.

### 3. Sources of Hatshepsut’s Inspiration

As we have seen (in section 2.2), the earliest preserved royal claims of Hatshepsut in the current state of the documentation that came down to us consist in her assumption — or usurpation — of iconographic prerogatives of the king, that is, being depicted in the official exercise of divine cult. In this new iconographical behavior — actually her first attested one — the regent queen systematically and quite prominently used her title of god’s wife of Amun, which corresponds to a sacerdotal function that might have empowered her to be represented as a direct interlocutor of the god of kingship, so just like Pharaoh. If such was the case, Hatshepsut was probably influenced in this preliminary stage of her future royal career by the very important role Queen Ahmose Nefertary played just a couple of decades earlier, precisely as god’s wife of Amun.<sup>103</sup> Their titularies are indeed composed in very similar — if not identical — ways<sup>104</sup> and a more precise hint to this possible inspiration is perhaps to be found in the famous “donation stela” of King Ahmose, which depicts the latter’s wife and sister, Queen Ahmose Nefertary, with an unusually elongated stride (Harari 1959, pls. 1–2) that reappeared in the decoration of the southern temple of Buhen, when Hatshepsut started to experiment with new means of expressing her royal authority (see above, section 2.3.2, and figs. 5.2a, 5.24).<sup>105</sup>

But, as often underlined, the most inspiring predecessor for Hatshepsut was indubitably the female pharaoh Sobekkara Neferusobek, at the very end of the Twelfth Dynasty. As V. G. Callender (1998, p. 236) perfectly showed, “It is clear (...) that Sebekneferu provided a number of models which Hatshepsut later imitated and developed in her own efforts to establish herself as pharaoh.” The political and historical parallel one can draw between both reigning queens is indeed striking: Neferusobek assumed pharaonic power after the demise of King Amenemhat IV, who was apparently her husband and (half-)brother (ibid., p. 228); she legitimized her sovereignty by associating herself rather systematically with the reign of her father,

<sup>102</sup> See n. 42.

<sup>103</sup> It is very likely — and even almost sure — that as a child Hatshepsut met and knew personally Ahmose Nefertary, since the queen of King Ahmose I is attested in the upper part of a series of coronation stelae of Thutmose I (actually the monumentalization of a royal command addressed by the newly crowned king to the viceroy of Kush, Turi, known by three copies, from Wadi Halfa, Kuban, and Aswan; see *Urk.* IV 79–81), probably as

a legitimacy guarantee for the transition between the reign of Amenhotep I and the enthronement of the father of young Princess Hatshepsut. Like Ahmose Nefertary, Hatshepsut transmitted her obviously very significant office of god’s wife of Amun to her daughter, Princess Neferura, and even shared it with her at the very end of the regency (see above, section 2.2).

<sup>104</sup> See n. 40.

<sup>105</sup> See n. 75.

King Amenemhat III, handling the latter's commemoration in his funerary complex at Hawara, the so-called Labyrinth, that she seems to have completed (*ibid.*, pp. 230–31);<sup>106</sup> and she developed, in texts as well as in iconography, an image of her royal authority that integrated traditional insignias of kingship with her femininity (Staehelin 1989; Callender 1998). Even her coronation name (or prenomen), *Sobekkara*, is reminiscent of the formula that the daughter of Thutmose I was to adopt some three centuries later: *Maatkara* (Staehelin 1989, p. 152).

Besides, clear evidence demonstrates that Hatshepsut and her elite knew very well the monuments of the late Twelfth Dynasty and even took inspiration from them (Laboury 2013, pp. 19–21). This is, for instance, the case of the first sarcophagus of Hatshepsut (JdE 47032), made when she was still “god's wife of Amun,” that is, during the regency,<sup>107</sup> an uncommon quartzite sarcophagus that actually replicated in stone a typological model of wooden Middle Kingdom coffins (Hayes 1935a, p. 39), with a very rare inscriptional scheme, only otherwise attested on the fragments of the middle coffin of Princess Neferuptah (Grajetzki 2005), a daughter of Amenemhat III and — probably — a sister of Neferusobek, who enjoyed the exceptional privilege of having her name written within a cartouche, unlike most of the princesses of her time.<sup>108</sup> W. Grajetzki, who brought to light the connection between the two funerary sets, concludes,

... it is clear that Hatshepsut as “great king's wife” copied for her sarcophagus the form and the textual programme of one or more coffins of the late Middle Kingdom. Most of the texts on New Kingdom coffins have their roots in traditions of the Middle or even Old Kingdom (Pyramid Texts), but there are not many monuments which seem to have followed their prototypes so closely in form as well as inscription. [...] The Neferuptah coffin inscriptions confirm how extensively and how closely the Eighteenth Dynasty explored the works of an earlier period, in this case the late Middle Kingdom, a feature well-established in other branches of art. (Grajetzki 2005, pp. 60–61)<sup>109</sup>

The inspiration that King Maatkara obviously found in the reign of her last female predecessor on “the throne of Horus” is particularly interesting for it reveals, by an effect of contrast, the specificity of Hatshepsut's royal imagery from an ancient Egyptian point of view. Indeed, in her study of the iconography of female sovereigns in ancient Egypt, E. Staehelin (1989) emphasized that Hatshepsut was the only one who decided to resort to the iconographical fiction of being depicted as a fully masculine pharaoh. The plainly inspiring precedent of Neferusobek — as well as the case of Hatshepsut's Nineteenth Dynasty follower, the reigning queen Tauseret (Staehelin 1989, pp. 153–55; Callender 2004) — shows beyond doubt that this masculinization of the image of King Maatkara was not theoretically nor ideologically needed. In this context, and given the evolution of the official image of royal power that led to such an unusual and unexpected solution, it becomes clear that this iconographical fiction was directly related to the presence of the young king Thutmose III.

#### 4. The Political Relationship vis-à-vis Thutmose III

From a historical point of view, this time, the specificity of Hatshepsut's reign lies precisely in the fact that she is the only ancient Egyptian queen who ruled as pharaoh while a king was already — or still — there,

<sup>106</sup> For a comparison of the few concepts that structured the legitimization discourse of both female pharaohs, see Laboury 2013, p. 20, n. 60.

<sup>107</sup> See n. 40.

<sup>108</sup> This will also be the case, later on, for the almost homonymous daughter of Hatshepsut, Princess Neferura.

<sup>109</sup> As Grajetzki (2005, p. 61) made perfectly clear, “Hatshepsut or her ‘sarcophagus designers’ cannot have seen the coffin of Neferuptah,” whose tomb was found undisturbed, it seems, in 1956 by N. Farag and Z. Iskander (1971). Instead, the queen and her consultants might have used an intermediate document, like a model transcribed on papyrus in royal archives, or anything

alike. In any case, the extreme rareness of the selected set of inscriptions highlights the knowledge Hatshepsut obviously had about this specific period of the late Twelfth Dynasty, as well as her use of it since the regency period, at least. Iconographical as well as textual elements suggest that this inspiration lasted beyond the masculinization process or the inception of the true coregency; see Laboury 2013 (notably p. 21, n. 66, and pp. 19–21, the analysis I proposed of a pendant necklace typical of the late Twelfth Dynasty, only attested twice in the statuary of the New Kingdom, on two statues of Hatshepsut, including the fully masculine kneeling statue MMA 29.3.1).

alive, and officially crowned for more than half a dozen years. The analysis of the evolution of “Hatshepsut’s use of Tuthmosis III in her program of legitimation” — to quote the title of a contribution of Vanessa Davies (2004) — shows that she completely changed her attitude toward her young royal nephew around years 7 to 8.<sup>110</sup> As we have seen (in sections 2.2 and 2.3), after a short period of associating herself with him in the depiction of the royal exercise of divine cult, Hatshepsut iconographically discarded Thutmose III to — later on — monopolize the entire imagery of kingship,<sup>111</sup> being also officially enthroned as pharaoh; but, rather quickly, it seems, she started to search for new means of asserting her own personality as a king and eventually reintegrated him in the image of royal authority, precisely within a process of integrating her individual iconography with characteristics of his own official iconography, that is, his official physiognomy (in use during the entire regency period) and his masculine appearance or sexual identity.

These facts, of course, induce the question of why, in a double sense: firstly, if Hatshepsut started to rule without any reference to young King Thutmose III, why did she subsequently feel the need to reintegrate him — in such a significant manner — in the image of her royal power, especially in the polemical context we have noticed (and just underlined at the end of section 2.3)? And secondly, why, in the sense of what was the purpose of this kind of fusion of their different iconographies as king, a fusion in which the reigning queen decided to attenuate her very individualized — official — face, not to mention the waiving of one of the most basic defining criteria of any human being: her sexual identity?

The answer to the first question is of course implicit. If, in a process of asserting her own identity as a king, Hatshepsut finally decided to reintegrate the political partner she has precisely — and willingly — obliterated, it means that she was forced to do so. This implies the existence of some sort of a balancing power within ancient Egyptian government, a role that could only be played by the leading elite on which the king had to rely in order to exercise his (or her) own power.<sup>112</sup> As is well known, and despite the fact that ancient Egyptian sources continuously tended to blur this reality, there is no king without subjects. And for the time of Hatshepsut, the researches led by E. Dziobek (1995, 1998) revealed the existence of such a coterie that supported the ascension and authority of the queen and benefited a lot from this situation. These people are well identified by their own monuments, as well as, sometimes, by the monuments of Hatshepsut herself (for instance, Naville 1898, pls. 79, 86; idem 1908, pl. 154); and evidence, like the topographical concentration and distribution of the commemorative chapels of some of them on the site of Gebel es-Silsilah (Caminos and James 1963), clearly demonstrate that they were closely connected to each other. There is no doubt that these extremely powerful courtiers took part in the important political decisions of the regime. Among them, one can cite, for instance, the vizier Useramun, who succeeded to his father, Ahmose Aametju, in this utmost function of pharaonic state, although he was just “a scribe of the divine seal in the temple of Amun” (Dziobek 1994, pl. 81; idem 1998).<sup>113</sup> As we have seen (in section 2.1), the event took place in year 5, that is, under the regency of Hatshepsut and shortly before the beginning of her ascension to kingship, and it was immortalized by an impressive scene in Theban Tomb 131, with a long inscription that clearly states that this very important royal decision was made at the suggestion of the elite, “the entourage of Horus in his palace, to advise the king” (Dziobek 1994, pl. 81; idem 1998). Another very influential — if not the most influential — personage in the circle of King Maatkara was, of course, the great steward of the estate of Amun Senenmut. In the inscriptions of one of his earliest statues, surely made when Hatshepsut was still god’s wife of Amun (BM EA 1513), he described himself as a dignitary particularly close to his king, that is, to Thutmose III:

[one] who has followed the king in his journeys since his (the king’s) youth, King’s Confidant who attends upon him, perceptive in the way of the palace, [...] who has access to the marvelous character

<sup>110</sup> At that moment of the reign, the boy-king was probably becoming a teenager, a fact that implies that his political role could no longer continue to be merely the one of the nominal pharaoh, as we have seen in section 2.1, devoted to the analysis of the monuments of the regency period.

<sup>111</sup> As we have seen, in this process, the regent queen iconographically resuscitated her late husband, King Thutmose II, to replace the royal support initially played — maybe not will-

ingly (?) — by Thutmose III in her ascension into the image of pharaonic power.

<sup>112</sup> For another case in ancient Egyptian history where the elite obviously played an important role in the evolution of pharaoh’s policy, see Laboury 2010a.

<sup>113</sup> On the unavoidable and tremendously important family of Useramun and Ahmose Aametju, see Shirley 2010b and her contribution in this volume.

of the Lord of the Two Lands, the Chamberlain who speaks in privacy, [...] one who finds a solution every single day, [...] Overseer of the Council Chamber, [...] Senenmut. (C. Keller in Roehrig 2005, p. 299)

So it seems perfectly plausible that some members of the leading elite of the time, even among the closest to the reigning queen, could have prevented Hatshepsut from going too far in her will to assert her own personality as pharaoh to the detriment of the already crowned king Thutmose III, and persuaded her to find a solution that allows reintegrating her royal nephew in the official image of kingly authority, at least.

What was the meaning of this solution to the iconographical crisis that plainly arose at a very early stage of the queen's true reign? If there is, at the end of the process of evolution, a patent concession to Thutmose III — by the simple fact of reintegrating him, but also by the adaptation of the female sovereign's image to his official physiognomy and, even more noticeably, to his masculine appearance — the new image of the central power, that is, the iconography of the coregency, allows above all, as S. Schoske emphasized, a single and unified picture of kingship:

Die Darstellung von Hatshepsut und Thutmosis III. im Relief — zumindest auf den Blöcken der Chapelle Rouge— stimmt also weitgehend überein. [...] Es gibt *ein* Königsbildnis, das je nach Bedarf entweder durch Hatshepsut oder Thutmosis III. besetzt werden kann. Die Person, das Individuum tritt hinter das Amt des Königs zurück. (Schoske 1990, p. 88)

This iconographical solution Hatshepsut ended up assuming indeed permitted, on the one hand, the apparently needed reintegration of Thutmose III into the imagery of royal authority, but also, on the other hand, a common representation in which the young coregent could merge with his royal aunt — and even, in some way, be absorbed into her depiction, for their figures were almost interchangeable (see below, fig. 5.31) — while, at the same time, she might continue to fundamentally embody the image of kingly power, since she was represented four times more often than him.<sup>114</sup> Such a multiple — and politically subtle — goal could of course not be achieved if Hatshepsut had kept on being depicted as a female pharaoh.

Clues supporting this interpretation of a common iconography fitting for both co-rulers are provided by the composition of scenes of the coregency imagery that obviously played on the complementarity of the duplicated representation of royal authority. This is the case, for instance, of a figured rock graffito made by a certain Kheruef at Maghara, in Sinai, in year 16: the two coregents appear depicted back to back, around a single protection formula (oriented according to Hatshepsut's image), the female sovereign, on the right-hand side, facing the local god Sopdu, while the male king, on the other side, meets the goddess "Hathor, mistress of turquoise," in an undoubtedly constructed chiasmus of genders (fig. 5.30). Even more interestingly, in the sanctuary of the *Chapelle Rouge*, where Thutmose III is totally absent in the original state of the decoration, there occurred at least two symmetrical scenes in which the figure of the king is again doubled, but, whereas the first one bears — as expected — the designation "the perfect god [...] Maatkara," the second



Figure 5.30. Rock-cut graffito of Kheruef dated to year 16 of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III at Maghara, Sinai (after Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952–55, no. 44, pl. 14)

<sup>114</sup> See above, section 1, and notably nn. 12–17.



Figure 5.31. Block from the northern inner wall of the sanctuary of the *Chapelle Rouge* at Karnak depicting the cult to the processional bark of Amun performed by a doubled royal figure with the sole names of Hatshepsut (block 31; author's photo)

is labeled as “the bodily son of Ra Hatshepsut-*khenemet-Imen*” (fig. 5.31; Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1, pp. 222, 248).<sup>115</sup> Clearly, the duplicated image of pharaoh corresponds to some sorts of separated – but complementary – avatars of the same reality of royal power, mainly and fundamentally incarnated by the figure of Hatshepsut, though Thutmose III was also – theoretically, at least – encompassed into it.

## Conclusion

Despite the innumerable theories and speculations about the significance of Hatshepsut's assumption of royal dignity, it is a matter of fact that the documentation that came down to us from this extraordinary episode of ancient Egyptian history is of really (and equally) exceptional quality. Indeed, if taken in its original function, that is, not as a properly historiographical material but as an ideological discourse (mostly displayed in images), it allows reconstructing on a factual, and thus very firm, basis the precise succession of events that took place within a very short period of time – compared to the time span that separates them from us. Expressed in an ideological discourse, these events pertain more to the sphere of ideology than to the one of historical actions, but they provide the best material to assess the evolution of the queen's policy and political self-definition. In this respect, as we have seen, the diachronic analysis of the political discourse transcribed in the official iconography of the central power of the time proved to be extremely important in order to avoid melting in a single – and inevitably simplistic – historiographical representation the different successive stages of the evolution that led to the actual coregency, on which most of the commentators have focused, or sometimes over-focused. And this methodological approach revealed a complete change in the iconographical behavior of Hatshepsut, as well as in her iconographical attitude vis-à-vis her royal nephew, that is, an evolution that cannot be neglected if we want to understand the meaning of this coregency and of its unusual iconography.

<sup>115</sup> A similar iconographic composition was probably also used on the block from the same location illustrated in Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1, p. 247, since both royal figures were

hacked together and because of the presence of a feminine suffix pronoun *.t* in the legend behind the second image of a king, the first one being identified as *ntr nfr nb ir(.t) h.t* [*M<sup>3c</sup>.t-k3*]-R<sup>c</sup>.

The unique metamorphosis we have observed was driven by a unique political situation: when a regent queen decided to seize the throne already officially occupied by her royal nephew. Hatshepsut's total absence in the imagery of kingship during the first years of the regency, the strategy of her gradual ascension into this iconography, with the active obliteration of the official king Thutmose III, the iconographical crisis she encountered shortly after her formal coronation as a female pharaoh, and the final resolution of this crisis through the fully masculine and common – or even absorbing – image of both coregents, all this forbids us, I think, to keep on dispensing naive visions of her reign. As P. Dorman (1988, 2001, and 2006) perfectly stressed, Hatshepsut was neither mean nor gentle, simply because those ethical categories are irrelevant in such a political matter. The historical and evolutive context of the emergence of her specific kingship and of the latter's iconographic expression compels us to recognize that, in the end, what she did was nothing other than a usurpation. As Hatshepsut herself said in her own account of her assumption of the throne of Horus, "I became conscious of myself as efficient king, and I seized what he (Amun) has put in front of me" (*ip.n(i) d.t(i) m n(y)-zw.t mnḥ it.n(i) rdi.t.n.f m hr.i*; Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 144).