Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses
Vol. 43 Poznań 2007

Red, yellow and pink. Ideology of skin hues at Deir el-Bahari*

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Czerwony, żółty i różowy. Ideologia kolorów skóry w Deir el-Bahari

The temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Fig. 1)[2] is a unique monument, one of earliest 'Temples of Millions of Years', joining the function of a traditional royal mortuary temple with that of a cult place of the gods, as well as royal ancestors (Arnold 1978; Leblanc 1997). This unparalleled architectural complex appears as a transitory monument between the royal mortuary installations of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and the New Kingdom ones (Ullmann 2002: 26-46). Its exceptional position comes first from the whole set of conscious and creative references to earlier traditions in its the architecture and decoration; on the other hand, it reflects the fact that the temple of Deir el-Bahari formed a pattern for other 'Temples of Millions of Years' (and the reference point for private mortuary monuments), and played role of a focal place of the Theban necropolis for millennia after its creation. The temple was built in the period of the formal reign of Maatkara Hatshepsut, starting probably in Year 7. of the reign of Thutmose III (contra Wysocki 1992 and Desroches-Noblecourt 2002: 103; for the basic documents supporting that dating see Hayes 1957, 1960). During these fifteen years[3] the temple plan and decoration were constantly changed and developed. It might be reasonably assumed that the innermost parts were the earliest to be constructed, and in fact there are many indications of this coming from both architectural analysis (Wysocki 1986, Wysocki 1992) and research concerning statuary (Tefnin 1979; Keller 2005b). Such a development reflected several stages in the gradually changed ideology of Hatshepsut's kingship and her self-presentation. Paradoxically enough, the extant relief decoration was not so much discussed before in this respect. The reason for this is certainly the complexity of this kind of data, including changes of design, erasures, and restorations, with complicated chronology. Moreover, some considerations became possible only after recent discoveries made by the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission.[4] They concern the role and fate of princess Neferura (Szafrański 2007), as well as the changes of the Hatshepsut's own display.

* Considerations presented in this article are the results of my work in the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission to the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, directed by Dr. Zbigniew E. Szafrański. I am much indebted to him and to all the colleagues of the mission for their help and fruitful discussion. Special thanks are due to the conservators who pointed to me the problem of 'pink' female figures, and subsequently helped and advised me: Monika Czerniec, Maria Lulkiewicz, and Izabella Uchman-Laskowska. This article has been offered for the volume celebrating 150 years of the Poznań Archaeological Museum as a mark of new directions of research in Egypt, in hope that this new field of the Museum's activity is a continuation of the ideas of the late Professor Lech Krzyżaniak.

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2 For most recent general account of the temple's history, architecture and decoration see Szafrański 2001, cf. also Karkowski 1997, Di. Arnold 2005.

3 For the chronology of Hatshepsut's reign see Dorman 2005; Keller 2005a.

4 The temple of Hatshepsut had been researched and excavated since the mid-XIX century, a.o. by A. Mariette, É. Naville (for the Egypt Exploration Fund; cf. Naville 1895-1908), H.E. Winlock (Metropolitan Museum of Art Theban Expedition; cf. Winlock 2001), É. Baraize (Service des Antiquités d'Égypte). Since 1961 it has been the area of activity of Polish Egyptologists, architects and conservators, working under the auspices of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology.

In course of the conservation work underwent in 1998-2000 in the Bark Hall and the Second Room of the Main Sanctuary of Amun, the walls were cleaned of the thick layer of soot, covering them since Mediaeval times, when the temple rooms were occupied by the Coptic monks. Cleaning revealed vivid colours and painted details formerly invisible under the black. One of the discoveries concerned a distinctive hue of skin of some figures, which appeared to be painted pink. Such was the colouring of the royal ladies in the Bark Hall. Ahmose, mother of Hatshepsut, and Neferubity, her prematurely dead sister, represented on the western ends of the southern and northern walls (Figs.2-5), as well as Neferura, Hatshepsut's daughter, depicted following her mother at the eastern end of these walls (Fig.6), they all are pink. There is no doubt about the actual colour: comparing with yellow applied for other details of the figures proves that we indeed deal with pink.[5] However, most surprising was the fact that it obviously also concerned the representations of Hatshepsut herself.[6] On both lateral walls of the Second Room the reigning kings (Hatshepsut and Thutmose III) are depicted twice, making offerings of incense and natron to Amun. Hatshepsut occurs on the southern wall (Figs.7, 9), and her figures differ much from the parallel figures of Thutmose III on the northern wall (Figs.8, 10). Though she is also represented as a male pharaoh with a bare torso, her body is much slimmer, with breasts more pronounced, and she wears a royal beard but without the strip for attaching it. And – what seems most important – the skin hue was pink. At some point red was applied over the pink layer; much of it has since gone, revealing the original paint. The appearance of Hatshepsut contrasts strongly with that of Thutmose III, whose figures did not undergo any changes. The Second Room was in fact the last chamber of the Main Sanctuary. The research made by Mirosław Barwik in 2006 revealed that (contrary to what was presumed before), in Hatshepsut's time there was no third room proper (in the place of the later Ptolemaic Sanctuary), but a large niche approached by means of steps, housing a naos with a statue of Amun.[7] Two fragments coming from the lateral walls of the niche bear parts of Hatshepsut's figures painted pink (fig.11). During the proscription by Thutmose III only the cartouches were altered (for those of Thutmose II), but the figures themselves were left untouched. The same also occurred with the representations on the walls of the Second Room (cf. Gilbert 1953). Blocks from the back (western) wall of the Second Room, where the niche opened, were recognized as well, including one coming from the wall to the left of the niche. It bears partially destroyed figure of Hatshepsut turned rightwards. Her body was painted pink, and visible are traces of repainting it with red (Fig.12).[8] The distinctive colouring of Hatshepsut's figures in the sanctuary finds its parallel in the skin hue of the Osiride statues, which once stood in the four corners of the Bark Hall. Heads of the figures, discovered in 1920s by H. E. Winlock, are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig.13).[9]

This surprising colour caused astounding phenomenon, related perhaps more to the field of psychology than Egyptology. Many scholars assumed – against the witness of their eyes – that the colour in quest is in fact yellow. This came from a simple reasoning: men and women in the Egyptian art can be represented either red or yellow; if it is not red (and indeed it is not), and moreover, if it concerns women, can only be yellow. Such was the recognition of the colour of the figures of Hatshepsut in the Second Room (Pawlicki 1999: 127: 'The yellow pigment on the face of the queen testifies to the artist's intent to emphasize the female gender of the represented figure'; cf. Pawlicki 2000:112-114; also Karkowski 2001: 145 assumes that the color in quest is yellow). The hue of the heads of Osiride statues from the Bark Hall was likewise interpreted in that vein (e.g. Tefnin 1978:126: 'Les visages de trois groupes des statues osiriaques, dont nous avons montré qu-

5 Actual hue may vary. Depiction of Neferubity on the N wall seems to be more salmon-coloured, while other figures look more rose. The future research will include some objective record of these colours.

6 This fact has hardly been noted by scholars. Callender 2002: 31, citing the lecture by Z. E. Szafrański given in 2000, refers only to the peculiar ('light, creamy orange') hue of the sanctuary Osiride statues.

7 I am much grateful to Dr. Mirosław Barwik for allowing me to use unpublished results of his research.

8 In this case, however, the upper part of the figure was chiseled out at some point. It is possible that this occurred in later (Ptolemaic?) times, when the blocks from this wall were reused.

9 MMA 31.3.153, MMA 31.3.154, and MMA 31.3.155. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Dorothea Arnold who enabled my work on the statuary of Hatshepsut during my stay in the Metropolitan Museum of Art as an Andrew W. Mellon Fellow in the Fall of 2006; her encouragement and our discussions were invaluable.

'ils se succédaient dans le temps dans l'ordre A,B,C etaient succesivement ocre jaune pâle, jaune orange, et rouge, et que les reliefs féminisants du sanctuaire avaient également les chairs jaunes.'; Keller 2005:158: 'The sanctuary Osirides have skin that is yellow, the color traditionally used for representations of females.'), although the proper colour was recognized from the very moment of their discovery. As clearly stated by H. E. Winlock: 'A hasty return to our storerooms cleared up all doubts. A new count established the fact that we had traces of exactly fourteen statues – ten for the niches and four for the sanctuary. Miss Clark at this point reminded me that we had already noted how four of our statues differed from others in having rose-pink faces, instead of red or yellow, and in having been varnished. In the sanctuary pink was used for flesh tints and varnish had been applied over it.' (Winlock 2001: 215). Also C. W. Hayes in the monumental catalogue of the MMA objects (issued first in 1959), noticed the colour univocally: 'The three much battered heads from the main sanctuary of the temple are in most respects exactly like those from the niches, but instead of being red or yellow, their faces and other exposed flash parts are painted a pale pink.' (Hayes 1990: 91).[10]

Contrary to the relief representations of Hatshepsut in the sanctuary, however, the four sanctuary Osirides bear no traces of being repainted with red at a later stage of decoration of the temple.[11] The Osiride figures of other series were yellow or red (ten statues in the niches of the western wall of the Upper Courtyard),[12] and red (twenty-six on the façade of the Upper Portico and the two flanking the Lower Porticoes).

Outside the Main Sanctuary the pink colouring of Hatshepsut's body occurs in the southernmost of the small niches (niche B) of the western wall of the Upper Courtyard. On the back wall the queen is represented embraced by Behdety and Hathor. Here also the original pink was repainted with red (Fig.14). In all other niches and throughout the remaining parts of the temple, Hatshepsut is depicted with 'male', red colour of the body.[13]

It seems that also all the representations of the royal women outside the Main Sanctuary bear traditional yellow hue of female flesh, which is attested e.g. by the figures of Neferura (re-worked into the depiction of Ahmose) on the western wall of the Upper Courtyard, on both sides of the entrance to the Main Sanctuary (Fig.15),[14] as well as by the figures of Ahmose and Senseneb (grandmother of Hatshepsut) in the Upper Shrine of Anubis (Figs.16, 17). There exist, however, an important exception to this rule. Ahmose, in the famous cycle of the Divine Birth in the northern portico of the middle terrace, is represented with her body coloured pink or light-red. It is clearly visible in the scene of 'Annunciation' by Thoth (Fig.18), and in the scene of leading of the pregnant queen by Khnum and Heket (Figs.19). That it is not yellow, nor the 'common' red can be recognized by comparing the hue of skin of Ahmose with that of Heket (Fig.20), and of Khnum, preserved in original on his thumb (Fig.21). It seems therefore that for unknown reason Hatshepsut returned at some point[15] to pink colouring of her mother's body. A possible explanation may be referred to the fact that only some royal women, and possibly only in some contexts, were represented with pink bodies. One might speculate that the roles of divine wives and royal mothers were the key.[16] This may be corroborated by the fact that the statue of Sitra, nurse of Hatshepsut, represented her painted pink Catharine Roehrig, referring to unpublished notes by Winlock, stated that: 'Traces of

10 Misinterpretations of the skin colour of Hatshepsut's statuary are not restricted to her Osiride figures. Concerning the limestone sphinx of Hatshepsut in the Cairo Museum (JE 53113) Ch. Van Siclen III wrote: 'It preserves much of the original coloring, with blue on the mane and beard, reddish-brown on the face, and yellow on the leonine body' (American Contributions 2006: 54). The face is, however, as yellow as the rest of the body.

11 Pace Callender 2002: 31, who seems to have confused the information concerning the statues with that on the relief decoration, cf. n. 6 above

12 It has been assumed that the Osirides from the niches were either red or yellow, but it is not clear, what was the rule of distribution of the colours. Hayes, describing the heads in the MMA noted: 'The face of the head wearing the White Crown is orange yellow, while that of the head with the Double Crown is painted red.' (Hayes 1990: 91). However, the hue of the latter head is in fact reddish-orange, markedly different from the red of the crown, and the other head in the Double Crown (MMA 31.3.164) has definitely yellow face.

13 It seems that the direction of building and decorating of particular parts of the temple was from South towards North. This can be proven e.g. for the W wall of the Upper Courtyard, as well as for the Lower Porticoes, by analysing the way the Osiride statues were connected to the walls. The research on the temple Osirides by Aleksandra Brzozowska, Teresa Kaczor and the present author is ongoing.

14 That the colour of these figures is yellow is proved by the northern representation. The paint is particularly well preserved on the fragment with lower part of the face of the princess, coming from this scene and now in the Brooklyn Museum (no. 57.76.2, cf. PM II, 365 (130)). The southern figure reveals different colour when compared with a yellow dado, but it is still some kind of an orange-yellow.

15 It seems that Middle Porticoes (Portico of Punt and Portico of Birth) were decorated some time after Year 9 and the expedition to Punt.

16 The ladies were either titulary (Neferura) or 'real' (Ahmose) god's consorts (of Neferubity we know virtually nothing). Most probably this

paint indicate that Sitre's flash was pink and that she wore a white dress and a necklace of red and blue beads. The figure of Hatshepsut is preserved only from the hips down. Her flash was originally painted red and she wears a pleated shendyt-kilt that was painted yellow.' (Roehrig 2002: 1006).

It seems that there existed a tradition of some kind to represent royal ladies with pink bodies. Hatshepsut might have been accustomed to such a depiction of her, so she retained it for some time even when she assumed titles and attributes of a pharaoh. Details of the reliefs in the innermost part of the temple strikingly resemble some of her sculptures, especially the so-called 'White Hatshepsut', an indurated limestone statue.[17] It represents Hatshepsut in male guise, with bare torso, but pronounced breasts, wearing a nemes and a shendyt-kilt, with no beard. This iconography is very much like the reliefs in the sanctuary.

The focal question is: who and for what reason decided to repaint the pink bodies of the queen with the red typical for male representations. As stated by G. Callender: 'At a later stage – an one is unsure whether this was during her reign or perhaps after it – those statues were painted the full dark terracotta colour of a male. Depending of the authority who ordained this change, there are at least two permutations that follow: if Hatshepsut ordered the alteration, then we could assume that she was moving further down the path of standardizing her statuary towards the male representation; if not Hatshepsut, then we might expect that Thutmose III or some successor intended to pretend that Djeser-djeseru was the mortuary temple of a male ruler, not its real owner.' (Callender 2002: 31). According to F. Pawlicki: 'The traces of red paint on the shoulders, body and legs are the effect of repainting executed either still in the reign of Hatshepsut or under Tuthmosis III' (Pawlicki 1999:127). J. Karkowski expressed a univocal opinion in this respect: 'Interestingly, nothing but the names of Hatshepsut were altered in these inside chambers, the images remaining untouched. This even concerns such details as female breasts clearly delineated in the outline of a nude torso. The only apparent modification is a change of body color from yellow that was applied to women to the dark red that was used for Tuthmosis III and other male pharaohs.' (Karkowski 2001: 145).

This hypothesis would seem possible, the sanctuary Osirides having not been repainted for the simple reason that all the statuary representing Hatshepsut was removed from the temple. It seems, however, that it was not Thutmose III, but Hatshepsut herself who ordered to repaint her depictions in red. The evidence for this comes from the fact that only one, southernmost niche in the W wall of the Upper Courtyard bore a representation of a 'pink' Hatshepsut. All figures of her in the other niches (presumably later if one assume that the plan was executed in the northward direction) were not altered, but painted red from the very beginning. The explanation why the Osiride figures in the sanctuary remained pink most probably lies in the fact that they were varnished and thus difficult to be covered with a new layer of paint.

The problem of the skin colour in female representations illustrates perfectly a transitory position of Hatshepsut and her temple between the old traditions and the patterns for the future. It seems that the idea to represent some of the royal ladies with pink bodies can be traced back to Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra. It is clear from the fragments preserved that both the king and the gods were painted light red, while the Red Crown was dark red e.g. Mentuhotep II and Montu on the block in the British Museum EA 1397 (Rusmann 2001: 86-87 = no. 16). Goddesses are yellow e.g. Hathor on MMA 07.230.2 (Egypt and the Ancient Near East 1987, no.13). Women, however, can be either yellow (e.g. on a relief from the tomb of Neferu cf. Capel-Morkot 1996: 94-95, no.32), or black (e.g. Ashayet on the interior of her sarcophagus cf. Reeves 2000: 153). The occurrence of pink colouring of the body of the Royal Favorite Kemsit on the fragment EA 1450 (1907 10-15 460) was noted by E. Russmann: 'Kemsit's skin color is now pink, but so are her necklace and bracelets and other parts of the relief. The pink may have been an undercoat, and traces of a darker color on her skin, a brown or dark red, may have been the actual color of her skin when the relief was freshly painted. Other representations of Kemsit (and some of the other Royal Favorites) show her with black skin.'

status was the decisive factor. One might compare this situation to the Old Kingdom customs, when only some queens were granted with pyramid tomb complexes, Pyramid Texts and service of the hemu-netjer.

17 MMA Rogers Fund 29.3.2. Cf. Roehrig 2005: 171-173 (no.96).

(Russmann 2001: 88-89).[18] Traces of red paint are visible, however, on the hand of a servant at the right edge of the fragment, as well as on the cup held by the lady. Whether the woman's body was pink or red, it is anyway a departure from the traditional yellow. That it was not uncommon is proved by fragments coming from the decoration of Mentuhotep's mortuary temple, preserved in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, showing pink figures of royal ladies (ROM 910.34.14, 910.34.22, N.04.034).[19]

On the other hand, the tradition of representing some of the royal ladies with a pink body persisted at least through Ramesses II's reign. It is clearly applied in the tomb of Nefertari, where the queen has pink or light red skin, contrasting with both yellow of goddesses, and dark red of gods (e.g. Mekhitarian 1989:142-143). Obviously this light red hue is a third colour, not related to another phenomenon in Egyptian painting that occurred in the Amarna Period and persisted into the Ramesside times, namely the custom of representing both men and women with the same, reddish-brown skin colour (Robins 2001:14; Eaverly 2005).[20]

Another issue to be considered is the male and female (identified also as Sethian and Horus', active and passive) meaning of red and yellow when applied for representations contrary to the tradition (Myśliwiec 2006). The third colour might be a solution for at least some of the cases, but was not used.

Conclusions.

'The symbolism inherent in the skin colors used for some deities and royal figures suggest that the colors given to human skin – although initially seeming to be naturalistic – might also be symbolic.' (Robins 2001a: 293).

During the reign of Hatshepsut some royal ladies were represented with pink skin. In the earliest stage of decoration of the temple at Deir el-Bahari also Hatshepsut was depicted with her body painted pink, although she had already assumed the attributes of a (male) pharaoh. After some time she ordered repainting her depictions from pink to red. The question arises about the meaning of such colouring, and of the subsequent change. G. Callender stated that the figures were '…painted with a light, creamy orange hue, a stage in half-way between the standard male and female flesh tones as used by Egyptian artists – perhaps because as a female and a king she needed to distinguish herself from other rulers.'(Callender 2002: 31). It seems obvious that the queen having become the king still wanted to retain her female features. Maybe only performing official religious duties required a male dress (Lacau 1953). Certainly nobody in the country had any doubts as to her sex. And the pink body stressed her special queenly status. But at some point she started to represent herself in a more manlike manner, which included using red for her skin. This must have occurred quite early, at the beginning of decoration of the W wall of the Upper Courtyard, which was one of earliest structures (Wysocki 1992, Pawlicki 1997). But one has to stress that this change had not prevent her from using feminine forms in her titulary (Robins 1999), nor from using yellow hue for the skin of her statues. Not only the niche Osirides had yellow skin,[21] but also the limestone sphinxes[22], and the series of sandstone sphinxes,[23] represented Hatshepsut with a yellow human face beside a yellow leonine body. One might suggest that in all these cases she acted not merely as a women, but as a goddess.

18 It seems that sometimes the pink indeed may represent an undercoat for yellow paint, as observed in the tomb of Amenhotep III. According to Kawai 2004: 143: 'On the south wall of room E, the colors of Horus name of the ka figure, the cartouche of the king depicted in westernmost, the skin of the goddess Nut, kilt of the king and his ka were painted pink (Fig.2). This pink color is seen on the background of orpiment, but it is not clear that the orpiment was applied above it, because there are no remains of this color in this room. However, the X-ray analysis of this color attested arsenic which is the component of orpiment and realgar.'

19 One has to be cautious since there are no traces of yellow on these particular fragments to be compared with pink, and it is difficult to ascertain if the pink colour is an original, or a degradated (red) paint, or else an 'undercoat' once covered with another paint (of which, however, no traces are visible). I am much grateful to Roberta Shaw and Krzysztof Grzymski for their kind permission and help to see the fragments from Deir el-Bahari in the ROM.

20 Callender 2002: 32 notes that 'this choice of colour for a female statue was picked up later by Akhenaten's artists, whose famous portrait of Nefertiti from Berlin also displays this creamy, orange tint to her skin.'

21 See n. 12 above.

22 JE 53113 and MMA 31.3.94.

23 Discovered by H. Winlock in the Hatshepsut Hole and Senenmut Quarry, fragments of the sandstone sphinxes deserved little attention. Rediscovered in 2005 in the tomb of Harwa (TT 37), they have been transferred to the storeroom of the Carter House. Yellow paint of the skin is clearly visible on many of these pieces, as it is on the head brought by Lepsius to Berlin (inv. no.2300) and the head in the Cairo Museum (JE 56263).

Appendix: Pigments used for the red and pink hues.

The pink has not attracted too much attention of scholars working on the subjects of pigments or symbolic values of colours.[24] It seems that this colour was introduced into the Egyptian palette in the Middle Kingdom (Hartwig 2001). A proper name for 'pink' is not known (cf. Quirke 2001). In the Pharaonic period the pigment used was usually a simple mixture of red ochre and white gypsum. Only in the Ptolemaic and Roman times madder was used for producing a lake pigment giving a distinctive hue of pink (Lee and Quirke 2000: 113; Green 2001: 47). In the case of the pink paint in the temple of Hatshepsut, analyses of samples taken from the figures in the Main Sanctuary, as well as from the one in the niche B of the W wall of the Upper Courtyard, proved that the pigment used consists of a mixture of red ochre and calcium carbonate.[25]

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24 For example, there are virtually no references to it in Tefnin (ed.) 1997 and Davies (ed.) 2001.

25 Which in fact was to be expected. Although another red pigment, realgar (applied over a white background) seems to be also used extensively all over the temple, it was, however, not used for the red hue of male figures, which were painted with ochres. The samples were analysed by Izabella Uchman-Laskowska and Elżbieta Jeżewska from the Department of Conservation and Restoration of Works of Art of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, to whom we are much indebted.

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Czerwony, żółty i różowy. Ideologia kolorów skóry w Deir el-Bahari

Streszczenie

Świątynia królowej Hatszepsut w Deir el-Bahari, będąca od 1961 roku terenem prac polskich misji archeologiczno-konserwatorskich, jest obiektem wyjątkowym ze względu na swą architekturę i dekorację. Jako pierwsza monumentalna „świątynia milionów lat" Nowego Państwa, łączyła funkcję tradycyjnej świątyni grobowej z rolą miejsca kultu bogów i królewskich przodków. Zajmuje ona szczególną pozycję w historii egipskiej religii i ideologii władzy królewskiej; z jednej strony nawiązywała do liczącej już półtora tysiąca lat tradycji, z drugiej zaś wyznaczała standardy i była punktem odniesienia dla następnych pokoleń, stanowiąc przez setki lat centralny punkt nekropoli tebańskiej. Liczne fazy rozbudowy i zmiany dekoracji odzwierciedlają rozwój koncepcji władzy Hatszepsut i form jej wyrazu. Wewnętrzne, chronologicznie najstarsze części świątyni, położone na górnym tarasie budowli, podlegały największym zmianom. Niektóre z tych zmian zostały ujawnione względnie niedawno, rzucając nowe światło na kluczowy problem: w jaki sposób Hatszepsut przedstawiała własną osobę w początkach panowania, gdy po kilku latach sprawowania re-

alnych rządów jako regentka, zdecydowała się przyjąć również formalne atrybuty władzy faraona. Oczyszczone dzięki pracy polskich konserwatorów polichromowane reliefy w pomieszczeniach głównego sanktuarium (Sali na Barkę i właściwym sanktuarium, włącznie z niszą na naos z posągiem Amona-Ra), a także w niszach zachodniej ściany Górnego Dziedzińca dowodzą, że w najwcześniejszej fazie dekoracji Hatszepsut była przedstawiana jako faraon, z ciałem mężczyzny, ale malowanym na różowo. Również posągi „ozyriackie" w Sali na Barkę, których fragmenty znajdują się obecnie w Metropolitan Museum of Art w Nowym Jorku, przedstawiały Hatszepsut z różowym ciałem. Nie odpowiada to tradycyjnej konwencji, zgodnie z którą ciała mężczyzn malowano na czerwono, zaś ciała kobiet na żółto. Trzeci kolor wprowadzony został tu specjalnie, jako efekt kompromisu, podkreślającego płeć królowej w sytuacji zmienionego statusu, wymagającego w zasadzie przedstawienia w postaci męskiej. Różowy kolor ciała, motyw wyjątkowy w dziejach sztuki egipskiej, charakteryzuje bowiem w świątyni w Deir el-Bahari przedstawienia kobiet z rodziny królewskiej (matka Hatszepsut Jahmes, siostra Neferubity i córka Neferura). W przypadku królowej Hatszepsut jej „różowe" przedstawienia zostały w późniejszej fazie dekoracji przemalowane na czerwono, co wiąże się z postępującą maskulinizacją jej wizerunków, tak w rzeźbie pełnej, jak i płaskorzeźbie.

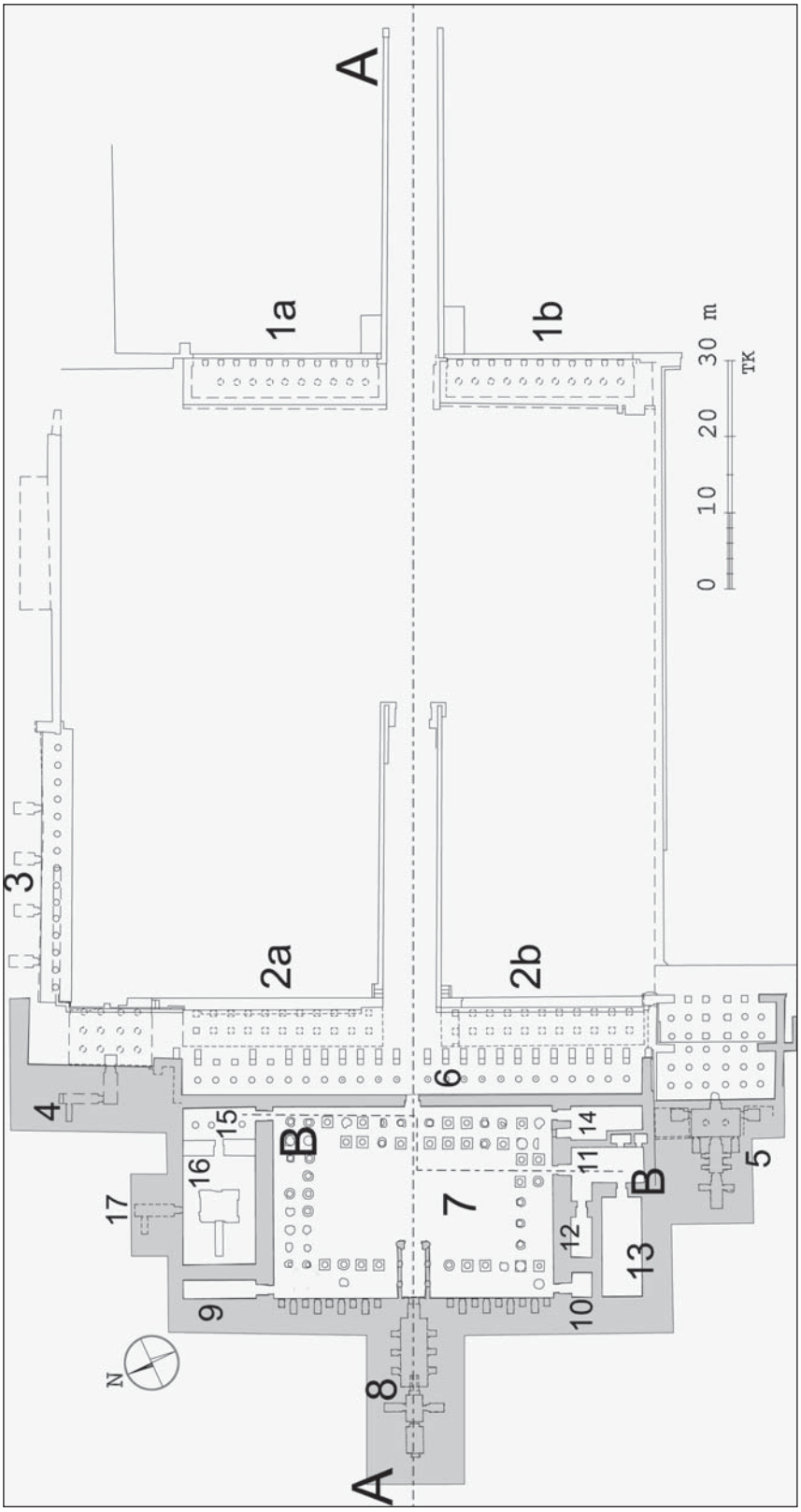

Fig. 1. Plan of the Upper and Middle Terraces of Hatshepsut's temple.

Fig. 2. Thutmose I, Ahmose and Neferubity. S wall of the Bark Room in the Main Sanctuary of Amun

Fig. 3. Detail of the last: Neferubity

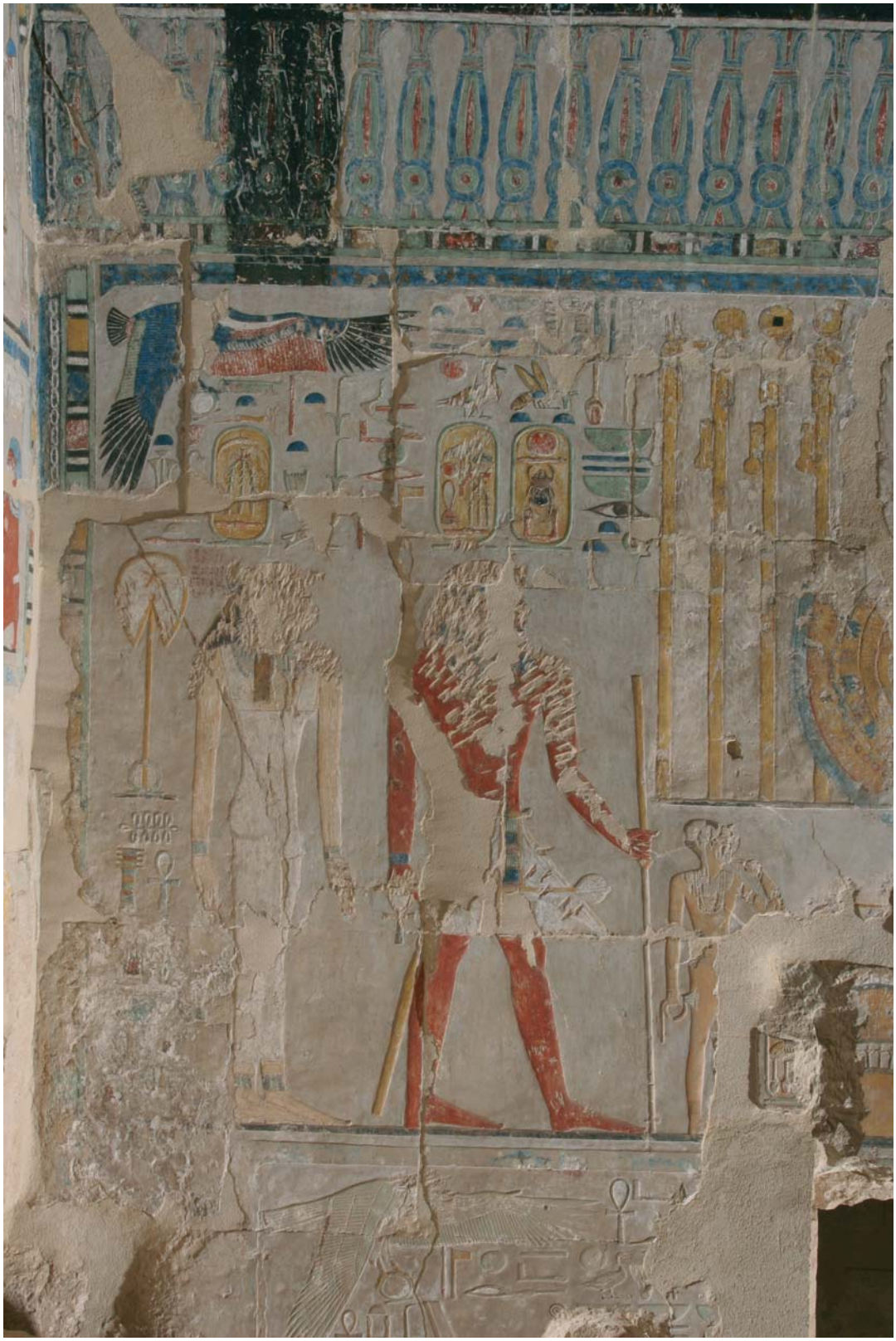

Fig. 4. Thutmose I, Ahmose and Neferubity. N wall of the Bark Room in the Main Sanctuary of Amun

Fig. 5. Detail of the last: Neferubity

Fig. 6. Neferura. N wall of the Bark Room

Fig. 7. Hatshepsut offering to Amun. S wall of the Second Room in the Main Sanctuary of Amun (E representation)

Fig. 8. Thutmose III offering to Amun. N wall of the Second Room in the Main Sanctuary of Amun (E representation)

Fig. 9. Hatshepsut offering to Amun. S wall of the Second Room in the Main Sanctuary of Amun (W representation)

Fig. 10. Thutmose III offering to Amun. N wall of the Second Room in the Main Sanctuary of Amun (W representation)

Fig. 11. Fragment from the N wall of the central niche in the Main Sanctuary of Amun

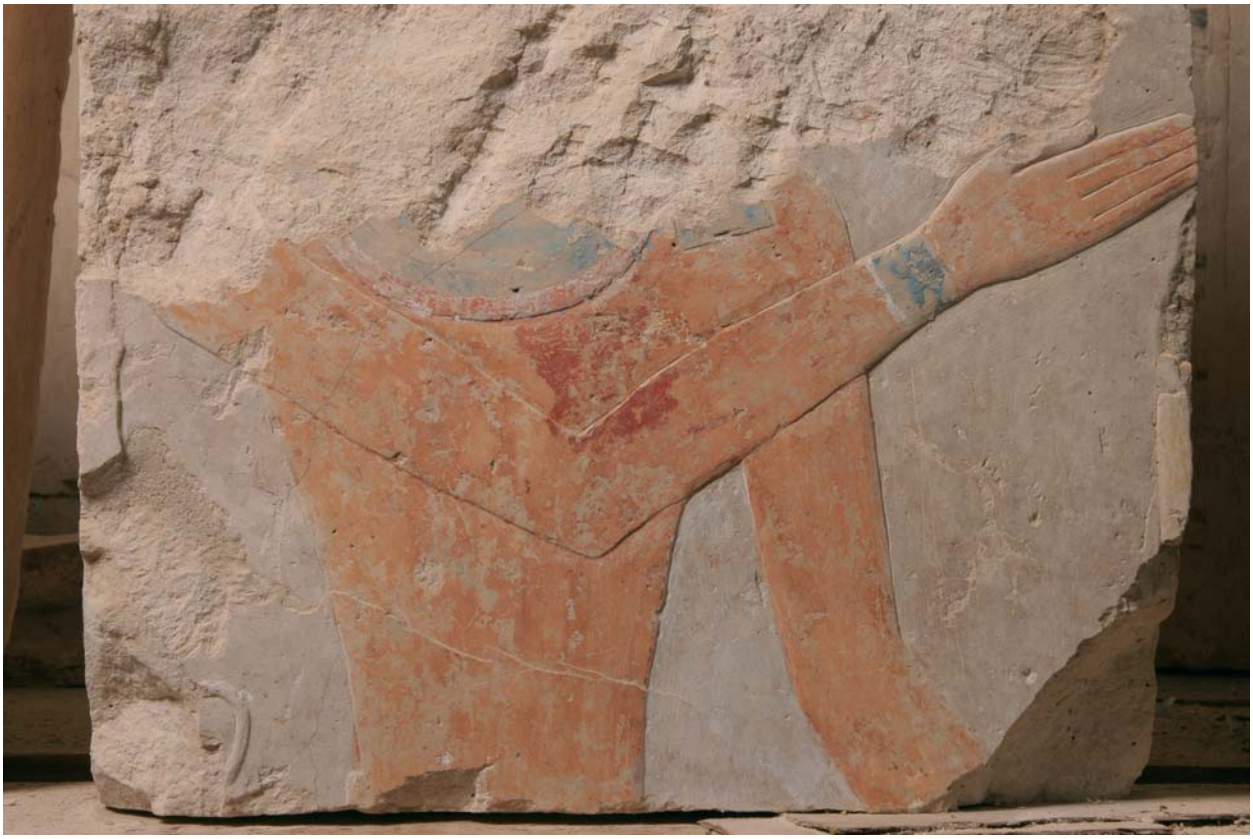

Fig. 12. Block from the W wall of the Second Room with partially erased figure of Hatshepsut

Fig. 13. Heads of sanctuary Osirides (MMA 31.3.153, MMA 31.3.154, and MMA 31.3.155)

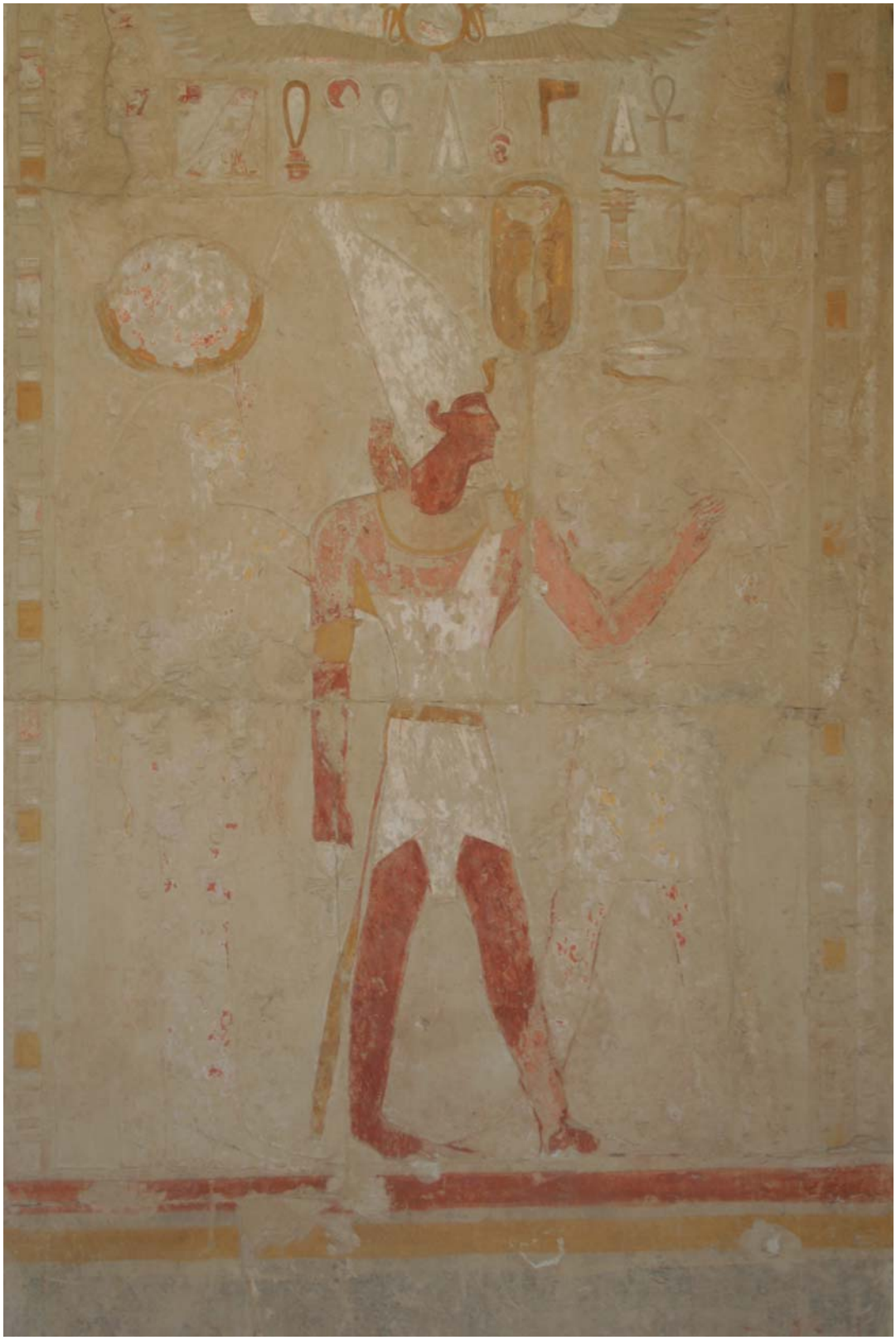

Fig. 14. Hatshepsut. Back (W) wall of niche B in the W wall of the Upper Courtyard

Fig. 15. Neferura. W wall of the Upper Courtyard

Fig. 16. Senseneb. N wall of the inner room of the Upper Anubis Shrine

Fig. 17. Ahmose. S wall of the inner room of the Upper Anubis Shrine

Fig. 18. Ahmose in the 'Annunciation' scene. W wall of the Portico of Birth

Fig. 19. Ahmose pregnant. W all of the Portico of Birth

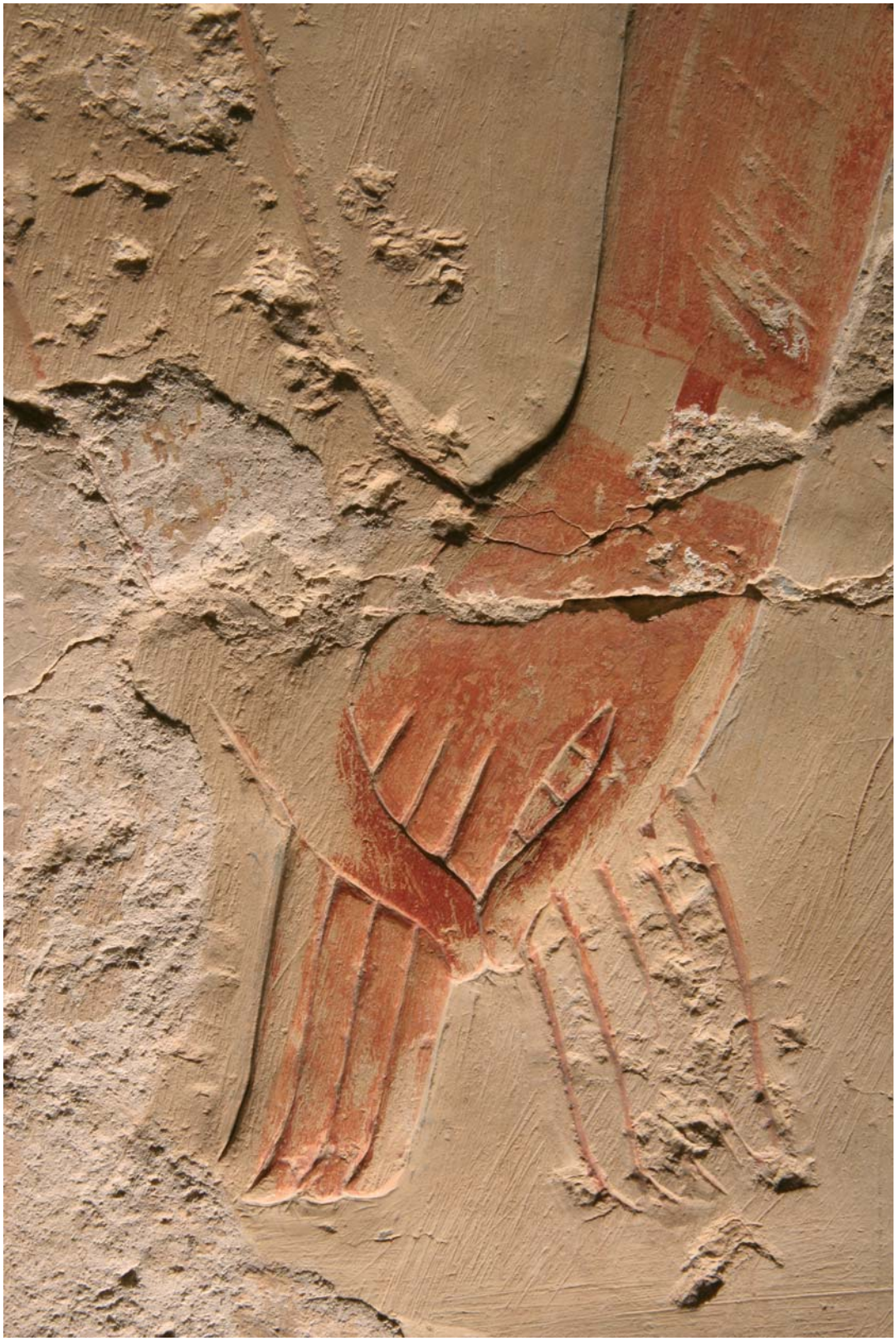

Fig. 20. Detail of the last: hands of Ahmose and Khnum

Fig. 21. Detail of the last: hands of Ahmose and Heket