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*Princess Neferure
in the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari.
Failed Heiress to the Pharaoh's Throne?**

Studies on the decoration of the Upper Terrace of the *Dśr-dśrw* temple at Deir el-Bahari¹ have revealed that originally images of the princess Neferure, Hatshepsut's only daughter,² were exceptionally prominent among the representations of other members of the royal family taking part in festive ceremonies. She appeared in no less than eight separate ritual scenes carved in conspicuous locations: on the walls of the Upper Courtyard and in the Main Sanctuary of Amun-Re. Two of these images, located in the Bark Room, are well known,³ two others, from the Upper Courtyard, have only recently been identified correctly.⁴ In the latter, the princess was represented assisting Hatshepsut who in the masculine role of the pharaoh was shown performing religious liturgy.

This recent discovery is doubly surprising even considering that the king's daughters, unlike the king's sons, could be shown in ritual scenes on royal monuments,⁵ and that Neferure herself stands out among the princesses from the Eighteenth Dynasty through the large number of attestations.⁶ So far, however, her attestations have been limited to an admittedly large set of scarabs from the foundation deposits at Deir el-Bahari temple,⁷ some ritual or votive objects,⁸ and several statues with the high steward Senenmut.⁹ Very

* I take pride and pleasure in being able to contribute to the volume celebrating the memory of the Late Dr. Marek Marciniak. I have kept in grateful memory his generous advice and help extended to me during my first seasons of work at Deir el-Bahari. I would like to thank Lana Troy for all her helpful advice and suggestions. Her support is hereby acknowledged.

¹ The work carried out by the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological and Preservation Mission from the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of Warsaw University has created the opportunity for undertaking a more comprehensive interpretation of the decoration program: cf. J. KARKOWSKI, *PAM* II, 1990, pp. 5–9; *Id.*, *PAM* IV–IX, 1992–1997; F. PAWLICKI, *PAM* VI–XI, 1995–1999; Z.E. SZAFRAŃSKI, *PAM* XII, 2000, pp. 185–205; *PAM* XVI, 2004, pp. 223–235; M. BARWIK, *PAM* XIII, 2001, pp. 191–200; *Id.*, *PAM* XIV, 2002, pp. 199–208.

² CH. MEYER, *LÄ* IV, 382–3. In the opinion of some scholars, Hatshepsut's sister Neferubity was indeed her daughter. Cf. A. DODSON, *Monarchs of the Nile*, London 1995, p. 83. One would have to assume, however, that Neferubity passed away in childhood without leaving any proof of her existence. For Neferubity, see H. GAUTHIER, *LdR* II, p. 227.

³ LD III, pp. 112–113, Pl. 20c; *Urk.* IV.2, p. 391, pp. 10–15; E. NAVILLE, *The Temple at Deir el-Bahari VI* (1908), Pl. CXLIII; PM II², p. 366; M. WERBROUCK, *Le temple d'Hatshepsout à Deir el Bahari*, Bruxelles 1949 [= *Le temple*], p. 96.

⁴ M. WITKOWSKI, *Der Tempel der Königin Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari*, *AntWelt* 1998/1, [= *AntWelt* 1998/1], Pl. 8; F. PAWLICKI, *PAM* X, 1998, p. 130; J. KARKOWSKI, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari* [= *Decoration*], in: Z.E. SZAFRAŃSKI (ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut and Her Temple 3500 Years Later*, Warsaw 2001, pp. 134–135.

⁵ B. BRYAN, *Statues and Roles of Women in Egyptian Culture*, in: *Women in Ancient Egypt*, New York 1996, pp. 31ff; *Id.*, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, Baltimore 1991 [= *Thutmose IV*], p. 93; D. LABOURY, *La statue de Thoutmosis III*, Liège 1998 [= *Statuaire*], p. 508, n. 1429; A. DODSON, *Crown Prince Djhutmose and the Royal Sons of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, *JEA* 76, 1990, pp. 87–96.

⁶ G. ROBINS, *The God's Wife of Amun in the 18th Dynasty in Egypt* [= *The God's Wife*], in: *Images of Women in Antiquity*, London 1983, pp. 65–78.

⁷ H. WINLOCK, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1911–1931*, New York 1942 [= *Excavations*], p. 133; W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, New York 1959, p. 87.

⁸ W.M.F. PETRIE, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, London 1917, p. 26, Pl. XXVI, No. 45; W.C. HAYES, *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-Mut at Thebes*, New York 1942, p. 17, No. 43.

⁹ Senenmut commissioned an unusually large quantity of statues of himself. Seven of the sixteen statues picture Senenmut with the princess Neferure depicted as a child. Cf. C. MEYER, *Senenmut. Eine prosopographische*

few images in relief from Egyptian temples are known.¹⁰ Moreover, a few documents mentioning princess Neferure were left by other royal dignitaries, such as Ahmes Pennekhet¹¹ and Senenmut's brothers, Senmen and Minhotep, both tutors of Neferure.¹²

Despite the fairly large body of material, little is known of her life and career, and her position at the royal court still remains an open issue. Neither 'King's Principal Wife' (*hm.t nšw wr.t*) nor 'King's Mother' (*mw.t nšw*) are attested among her titles. Only her priestly service as 'God's Wife of Amun', the religious office traditionally although not obligatorily assumed by royal daughters under the rule of the first kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, is unquestioned. Once, in the temple at Batn el-Baqqara, she holds the title of 'god's hand' (*dr.t ntr*).¹³ The inscriptions on most of the scarabs and the statues with Senenmut described the little princess as the 'King's Eldest Daughter' (*s3.t nšw wr.t*),¹⁴ and referred to her most important title of 'God's Wife' (*hm.t ntr*).¹⁵

Hardly less surprising is the fact that of the eight representations originally carved in the Deir el-Bahari temple, six were carefully removed and replaced with images of Hatshepsut's parents: Iahmes or Tuthmosis I.¹⁶ Only the images in the sanctuary were left untouched. The reason for such unexpected defacement is difficult to fathom, the more so that none of the other surviving monuments of Neferure suffered any intentional damage, even if immediately adjoining representations of Senenmut or Hatshepsut were deliberately attacked.¹⁷ Judging by the known stages of architectural rearrangement of the Upper

Untersuchung, Hamburg 1982; P. DORMAN, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, London 1988, pp. 116ff; A. SCHULMAN, *Some Remarks on the Alleged 'Fall' of Senmut*, *JARCE* 8, 1969–70, pp. 29–48.

¹⁰ Neferure and Hatshepsut are pictured as adoring the goddess Pakhet on a relief from the small temple at Batn el-Baqquera, see A. FAKHRY, *A New Speos from the Reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III at Beni Hasan*, *ASAE* XXXIX, 1939 [= *New Speos*], p. 714. A representation of Neferure assisting Hatshepsut depicted as a woman in female dress on a block from the Karnak temple, cf. A. GRIMM, *Ein Porträt der Hatshepsut als Gottesfrau und Königin*, *GM* 65, 1983, p. 33, Fig. 1; H. WINLOCK, *Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I*, *JEA* 16, 1929, p. 60, n. 4. In 1903, Legrain found at least two other representations of Neferure in the Karnak temple, cf. LABOURY, *Statuaire*, n. 1629, pp. 559–560.

¹¹ In his biographical inscription, Neferure is mentioned alongside the kings Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis II, Hatshepsut, and Tuthmosis III, being described, however, as dead (*m3'-hrw*), cf. *Urk.* IV, 34, 8–15.

¹² Funerary cones, see: *Urk.* IV, 418, 15–16; statue of Senmen with Neferure (CG 42116), see: N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Tomb of Senmen*, *PSBA* XXXV, 1913, pp. 282–285, Pls. XLIX–LIII.

¹³ FAKHRY, *New Speos*, p. 714ff. The priestess (usually King's Daughter – *s3.t nsw wr.t*) as sexual partner of the god plays the role of his wife. See L. TROY, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, Uppsala 1986 [= *Patterns of Queenship*], pp. 91ff.

¹⁴ On the meaning and significance of the title *s3t wr.t* see: S. WHALE, *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt*, Sydney 1989, pp. 257ff; also: TROY, *Patterns of Queenship*, pp. 107ff. For the titles of Neferure, cf. J. BERLANDINI-GRENIER, *Senenmout, stoliste royal, sur une statue-cube avec Neferourê*, *BIFAO* 76, 1976, pp. 111–121.

¹⁵ ROBINS, *The God's Wife*, pp. 75–77; M. GITTON, J. LECLANT, 'Gottesgemahlin', *LÄ* II, 792–812. In fact, the god's wives of the Eighteenth Dynasty are more prominent in Amun temples in Thebes than queens who are not 'God's Wives', cf. BRYAN, *Thutmose IV*, p. 102.

¹⁶ Moreover, they must have been removed all at the same time. The defacing of Senenmut's figures is presumed to have occurred at the same time.

¹⁷ At Batn el-Baqqara only the representation of Hatshepsut was removed, cf. FAKHRY, *New Speos*, Fig. 71.

Terrace of the Deir el-Bahari temple¹⁸ and the alterations made to some of the relief scenes there, we can conclude that the removal of Neferure's representations was commanded apparently still in the reign of queen Hatshepsut. The defacement appears even more mysterious and obscure in view of the obviously exalted rank of the crown princess, as evidenced by her iconography, her queenly titles of 'Lady of the Two Lands', 'Mistress of Lower and Upper Egypt', and the number of scarabs in temple deposits far exceeding those of any other of the king's daughters.¹⁹ Her most significant monument is a stela from Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai, showing the princess followed by Senenmut, making an offering to the goddess Hathor.²⁰ Her robe is long and she wears the double-feathered crown *šwtj* on a vulture headdress, both insignia of a queen.²¹ The stela is dated to year 11 of the 'God's Wife' Neferure, *ḥn.tj*, so still alive apparently. The point is that the date actually belongs to the regnal years of Tuthmosis III and this is the only known instance of a queen or princess having such a date attributed to her. For some scholars,²² it is only reasonable to conclude that at the time when the stela was being carved Neferure was heiress apparent. Yet before the fact of the removal of the princess' representations at Deir el-Bahari was observed, there had been no shred of hard evidence in support of this supposition.

There is considerable textual testimony that the title of 'God's Wife' was the one most frequently used by Hatshepsut while she was regent and it used to be thought that the queen passed the office to Neferure when she herself took the crown as 'King' of Egypt.²³ Thus, Hatshepsut would have followed the accepted transition pattern of the office, which at least since queen Ahmes Nefertari had been passed on traditionally from one generation to the next, from a king's mother to a king's daughter.²⁴ It is evident that apart from the political and economic significance still given this office in the reign of Amenhotep I,²⁵

¹⁸ Z. WYSOCKI, The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari: The Raising of the Structure in View of Architectural Studies, *MDAIK* 48, 1992, pp. 233–254; A. KWAŚNICA, Reconstructing the Architectural Layout of the Upper Courtyard, in: Queen Hatshepsut and Her Temple, pp. 81ff.

¹⁹ Certainly not by coincidence, her name is structured in similarity to the name of Neferusobek, the last queen of the Twelfth Dynasty, see E. STAHLIN, Zum Ornat an Statuen Regierender Königinnen, *BSEG* 13, 1987, p. 152.

²⁰ A. GARDINER, T.E. PEET, J. ČERNÝ, Inscriptions of Sinai I, London 1917, Pl. 68 (No. 179); see also: W. MURNANE, Ancient Egyptian Coregencies, Chicago 1977, p. 37.

²¹ The earliest evidence of this head-dress is found in the Old Kingdom. From the Thirteenth till the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, it appears to have been used exclusively by the royal women. Cf. L.K. SABBAYH, The King's Mother in the Old Kingdom, *SAK* 25, 1998, p. 308; TROY, Patterns of Queenship, pp. 127–128.

²² ROBINS, The God's Wife, p. 76; D. REDFORD, History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt, Toronto 1967 [= History and Chronology], p. 85.

²³ M. GITTON, Variations sur le thème des titulatures de reines, *BIFAO* 78, 1978 [= Variations], p. 391.

²⁴ For the probable order of *ḥmt ntr*; cf. *LÁ* II, 792–803; C.E. SANDER-HANSEN, Das Gottesweib des Amun, København 1940, pp. 6ff; M. GITTON, Les divines épouses de la 18^e dynastie, Besançon 1984, pp. 28ff; E. GRAEFE, Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit II, *ÄA* 37, Wiesbaden 1981, *passim*; TROY, Patterns of Queenship, pp. 97ff.

²⁵ T. LOGAN, The *Jmyt-pr* Document: Form, Function, and Significance, *JARCE* XXXVII, 2000, pp. 18–19; B. MENU, Quelques remarques à propos de l'étude comparée de la stèle juridique de Karnak et de la 'stèle' d'Ahmès-Nefertari, *RdE* 23, 1971, pp. 155–163; EAD., La 'stèle' d'Ahmès Nefertari dans son contexte historique et juridique, *BIFAO* 77, 1977, pp. 89–100; M. GITTON, La résiliation d'une fonction religieuse: nouvelles inter-

maintained and perhaps even increased during the times of Hatshepsut,²⁶ the status of *hm.t ntr* reflected the traditional theme of the understanding the feminine prototype in the concept of Egyptian kingship. The priestess *hm.t ntr* as wife of the god and daughter of the king established a relationship between the pharaoh and god and secured continuity of succession on the royal throne. For many years, the title of ‘God’s Wife’ was interpreted as an heiress epithet, indicating the woman whom the king had to marry in order to legitimize his claim to the throne. According to the political and religious hierarchy of the Eighteenth Dynasty, female relatives of the ruler occupied an exceptionally prominent positions, some of the principal wives like Ahmes Nefertari being next only to the king. As a female king, Hatshepsut obviously could not have had a principal wife, but a female relative as priestess mediating in the transformation and regeneration of the god was apparently necessary to perform some of the rituals. Her ritual interaction with the god emphasized the divine parentage of the king, the parallel and relationship between deity and ruler, and resulted in the reconfirmation and revivification of the powers of both.²⁷

In the wall carvings of the Upper Terrace, Neferure was shown precisely in this priestly role of ‘Wife of the God Amun’, and in the performed rituals she represented the feminine role in relation to the ‘King’ Hatshepsut and to the god. Two of these images are located in the Main Sanctuary. On the southern wall of the Bark Room, Neferure is shown behind a kneeling statue of queen Hatshepsut. The royal statue was set up in front of the sacred bark of Amun-Re resting on a pedestal during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. The princess is shown as a small girl in the nude with the characteristic lock of youth. A relief representing the face and a dark greenish blue short wig of the princess is preserved in the Dundee Museum.²⁸ A surviving fragment of a cartouche giving the name of Neferure leaves no doubt as to the identification (Fig. 1). The inscription accompanying the representation runs as follows: *s3.t nsw mrw.t.f [hm.t ntr], Nfrw-Rc* – ‘His (i.e. Amun’s) Beloved Royal Daughter, [God’s Wife], Neferure.’

On the northern wall of the same room, Neferure appears as a mature woman in a long white clinging dress that is worn by princesses and divine consorts; she is assisting the kneeling statues of her mother and step-brother in an analogous scene of bringing offerings before the sacred bark of Amun-Re (Fig. 2).²⁹ Despite being depicted as an adult person with the characteristic attributes of a princess, i.e., scepter, mace, and sign of life, her figure is, in keeping with convention, definitely smaller than the royal statues.³⁰ The head

pretations de la stèles de donation d’Ahmès Néfertari, *BIFAO* 76, 1976, pp. 65–89; M. TRAPANI, Une nouvelle enquête sur la stèle d’Ahmès-Nefertari, *ZAS* 129, 2002, pp. 152–165.

²⁶ It seems that the estate of Hatshepsut as the God’s Wife functioned under its original name long after the queen herself was crowned, see: W.C. HAYES, *Varia* from the Time of Hatshepsut, *MDAIK* 15, 1957 [= *Varia*], p. 80.

²⁷ L. TROY, *Engendering Creation in Ancient Egypt*, in: A. BRENNER, C. FONTAINE (eds.), *Reading the Bible*, Sheffield 1997, pp. 239–267; TROY, *Patterns of Queenship*, pp. 91ff; ROBINS, *The God’s Wife of Amun*, pp. 71f.

²⁸ K. KITCHEN, *A Long Lost Portrait of Princess Neferure from Deir el-Bahri*, *JEA* 49, 1963, pp. 38–41; see also: TROY, *Patterns of Queenship*, p. 84, Fig. 55.

²⁹ See references in n. 2, *supra*.

³⁰ It may be assumed that the kneeling statues of Hatshepsut represented sculptures of the queen set up in the Upper Courtyard, just as in the discussed scene on the southern wall. Cf. HAYES, *Varia*, pp. 78–90.



1. Unaltered inscription above the figure of Neferure on the south wall of the Bark Room. Her cartouche was also left intact. (Phot. W. Jerke).

of the princess is decorated with a *calathos*, diadem and, most probably, royal uraeus. In both scenes, she bears the *hts* scepter, a ritual object associated with consecration.³¹ This representation was carved undoubtedly during the lifetime of Neferure. One reason to think so is that the dead members of the royal family – Iahmes, Tuthmosis I, Neferubity (in the upper register of the decoration), and Tuthmosis II (in the bottom register) – were pictured together in the western part of the Bark Room.³² A fragmentary hieroglyphic inscription can be seen above the figure of the princess: *s3.t [nšw] n.t [lost] nb.t t3wy hmw.t Šm^cw Mhw [hm.t ntr]* [lost] – ‘Royal Daughter [...], Mistress of Two Lands, Lady of the South and the North,³³ [God’s Wife],³⁴ [Neferure].’

³¹ Ritual object attested in the Pyramid Texts and from the Eighteenth Dynasty incorporated into the iconography of queenship; it was used during rites of consecration of buildings, see: TROY, *Patterns of Queenship*, pp. 84–85. The religious title *wrt hts* was frequently used by Hatshepsut before her coronation. Cf. GITTON, *Variations*, *BIFAO* 78, 1978, pp. 389ff.

³² The same principle of separating representations of the deceased members of the royal family from those of the living, which in the *Dšr-dšrw* temple is not encountered outside the sanctuary, was also followed in the decoration of the niches in the Bark Room of the sanctuary.

³³ *Urk.* IV, 391. The epithets *nb.t hmw.t t3wy Šm^cw Mhw*, usually held by princesses and queens, were intended mainly as emphasis of might and universal power. Cf. *LÄ* II, 795; GITTON, *Variations*, pp. 391–392.

³⁴ To judge by the size of the lacuna and the surviving suffix *.t, hm.t ntr* is the title most likely to fit the gap.



2. An intact figure of princess Neferure on the north wall of the Bark Room. All damages to the area seem to be accidental. (Phot. W. Jerke).



3. Relief with a depiction of the statue of Tuthmosis I. Upper Courtyard. East wall, south wing, bottom register. (Phot. W. Jerke).



4. Drawing reconstruction of the original representation of Neferure during the celebration of the Opet Festival. Upper Courtyard. East wall, south wing, bottom register. (Tracing: F. Pawlicki; drawing: M. Puzkarski).

All the remaining representations of Neferure at the Deir el-Bahari temple were located on the eastern, southern, and western walls of the Upper Courtyard. In the scene of the procession of priests during the celebration of the Beautiful Feast of Southern *Opet*, carved in the bottom register of the eastern wall, the figure of Neferure was replaced by a statue of Tuthmosis I (Fig. 3).³⁵ The surviving traces of the original representation indicate beyond any doubt that it was originally a standing female figure, as suggested in the drawing-reconstruction (Fig. 4). On the pedestal of the statue, there is a small but distinct trace which cannot be anything but the feet of a female representation. The left calf and the corpus partly preserved in outline can also be traced on the ruler's representation.³⁶ No identifying elements have remained, but it is improbable for it to have been any woman from the royal family other than the princess Neferure. Her representation should be assumed as originally opening the procession, as in the case of the scene from the Karnak bark sanctuary (Chapelle Rouge), where an anonymous priestess with the title of 'God's Wife' led a group of priests to the temple lake of *Qebeh*.³⁷ In the relief from Deir el-Bahari, the procession of priests led by Neferure returning from the temple in Karnak was awaited by the royal couple: Hatshepsut (her image was later removed and replaced with an inscription) and Tuthmosis III. Hence, the role of the princess here was that of *hm.t ntr* priestess and consequently the size of her image did not depart from that of the priests next to her.³⁸

An analogous replacement of Neferure's representation with the figure of Tuthmosis I can be observed in one of the scenes in the bottom register of decoration on the southern wall of the courtyard. In the scene of putting a necklace on the cult statue of the god Amun-Re, one of the most elevated episodes of the Daily Ritual Liturgy, which occupies here the entire lower register of decoration on this wall, it was Neferure that originally assisted Hatshepsut.³⁹ The scene was altered repeatedly, even radically in some cases. The change to an image of Tuthmosis I was executed certainly still in the reign of the queen, as indicated by the exceptional care shown in altering the relief and the meticulous smoothing of the stone surface after replacement. In successive transformations of the scene, executed much less carefully in the end of the rule of Tuthmosis III, the queen's representation

³⁵ Although the cartouche has not survived, it would be difficult not to identify this as a statue of Tuthmosis I, assuming naturally that the alteration occurred in the reign of Hatshepsut and there is no reason to believe otherwise. It is noteworthy that the restorer repeated the same arrangement of the arms, consequently Tuthmosis carries a scepter (*hq3t* or *shm*) in the hand crossing his chest, although standing statues of the king traditionally hold a long ceremonial *mks* staff.

³⁶ It may well be that after the recutting was completed, all unwanted remnants of the original figure were concealed under plaster and polychromy.

³⁷ P. LACAU, H. CHEVRIER, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak I*, Le Caire 1977, pp. 116–119, 330–331; II, Le Caire 1979, Pl. 19. It could have been a representation of Neferure, but in view of the absence of a name and the intended archaizing of the scene, the figure cannot be identified surely. It should be noted, however, that representations of Iahmes-Nefertari as *hm.t ntr* were also intentionally archaistic, cf. J. TYLDESLEY, *Hatshepsut. The Female Pharaoh*, New York 1996, pp. 59–60, 86–89.

³⁸ The principal functions of *hm.t ntr*, apart from adoring the god, playing the *sistrum* and *menat*, and summoning the god to dine, was leading processions, participating in foundation ceremonies and burning effigies of enemies. Cf. ROBINS, *The God's Wife of Amun*, p. 156; B.E. SCHAFER, *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, London 1998, p. 14.

³⁹ KARKOWSKI, *Decoration*, p. 134.



5. The depiction of Iahmes originally showed Neferure as God's Wife of Amun. The original scepter was recarved into a lotus flail. Upper Courtyard. West wall, south wing. (Phot. W. Jerke).

was removed as well, leaving that of Tuthmosis I, which thus became quite remote from the figure of the god. The composition had to be modified as a result, Tuthmosis now being shown as merely handing the characteristic broad necklace to the god instead of the typical gesture which Hatshepsut had been depicted in, that is, dressing the god with it. The two-stage alteration of this representation went far to obliterate all trace of Neferure's

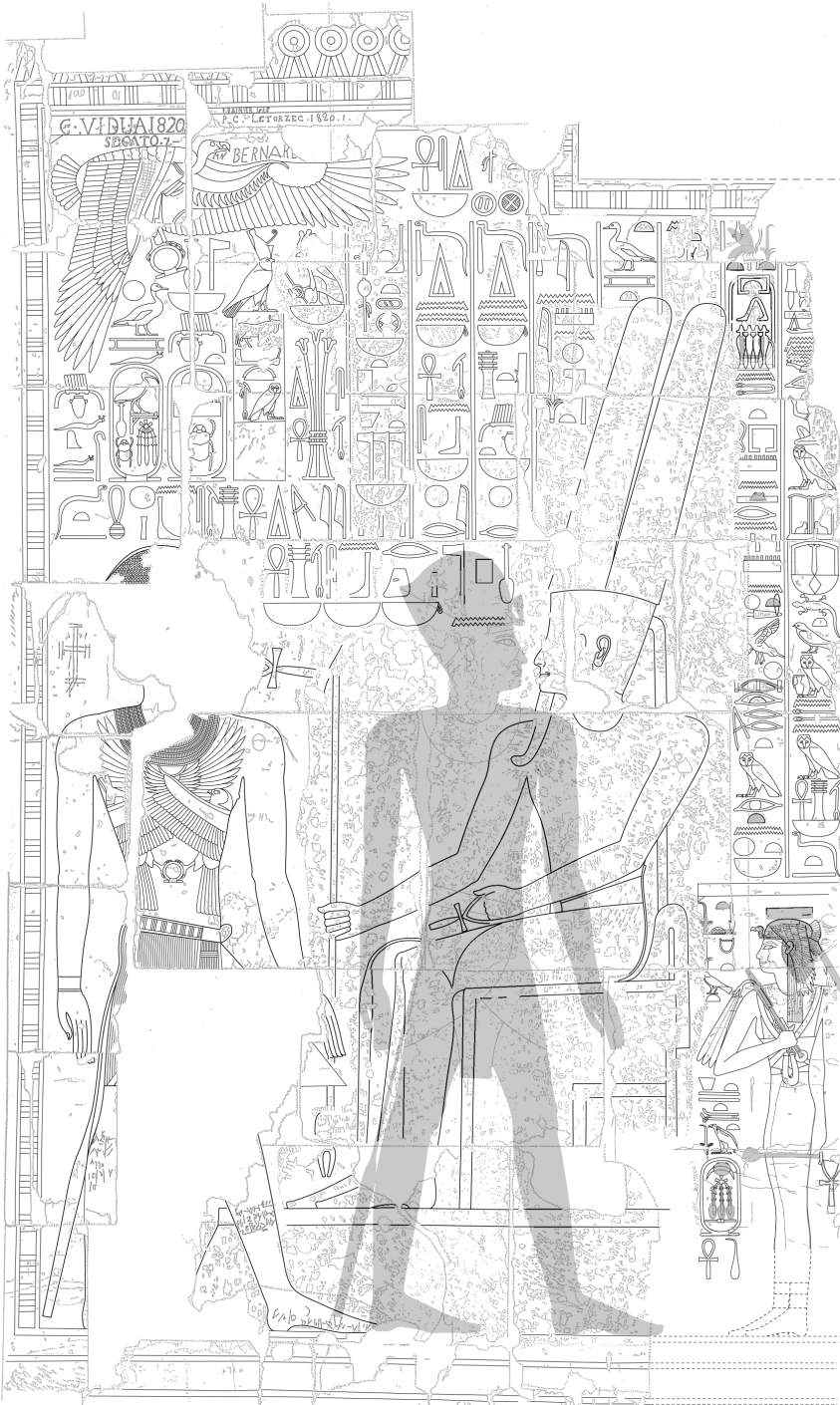


6. The representation of Iahmes (originally Neferure) located to the south of the entrance to the sanctuary. (Phot. F. Pawlicki).

original representation; it can be seen and interpreted only after a discerning analysis. On the same southern wall of the Upper Courtyard, the contour traces of the princess' representation can be detected in two offering scenes. Her figure was replaced with protective symbols or by an image of Iahmes.⁴⁰

The same exercise was performed with respect to four other scenes on the western wall of the Upper Courtyard, which is *de facto*, in form and content, a developed façade of the main temple sanctuary. The first two scenes were positioned above the niches D (southern

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 136. One fragment with queen's representation is stored in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge). Cf. C.H. ROHRIG, R. DREYFUS, C.A. KELLER (eds.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, New York 2007, Cat. No. 80.



7. Hatshepsut's figure obliterated from the scene located to the south of the entrance to the sanctuary. (Tracing: F. Pawlicki; drawing: M. Puzkarski).

wing) and O (northern wing). In both cases, Neferure had originally accompanied Hatshepsut in scenes of offering wine and conical bread to Amun-Re. In the representation above niche D (Fig. 5), which is fully preserved, the *ibš* crown (or perhaps the short wig) was replaced with the vulture headgear topped with feather crown *šwtj*, the classic attribute of queens. The *hd* mace was removed and the *htš* scepter replaced with a stylized lotus flower. The scarcity of available space resulted in Iahmes' titulary epithets being reduced to just the basic ones: [*sn.t nšw*] *hm.t* [*nšw*] *wr.t mw.t nšw hnwt.t t3wy*.⁴¹

The same titles appear in a very fragmentary scene of offering of conical bread above niche O. In this case, too, Neferure had served as *hm.t ntr* in the offering liturgy and was replaced by Iahmes.⁴²

The best known representations of Neferure, which were previously often believed to be Iahmes or Hatshepsut,⁴³ are the two images situated on the western wall of the Upper Courtyard, on either side of the jambs of a granite portal leading to the main temple sanctuary (Fig. 6). In both cases, a standing figure of Neferure appears in the background, behind the back of the throne of Amun-Re, in the scene of Tuthmosis III receiving the *nh*, sign of life. She is shown wearing a typical ankle-long garment held up by straps clasped over the shoulder. In scenes of a monumental, portico scale, the figure of the princess seems insignificant: her head-dress ends flush with the top of the divine throne. The two representations were altered thoroughly three times and the surviving version, discounting the Coptic and modern graffiti, is the work of Post-Amarna restorers.

In the better preserved scene, located south of the portal, the representation of Hatshepsut standing directly in front of the god was almost totally obliterated.⁴⁴ The nature and extent of the changes are visible on a facsimile line-drawing (Fig. 7). A standard dedicatory formula now occupies the place of the queen's head. The inscription accompanying the scene was also changed radically, removing the legend of the representation and the queen's titles. Despite this the evidence of the cartouche and the *srh*-banner with the Horus name of the queen are still visible in the columns of secondary text carved after the modifications.⁴⁵ The alterations were performed in exactly the same way in the scene found to the north of the entrance to the sanctuary.

Despite changes, the overall composition of the representation of the princess, including the size of the figure and the arrangement of the arms, and even more surprisingly the

⁴¹ Initially, the inscription started with the title *s3.t nšw wr.t*, as evinced by preserved fragments of outlines of hieroglyphic signs belonging to the original inscription referred to Neferure.

⁴² The subjects depicted on the western wall of the Upper Courtyard were determined by the nearness of the main sanctuary of Amun-Re; hence the prevalence of scenes of offerings from the *Daily Ritual* or else representations of rituals with distinctly apotropaic significance (*hwt bhsu*, *hwt sp 4 r mrt*) supposed to ensure the security of the sacred place.

⁴³ PM II², p. 365; WERBROUCK, *Le temple*, p. 93; CH. DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, *La femme au temps des Pharaons*, Paris 1986, phot. 19.

⁴⁴ It could have been a scene of the queen with the enthroned Amun-Re's arm around her shoulders. A form of continuation of this representation was the scene from the bottom register of the southern wall of the Bark Room, where Hatshepsut is depicted entering the sanctuary.

⁴⁵ Instead of the name *nšw bl.tj M3°.k3-Rc*, there is the epithet of Tuthmosis III, i.e. *nd.tj ntrw pr hnt* – 'Protector of the Gods'.

plastic modeling of the facial features and the silhouette itself remained unaltered. The attributes were new, as was the headgear. The wig worn on a shaved head, originally decorated with an uraeus and a *sšd* diadem, was replaced with the typical vulture head-dress featuring head, tail, and feathers.⁴⁶ The down-pointing wings of the vulture framed the queen's head on either side. Above the head there are distinct traces of the removed *calathos* that Neferure had worn. Fragments of the wig can be seen above the forehead, on the now revealed part of the queen's cheek and in back of the vulture crown. The change of headgear forced the ancient restorer to model, although not as carefully as other elements, the ear that had not been visible before.

The face of the princess remained unchanged. The difference is quite clear between the hooked nose of Iahmes on the representations on the western wall of the Birth Portico and the small straight nose of Neferure in the scene here discussed. Also the raised eyebrows and corners of the eyes are of different form. The gently drawn chin of the princess is also quite obviously smaller than the full chin of the queen. Thus, it is still the princess' portrait attributed after some modification of attributes and accompanying inscription to her grandmother. The wide, five-row collar that Neferure wore was removed (Fig. 8). The insignia held in the hands were partly left undisturbed, although originally the *ʿnh* sign was slightly larger and the pear-shaped head of the mace was removed, possibly inadvertently, and was never restored. The scepter *hṯs* that Neferure had held originally in her right hand was scratched out, a sumptuous lotus on a long arched stem being substituted in its place; also the *mnj.t* musical instrument appears to be secondary.

The titles of Iahmes are preserved in excellent condition⁴⁷ and they include only the principal standard epithets and titles:⁴⁸ *sn.t nšw hm.t nšw wr.t hnw.t t3wy tmw mw.t nšw I^h-mš ʿnh.tj [mi R^c dt]* – ‘Royal Sister,⁴⁹ Great Consort of the King, Lady of the United Lands, Royal Mother, Iahmes,⁵⁰ may she live [forever like Re].’

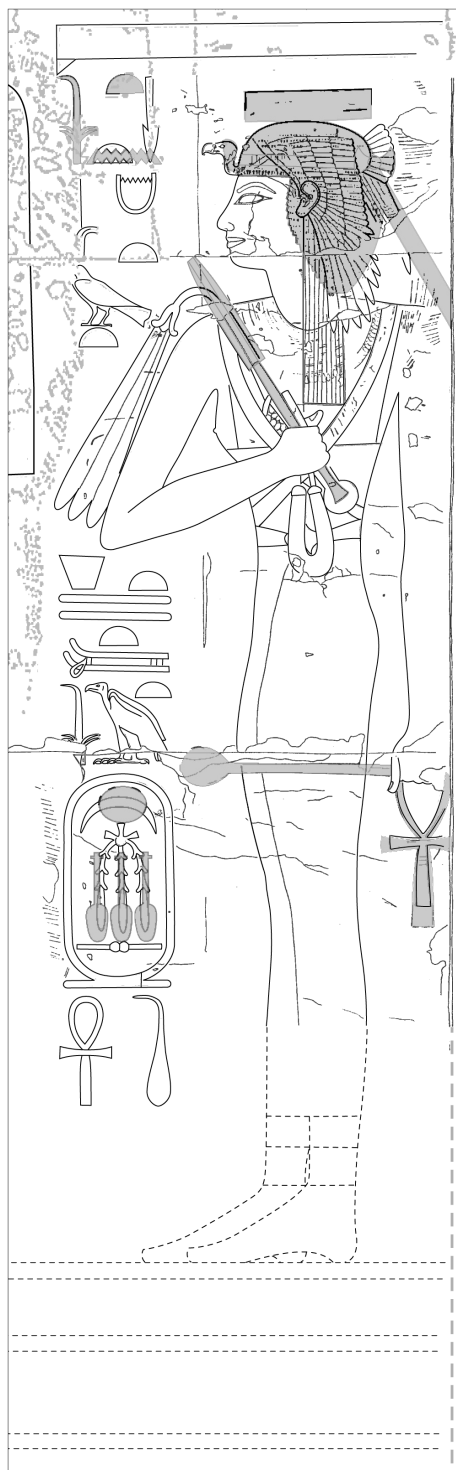
⁴⁶ The short wig with fillet most certainly referred to the hairdos of the *hmt nfr* priestesses from Middle Kingdom times, cf. ROBINS, *The God's Wife*, pp. 71–75; G. FISCHER, *LÄ* IV, 1102–1103; with regard to representations of God's Wives from the Eighteenth Dynasty, it may have been not without significance that the vulture crown constituted a clear reference to the goddess Nekhbet, and then to Amun's consort, the goddess Mut. Cf. E. BRUNNER-TRAUT, *LÄ* II, 515.

⁴⁷ The bottom part of the inscription is concealed by blocks from the Ptolemaic Portico which was set up against the western wall, flanking the entrance to the sanctuary. After a block from the top of the wall between the columns was removed, the bottom fragment of the inscription with a cartouche of queen Iahmes was revealed.

⁴⁸ The epithet *jrj.t-p^c.t wr.t ḥsw.t jm3.t*, a honorific title due the ‘Great Wives of the King’, is missing; Iahmes bears this title in scenes of theogamy in the Birth Portico.

⁴⁹ Common title of royal wives during the Eighteenth Dynasty. Were Iahmes indeed a sister of Amenophis, as some scholars believe (including: HAYES, *Varia*, p. 54; REDFORD, *History and Chronology*, p. 51), she would have had to hold obligatorily the much more prestigious title of *s3.t nšw*, which, however, she never did. Cf. also: *LÄ* I, 101–102; G. ROBINS, *JEA* 76, 1990, p. 216 (review of TROY, *Patterns of Queenship*). On the other hand, she seems to be an important member of the royal court depicted between Tuthmosis II and Hatshepsut on a stela from Berlin. Cf. D. WILDUNG, *Zwei Stelen aus Hatshepsuts Frühzeit*, Berlin 1974, pp. 256–268. The worship of queen Iahmes was recorded as late as in the Ramesside period. See also: *LÄ* I, 101–102.

⁵⁰ In the cartouche, which due to scarcity of space is positioned unusually in front of the princess' feet (at knee height), the remains of the *R^c* sign can be seen on the secondary hieroglyph of *i3ḥ* and contours of the *nfr* signs on the later carved hieroglyph *mš*. There can be no doubt that the name previously written in the cartouche was Neferure's.



8 a-c. The representation of Iahmes (originally Neferure) from the western wall of the Upper Courtyard. Traces of a short curled wig worn by Neferure and the remains of her name in the cartouche are visible. (Phot. and tracing: F. Pawlicki; drawing: M. Puzkarski).

Apart from some insignificant traces, the original titlature was removed so meticulously that a reconstruction may be attempted solely by elimination of titles not held by Neferure. Even though she was a step-sister to Tuthmosis III, the princess never had the titles *śn.t nśw* or *mw.t nśw wr.t* and *hm.t nśw wr.t*.⁵¹ The secondary column of text, at least in the bottom part (below the elbow), most certainly preserves the width of the original inscription. Consequently, the evident traces of the female ending *.t*, at the very beginning of the inscription, are placed not symmetrically, but definitely on the right side of the column, seemingly indicative of the epithet *nśw* being written here in the form as presented in the facsimile of the decoration, and below it, instead of the currently visible title *hm.t nśw*, there must have been *s3.t*. The next epithet, *wr.t*, also raises no doubts despite the fact that it is not original. Thus, it appears that the inscription began in the standard fashion with the most prestigious title of the princess: ‘Great Daughter of the King’. Some slight doubts are caused by traces of re-carving visible on the female ending *.t* in the epithet *wr.t*, but there is no way to be sure whether this was a consequence of a slightly different positioning of the signs after the scepter was replaced with the lotus flower that Iahmes holds or whether an entirely different word had been intended here.⁵² The next epithet, *hnw.t t3wy tm.w*,⁵³ is most certainly original, but re-carving of the next part of this inscription is evident, making this part quite obviously secondary. Perhaps originally the epithet *nb.t Šm^cw Mhw*, for example, could have been read here, but this cannot be fore-judged, despite the visible traces of the sign *św* suggesting the *sm^c* sign or, less likely, *ntr* originally in this position. Thus, the evidence is not univocal in favor of reconstructing the anticipated epithet *hm.t ntr* in the original text. Even so, the significance of the two scenes appears clear and straightforward through the composition: two rulers, Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, seeking divine favor from Amun-Re, who is accompanied by princess Neferure not only as the official ‘God’s Wife’, but also as chief player at the side of her ‘divine father’, her presence being one of the important elements ensuring a lasting order and harmony of the worlds, that of god and men equally.⁵⁴

The latest evidence of Neferure to survive down to our times is dated to the eleventh regnal year of both Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut, inclining scholars toward a presumption of the princess’ premature death, although the exact date cannot be specified. Perhaps the most important premise for placing Neferure’s death between year 11 and 16 is the absence of any mention of her in Senenmut’s second tomb (No. 353) at Deir el-Bahari, as well as in the Chapelle Rouge at Karnak, both of which were built around this time. On the other hand, some researchers have proposed to consider Neferure as a wife of her half-brother Tuthmosis III, perhaps even mother to his eldest son, the prince Amenemhat, although the

⁵¹ The use of this title is well established in the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty cf. TROY, *Patterns of Queenship*, p. 106. That Neferure never bore the title of ‘Great Wife of the King’ cf. GITTON, *Variations*, p. 391.

⁵² Indistinct traces of the outline indicate that it could have been the female ending *.t*. It cannot be excluded that the inscription here was longer originally. Perhaps it was shortened, changing the princess’ attributes.

⁵³ A royal title occurring since Middle Kingdom times, cf. TROY, *Patterns of Queenship*, p. 195.

⁵⁴ ROBINS, *The God’s Wife*, pp. 153–156.

evidence is inconclusive.⁵⁵ The suggestion that Neferure outlived year 16 and perhaps even the death of her mother is given little credence, though some scholars believe that her depiction may have been originally carved on a stela from the temple of Ptah in Karnak. The stela dating to the very beginning of Tuthmosis III's sole reign (year 22–23) may have been made for the king and Neferure, and upon her death may have been recarved for Satioh, the first principal wife of the pharaoh.⁵⁶ Traces of the R^c sign visible in the upper part of the cartouche and then changed to the sign $i^c h$ constitute secure grounds for reconstructing Neferure's name here originally, especially as in the first part of Tuthmosis III's sole rule no woman other than the princess Neferure bore the title of *hm.t ntr*.⁵⁷

There is no doubt that the images of Neferure at the Deir el-Bahari temple were replaced with those of Iahmes and Tuthmosis I already in the reign of Hatshepsut, but it is difficult to know exactly when. It is equally difficult to determine just how long the original representations of Neferure stayed on the walls of the temple at Deir el-Bahari. The most likely solution is for the alterations to be tied in with the operation of replacing the limestone portal with a granite one, that is, around the sixteenth regnal year, if the assumed connection between architectural changes in the temple of Deir el-Bahari and the *Sed* feast celebrations is correct.⁵⁸ The alterations of the decoration described here reflect the complicated personal situation at the royal court during the reign of Hatshepsut. According to historical sources, Tuthmosis II likely reigned for no more than three years,⁵⁹ and considering Hatshepsut's tender age at the moment of their wedding, their only child, princess Neferure, could not have been born until late in his rule. When the sanctuary⁶⁰ and Upper

⁵⁵ The prince Amenemhat, titled *imyr-ihw* – ‘overseer of cattle’, known only from a single inscription written in year 23 of Tuthmosis III on the facade of the Festival Temple *3h-mnw* at Karnak, cf. *Urk.* IV, 1262; A. GARDINER, Tuthmosis III Returns to Amun, *JEA* 38, 1952, pp. 6–23; DORMAN, Monuments of Senenmut, pp. 78–79; D. REDFORD, The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II, *JEA* 51, 1965 [= Coregency], p. 108ff; ID., History and Chronology, p. 55.

⁵⁶ Satioh was the daughter of the king's nurse Ipu, cf. P. LACAU, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, Le Caire 1909, p. 27, Pl. IX (CG No. 34013); PM II², p. 67; REDFORD, Coregency, *passim*.

⁵⁷ C. VANDERSLEYEN, Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIII^e dynastie, Bruxelles 1977, pp. 221–222 [= Les guerres d'Amosis]; G. ROBINS, An Unusual Statue of a Royal Mother-in-Law and Grandmother, in: *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith*, EES 1999, p. 257.

⁵⁸ In consequence of architectural modifications in the Upper Courtyard, a new axis appeared next to the already existing main axis joining the Upper Portico and the main sanctuary. For this rebuilding, cf. KWAŚNICA, Reconstructing the Architectural Layout, pp. 81ff. It should be remembered, however, that virtually the only evidence attesting the celebration of the *Sed* feast in the fifteenth or sixteenth regnal year comes from the text on the obelisk in Karnak. Cf. *Urk.* IV, 358, 11, 359, 1–2 and L. HABACHI, The Obelisks of Egypt, Cairo 1984, Pl. 16. On this subject, see also: J. KARKOWSKI, Pharaoh in the *Heb-Sed* Robe in Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari, *EtTrav* XIX, 2001, p. 109; E. HORNUNG, E. STAHELIN, Studien zum Sedfest, *AegHelv* I, Basel 1974, p. 54.

⁵⁹ VANDERSLEYEN, Les guerres d'Amosis, p. 270; J.-L. CHAPPAZ, Un cas particulier de corégence: Hatshepsout et Thoutmosis III, in: *Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès*, Bruxelles 1993, p. 90; L. GABOLDE, La chronologie du règne de Thoutmosis II, *SAK* 14, 1987, pp. 61–87; E. HORNUNG, Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches, *ÄA* 11, Wiesbaden 1964, pp. 54ff. There are scholars who are convinced that Tuthmosis II reigned for thirteen years, cf. e.g. J. v. BECKERATH, Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten, *MÄS* 46, Munich 1997, pp. 120–123; ID., Nochmals zur Regierung Tuthmosis II, *SAK* 17, 1990, pp. 65ff.

⁶⁰ The sanctuary as one of the oldest parts of the temple must have been built and decorated when Neferure

Courtyard were being constructed, Neferure was no more than a child, like her depiction in the relief scene on the southern wall of the Bark Room.⁶¹ The other reliefs depicting the princess as a mature person should be interpreted as complete fiction, an anticipation of sorts, similarly as another representation from Karnak, where she is shown accompanying her mother who still bears solely the title of ‘Great Wife of the King’.

A radical change of dynastic policy followed the death of Hatshepsut’s daughter, regarding whom the queen must have had specific plans to judge by the number of representations of the child-princess in important parts of the temple. At present, the evidence is insufficient to decide whether Neferure actually married Tuthmosis III, but if she had done so and given birth to the prince Amenemhat,⁶² her passing shortly thereafter would have dramatically weakened Hatshepsut’s position in the struggle for the throne between two branches of the royal family.⁶³ Instead of consolidating her own position as mother of the heiress, Hatshepsut would have suddenly found herself alone against Tuthmosis III and his newly born successor, the prince Amenemhat. Assuming this scenario, we can understand why Hatshepsut turned to her late parents to replace the images of her daughter. This is the only logical interpretation of why Iahmes and Tuthmosis I replaced Neferure in the *Dśr-dśrw* temple.⁶⁴ And there is every reason to believe this change to have been of importance in preparing to celebrate the *Sed* feast, a ceremony confirming and renewing the royal authority of Hatshepsut. Obviously, the presence of the deified king Tuthmosis I in representations of liturgical rituals was of great importance. Where the nature of Neferure’s duties was univocally related to her cosmogonic function, as in the two scenes flanking the entrance to the sanctuary, queen Iahmes replaced her image. This fact emphasizes the significance that was attributed in the early Eighteenth Dynasty to the ‘God’s Wives’ as earthly embodiments of the goddess Mut, but it also evinces the chiefly symbolic character and scope of this function.

The drawback of this theory is that it does not explain why Neferure’s representations in the Bark Room were not removed. Neither does it solve the mystery of Neferure’s image on the stele from the temple of Ptah, which is dated to the 22nd or 23rd year of

was still a child. That it was built in the first years of Hatshepsut’s rule is further evinced by certain relief scenes still emphasizing her female characteristics, a style that was present in the early representations of the woman-king, but unheard of in her later representations, cf. F. PAWLICKI, *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, Cairo 2000, Pl. 10.

⁶¹ Winlock, who at that stage of the reconstruction works in the temple at Deir el-Bahari was unable to trace the alterations in the wall decoration introduced by Hatshepsut, went as far as to suggest that since Neferure’s images were missing from the Upper Courtyard while they could be seen in the Bark Room of the sanctuary, a four-year interval must have followed the completion of the sanctuary, that is, until the alleged death of the princess in year 11. Cf. WINLOCK, *Excavations*, p. 326.

⁶² Cf. n. 55, *supra*.

⁶³ Cf. LABOURY, *Statuaire*, p. 503 with references to C.H. ROEHRIG, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse, Royal Tutor, and Royal Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands*, Berkeley 1990; CH.C. v. SICLEN III, *Ahmosid versus Tuthmosid: The Dishonoring of Hatshepsut Reconsidered*, Toronto 1982.

⁶⁴ One of the other changes introduced by the queen at this point was an image of Tuthmosis I appearing in place of her own *k3* on the western wall of the Upper Chapel of Anubis, cf. WITKOWSKI, *AntWelt* 1998/1, Fig. 6. It was then that the queen had the coffin of her father moved to her own tomb in the Valley of the Kings.

Tuthmosis III.⁶⁵ If the researchers' reading of the name of the depicted, *hm.t ntr*; as Neferure⁶⁶ is correct, it would mean that the princess was still alive when Hatshepsut removed her images from the temple, an event which undoubtedly occurred around year 16. Was the queen reacting to an unwanted marriage between her daughter and Tuthmosis III? If so, we shall probably never know for certain. The queen did not remove Neferure's representations from the reliefs in the Karnak temple nor from the main sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari visited by the procession during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.⁶⁷ Perhaps she was afraid of how Tuthmosis III would react. It should be kept in mind that there are few facts to bolster this theory. True, Neferure is not addressed anywhere as 'Great Wife of the King', but this is not a conclusive argument, as the surviving sources are mostly from the early years of the princess' life. It would have been difficult for new images to appear, if Hatshepsut was already removing existing ones. Moreover, the independent rule of Tuthmosis III is well documented only from the third decade of his reign on. At that time, Neferure was most certainly no longer among the living.⁶⁸

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⁶⁵ Cf. references quoted in n. 56, *supra*.

⁶⁶ VANDERSLEYEN, *Les guerres d'Amosis*, pp. 219–223; ID., *L'Égypte et la Vallée du Nil II: De la fin de l'Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire*, Paris 1995, p. 280.

⁶⁷ It is worth noting that even the images of Hatshepsut in the sanctuary were not damaged, the obliterating action being limited to the removal of the names of the queen.

⁶⁸ Cf. n. 1, *supra*.