

CENTRE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE MÉDITERRANÉENNE
DE L'ACADÉMIE POLONAISE DES SCIENCES

ÉTUDES et TRAVAUX

XXI

2007

ZBIGNIEW E. SZAFRAŃSKI

*King (?) Neferure,
Daughter of Kings Tuthmosis II and Hatshepsut*

Over twenty years ago, in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Dr. Marek Marciniak and me, we used to stay in front of two curious scenes which flanked the granite portal leading to the Main Sanctuary of Amun-Re. The depicted scenes were the result of the final stage of several concepts of the decoration of the West Wall of the Upper (Festival) Courtyard. Among others, each scene, according to accompanying inscriptions, represented the figure of the enthroned Amun-Re, the central element of the composition, with king Tuthmosis III in front of him and a smaller figure of queen Iahmes – placed behind the Amun's throne (Fig. 1).

Almost hundred years ago, E. Naville described one of these scenes, namely the northern (right) one: *We see there a large figure of Amon which is not original; it has been restored, and we cannot judge exactly what stood before the erasure; but it is certain that there was a figure of the queen and one of Amon, probably embracing her. (...) Her mother Aahmes (...) stands behind (...). Thothmes III stands before what was the group of two figures (...).*¹

The scenes were mysterious from the start. Very often, during the years of Polish activity in the Temple, again and again, we discussed possibilities of their former (earlier) arrangement and meaning. We examined features of the existing representations, of what was visible at that time. The most curious was the representation of queen Iahmes. The female figure was changed and, as Marek Marciniak supposed at that time, its original representation, most probable, represented princess Neferure, daughter of Hatshepsut – the hypothesis based on features of the figure's head-dress² and on the attributes³ carried by the depicted woman in her right hand.

Ten years after the death of Marek Marciniak, I dismantled blocks of the Ptolemaic Portico which – during over twenty two hundred years – covered lower part of the figures, in both the scenes (Fig. 2). Thus the whole representation of woman standing behind the present throne of Amun appeared in her full size: among others, with her feet and with an attribute in her left hand (Figs. 3A and 4). During the examination of the southern scene, especially, traces of the hieroglyphs placed in the cartouche revealed Neferure's name (Figs. 3B, C, and D).

Under the *pt*-sign, the figures in the two scenes depicted a woman wearing long white tunic; her body was painted yellow (Figs. 3A and 4). Her head-dress consisted of a diadem⁴

¹ E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, VI, London 1908, p. 8, Pl. CLXIV.

² Cf. F. PAWLICKI, *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, (SCAE) Cairo 2000 [= *The Temple*], p. 30; Id., *Skarby architektury starożytnego Egiptu. Królewskie świątynie w Deir el-Bahari*, Warszawa 2000 [= *Skarby*], p. 104, Fig. 99.

³ Cf. J. KARKOWSKI, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari* [= *Decoration*], in: Z.E. SZAFRAŃSKI (ed.), *Hatshepsut and Her Temple 3500 Years Later*, Warsaw 2001, p. 140.

⁴ Cf. C. LILYQUIST, *The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III*, New Haven – London 2003 [= *Tomb of Three Wives*], pp. 159–161; D.C. PATCH, in: C.H. ROEHRIG, R. DREYFUS, C.A. KELLER (eds.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, New Haven – London 2006 [= *Hatshepsut*], p. 198. See an Old Kingdom diadem from Giza (Mastaba of Shaft 294), cf. E. STAEHELIN, *Untersuchungen zur Ägyptische Tracht in Alten Reich*, *MÄS* 8, Berlin 1966, pp. 147f, Pl. XV. 22.



1. Temple of Hatshepsut, Upper (Festival) Courtyard, West Wall. Scene to the south (left) of the Granite Portal. (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



2. Dismantling the blocks of the Ptolemaic Portico wall covering the southern (left) scene placed close to the Granite Portal leading to the Main Sanctuary of Amun-Re. (Phot. M. Jawornicki).

and the pillbox-shaped modius (*calathos*) on the top of her short curled wig. She held the *hts*-scepter and the *mmj.t*-necklace in her right hand. In both scenes, she held in her left hand the *hd*-mace; the Hathor-sistrum (replaced with the *ʿnh*) is clearly visible in the southern scene (Fig. 3E). These attributes and iconographic features specify the representations of Princess Neferure. Iconography of the two representations of the princess, depicted on the southern and northern walls of the Bark Hall of the Main Sanctuary (Figs. 5A–B),⁵ contributes well to this identification.

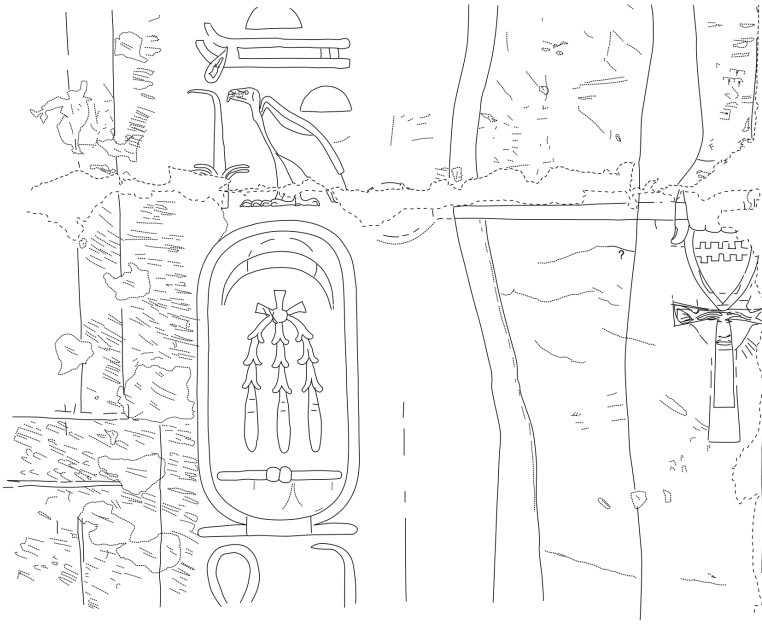
Most interesting and significant feature has appeared at the bottom of the southern scene. A female figure, double in size – comparing with that of Neferure, stood then in front of the princess. Only a big toe, painted yellow, has been preserved (Fig. 6). The figure facing the princess, was that of a goddess, and most probably it was Hathor depicted in front of the princess. Neferure had been carved as a princess of Hathor,⁶ holding, among the other attributes, the goddess' sistrum. Behind the goddess, at least one figure

⁵ E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, V, London 1906, Pls. CXLI and CXLIII.

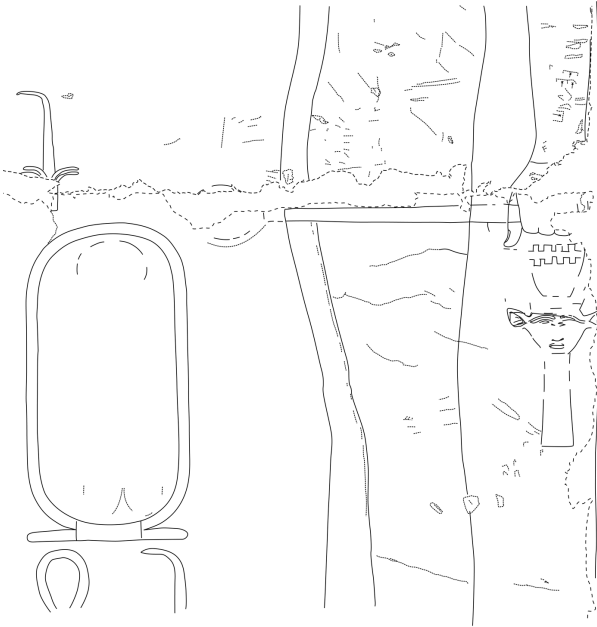
⁶ See a stela in Sinai in the eleventh regnal year that shows Neferure making offerings to Hathor, cf. A.H. GARDINER, T.E. PEET and J. ČERNÝ, *The Inscriptions from Sinai I–II*, Oxford 1952–1955 [= *Inscriptions from Sinai*], No. 177, Pl. LVI; C. LILYQUIST, *Tomb of Three Wives*, p. 161. This is contrary to KARKOWSKI, *Decoration*, p. 140, who states that Neferure had been carved 'as a priestess of Amun-Re'.



3A. West Wall, southern scene. Figure of a woman (princess Neferure – queen Iahmes), placed close to the southern (left) jamb of the Granite Portal, as revealed after the dismantling the blocks of the Ptolemaic Portico wall. (Phot. M. Jawornicki).



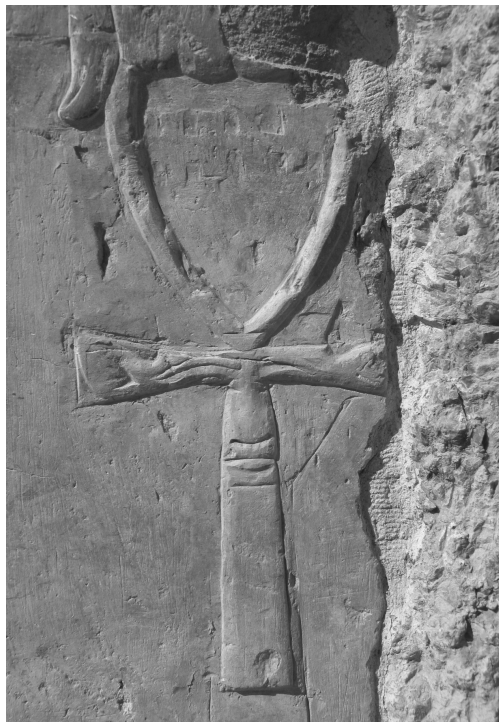
3B. West Wall, southern scene. Lower part of the figure of a woman (princess Neferure – queen Iahmes), placed close to the southern (left) jamb of the Granite Portal, as revealed after the dismantling the blocks of the Ptolemaic Portico wall. (Drawing: Z.E. Szafrąński and J. Iwaszczuk).



3C. West Wall, southern scene. Lower part of the uncovered woman figure. Traces of the former original decoration. Remains of the original hieroglyphic signs, placed inside the cartouche: lower parts of the *nfr*- and *R'*-signs, point to the name of Neferure. (Drawing: Z.E. Szafrąński).



3D. West Wall, southern scene. The traces of the erased original name of Neferure inside the cartouche of Iahmes. (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



3E. West Wall, southern scene. The original Hathor-sistrum, in the left hand of the woman, was replaced with the *nh*-sign – symbol of life. (Phot. M. Jawornicki).

should be expected. Almost certain, Hatshepsut stood before what was the group of two figures depicted in front of Neferure. This scene indicates most probably the **FIRST STAGE** of the Hatshepsut's decoration programme of the West Wall of the Upper (Festival) Courtyard, of the two scenes flanked the entrance to the Main Sanctuary at least.

In the **SECOND STAGE** of the programme, Hatshepsut enlarged the entrance to the Main Sanctuary of Amun-Re introducing a new granite portal. The northern part of the southern scene was cut just behind the left arm of Neferure (Figs. 3A–C and E). This cut is also visible in the southern part of the northern scene of the wall.

The representation of the princess Neferure was changed into that of queen Iahmes. This is the **THIRD STAGE** of the Hatshepsut's programme. Most probably, it happened after the death of the princess.

The composition in the next, i.e. **FOURTH STAGE** was radically changed. From the former arrangement, only figure of queen Iahmes and, at least, two columns of the text above the queen's representation were left (Fig. 1). It seems that the areas of wall surface which flanked the granite portal, placed to its south and north, were smoothed and prepared for completely new decoration. The figure of Tuthmosis III appeared in front of Amun-Re. That the representation of this particular god was introduced we may judge from the areas



4. West Wall, northern scene. Figure of a woman (princess Neferure – queen Iahmes), placed close to the northern (right) jamb of the Granite Portal, as revealed after the dismantling the blocks of the Ptolemaic Portico wall. (Phot. M. Jawornicki).



5A. Bark Hall of the Main Sanctuary of Amun. Cartouche of the princess Neferure in scene on the north wall. (Phot. W. Jerke).



5B. Bark Hall of the Main Sanctuary of Amun. Representation of the princess Neferure on the south wall. (Phot. W. Jerke).



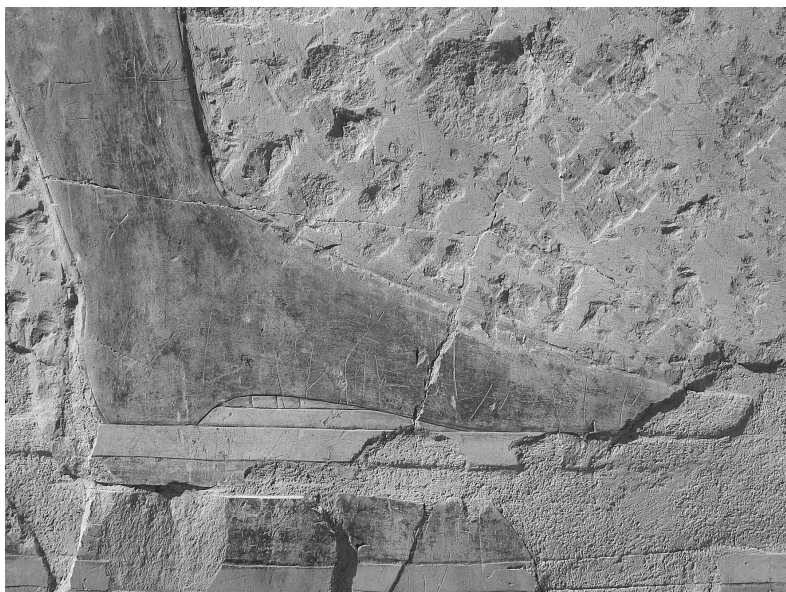
6. West Wall, southern scene. Remains of the original decoration (i.e. STAGE ONE): feet of Neferure and a goddess – most probably Hathor, painted yellow, placed on *dado*-frieze. (Phot. M. Jawornicki).

of the later destructions which are typical for the Amarna time and from the shape of ζnh -sign given to the king (Fig. 1). Most probably it was the enthroned (seated) figure of Amun-Re. Obviously, Tuthmosis III was the author of this new idea of decoration. It happened after the disappearance of Hatshepsut. Traces of the former decoration are still visible under the fore foot of the king, above *dado* line (Figs. 7A–B). It is hard to state the traces of which stage of the decoration remained; they can be attributed to each of the former three concepts of decoration.

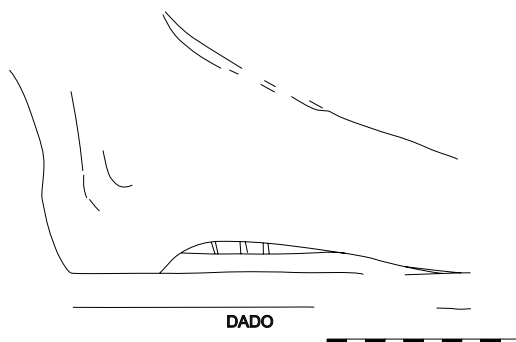
However, it is also not excluded that it was Tuthmosis III who changed the original features of the figure of Neferure. The representation of queen Iahmes, his grandmother, fits his general idea of the ancestor cult in the temple and in the Upper Terrace in particular. Therefore, **STAGE THREE** might have not occurred in the proposed chronology of this programme of the scenes' decoration.

The representations, names, and epithets of Amun-Re were hammered off during the reign of Akhenaten. These destructions, for a certain period of the Amarna time and the years after, characterized perception of the scenes in their **FIFTH STAGE** of existence.

The restoration of the figure of Amun-Re, as the enthroned god, done in the reigns of kings Horemheb and Ramesses II, gave the scenes their present state, that is what we see today – the final, **SIXTH STAGE** of the decoration (Fig. 1).



7A. West Wall, southern scene. Remains of the original decoration visible under the fore foot of Tuthmosis III, before radical changes done by Tuthmosis III (i.e. STAGE FOUR). (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



7B. West Wall, southern scene. Remains of the original decoration visible under the fore foot of Tuthmosis III, before radical changes done by Tuthmosis III (i.e. STAGE FOUR). (Drawing: Z.E. Szafrński).

The placement of the Neferure's figure in the original composition (**STAGE ONE**) of these scenes is one of the most interesting information concerning Hatshepsut's plans as to the future of her daughter who would become pharaoh. It seems that the queen was paving the way for a line of female pharaohs.⁷

⁷ It has been suggested by D.B. REDFORD, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies, Near and Middle East Series 3*, Toronto 1967, pp. 84–85. See also TYLDESLEY, *Hatshepsut. The Female Pharaoh*, London 1998 [= Hatshepsut], pp. 86–90; PAWLICKI, *Skarby*, p.104; KARKOWSKI, *Decoration*, p. 134.

Neferure was a member of the immediate royal family. She was the only child of Hatshepsut and a daughter of Tuthmosis II. 'King's Daughter, Neferure' is represented and/or mentioned in several places of the Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari and on some other objects and monuments. She assumed the title 'God's Wife',⁸ the title which – since the Seventeenth Dynasty – was traditionally held by the principal queen. Neferure, as the 'God's Wife', is shown performing her duties during the reign of King Hatshepsut.⁹

The scenes flanking the entrance to the Main Sanctuary of Amun-Re in the temple at Deir el-Bahari are of extreme importance. Here we have two persons, i.e. most probably goddess Hathor and the queen, approaching the Main Sanctuary of Amun-Re. Neferure is the person who is in front of the sanctuary – receiving the two important personalities. The name of Neferure is placed in cartouche in the same manner as her names are depicted in the Bark Hall of the Sanctuary (Fig. 5A); we have traces of the original text preserved in the cartouche (Fig. 3C). The meaning of the scenes seems clear: the future 'king' Neferure receives the present ruler and the goddess.¹⁰

The two representations at the entrance to the Main Sanctuary of Amun-Re in the temple at Deir el-Bahari are essential element of the Hatshepsut's intention that her daughter should become pharaoh.

Zbigniew E. Szafranski
Centrum Archeologii Śródziemnomorskiej
Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warszawa

⁸ Cf. a scarab in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (No. 27.3.326), found in the foundation deposit of the Hatshepsut's temple – see: ROEHRIG *et al.* (eds.), *Hatshepsut*, p. 143, Cat. No. 75.1.

⁹ Shown, perhaps, as her mother's consort in the dismantled blocks of the Chapelle Rouge and in other places at Karnak – cf. TYDESLEY, *Hatshepsut*, p. 89 and the lecture by L. Gabolde (and his personal communication) presented in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, on the 7th of May, 2006. Neferure, in the role of the God's Wife, is depicted in the scenes representing selected episodes from the *Daily Ritual*, the objective of which is the morning toilet of the statue of the god on the south wall and in the ceremony of driving calves and the consecration of the four chests in the western wall of the Upper (Festival) Courtyard of the Temple at Deir el-Bahari, cf. PAWLICKI, *The Temple*, pp. 30, 36; KARKOWSKI, *Decoration*, p. 135.

¹⁰ For the inscription in Sinai from the eleventh regnal year where the kingly epithets were given to Neferure see: GARDINER, PEET, ČERNÝ, *Inscriptions from Sinai*, No. 177, Pl. LVI; P.F. DORMAN, in: ROEHRIG *et al.* (eds.), *Hatshepsut*, p. 108, Fig. 46.