

ANCIENT HISTORY

Option A: Hatshepsut

1. Historical Context

1.1 Geography, topography, and resources of Egypt and its neighbours

Geography

- Egypt is referred to as the Black Land (*Kemet*) comprising the triangular delta, Faiyum and long fertile strip on either side of the Nile river
- Separated into Upper and Lower Egypt
- The desert areas are known as Red Land (*Deshret*) and comprised the Western desert, the Eastern desert, and Sinai.
- Extensive desert provided natural defence and resources
- Fertile area was lush and ordered, exploited by mining expeditions organised by Pharaoh
- Isolation by the Nile valley and sea meant Egypt had long been self-sufficient and was relatively free of invaders. Isolation led to a culture unique compared to those on the fertile crescent and mainland.
- “Gift of the Nile” HERODOTUS
 - Invasion of N Egypt by Hyksos shattered their sense of security → resulted in expulsion of Hyksos and creation of the New Kingdom

Role and Function of The Nile

- Nile is the major north-east African river that flows toward the northern side of African territory
- The Nile River flows north 5470km to reach the southern border of Egypt. The northern section of the river flows through the desert, from Sudan to Egypt.
- River Nile flows through ten countries ending up in a large delta – Finally the river flows into the Mediterranean Sea.
- The basics of the Egyptian diet (bread and beer provided by wheat and barley) was ensured by the annual inundation. Inundation: Annual floods made Egypt fertile since there was limited natural rainfall.
- Provided Papyrus (plant grown along the Nile from which paper was made)
- The trades between various countries along the river Nile made Egypt an economically secured nation

Resources of Egypt

Sinai	Copper, turquoise
Delta	Provided an enormous range of wild fowl that were hunted
The Nile River	Provided a plentiful supply of fish, produced crops, and breeding of animals, grew wheat, barley, flax, fruit, and vegetables. (figs, dates, grapes, onions, herbs)
Palestine-Syria	Valuable metals: copper, lead, and silver Timber
Nubia	Gold, cattle, ebony, ivory, feathers, animal skin, and precious stones

Resources Egypt imported/ traded

- Nubia to the south = rich source of gold and cattle
- African trade = ivory, ebony, incense, myrrh, aromatic wood, animal skins and eggs
- Palestine possessed few desired resources but was important for its transit corridors providing communications and trade routes
- Byblos (Lebanon) possessed cedar wood
- Cyprus was a major source of copper for trade or diplomatic gifts (used to make bronze as well)
- Merchant ships from the Aegean travelled through Syria, Greece, and the Nile delta ← Egyptian emmer-wheat and barley were exchanged for spices, unguent (substance for lubrication), oil, opium, and exotic manufactured goods
- Pottery from Islands of the Aegean
- High luxury products such as panther skin, ostrich feathers from Nubia

1.2 Historical Overview of the early eighteenth dynasty

Historical Overview

- Over 1300 years pharaohs rule as semi-divine figures to maintain order, justice, and harmony in Egypt. Until 1640 BC when the Hyksos (A Semitic people) invaded Egypt and claimed rulership themselves, they dominated lower Egypt for over 100 years.
- Native Egyptian princes from Thebes (17th Dynasty) ruled in Upper Egypt with coexistence to the Hyksos
- Ahmose I (reigned 1550-1525BC) defeated the Hyksos in 1532BC and founded the New Kingdom

- The Eighteenth Dynasty was founded by Ahmose I, the brother of Kamose, the last ruler of the Seventeenth Dynasty defeated the Hyksos in 1532BC

1.3 Overview of the social, political, military, and economy structure of the early New Kingdom period

Political Structure

- It was the pharaoh's responsibility to maintain ma'at (divine order – rightness, truth, and justice) in both the physical and spiritual world
- Any successive pharaoh was expected to uphold these and maintain order through:
 - Showing gratitude to gods and goddesses by performing rituals, attend festivals, construct/restore temples.
 - Provide prosperity and nourishment
 - Extend Egypt's boundaries and protect the country against all enemies
 - Controls all aspects of Egyptian society and government
- Political office is dominated by males, however women were respected and given more rights compared to women in other ancient societies. All queens were regarded very highly, especially the royal daughters and the Great King's wife (associated with goddess Isis and Hathor). If the queen happens to be the mother of the heir, then her social status will be further enhanced

Social Structure

- Hierarchical with upper class composed of royal blood and those who enjoyed royal patronage and favour.
- Below elite was a stratum made up of educated/skilled individuals e.g. Bureaucrats, accountants, tax officials
- Middle class is a stratum of artisans, some literate/semi-literate individuals e.g. potters, painters, metalworkers, artists.
- Lower level of Egyptian society would have included labourers, servants, soldiers, peasants, servants, and slaves.

Military Structure

- The pharaoh is the commander in Chief and held supreme authority over all military decisions
- 3 divisions within the army: professional, voluntary, conscripted troops:
 - Professional army are usually appointed by the pharaoh
 - Conscripted troops are young males that are from lower social classes. Often poorly trained and badly led.

- Weapons used during battle: composite bow, penetrating cast-bronze axe, the Egyptians adopted the fickle sword and perfected the war chariot.

Economic Structure

- New Kingdom Egypt was a 'commander economy' where the state and all economic activity is controlled by the pharaoh
- Wealth came from taxation (collected every year during *Shemu*) and agriculture produce. A specialised royal bureaucracy monitored economic activity and levied taxation.
- Grain (approx. 1/3 of a farmer's produce) and other goods were collected and redistributed by the state to pay govt officials.
- The priest of the Cult of Amun and other cults were powerful and had huge estates

1.4 Relationship of the king to Amun

Overview of the Cult of Amun

- Amun, a local Theban god. His priests associated him with the sun god Re, the protector of royalty. Amun-Re became the pre-eminent god of Egypt and later became an imperial god.
- The temple of Amun at Karnak became one of the most affluent institutions in Egypt
- The semi-divine pharaoh was considered to be the living Horus and the son of Amun

Relationship to the King

- Pharaohs regarded him as their divine 'father' promoted the belief that the god, in the guise of the king, took the queen as his divine consort and impregnated her so that a future king would be regarded as the living son of a god (*theogamy*)
- The god Amun's priesthood increased in power and prestige and Thebes began to grow into a city worthy of being the religious capital of Egypt.

1.5 Overview of religious beliefs and practices of the early New Kingdom period

- Entry into the afterlife believed to depend on mummification of the corpse and the performance of religious rituals.
- From the 18th dynasty pharaohs separated tombs and mortuary temple to hide their tombs. Mortuary temples is where the funerary rites of Egyptian rulers were carried out by a special group of mortuary priests.
- Thutmose I broke the 1200 year old tradition in tomb construction (from pyramids to rock-cut tombs) and located his tomb in isolated limestone cliffs, now known as the Valley of the Kings.

<p>Festival of the Beautiful Valley</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducted in the honour of Amun • Took place in the 10th month at the time of the full moon – The statue of Amun was taken from Karnak and crossed the Nile b a golden barge accompanied by the king and the high priest • Amun’s statue would then be taken to mortuary temples • Families followed a procession to the Theban necropolis to honour their ancestors and give gratitude to Amun
<p>Opet Festival</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involved Amun, his wife the goddess Mut and their son the moon god Khonsu • In the second month of the inundation, their statues were transported by river from Karnak to the Temple of Luxor • The rites during this time either renewed the sacred marriage of Amun and Mut (as suggested by statues) or focused on rejuvenating the king • At the conclusion of the festival the Gods were returned to sanctuaries in Karnak – The procession was an occasion of great festivity
<p>Other main gods/goddesses</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Osiris – God of the underworld • Isis – Protector of the dead • Seth – God of thunder and storm • Horus – Son of Osiris and protector of the pharaoh • Thoth – God of writing • Maat – Goddess of truth, law, and justice • Hathor – Goddess of love and beauty
<p>Temples</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temples to gods were meant to mirror the creation myth: Pylons or gateways = borders of chaos surrounding walls represented the waves of Nun, a series of corridors that gradually lowering the ceiling to give the feeling of ascending the Behen mound • The sanctuary room was at the back of the temple, containing the statue of the god • Every morning the pharaoh or priests took care of the statues: washing, smoking it with incense and dressing it and then presented with offerings • Priests and high nobles could enter the temple precincts however the public seemingly felt close to their gods by exercising personal piety outside the temples

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They also wrote confessions and prayers on stone stela, participated in festivals and wore symbolic amulets e.g. Ankh (symbol of life, Wedjat (left eye of Horus))
Death/Mummification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • KA: life force, remained in the tomb with the body which was needed to be recognisable • Destroying the name of the dead condemned them to a second death, name kept them 'alive' in the afterlife • Egyptian paradise or Field of Yaru/ Reeds is where the person spent the rest of their life if they were mummified properly and passed Osiris' judgement • Mummification involved removing brain through the nose and vital organ (except heart) with a flint knife • Organs were washed, dried and treated with natron and budled into canopic jars representing the 4 Sons of Horus • Body was then packed with natron and placed on a sloping table to drain fluids • After 40 days the body would be bathed in the Nile after the natron was removed and packed with linen bags so the body had its original shape/ prevent breakdown • Cosmetics were applied to define features and up to 20 layers of bandages were applied • Magic amulets e.g. Scarab were placed between the bandages • This process lasted around 70 days • Believed that the God Anubis, ruler of the dead, accompanied the deceased the Thoth at the weighing of the heart ceremony
Burial/path to eternal life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In New Kingdom Egypt Pharaohs were buried in the Valley of the Kings • Mortuary temples were built separate to their tombs, so their bodies would not be disturbed • Egyptians believed the Pharaohs spent eternity on a boat with Re, who travelled for 12 hours each day across the sky and then transformed into Osiris at night and travelled through the underworld • Ordinary Egyptians were buried in freestanding tombs

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening of the mouth ceremony: the deceased eldest son or nearest male relative would restore the sense of the mummy, libations and spells were bestowed upon the deceased and the Crown of justification (flower garland) was put around the neck of the dead to symbolise their victory over death, sand was scattered to remove any footsteps • On the path to experiencing eternal life one had to pass Osiris: 1st entered the hall of Truth and faced 42 gods, each who had jurisdiction over a certain type of sin (42 denials of sins = the 'Negative Confessions'), next the dead followed Anubis to the Hall of Ma'at, their heart would be weighed against the feather of Ma'at on a set of scales – if the heart failed to balance, Ammit the devourer consumed them. If they were 'true of voice' they would be led to Osiris whom would declare their innocence and welcome to the Fields of Yaru
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2. Background and rise to prominence

2.1 Family Background

- Hatshepsut was eldest child of the pharaoh Thutmose I and Queen Ahmose, the monarch's principal wife
- Had no full blood siblings as they all passed away, not much of her childhood is known except that her wet nurse was Sitre (Archaeological evidence: Statue of Hatshepsut as a child on her wet nurse's knee, Sitre's tomb was also found in the valley of the Kings suggesting her prestigious position)
 - This emphasises Hat's divinity/divine right to the throne, as she was a 'pure-blood' – had she been male, it would have been unquestionably routine for Thut I to pass on his reign to her
 - The Divine Birth and Coronation relief (see below) refer to Hat's lineage as assertions of her entitlement to the throne
- Thutmose I had produced a son from a lesser wife, Mutnofret whose son Thutmose II became the living successor of the throne
- Hatshepsut was only a young teen when her father died, having reigned no more than 15 years.
- Hat married her half-brother, Thutmose II, after he succeeded their father – a relief in the Berlin Museum shows Hat standing "*in approved wifely fashion*" behind Thut II and Queen Ahmose (Tyldesley)
- Hat and Thut II produced a daughter Neferure
- Thut III succeeded his father but was very young; as a result, Hat became his regent
- This was a commonplace decision for queens to make when children weren't old enough to make decisions on their own, however Tyldesley notes it was "unprecedented" for her to act as regent for a child that wasn't her own son

- Scholars such as W.C. Hayes and Redford believe Hat's decision to become pharaoh occurred around Year 2 of Thut III's reign
- Hat's Red Chapel at Karnak provides an inscription detailing religious procession at Luxor Temple where she describes an oracle from Amun proclaiming her king (issue: doesn't identify the king)

2.2 Claim to the throne and succession: Divine Birth and Coronation reliefs

- The Divine Birth and Coronation reliefs found and inscriptions in the north colonnade at Deir el-Bahri indicate Hatshepsut's royal lineage and the thematic cycle of how she came to power.
- In both, Hat. reaffirms her father's and her royal bloodline (daughter of the pharaoh) and reiterates that she is a royal wife.

Divine Birth Conception/Birth

- The relief is sequential as follows:
 - Amun's prophecy of the birth of Hatshepsut – Establishes Amun's role in her conception, reinforcement of link to religion, constructing an image of her as a physical/living daughter of the revered God
 - Her mother Ahmose was supposedly visited by Amun while she slept and was impregnated by the god in the guise of her father Thutmose I – Claiming a Theogamous birth (fathered by god)
 - Ahmose was informed of the conception
 - God Khnum create the baby and its *ka* (soul) on his potter's wheel
 - Birth of Hatshepsut
 - Hatshepsut being suckled by the Goddess Hathor and acknowledged by the Gods as future pharaoh.

Coronation Relief

- The relief is sequential as follows:
 - The gods purifying the child Hatshepsut, and was presented to all gods by Amun
 - Hatshepsut is associated with God of Thebes and accompanied her father on a journey to the north to announce her as the future pharaoh
 - Coronation by the God Atum, her names and titles are proclaimed as Thoth recorded this
 - Coronation at the court of Thutmose I
 - Second purification by the gods
- Hat. rewrote history so she could be seen as the legitimate successor of her father Thutmose I, ignoring the reign of her husband Thutmose II.

- The ultimate purpose of this relief is to legitimise her rule as pharaoh by physical descent from Thutmose I
- Emphasises her claim to the throne as she was chosen by Amun and crowned by her father. *“This is my daughter Khnemet-Amun, Hatshepsut, who liveth, I have appointed – she is my successor upon my throne.”* (J.H Breasted)
- Many scholars rejected this inscription as a reliable account of events, suggesting that it was propaganda created to justify her succession. With both Gardiner and Breasted saying that its details were fictitious as the text was *“taken verbatim from the account of the coronation of Amenemhet III in the middle kingdom temple at Arsinoe...”*
- Lawless highlights that it was a *“very bold piece of propaganda put forward by Hatshepsut.”*
- Callender argues against this suggesting that it is reliable as Hatshepsut may have been chosen as heir during Thutmose I’s reign, especially when she was the only surviving child. (Also, because he had no male heirs.)

2.3 Political and religious roles of the king and queen in the Seventeenth Dynasty and early Eighteenth Dynasty

Role of Kings

- Primary role was mainly military, i.e. expanding the Egyptian empire, securing the borders through military campaigns, development of the army, and building programs to promote their role
- Maintain prosperity, peace, and order

Roles of Queens

- The Queens of the 18th Dynasty played very powerful and influential roles. These included; assisting the Pharaoh with his reign, acting in military campaigns and associating themselves with the gods. Women relatives of the Pharaoh also had a range of duties and enjoyed considerable status.
- Closely linked to Hathor, Ma’at, and Mut
- Held various titles including, God’s wife of Amun, King’s daughter, King’s sister, King’s Great wife
- On a stela of Nakht from the Sinai dated to year 20, Thutmose III and Hatshepsut were depicted on an equal footing making offerings to the Gods.
- King’s wife – A secondary wife, her son would succeed the throne if the chief wife produced no male heir
- The King’s Mother – Chief wife or widow of a king

2.4 Marriage to Thutmose II

- Thutmose II produced by a lesser wife Mutnofret married Hatshepsut when she was 12-15 years old
 - Hat. was 7 years older than her half brother
 - She held the following titles during the marriage: 'King's daughter', 'King's sister', 'Great wife of Amun', 'King's Great Wife'
- Little was known about his reign (1493 – 1479BC) – He crushed a rebellion in the region of Nubia, there might have been a brief campaign against the Shasu-Bedouin in the Sinai
 - Fragment from the middle colonnade at Deir el-Bahri also mentions a campaign in Syria
 - His only building achievement was a festival court at the front entrance of the pylons at the Temple of Karnak
- During his reign, Hat was a conventional Queen Consort. There was no evidence of and dissatisfaction other than the stela suggesting she knows her position. Tyldesley: "She was the product of a highly conservative society brought up to think in conventional gender stereotypes."
- Thut II & Hat. only produced one daughter Neferure but no sons
- Thut II had a son by a lesser wife Isis Thutmose III who was aged 10 at the time of his death so Hat. assumed the role of regent.

3. Career

3.1 Titles and changes to her royal image overtime

- When Thutmose II died, Hatshepsut as the young Dowager queen (widow of the previous king) assumed the role of regent (*A member of the royal family who ruled in place of a child until he was old enough to take rule alone) for Thutmose III
- Co-regency (*2 leaders) usually lasted for until the young successor reached his maturity, but co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III lasted for almost 13 years. Also, he would have been expected to marry his half-sister Neferure which didn't happen. G. Robins stated that she was "reinforcing her position as de facto ruler of Egypt by drawing on kingly iconography, titulary and actions."
- Between year 2 to 7 of Thutmose III's reign, Hatshepsut was crowned with full pharaonic powers and took titles of a ruling king. J. Tyldesley: "a carefully controlled political manoeuvre." Some of her titles included: "Daughter of Ra", "Horus, Mighty of Ka", "Ma'at-Ka-Re" (Her Throne Name), "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" From then her achievements were recorded without any feminine pronouns
 - Ma'at Ka-Re means the true one of the soul of Sun God Re, the choice of this throne name to indicate the personal agenda Hatshepsut wished to implement during her reign.

- Most of images depict her with male attributes of an Egyptian pharaoh: the royal kilt, ceremonial false beard, *nemes* headdress, various crowns.
 - Images of Hatshepsut as the god of the underworld Osiris
 - Statues of Hatshepsut as a sphinx wearing a ceremonial beard of a pharaoh
 - Images of Hatshepsut wearing the blue war crown *Khephresh*
 - A red granite sphinx statue, colossal striding statue (Both from Dier-el-Bahri) and a kneeling statue showing her offering two vases to Amun featuring heavy masculine features
 - Tefnin believes that “Hatshepsut’s images gradually transitioned from woman to man during her reign”
 - Hayes: states that a statue found at Deir-el-Bahri showing Hatshepsut with *nemes* headdress and the kilt reveals “Something of a feminine quality in its slenderness and softly rounded forms”
 - Gardiner argues that Hatshepsut’s reign was different to previous female rulers in that she deliberately posed and dressed like a man
 - Tyldesly and Bradley argues that Hatshepsut wasn’t trying to fool her people but attempts to maintain the tradition of a male pharaoh.

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Soft facial features, slender waist, breasts, tight dresses • Early years, she performed expected roles as a queen 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Royal Shendyet kilt, Atef crown, symbols of enemies under her feet • After year 2, more masculine depictions. However, retained some feminine characteristics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full male kingly regalia: Shendyet kilt, <i>nemes</i> headdress, <i>kephresh</i> • Masculine characteristics

- Dorman suggests that Hatshepsut “*was not pretending to be a man*” and “*her experimentation with iconography was prompted by the necessity of an effective rule*”
- Robins: Hatshepsut needed a “male gender role” to be easily recognised and followed.

3.2 Foreign Policy: Military Campaigns and Expedition to Punt

- Early historians believed that Hatshepsut did not play an active role in the military as she was a woman. Gardiner maintained that the “*Reign of Hatshepsut had been barren for any military enterprise except an unimportant raid to Nubia*” and Wilson insists that Hatshepsut “*records no military campaigns or conquests.*”
- Much of Hatshepsut’s records was destroyed after her death so the lack of evidence may contribute to early views. However, new evidence suggests otherwise. Redford

argues that she was active in Syria, Nubia, Palestine, and Gaza. She conducted 5 military campaigns and led 2 herself.

- From the Speos Artemidos inscription, Hatshepsut appears to have kept her army in a state of readiness
- Hatshepsut was depicted as a sphinx in various locations and wears a warrior pharaoh blue crown
- Passage inscribed at Aswan at Sehel: *“I saw him overthrowing the bowmen.... I saw him destroying the land of Nubia...”*

Campaign to Nubia	Campaign to Palestine
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inscription at Deir-el-Bahri: <i>“The number of dead being unknow...shoe overthrew...”</i> • Evidence of graffiti from Tiy at Sehel suggests that Hatshepsut may have led the campaign herself. • Stele of Djehuty: <i>“I saw the collection of booty by this mighty ruler, from the vile Kush, who are deemed cowards.”</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deir-el-Bahri: <i>“Her arrow is among the northerners”</i> • A Gaza inscription of Thut III’s actions <i>“The town which the ruler had overtaken.”</i>

The Expedition to Punt

- Hatshepsut undertook an expedition to Punt in approx. the 9th year of her reign
- The exact location is unknown, believed to be the area in the Horn of Africa comprising modern day Somalia and Djibouti, and even the south western corner of the Arabian Peninsula, modern day Yemen.
- Recent scholars have also suggested that it could be southern Sudan or Eritrea
- Most celebrated achievements of Hatshepsut
- MOTIVES: Economic, religious (i.e. Pay respect to the Cult of Amun), and Political (i.e. Resources strengthened her support)
- PURPOSE: To procure exotic goods that Egypt lacked, such as Myrrh and frankincense trees and maintain a continuing supply of goods.
- Shaw: *“The ruler of Punt is distinguished from the Egyptians primarily by his beard and unusual costume, and his wife is depicted as an extremely obese woman.”*

Reasons Hatshepsut undertook the expedition

- To obtain exotic products that Egypt lacked → 31 live trees were planted in the Temple complex at Karnak and her Mortuary Temple

- Incense resin and frankincense needed for mummification, medical purposes, and perfumes
- Ebony and ivory needed for everything from amulets to furniture
- Live animals, animal skins
- Precious metals such as gold
- To establish a trade route, Punt gave access to other locations in Africa
- To honour the god Amun – On the walls, Hatshepsut thanked Amun for her success
- To create allies with other foreign priesthoods to legitimise her rule and gain political support

The Expedition Scene

1. Departure:
 - Ships depart under the command of Hatshepsut's chancellor Nehsi
 - 5 ships
 - Laden with jars containing wine, beer, bale of cloth and a variety of gifts
2. Arrival:
 - Ships arrive at Punt
 - Nehsi and King of Punt exchange gifts
 - Egyptians set up table covered with gifts
 - Punt give myrrh and more to the Egyptian
3. Loading the ships:
 - Myrrh, animals and more loaded on ship
 - Fully grown incense trees are transported on the ship
 - Naville and Breasted describe what was loaded on to the ships including:
 - All the good woods of the divine land
 - Myrrh resin
 - Ebony and pure ivory
 - Cinnamon wood, khesyt wood and more
 - Monkeys, skins of panther
4. Return to Thebes:
 - Vessels on full sail in the Nile
 - Arrival is marked with great celebrations
 - Present conduct to Hatshepsut
 - The products are recorded and weighed
5. Dedication to Amun:
 - Gives offering to Amun and says that she has done everything the god commanded

- Inscription show Amun praising Hatshepsut and promising success for her future expedition
- Plants the incense tree at Karnak, *“Beside his temple and in his garden”*
- Thutmose II offers myrrh to the sacred boat of Amun being carried by the priests.

Significance

- Religious
 - Fulfilling Amun’s oracle
 - Products/booty collected dedicated to Amun (e.g. Myrrh Trees planted at Karnak)
 - Exotic goods dedicated to Amun priesthood, showed devotion to traditional god
- Economic
 - Valuable goods like ebony, gold
 - Use of these materials for temples, tombs, furniture, and furnishing
- Political
 - Seen as traditional, accepted pharaoh: provides for her people
 - Highlights the prosperity and good government
 - Promotes Hatshepsut as a successful pharaoh
 - Ensured continued support from Amun priesthood

3.3 Building Programs: Deir-el-Bahri, Karnak, Beni Hasan (Speos, Artemidos) and her tombs

- For building programs, Hatshepsut employed Ineni and Senenmut
- Redford: *“The extent of her building program: from delta to Kush (Nubia)”*
- Bryan: *“As a ruler, Hatshepsut inaugurated building projects that far outstripped those of her predecessors.”*
- She followed her predecessors in creating a vast building program → followed traditions, provided employment
- PURPOSE: To demonstrate a close connection to the gods, glorify her achievements as a pharaoh, ensure a place in the afterlife (i.e. worthy of acceptance), assist the economy through employment, form of propaganda because writing is not accessible to everyone.

Deir el-Bahri

- Djoser Djoser or Hatshepsut’s Mortuary Temple
 - Built into the semi-circular walls of yellow limestone cliffs on the west bank o Thebes
 - Shows her achievements during her reign – Inclusion of Birth/Coronation reliefs + Punt Expedition reliefs, Scenes of the transportation of the obelisks

- Built as a sanctuary for carrying out daily offerings/prayers to the queen
- Dedication to Amun & worship of other gods (e.g. Hathor, Anubis, Osiris & Re-Horakhte) – OFC EMPHASISING HER DIVINITY & DEVOTION
- Mortuary chapel dedicated to her father Thut II
- Colossal Osiride Statue found
- Colossal Red Granite Sphinx statue of Hatshepsut found
- Main Architectural Features:
 - Long avenue leading from the valley temple to the Temple of Amun at Karnak
 - Deep walled forecourt to the first terrace lined with 6 colossal sphinxes
 - A colonnade decorated with Birth/Coronation & Punt Expedition relief
 - Chapels to gods Hathor & Anubis
 - Sanctuary complex to Hat & Thut III
 - Inner sanctuary to Amun-Re that cuts into the cliffs
- Shaw: *“The most sacred of sacred places.”*
- Gardiner: *“Even now there is no nobler architectural achievements to be seen in the whole of Egypt.”*
- Significance:
 - Served a political purpose, portraying Hatshepsut as a strong, successful, and legitimate ruler providing employment, restored traditional temples, and brought prosperity/stability to Egypt
 - Testament to Egypt’s wealth and stability
 - Evidence of her legacy & co-regency with Thut III
 - Justified her relationship to Amun priesthood

Karnak

- Central precinct of Cult of Amun → Important religious rite
- Created the Red Chapel, 8th Pylon, 4 Obelisks, repairing middle kingdom temples
- Alison Roberts: *“Their rays flood two lands/when the sun rises between them/like at sunrise in the horizon of the sky.”*
- Her building program showed devotion to the gods, particularly Amun – *“I have done this with a loving heart for my father Amun.”*
- Red Chapel – built to replace Amenhotep I’s alabaster chapel dedicated to Amun-Min (fertility), inside depicted scenes of Nile Gods and *Nomes* worshipping Amun.
 - Other scenes depicted oracles of Amun proclaiming the divine choice of Hatshepsut as pharaoh.

- Wall inscriptions/carvings showed the Opet Festival & the Beautiful Festival of the Valley
- Dismantled by Amenhotep III for his pylon (Common action for pharaohs)
- 8th Pylon located along the southern route in the precinct dedicated to Mut which forced the Opet Festival to take a new route through her pylon.
 - 21m High, 47.7m in length, 9.3m wide
 - Images of Hatshepsut have now been erased by carvings done by Thutmose II, Amenhotep II and Sety
 - Originally Hatshepsut was shown with Thutmose III making offers to various local deities & Amun → evidence of co-regency.
- The Obelisks were introduced to gift her divine father, Amun-Re
 - Situated near the 4th and 5th pylon, symbol of sun rays
 - One earlier obelisk claims Hatshepsut as *“One to whom Ra has given the kingship”*
- Significance:
 - Sign of equality with previous male rulers
 - Power statement because the obelisks required large labour force to erect and wealth of resources to transport
 - Declaration of her divinity/divine right to rule

Beni Hasan (Speos Artemidos Temple)

- Designed to provide protection & support for Hatshepsut
- Dedicated to Pahket the lion Goddess of the desert
- Showed equal devotion to all gods
- Thutmose III is mentioned twice in inscriptions
- Some specific temples have been mentioned to be repaired: Temple of Hathor at Cusae, Temple for Min, and the Temple of Thoth at Hermopolis
- Speos Artemidos Stele states how she restored the temples in the area that had lain neglected since the time of the wars of liberation against the Hyksos.
 - Inscription: *“I have done this by the plan of my mind. I do not sleep forgetting, but have made form from what was ruined...”* – She shows herself upholding Ma’at by repairing damage.
- Other temples
 - Temple of Buhen - located in Nubia on the west bank, on the walls images of Egyptian gods were shown

- Temple of Medinet Habu – South of Luxor on the west bank, contains evidence of earliest worship of Amun dating to the Old Kingdom. It is a small temple built by Hat & Thut III but later engulfed by other temples Ramsses built.

Hatshepsut's Tomb

- First tomb built for her as a queen, Carter (Same guy who excavated Tutankhamun's tomb) discovered this tomb in Wadi near the Valley of the Kings.
 - Incomplete tomb
 - Made up of an entrance corridor 17m long, several chambers, a hall, and an incomplete burial chamber
 - In wall paintings Hat was honoured by many gods
- Second tomb constructed in the Valley of the Kings, after she was crowned pharaoh
 - Traditional pharaoh's tomb
 - Semi-circular in shape, tomb could not proceed in a straight line due to poor quality rocks
 - Consisted of 4 connecting passages, leading to a burial chamber 97 m deep
 - Chapters of the Book of the Dead were inscribed on slabs of stone
- Two yellow quartzite sarcophagi were found in the burial chamber, one for Hat and one for Thut I. However, neither of their mummies were found.
- Within tomb KV 60, two female mummies were found amongst the remains of what was originally a wealthy burial – may prove to be Hatshepsut
- Her sarcophagus states: *"The Great Princess, great in favour and grace, Mistress of All lands, Royal Daughter and Sister, Great Royal Wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Hatshepsut."*

3.4 Religious Policy: Devotion to Amun and promotion of other cults

Devotion to Amun

- Hat worshipped Amun more than any of her predecessors
 - Punt Relief records her following Amun's orders in commissioning the expedition
 - The relief also showed Hat making offerings of war booty in the Garden of Amun
 - Attributed her victories to Amun, constructed buildings to worship him -> Campaign to Nubia recorded on walls of DEB
 - She reinforces her relationship with Amun by claiming to be the offspring of the god -> Divine Birth and Coronation Relief, Red Chapel shows Amun embracing Hat
- Her own mortuary temple became a cult temple to Amun

- Glorifies Amun in every opportunity
- Religious festivals celebrated in the honour of Amun
- Members of the priesthood of Amun earned great prestige and influence
- Some historians suggest that priests of Amun might have procured a role as “*King-maker*”

Hatshepsut and the Priesthood

- The priesthood legitimised her position as pharaoh and assisted in her maintenance of power. In return they received an increase in power in religious affairs and in civil administration
- Senenmut was given various titles & honours: Chief steward of Amun, conductor of festivals, overseer of the gardens of Amun, he also contributed to Hat’s building programs.
- Hapuseneb was the high priest of Amun, “first prophet of Amun” and he also received various civil titles, including “overseer of the temples” and “overseer of Upper Egypt”. These titles allowed him to administer the cult of Amun and held important positions in constructing Hat’s tomb and other building programs

Promotion of Other Cults

- Hat made offerings to and constructed temples for Hathor, Anubis, Thoth, Horus, and Nekhbet
 - She mentions restoration of the temple of the cow goddess Hathor at Cusae, a place by the Nile
 - Rebuilt the shrine of Hathor, also honoured by the construction of a chapel in the mortuary temple
 - Shrines at DEB honouring Anubis, as well as mention of Nekhbet and Sokar
 - Carved a sanctuary for Pakeht the Great Lion Goddess
- Built a temple for Thoth

Innovation of Egyptian Religion

- Hat promoted a feminine aspect to the idea of kingship by promoting the goddess Hathor (Associated with femininity, motherhood, and protection of children)
- Used festival as means of receiving oracle of Amun-Re
- Religion was used as propaganda to legitimise her rule
- Introduced new ideas relating to funerary texts, including:
 - Use of “*the Litany of Re*” which was a hymn to Re, and “*Amduat*” that told the story of the dead king’s twelve-hour journey on the solar barque through the underworld.

- Use of “*The Book of Coming Forth by Day*” which comprised a series of spells used by commoners

3.5 Relationship with the Amun priesthood, officials, and nobles including Senenmut

Officials who played a significant role in Hat’s career as pharaoh:

Official	Role
Thutiy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Treasurer and overseer of the double house of gold and silver • Noble successor of Ineni, built Hat’s ebony shrine, organised metalworks on the obelisks
Ineni	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overseer of the granary of Amun • Worked under Thut I, died when Hat became pharaoh
Puemre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Second prophet of Amun, held an important religious role • An architect and worked for both Hat & Thut III
Hapuseneb	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First prophet of Amun • Great influence in the priesthood of Amun • Supervised buildings at Karnak and DEB • Had integral roles in both religious and civil bureaucracy
Ahmoose-Pennekhbet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Treasurer and soldier • Shared responsibilities with Senenmut for the education of Hat’s daughter. Breasted: “<i>I reared her eldest daughter, Neferure whilst she was a child upon the breast.</i>”
Amenhotep	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chief steward had responsibility of running royal estates and ‘properties’ of Amun
Nehels	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leader of the expedition to Punt

Senenmut

- Motive: Usurpation of royal prerogatives, reserved only for kings
- ‘Secret’ tomb TT 353 encroaching into temple precinct
- ‘unauthorised inscriptions in niches at Deir el-Bahri (DEB)
- A sarcophagus modelled on royal examples
- Proximity to Deir el-Bahri, secretly inserted himself at Djeser Djeseru
- 1957: Inscription found giving Senenmut permission to insert his image at DEB
- No images or names attacked

- Past misogynistic historians have concluded that Hatshepsut was not capable of ruling without male officials, particularly Senenmut. Gardiner: *“That even a woman of the most virile character could have attained such a pinnacle of power without masculine support.”*

3.6 Relationship with Thutmose III; co-regency and later defacement of her monuments

Historical Context

- Hat was regent to *“One whom Ra has actually given the kingship”*
- Senenmut & Hatshepsut obelisks commission. He planned her attributes to kingly duties, depicting herself in masculine attire
- Crowded king between Year 2 and 7
- Co-regency with Thut III for approx. 15-20 years, some historians believed that the co-rulers had a toxic relationship because Hat usually depicts herself doing something more superior.
- Hat dies in year 22, buried in tomb KV 20 with Thut I, it is commonly believed that she ‘recycled’ her father’s tomb in attempts to legitimise her rule
- Proscription of Thut III, propaganda to pharaoh’s activities
- 1928 excavations found 200 buried statues that belonged to the Mortuary Temple
- Thut III removed Hat’s name, replaced with Thut I or II. However, traces of Hat still can be seen.
- Later re-inscriptions by Ramses II adding to the confusion
- Hat’s name removed from the official king’s list

Interpretations of Hatshepsut’s relationship with Thutmose III

- Sethe – 1896 Sequence of Successions
 - Sequence of reigns based on the confusion of evidence
 - Fictitious claims, erasures & re-inscriptions by Hatshepsut & Thut III
 - Contributed to the view of a tumultuous period
 - Residual effects -> Influenced interpretations of Hatshepsut’s accession & rule and Thutmose III’s proscription, eliminating her from history
- First Half 20th Century views
 - Negative view of their relationship: Soap opera story of ambition, intrigue, revenge
 - Believed to be a Dynastic crisis -> protect dynasty & stabilise Egypt

- Thut III viewed as an imperialist, Hat viewed as an internalist, weak women, manipulated/pawn of officials (e.g. Senenmut) as well as an evil step-mother
- Hayes (1957) describes Hatshepsut's usurpation of the throne "*vile usurper*"
- Wilson (1954) "*Feud of the Thutmosids*" over policies royal court divided into 'parties'
- Gardiner (1961) describes Hatshepsut as a puppet of others
- Perceptions of the relationship have altered:
 - Social movement of the 60s & 70s
 - Change in interpretation has led to a re-evaluation in women's history
- Significant new evidence/analysis of existing evidence
 - Redford 1922 – Proscription not thoroughly done and not out of personal vendetta but because of political agenda. Small difficulty to justify his claim to the throne because he doesn't have the royal lineage like Hatshepsut does
 - Hat's queen images remain which justifies their positive relationship
 - Uraeus removed from Hat's statues, eliminating symbol of king
 - One of Hat's statues was rededicated to Thutmose II
 - Thutmose III remodelled around Hat's obelisks
 - 8th Pylon reinscribed by Amenhotep II
 - Thut III's mortuary temple was built between Hat's and Amenhotep II's
 - Redford suggests that another reason Thut II might have destroyed Hat's monuments was that "*if he had left the glories of her reign open to view*" it might have invited "*an invidious comparison with his own accomplishments.*"
 - Laboury – Examined art/statues expressing political agendas
 - Nims 1966 – Studied Temple at Karnak, discovered that Thut III's proscription was 20 years after Hat's death in Year 42. Therefore, not contentious.
 - Tefnn 1979 – Discovered statues become less feminine
 - 2007 DNA identification of Hatshepsut's mummy suggests that she died from old age in her 50s
 - Natural Death buried conventionally -> Led to reassessment of Thut III & Hat's relationship
 - III Health: obese, balding, bad teeth, osteoporosis, arthritis, cancer, possible diabetes

- CT Scan revealed that she probably died of an infection caused by an abscessed tooth connected to heart attack/advanced bone cancer.
- Not only Thut III who tried to erase Hatshepsut's name from inscriptions/damage her monuments because Akhenaten also damaged it whilst promoting Amarna over Amun and Ramesses II probably ordered destruction as well

Proscriptions of Hatshepsut	Thutmose III Proscription Sources
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Careless" • Not systematic • Incomplete • Late in Thutmose III's reign • Finished early Amenhotep II 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"Having a free hand at last..."</i> (Gardiner) • <i>"After years of humiliating subordination"</i> (Hayes) • <i>"Egypt trembled under the fury of Thutmose's wrath"</i> (Mertz) • <i>"Hatred which beggars description"</i> (Hayes)

4. Evaluation

4.1 Impact and influence on her time

Impact of Hatshepsut's Reign

- She successfully glorified the gods, repaired various temples, and restored rites
- Built new monuments for Amun-Re -> Showing devotion to traditional Egyptian gods
- Continue to prosper the Cult of Amun
- Provided employment through building programs and resources through foreign expeditions
- Defended the borders of Egypt (Palestine and Nubia) and equipped a strong army commanded by Thut III
- Provided stability throughout her reign and Maintained *Ma'at* which instilled confidence in her people
- Tyldesley: *"Hatshepsut's lengthy reign characterised by its economic prosperity, monumental building and foreign exploration seems to confirm her competence..."*

4.2 Assessment of her life and reign

- Hatshepsut's great political skills allowed her to reign through 21 peaceful and prosperous years
- Although her succession to the throne was considered 'illegal' as she was a woman. However, she was able to legitimise her rule through links with Amun-Re

- Good relationship with officials assisted her -> Efficient administrator
- Took a gradual approach to assuming the role of a king -> Respecting traditions
- Showed a constant devotion to the gods, particularly that of Amun
- Embarked on major building programs at DEB and various other locations throughout Egypt
- Initiated in many military campaigns -> Successful in securing borders
- Use effective propaganda to support her rule -> Later kings such as Amenhotep and Ramesses II began to emulate the Divine Birth Relief and used similar ideas in building programs.
- Successful warrior pharaoh
- Innovator in religious matters -> Introduction of oracles, growth of personal piety and more public celebration of festivals

4.3 Legacy

- Deliberate attempt to leave an indelible mark on the world of her time-> Inscriptions, building programs indicate that she left substantial evidence for her reign

<p><u>Physical</u></p> <p>Monuments Inscriptions</p>	<p><u>Non-Physical</u></p> <p>Ideas and concepts Traditions Ideologies Institutions</p>
<p><u>Short-Term</u></p> <p>e.g. To the end of the reign of Thut III</p>	<p><u>Long-Term</u></p> <p>e.g. Rest of the 18th Dynasty until the present</p>

- She provided prosperity, stability, and security. -> Ensured Egypt was well cared for following her death
- Opet Festival 1st celebrated in Hat's time -> annual renewal of the king's reign was firmly linked to Amun, this was significant in the development of the NKE ideology of kingship
- Religious innovations -> intro of oracles, personal piety (holiness) and public pageantry of festivals
- Later kings modelled off Hatshepsut's architectural design and it eventually became an NKE feature -> Hypostyle hall (Many columns) e.g. Temple of Luxor
- Royal funerary texts took definitive form during her reign
- Open Sanctuary (3rd Terrace at DEB) – indicator of religious developments

- “God’s wife of Amun” was only held twice after Hat’s reign – Bryan: “This role was not filled”
- Redford describes Hatshepsut as “An imaginative planner possessed of a rather original taste”
- Dorman: “It is not impossible that Hatshepsut’s experimentation with iconography was prompted by the necessity of effective rule.”

4.4 Ancient and Modern Interpretations of Hatshepsut

Ancient Interpretations	Modern Interpretations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception shaped by Hat’s propaganda -> Divine daughter of Amun, successor of Thut I (NOT TRUE OBV) • Her own testimony detailing her achievements e.g. Speos Artemidos inscription • Tomb biographies of officials e.g. Ineni, Ahmose • Gradual shift from female to male to the adoption of full kingly iconographies • Royal lineage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dilemma of an evil usurper and her achievements have been variously interpreted • Conflicting interpretations regarding Hat’s relationship with Thut III and whether she was a cross dresser. Some historians believe that her actions are a cultural violation. • Gardiner: “It was a wholly new idea for a female to pose and dress like a man.” • Hayes: “ambitious and scrupulous woman” • Archaeological evidence suggests otherwise • Callender: “Copious evidence of queen regents, for her role as pharaoh to be recognised, it had to be given in its traditional male form.”