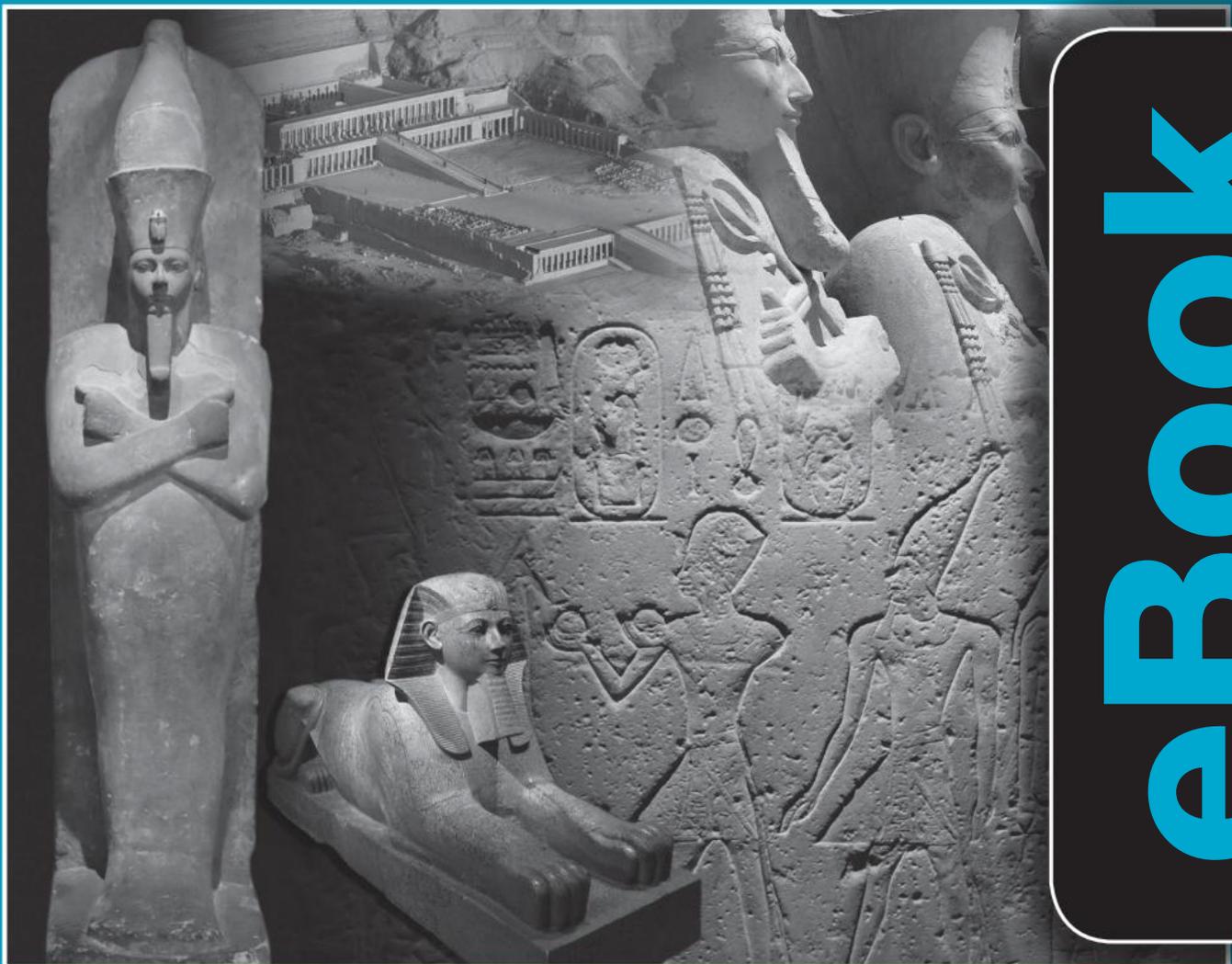


HATSHEPSUT

by Ken Webb

Here it is: the factual detail, the historiography, revision exercises and advice on how to write HSC responses on Hatshepsut



eBook

“Everything you wanted to know about Hatshepsut, but were afraid to ask.”

HATSHEPSUT

by Ken Webb M.A. (Oxon), C.Ed

*“Everything you wanted to know about Hatshepsut,
but were afraid to ask.”*

www.kenwebb.com.au

1st Edition

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About the author

Ken Webb was educated in the United Kingdom and graduated from the University of Oxford. He taught in several state schools before moving to Pymble Ladies' College where he taught Modern, Ancient and Extension History. In March 2008, he moved to Ravenswood School for Girls where he also taught the International Baccalaureate course in History. He is a member of the Independent Schools Examination Committee for Modern History. He frequently lectures and runs workshops for Year 12 and teacher groups in Sydney and Regional NSW. In addition to his own work, Ken Webb has contributed to colleagues' work and to newspapers and periodicals. He has also been a consultant on various history video documentaries. In 2012, Ken Webb was a NSW winner of the "National Excellence in Teaching" award.

Over the years, Ken Webb has written a wide range of study guides and textbooks for NSW and Australia wide, including *"Power and Authority in the Modern World"* (Nelson Cengage Learning), *"Discovering Australian History"* (CUP), *"The Augustan Age 44 BC – AD 14"* (Get Smart Education), *"The Greek World 500-440 BC"* (Get Smart Education), *"Extension History: The Historians"* (HTA of NSW), *"Spartan Society to the Battle of Leuctra 371 BC"* (Get Smart Education).

"Hatshepsut" is one of fourteen titles in the "Everything you wanted to know about... but were afraid to ask" series written specifically for the new NSW Modern and Ancient History syllabuses commencing 2018-19. Other titles in this series include:

- Spartan society to the Battle of Leuctra 371 BC
- The Greek World 500-440 BC
- The Fall of the Roman Republic 78 BC–31 BC
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Author's note

The purpose of this book – as with all titles in the “Everything you wanted to know about... but were afraid to ask” series – is to make life easy for students and teachers working their way through the ‘Personalities’ section of Year 12 Ancient History: Hatshepsut. It does not aim to be the final word on Hatshepsut; nothing beats wide-reading and going back to the primary sources!

The principal aims of this book are to:

- provide the essential factual detail needed to understand the topic;
- provide references to written and visual sources;
- provide an introduction to the essence of historiographical debate;
- provide ideas for approaching the types of questions that might appear when examined on Hatshepsut.

Rationale for the structure of this book

“*Hatshepsut*” is one of the ten personalities listed for study the Ancient History syllabus that has been revised, introduced in 2018 and examined for the first time in 2019. The syllabus divides the topic as follows:

- Survey – The historical context
- Focus of study:
 - Background and rise to prominence
 - Key features and developments
 - Evaluation ¹
 - Study of ONE particular source (no doubt schools will select one of the reliefs or buildings covers in the forgoing chapters)

These broad headings have been used to structure the book and have been broken down into sections closely based on the structure of the syllabus to make the topic more accessible to students. An additional section has been included on approaching the types of questions that could be set on this topic in the HSC examination.

Do we need yet another book on “Hatshepsut”?

There are many excellent textbooks available in NSW that cover this topic. Several of them are listed in the “Further Reading” section, or are referred to throughout this text. There are also countless websites and videos that can be consulted. There are useful study days to attend, such as the annual HTA sessions at the University of Sydney each June. Some students may even have been fortunate enough to have visited Egypt.

So, why another book?

- This book will prove to be extremely useful to the majority of students studying *Hatshepsut* at the HSC. It does not weigh down students with a mass of factual detail.
- It provides source references, both primary (written and archaeological) and secondary.
- In other words, it is hoped that this book will equip students with enough information and tips on examination technique to cope with the types of questions usually set in the HSC examination on *Hatshepsut*.

Further reading, internet searches and viewing are always of value. However, for those students who lack the time, the resources or are burdened down by other subjects or issues, but who still seek a comprehensive coverage of the issues involved in a study of Hatshepsut, this is the book for you!

¹ In Chapter Sixteen, the “impact and influence on her time, assessment of her life and reign and legacy” topics from the syllabus have been combined in the same way they probably would be in the classroom.

SURVEY

Section One ■ Historical Context

Chapter 1: Geography, topography and resources of Egypt and its neighbours

Geography and topography

Egypt is located in the north eastern corner of the African continent. To its immediate north is the Mediterranean Sea and to its west is the western desert which separated Egypt from Libya. To its south beyond the first cataract of the River Nile (see below) was the region, known in Hatshepsut's time as Nubia, modern-day Sudan. Egypt is linked to what we today call the Middle East by the Sinai Peninsula. Beyond Sinai were the regions of Palestine, Syria, Assyria and Babylonia (see Figure 1.1). Egypt's eastern border was the Red Sea.

The crucial geographical feature of Egypt was, and remains today, the River Nile. The River Nile flows from south to north. It is about 7000 kms in length, originating from the Blue Nile in the mountains of Ethiopia and the White Nile from the mountains of Uganda in central Africa. It is the River Nile which was the indispensable basis for the civilisation of Ancient Egypt from the time of the pyramid builders in the Old Kingdom to the powerful pharaohs of the New Kingdom.

The Nile and its annual flooding created the two distinct regions which were Ancient Egypt:

- the fertile Black Land or kemet which stretched along either side of the river and throughout the Delta in the north which was created by the Nile's annual flooding;
- the Red Land or deshut which referred to the desert regions and the rocky cliffs alongside the river.

The behaviour of the River Nile determined the life of the Egyptians as is explained in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1

Time of the year	The season	Activities
June to September	akhet or the inundation	<ul style="list-style-type: none">■ During this time the Nile flooded.■ The flooding was of crucial importance for Egypt as it was the annual flood which replenished the land with a rich dumping of fertile silt in the fields.■ No farming was possible at this time so workers probably laboured on the pharaoh's building projects.

October to February	peret or the emergence	As the flood waters receded, crops were planted in the fertile, moist soil. Dykes and irrigation works would be repaired.
March to June	Shemu or period of drought	During this time the crops were harvested, grains were threshed and stored in the granaries.

The land of Ancient Egypt was divided into “upper” Egypt and “lower” Egypt.

- **Upper Egypt** stretched from the Old Kingdom capital of Memphis to Aswan, the approximate site of the First Cataract of the River Nile where the river formed a series of rapids that made navigation hazardous.
 - The First Cataract provided an effective defence from possible invaders from the south.
 - The climate here was much dryer and hotter than in the north. Farming was much more difficult but the region had abundant supplies of building materials such as sandstone, granite and limestone.
- **Lower Egypt** stretched from Memphis north to the Delta region and the Mediterranean coast.
 - The climate here was milder and moist and enabled the successful growing of a wide range of crops.
 - The Nile and the Delta also provided rich sources of fish and wild birds.

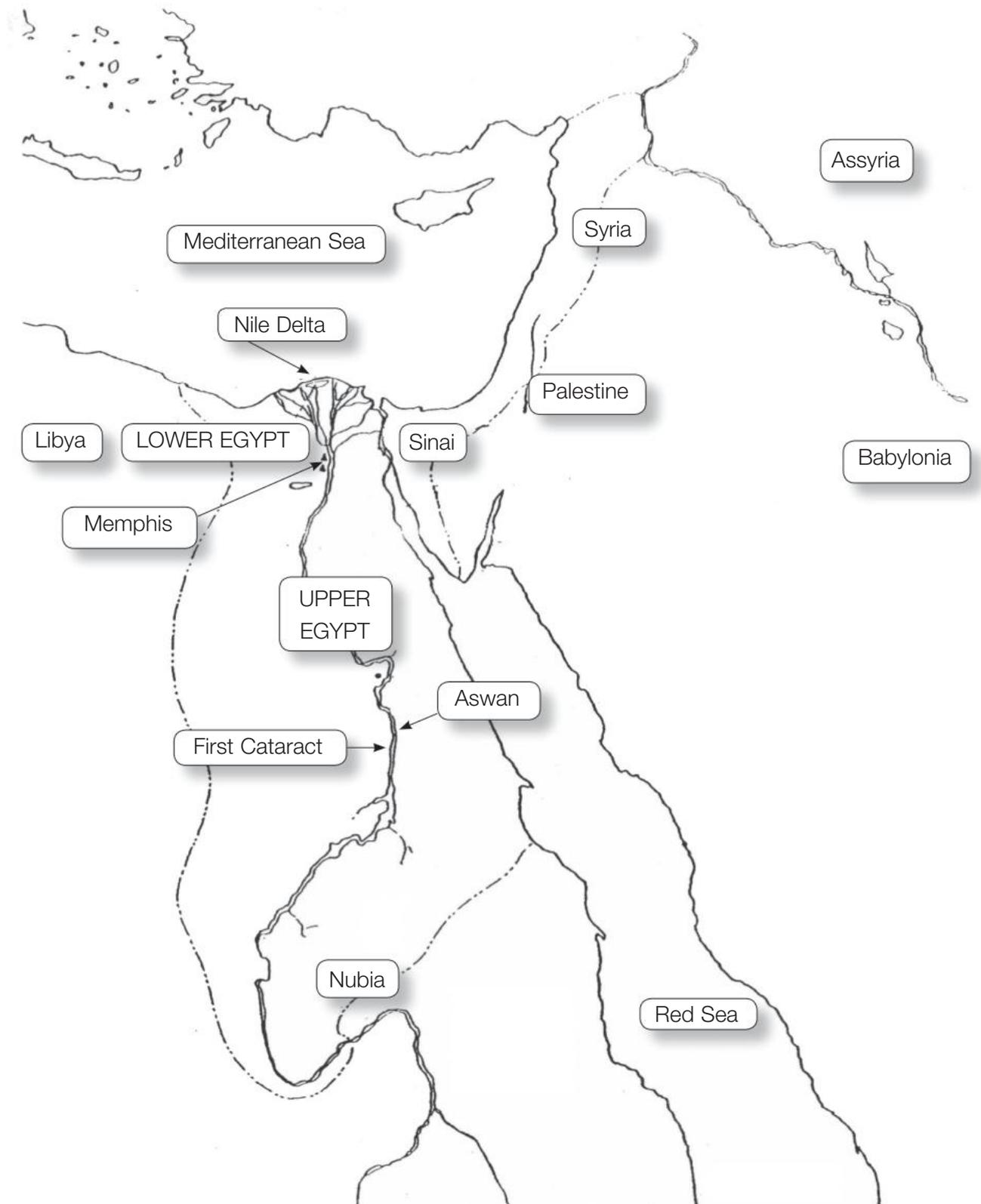
The River Nile was thus the life blood of Egypt. It provided the water without which the people could not survive and crops could not be grown. It provided a key means of transportation. Boats heading north from Upper Egypt relied on the river’s current and their oarsmen, while those heading south would hoist their sails and use the wind. The moist lands provided grazing areas for livestock and mud, which the people used to make bricks for their houses. Along the banks of the Nile, the papyrus plant grew in abundance. Papyrus had a wide range of uses. It could be turned into anything from paper to footwear, to baskets and boats.

In Book Two of “The Histories”, the Greek historian, Herodotus, gives a detailed description of the River Nile, its course, its impact and its value for Egypt. He had no doubt of the crucial importance of the river:

*“...For any one who sees Egypt, without having heard a word about it before, must perceive, if he has only common powers of observation, that the Egypt to which the Greeks go in their ships is an acquired country, the gift of the Nile...”*¹

¹ Herodotus, The Histories, Book Two, 5

Figure 1.1 Egypt at the time of Hatshepsut



The resources of Egypt and its neighbours

Egypt was able to provide most of its own resources. The basics of the Egyptian diet were bread and beer, provided by wheat and barley, whose production was ensured by the annual inundation. Fruits and vegetables could be produced including figs, dates, grapes, onions and salad foods. Herbs were grown which contributed to the production of everything from cosmetics to medicines. Various oils were produced such as sesame, castor and flax. The usual range of domesticated animals was kept including pigs, sheep and cattle. The Delta provided an enormous range of wild fowl that were hunted. The river of course provided a plentiful supply of fish. There was mud for brick-making, papyrus for paper, shoes and boats and flax for making linen.

Egypt also had its share of precious metals. Gold had long been mined in the regions of Wadi Hammamat in the east of the country and in the southern deserts around Edfu. Amethyst and carnelian were found near Aswan while turquoise was found in the Sinai. Stone and rock were plentiful. Limestone could be found in the Nile Valley, limestone in Tura and granite near Aswan.

Egypt had to import some products from its neighbours. Such things included timber from Byblos (Lebanon), pottery from the islands of the Aegean, and precious stones, gold and ebony from Nubia. Nubia also provided what would have been perceived as high luxury products such as panther skins and ostrich feathers.

Exercise 1.1

Match the phrase on the left with the term listed on the right.

1	The arid desert or Red Land of Egypt		Inundation
2	Egypt's 7000 km waterway		Papyrus
3	The season of the inundation		Akhet
4	Region of Egypt from Memphis to Aswan		Nile
5	The fertile Black Land of Egypt		Upper Egypt
6	Plant grown along the Nile from which paper was made		Lower Egypt
7	The harvest season of drought		Peret
8	Region of Egypt from Memphis to the Delta		Kemet
9	The annual flooding of the Nile		Deshut
10	The season of sowing plants		Shemu

Chapter 2:

An Overview of the early Eighteenth Dynasty

The Hyksos

Near the end of the Middle Kingdom ¹ and into the Second Intermediate Period ², people from Palestine began moving into the Delta region of Egypt, probably fleeing the power of the Hittites further north. Eventually, the more powerful leaders of these people, known as Hyksos, gained control of northern Egypt. The Hyksos would not be removed from Egypt, and the country reunited, until the last years of the 17th Dynasty ³.

The Hyksos, meaning “rulers of foreign lands”, may have moved into Egypt gradually or by means of waves of violent invasion. The ancient historian, Manetho, describes how the Hyksos easily conquered Egypt and ruthlessly imposed their control over the land. The ease of their conquest was partly the result of their superior military technology which included war chariots, bronze weapons and scaled armour. The Hyksos saw themselves as pharaohs and even attached the name of the god Re to their royal titles. Egypt’s actual rulers were restricted to Thebes in Upper Egypt.

The last kings of the 17th Dynasty, Seqenenre Tao II and Kahmose, were eventually able to remove the Hyksos and unite the two lands of Egypt. Kahmose (c 1555 – c 1550 BC) was the brother of Ahmose I who was the first king of the 18th Dynasty.

Ahmose I (1549-1524 BC)

Ahmose I’s father (Seqenenre Tao) and brother (Kahmose) died fighting the Hyksos. Ahmose was only ten when he came to the throne. However, once in his twenties, he took the fight to the Hyksos and regained control of Memphis, Avaris and Heliopolis. The Hyksos fortress at Sharuhen was taken after a six year siege. Ahmose led his armies into Nubia and imposed his control as far as the 2nd Cataract. The king later led his forces into Palestine and pushed on as far as the River Euphrates. Once back in Egypt, Ahmose seemed content to allow local governors to administer their provinces, and consolidated his rule by grants of land to his supporters. Ahmose did not engage in widespread building, as many later pharaohs would, though he undertook some building reconstruction of the temple at Abydos, north of Thebes, and some recent digs have found evidence of his palace in the Al-Dabaa area of Lower Egypt.

¹ (Dating based on the work of Dr Ian Shaw, 2000) The period of the 11th and 12th Dynasties, c 2125 – c1773 BC

² The period of the 13th to the 17th Dynasties, c 1773 – c1550 BC

³ The period of the 17th Dynasty, c 1585 – c 1550 BC

Timeline of the early 18th Dynasty

Name of the pharaoh	Dates of the reign	Outline
Ahmose I	1549-1524 BC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ name means “the moon is born” ■ completed the defeat and removal of the Hyksos from Egypt ■ restored Theban rule over the country ■ extended Egyptian power into Palestine and Nubia ■ his reign marks the beginning of the 18th Dynasty
Amenhotep I	1524-1503 BC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ was the son of Ahmose I and came to the throne due to the early deaths of his two elder brothers ■ consolidated the Dynasty’s power in Nubia and Lower Egypt ■ does not appear to have tried to extend Egyptian power beyond his kingdom
Thutmose I	1503-1493 BC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ campaigned in Nubia on two occasions following revolts in that region ■ campaigned into the Levant farther north than any previous Egyptian king ■ extended the temple at Karnak ■ became the first pharaoh to be buried in the Valley of the Kings
Thutmose II	1493-1479 BC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ was the son of Thutmose I and married his half-sister, Hatshepsut ■ did not engage in much military activity though another revolt in Nubia was quashed and there was some campaigning in Sinai ■ he died young, aged about 30
Hatshepsut: 1479-1458 BC		

Thutmose III	1479-1425 BC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ reigned for fifty four years though this included the co-regency with Hatshepsut ■ after Hatshepsut's death, he became pharaoh in his own right ■ he undertook numerous military campaigns and built up the greatest empire Egypt had had up to this time ■ his campaigning stretched from northern Syria to the 4th Cataract
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Figure 2.1:



Amenhotep I is shown here as Osiris, the god of the dead. He is wrapped in a tight fitting robe with his arms crossed on his chest. There can be seen holes in his clenched fists which were probably intended to hold the wooden royal insignia.

His brick temple was dismantled by Hatshepsut and this statue was moved to one side and placed near to the statues of Senwosret III, a pharaoh of the 12th Dynasty during the Middle Kingdom.

Figure 2.2:



A monument to Thutmose III, about 1450 BC. The sides of the monument are decorated with six figures. The two headless figures are King Thutmose III. The others are the god Montu-Ra and the goddess Hathor. They are each shown twice and named in hieroglyphic inscriptions. The Egyptians believed the pharaoh was divine, hence he is presented as the same size as the gods.

Exercise 2.1

Place the following events, periods and pharaohs in the correct chronological order.

1st event/period/pharaoh		The rule of Ahmose I
2nd event/period/pharaoh		The Middle Kingdom
3rd event/period/pharaoh		The rule of Thutmose II
4th event/period/pharaoh		The rule of Thutmose III
5th event/period/pharaoh		The rule of Amenhotep I
6th event/period/pharaoh		Second Intermediate Period
7th event/period/pharaoh		The 17 th Dynasty
8th event/period/pharaoh		The rule of Hatshepsut
9th event/period/pharaoh		The rule of Thutmose I
10th event/period/pharaoh		The rule of the Hyksos

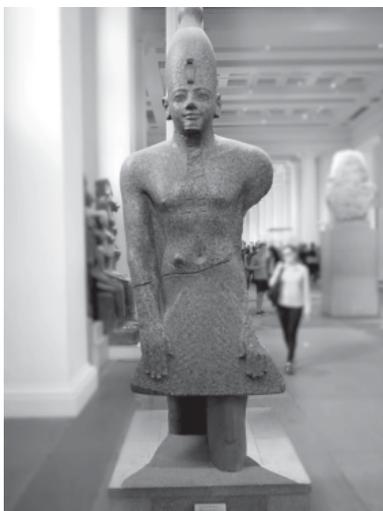


Figure 2.3:

Red granite standing figure of a king from the 18th Dynasty, found in the temple of Karnak.

This statue represents either **Thutmose III** or his successor, **Amenophis II**. He is wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt. In later times, the names of Ramesses II were carved on the belt and shoulders, and those of Merneptal on the chest.

Chapter 3:

An Overview of the social, political, military and economic structures of the early New Kingdom period

Political Structures

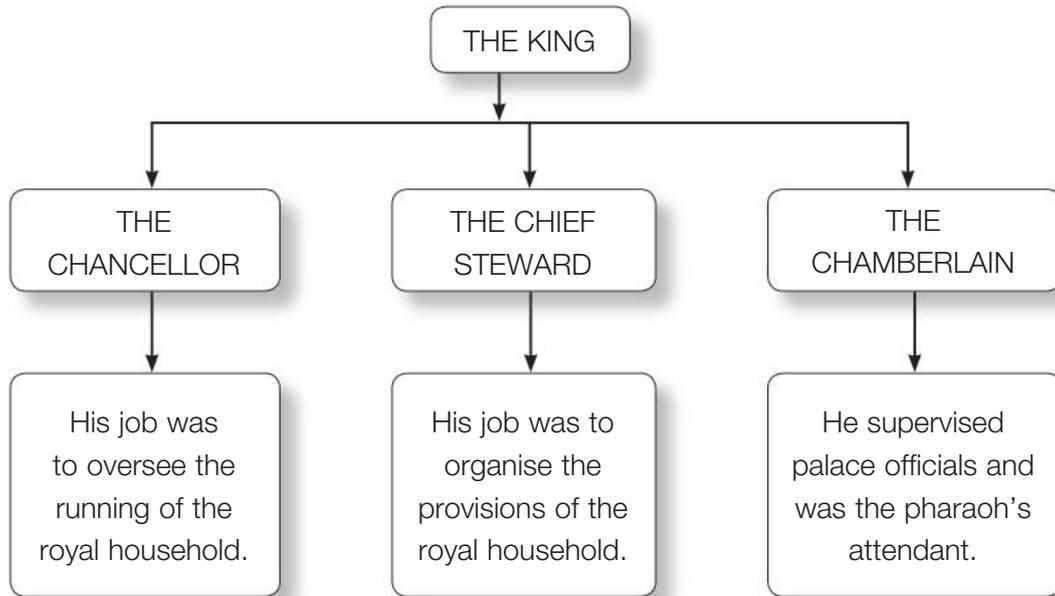
In the New Kingdom, the king was both the political and religious head of state. The chief god at the time of the 18th Dynasty was Amun who originated from Thebes. With the reunification of Upper and Lower Egypt, following the defeat of the Hyksos, the cult of Amun was promoted strongly throughout the country (see Chapter 4).

The job of the king was certainly a demanding one.

- The king was a religious leader and as such was expected to maintain the link between the god Amun and the people.
 - It was because of this that the king gave such a high priority to creating buildings in honour of the gods. The wealth gained from conquest was used for such construction.
 - He had to ensure that offerings were made to them, make sure that the religious festivals were celebrated and that the gods' statues were cared for.
 - The Chief Priest had to ensure the administration of the various cults and look after the daily 'needs' of the gods.
- However, the king was also a secular leader.
 - As such he was ultimately responsible for the running of the country and ensuring the effective administration of the civil service.
 - The king also had to maintain firm law and order.
 - The successful use of the waters of the Nile was ultimately the king's responsibility.
- It was also expected that the king would be a military leader.
 - He was supposed to quell any internal unrest.
 - The king was expected to extend the frontiers of Egypt. He would dedicate the spoils of victory to Amun and the temples at Karnak were filled with scenes of the victories gained in the name of Amun.
 - To ensure prosperity, trade links were also expected to be developed and maintained.

Though the king had supreme civil, religious and military power, the complexity of running a complex state such as Egypt meant that he had to rely upon a range of officials, each of whom had specific responsibilities in the running of the empire. For the administration of the royal household, the king had three key officials as shown in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: The king and the royal household



The affairs of state were looked after by a range of officials. These included:

- the Viziers – one for Upper and one for Lower Egypt; they were the king’s chief advisors
- an overseer of the treasury who worked out taxes and distributed tribute
- an overseer of the granary who organised storage of food and arranged payments for workers
- an overseer of building works.

Beyond Egypt there were various vassal kings, king’s deputies and a viceroy of Nubia.

Social and economic structures

There was very little social mobility in New Kingdom Egypt and it was extremely rare for a person to rise above the social status into which he had been born. At the apex of the social pyramid were of course the king and his family. Below them came the nobility who provided the personnel for the key administrative, government, religious and military posts, including the viziers, overseers, priests and military deputies. There was next what we might call an educated middle class who provided the scribes for the royal household, local government officials, town mayors and lesser priests. There were next skilled workers including scribes, craftsmen such as sculptors and carpenters. At the bottom of the social hierarchy were the mass of unskilled workers such as farmers, herders, fishermen and ultimately slaves.

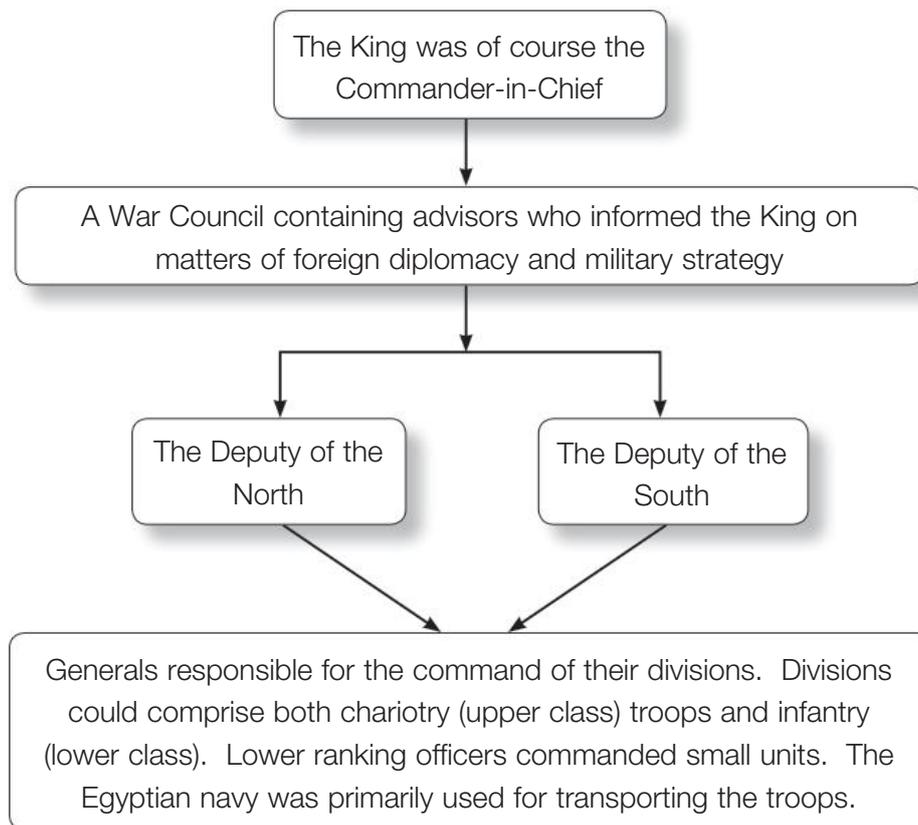
Farmers would lease land from the temple. During the season of Shemu, taxes were levied and their level usually depended on the degree of the inundation. The amount farmers were expected to pay was normally in the region of 30% of their yield. This was an early form of share-cropping. Grain collected would be stored in government granaries. There was no form of currency as exists today; instead Egypt relied on a system of barter based on what was called the deben system.

As Egypt expanded, it was able to increase its wealth in the form of tributes from vassal states in the Syria-Palestine region and booty from conquered peoples. Sometimes defeated kings were allowed to remain in control of their cities but had to pay annual tribute to Egypt for the privilege. Their sons might be held in Egypt to ensure regular payment and loyal service to Egypt.

Military structures

The structure of the Egyptian military is summarised in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 Military structure of the early 18th Dynasty



Exercise 3.1

Answer the following questions in the spaces provided.

1	Who was the chief god at the time of the 18th Dynasty?	
2	What were the King's three principal areas of responsibility?	
3	Name the three key officials of the royal household.	
4	Who were the King's officials in charge of Upper and Lower Egypt?	
5	For which areas of administration were the main overseers responsible?	
6	How easy was it to achieve social mobility at the time of the 18th Dynasty?	
7	What was the deben system?	
8	Why were the sons of foreign kings sometimes kept in Egypt?	
9	Who was the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army?	
10	Who were the King's two principal military commanders?	

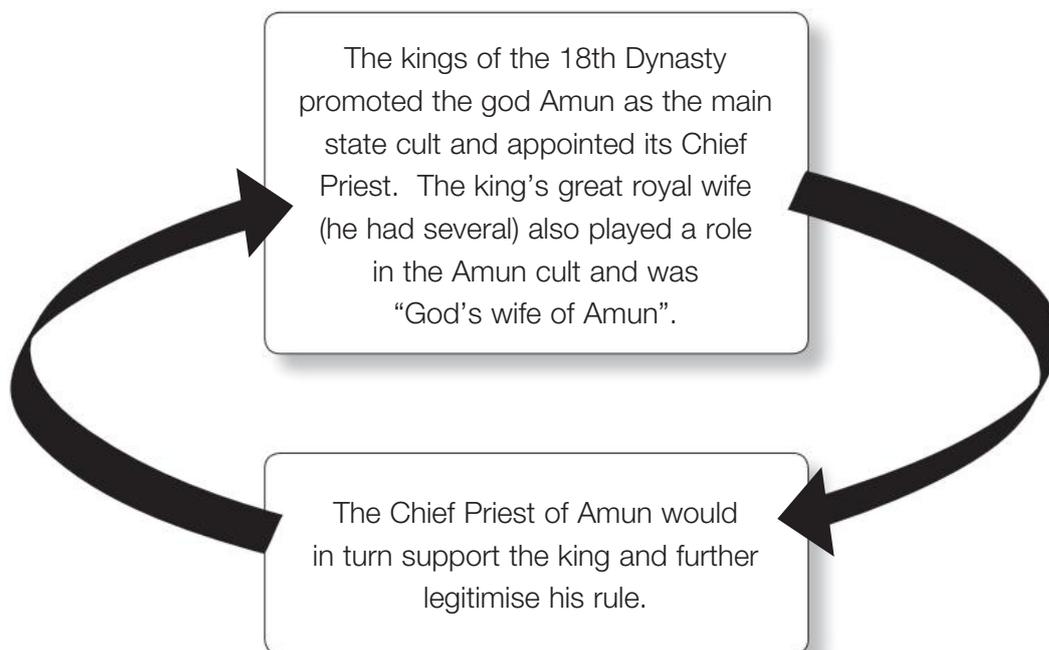
Chapter 4:

Relationship of the king to Amun

The king had a strong relationship with the god Amun; it was from Amun that the king was able to claim his right to rule. During the New Kingdom, Amun was often associated with the Old Kingdom sun god, Re. The king's divine right to rule was reinforced every so often in various religious festivals such as the Sed and the Opet. The Sed Festival, sometimes referred to as the royal jubilee, was a significant celebration in which the right of the king to rule and his royal powers were renewed. During the Opet Festival, the statues of Amun, his wife Mut and son Khonshu were taken from their Karnak sanctuary to the temple of Luxor. The statues were accompanied by ka statues of the king.¹ At Luxor the rites focussed on rejuvenating the king. When it was all over, the statues were returned to Karnak.

The importance of Amun created a strong link between the king and the cult of Amun as shown below in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 The interdependence between the king and the Amun cult



¹ The Ka was the vital essence which distinguished the difference between a dead and a living person. Death occurred when the ka left the body. The Egyptians believed that the ka would survive if it had food and drink, and so these things were offered to the dead.

The king was extremely aware of the importance of Amun and would have understood that the continuance of his reign depended on caring for the cult of Amun. If Egypt experienced any serious problems such as drought, famine or invasion, it was assumed that the king had not been attending to his responsibilities regarding the cult of Amun. Equally, it was believed that any successes achieved by the king were due to Amun.

Figure 4.2 Standing figure of the god Amun-Re (from about 1000 BC)



This small statuette shows Amun with the usual iconography of Amun-Re. The god is dressed in a divine shendyt², a collar and a double feather-crown combined with a sun disk.

Exercise 4.1

Why was the relationship of the king to Amun so important?

² A shendyt was a garment similar to a kilt. It would have been made of cloth and worn around the waist and was usually knee-length.

Chapter 5:

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

The Ancient Egyptians, from the Old Kingdom through to the New Kingdom were polytheistic, ie unlike religions of the modern era, they believed in a multitude of gods. It has been estimated there were over 2000 Egyptian gods. At the time of the 18th Dynasty, Amun-Re was considered the most important (see Chapter 4). The Egyptians believed that Re (or Ra) was swallowed every night by the sky goddess, Nut, and was reborn every morning. If Re's rebirth failed, life would end.

The following table describes some of the more important gods and goddesses.

Table 5.1

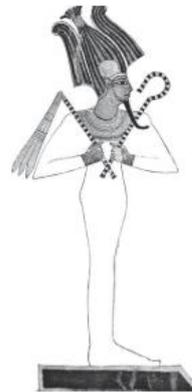
God or Goddess	Description	Importance
Anubis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ a man with a jackal head 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ the god of embalming and the dead ■ he watched over the dead and mummification ■ he helped embalm Osiris after Osiris had been killed by Seth
Osiris	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ a mummified man wearing a white, cone like headdress 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ god of the dead and ruler of the underworld ■ brother and husband of Isis, father of Horus
Isis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ a woman wearing a headdress in the shape of a throne 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ a protective goddess ■ Isis was the wife of Osiris and the mother of Horus
Seth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ a man with the head of an animal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ god of chaos ■ he represented that which threatened harmony in Egypt
Horus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ a man with the head of a hawk 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ god of the sky ■ protector of the king ■ the king was seen as the living Horus
Thoth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ a man with the head of an ibis, holding a writing palette 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ god of writing and knowledge ■ he gave Egypt the gift of hieroglyphic writing
Maat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ woman with a feather on her head 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ goddess of truth, justice and harmony
Hathor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ woman with a headdress of horns and the sun disk 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ a protective goddess ■ goddess of love and joy



Anubis



Isis



Osiris



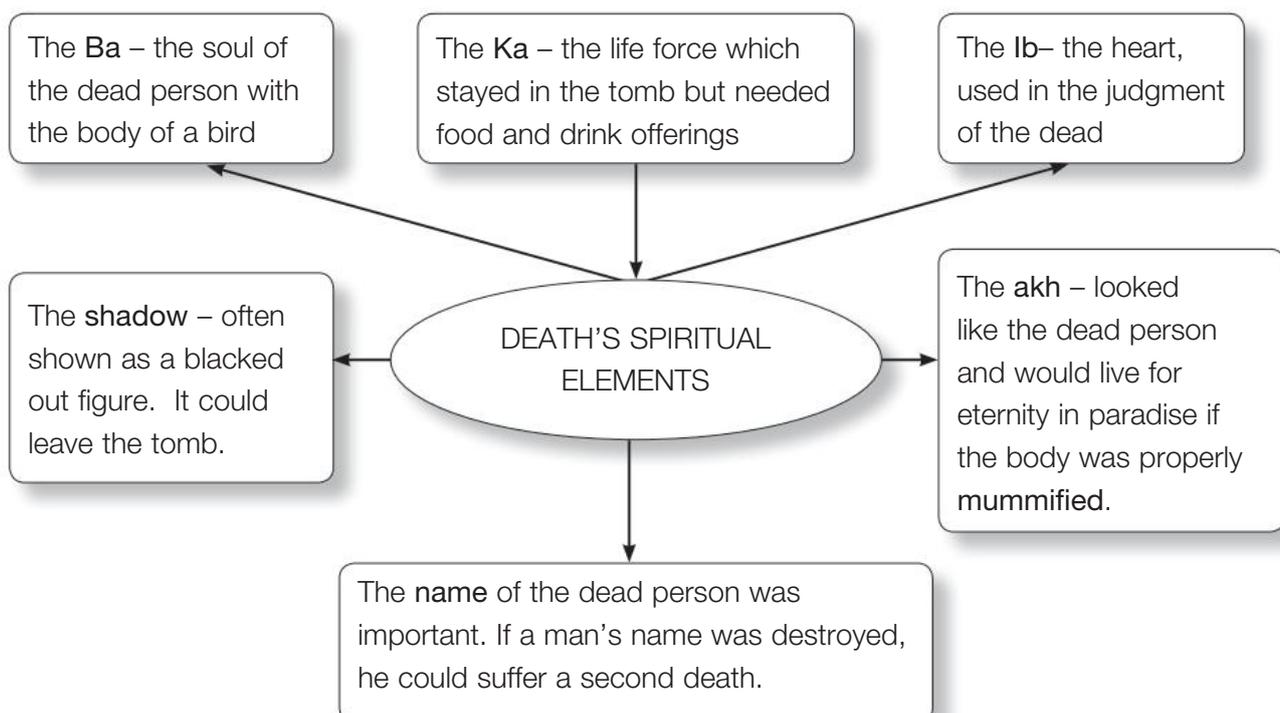
The Ankh

Ordinary Egyptians had an ambiguous relationship with their gods. On the one hand there was great distance between them. People were not allowed into the temple precincts and they could certainly not touch the statues; only the priests were allowed. They were expected to look after the statues of the gods. This would involve washing them, dressing them and applying make-up, and providing food offerings to them. It was believed the god resided in the statue and protected Egypt from chaos.

However, there did exist some 'closeness' between people and the gods. Ordinary people were allowed to whisper prayers into the ears that were carved on to the temple walls. They could ask for protection. They could ask questions of the gods on stone ostraca. The wearing of protective amulets, such as the ankh (symbol of life) was common.

The Egyptians accepted various spiritual elements associated with death as Figure 5.1 shows.

Figure 5.1 The spiritual elements of death



Mummification was considered a vital part of Egyptian religious thinking. The body had to be prepared carefully for its journey to paradise and there were strict rules on how a deceased's body should be mummified or embalmed. Herodotus provides a detailed description of the process in his Histories.

*"...Mummification is a distinct profession... The most perfect process is as follows: as much as possible of the brain is extracted through the nostrils with an iron hook, and what the hook cannot reach is rinsed out with drugs; next the flank is laid open with a flint knife and the whole contents of the abdomen removed; the cavity is then thoroughly cleansed and washed out, first with palm wine and again with an infusion of pounded spices. After that it is filled with pure bruised myrrh, cassia and every other aromatic substance with the exception of frankincense, and sewn up again after which the body is placed in natrum, covered entirely over, for seventy days – never longer. When this period, which must not be exceeded, is over, the body is then washed and then wrapped from head to foot in linen cut into strips and smeared on the underside with gum, which is commonly used by the Egyptians instead of glue. In this condition the body is given back to the family, who have a wooden case made, shaped like the human figure, into which it is put. The case is then sealed up and stored in a sepulchral chamber, upright against the wall..."*¹

The organs removed from the body were treated with natron and put into canopic jars. However, the heart was never removed. Regarded as the centre of intelligence, memory and emotion, it was needed in the judgment of the deceased person. Egyptians believed it was weighed against the feather of Maat, and if the heart weighed down the scales, the deceased was deemed to have done wrong and would cease to exist at all, a terrifying idea for the Egyptians. However, by including that part of the "Book of the Dead" in their tombs which dealt with judgment, a favourable outcome could be guaranteed. This is why illustrations of the weighing of the heart are often found in Egyptian tombs.

The "opening of the mouth" ceremony was very important. The face of the mummy would be touched and the senses restored. The priest would recite spells, libations would be poured and offerings made. The 'crown of justification' was placed around the mummy's neck to symbolise victory over death. Furniture, and ushabtis (models of servants) who would perform labour for the deceased in eternity, were placed in the tomb. The mummy was then placed in its sarcophagus and the tomb sealed.

To have eternal life, the deceased had to be judged before Osiris, face forty two gods, each of whom was responsible for a particular sin, and survive the weighing of the heart ceremony. For the deceased, failure to pass the weighing ceremony meant being eaten by Ammit 'the devourer'. If all tests were passed, the deceased would be taken to Osiris who would lead him to his kingdom, the Fields of Yaru.

¹ Herodotus, The Histories, Book Two, 85-87

Exercise 5.1

For each of the following statements, circle the correct option, true or false.

1	The Egyptians believed in only one god, Amun-Re.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
2	In the pantheon of Egyptian gods, it was believed that some gods were related to each other.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
3	Osiris was the god of the dead and ruler of the underworld.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
4	Ordinary Egyptians thought little about religion and had little desire to be involved with the various gods.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
5	An Egyptian would be greatly distressed if he thought that his name could be destroyed.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
6	Mummification was a carefully defined process with strict rules of procedure.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
7	The heart was always placed in canopic jars with other organs.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
8	Tombs were never decorated with excerpts from the “Book of the Dead”.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
9	The tomb would always be empty except for the sarcophagus containing the mummy.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
10	Failure to pass the “weighing of the heart” ceremony meant destruction at the hands of the devourer.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE



Early 18th Dynasty, c 1450 BC

In the reign of Thutmose III, the Book of the Dead began to appear on papyrus rolls and the mummy shrouds of private individuals. This shroud has extracts from several spells. In the fourth row the transportation of the mummy to the tomb is shown.

FOCUS OF STUDY

Section Two ■ Background and rise to prominence

Chapter 6: Family background

Egypt's dynastic background

For two thousand years, Ancient Egypt was ruled by a series of twenty dynasties. The first king of a united Egypt is reputed to have been Narmer (or Menes) who began the 1st Dynasty in about 3100 BC. The first two dynasties comprised what has become known as the Early Dynastic Period. This was followed by Dynasties 3-6, known as The Old Kingdom. It was during this time that the great pyramids were built. Internal problems and external pressures weakened Egypt, and led to a time known as The 1st Intermediate Period when Dynasties 7-10 ruled.

By 2055 BC, Egypt had reasserted itself and the period of The Middle Kingdom followed ruled by the 11th and 12th Dynasties. A period of weakness followed during which Egypt was invaded and this led to the 2nd Intermediate Period when Dynasties 13-17 attempted to rule.

By 1549 BC, the foreign ruling Hyksos had been removed and the period of The New Kingdom followed when Egypt was ruled by Dynasties 18-20. This was the era of the great pharaohs such as Thutmose III and Ramesses II.

Figure 6.1 The Dynasties of Ancient Egypt

Period	Dynasties	Dates ¹	
Early Dynastic	1-2	3100-2686	<ul style="list-style-type: none">■ Unification of Egypt■ Narmer first pharaoh
Old Kingdom	3-6	2686-2181	<ul style="list-style-type: none">■ The Great Pyramids are built
First Intermediate	7-10	2181-2055	<ul style="list-style-type: none">■ A dark period, noted for its political chaos
Middle Kingdom	11-12	2055-1650	<ul style="list-style-type: none">■ Egypt reunified■ Historians disagree on which dynasties ruled

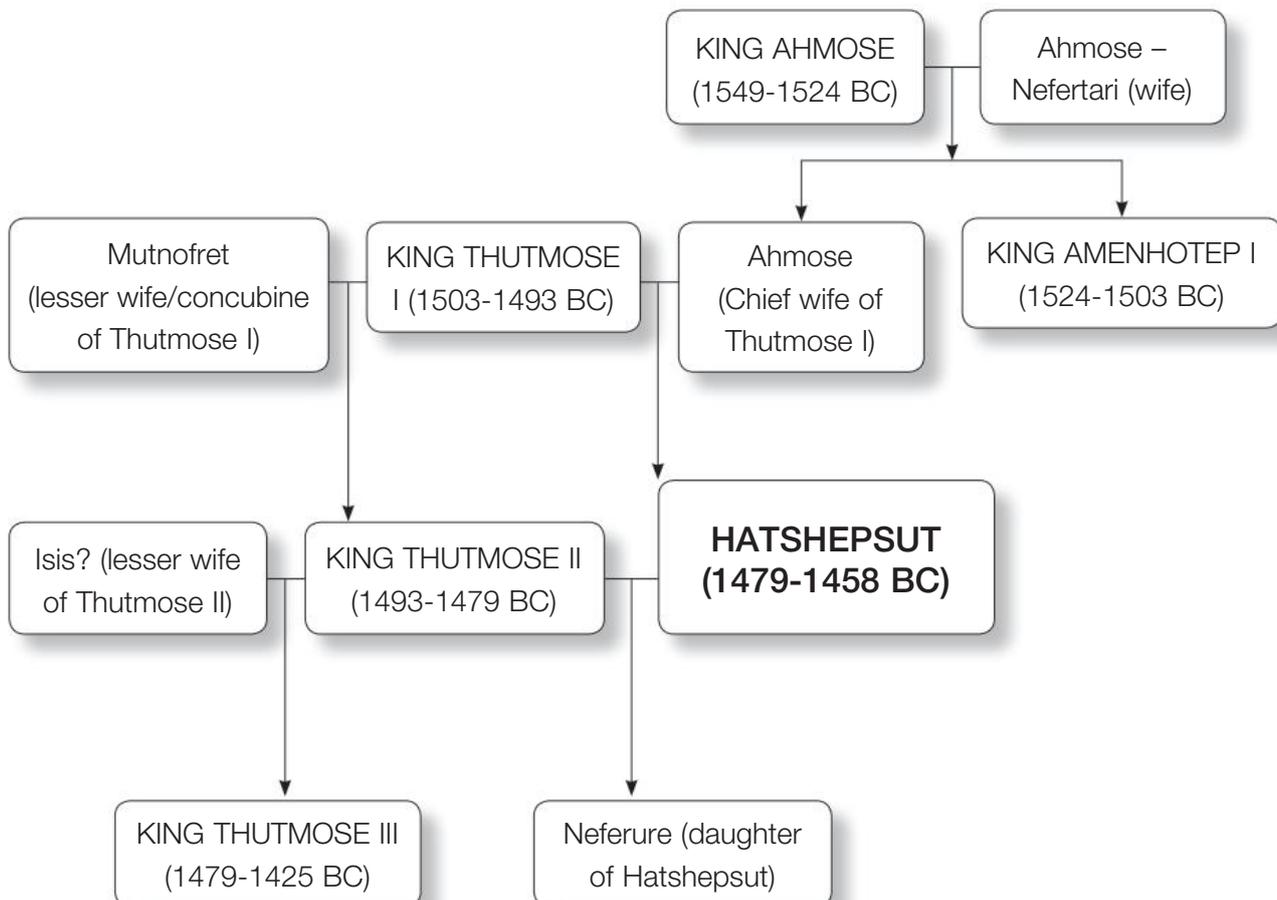
¹ Students should be aware that Egyptian dating is not as precise as more recent periods of Ancient History.

Second Intermediate	13-17	1650-1550	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Egypt again in disarray ▪ Egypt ruled by the Hyksos for a time
New Kingdom	18-20	1549-1069	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Egypt's most prosperous and powerful time ▪ Height of the Egyptian Empire

Hatshepsut's family background

The genealogy diagram shown in Figure 6.2 shows the key personalities related to Hatshepsut from her grandparents to her children. Dates refer to ruling period.

Figure 6.2 Hatshepsut's Family



Hatshepsut was the granddaughter of the first king of the 18th Dynasty, Ahmose. Ahmose's son, Amenhotep, the second king of the 18th Dynasty, did not have a son. His sister was Ahmose and she became the chief wife of Thutmose I, who became the third king of the 18th Dynasty.

- Hatshepsut was the daughter of Thutmose I and chief wife Ahmose.
- As far as we know, Hatshepsut had four siblings, three brothers and one sister.

The lesser wife of Hatshepsut's father, Thutmose I, was Mutnofret. Thutmose I and Mutnofret had a son who became Thutmose II, the fourth king of the 18th Dynasty.² Mutnofret had a sister, Neferubity who is depicted in scenes in Hatshepsut's temple, Deir el-Bahri.

As was often the custom in the Egyptian royal family, Hatshepsut married her half-brother, Thutmose II. Thutmose II and Hatshepsut had a daughter, Neferure. Thutmose II also had a son with his lesser wife, possibly known as Isis, and he would become Thutmose III. Neferure did not marry her half-brother, and she died before her mother.

During the reign of her husband, Thutmose II (1493-1479 BC), Hatshepsut seems to have assumed the usual role of an Egyptian queen. Her titles would have included "king's daughter", "king's sister", "god's wife" and "king's great wife". As "God's Wife of Amun", Hatshepsut would have played a significant role in the cult of Amun-Re. The statue shown in Figure 6.3, shows Hatshepsut, probably from the time of the reign of Thutmose II. She is presented in a feminine form befitting a queen.

Figure 6.3 Early statue of Hatshepsut



This statue of Hatshepsut is in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. It is clearly an early statue, probably from the time of Thutmose II's reign. She has the nemes headdress of the king and uraeus on her forehead.

However, there is no beard as later statues would feature. In addition, her face and body are clearly feminine; no attempt has been made to make her appear 'manly'.

The hieroglyphic inscriptions on the left side of the throne describe her as 'the good goddess' and as 'the lady of the Two Lands'.

The hieroglyphic inscription on the right side describes her as 'the daughter of Re'.

² Mutnofret may also have been the mother of Amenmose and Wadjmose, who both died during the reign of their father, Thutmose I.

Exercise 6.1

Using the names in the box below, identify the people who are described.

1	I am the daughter of Hatshepsut and Thutmose II.	
2	I married Ahmose, daughter of King Ahmose.	
3	My parents were King Ahmose and Queen Ahmose Nefertari.	
4	I married my half-brother, Thutmose II.	
5	My husband was Thutmose I and my son was Thutmose II.	
6	I married Hatshepsut and also had a lesser wife called Isis.	
7	My parents were Isis and Thutmose II.	
8	My husband was Thutmose I and we had a daughter called Hatshepsut.	
9	I was the first king of the 18th Dynasty.	
10	I was the wife of Ahmose and the mother of Amenhotep I.	

THUTMOSE II	HATSHEPSUT	AHMOSE	NEFERURE	THUTMOSE III
MUTNOFRET	AMENHOTEP I	THUTMOSE I	CHIEF WIFE AHMOSE	
		AHMOSE NEFERTARI		

Chapter 7:

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

Hatshepsut's claim to the throne and succession

The idea of a female pharaoh was not entirely unprecedented in Ancient Egypt. However, its rarity meant that Hatshepsut had to work hard to justify her assumption of the position of king. Hatshepsut did this by means of a carefully worked out campaign of propaganda. In this campaign, two aspects of her origin were emphasised to justify her becoming king:

- her relationship to Amun
- and her relationship to Thutmose I.

Thutmose I was the third king of the 18th Dynasty:

- Thutmose I did not have royal lineage but his position as king was ensured because he married Ahmose, daughter of King Ahmose and sister of King Amenhotep I.
- Thutmose I and his chief wife Ahmose most likely had several children. However, their only child to survive was Hatshepsut.
- Hatshepsut was therefore a key figure in the royal succession, for whoever married her would become king.
- Thutmose I and his lesser wife, Mutnofret, had a son who became Thutmose II following the death of King Thutmose I in 1493 BC. To consolidate the claim to the throne of Thutmose II, he was married to his half-sister, Hatshepsut.¹

Thutmose II reigned only a short time and he died in 1479 BC. He and Hatshepsut had a daughter, Neferure. With his lesser wife, Isis, he had a son who, upon his father's death, became Thutmose III. However, Thutmose III was only about nine years of age when he became king. As a result, Hatshepsut (who was both his step-mother and his aunt) became regent. In this capacity she would look after the affairs of Egypt until her step-son came of age. There was nothing unique about a female assuming the role of regent.

There exists a record of Hatshepsut's time as regent in an inscription on the tomb of the nobleman, Ineni. The inscription describes Hatshepsut's time as regent, using the metaphor of a ship being securely tied to the shore by ropes. The ropes bind the boat both at the stern and the bow. The securing of boats in this manner would have been well known to the Egyptians, familiar as they were with the Nile's strong tides. The boat represents the ship of state – Egypt; the ropes represent Hatshepsut.

¹ The marriage of Hatshepsut and Thutmose II will be covered in more detail in Chapter 9.

The description given of Hatshepsut in her role as regent in Ineni's tomb is quite glowing.

- She is described as the “excellent seed of the god” and her plans are referred to as being “excellent”.
- However, as Ineni was a member of Hatshepsut's court, this source should be treated carefully as it is unlikely a negative view of Hatshepsut would have been presented. He owed his position to her and those responsible for inscribing the tomb would not have risked offending their ruler.

Between the second and seventh year of the reign of Thutmose III, Hatshepsut was crowned king and became co-regent with her step-son for the next twenty years.

Historians remain divided over the idea that Thutmose I declared Hatshepsut was his successor. At Deir el-Bahri Hatshepsut's inscription runs like this:

*“Then his majesty said to them, ‘This daughter of mine, Khnumetamun Hatshepsut – may she live – I have appointed as my successor, upon my throne... she shall direct the people in every sphere of the palace; it is she, indeed, who shall lead you. Obey her words, unite yourselves at her command’... The royal nobles, the dignitaries, and the leaders of the people heard this proclamation of the promotion of his daughter, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maar-kare – may she live eternally...”*²

This is covered more fully below in the section on the Coronation reliefs.

Hatshepsut's Divine Birth

Hatshepsut's right to the throne is not only based on her claim to be the heir of her father. She also claimed to be the daughter of Amun, a claim made by male kings who stated that they were sons of Re. Hatshepsut's claim to divine descent can be found in the reliefs in the Middle Colonnade at Deir el-Bahri.

- Thoth tells Queen Ahmose that she is to give birth to a daughter who will become king.
- Amun takes Thutmose I's human form and holds an ankh to Ahmose's nose so she can breathe in his essence. This is meant to symbolise the sexual act between Amun and Ahmose.
- The multi-headed creator god, Khnum, is told by Amun to make Hatshepsut and her ka on his potter's wheel.
- Queen Ahmose is shown seated on the throne with her baby in her arms.
- Two Hathors suckle Hatshepsut and her ka and they are then presented to the gods. Amun and Thoth hold them both.

² Taken from: Callender, Dr G, A Critical Examination of the Reign of Hatshepsut, Ancient History Resources for Teachers Vol XVIII, No 2 – 1988, p 91

Figure 7.1 Part of the Divine Birth relief of Deir el-Bahri ³

The Coronation reliefs

The Coronation reliefs are found in the Middle Colonnade at Deir el-Bahri. These deal with Hatshepsut's claim that she was chosen to be king by Thutmose I (referred to briefly above). Figure 7.2 summarises the content of these reliefs.

Possible further evidence of Hatshepsut's claims have also been found at the southern pylon at Karnak, and in inscriptions at Speos Artimedos on the eastern side of the Nile, near the modern day village of Istabl Antar. Hatshepsut tried to ignore the passing of the reign of Thutmose II (see Chapter 9), thus emphasising her right to rule as Thutmose I's successor. One way she did this was to celebrate her heb-sed festival thirty years after her father's death. Two obelisks were constructed for this event.

Hatshepsut built four obelisks in the temple of Amun at Karnak. Only one remains in its original position. The obelisks built at Karnak are of pink granite and were brought from the Aswan quarries. Inscriptions and later offering scenes were carved on each of the four sides of the shaft. The obelisk is almost a hundred feet high. Hatshepsut sought to emphasise certain points in the inscriptions on the obelisks.

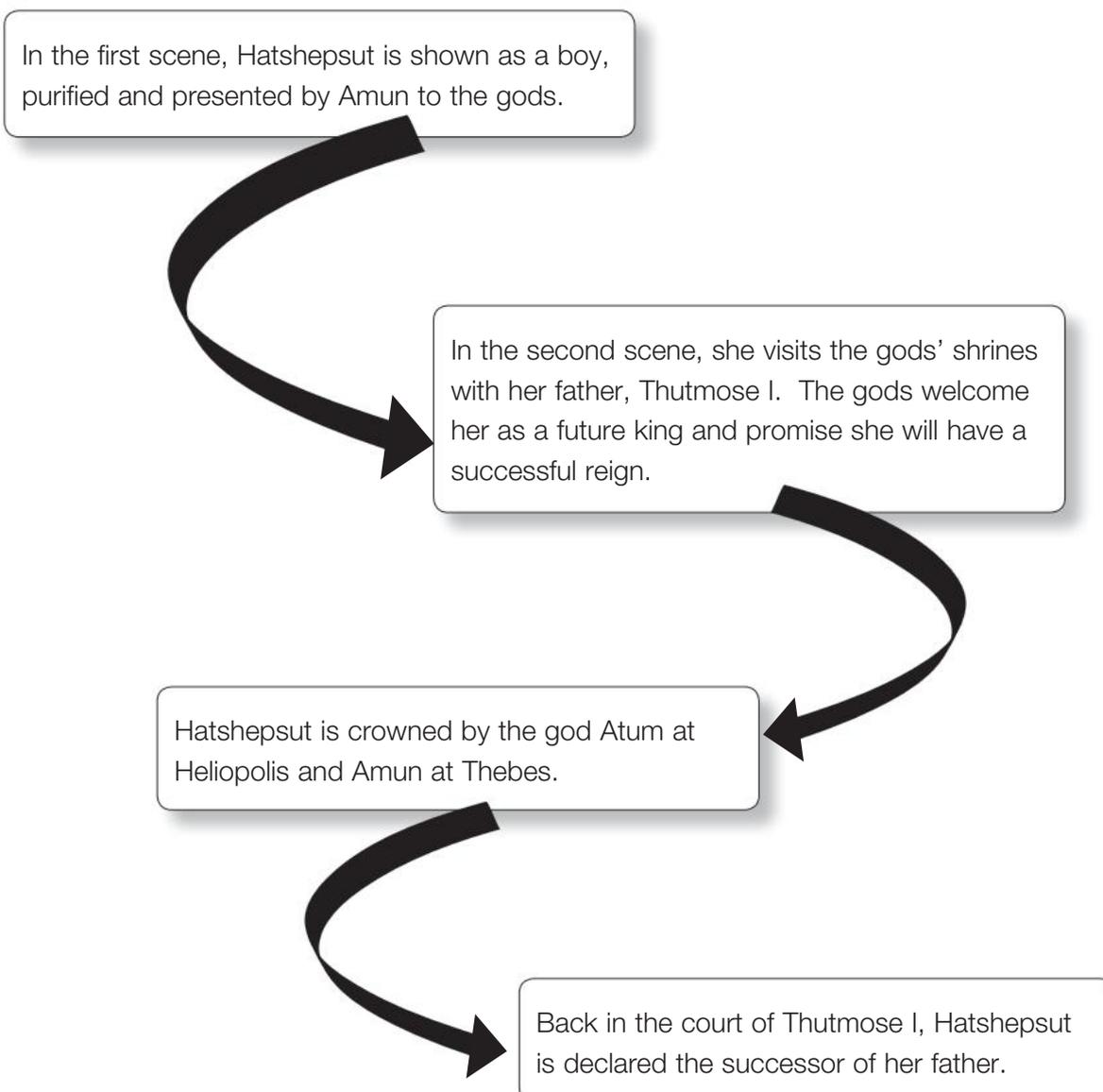
- The obelisks were raised to show her devotion to her "divine father Amun" and "earthly father Thutmose I", and to celebrate the glory of the god and the memory of her natural father.
- She makes the point that the gilding of each obelisk involved a great deal of the finest gold.

³ The original reliefs were seriously damaged by Thutmose III after Hatshepsut's death, and also further damaged by Akhenaten in his religious crusade.

- Of crucial importance is the ever present theme in Hatshepsut's propaganda of her right to the throne.
 - The inscriptions say that Amun destined her to become king.
 - The pronouncements in the inscriptions use both the masculine and feminine designations.
 - The point being made is that she is the son and daughter of Amun.

Did the ceremony involving Thutmose I's designation of Hatshepsut as his successor actually happen? Historians remain divided. Some argue that the story was propagated merely as a piece of propaganda legitimising Hatshepsut making herself "king" when Thutmose III was still a youth. However, as Thutmose I's sons did not survive him, and as Thutmose II seems to have been born late in the reign of Thutmose I, the possibility of Hatshepsut being designated as his successor becomes a possibility.

Figure 7.2 Summary of the Coronation reliefs



Exercise 7.1

For each of the following statements, circle the correct option, true or false.

1	Hatshepsut was keen to promote the idea that Thutmose I had designated her as his successor.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
2	Hatshepsut appears to have been the only surviving child of Thutmose I and Ahmose.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
3	Hatshepsut acted as regent during the reign of Thutmose II.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
4	The inscription in the tomb of the nobleman, Ineni, presents a negative view of the regency of Hatshepsut.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
5	When Thutmose III came to the throne, Hatshepsut acted as regent due to his youth.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
6	Reliefs depicting Hatshepsut's divine birth and coronation remain in excellent condition.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
7	The god, Amun, assumed human form to impregnate Queen Ahmose.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
8	The Divine Birth and Coronation reliefs can be found in the temple at Karnak.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
9	The Coronation relief tells the story of Thutmose I's choice of Hatshepsut as his successor.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
10	Hatshepsut was keen to promote the achievements of her husband, Thutmose II.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE

Notes

Chapter 8:

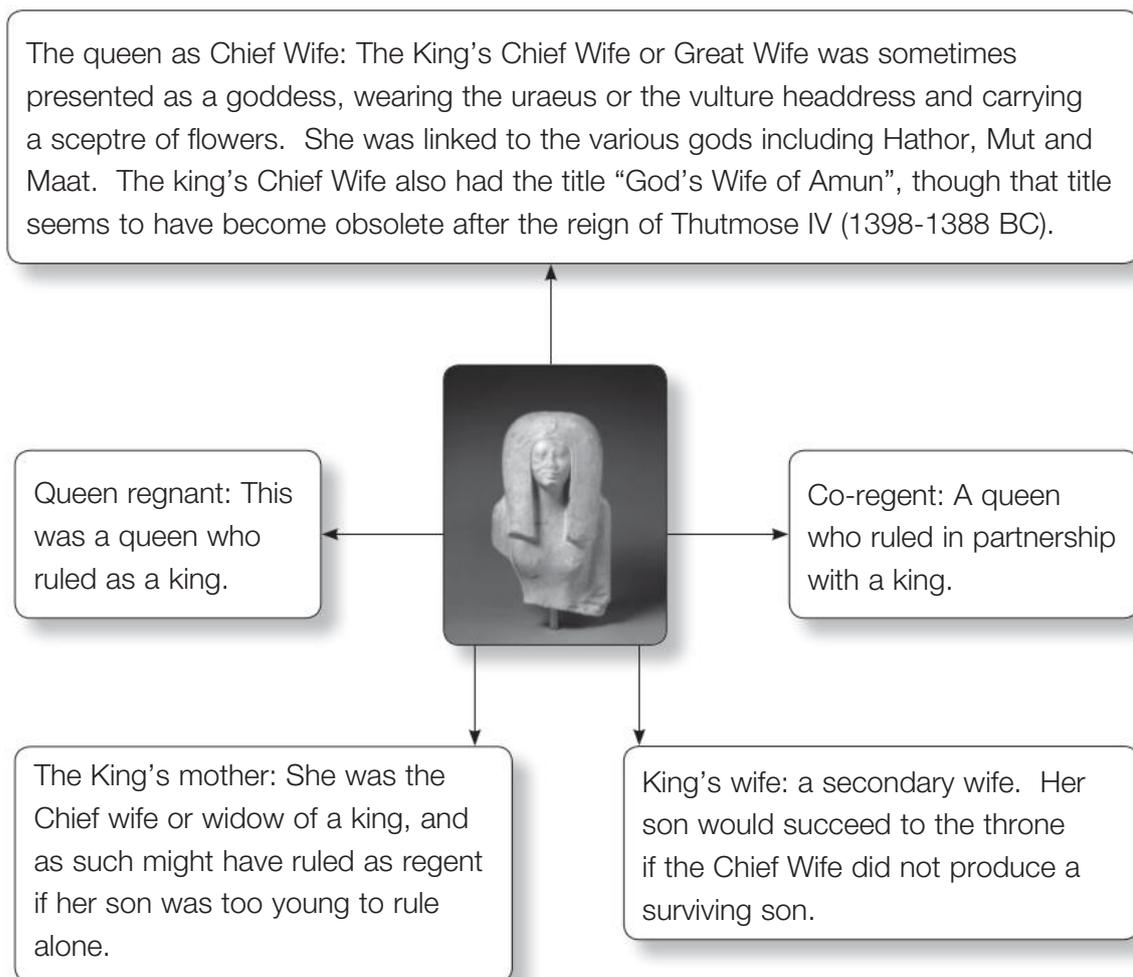
Political and religious roles of the king and queen in Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasty ¹

Roles of the queen

It would appear that the queen played a key role in the succession. The queen was the mother or the consort of the reigning king. In the 17th and early 18th Dynasties, queens played a big role in consolidating the new dynasty, and would certainly have provided a role model for Hatshepsut. The succession clearly seems to have passed through the female line with several examples of the queen being the sister or half-sister of the king.

This chapter will firstly examine the role of the queen in a general way and then examine the roles of three specific queens.

Figure 8.1 The role of 17th and early 18th Dynasty Queens

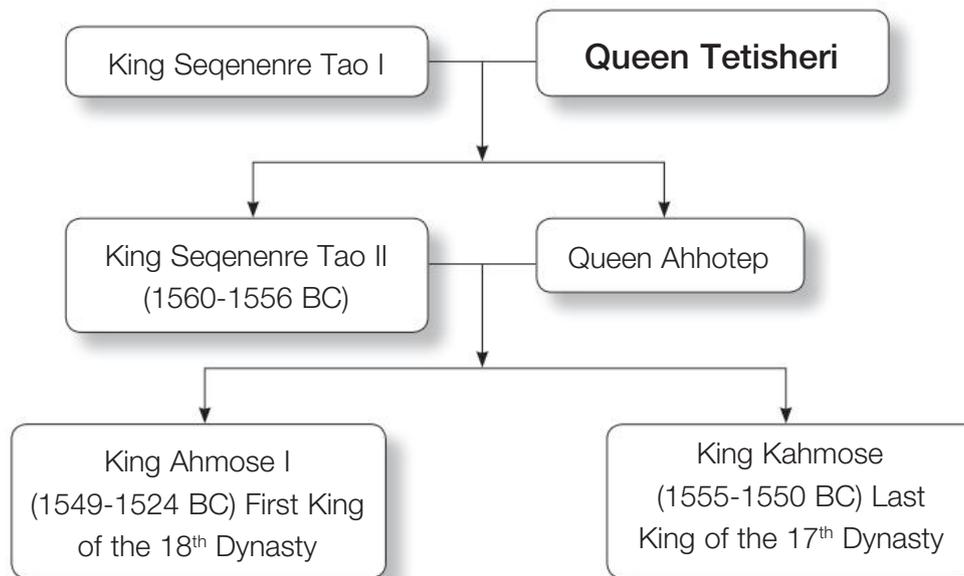


¹ The political and religious roles of the king were examined in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. This chapter will focus on the role of the queen.

Queen Tetisheri ²

Tetisheri was the daughter of non-royal parents, Cenna and Neferu. We know this because their names were found on her mummy wrappings. Despite her non-royal lineage, she was chosen to be the Chief Wife of the 17th Dynasty king, Seqenenre Tao I.

Figure 8.2 The family of Queen Tetisheri



Queen Tetisheri lived a very long life, outliving her husband King Seqenenre Tao I and her son, King Seqenenre Tao II. She eventually died during the reign of her grandson, Ahmose I. We have evidence of a limestone stele at Abydos which shows Ahmose standing while dedicating goods to a seated Tetisheri who is wearing the vulture headdress, which became associated with femininity and maternal protection. Ahmose says that he planned to build a pyramid and chapel for Tetisheri out of his love for her.

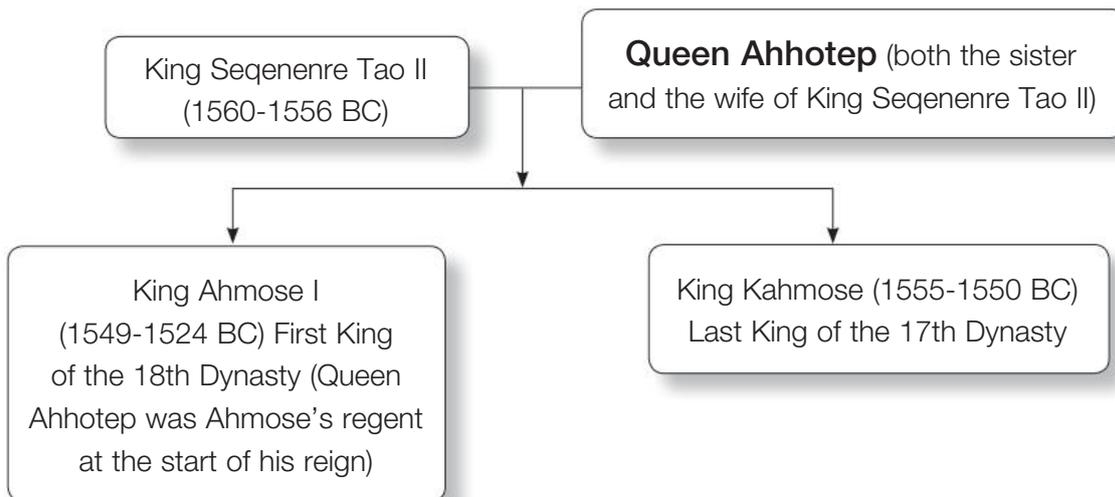
Tetisheri's mummy has survived. Her thin white hair was interwoven with false hair to cover a bald patch. She also seems to have had 'buck teeth' which was a feature of members of her family.

Queen Ahhotep

Queen Ahhotep was to play a significant role as queen. Ahhotep was the daughter of Queen Tetisheri and King Seqenenre Tao I. She was both the sister and wife of King Seqenenre Tao II. Following the deaths of her husband and her elder son, Kahmose, she acted as regent for the youthful Ahmose, who became the first king of the 18th Dynasty.

² The dates used in this chapter come from Dr Ian Shaw, *The Oxford History of Egypt*, 2000

Figure 8.3 Queen Ahhotep's immediate family



Her name and that of her son, Ahmose, have been found on the doorway of a temple at Buhen in Nubia. Ahmose's stele at Karnak suggests that Queen Ahhotep played an important political role.

- She is said to have made decisions for the people, to have united the nobles and looked after Egypt's soldiers.
- Queen Ahhotep's involvement in the affairs of her country extended to suppressing a rebellion.
- Her mummy contained a gold pendant with three flies.
 - This was a reward that was granted to soldiers who had displayed courage in battle.
 - This suggests that she had played a military role during her time as regent.

Queen Ahhotep's coffin was found in 1858. It was located in a deep shaft tomb at Dira-abou-el-Naga, not far from the Valley of the Kings. A significant amount of jewellery was found in her tomb, presumably gifts from King Ahmose I. It included bracelets, forty pieces of gold and a ceremonial dagger that had belonged to Ahmose.

One of the most significant finds in her tomb was a ceremonial axe belonging to King Ahmose I. This is shown in Figure 8.4 with a detailed description.

Figure 8.4 King Ahmose's ceremonial axe

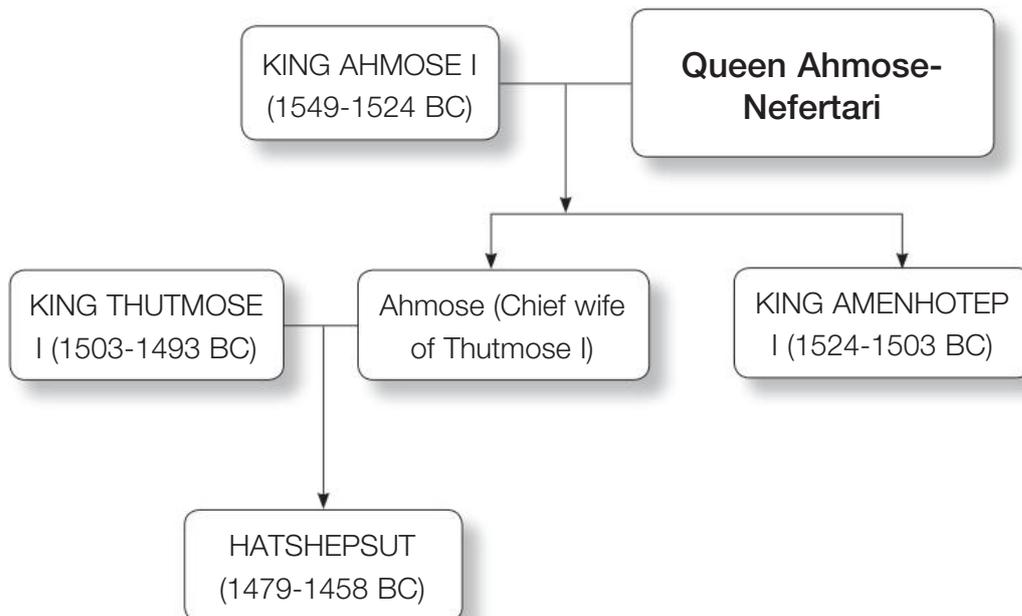


*"It is bronze, overlaid with gold and electrum and semi-precious stones. The king is shown killing an enemy and he wears one of the earliest representations of the blue war crown... On the other side the king is a sphinx holding aloft the head of an enemy. Symbols of both Upper and Lower Egypt – the vulture and cobra, and lotus and papyrus – symbolise the re-unification of Egypt by Ahmose. These are similar to the symbols and themes of the Narmer Palette from the beginning of the Old Kingdom."*³

Queen Ahmose-Nefertari

Queen Ahmose-Nefertari was the wife of King Ahmose I, the first king of the 18th Dynasty. She probably had royal blood and may have been Ahmose's sister. Ahmose-Nefertari had a grand range of official titles – Divine Consort, King's Daughter, King's Sister, Hereditary Princess, Great King's Wife and she was the first queen to be "God's wife of Amun".

Figure 8.5 Queen Ahmose-Nefertari's immediate family



Queen Ahmose-Nefertari outlived her husband. Her son Amenhotep I succeeded his father but he was only a youth at the time and so the queen acted as his regent until he came of age. She was to share a mortuary temple with Amenhotep I. The queen was later to be linked with Amenhotep I in a cult followed by the workers at Deir-el-Medina.

At Karnak, there is a stela which shows Queen Ahmose-Nefertari, King Ahmose I and their son giving bread to Amun-Re. Perhaps as recognition of the queen's significance, she appears on the

³ Lawless, J, The New Kingdom becomes the early empire, from Studies in Ancient Egypt (ed Dianne Hennessy), Nelson, Melbourne, 1993, pp 113-4

same scale as the king and the god. The queen's name also appears with that of her husband in inscriptions found in Sinai and on the Nubian island of Sai.

Queen Ahmose-Nefertari lived to be a very old woman, and like Queen Tetisheri, her white hair was interwoven with false hair, and she also seems to have had protruding teeth. This would tend to suggest a close link to the royal family.

Exercise 8.1

Match the description given on the left with the person listed below on the right.

1	I was the husband of Queen Ahhotep and father of King Ahmose I.	
2	I was the wife of King Ahmose I, the first king of the 18th Dynasty.	
3	I was the granddaughter of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari.	
4	Queen Ahmose-Nefertari was the first queen to receive this title.	
5	I had enormous love and respect for Queen Tetisheri and planned a pyramid for her.	
6	I was the mother of Queen Ahhotep and King Seqenenre Tao II.	
7	I was the brother of King Ahmose I and Queen Ahhotep was my mother.	
8	My mother Queen Ahmose-Nefertari acted as my regent until I could rule in my own right.	
9	I was the husband of Queen Tetisheri and father of the future Queen Ahhotep.	
10	King Seqenenre Tao II was both my husband and my brother.	

KING AHMOSE I	KING SEQENENRE TAO I	KING KAHMOSE	HATSHEPSUT
QUEEN TETISHERI	AMENHOTEP I	QUEEN AHHOTEP	
KING SEQENENRE TAO II	QUEEN AHMOSE-NEFERTARI		
GOD'S WIFE OF AMUN			

Chapter 9:

Marriage to Thutmose II

Our knowledge of the reign of Thutmose II is rather limited, certainly far less than his namesakes, Thutmose I and Thutmose III. Evidence of his reign is fragmentary and scholars are not always in agreement about the nature of the evidence. The difficulty of assessing Thutmose II can be seen with the example of an ebony shrine in Deir el-Bahri. His name appears in an inscription there but it is surrounded by female pronouns and feminine ending words. Obviously, the inscription must have referred to Hatshepsut but her name was removed for Thutmose II. The issue then arises who ordered it (probably Thutmose III) and why?

Thutmose II and Hatshepsut

Thutmose I had three sons but two of them, Amenmose and Wadjmose, died before their father. Therefore, the king turned to his son by his lesser wife, Mutnofret, for his successor. This was Thutmose II. Thutmose II married his half-sister, Hatshepsut, shortly before the death of Thutmose I. She was seven years older than her half-brother.

During the reign of her husband Thutmose II, Hatshepsut was merely the king's principal wife, in the same manner as queens before her.¹

- Her titles included 'King's Daughter', 'King's Sister', 'God's Wife' and 'King's Great Wife'.
- In the Berlin Museum, there is a stele showing Hatshepsut standing in an approved wifely fashion behind Thutmose II and Queen Ahmose before the god Amun.

Thutmose II as King

Thutmose II reigned from 1493-1479 BC. When he took the throne, he faced a rebellion in the region of Nubia in the south.

- The Nubian chiefs had experienced a period of some independence during the Second Intermediate Period.
 - It is possible that they believed they might be able to regain that independence now that Egypt had a young king, believing his position to be insecure.
 - The threat was apparently a serious one.
 - The Nubians were stealing cattle and threatening the lives of Egyptian colonists in the region.

¹ The role of queens in the 17th and early 18th Dynasties is examined in Chapter 8.

The rebellion is referred to in the Aswan Inscription but doubt remains about whether Thutmose II led the campaign against the Nubians. Led by Thutmose II or not, the Egyptians were merciless in their suppression of the revolt and apart from one Nubian prince, all males were killed.

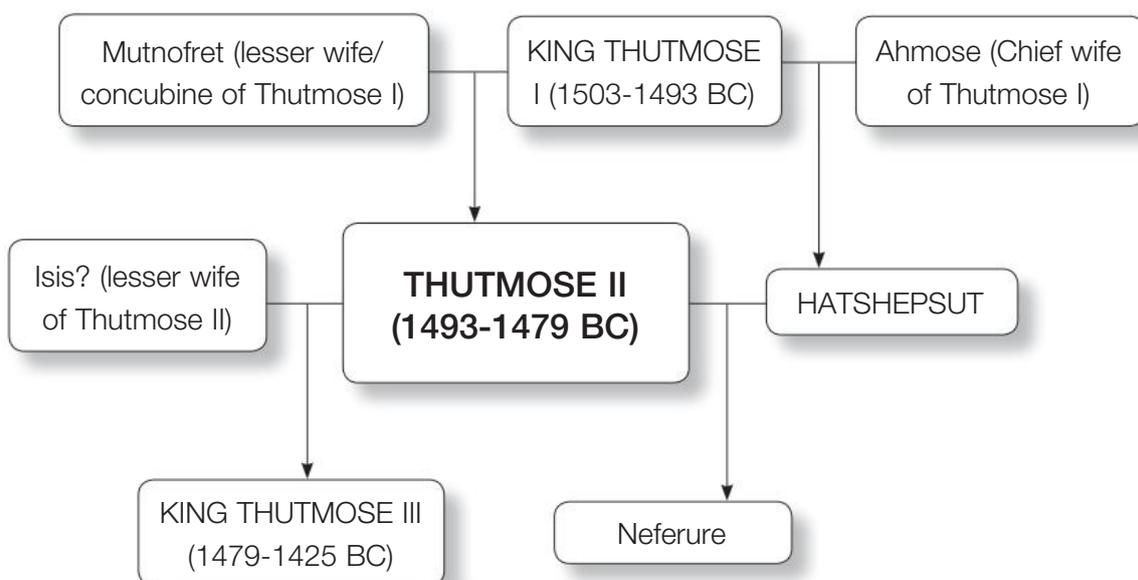
Other military ventures were limited in nature. There might have been a brief campaign against the Shasu-Bedouin in the Sinai. A small damaged fragment from the Middle Colonnade at Deir el-Bahri also mentions a campaign in Retennu (Syria).

Thutmose II's building program was minimal, limited to some red granite statues of him at Karnak beyond the 8th Pylon.

The death of Thutmose II

Thutmose II and Hatshepsut had two daughters, of whom one survived, Neferure, but no sons. Thutmose II had a son by a lesser wife, Isis, aged ten at the time of his death. This boy was appointed successor and became Thutmose III. Hatshepsut assumed the role of regent for the youth, a role that would not have been seen as anything out of the ordinary.

Figure 9.1 The family of Thutmose II



Thutmose II appears to have died in his early thirties. The sudden and unexpected nature of his death would presumably explain the lack of funeral preparations and his hasty burial in the Valley of the Kings. His mummy was found in the royal cache at Deir el-Bahri above the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut in 1881. He was buried with other 18th and 19th Dynasty kings including Amenhotep I, Thutmose III and Ramesses II.

- His mummy was unwrapped by Gaston Maspero in July 1886.
- His face and shape of his head bore a strong similarity to Thutmose I.
- Unfortunately, the mummy had suffered damage at the hands of ancient tomb robbers.
 - The left arm was broken off at the shoulder-joint and the forearm separated at the elbow joint.
 - The right arm was chopped off at the elbow.
 - Much of the chest seemed to have been hacked at with an axe.
 - The right leg had also been chopped off.

Figure 9.2 The mummy of Thutmose II



Exercise 9.1

Answer the following questions in the spaces provided.

1	Who were the parents of Thutmose II?	
2	What was the role of Hatshepsut during the reign of Thutmose II?	
3	What was the age difference between Thutmose II and Hatshepsut?	
4	How did Thutmose II deal with the Nubian revolt?	
5	Name the other military campaigns that seemed to have occurred during the reign of Thutmose II.	
6	Was Thutmose II a great builder?	
7	When did Thutmose II die? How old was he?	
8	Who succeeded Thutmose II?	
9	When and where was Thutmose II's mummy found?	
10	Describe the condition of Thutmose II's mummy.	

Section Three ■ Key features and developments

Chapter 10: Titles and changes to her royal image over time

As was explained in Chapter 9, during the reign of Thutmose II, Hatshepsut's official titles were not out of the ordinary. She would have been known as 'king's daughter', 'king's sister', 'god's wife' and 'king's great wife'. She was merely a principal queen in the same manner that other principal queens had been earlier. Even during the first couple of years of her role as regent for Thutmose III, she had to content herself with a mere queenly status.

*"Later on he (Thutmose III) counted his reign, and she (Hatshepsut) hers, from the very commencement of the partnership. Meanwhile, however, her ambition was by no means dormant, and not many years had passed before she had taken the momentous step of herself assuming the Double Crown."*¹

There had been two earlier occasions in Egyptian history when a queen had usurped the crown. However, what made Hatshepsut's actions different was that this was the first time a female had attempted to pose and act as a man. This process did not occur immediately and seems to have gone through three stages. What follows is an examination of the titles that Hatshepsut took as 'king' and then a close look at the ways in which her image changed over time.

Hatshepsut's titles

Whenever a king took power in Egypt, he had five separate names. Once Hatshepsut had assumed real power, she was no exception to this rule. She would have had her own birth or personal name. In addition there were four other royal names and the king was able to select a name to accompany each title.

1. Hatshepsut's 'personal or birth' name was *Khnumt-Amun Hatshepsut*. This meant 'one who was united with Amun'. Some texts present this as *Khenernet-Amun*.
2. There was also her 'throne' name. Hatshepsut's was *Maat-ka-re*. This meant 'truth in the spirit of Re'.
3. Hatshepsut had her 'Horus' name which was *Weseret-kau*. This meant 'mighty of Kas'.
4. She had the title *Nebty Wadjet-renput*, 'beloved of the two ladies'.

¹ Gardiner, A, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, OUP, Oxford, 1961, p 183

Hatshepsut was also called *Netjeret-khau*, meaning ‘divine of diadems’. A diadem was a royal crown.

As there was no feminine word for king or pharaoh, Hatshepsut was referred to both as masculine and feminine, eg “*Her Majesty, King Maat-ka-re*”. When she is referred to in military matters, only the masculine form is used.

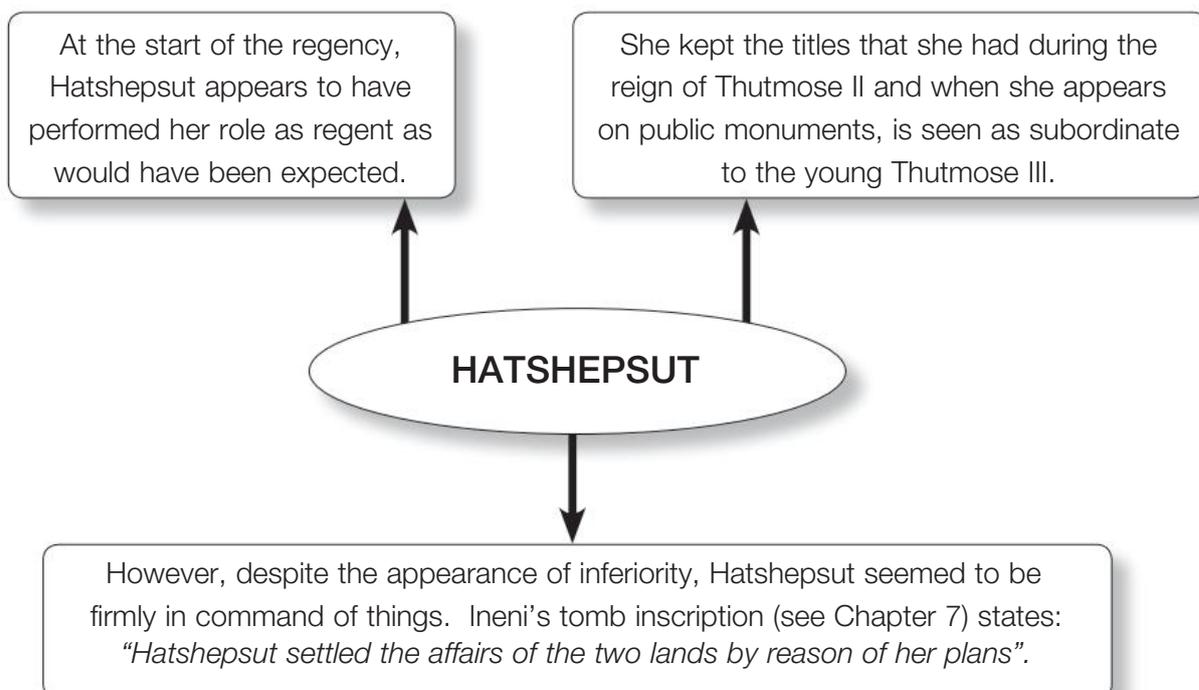
Her royal image over time

Well into her period of rule, Hatshepsut assumed male poses and used the full range of Egyptian royal iconography. She assumed male characteristics with the full regalia of a king. However, this did not happen immediately, and her image change seems to have gone through several stages.

Gardiner makes this comment about Hatshepsut’s early appearance during her regency for Thutmose III.

*“The change did not come about without some hesitation, because there is at least one relief where she appears as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, and yet is clad in woman’s attire. But there are various places, particularly at Karnak, where Hatshepsut is depicted in masculine guise and taking precedence of Thutmose III, himself indeed shown as a king, but only as a co-regent. In many inscriptions she flaunts a full titulary, though both on her own monuments and those of her nobles she is apt to be referred to by feminine pronouns or described by nouns with a feminine ending.”*²

Figure 10.1 Stage 1: The early years of the regency

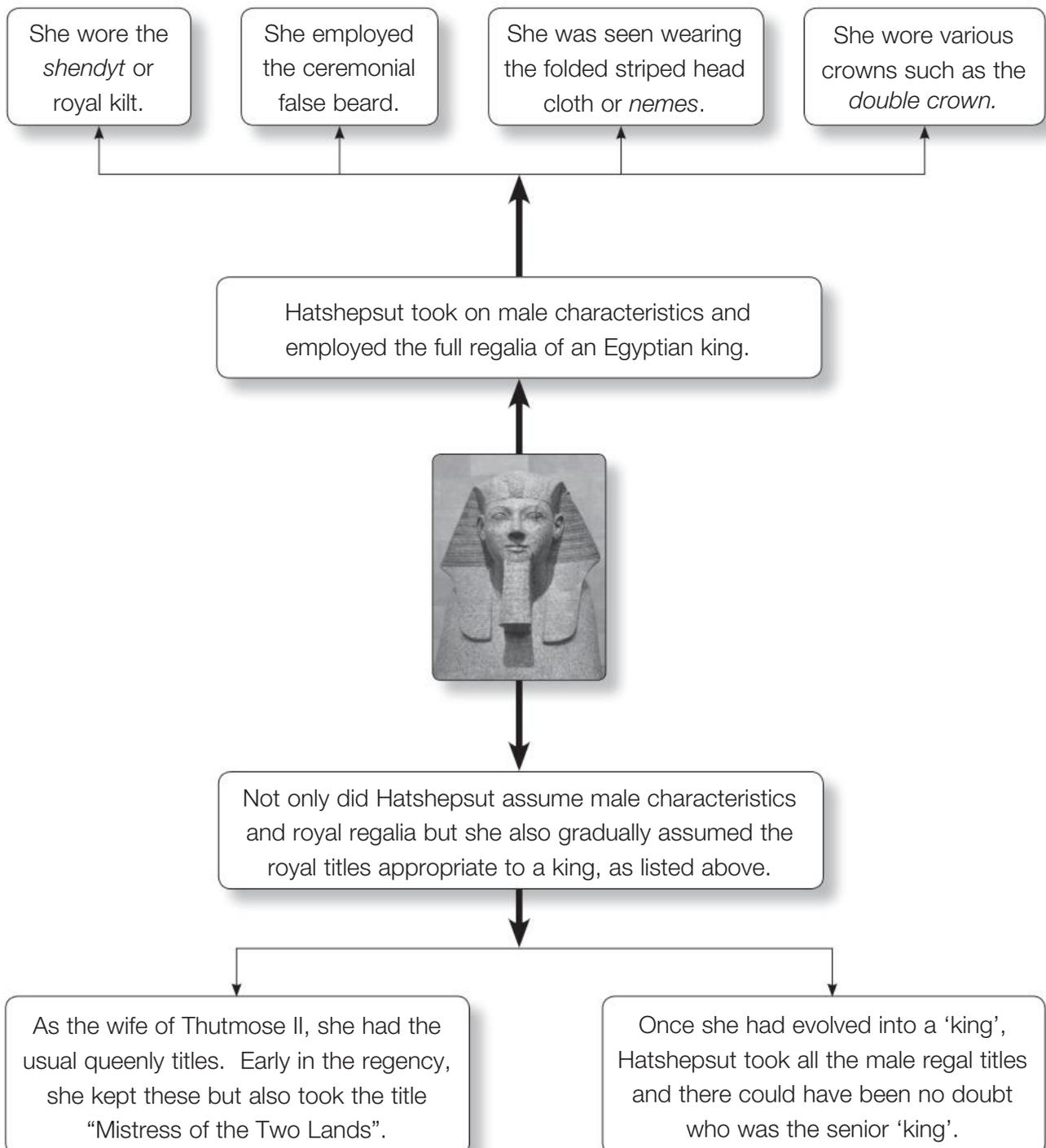


² Gardiner, A, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, OUP, Oxford, 1961, p 183-4

Stage Two:

Between two and seven years into her regency, Hatshepsut's position changed. Her titles and her royal image began to appear as those of a male ruler. However, she was still presented with soft feminine features and retained a female physical appearance. Hatshepsut liked to emphasise her 'ka' in her titles as this could overcome the fact that she was female. The royal ka was a life force which survived death. It was depicted as masculine in her Divine Birth scenes. Therefore, Hatshepsut could be seen and written about as both masculine and feminine. By emphasising the ka, she could be a woman and a king simultaneously.

Figure 10.2 Stage 3: The later years of Hatshepsut's reign



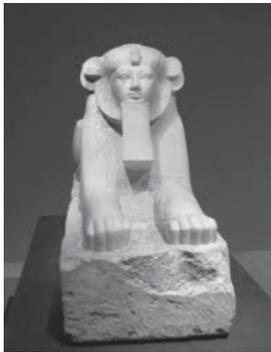
The statutory evidence

Early statues of Hatshepsut show her with clear feminine features and no evidence of an attempt to take on male characteristics. An example can be seen in Chapter 6. However, once she had made herself ‘king’, the statue evidence reveals her efforts to adopt a masculine figure with the full pharaonic garb of an Egyptian king.

- Gardiner argues that as a ‘usurper’, Hatshepsut had to do this to justify her rule.
- The question might be asked, ‘was she trying to fool her subjects?’ This is unlikely as almost all her inscriptions refer to her true gender.
- It is likely that Hatshepsut might have presented herself as male for the sake of tradition.
 - Most Egyptians were illiterate and would never see their king.
 - Their only sight of the king would have been in reliefs and statues and so Hatshepsut had to present herself in a traditional manner because of this.

Several statues have survived from the time of Hatshepsut’s reign that reveal the image she wanted to present to her people. Most of these have been found in the Deir el-Bahri temple complex on the west bank of the Nile, south of the Valley of the Kings.³ Five examples of her statues include:

- The Painted Limestone Sphinx
- The Painted Limestone Bust
- The Red Granite Sphinx
- The Kneeling Statue
- The Colossal Striding Statue

The Painted Limestone Sphinx	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Hatshepsut is given the sphinx form as this was a typical New Kingdom way of presenting a warrior king. ■ It would have been one of two on the side of the entrance to Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri. ■ She wears the royal regalia such as the nemes and the false beard. ■ However, there is still almost an element of femininity given to the sphinx’s features. ■ The inscription reads <i>Maat-ka-re, beloved of Amun, given life forever.</i>

³ Hatshepsut’s building programs will be covered in Chapter 12.

The Painted Limestone Bust



- This badly damaged limestone bust of Hatshepsut shows her presented as the god Osiris.
- It was found at Deir el Bahri.

The Red Granite Sphinx



- Hatshepsut again wears the royal regalia.
- The sphinx is a military image.
- She has a less feminine look than the limestone sphinx.

The Kneeling Statue



- Hatshepsut is seen here in a kneeling position, making offering to the god.
- This statue was discovered in a quarry near Deir el-Bahri with other statues.
- A later statue of Thutmose III is almost identical to this one.
- Again, Hatshepsut is presented wearing the full garb of a male king.

The Colossal Striding Statue



- There is little to suggest the female gender here beyond some partial inscriptions that accompany the statue.
- The statue has a muscular form and has Hatshepsut wearing the royal regalia.
- Devotional reverence to a god is suggested by the position of her hands.
- Here she is the intermediary between the gods and the people.

Exercise 10.1

Match each explanation with the correct term on the right.

1	Hatshepsut's birth name	Netjeret-khau
2	folded striped head cloth	Khnumt-Amun Hatshepsut
3	Hatshepsut represented as this god in a damaged limestone bust	Maat-ka-re
4	Hatshepsut's throne name	Weseret-kau
5	site of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple	shendyt
6	the title divine of diadems	nemes
7	A title Hatshepsut took early in the regency	Mistress of the Two Lands
8	Hatshepsut's Horus name	Deir el-Bahri
9	the royal kilt	sphinx
10	common warrior presentation of a king	Osiris

Chapter 11:

Foreign Policy: military campaigns and expedition to Punt

Military campaigns

Any discussion of military campaigning during the reign of Hatshepsut brings out the fact that history, even that of Ancient Egypt, is never static. New interpretations, new analyses and new evidence have all changed views on Hatshepsut's military policy. In his classic 1951 book "Egypt of the Pharaohs", Sir Alan Gardiner states:

"...The reign of Hatshepsut had been barren of any military enterprise except an unimportant raid into Nubia, with the result that the petty princes of Palestine and Syria saw an opportunity of throwing off the yoke imposed upon them by the first Thutmose." ¹

Another scholar of Ancient Egypt, J A Wilson, came to a similar conclusion:

"...she records no military campaigns or conquests." ²

These views from universally respected scholars are not accepted nowadays. This leads one to ask the question why did Gardiner and Wilson reach the conclusions that they did?

- To be fair to Gardiner and Wilson, they did not have the benefit of the enormous archaeological work which has been carried out in Egypt since the 1950s. Modern scholars have the benefit of widespread evidence and so it is not surprising that they might have new views on Hatshepsut's military policy.
- As so much of Hatshepsut's record in power was defaced after her death, it is likely that some evidence about her campaigning will always be lost to us.
- Hatshepsut's gender may well account for the views historians have developed. Burdened by their view of the role of women, middle-class, middle-aged men in the 1950s might have found it difficult to credit that a woman could be an effective military campaigner.

The modern view of Hatshepsut sees her as prepared to fight for Egypt's interests as any king before or after her. Redford argues that Hatshepsut was active in Nubia, Syria, Palestine and Gaza. ³ Another historian has argued that Hatshepsut's military policy can best be described as being one of unobtrusive control, 'active defence rather than deliberate offence'. It is possible that the lack of a need to fight is evidence of her strength rather than her weakness. ⁴ One of Wilson's conclusions could still be accepted by modern historians that Hatshepsut's pride was in her internal and commercial work whereas her successor, Thutmose III, took pride in empire-building.

1 Gardiner, A, Egypt of the Pharaohs, OUP, Oxford, 1961, p 189

2 Wilson, J A, The Culture of Ancient Egypt, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1951, p 174

3 Redford, D, History and Chronology of the 18th Dynasty, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1967

4 Tyldesley, J, Hatshepsut: The female Pharaoh, Penguin, London, 1998

Figure 11.1 Hatshepsut's military policy

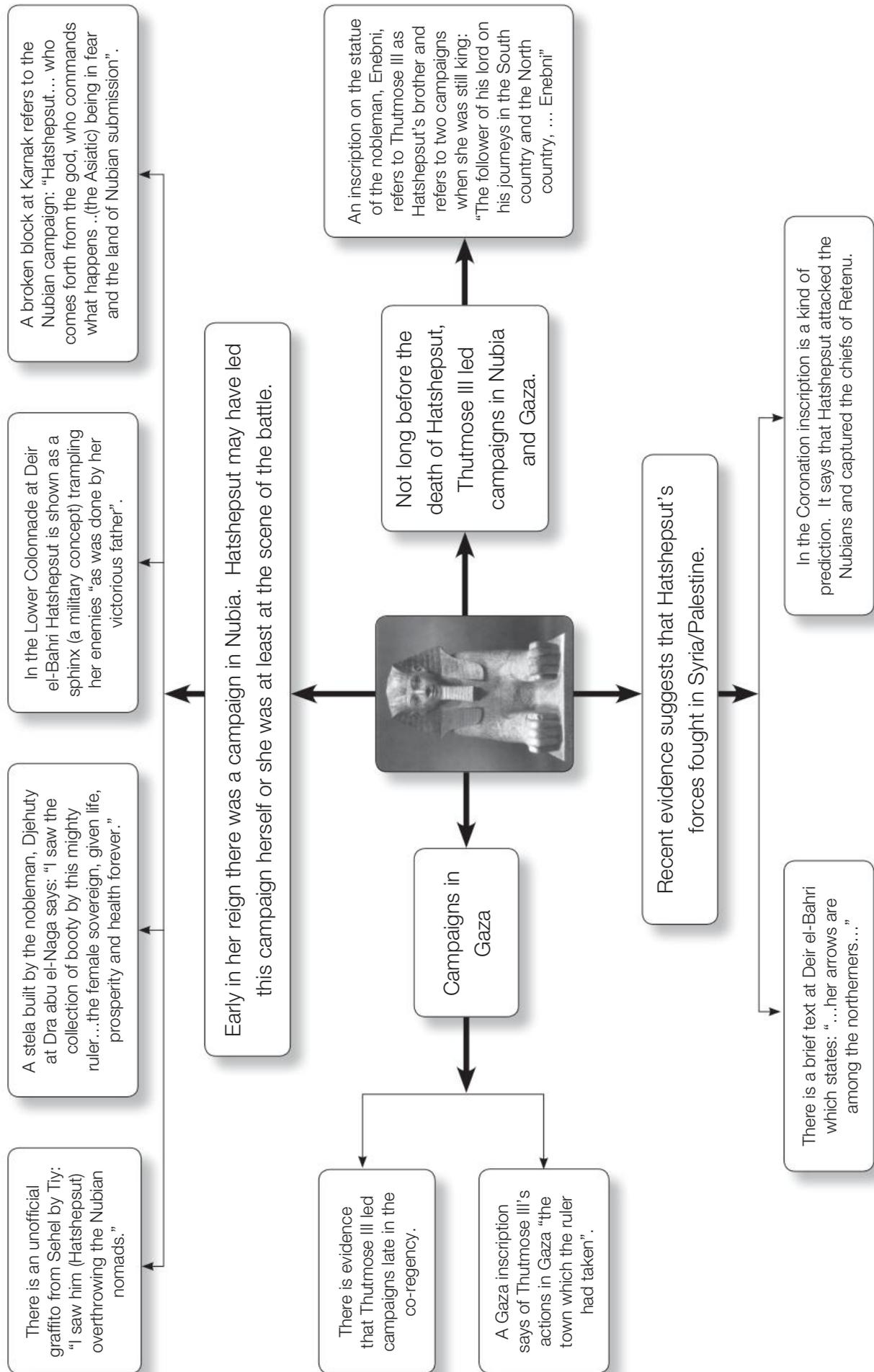
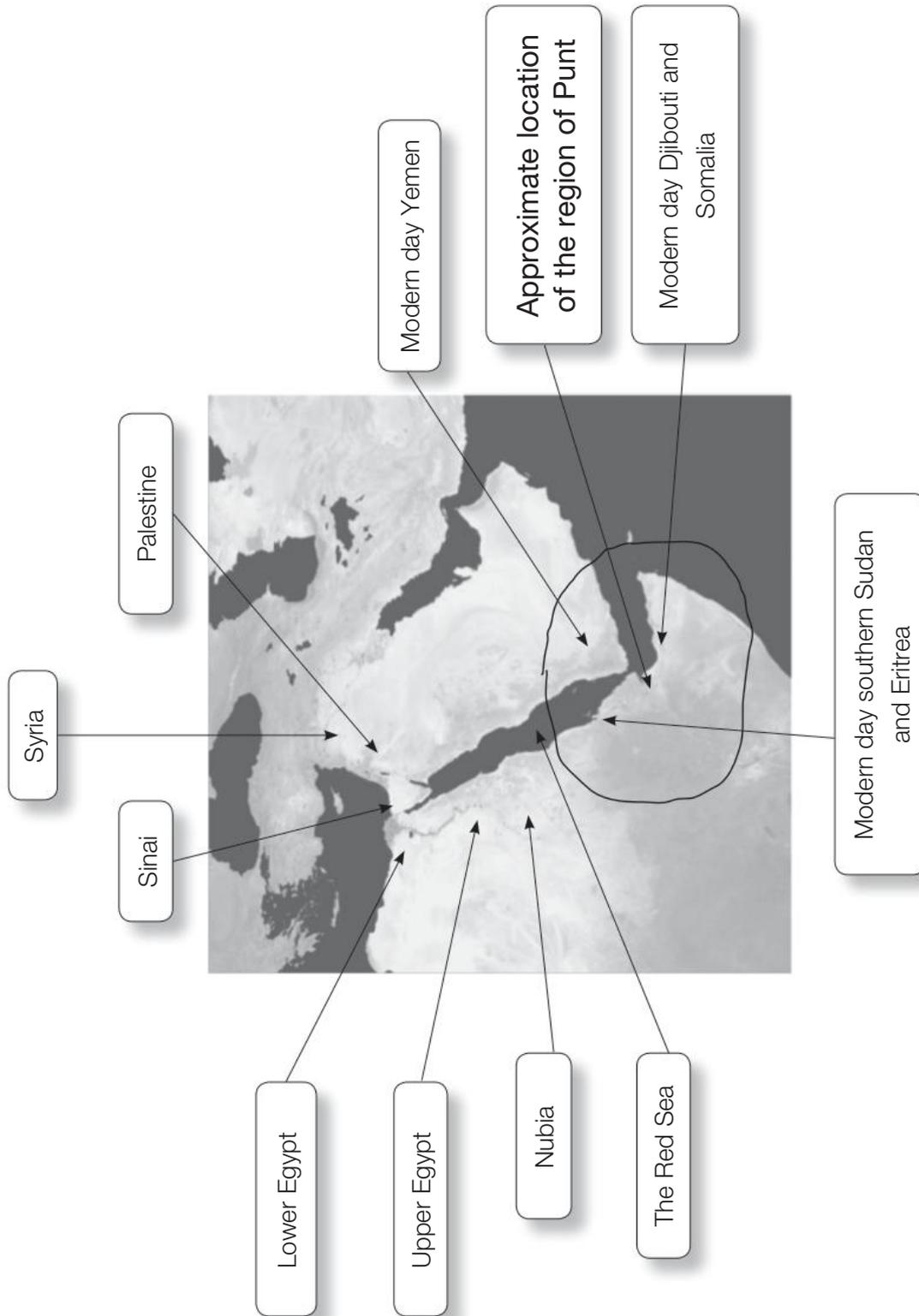


Figure 11.2 The location of Punt and areas of Hatshepsut's military enterprises



Evidence suggesting a warlike Hatshepsut includes her wearing the blue war crown, the khepresh on the obelisk at Karnak. In the inscription at Speos Artemidos, Hatshepsut plays up her military role by explaining how she improved the army and portrayed herself as a traditional warrior king.

Figure 11.1 summarises the military activities which occurred during Hatshepsut's reign, and some of the evidence for this.

The expedition to Punt

Hatshepsut undertook a major expedition to Punt in about the ninth year of her reign. The emphasis given to this enterprise at Deir el-Bahri suggests that Hatshepsut considered this expedition to be a major achievement of her time in power. The Egyptians had ventured to Punt as early as the 4th Dynasty during the Old Kingdom but it appears that Hatshepsut's expedition was the first time that a detailed record had been kept.

The exact location

The exact location of Punt is not known. However, for many years, scholars have believed that Punt occupied that area in the Horn of Africa comprising modern day Somalia and Djibouti, perhaps even the south western corner of the Arabian Peninsula, modern day Yemen. More recent scholars have suggested that it could be southern Sudan or Eritrea. The map in Figure 11.2 indicates the possible locations.

Why did Hatshepsut undertake this enterprise?

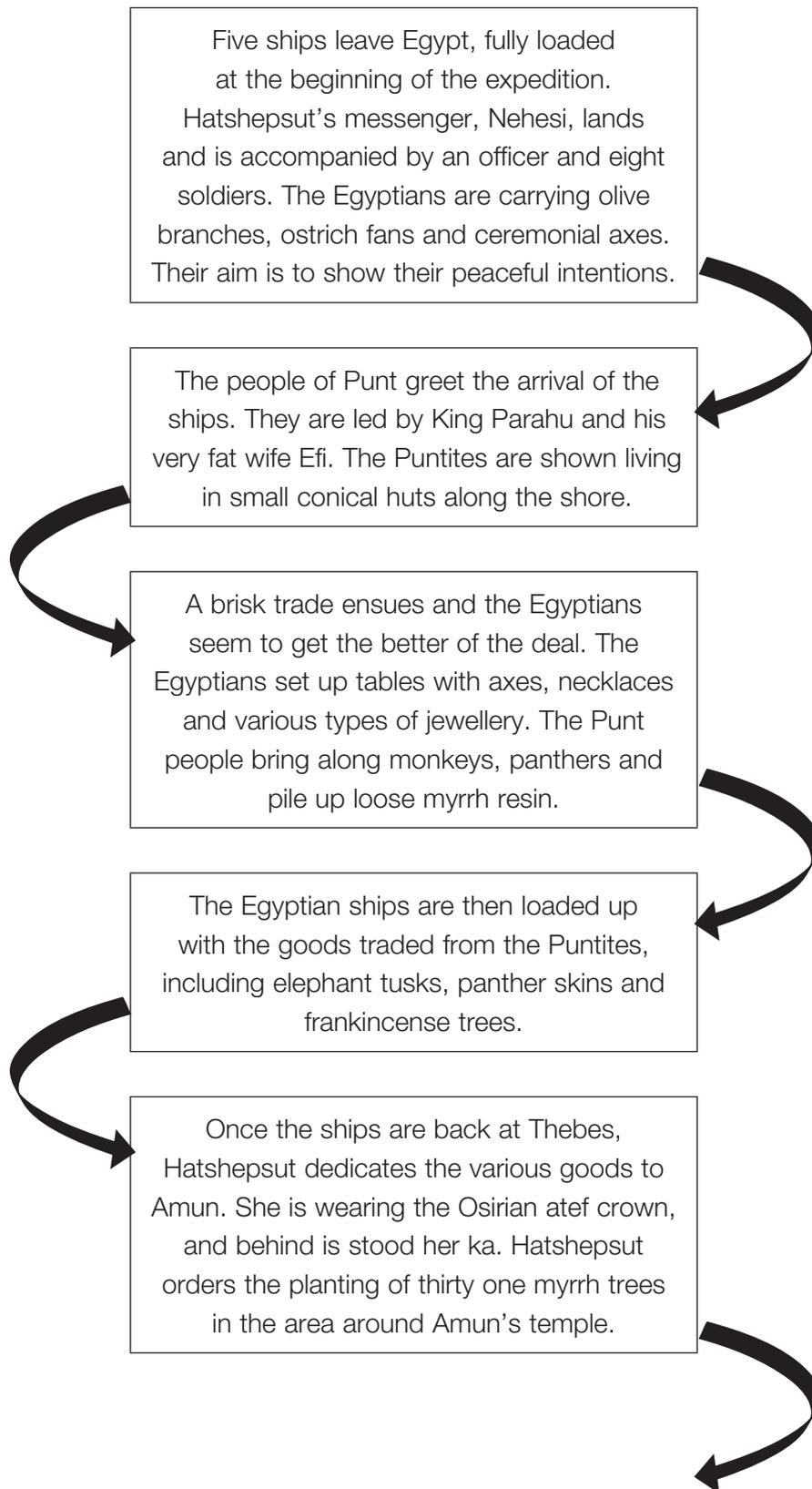
The motives for the Expedition to Punt were economic, religious and political. Hatshepsut said that Amun had ordered her to go to Punt and so the expedition was a way of honouring the god. Upon the return of the expedition, the goods were dedicated to Amun. Such piety would have strengthened the support for Hatshepsut from the priesthood.

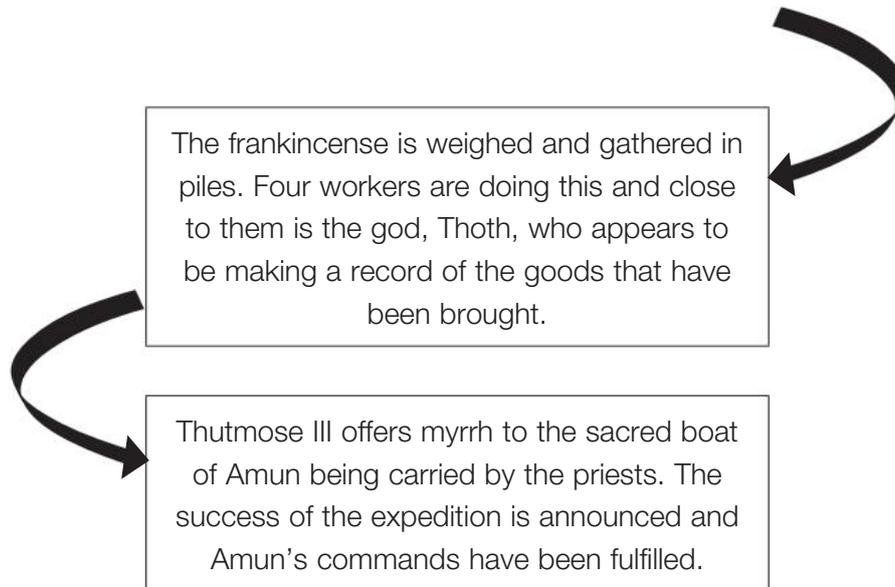
The prime economic motive of the expedition was to maintain a continuing supply of goods found in plentiful supply in that region. These included:

- incense resins and frankincense needed for mummification, medicinal purposes and perfumes;
- ebony and ivory needed for everything from amulets to furniture;
- live animals;
- animal skins;
- precious metals such as gold.

What happened?

The story of the expedition to Punt is told in the reliefs on the entire wall of the Second Terrace Colonnade in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri in several main scenes.





Studying the Punt expedition directly from the reliefs

Figure 11.3 The Deir el Bahri Punt Relief

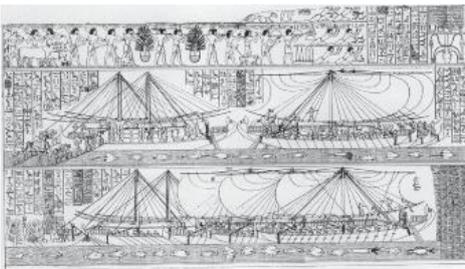


Figure 11.3 shows the relief from Deir el Bahri which depicts the Punt expedition. For a detailed and specific explanation of what the relief shows, go to the following website and launch the interactive section.

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/ancient/expedition-punt.html>

Significance of the expedition to Punt

Figure 11.4 The significance of the expedition to Punt



Politically, the expedition served several purposes for Hatshepsut. It showed her to be a strong 'king' who looked after her people and was capable of providing stable, efficient and prosperous times. It also kept the Amun priesthood on her side.

Hatshepsut was able to satisfy the demand for exotic goods which were not always available in Egypt. These goods obtained from Punt were needed for tomb work, furnishings, mummification and cosmetics. The Punt trade boosted the **economy**.

The expedition to Punt was very much centred on **the god Amun**. It was his oracle that prompted the expedition, the goods brought back were dedicated to the god and the thirty one myrrh trees were planted in god's garden.

Exercise 11.1

For each of the following statements, circle the correct option, true or false.

1	Mid-twentieth century Egyptian scholars were of the view that Hatshepsut followed an aggressive, expansionist foreign policy.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
2	More recent archaeological work suggests that an active foreign policy was a feature of Hatshepsut's reign.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
3	Hatshepsut's armies campaigned in Nubia, Gaza, Syria and Palestine.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
4	Thutmose III seems to have played no part in the military campaigns during the reign of Hatshepsut.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
5	The Punt is located in the general region of the Horn of Africa, anywhere from modern southern Sudan to Somalia.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
6	Hatshepsut was the first Egyptian king who ever took an interest in the region of Punt.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
7	The god, Amun featured a great deal in both the background to, and the significance of, the Punt Expedition.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
8	The reliefs telling the story of the Punt expedition are located at Karnak.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
9	For all the effort involved, the Punt expedition brought Hatshepsut very little political gain.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
10	Myrrh, frankincense and exotic animals were important parts of the cargo that was brought to Egypt from Punt.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE

Chapter 12:

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

Hatshepsut's building program was a major feature of her reign. Her desire to leave an architectural legacy was certainly not unique and all New Kingdom rulers put significant effort in to the construction of tombs and temples. Hatshepsut's reasons for building were similar to her fellow rulers:

- it proved that Egypt was stable and prosperous;
- it was a way of honouring the gods and proving she was a good religious leader.

However, for Hatshepsut there was an additional motivation:

- it was necessary for her to highlight her achievements as this would affirm her right to rule.

The most significant building efforts during Hatshepsut's reign were the temples at Deir el-Bahri, additions made to the Karnak complex, the temple at Beni Hasan and her tombs.

Deir el-Bahri

Deir el-Bahri is the complex of mortuary temples and tombs situated on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes. It is directly opposite Karnak which is situated on the right bank of the river. Having the two complexes so close to each other seems to be linking the Osirian realm of the dead (Karnak) with the Amun-Re realm of the living (Deir el-Bahri). It is positioned close to the funerary temple of King Mentuhotep II. The complex was built away from her tomb so that offerings could be made to her that would not disturb her tomb. It was dedicated to Amun, and minor gods such as Hathor, Anubis, Ra-Horakhte.¹

The Deir el-Bahri complex is set in a natural amphitheatre of limestone cliffs. It comprises three stepped terraces which are linked by central ramps, with each terrace featuring a pair of colonnades.

- In the wide open court of the first terrace would have been a garden in which Amun-Re could walk.
 - In its time, this section of the complex would have had trees and pools.
- The middle terrace is more elaborate.

¹ Ra-Horakhte, 'Horus in the horizon', was the combination of the gods Ra and Horus.

- The walls behind the colonnades have painted scenes of the achievements of Hatshepsut's reign, including the Birth and Coronation reliefs, and the story of the expedition to Punt.
- There were colossal red granite sphinxes in this section.
- The middle terrace also shows the importance Hatshepsut gave to the goddess, Hathor. The Divine Birth relief has Hatshepsut being suckled by Hathor. At either end of the middle colonnade were two chapels, one of which was dedicated to Hathor.²

Figure 12.1 Deir el-Bahri



- The third terrace is an open area surrounded by colonnades.
 - There are two chambers to the left side of the central court. These were dedicated to the funerary cults of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I.
 - At the back of this terrace can be found a recess cut deep into the rock which is a sanctuary for Amun.
 - In this area was a limestone statue of Osiris, seven statues of Hatshepsut as a man in royal attire, eight kneeling statues and a statue of Hatshepsut as Osiris.
 - The emphasis on Osiris in the third level could perhaps be seen as promising renewal and rebirth of the dead in the afterlife.
- Behind and above the third terrace is a rock platform, designed to protect the complex from falling rocks.

² The other was dedicated to Anubis.

Karnak

Hatshepsut had four obelisks erected at Karnak. Only two remain, and only one of those still stands, though it is the tallest obelisk in Egypt.

Figure 12.2 Hatshepsut's obelisk at Karnak



- Obelisks were the traditional symbol of the sun. Made of red granite, on the top of the obelisk was a pyramidion, which was covered in a natural alloy of gold or silver.
- The obelisks at Karnak were gifts to Hatshepsut's divine father, Amun-Re, in memory of her earthly father, Thutmose I.
- Obelisks were usually put up to celebrate a special occasion, like a Heb-sed festival.
- Hatshepsut's obelisks were erected in her sixteenth regnal year and so she was still only the King's Great Wife. However, by the time they eventually went up, Hatshepsut had become king, and so her royal title was engraved on the top.³

Creating an obelisk was no easy task. The obelisk stone had to be cut from bedrock and it had to be taken down to the river. Somehow the stone then had to be loaded on to ships and taken up the river to Thebes, special care being taken not to crack it. To transport the obelisk, three rows of nine barges each led by a pilot boat had to tow the ship along. Additional boats brought the relevant temple officials to see to the necessary religious rites.

Hatshepsut also had a new sandstone pylon built at Karnak. The directions faced by statues of the kings at Karnak is east-west and relates to the journey of Amun-Re across the sky. The Eighth Pylon is different because it was put up on the north south axis, linking the principal part of the temple with the area set aside for Amun-Re's wife, the goddess Mut. Hatshepsut also had another temple dedicated to Amun-Re-Kamutef at the entrance of the Mut area.⁴

As part of the renovations to the sanctuary area of Karnak Temple, Hatshepsut built what has become known as The Red Chapel or 'Chapelle Rouge'. Built of red Aswan granite, the chapel was later dismantled and reused in the Third Pylon. The Red Chapel had replaced a building from the

³ Hatshepsut ignored the reign of her husband Thutmose II when dating her reign.

⁴ Amun-Re-Kamutef was Amun in his creator form.

time of Amenhotep I. The Red Chapel played a significant role in Hatshepsut's political and religious programs as the decorations in the chapel told the story of her coronation, the Opet and Sed festivals, and the dedication of the obelisks.

Beni Hasan (Speos Artemidos)

Another of Hatshepsut's key constructions was the Speos Artemidos rock-cliff cut temple at Beni Hasan in Middle Egypt. She was probably the first of the New Kingdom kings to build in Middle Egypt. The themes of this construction were renewal and restoration. The inscriptions at the entrance to Speos Artemidos emphasise the work she did in restoring monuments which had been neglected since the time of the Hyksos.⁵

- Hatshepsut's fondness for Hathor can be seen again at Beni Hasan. The temple was dedicated to Pakhet. Pakhet was the lion goddess of the desert. This god would probably not be known in other parts of Egypt as sometimes regions had their local versions of gods. In this case Pakhet was a local representation of Sekhmet.
- The link to Hathor comes from the fact that Sekhmet is the fierce form of Hathor.
- The dedication of the temple to Pakhet assists Hatshepsut's propaganda as it shows that she could be simultaneously forceful and protective. These were qualities an Egyptian king was supposed to have.

Hatshepsut's tombs

Two tombs of Hatshepsut have been discovered. One tomb was begun when she was merely the Great Royal Wife of Thutmose II. This was discovered by the man whose name is usually associated with Tutankhamun, Howard Carter. This tomb was unfinished. It consisted of a seventeen metre entrance corridor, several chambers, a hall and a burial chamber.

However, this was clearly not a grand enough scale once she became 'king', and so a second tomb was built. This has become known as Tomb KV20, and was possibly the first constructed in the Valley of the Kings. It had four connecting passages that led to a burial chamber which at 97 metres is one the longest and deepest of the royal tombs. This tomb was excavated in 1903-04 by Howard Carter who discovered scenes from the Book of the Dead inscribed on several slabs of stone. The tomb contained two sarcophagi. One sarcophagus was for her earthly father, Thutmose I. This sarcophagus had originally been intended for Hatshepsut and had been modified to handle Thutmose's larger body. The second sarcophagus was for Hatshepsut. However, despite his efforts, Carter failed to find each king's mummy.

⁵ Similar restorative work was carried out on the temple of Hathor at Cusae and of Thoth at Hermopolis in Upper Egypt. Hatshepsut also had repairs carried out on the necropolis of western Thebes.

It was not until 2005 when a search was launched by Zahi Hawass, the head of the Egyptian Mummy Project, that the mystery of Hatshepsut's missing mummy was solved. Hawass' team zeroed in on a mummy which they called KV60a. It had been discovered almost a century earlier but it had no coffin, clothes, headdress or treasures and seemed to belong to a minor personage. However, following the discovery of a tooth, and subsequent archaeological work along the lines of an episode of CSI, the mummy was found to be that of Hatshepsut.

*"...And even with all the high-tech methods used to crack one of Egypt's most notable missing person cases, if it had not been for the serendipitous discovery of a tooth, KV60a might still be lying alone in the dark, her royal name and status unacknowledged. Today she is enshrined in one of the two Royal Mummy Rooms at the Egyptian Museum, with plaques in Arabic and English proclaiming her to be Hatshepsut, the King Herself, reunited at long last with her extended family of fellow New Kingdom pharaohs..."*⁶

Exercise 12.1

Match each description on the left with the appropriate term from the box below.

1	The temple complex situated on the opposite bank of the Nile from Deir el-Bahri	
2	The chapel located at Karnak which played a key role in Hatshepsut's political and religious programs	
3	The mummy eventually found to be that of Hatshepsut	
4	Where one can find the Birth and Coronation reliefs	
5	The complex of mortuary temples and tombs situated on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes	
6	Here were found seven statues of Hatshepsut as a man in royal attire	

⁶ Brown, C, Hatshepsut, National Geographic, April 2009

7	The god to whom the temple at Ben Hasan was dedicated	
8	The location of the temple Speos Artemidos	
9	The top section of an obelisk often comprising a natural alloy of gold or silver	
10	The second tomb planned for Hatshepsut once she had become king	

PAKHET	KV60a	MIDDLE COLONNADE AT DEIR EL-BAHRI
PYRAMIDION	TOMB KV20	KARNAK DEIR EL-BAHRI
BENI HASAN	RED CHAPEL	THIRD TERRACE AT DEIR EL-BAHRI

Chapter 13:

Religious policy: devotion to Amun and promotion of other cults

Hatshepsut and the priesthood ¹

During her reign, Hatshepsut put a great deal of effort in promoting the god Amun. Figure 13.1 explains in detail how this was done. Hatshepsut's motives in promoting Amun would not have been only religious; there would have been a political purpose as well. Her relationship with the Amun priesthood will be examined in Chapter 14. However, it should be noted at this point that Hatshepsut owed much to the priesthood. The priesthood legitimised her position and assisted in her maintenance of power. In return, they received an increase in power in religious affairs and in civil administration.

- The “first prophet of Amun”, Hapuseneb, also became the overseer of the prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt. This meant that his position was deemed superior to all the other priesthoods in Egypt.
- Hapuseneb also received various civil titles, including “overseer of the temples” and “overseer of Upper Egypt”.
- Thutmose III was later to say that he had been chosen king by Amun. This has led some writers to suggest that the priests of Amun might almost have procured a role as “king-maker”.

Hatshepsut as a religious innovator

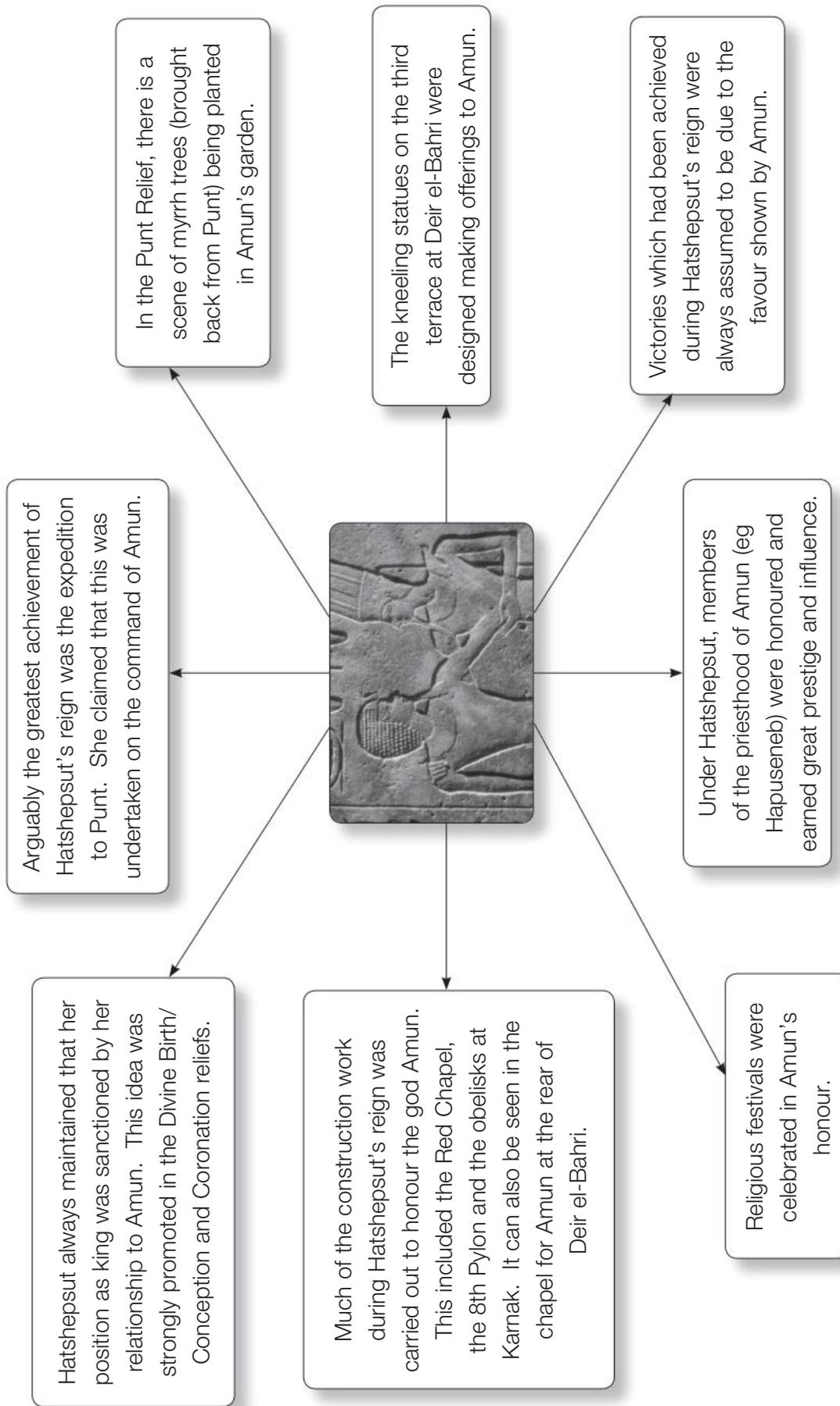
As Figure 13.1 illustrates, Hatshepsut was effusive in her relationship with Amun and strove to promote the god. However, she can also lay claim to having introduced several new ideas into the religious life of Egypt. The centre of many of these ideas was the development of the cult of Amun-Re. ² The merging of the gods Amun and Re came with the early period of the 18th Dynasty. At first, Amun-Re was a “war god” but as time went on, new roles were given to the god such as a “ruler god” and as a source of “ethical authority”.

The issue of ethical authority introduced a new turn in Egyptian religion. If Amun-Re was to be a source of guidance in the area of ethics, two questions immediately arise. How were the Egyptian people to discover what this guidance was and how was it going to affect them? The god was able to offer his guidance by means of “oracles”. During religious festivals, it became the practice to carry the god's statue in a barque. When the barque stopped, the god's statue would incline in a certain direction. On the basis of which direction the god pointed, the priests would determine what the god wanted or in whom it was showing its favour.

¹ See Chapter 14 for more detail on this aspect of her reign.

² For a more detailed look at the new religious ideas Hatshepsut introduced to the New Kingdom, see the work of the German Egyptologist, Jan Assmann: “The Search for God in Ancient History” (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2001).

Figure 13.1 Hatshepsut's promotion of Amun



- This was quite a revolutionary development in Egyptian religion as it suggested that the god was taking a direct interest in human affairs.
- If the god was now giving instructions, this meant those instructions had to be followed, and so one's moral behaviour was affected.
- This introduced another new notion into Egyptian religion. Not only was religion a matter of outward display and the following of ritual, but it was becoming a matter of personal inner devotion or piety. Such ideas are well accepted in more modern religions, such as Christianity, but would have been quite novel in Egypt.

The point has been made several times in this book that Hatshepsut was keen to legitimise her claim to the role of king. Though not unprecedented, the idea of a female ruler in Egypt was unusual and so Hatshepsut strove in her building, artwork and policies to justify her position. In other words, she developed a propaganda campaign.

However, there is more to it than this. Hatshepsut was also developing an idea of kingship: the idea that being king of Egypt involved a close relationship between the king and the god Amun-Re. Future kings would claim the right to rule on the basis that they had been chosen by the god. Ramesses II³ went as far as to copy the Divine Birth relief scenes to prove this.⁴ Hatshepsut did not only develop the idea of a link with Amun-Re. She also promoted a feminine aspect to the idea of kingship by promoting the goddess, Hathor. Hathor is often depicted as a cow and in the reliefs at Deir el-Bahri, Hatshepsut is seen being suckled by Hathor.

Another new feature of religious practice and thinking in Hatshepsut's reign was the importance given to festivals. Festivals served several purposes:

- they could obviously be used to promote Hatshepsut herself and her policies;
- they were sometimes used as a means of receiving the oracles of Amun-Re;
- they also gave the ordinary Egyptian people the chance to be part of the religious celebrations.

The two most significant Egyptian religious festivals that seem to have originated during the reign of Hatshepsut were the "Opet Festival" and the "Beautiful Festival of the Valley".

- The Opet Festival was concerned with the idea of birth and renewal. It was usually carried out during the period of the inundation. As has been mentioned before, part of the purpose of the Opet Festival was to renew the claim of the king's right to rule.
- In the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, the statue of Amun was transported in a barque to the west bank of the Nile. It would pause at the mortuary temples of previous kings and end up in a barque shrine that had been carved in the cliff behind the Third Terrace of Deir el-Bahri. The celebration of this festival came at a holiday period and so ordinary Egyptians were able to enjoy it.

3 Ramesses II was the third king of the 19th Dynasty.

4 The idea of a divine right to rule persisted with some European monarchies well into the 18th century.

During Hatshepsut's reign, there were also several new ideas introduced relating to funerary texts. These included use of "the Litany of Re" which was a hymn to Re, and the "Amduat" which told the story of the dead king's twelve hour journey on the solar barque through the underworld. Another new funerary practice was the use of "The Book of Coming Forth by Day". This comprised a series of spells that were used by commoners after death.

Hatshepsut and the promotion of other cults

Though Hatshepsut claimed a close relationship with Amun, and though the cult of Amun-Re was promoted, she did not neglect attention to other gods. The following table summarises evidence of her interest in other cults.

Table 13.1

Location	Gods involved
Reliefs at Deir el-Bahri	Offerings are shown being made to Hathor, Anubis, Horus, Nekhbet
Cusae	Hathor's temple here was repaired
Hermopolis	Thoth's temple was repaired
The Divine Birth and Coronation reliefs	Various gods are shown playing a role including Hathor, Khnum, Heket, Bes, Tawaret
The Coronation reliefs	Hatshepsut is shown visiting the temples of Hathor, Mentu and Khnum, and other gods, while travelling through the country with her father

Hatshepsut's first sarcophagus	Hatshepsut asks for protection from various gods including Osiris, Isis, Thoth, Anubis, Horus
Construction of chapels	Hatshepsut had chapels built for Anubis and Hathor on the second terrace of Deir el-Bahri

Exercise 13.1

Answer the following questions in the spaces provided.

1	Why might Hatshepsut seek to show favour to the priesthood of Amun?
2	Suggest ways in which Hatshepsut showed her closeness to Amun.
3	To what extent did Hatshepsut bring in new ideas?

Exercise 13.2

Match each description with the terms given in the box below.

1	When the statue of Amun was transported across the Nile and ended up at the Third Terrace of Deir el-Bahri	
2	The first prophet of Amun	
3	Form of guidance given by the god to the people	
4	The god whose temple was repaired at Hermopolis	
5	The god who provided Hatshepsut with a feminine dimension	
6	The story of the dead king's journey through the underworld	
7	A festival connected with the idea of renewing the king's right to rule	
8	With Hathor, this god had a chapel built for him on the second terrace of Deir el-Bahri	
9	A hymn to the god Re	
10	The series of spells used by commoners after their death	

ANUBIS	ORACLES	THE BOOK OF COMING FORTH BY DAY	THOTH
AMDUAT	HAPUSENEB	BEAUTIFUL FESTIVAL OF THE VALLEY	HATHOR
	LITANY OF RE	OPET FESTIVAL	

Chapter 14:

Relationship with the Amun priesthood, officials and nobles including Senenmut

Hatshepsut: the Amun priesthood, her officials and nobles

No political leader is capable of ruling alone. Whether it is a democratically elected prime minister or a totalitarian dictator, leaders can rule only with the skills and experience of their officials and administrators. Divine kings and one-party state tyrants all need an effective bureaucracy to run their countries. Hatshepsut was no exception. A major feature of her time as king was her relationship with her officials and nobles, and with the Amun priesthood.

A degree of sexism used to be present in any discussion of Hatshepsut's administration of Egypt.¹ Earlier Egyptian scholars have suggested that Hatshepsut was incapable of ruling effectively without male support; after all, she was only a woman. Sir Alan Gardiner wrote in the early 1960s:

*"...It is not to be imagined, however, that even a woman of the most virile character could have attained such a pinnacle of power without masculine support."*²

Hatshepsut certainly used men when she was king. However, her use of people to assist might be better compared to a ruler such as the Emperor Augustus of Rome who was a master of the patron-client system. His 'patron' favour to an individual elicited support, loyalty and hard work from his 'client'. In return for loyalty and hard work, the client could expect to be well-rewarded. So it was with Hatshepsut. She showered favours on certain men and in their tombs these men were eager to remind posterity of such support. In return they worked tirelessly in her interests. However, there was little doubt that she was in control.

The support of the priesthood of Amun was a major factor in Hatshepsut's both gaining and maintaining support.

- Hatshepsut would have been well-acquainted with the priesthood because of her role as 'God's Wife of Amun' when her husband, Thutmose II, was king.
- The priesthood of Amun would have been well-pleased with Hatshepsut's ideas and priorities.
- She made frequent reference to her links to Amun and much of her extensive building program was carried out for the greater glory of the god.
 - Clearly, the more important the cult of Amun was, then the more important and influential the members of the priesthood would be.
 - Thus, it was in the priesthood's interests to support Hatshepsut and her policies.

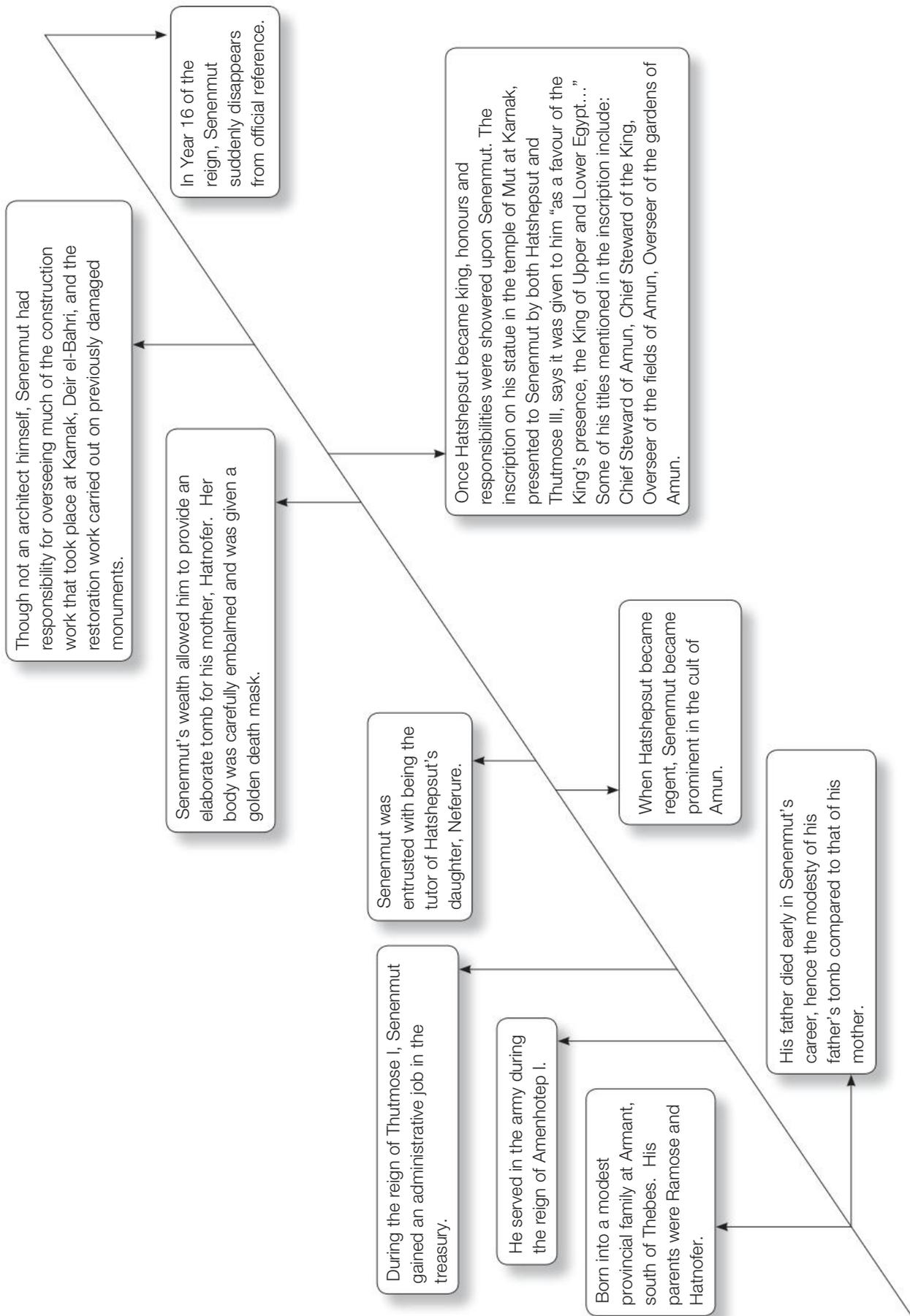
¹ Queen Elizabeth I used to suffer similarly. Even a scholar of G R Elton's repute could not resist the occasional sexist comment about Elizabeth's feminine weaknesses.

² Gardiner, A, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, OUP, Oxford, 1961, p 184

Table 14.1 Hatshepsut's main officials

Official	Official role	
Thutiy	Overseer of the Double Gold-House and the Double Silver-House	Thutiy was a noble and the successor of Ineni. He seems to have been the builder of Hatshepsut's ebony shrine, and to have been responsible for organising the metalwork on two of her obelisks. He also measured out the metals brought from Punt. His name was erased from statues, as was Hatshepsut's.
Ineni	Overseer of the granary of Amun	Ineni had worked under Hatshepsut's father, Thutmose I. Responsibility for the granary is an indication of the high regard in which he was held. His tomb is full of references to the favours given to him by Hatshepsut. He died when she was king.
Puemre	Second prophet of Amun	Puemre had an important religious role. However, he was also an architect and worked for both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. In his tomb it states he worked on Mut's temples and the Karnak obelisks.
Hapuseneb	First prophet of Amun Vizier	Hapuseneb's roles in the priesthood and as vizier made him a man of great influence. He retired from official duties part way through Hatshepsut's reign but supervised building at Karnak, Deir el-Bahri and of Hatshepsut's tomb.
Ahmose-Pennekhet	Treasurer Formally a soldier	Ahmose-Pennekhet was a favoured noble. Along with Senenmut, he shared responsibility for the education of Hatshepsut's daughter, Neferure.
Amenhotep	Chief Steward	Amenhotep had responsibility for running the royal estates and the 'properties' of Amun.
Nehesi	Chancellor	Nehesi is best remembered for having been the leader of the expedition to Punt.

Figure 14.1 The rise of Senenmut



As with some members of the priesthood, Hatshepsut would also have inherited various officials and nobles who had served Thutmose I and Thutmose II. Such men included Ineni and the very influential Senenmut (see below). Many of these officials had tombs on the west bank of the Nile which could only have been allowed with Hatshepsut's permission. The fact that her image appears in many of the tombs is further evidence of the favour she granted these men. Her presence in an official's tomb would presumably mean that she would be able to speak up for them during their journey to the afterlife.

The names of many of Hatshepsut's officials have been passed down to us.

Table 14.1 lists the main officials, their roles and some of their responsibilities.

Senenmut

Clearly, the most influential of all Hatshepsut's officials was Senenmut. Senenmut held the two crucial posts of "Steward of the God's Wife" and "Steward of the King's Daughter". Senenmut looked after the property of Hatshepsut and Neferure. It is estimated that he had eighty titles: twenty official, and sixty honorary. For his efforts Senenmut earned himself great power, influence and wealth. Evidence of this fact is the opulence of the tomb of his mother, Hatnofer, and the fact that his own tomb was placed in the area of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple.

Figure 14.1 provides an outline of Senenmut's career.

So influential had Senenmut become during the reign of Hatshepsut that speculation has arisen suggesting that perhaps the two were lovers. Evidence to support this includes:

- odd pieces of salacious graffiti at Deir el-Bahri;
- Senenmut remained unmarried his entire life;
- there were many images of Senenmut in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple.

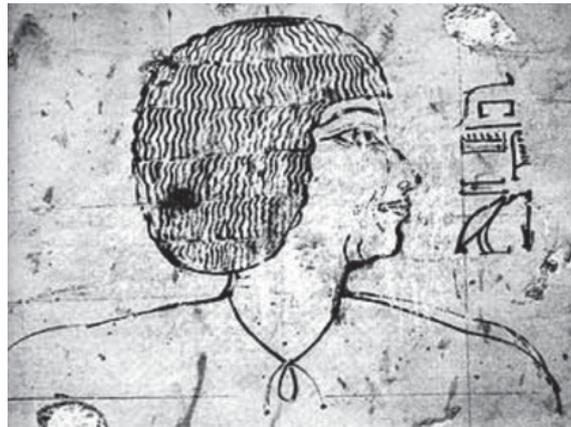
Dr Gae Callender gives little credit to such rumour-mongering. She is equally dismissive of those historians who seek to blacken the name of Senenmut and his connection to Hatshepsut:

*"...Even as we have seen how historians have distorted the history of Hatshepsut, so their treatment of Senenmut has been one-eyed. Those that see him as a sinister figure have little basis for such an opinion; and those who attribute to his intelligence the great prosperity of Hatshepsut's reign have yet to explain how the queen managed on her own for the last six years of her reign."*³

³ Taken from: Callender, Dr G, A Critical Examination of the Reign of Hatshepsut, Ancient History Resources for Teachers Vol XVIII, No 2 – 1988, p 98

One of the great mysteries of Senenmut's career is his sudden disappearance from official records in Year 16 of the reign. As well as this is the fact his name was chiselled out from various statues and the Punt relief. Had Senenmut pushed his claims to power and influence too far, to the point that Hatshepsut felt it necessary to bring her official down to size? Could it be that Senenmut had been guilty of what the Greeks would later call "hubris"?⁴ This is possible. Senenmut's sudden disappearance and the lack of a burial have led to all kinds of speculation. Was he killed abroad? Was he killed on Thutmose III's orders? However, equally likely is the possibility that Senenmut might have simply died. By Year 16 of Hatshepsut's reign he was an old man, living in a time when life expectancy was not great.⁵

Figure 14.2 Sketch of Senenmut from his tomb



Senenmut had prepared two tombs for his burial. The first was built at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. This tomb contains a statue of Senenmut with the young Neferure sitting on his lap. In this tomb were also found many Ostraca with information about sketch plans and various calculations written on them. His second tomb was a more elaborate affair. The tomb's entrance was placed to the north of Deir el-Bahri and it had a long and winding passageway. This tomb was not completed and images of Senenmut contained in it were defaced.

⁴ Hubris was the sin of excessive pride or arrogance. The (Greek) gods would bring down a man guilty of this.

⁵ In fact Senenmut had lived through the reigns of Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II and Hatshepsut.

Exercise 14.1

For each of the following statements, circle the correct option, true or false.

1	Today, most historians would agree with Sir Alan Gardiner's view that Hatshepsut's gender meant that she would have had to rely on men to rule.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
2	It was clearly in the interest of the Amun priesthood to support the ideas and policies of Hatshepsut.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
3	Ineni had previously worked for Hatshepsut's father, Thutmose I.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
4	Hapuseneb remained an influential figure during Hatshepsut's reign even after he had retired.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
5	Thutiy was Hatshepsut's official and leader of the expedition to Punt.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
6	Puemre was Hatshepsut's Chief Steward. He died early in her reign.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
7	An indication of Senenmut's wealth can be seen in the opulence of the tomb of his mother, Hatnofer.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
8	Senenmut refused to take on the responsibility for being the tutor of Neferure.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
9	Some historians have suggested that Hatshepsut and Senenmut were lovers.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
10	There is no doubt that by Year 16, Senenmut had fallen out of favour with Hatshepsut.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE

Chapter 15:

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

Egyptian scholars have long debated the relationship between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Following the death of Thutmose II, Hatshepsut became regent to the ten year old, Thutmose III. Within a short time, she had established herself as “king”, and though she ruled jointly with Thutmose III for the next twenty two years, it was clear that she was the dominant partner. In the years following her death, many of the monuments, statues and reliefs of Hatshepsut were defaced or destroyed. This led earlier scholars to suggest that the relationship between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III was a poisonous one, and that Thutmose III did his best to destroy the memory of his step-mother once he had assumed power alone. However, this view has been strongly challenged in more recent times. Modern scholars now suggest that the relationship between the two was much more cooperative. What follows is an outline of the two sides of the argument.

Argument 1:

The orthodox/ traditional view – a relationship based on resentment and animosity

Writers from the 1950s and 1960s such as J A Wilson (*The Culture of Ancient Egypt, 1951*) and Sir Alan Gardiner (*Egypt of the Pharaohs, 1961*) present the view that relations between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III were strained and that the young king hated the idea of his step-mother ruling once he had come of age.

- Thutmose III saw Hatshepsut as power-hungry. She was the classic, evil step-mother.
- However, the young man was powerless to do anything about her position and power.
 - As was explained in Chapter 14, Hatshepsut had built up strong, close relations with the priesthood of Amun and various other officials, most notably Senenmut.
 - It was clearly in their interests to further the rule of Hatshepsut. There was little to gain from promoting the interests of Thutmose III.
- Thutmose resented the upstart Senenmut and like any normal young man, he was eager to free himself of a controlling parent. ¹
- Was it possible that Thutmose III had his step-mother killed to gain his rightful position?
- Following her death, Thutmose III deliberately set about defacing or even destroying monuments which reminded the people of her rule. Her name was often replaced by that of either Thutmose I, Thutmose II or Thutmose III. Her statues were smashed.

¹ Students of early Imperial Rome might see a parallel here with the relationship between the young Emperor Nero and his mother, Agrippina the Younger.

- The Red Chapel at Karnak was pulled down and some of the reliefs were defaced.
- Her name did not appear on the king's lists.
- Her name and titles on the west wall at Karnak were deliberately hidden by Thutmose III's annals.

Argument 2:

The revisionist view – a relationship based on cooperation and mutual respect

More recent historians such as D Redford (*History and Chronology of the 18th Dynasty, 1967*) and C Nimms (*The Date of the Dishonours of Hatshepsut, 1996*) suggest that the traditional view of animosity between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III is inaccurate. In fact, the two seemed to have worked together well and cooperated, even if Hatshepsut's primary position was unquestioned.

- Hatshepsut and Thutmose III are often seen together on many monuments and stelae.
 - In the Punt relief, Thutmose III is seen standing behind Hatshepsut.
- There are inscriptions in both western Thebes and a stela at Serabit el-Khadim in the Wadi Marghara in the Sinai Desert which show Hatshepsut and Thutmose III making offerings to the gods together.
 - At Wadi Marghara Thutmose III is making an offering to Hathor while Hatshepsut is making another.
- The relief in Deir el-Bahri dealing with the obelisks at Karnak show both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III together.
- They both appear in the tomb of Thutiy.
- The idea that Thutmose III resented the influence of Senenmut is contradicted by the fact that he and Hatshepsut jointly gave Senenmut the statue of Mut.
- Thutmose III led military campaigns in Gaza and Nubia.
 - It is highly unlikely that Hatshepsut would allow Thutmose III to take charge of an army if she felt threatened by him.
- Throughout her reign, Hatshepsut did not hide Thutmose III in the background, and she most certainly did not kill the young prince like an early version of Richard III.² In fact throughout her reign, he was given respect.
- There has even been speculation that Thutmose III overthrew Hatshepsut in Year 22. Again this is unlikely.

² King Richard III of England (1483-85) was alleged to have murdered his young princely nephews to secure the throne for himself.

- Hatshepsut was a very old woman (in Egyptian terms) by then and was suffering from a variety of ailments. She almost certainly died from natural causes.
- Also, if there had been a bloody coup, it is unlikely that Thutmose III would have immediately left to go campaigning in Syria, as he did.

The defacement of Hatshepsut's monuments

The case for a cooperative relationship between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III seems extremely strong. However, there is still the issue of the defacement and destruction of Hatshepsut's monuments to be considered.

Sir Alan Gardiner writes:

*"...Much of these scenes has been erased by the later malice of Thutmose III... How she (Hatshepsut) met her death is unknown, but it was not long before Thutmose III began to expunge her name wherever it could be found..."*³

That damage was done to Hatshepsut's images and monuments is not in question. However, there are some uncertainties. Who did it? When? Why?

- The first point to note is that the defacement and destruction of an earlier king's monuments was not unusual. Kings often reused an earlier king's stone and tried to establish their own reputation.
 - Hatshepsut had done this herself. She had destroyed the effect of Thutmose I's hypostyle hall at Karnak by inserting obelisks between pylons four and five.
 - She had also reused some of the blocks of Thutmose II and had taken apart some of the sanctuary of Amenhotep I.
 - Therefore, in a sense, Thutmose III was merely copying his step-mother.
- Nimms (see reference above) argues that Thutmose's defacement of Hatshepsut's work was not done until about twenty years after her death. If he was angry with his step-mother and seeking revenge, he certainly waited a long time to gain satisfaction.
- Thutmose III was probably driven by political expediency. He probably needed to reinforce the male succession for the strength of the Dynasty. He probably wanted to establish a relationship with Thutmose I and prevent comparisons with "a female king". No doubt, he was also seeking to establish legitimacy for his successor, his son, Amenhotep II.
- Finally, it is likely that much of the destruction could have been carried out by later kings. King Akhenaten would have had an interest in destroying Hatshepsut's promotion of the cult of Amun-Re as he sought to establish his monotheistic religion based on Aten.

³ Gardiner, A, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, OUP, Oxford, 1961, pp 186, 187

Exercise 15.1

Use the terms in the box below to complete the following passage.

When _____ died, his son and heir, Thutmose III was only about ten years old. Thus, his wife assumed the role of _____ for the young boy. Earlier Egyptian scholars have suggested that the relationship between Thutmose III and his step-mother, _____, was based on the young man's resentment of her. This was certainly the view of _____ and _____. More recent historians, such as _____ and _____ suggest the relationship was based more on cooperation and mutual _____. Thutmose III and Hatshepsut are often seen in _____ and on _____. Hatshepsut also gave Thutmose III military commands, for example in _____ and _____. This would not have occurred if she distrusted him. However, her monuments were defaced or destroyed in later years. Thutmose III certainly did some of this but not until _____ years later. It is likely that later kings would have also defaced her monuments. King _____ would not have approved of her promotion of the cult of Amun-Re as he later tried to establish the monotheistic religion based on _____.

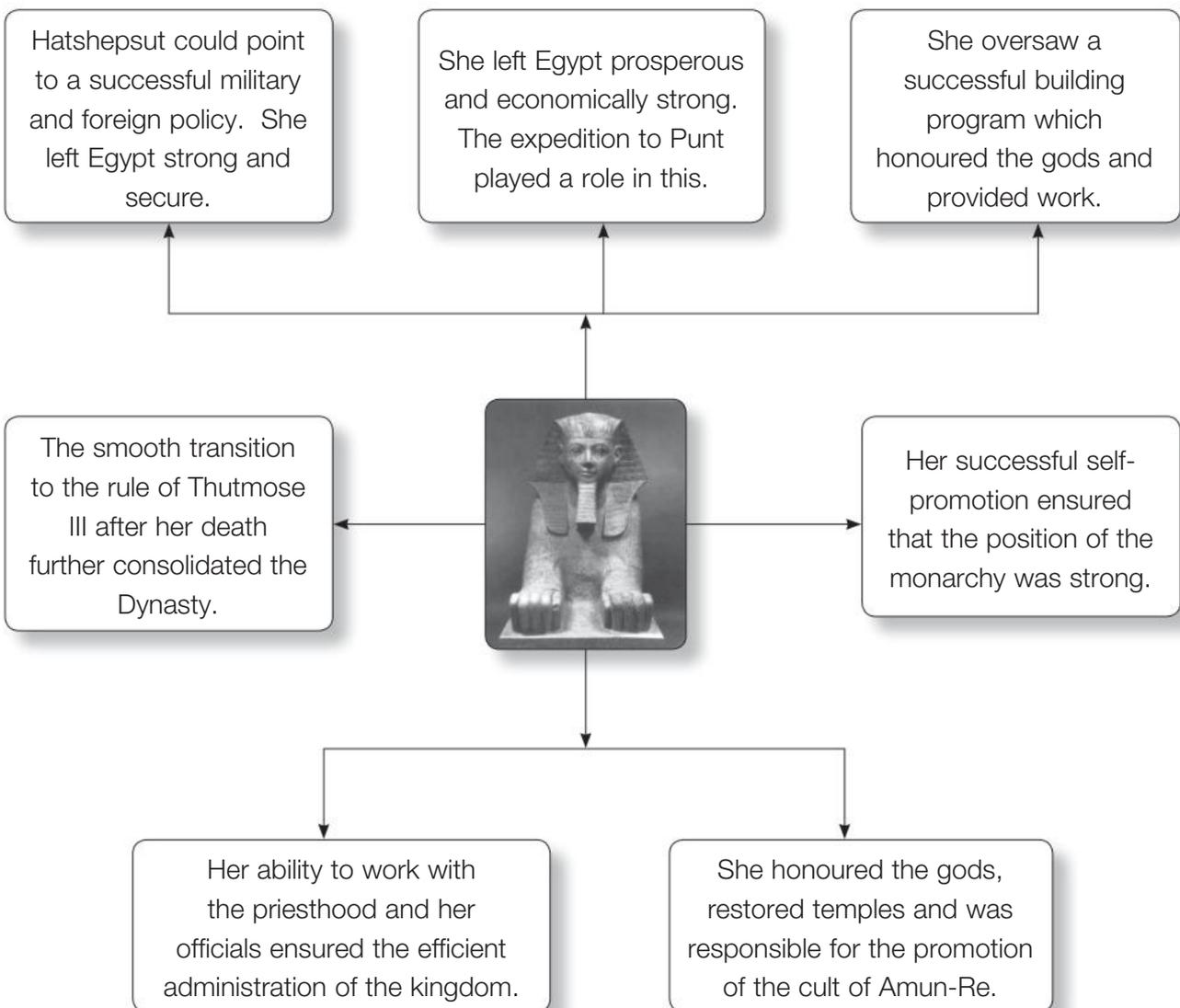
RESPECT	HATSHEPSUT	AKHENATEN	NIMMS	STELA	GAZA
NUBIA	THUTMOSE II	REDFORD	ATEN	TWENTY	WILSON
	GARDINER	REGENT	RELIEFS		

Section Four ■ Evaluation

Chapter 16:
Impact and influence on her time,
assessment and legacy

Hatshepsut had an enormous impact upon her times. In the areas of administration, building, foreign policy, economics, religion and dynastic concerns, Hatshepsut's influence was significant. Figure 16.1 describes the broad sweep of her influence on Egypt as a result of her rule.

Figure 16.1 The impact and influence of Hatshepsut on her time



An assessment of Hatshepsut

A straightforward way of assessing the rule of Hatshepsut could be to simply provide a narrative record of her reign, and enumerate her successes and failures. However, providing an assessment means making a judgment. This is always a subjective exercise as historians often tend to disagree with each other, and this is often the result of the perspective from which the historian comes.

For the purposes of this chapter, the notion of assessment will be considered in four separate ways. There will clearly be some overlapping in the distinctions which have been drawn up.¹

1. Was Hatshepsut a successful ruler? To answer this question, it is important to judge her time in power from the perspective of her own times and to not judge her in 21st century terms. To do that would be anachronistic. Thus, to assess if Hatshepsut was a successful ruler it is necessary to consider what was expected of an Egyptian ruler and to what extent she met these expectations.
2. A second way of assessing Hatshepsut is to consider the extent to which she was an innovator? Did she take Egypt in new directions?
3. To what extent was Hatshepsut a traditionalist? Did she reinforce the old ways and rule in a manner that was expected of her?
4. What was the legacy of Hatshepsut? What did she leave to posterity?

1. Was Hatshepsut a successful ruler?

There were major expectations of a New Kingdom ruler when he (or she) assumed power. Egyptian rulers were expected to maintain the favour of the gods, promote the gods' image and show reverence and respect to them. Kings were expected to promote their own image and ensure an orderly succession. They were also expected to ensure the country's prosperity and wage successful military campaigns. It was also assumed that a king would engage in an extensive building program. If these were the expectations of an Egyptian king, it can be fairly argued that Hatshepsut deserves to be considered a successful ruler.

- Hatshepsut showed a constant devotion to Amun as well as honouring the other gods (Chapter 14).
 - To show this she embarked on major building programs at Deir el-Bahri and Karnak, and at other locations throughout Egypt (Chapter 12).
 - Military campaigns and the expedition to Punt were all carried out in the name of Amun, and any successes attributed to his favour (Chapter 11).

¹ To avoid unnecessary repetition, frequent references will be made to earlier sections of the book where more detailed explanations are provided.

- Hatshepsut was not backward in promoting her image or in allowing it to change over time.
 - At Deir el-Bahri her image appeared in many statue forms, especially on the third terrace (Chapter 12).
 - Her appearance in detailed reliefs was designed to justify her position and emphasise her connections to her father, Thutmose I, and the god Amun (Chapter 7).
- Historians have long debated the nature of the relationship between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Chapter 15).
 - On balance, the evidence would seem to confirm the view that relations were cordial and cooperative.
 - Thutmose III was well-prepared by his step-mother to assume power when she died.
 - She left the Dynasty in a healthy shape.
- Egypt seemed to have enjoyed steady prosperity during the reign of Hatshepsut.
 - Extensive building programs were possible (Chapter 12).
 - The Expedition to Punt did much to bring exotic goods to Egypt and stimulate future trade (Chapter 11).
 - Hatshepsut's relationship with the priesthood and her officials allowed for the efficient administration of the country (Chapter 14).
- Early historians derided Hatshepsut's lack of military success. However, the view now is that military campaigning during her reign was successful (Chapter 11).
 - Egypt's borders had been secured and there had been successful campaigns in Nubia, Gaza and Syria.
 - These were sometimes led by Thutmose III.
- All New Kingdom rulers sought to leave a record of architectural achievement. Hatshepsut certainly succeeded in this regard (Chapter 12).
 - There was extensive work at Karnak and Deir el-Bahri.
 - Speos Artemidos was established at Beni Hassan and temples that had been neglected were repaired.

2. Was Hatshepsut an innovator?

In some ways, it could be argued that Hatshepsut was an innovator. For a start she was a woman. Female rulers were not unknown in Egypt but her assumption of power during the regency and her efforts to present herself in male form were certainly new to Egypt. Hatshepsut also proved to be an innovator in religious matters. The Divine Birth relief (Chapter 7) is evidence of Hatshepsut trying to establish her close relationship to Amun. She was keen to stress her role as both a spiritual and physical daughter of the god. Under Hatshepsut there were some new ideas in religion such as the introduction of oracles, the growth of personal piety and more public celebration of religion (Chapter 13).

3. Was Hatshepsut a traditionalist?

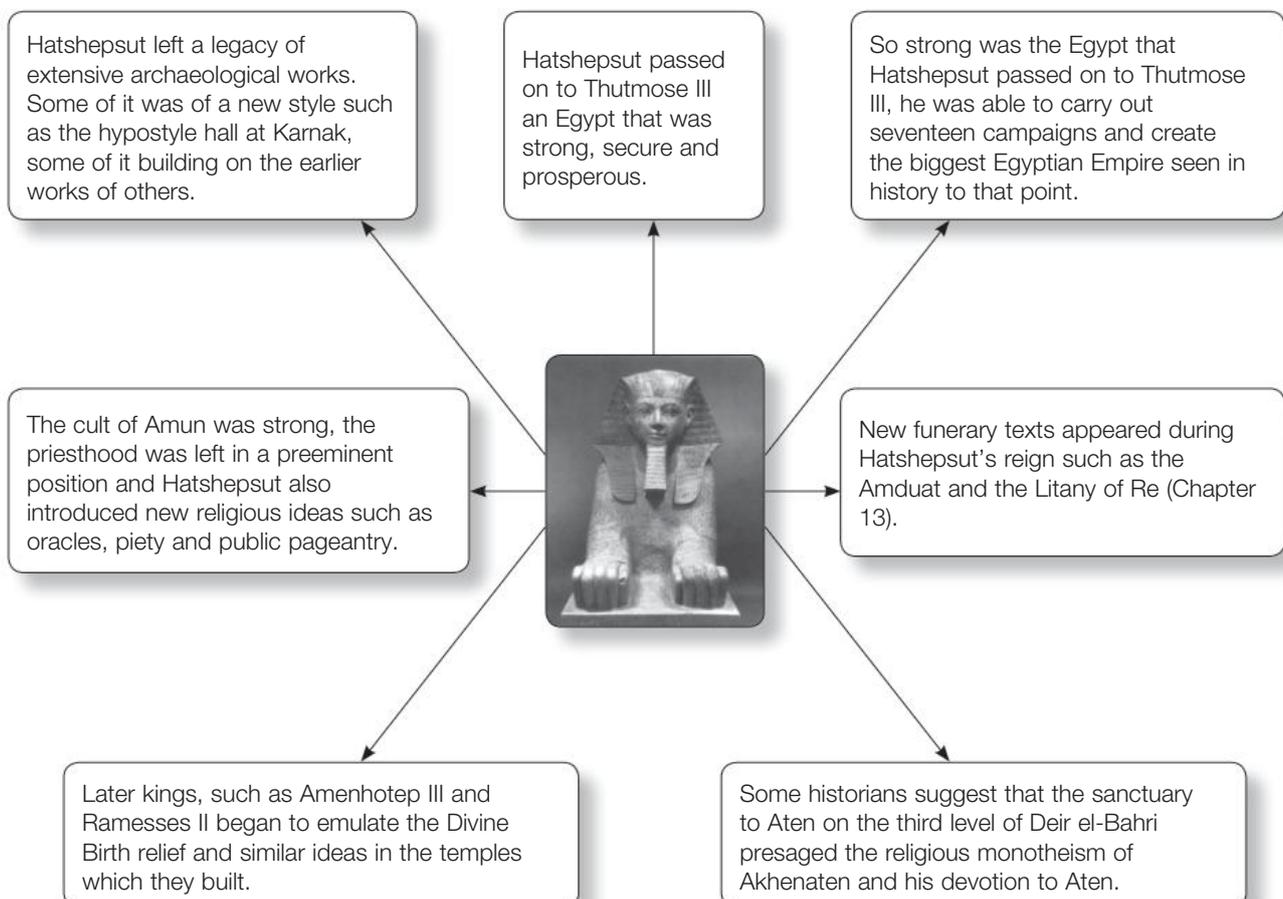
Despite the innovations mentioned above, it could be argued that Hatshepsut succeeded in maintaining Egyptian traditions.

- The fact she was a female ruler was not unprecedented.
 - There had been queens before her who had been very influential, such as Queen Tetisheri and Queen Ahhotep (Chapter 8).
- Her pursuit of honouring the gods, self-promotion and extensive building programs were very much in line with tradition (Chapters 7, 12 and 13).
- The traditional view that Hatshepsut's reign was devoid of military campaigning is no longer held by many (Chapter 11).
 - Her involvement in such things may not have been as extensive as some other kings but it did occur.
 - Though the Expedition to Punt was presented as a great achievement, Hatshepsut was certainly not the first king to venture into that region.

4. What was the legacy of Hatshepsut?

Hatshepsut's legacy was considerable as the summary in Figure 16.2 illustrates.

Figure 16.2 Summary of the Legacy of Hatshepsut



Exercise 16.1

For each of the following statements, circle the correct option, true or false.

1	Hatshepsut failed to ensure a smooth transition to the rule of Thutmose III.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
2	Hatshepsut failed to establish a close working relationship with the priesthood of Amun and her officials.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
3	Hatshepsut succeeded in making the worship of Amun a key aspect of her religious policies.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
4	Hatshepsut was keen to establish a close relationship to both Thutmose I and Amun in her Divine Birth reliefs.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
5	The effort which was put into building programs by Hatshepsut was similar to those of other New Kingdom rulers.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
6	In her promotion of oracles and personal piety in the practice of religion, Hatshepsut can be seen as an innovator.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
7	Hatshepsut was the first woman in Egyptian history to play a major role in the exercise of political and religious power.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
8	Hatshepsut was responsible for making Aten the single object of worship in New Kingdom Egypt.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
9	Later kings like Amenhotep III emulated Hatshepsut's Divine Birth relief.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE
10	The strength of Egypt at the end of Hatshepsut's rule arguably made possible Thutmose III's expansion of the empire.	THIS IS TRUE/THIS IS FALSE

Chapter 17:

Ancient and modern images and interpretations of Hatshepsut ¹

There has always been great difficulty in interpreting the period of rule of Hatshepsut. The obvious reason for this is that her successors did their very best to excise her name from Egyptian history. About twenty years after Hatshepsut's death, Thutmose III began defacing her monuments, removing her name and replacing it with either his own or that of Thutmose I or Thutmose II. Clearly, he was seeking to align himself with his male antecedents. The issues surrounding the actions of Thutmose III are discussed in Chapter 15.

Ancient interpretations

Attempts to remove Hatshepsut from the record of Egyptian history did not end with Thutmose III. Later kings, such as Seti I and Ramesses II deliberately excluded her name from the lists of Egyptian kings. By the end of the 19th Dynasty (late 13th/ early 12th century BC), there would probably have been no memory of Hatshepsut at all.

The written evidence from the time of Hatshepsut is extremely limited.

- There are references to her rule in some of her officials' tombs. That of Ineni was referred to in Chapter 7.
- The temple of Speos Artemidos at Beni Hasan (Chapter 12) contains an inscription in which Hatshepsut boasts of some of her achievements. These included:
 - the repairs to the temple at Cusae
 - temples set up for Pakhet and Thoth (Chapter 12)
 - fixing up destruction brought on earlier by "Asiatics" (the Hyksos).

Hatshepsut's image changed throughout her time in power. The details of these changes are discussed in Chapter 10. In summary, her image seems to have gone through three stages:

- During the early years of the regency, Hatshepsut performed the role of regent in the manner that would have been expected. There was no indication of the male characteristics that would appear later.
- Into her reign, she retained a female physical appearance but her ka was depicted as masculine in her Divine Birth scenes, and so she could be seen and written about as both masculine and feminine.

¹ As with Chapter 16, to avoid repetition, references will be made throughout this section to earlier chapters.

- However, by the later years of her reign, Hatshepsut's statues had now assumed male characteristics and the regalia of the Egyptian king. This would have included the shendyt (royal kilt) and the ceremonial false beard.

The statutory evidence is described in detail in Chapter 10.

Modern interpretations

Throughout this book, there have been frequent references to the modern historiographical debate regarding Hatshepsut. The interpretations of her reign which were presented in the 1950s and the 1960s are quite different to those that are generally accepted now. There are several major reasons for this:

1. Archaeological work continues non-stop in Egypt and new discoveries are frequently made regarding many periods of Ancient Egyptian history.
 - a. The period of Hatshepsut's rule is no exception to this.
 - b. Consequently, as archaeologists unravel new clues about Hatshepsut, these feed into the interpretations that historians develop.
2. The techniques which archaeologists are now able to use are much more scientifically-based.
 - a. The way archaeologists operate today is a world away from the methods of Howard Carter a century ago.
 - b. Therefore, it has been possible for archaeologists to do things, and discover things about Hatshepsut, which would have been impossible in earlier times.
 - c. The identification of Hatshepsut's mummy by Zahi Hawass' Egyptian Mummy Project in 2005 is but one example of this (see Chapter 12).
3. In earlier times, learned Egyptian scholars tended to be middle-aged white men writing in a time when conservative views regarding the role of women prevailed.
 - a. In a major sense, we are all products of our time.
 - b. Consequently, early interpretations of Hatshepsut were produced by such historians.
 - c. However, in recent decades, the study of history has widened. The rise of feminist history and the introduction of gender studies into universities have reverberated throughout the history world.
 - d. The study of Ancient Egypt has not escaped this impact. Consequently, it is now possible to read about the reign of Hatshepsut from a feminist perspective.
 - e. This, plus the increased amount of archaeological evidence, has made it possible to view the reign of Hatshepsut in a much different light.

What follows is a summary of the more recent historiographical debate. Many of the points presented here have been covered in more detail in earlier chapters.

Summary of the recent historiographical debate regarding Hatshepsut

The Traditional/Orthodox interpretation of Hatshepsut

Hatshepsut was only a woman and could not have ruled without a reliance on men such as Senenmut.

Hatshepsut was an evil, power-hungry woman which is why she posed as man later in her reign.

It is not surprising that Thutmose III developed a great resentment towards Hatshepsut and sought to destroy memories of her.



Hatshepsut was a failure in terms of military campaigning and building up the Egyptian Empire.

Hatshepsut's wearing of male royal attire such as the shendyt and the ceremonial false beard were deliberate attempts to fool the people.

Historians arguing these sorts of ideas include:

Sir Alan Gardiner: *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, OUP, Oxford, 1961

J A Wilson, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1951

The Revisionist interpretation of Hatshepsut

The use Hatshepsut made of the priesthood and the noble officials was not unusual. All kings needed able administrators.

Female royal power was not unprecedented and some earlier kings had been quite reliant on their royal partners.

The evidence seems to suggest that Hatshepsut and Thutmose III worked well together. He even led military campaigns during her reign.



There is evidence of at least four successful military campaigns, some of which were led by Thutmose III. Egypt was in good shape when Thutmose III began his imperial expansion.

In the wearing of male royal attire such as the shendyt and the ceremonial false beard Hatshepsut was merely following tradition.

Historians arguing these sorts of ideas include:

P F Dorman, *Hatshepsut: Wicked stepmother or Joan of Arc?*, The Oriental Institute News and Notes, 168, Winter, 2001

J Tyldesley, *The Female Pharaoh*, Penguin Books, London, 1998

Exercise 17.1

Over to you.

To which view do you subscribe: the traditional/orthodox argument or the revisionist interpretation?

Using the ideas in this chapter, plus the detail contained in earlier chapters, sketch out the plan of an answer. In your response you can refer to the various facets of Hatshepsut's time in power such as military/foreign policy, administration, building programs, religion...



Chapter 18:

Responding to questions on Hatshepsut in the HSC examination

The purpose of this section is to provide some ideas on answering the types of questions which might be asked in the HSC. These outlines are not presented as the ‘be all and end all’ responses to these questions. To provide a sense of reality to this section, what follows is a ‘first draft response’ to each question, ie what were the first ideas that came into the author’s head as he thought about each question?

Hatshepsut appears in Section III of the examination paper. Hatshepsut is one of ten personalities that can be studied for the examination. In the examination paper it is the first personality to appear:

(Probably) Question 13 – Option A – Egypt: Hatshepsut (25 marks) ¹

The Hatshepsut question will contain two or three parts. One of the parts will be worth ten or fifteen marks. There could be four, five or six mark parts requiring briefer responses. What follows is some advice on how to approach ten or fifteen mark parts of the question.

NB: Time allocation is crucial. A fifteen mark part requires student to spend about 27/28 minutes on it; a five mark part would require only about eight or nine minutes spent on it.

■ A 10 mark part question:

- It will generally be more descriptive or narrative in style than a fifteen mark question. However, students should be on the lookout for terms such as “why”, “account for” or “explain” which expect students to go beyond a simple descriptive response which would be acceptable for a lower mark part.
- The question requires specific factual detail – avoid generalities.
- Support points made with reference to the Ancient Sources where possible.
- Acknowledge the quotation if there is one.
- Refer to the source if there is one.
- Do not write for more than 18 minutes. Time allocation is crucial – this part of the question is only worth 10 marks! It is unlikely you will go beyond the use of three pages of the examination answer booklet.

¹ Students can locate past HSC questions on Hatshepsut at <http://educationstandards.nsw.edu.au/wps/portal/nesa/11-12/Understanding-the-curriculum/resources/hsc-exam-papers> However, they MUST be aware that from 2019, the format of the Hatshepsut question could be different and contain possibly three parts.

■ A 15 mark part question:

- It will be an analysis style question. Students can expect to see terms such as “assess”, “to what extent”, “how significant” in fifteen mark part questions. Thus, a judgment is expected.
- The question requires specific factual detail – avoid generalities.
- Support points made with reference to the Ancient Sources where possible.
- However, where possible, evaluate the reliability of the sources as well.
- Acknowledge the quotation/ the source if there is one.
- Write for at least 27 minutes. Time allocation is crucial – this part of the question is worth 15 marks! It is likely you will write about four to five pages of the examination answer booklet. ²

Possible questions that could be asked might include the following (this is not meant to be an exhaustive list):

Questions worth up to eight marks will probably deal with issues such as:

- A description of Hatshepsut’s family background and status
- A description of Hatshepsut’s early life
- A description of Hatshepsut’s marriage to Thutmose II
- A description of the bases of her power and influence
- A description of her relationship with Thutmose III
- A description of her relationship with Senenmut
- A description of the changes to her image over time
- A description of a specific aspect of her career such as her foreign policy

Questions worth up ten, twelve or fifteen marks will probably deal with issues such as:

- An analysis of the impact of the career of Hatshepsut
- An assessment of the influence she was able to wield
- An assessment of Hatshepsut’s legacy
- An evaluation of the various images and interpretations that have been produced regarding Hatshepsut’s career
- An assessment of Hatshepsut’s achievements
- An evaluation of her relationship with key figures during her reign
- An evaluation of various aspects of her career such as her building program

² These comments about the length of answers are not prescriptive. Students with large writing use more pages and vice versa. And of course, a page and a half of clear, detailed relevant material always beats five pages of waffle!

Question 1: Describe the family background of Hatshepsut. (6 marks)

This question requires a detailed descriptive/ narrative response. Markers will be looking for detailed, accurate information which covers aspects of the family background of Hatshepsut. Some pitfalls to avoid:

- Watch your timing – no more than 10-11 minutes.
- Do not get carried away and start writing about aspects of Hatshepsut's time as ruler, such as foreign policy and building programs.
- Avoid generalising, use specific detail and try to incorporate reference to the ancient sources.

Possible responses might include the following range of points:

- Place Hatshepsut within the context of the beginning of the New Kingdom with a brief reference to the end of the Hyksos and the start of the 18th Dynasty.
 - Make a brief note of her grandparents: King Ahmose and Queen Ahmose Nefertari
- Describe her family relationships with mentions made of Amenhotep, her father Thutmose I and his wife Ahmose (Hatshepsut's mother), and her siblings.
- Explain the position of Thutmose II and his parentage (Thutmose I and his lesser wife, Mutnofret).
- Make mention of Hatshepsut's marriage to Thutmose II and their child, Neferure
- Introduce Thutmose III. Explain his parentage and relationship to Hatshepsut.
- You might also refer to the trouble Hatshepsut went through in explaining her relationship to both Thutmose I and Amun.
- Reference can be made here of the Divine Birth and Coronation reliefs.

Question 2: Assess the achievements of Hatshepsut. (15 marks)

The key word in this question is "assess". It is not enough for students to merely list everything that Hatshepsut did, though some narrative detail will be needed. The better responses will attempt to develop an argument rather than merely provide simple facts. One way of doing this is to raise debates which exist regarding Hatshepsut's time in power. Another way could be to place Hatshepsut within the context of Egyptian rulers and show that she matched the expectations that were expected of an Egyptian king.

- Possible responses might include the following range of points:
- The fact that as a woman, Hatshepsut was able to wield power for so long was clearly a major achievement.
 - Explain how this was done by referring to things such as propaganda and her use of effective advisors and the priesthood.

- Earlier historians suggested there was little military or foreign policy activity during Hatshepsut's reign.
 - Consider this view and then contrast it with more recent views that have developed since more recent archaeological finds.
- Discuss the extent of Hatshepsut's building program.
 - Make reference to Deir el-Bahri, Karnak and the restorative work she carried out.
 - Conclude that her building programs compare favourably with other Egyptian rulers.
- Comment on her promotion of the cult of Amun.
 - Reference can be made to the many reliefs that bear this out as well as the grander examples such as her mortuary temple.
 - Also make reference to other cults which were promoted.
- A final argument could be that despite attempts by people after Hatshepsut to erase her from history, her legacy still lived on.

Question 3: Describe Hatshepsut's foreign policy. (8 marks)

This is a fairly straightforward question. The main pitfalls in any response are to avoid generalisations, writing beyond about fifteen minutes and moving into areas not required for the question. Any response needs to be supported with reference to specific archaeological evidence.

Possible responses might include the following range of points:

- Mention could be made of the debate between historians about the foreign policy of Hatshepsut:
 - older historians believing there was little of note;
 - more recent historians refuting this view;
 - the idea of active defence rather than deliberate offence.
- Make reference to campaigns in Nubia:
 - references to Nubia can be found on a broken block at Karnak;
 - on the lower colonnade of Deir el-Bahri, Hatshepsut is shown as a sphinx, a military idea.
- Campaigns in Gaza:
 - Thutmose III seems to have played a role in these.
- Campaigns fought in Syria and Palestine:
 - the Coronation inscription refers mentions capturing the chiefs of Retenu;
 - a brief text at Deir el-Bahri refers to "her arrows are among the northerners".

- The expedition to Punt:
 - consider the political, religious and economic motives for the expedition;
 - refer to the record of the expedition on the wall of the second terrace colonnade at Deir el-Bahri;
 - note the gains made from the expedition.

Question 4: To what extent was Hatshepsut a successful ruler? (15 marks)

Avoid the usual pitfalls of wrong time allocation – 27 minutes – and insufficient length for a 15 mark part response – about four or five pages (see footnote 2). There is a great temptation with this question to simply narrate and provide lots of detail without attacking the ‘to what extent’ aspect of the question. The question is clearly seeking a judgment about the success or otherwise of Hatshepsut’s rule not simply a list of facts.

Possible responses might include the following range of points:

- Make the point that Hatshepsut should be judged in ‘the context of her times’:
 - what was expected of an Egyptian ruler of the 18th Dynasty?
 - did Hatshepsut match up to these expectations?
 - in this way an assessment of the success or otherwise of Hatshepsut’s rule can be made.
- What was expected of an 18th Dynasty ruler? Refer to such things as
 - harmony, peace and prosperity at home;
 - an expansionist foreign policy;
 - honouring and gaining the favour of the gods;
 - a wide building program;
 - ensuring an orderly succession.
- Marshall the evidence to deal with each of the criteria listed.
- Egypt was well ruled during her reign. Make reference to:
 - her relationship with the priesthood and her officials;
 - the economic gains from the Punt expedition (refer to the Punt relief);
 - the success of her building programs (provide specific references).
- Hatshepsut’s foreign policy was effective, if not as expansive as later kings:
 - refer to the establishment of control in Nubia;
 - campaigns in Sinai, Gaza and Syria.

- It was expected that the ruler honour and seek the favour of the gods – Hatshepsut clearly succeeded in this. Refer to:
 - her promotion of Amun-Re;
 - her efforts to establish a close link to Amun (refer to the Divine Birth relief);
 - her extensive building programs in honour of Amun (Deir el-Bahri, Karnak);
 - her efforts to honour other gods, eg Hathor, Thoth.
- An orderly succession followed her death with Thutmose III's assumption of sole power:
 - make reference to the alleged antipathy between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III;
 - refer to evidence that suggest they worked together cooperatively for many years which made his assumption of power straightforward.
- In terms of what was expected of an Egyptian king at the time of the 18th Dynasty, it can thus be argued that Hatshepsut was indeed a successful ruler.

Timeline

Some sources provide specific dates for events in Hatshepsut's life. Other sources refer to the years of her rule in terms of Year 1, Year 2 etc. What follows is an attempt to synthesise the two. Such an exercise can, at best, be only an approximation.

Year (BC)	Year of reign	Events
1508		Hatshepsut is born to Thutmose I and Queen Ahmose (Chief wife of Thutmose I)
1493		Death of Thutmose I - Accession of Thutmose II
1481		Birth of Neferure
1479	1	Death of Thutmose II – accession of Thutmose III with Queen Hatshepsut as Regent
1477-72	2-7	At some stage in this period, Hatshepsut changes from being Regent (Queen Regnant) to becoming Co-Regent (Pharaoh)
1472	7	First evidence of Hatshepsut's use of the Pharaoh title – work on her first tomb is abandoned – work starts on a new tomb in the Valley of the Kings
1470	9	Expedition to Punt
1466	13	Expedition to the turquoise mines in Sinai
1463	16	Celebration of the Heb-sed festival – this is thirty years since the death of her father Thutmose I which implies Hatshepsut is ignoring the reign of her husband Thutmose II Two obelisks built at Karnak to note the Heb-sed Work on the Red Chapel at Karnak begins
1461	18	Hatshepsut has a pylon (gateway) built at Karnak
1459	20	A second expedition to the turquoise mines at Sinai
1458	21	Death of Hatshepsut – Thutmose III assumes power in his own right

Glossary

akhet	season of the inundation of the Nile
ankh	symbol of life
ba	soul of a person, what makes a person unique
Beautiful festival of the valley	festival in honour of Amun enjoyed by ordinary Egyptians
Book of the Dead	collection of spells to assist the deceased in the afterlife
cataract	part of the Nile where the river forms fast flowing rapids
chancellor	oversees the running of the royal household
Deir el-Bahri	site of Hatshepsut mortuary temple complex
Deir-el-Medina	workers' village during the New Kingdom period
delta	northern part of the Nile where the river slows down and branches out into tributaries
deshut	the red land of deserts and rocky cliffs along the river
dynasty	the ruling family of a country
heb-sed festival	ceremony celebrating the continued rule of the king
hubris	Greek idea of excessive pride or arrogance
inundation	term describing the annual flooding of the Nile
ka	life force or vital essence
Karnak	temple complex at Thebes on the east bank of the Nile
kemet	fertile black land along the banks of the Nile
khepresh	the blue war crown
Lower Egypt	region of Egypt from Memphis to the Delta
mummification	process of embalming
nemes	folded striped head cloth
obelisk	tapering tall stone pillar with a rectangular cross-section
Opet	festival that reinforced king's divine right
oracle	guidance given by Amun
papyrus	reed that grows along the Nile
peret	season when the floodwaters recede
pharaoh	the king
Punt	region near the Horn of Africa, location of Hatshepsut's expedition
regent	role taken by queen to administer Egypt until her young son comes of age
Sed	festival that renewed the powers of the king
shemu	period of drought when crops are harvested
shendyt	royal kilt
sphinx	body of a lion, head of a human; often symbolised a warrior king
stele	upright stone slab or column, usually bearing an inscription
Upper Egypt	region of Egypt from Memphis to Aswan
uraeus	representation of a sacred serpent, represents supreme power
vizier	ruler of Upper or Lower Egypt
vulture headdress	symbol of femininity, maternal protection; became symbol of Upper Egypt

Dramatis personae

Ahhotep	queen, daughter of Queen Tetisheri, regent to King Ahmose
Ahmose I	first king of the 18th Dynasty, 1549-1524 BC
Ahmose-Nefertari	queen, wife of King Ahmose I
Amenhotep I	King, 1524-1503 BC
Amenhotep II	son of Thutmose III
Ammit	afterlife figure, the devourer
Amun-Re	chief god of the New Kingdom
Anubis	god of embalming and the dead
Carter, Howard	English archaeologist early 20th century
Efi	wife of King Parahu of Punt
Hapuseneb	first prophet of Amun; vizier
Hathor	goddess of joy, femininity and motherhood
Hatnofer	mother of Senenmut
Hatshepsut	female pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty, 1479-1458 BC
Hawass, Zahi	head of the Egyptian Mummy Project
Herodotus	Greek historian of the mid-5th century BC
Horus	god of the sky
Hyksos	foreign rulers of Egypt before the 18th Dynasty
Ineni	nobleman of Hatshepsut
Isis (1)	wife of Osiris, father of Horus
Isis (2)	minor wife of Thutmose II, mother of Thutmose III
Khnumt-Amun Hatshepsut	Hatshepsut's birth name
Maat-ka-re	Hatshepsut's throne name
Mut	mother goddess
Mutnofret	lesser wife of Thutmose I
Narmer	king of the First Dynasty who united Upper and Lower Egypt
Neferure	daughter of Hatshepsut and Thutmose II
Nehesi	leader of the Punt expedition
Osiris	god of the dead, ruler of the underworld
Parahu, King	King of the people of Punt
Ramose	father of Senenmut
Senenmut	the most trusted government official of Hatshepsut
Tetisheri	queen, wife of King Seqenenre Tao I
Thoth	shown as a man with the head of an ibis; god of writing, knowledge
Thutiy	noble administrator, successor to Ineni
Thutmose I	King, 1503-1493 BC
Thutmose II	King, 1493-1479 BC
Thutmose III	King, 1479-1425 BC

Further reading

Additional reading is always of value for any history topic. Some of the following references have already been referred to throughout this book. Some additional ones and useful websites are now included.

Old-style books:

Gardiner, A, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1961

Wilson, J A, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1951

Revisionist works:

Nims, C, '*The Date of the Dishonouring of Hatshepsut*', *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Berlin, 1966

Redford, D, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1967

Tyldesley, J, *Hatshepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, Penguin Books, London, 1998

Some newer titles:

Dell, Pamela, *Hatshepsut: Egypt's First Female Pharaoh*, Compass Point Books, 2008

Cooney, Kara, *The Woman who would be king: Hatshepsut's rise to power in Ancient Egypt*, Crown Publishing, 2014 (an 'imaginative' view of Hatshepsut)

Thornton, Stephanie, *Daughter of the Gods: A Novel of Ancient Egypt*, NAL, 2014

Websites:

<http://fathom.lib.uchicago.edu/1/7777777190131/>

Peter Dorman's essay 'Hatshepsut: Wicked Stepmother or Joan of Arc?'

http://www.maat-ka-ra.de/english/start_e.htm

this is an excellent site containing some great photographs and detailed descriptions of the various sites

<http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-queen-who-would-be-king-130328511/?no-ist=>

this is from the Smithsonian Institute and contains views on the most recent ideas of historians

<http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2009/04/hatshepsut/brown-text>

National Geographic Magazine site with a great article on Hatshepsut from April 2009

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/ancient/expedition-punt.html>

this site contains an excellent interactive section which allows students to explore the Punt Relief in some detail

Answers to revision exercises

Exercise 1.1

1 – deshut; 2 – Nile; 3 – akhet; 4 – Upper Egypt; 5 – kemet; 6 – papyrus; 7 – shemu;
8 – Lower Egypt; 9 – inundation; 10 – peret.

Exercise 2.1

1st – The Middle Kingdom; 2nd – Second Intermediate Period; 3rd – The rule of the Hyksos;
4th – The 17th Dynasty; 5th – The rule of Ahmose I; 6th – The rule Amenhotep I; 7th – The rule
of Thutmose I; 8th – The rule of Thutmose II; 9th – The rule of Hatshepsut; 10th – The rule of
Thutmose III.

Exercise 3.1

1 – Amun; 2 – keeping the link between the people and Amun/ secular leadership/ military
leadership; 3 – Chancellor/ Chief Steward/ Chamberlain; 4 – the viziers; 5 – the treasury, the
granary, building works; 6 – almost impossible; 7 – a form of barter; 8 – to ensure tribute and
loyalty; 9 – the king; 10 – the Deputy of the North and the Deputy of the South.

Exercise 4.1

The king's divine right to rule was reinforced by his relationship with Amun/ the cult of Amun
legitimised the king's rule/ the Chief Priest of Amun supported the king's rule/ the king's successes
were attributed to Amun/ the king's failures were blamed on his failure to properly attend to the cult
of Amun.

Exercise 5.1

1 – false; 2 – true; 3 – true; 4 – false; 5 – true; 6 – true; 7 – false; 8 – false; 9 – false; 10 – true.

Exercise 6.1

1 – Neferure; 2 – Thutmose I; 3 – Amenhotep I; 4 – Hatshepsut; 5 – Mutnofret; 6 – Thutmose II; 7 – Thutmose III; 8 – Chief Wife Ahmose; 9 – Ahmose; 10 – Ahmose Nefertari.

Exercise 7.1

1 – true; 2 – true; 3 – false; 4 – false; 5 – true; 6 – false; 7 – true; 8 – false; 9 – true; 10 – false.

Exercise 8.1

1 – King Seqenenre Tao II; 2 – Queen Ahmose-Nefertari; 3 – Hatshepsut; 4 – God's Wife of Amun; 5 – King Ahmose I; 6 – Queen Tetisheri; 7 – King Kamose; 8 – Amenhotep I; 9 – King Seqenenre Tao I; 10 – Queen Ahhotep.

Exercise 9.1

1 – Thutmose I, Queen Ahmose; 2 – principal wife/ similar role to other principal wives; 3 – Hatshepsut was seven years older; 4 – mercilessly/ he probably did not lead the campaign; 5 – the Shasu-Bedouin in the Sinai/ Retennu (Syria); 6 – no, a few granite statues at Karnak; 7 – 1479/ early 30s; 8 – Thutmose III with Hatshepsut as regent; 9 – 1881/ in the royal cache at Deir el-Bahri; 10 – poor condition, bones broken, damaged by tomb robbers.

Exercise 10.1

1 – Khnumt-Amun Hatshepsut; 2 – nemes; 3 – Osiris; 4 – Maat-ka-re; 5 – Deir el-Bahri; 6 – Netjeret-khau; 7 – Mistress of the Two Lands; 8 – Weseret-kau; 9 – shendyt; 10 – sphinx.

Exercise 11.1

1 – false; 2 – true; 3 – true; 4 – false; 5 – true; 6 – false; 7 – true; 8 – false; 9 – false; 10 – true.

Exercise 12.1

1 – Karnak; 2 – Red Chapel; 3 – KV60a; 4 – middle colonnade at Deir el-Bahri; 5 – Deir el-Bahri; 6 – third terrace at Deir el-Bahri; 7 – Pakhet; 8 – Beni Hasan; 9 – pyramidion; 10 – Tomb KV20

Exercise 13.1

1 – evidence of her religious devotion/ gain their political support; 2 – the god's presences in her reliefs/ credit given to him for successes/ range of construction in the god's honour/ her position sanctioned by the god; 3 – Merging of Amun and Re/ oracles/ personal devotion to the god/ giving the god an ethical dimension/ a new idea of kingship.

Exercise 13.2

1 – Beautiful Festival of the Valley; 2 – Hapuseneb; 3 – oracles; 4 – Thoth; 5 – Hathor; 6 – Amduat; 7 – Opet; 8 – Anubis; 9 – Litany of Re; 10 – The Book of Coming Forth by Day.

Exercise 14.1

1 – false; 2 – true; 3 – true; 4 – true; 5 – false; 6 – false; 7 – true; 8 – false; 9 – true; 10 – false.

Exercise 15.1

Thutmose II – regent – Hatshepsut – Gardiner – Wilson – Nimms – Redford – respect – reliefs – stela – Gaza – Nubia – twenty – Akhenaten – Aten

Exercise 16.1

1 – false; 2 – false; 3 – true; 4 – true; 5 – true; 6 – true; 7 – false; 8 – false; 9 – true; 10 – true.

Exercise 17.1

Each student's answer will be individual. Students might ask their teacher to check the response they produce for this exercise.

