

1. INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS

Reign of Amenhotep III

Background

- Son of Thutmose IV and Mutemwia
- Thutmose died when he was 12 and Amenhotep was advised by his mother in the early years of his reign
- Inherited a reign of great peace and prosperity from his father; had to maintain rather than expand or improve
- Married to his Great Royal Wife Tiye by the second year of his reign
- Promoted his eldest daughter, Sitamun, to Great Royal Wife
- Entered into numerous of marriages with foreign princesses to ensure stable diplomatic relations



L: Wild bull-hunt commemorative scarab
R: Lion hunt commemorative scarab

These scarabs were issues throughout the Empire and boast about his hunting prowess. They promote the stereotypical image of the pharaoh as a great hunter, emphasising his strength and virility. Not always based in fact, but rather an artistic convention which symbolised the king's fitness to rule and his triumph over the forces of chaos.

Building programs

- Unprecedented, massive and ostentatious
- Overseer of All the King's Works, Amenhotep, son of Hapu, is behind most of it
- Honoured the gods with building projects, but the nature and size of his projects may indicate that he was using the country's resources to glorify himself



Temple of Amun at Luxor

Large and impressive. Contains relief showing Amun's role in the divine birth and coronation of Amenhotep III.



Pylons at Karnak

Built a new pylon after demolishing the shrines and monuments of earlier pharaohs and using that rubble to fill his pylon. Lengthy inscription praises himself and Amen, and lists the gifts he had given to the temple.



Temple of Soleb in Nubia

Walls have scenes from his Heb-sed festival, including Tiy and his daughters. Column bases have reliefs showing people conquered by the pharaoh. Amenhotep III is featured in sculptures and reliefs, usually flanked by rams' horns, one of the symbols of Amen. Construction in Nubia shows that his power extends to foreign states.



 <p>Malkata Palace (“House of Nebmaatre – the Dazzling Sun Disc”)</p>	<p>New palace built on the west bank of the Nile. Four loosely connected palaces, the harem, the Great Hall of the Vizier and other admin buildings, residential apartments, audience pavilions, courtyards and gardens, parade grounds, a temple of Amen, and villages for palace workers. Large, haphazard and traditional in style. Demonstrates wealth and power.</p>
<p>Mortuary Temple (no longer exists)</p>	<p>Largest of its kind. Housed the funeral service for the pharaoh’s spirit but was dedicated to Amen. Building stela indicates its splendour and wealth.</p>
 <p>Colossi of Memnon</p>	<p>Over 16 metres tall. Mark the site of the mortuary temple. Ostentatious, grandiose, and dedicated to himself.</p>

Administration

- Well-governed; bureaucracy ran smoothly under the supervision of the viziers, public works were maintained, a massive building program was undertaken, manufacturing and the arts flourished, bumper harvests were recorded, and taxes were collected
- Gods were honoured in temples maintained by various priesthoods
- Personally appointed and dismissed key officials and richly rewarded loyal and efficient service

Religion

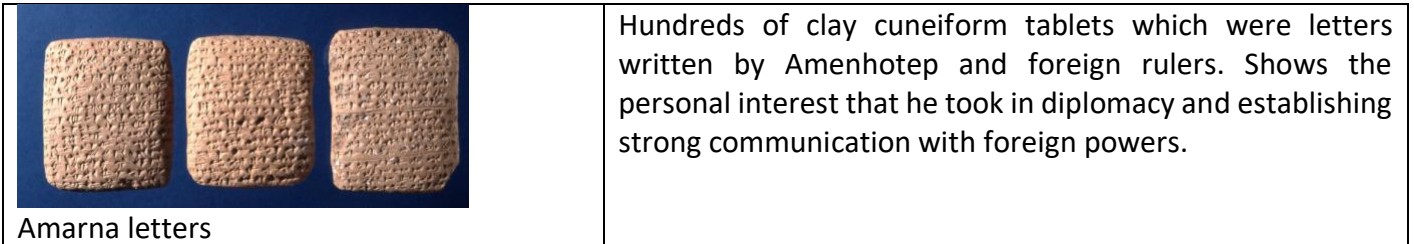
- Main god was Amen; victory spoils were dedicated to his temples which were administered by the powerful Amen priesthood
- Stressed his relationship with Amen
- Honoured other gods by building them temples and monuments: Ptah, Sekhmet, Re-Harakhte, Thoth, Hathor, Nekhbet, Montu, Mut and Atum
- Aten was first mentioned by his father and Amenhotep III further promoted it
- In the last decade of his reign, he was depicted as a god; unusual because he was shown as a god when he was still alive, when usually only deceased pharaohs were depicted in this manner
- Heb-sed festivals
 - Numerous building projects were undertaken in preparation
 - His first festival marks a change in his representation in art; he was depicted as youthful and idealised in order to emphasise his divine status
 - Marks the beginning of his self-deification and notable worship of Aten

 <p>Divine conception of Amenhotep III (Temple of Amen at Luxor)</p>	<p>This relief depicting the divine conception of Amenhotep III demonstrates and emphasises his relationship with Amen. The god Amen functioned as a symbol that strengthened and solidified the rule of a pharaoh and was the king of the gods, thus making him an important deity for the pharaoh to have a connection with. This also reveals how Amenhotep deified himself, as Amen holds the ankh (a symbol of life) to his mother's lips in order to impregnate her, thus revealing him to be a direct offspring of the gods.</p>
 <p>Amenhotep offering to himself as a god, from a relief (temple of Soleb in Nubia)</p>	<p>Reveals the fact that Amenhotep III deified himself while still living, in the last decade of his reign, which was unusual as pharaohs were usually depicted as gods only in the afterlife. The inscription stresses the fact that Amenhotep is a god walking on the earth which consolidated his absolute power as pharaoh, ensuring a successful reign as the people were unwilling to criticise or rebel against a living deity.</p>
<p>Stela of Amenhotep III from his mortuary temple in Western Thebes. Made from black granite and stands over 10 feet tall. Records the buildings he erected to honour Amen, including the Temple of the Colossi, the Luxor Temple, the Sacred Barge of Amen, the Third Pylon at Karnak, and the temple of Soleb in Nubia. Has many inscriptions that refer to his personal relationship with Amen: "The son of Re, Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes made it [the temple] for the chosen of Re, because he loved his father, Amen, Lord of Thebes, so much more than all the gods."</p>	<p>Reveals the emphasis that Amenhotep III placed upon his relationship with Amen. He demonstrated and celebrated this relationship through the construction of the lavish monuments that he is renowned for, thus showing the enormity of his worship for Amen and the lengths he was willing to go to to prove it. The inscriptions refer to his personal relationship with Amen, thus stressing a personal and intimate connection between the two which consolidated and increased Amen's power and authority to rule.</p>
<p>'House of Nebmare – the Dazzling Sun Disc' was the name of his new palace</p>	<p>Introduction of Aten into the Egyptian pantheon and set the foundations for his son's worship of the deity.</p>
<p>Royal barge was named 'Splendour of the Aten' or 'Aten Gleams'</p>	<p>""</p>

Foreign policy

- Amenhotep III ruled from an advantageous position; battles had been won, treaties and alliances made and administration of the Empire established long before; he had to maintain and protect what already existed
- All officials (even in foreign territories) were Egyptian
- Maintained good system of communication
- Trusted messengers with the status of ambassadors conducted missions and carried information between rulers, as well as escorted caravans of gifts
- Tribute continued to flow into Egypt
- Queen Tiye played an active role

- Diplomatic marriages strengthened alliances with foreign countries, with sisters and daughters of kings from Babylon, Mitanni, Syria and Arzawa being married to Amenhotep III
- Military campaigns: campaign in Nubia, which had already been conquered so no new territory was gained; relations to the north were amicable so not necessary; maintained an efficient army as well as forts and garrisons throughout the empire
- Results of foreign policy
 - Egypt became more cosmopolitan due to increasing numbers of foreigners coming to trade and settle
 - No shows of might needed to be made in western Asia and so complaisance crept into the administration; minor outbreaks escalated in the reign of Akhenaten and proved dangerous with the rise of the Hittites



Modern opinion





- “Amenhotep III’s reign of 38 years was in the main a peaceful one, attended with blessings for Egypt beyond those of the past. Toward its end, however, ominous signs of decay began to reveal their presence. Amenhotep himself is the most brilliant representative of this happy era -- the perfect picture of a magnificent oriental potentate revelling in the utmost fullness of life. In seeking a single term to epitomise his character, no more fitting epithet for him could be found than ‘Amenhotep the Magnificent’.” (F.G. Steindorff and K.C. Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East*)
- “With the accession of Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18 attained the zenith of its magnificence, though the celebrity of this king is not founded upon any military achievement. Indeed, it is doubtful whether he himself ever took part in a warlike campaign.” (A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*)
- “Amenophis [Amenhotep] III reaped the benefits of the conquests of his enterprising predecessors. No king in such circumstances could have failed to play a majestic role, but Amenophis III took full advantage of the status and wealth of the country to fashion a court, a society, and an artistic taste that became proverbial for elegance. Amenophis became Egypt’s ‘Sun-king’ in truth, adopting the sobriquet ‘the Dazzling Sun Disc’; before the close of his reign he had attracted the epithet ‘Horus’ par excellence, and later generations remembered him as the great ‘Hor’, ‘King of kings, Ruler of rulers’, ‘...he who lays Egypt’s foundations...’ These epithets, bombastic though they may seem, were not far off the mark: Amenophis III and the Egypt he ruled never had been, nor would be again, in such a position of absolute power in the world.” (Redford)
- “During his 38-year reign (c. 1391-1353 BC), Egypt was wealthier and more powerful than ever before. Years of peace, bumper harvest, and a steady flow of gold from the eastern desert and the Sudan... enabled this innovative and farsighted monarch virtually to transform the landscape of the Nile Valley. Luxor Temple and the Colossi of Memnon are only the most famous of the monuments that Amenhotep III erected throughout Egypt and the northern Sudan to the glory of the gods and his own everlasting fame.” (Berman, ‘Overview of Amenhotep III and his Reign, In O’Connor & Cline)
- “Few pharaohs from any period in Egyptian history are as noteworthy for their monument-building activities as Amenhotep III... Beautifying, enlarging, and renewing the great cult centres of Egypt were foremost among Amenhotep III’s lifelong occupations. By the end of his 38 years on the throne, Amenhotep had transformed his entire country into an imperial showplace befitting Egypt’s role as the centre of the cosmopolitan world.” (Johnson, ‘Monuments and Monumental Art Under Amenhotep III: Evolution and Meaning’, in O’Connor & Cline)

- “Amenhotep III was born into a world where Egypt reigned supreme. Its coffers were filled with gold, and its vassals bowed down before the mighty rulers of the Two Lands.” (Zahi Hawass)
- “The sun god was a complex creature, whose dogma had been developing for thousands of years. In addition to his main incarnation as Re, this god was associated with the creator Atum as well as with deities such as Khepri... and Osiris, with whom Re merged at night. Another aspect of this god was the Aten; according to texts dating back at least to the Middle Kingdom, this was the disk of the sun, with which the king merged at death. This divine aspect, unusual in that it was not anthropomorphic, was chosen by Amenhotep III as a primary focus of his incarnation. It has been suggested that the rise of the Aten was linked specifically with maintenance of the empire, as the area over which, at least theoretically, the sun ruled. By associating himself with the visible disk of the sun, the king put himself symbolically over all the lands where it could be seen – all the known world, in fact.” (Zahi Hawass)
- “Calling himself ‘Egypt’s Dazzling Sun’, Amenhotep III even aspired to be identified with the sun-god Ra himself, as his embodiment on earth.” (Davies)

The Amarna ‘revolution’: religion, kingship, Akhetaten (Tel el-Amarna)

- Polytheism => monotheism led by Akhenaten
- Aten was elevated to a single, exclusive deity
- Amenhotep IV => Akhenaten
- Refused to follow established religious policy in which Amun was the state deity
- Attempted to destroy the powerful Amun cult by withdrawing their funds
- Later ordered the removal of various gods names
- New temples were devoted to the Aten
- Possible motives
 - Related to theological movement that Assmann calls ‘the New Solar Theology’ that was instigated by his predecessors
 - Wanted to distance himself from Amun’s religious and economic dominance
 - Just a religious zealot “_(ツ)_/”
- Religion and kingship
 - Changed traditional relationship between king and gods
 - Special relationship prevailed between the king and the Aten
 - Pharaoh went from being son of Re to representative of the god on earth, representing a decline in the king’s position in relation to the god
 - Personal piety removed by making himself the sole intermediary, getting closer to that ‘purer’ theology with the king closer to the god
- Akhetaten
 - Religious capital moved from Thebes to this new city
 - New site was allegedly blessed and chosen by Re
 - Included palaces, Great Temple of the Aten, northern and southern city, residential areas, a worker’s village and rock-cut tombs in nearby cliffs
 - Tombs were dominated by scenes of the royal family worshipping the Aten and engaged in family life, suggesting that the king would dominate the noble’s afterlife as he did on earth
 - Move was accompanied by change in artist style – elongated limbs and skulls, swollen hips and full bellies who age and show emotions
- Modern opinion
 - Assmann states that “the new religion was not promoted, it was imposed. Tradition was not questioned, it was persecuted and forbidden”
 - Ockinga states that “in spite of these novel features of the Amarna reform, Akhenaten’s policy was basically a reaction against developments that had taken place in the theology of kingship and in personal religion. The new dogma [that is, pre-Amarna], according to which the king

was the image, the representative, of god, was countered by his proclaiming himself son and co-regent of the Aten. A halt was put on the growth of a form of personal religion which bypassed the king: now only through the king could the ordinary person approach the deity. Akhenaten, hailed as the great revolutionary, seems in some respects to have been an arch reactionary.”

 <p>Colossal statue of Akhenaten (East Karnak)</p>	<p>Representative of the stylised art that challenged traditional conventions that characterises the Amarna period.</p>
 <p>House altar showing Akhenaten, Nefertiti and 3 of their daughters (Akhetaten)</p>	<p>The fact that this was located in a private home suggests that the king dominated everyday life, and it being an altar suggests worship not only of the Aten but Akhenaten and the royal family. Also shows how family scenes were depicted in art during this period.</p>
 <p>Relief showing Akhenaten worshipping the Aten (Royal Tomb, Akhetaten)</p>	<p>Stylised art is indicative of the Amarna period. Akhenaten worships and offers papyrus to the Aten and is the largest figure in the relief, suggesting that he is the focal point of the artwork rather than the god (which had been custom for centuries).</p>
 <p>Akhetaten</p>	<p>This new capital signalled a move away from convention and tradition. Akhenaten was able to force people to conform his new religion by restricting traditional religion. The site was allegedly chosen by the Aten himself and the Great Temple of Aten there demonstrates the significant transition to the worship of the solar disc.</p>

Failure of the Amarna ‘revolution’


Reasons for failure:

- Changes were too radical – the public likely didn’t appreciate suddenly worshipping a single deity instead of an enormous pantheon

- Religious ideas were too abstract – Aten was depicted in an abstract, unrelatable way; ordinary people had no personal relationship with the god
- Shortness of the reign – new ideas couldn't properly take hold
- Lack of widespread support – was not popular with the people, with the only real supporters being the royal family and courtiers; statues and images of other gods found in the worker's village at Akhetaten suggest secretly continued polytheism
- No designated heir – he was the sole intermediary, and he died before he could ensure the continuation of the cult and worship
- Lack of afterlife beliefs – traditional Osirian afterlife beliefs were abandoned and prayers for life after death were addressed to Akhenaten
- Hostility of the Amun priesthood – relative speed with which traditional religion was restored afterwards indicates their anger at having lost their wealth and influence

Post-Amarna reforms: restoration of Amun and other gods

- Egypt was in need of a new stable government, restoration and reform
- Tutankhamun
 - Tut was 9, so political vacuum was filled by Horemheb and assisted by Ay
 - Akhetaten was abandoned and the capitals moved back to Memphis and Thebes
 - Tutankhamun and Ankhesenpaaten changed their names to Tutankhamun and Ankhesenamun
 - Addition of the epithet "ruler of southern Heliopolis" (Karnak at Thebes) to his titles
- Under Tutankhamun and Ay, the Amun and Aten cults co-existed
- Horemheb
 - Aten cult was disbanded
 - temples at Thebes were dismantled
 - systematic destruction of Akhetaten began

 <p>Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun</p>	<p>Tutankhamun's attempts to restore maat to the land and signify the end of his father's heretical reign. Distancing himself from the Amarna period. According to the stela, he remedied the chaotic state of Egypt by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • commissioning new statues of Amun in gold and other gods, especially Ptah • rebuilding and restoring temples as well as doubling their incomes and offerings • recruiting new, young priests from the children of prominent officials
<p>Edict of Horemheb, on a stela at the 10th pylon at Karnak</p>	<p>Implied that the reigns of Akhenaten, Tutankhamun, and Ay had oppressed the Egyptians.</p>
<p>Horemheb's Coronation Edict</p>	<p>Records Horemheb's presentation to Amun during an Opet festival and his subsequent coronation by the god. States that he restored numerous temples throughout Egypt, signifying abandonment of the Aten and restoration of polytheism.</p>

Political and religious significance of building programs

Religious

- Development of the ideology of kingship through association of the pharaoh with the gods, recorded on royal monuments

- Promotion of the Amun cult through additions to the temple of Amun at Karnak and construction of other temples and structures dedicated to him
- Maintenance of traditional pharaonic building policy honouring the cults of the traditional gods throughout Egypt and re-establishment after the Amarna period
- Promotion of solar worship as a new trend prior to and including the Amarna period
- Construction of funerary monuments for their mortuary cults – a tomb and mortuary temple
- Maintenance of pharaonic control of Nubia and the Egyptian borders through the building of temples and forts
- Self-promotion of the pharaoh and the worship of his royal ancestors
- Establishment of new capitals

Political

- Monumental sizes were meant to impress and subjugate
- Provided stability for the nation through a strong economy and, thus, upheld maat; temples were permanent sources of revenue (agricultural land and workers, surplus was stored in magazines like at the Ramesseum, they owned herds, fishing and fowling rights, barges and access to mineral resources like Seti I's temple at Abydos had rights to gold mines)
- Tribute and booty used as funds

Establishment and significance of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the death of Ramesses II


- Horemheb died without an heir so vizier Paramessu (Ramesses I) took over; must have been aware of the achievements of those before him and that he was beginning a new era
- Succeeded by his son Seti who shaped the nature and purpose of the new dynasty
 - Shown by his choice of *Nebty* name, signifying the unification of Egypt
- Modelled after the 18th dynasty
 - Ramesses' role model was Ahmose, expeller of the Hyksos and founder of the 18th
 - Seti wanted to revive the military glory of the 18th

Role and contribution of rulers: Amenhotep III, Akhenaten, Tutankhamun, Horemheb, Seti I, Ramesses II

Amenhotep III (see => Reign of Amenhotep III)
Role and contribution: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintained the golden era • Extensive building program which promoted Egypt's power and wealth

Akhenaten
Role and contribution: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instigated the Amarna revolution and renounced traditional religion • Focused on religion and internal affairs, leading to the neglect of foreign policy

Buildings (see => The Amarna 'Revolution')

Administration	
 <p>Colossal statue of Akhenaten.</p>	<p>This statue demonstrates the pharaoh as a traditional ruler of Egypt despite his revolutionary religious regime. His power is enforced through the use of traditional pharaonic tools like the crook and flail, the uraeus and the crown of Egypt.</p>

Religion (see => The Amarna 'Revolution')

Foreign policy



Amarna letters.

The Amarna letters reveal that foreign policy was not Akhenaten's primary concern. These letters state that the king was far more concerned with the issues within Egypt as opposed to expanding the empire and upholding foreign relations. This is corroborated by Tutankhamun's later decrees that strongly suggest that Akhenaten was a very poor ruler, at least as far as his subjects and vassal states were concerned. Tushratta, king of the Mitanni, who had been a close ally of Egypt, complained that Amenhotep III had sent him statues of gold while Akhenaten only sent gold-plated statues.

Modern opinion:

- Arthur Weigall (1910) saw a king whose sole rule brought religious enlightenment - a 'Christlike' figure who promoted a monotheism similar to Christianity. According to him, Akhenaten did not share in the divinity of his god but was only divine as king. He was a devoted family man and pacifist, respected by his nobles, who introduced a revolutionary art style.
- H. R. Hall (1921) saw Akhenaten as incompetent, intolerant and a traitor to Egypt's 'empire'.
- Cyril Aldred (1968) argued that although Akhenaten 'departed from the norm' his reforms were shaped by his twelve-year co-regency with his father and by social forces in existence before his reign. He was reactionary, seeking to purify Egypt's religion and return the status of pharaoh to that enjoyed in the golden age of the Old Kingdom. Akhenaten shared full divinity with the Aten; Nefertiti was elevated to pharaoh, and both were admired and respected by their courtiers. Aldred did not see Akhenaten as a pacifist but simply not active enough in promoting Egypt's 'empire'. Akhenaten's art style veered in phases from being revolutionary to traditional. Writing more recently in 1988, Aldred identified a revolutionary aspect in Akhenaten's reign – the elevation of divine kingship as a form of atheism, which entailed the worship of kingship rather than of god. Aldred presents a more positive view of Akhenaten, because although he admits he neglected aspects of statecraft, his monuments reveal a man who was "humane and sympathetic" with a genuine religious vision. He was "a good ruler who loved mankind."
 - "Whatever speculations the original and uncharacteristic reign of Akhenaten may arouse, we can only judge by what evidence his monuments have bequeathed us, tenuous as it may be. The expression his artists recorded - when he groped for Nefertiti's supporting arm in his daughter's death chamber, or registered grim distaste at the wringing of the neck of a sacrificial bird, or the affection between him and other members of his family, or the joy of his followers in his presence - all portray 'The Good Ruler who loves Mankind'. These and other touches strike a chord that is humane and sympathetic."
(*Akhenaten, King of Egypt*, p. 305)
- F. J. Giles (1970) believed Akhenaten ruled as sole pharaoh for only one to two years and that he was forced into co-regencies with Amenhotep III and later Smenkhkare as a way of controlling his insanity. According to Giles, Akhenaten was a religious fanatic who identified himself completely as the Aten and forced his followers to worship him. However, his reign did not neglect 'the empire' and he was active in 'the Northern Lands'. Akhenaten's unusual art simply reflected his own physical abnormality.
- Donald Redford (1990) denies that Akhenaten shared a co-regency. He sees him as a revolutionary artist and poet, and as a totalitarian ruler who forced his own worship on his nobles. According to Redford, Akhenaten was an atheist; the only 'god' he worshipped was divine kingship. The 'empire' suffered because he was a mediocre ruler who preferred to deal with it via 'go-betweens'. Redford also said Akhenaten was "ugly" and a "poor judge of character", "not gifted as an administrator" and "effete" although with some "ability as a poet" and a "flair for art, sculpture and design". His reign was "intolerable" and "totalitarian" and the religion "Akhenaten championed was in the truest sense of the word, atheism". "Humanist he was not and certainly no humanitarian romantic." He admits that the king possessed unusual ability as a

poet and had a flair for art, but he is contemptuous of Akhenaten and “his immediate circle of sycophants who lived in an environment of refined sloth.”

- “If the king and his circle inspire me somewhat with contempt, it is apprehension I feel when I contemplate his ‘religion’. In Egypt, the sun may well be a reliable and beneficent power, but it is nonetheless destructive, and mankind seeks to hide from it. If Re must be worshipped, let there be a refuge of shade close at hand! ... For all that can be said in his favour, Akhenaten in spirit remains to the end totalitarian. The right of an individual to choose was wholly foreign to him. He was the champion of a universal, celestial power who demanded universal submission, claimed universal truth, and from whom no further revelation could be expected. I cannot conceive a more tiresome regime under which to be fated to live.” (*Akhenaten, the Heretic King*, p. 235)
- Breasted called him a “brave soul”, the “first individual”, the first monotheist and scientist in history.
- Newberry came from a more liberal period and the possibility of him being homosexual could be discussed but was still not acceptable.
- Sir Mortimer Wheeler wrote of “this remarkable man (if man he was)” who broke with Egyptian tradition.
- Hornung describes Akhenaten as “the first modern human being” and “even today a very contemporary figure who can scarcely be denied respect and sympathy”. He calls him “perhaps the first fundamentalist in history.” He also states that Akhenaten was not a visionary, but rather very methodical in his implementation of the political and religious changes.
 - “Akhenaten was certainly not a ‘visionary’; he was a methodical rationalist. His reforms were implemented one by one, as soon as the necessary political conditions had been created. This philosopher on the throne of the pharaohs was certainly not unworldly. He manipulated the power of the institutions at his command in virtuoso fashion, and his eventual failure was probably not the result of a loss of political control.” (*Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 244-5)
- Alan Gardiner saw him as “self-willed but courageous.”
- Barry Kemp perceived him as a tragic figure who saw “the irrelevance of much of the thought of his day” but was unable to find anything acceptable to put in its place.
- A. Thomas believed he did not have the “strength, perception and tolerance to carry out his policy successfully.”
- William C. Hayes described him as “a man who had nothing in him of either the soldier or the statesman. As time went on, he concerned himself less and less with affairs of the nation and empire and more and more with matters of the mind and spirit - chiefly be it said, of his own mind and spirit.”
- Reeves says Akhenaten was not a prophet but instead working for his own political interest. He also says that Breasted and Weigall’s opinions are wrong and that Akhenaten was not the first monotheist. In *Egypt’s False Prophet*, he argues that Akhenaten was not the idealistic founder of a new religion as some claim. Reeves believes that he used his religion for political ends in an attempt to reassert the authority of the king and return power to his hands.
 - “What manner of man was this? Because of his religious reforms, Akhenaten has for long struck a chord in today’s predominantly monotheistic world; and the fact that pharaoh’s revolution ultimately failed has seemed only to confirm his role as an early revealer of religious truth - a power for good. Such a spin, promoted almost a century ago by James Henry Breasted and Arthur Weigall and eagerly taken up by scholars and general public alike, is certainly wrong, and now beginning to give way to darker visions. As prophets go, it seems clear that Akhenaten was a false one, and working very much in his own political interest.” (*Akhenaten, Egypt’s False Prophet*, p. 8-9)
- Zahi Hawass claims that “in this, as in many other aspects of their lives that have come to us through art and texts, Akhenaten and Nefertiti were seen, or at least saw themselves, as deities

in their own right. It was only through them that the Aten could be worshipped: they were both priests and gods.”

- Freed says that Aten had been revered before Akhenaten made him big, but never before as the sole object of worship. He also says that artistic styles were constantly changing in Egypt, even with how the king was shown, however they had never changed so rapidly and drastically.
 - “In retrospect, had Akhenaten and his achievements been a revolution, or simply evolution? Akhenaten’s god, the sun, had been revered since the beginning of Egypt itself, but never previously as the sole object of worship. Artistic canons in fact changed constantly in Egypt, even with regard to depiction of the king. But never before had they changed so rapidly and so drastically. Many elements in the city of Amarna, including its layout replicated those of other cities, especially Thebes. But never before had a king so specifically designed and tailored so many institutions to accommodate the worship of a deity. The answer, it seems, is that the Amarna period represents both revolution and evolution.” (‘Introduction’, in Freed, Markowitz and D’Auria, *Pharaohs of the Sun*, p. 36)

Tutankhamun

Role and contribution:

- Reverted back to polytheism, although he didn’t instruct any backlash against the Aten
- Figurehead of restoration and reconstruction of temples
- Promoted traditional religion

Buildings

At Karnak, Tutankhamun built:

- Reliefs of Amun and Mut on the 6th pylon
- Reliefs of Tut in a procession of Nile gods
- Reliefs of himself on the 3rd pylon
- The 9th and 10th pylons
- Two statues of Amen and Amenet in the likeness of Tut and Ankhesenamun
- A temple called The Mansion of Nebkheperure

At Luxor, Tut decorated the inner walls of a colonnade of Amenhotep III, calling him his ‘father.’

Adding to Karnak was considered almost necessary in a pharaoh’s reign, and thus Tutankhamun conformed to his pharaonic duties in not neglecting the temple complex. It was also heavily associated with traditional religion and Amun, and thus assisted his return to polytheism.

Demonstrates rejection of the Atenist heresy in erasing Akhenaten.

Administration (see => Tutankhamun’s Great Edict Stela under Post-Amarna Reforms)

Religion (see => Post-Amarna Reforms)

Foreign policy

May have conducted military campaigns to the north. Evidence includes:

- Horemheb’s tomb with reliefs showing Asiatic princes asking for aid against enemies, Asiatic prisoners presented to the king, and Horemheb

This suggests that Tutankhamun himself may have been present at battles.

<p>claiming he was “the guardian of the footsteps of his Lord on the battlefield of this day of smiting Asiatics.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The tomb of Huy, viceroy of Nubia, has reliefs showing Asiatics and Nubians offering tribute. • The Restoration Stela mentions booty from campaigns. <p>Across all depictions, Tutankhamun is shown with traditional pharaonic regalia such as the various crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt (like the blue war crown and nemes headdress), false beard, uraeus, royal collar, crook and flail.</p> <p>Painted cloth chest from his tomb which calls him: “the good god, the son of Amen, the Valiant One, without his equal. A possessor of strength who tramples hundreds of thousands, who makes them into a pile of corpses.”</p>	<p>Demonstrates how Egypt subjugated and profited from the territories that it conquered.</p> <p>Profit from subjugated territories. Relationship between powers.</p> <p>Portrayed a traditional pharaoh who reflected the values of past kings – who had conquered numerous territories and extended the might of the Egyptian empire.</p> <p>Warrior pharaoh image inspired fear and awe of the king and his mighty empire.</p>
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<p>Modern opinion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Redford suggests that Smenkhkare and Tutankhamun shared a co-regency, and when they died, Tut and his advisors began the move back to Amun – Smenkhkare being the last remaining link to Atenism. • Reeves states that “Tutankhamun is now widely regarded as the saviour of Egyptian traditions, the king responsible for righting an upturned country and for re-establishing the rule of law.”
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Horemheb	
<p>Role and contribution:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main aims appear to have been: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ to restore law and order, eradicate bureaucratic corruption and improve the lot of the lower classes ○ to disassociate himself from the Atenist heresy and promote the view that he was the legitimate successor of Amenhotep III 	
Buildings	
<p>Karnak.</p> <p>Saqqara tomb.</p>	<p>Horemheb constructed the seventh, ninth and tenth pylons, started work on the Great Hypostyle Hall and erected his Great Edict Stela. Being the main place of worship for the Theban Triad, this emphasised the attention he paid to the re-establishment of Amun.</p> <p>A stela found in the tomb shows Horemheb giving offerings to the gods Maat, Thoth and Re-Horakhty, showing the significance of these gods in his rule. Naturalistic Amarna style is noted in the</p>

<p>Destruction and usurpation of buildings associated with the Amarna heresy.</p> <p>Coronation Decree.</p> <p>Theban tomb (KV57).</p>	<p>rounded belly and thin limbs of Horemheb as the gods reflect the traditional style.</p> <p>Akhetaten and temples to the Aten were systematically torn down (such as the sun temples at Karnak, Memphis and Heliopolis). He usurped Tutankhamun’s hall at Luxor, several of his statues and his mansion at Thebes. He usurped Ay’s mortuary temple in Western Thebes and ransacked his birthplace of Akhmin. Officials who remained faithful to Akhenaten’s successors, like Huy, Viceroy of Kush, had their tombs desecrated.</p> <p>This states that Horemheb restored many temples throughout Egypt, adding to their wealth, suggesting his focus on the restoration of traditional religion. He also restored royal tombs that had been robbed, like that of Thutmose IV, implying a desired connection with the warrior pharaohs of the 18th dynasty.</p> <p>By constructing his actual burial tomb near those of the Thutmosid pharaohs, Horemheb aligned himself with the powerful warrior pharaohs of the 18th dynasty and restored the full regnal power of the king.</p>
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Administration


<p>Great Edict Stela at Karnak.</p> <p>Coronation Decree.</p>	<p>This set of laws records the measures taken to eliminate bureaucratic corruption and legal abuses throughout Egypt, restore law and order, and improve the conditions of the lower classes. These political reformations were significant in rectifying the weakened state of Egypt as a result of the laxity of Akhenaten’s rule. This administrative direction was incredibly successful as evidenced by Horemheb’s popularity with the Egyptian people – his mortuary cult existed for decades after his death and is recorded in later kings lists as directly succeeding Amenhotep III.</p> <p>Horemheb states that he appointed multiple honourable soldiers to become priests in temples across Egypt, demonstrating to the people that he desired for the priesthoods and temples to regain the wealth they had lost during the Amarna heresy.</p>
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Religion

<p>Temple at Gebel el-Silsila in Nubia.</p> <p>Temple at Avaris.</p> 	<p>Statues within depict Amun, Mut, Khonsu, Sobek, Thoeris, Thoth and himself. This demonstrates how Horemheb emphasised polytheism in an effort to remove himself from the Amarna heresy.</p> <p>Dedicated to Seth and thus demonstrating the emphasis on polytheism.</p> <p>Horemheb portrays his personal relationship with Amun, although he is depicted as smaller, thus demonstrating the gods power.</p>
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Coronation Decree.	Horemheb states that Horus of Hutnesu and an oracle of Amun confirmed his right to rule, and because he did not descend from a royal bloodline, this was important in securing his power. His coronation was also staged during an Opet festival, which was important in reconciling with the priests of Amun. Horemheb was careful to emphasise both his divine right to rule and return to orthodox.
Published hymns to Amun.	Redford notes that Horemheb stressed the fact that the Aten was merely a physical manifestation of Amun, thus erasing the potential of the sun disc to again become a fully-fledged deity.

Foreign policy

Ninth and tenth pylons at Karnak.	Scenes depict defeated lands, captives presented to the gods, and an expedition to Punt, portraying a typical warrior pharaoh who advanced the might of the Egyptian empire.
Gebel el-Silsila in Nubia.	Records Horemheb's personal might and strength, contributing to the warrior pharaoh image. The strategic placement in Nubia assisted in subduing the nation.
 <p>Saqqara tomb.</p>	Horemheb is depicted receiving lavish gifts and gold collars from Tutankhamun, suggesting that he performed the role of military general extremely well and advanced the Egyptian empire.

Modern opinion:

- "Aye and Horemheb were both usurpers of the throne, though it would appear their take-over were peaceable in their turns. Their skilled leadership as high officials, and ultimately as kings, enabled Egypt to weather the Amarna experiment, the Ankhesenamun conspiracy and the Hittite threat, and to prepare the way for a new era, ushered in by the Ramesside dynasty. My impression is that both Aye and Horemheb were both practical men who did their best to right the things which had gone wrong under the Atenists." (O. Schaden, 'The God's Father, Aye', 1991)
- "Both men were from the military and Horemheb was untainted by the Amarna heresy. He was energetic, imaginative and responsible and clearly had the nation's interest at heart... the army had taken over. Never again would a scion of the great Thutmosid family, the 18th Dynasty, sit upon the throne. Disillusioned by their ineffectual handling of domestic and foreign situations, the army now determined to keep a tight hold on the body politic." (Donald B. Redford, 'Akhenaten: The Heretic Pharaoh', 1984).
- Booth states he was "either a genuine individual who was charismatic and trustworthy or a duplicitous man who was clever and deceitful, convincing each king of his loyalty whilst being loyal only to himself". Booth suggests that Horemheb was not moved by petty revenge and that, as an ultra-traditionalist defender of *ma'at*, he was happy to allow the elderly Ay (as the surviving male member of the previous dynasty) to rule knowing that he would not live long. Booth states that Horemheb blamed his predecessors for the deplorable state of the country and wanted to restore balance by destroying any evidence of them.
- Weigall has described him both as "the saviour and father of his country."
- Kitchen described him as the "restorer of just and effective government."

- Kemp describes him as "military strongman". Kemp notes that Horemheb staged his coronation during the Opet festival because the connection between the king and Amun could be used to "convert usurpers ... into models of legitimacy and tradition."
- Van de Meiroop says that Horemheb was a "general without an inheritance" who tried to remove his predecessors from the historical record, usurped their monuments and on whose orders a Hittite prince was murdered. Meiroop suggests that when Horemheb did become pharaoh he "expressed his displeasure at having been upstaged" by removing Ay's name from monuments and destroying the monuments of Nakhtmin.
- Gardiner notes that his Saqqara tomb contains "no mention of his parentage nor any likelihood that he was of high birth". About Horemheb being crowned by the priests of Amun during the Festival of Opet, thus making his rule legitimised by Amun, Gardiner says that "no act could have better have signalled the end of the Amarna period and the beginning of an orderly and auspicious reign." Gardiner notes that although Thebes was not the traditional location of the coronation, Horemheb's choice was logical given the need to reconcile with the priests of Amun.
- Desroches-Noblecourt believes that the priests of Amun helped Horemheb to seize the crown.
- Hornung has suggested that "Horemheb in no way contemplated an obliteration of the Amarna period but rather attempted to combine tradition with revolution and thus to initiate a new and practicable course of action."
- Tyldesley states that while the new laws introduced with the Great Edict Stela seemingly offered protection against official corruption, they were actually meant to guard state and temple assets, and that Horemheb wanted to appear as a champion of the people while protecting his own interests.

Seti I

Role and contribution:

- Main aims were to:
 - Renew Egypt by following the examples of the great Thutmosid pharaohs
 - Restore those areas of Syria that had been part of the Egyptian empire by following the military strategy of Thutmose III
 - Equal in magnificence the buildings of Amenhotep III
- Military victories were the re-establishment of Egyptian presence in Palestine, Lebanese Coast and probably Syria, possibility of control over Kadesh, Nubia was firmly under control

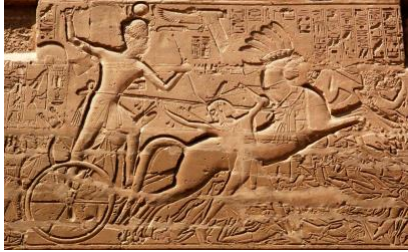
Buildings

Temple of Amun at Karnak.	Seti I built a large part of the great Hypostyle Hall and added war reliefs to the outer northern and eastern walls. He dedicated the hall to his father, Amen-Re. This emphasised his close link with the god, who was responsible for his military victories.
Mortuary Temple at Qurna, Thebes.	This temple was made 'as his monument for his father, Osiris, Ramesses I', as well as himself and Amun.
Temple of Seti at Abydos.	This beautiful and finely decorated temple served as a demonstration of the wealth and prosperity of the Egyptian empire. There are seven chapels, each dedicated to Osiris, Isis, Ptah, Amun, Re-Horakhty, Horus and himself as a god.
Various restorations.	Seti I restored damage done during the Amarna period, especially where the name Amen had been vandalised, such as at Amenhotep III's temple at El Kab and obelisks of Hatshepsut. He usually added: "Restoration of the monument which King Seti I made." He restored Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri which would be the

	new setting for the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, thus linking him to Amun.
Administration	
<p>“Now His Majesty increased what was issued to the army force, in terms of ointment, beef, fish, and plenty of vegetables without restriction. Every man of them had 4lbs. of bread daily, daily; and a bundle of vegetables, a portion of roast meat and 2 sacks of grain monthly. They worked for His Majesty with a loving heart- his ideas were pleasing in the opinion of the people who were with the King’s Messenger...” Silsila quarry inscription</p> <p>Seti's 'Great Edict' at Nauri in Nubia.</p> <p>“...his majesty inspected the desert lands as far as the mountains, for his heart desired to see the mines from which the fine gold is brought.” Temple of Wadi-Mia.</p>	<p>Reveals how and what rations were distributed to the Egyptian army. The soldiers are said to have worked for him with a loving heart and that his ideas were pleasing to him, which may have been propaganda. This shows how Seti I ran the country through the administrative procedures of organising troops and rations for them.</p> <p>The edict threatened officials with severe punishments including severing body parts, lashes, bodily wounds, and punishment of the accused's family as a consequence of interfering with his building projects. It also stated that Seti's new temple at Abydos and royal goldmines were under government protection. It reveals that Seti I - like Horemheb - sought to eradicate corruption within the bureaucratic ranks by enforcing punishments and severe consequences. His Abydos temple and royal goldmines being placed under government protection implies a well-run administration that was able to allocate soldiers to guard these strategically vulnerable points that supported the pharaoh’s reign.</p> <p>Demonstrates the personal interest that Seti I took in the on goings of his mining operations.</p>
Religion	
<p>Inscription from the temple of Amun at Karnak: “Seti made it as his monument for his father, Amun-Re, Lord of Thebes... making for him a great and splendid temple of fine sandstone. Amun responded: 'O my son of my body, my beloved, Lord of the two Lands, Menmaatere, Begotten of Re. How beautiful is this monument you have made!'”</p> <p>Temple at Abydos.</p>	<p>Seti I especially acknowledged Amun and dedicated Karnak to him in not only an act of personal piety, but in order to consolidate his divine right to rule and pharaonic power.</p>

Seti I paid particular attention to Amun, in a more orthodox religious manner, but also acknowledged numerous deities. Within the temple were chapels each dedicated to a deity: Osiris, Isis, Ptah, Amun, Re-Horakhty, Horus and himself as a god. This promoted polytheism, orthodox religion and the concept of the pharaoh as a powerful deity. It also prevented the Amun cult from gaining the power that they had held pre-Amarna.

Foreign policy



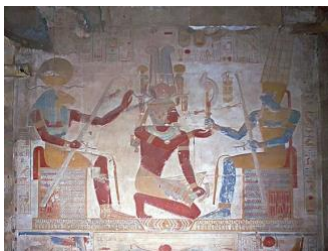
Seti I in battle against the Libyans carved on the north exterior wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall

Foreign policy under Seti I was characterised by military prowess and the expansion of the empire as opposed to diplomacy. This relief highlights the emerging priority that the government placed on the need for a strong army in order to battle enemies such as the Hittites in the Battle of Kadesh, expand its empire and protect its borders. Seti needed to strengthen and legitimise his rule as the Amarna period had drastically decreased the size of the empire and thus the depictions of him as a warrior pharaoh were pivotal in securing a ferocious image of himself.



Victory Stela at Beth-Shan.

This stela commemorates Seti I's victory in Canaan. He is pictured wearing the uraeus, a symbol of pharaonic power, and presents offerings to Re-Horakhty. This propaganda would have impressed the image of the warrior pharaoh who brought *ma'at* to the lands by appeasing the gods through conquering.



Amun presenting war regalia to Seti I.

Seti I attributed all his military victories to the god, and with Amun presenting him with weapons, implied the god to be encouraging and enabling Seti I to wage war and expand the might of the Egyptian empire. This promoted the warrior pharaoh image.

Rameses II

Role and contribution:

- Extravagant building program used to impress and intimidate
- Vigorous foreign policy that involved attacking the Hittites and a later peace treaty

Buildings

Abu Simbel

Abu Simbel ensured the link between the pharaoh and the gods was strengthened, by portraying himself as god. Its location in Nubia also made it a show of the pharaoh's power, intended to discourage any Nubian uprisings.

Ramesseum

The sheer enormity of the mortuary temple signified the pharaohs importance and power. In a religious sense, it allowed for his mortuary cult to worship the deified pharaoh long after his death. Shrines within were dedicated to Amun, Montu, Thoth, Ptah, Min, Khonsu, Sekhmet and Mut, showing how Rameses II honoured the

<p>Per-Ramesses.</p> <p>Karnak.</p> <p>Luxor</p> <p>Temple at Abydos</p>	<p>king of the gods but, in worshipping various other deities, didn't allow the Amun priesthood to claim the power it had once held. The reliefs within were propagandistic in nature, promoting the deification of the pharaoh in showing him being reborn as Osiris, and the warrior pharaoh image in the depictions of the Battle of Kadesh.</p> <p>The construction of an entirely new capital demonstrated the pharaoh's wealth. The translation of the city's name – House of Ramesses, Great-in-Victories – signals how it was a show of pharaonic power and strength. The political significance of building programs was effectively utilised in how the city is strategically placed near bordering countries like Syria, Palestine and the Hittite forces. It was also well-situated for international trade with the Asiatic and Mediterranean countries. Thus, Ramesses II's building program was used to improve foreign relations.</p> <p>Ramesses II completed the hypostyle hall and built a wall around the entire complex. An inscription claims the entire hall as his own work: "Ramesses II, mighty king, making monuments in the house of his father, Amen, building his house in eternal works... It was his Majesty who gave the regulations and led the works on his monuments... I have made it for you with a loving heart, as a profitable son does for his father." In usurping the entire construction as his own, he claimed the politico-religious benefits of the ostentatious temple while not sacrificing the time and resources needed to construct any entirely new temple.</p> <p>Ramesses II added a front court and pylon which claimed the entire temple behind it as his own work.</p> <p>Seti I began work on this lavish temple with ornate reliefs. Ramesses II completed it, however, his reliefs were done in sunken relief rather than raised because it was expedient and time efficient, although considerably poorer in quality. This demonstrates the focus of his building program being more in quantity than quality. He also covered up the entrances with walls of text that glorified his own achievements, thus usurping it.</p>
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Administration

<p>Giza Stele of Tia.</p> <p>Statue of Prehotep found at Abydos. Lists his numerous titles and states that he was appointed by the king as vizier, having been educated at the temple of Ptah.</p>	<p>Prehotep, an official serving under Ramesses II, emphasised his own ethical standards in serving the king. He claimed that he did not prefer the powerful over the powerless. Prehotep held dozens of titles and was well trusted by the king, suggesting where Ramesses II's interests lay. He appears to have surrounded himself with competent officials like Prehotep, many being from the provinces and rising through the ranks due to hard work. Inscriptions from their tombs stress their education, moral and ethical behaviour and devotion to the king.</p>
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Religion

<p>Temples at Abu Simbel.</p> <p>Excerpt from the account of the Battle of Kadesh: <i>"Taking up weapons and donning his armour he was like Seth in the moment of his power. He... started out quickly alone by himself. His majesty was mighty, his heart stout. All his ground was ablaze with fire; he burned all the countries with his blast. His eyes were savage as he beheld them; his power flared like fire against them. His majesty was like Seth, great-of-strength, like Sekhmet in the moment of her rage."</i></p> <p>Letter written by Panhesy, chief of the Treasury, to a priest of Amun at Thebes detailing the copious goods of Amun in the Delta region.</p>	<p>The Great Temple and The Small Temple at Abu Simbel are momentous constructions dedicated to the gods which was vital for post-Amarna reforms. The Great Temple was dedicated to Ra, Amun, Ptah, and Ramesses himself which highlights the importance he placed on reverting religion back to polytheism and Amun without allowing for the Amun cult to have the most power. The Small Temple was not only dedicated to Nefertari but also the goddess Hathor which highlights further the emphasis he placed on polytheistic religion. By attributing the temples to both the gods and his military successes, Ramesses appeared to be maintaining <i>ma'at</i> by appeasing the gods through militaristic victories.</p> <p>The inscription of the Gods involvement in the battle of Kadesh reveals the significance and importance placed on the gods and how Ramesses II attributed his fundamental military success to them ensuring religious prosperity. This is evident within the inscription where Ramesses is compared to the god Seth and Sekhmet which indicates that his strength and military prowess was derived from the gods. It also ensures and solidifies the depiction that both the pharaoh and the gods were fighting evil and chaos to maintain maat for Egyptian society. This is corroborated with the naming of each division of the army as a god to further the notion that they were fighting to uphold maat and establish a superior and grand empire lead by a strong body of gods.</p> <p>The sheer amount of goods listed indicates the incredible wealth of the Amun temples as a result of the particular attention that Ramesses II paid to the deity and his cult.</p>
<p>Foreign policy (see => 2. Foreign Relations)</p>	
<p>Recounts of the Battle of Kadesh at Abydos, Abu Simbel, Karnak, Luxor and the Ramesseum.</p> <p>Egyptian-Hittite peace treaty.</p> <p>Marriage stela.</p>	<p>In these propagandistic records, Ramesses II claims a resounding victory over the Hittites and shares the hyperbolised story with all of Egypt by covering his extravagant monuments with it.</p> <p>In Year 21, Ramesses II and Hatusilis III of the Hittites signed a treaty to end all hostilities. It details their "brotherhood" and the "peace" they have made. There is mutual assurances with regard to invasion, the undertaking of a defensive alliance, common action to be taken against rebellious subjects, extradition of important fugitives and those of humble birth, and curses or blessings on those who violate or keep the treaty. Ramesses II's reign became one of peace and prosperity.</p> <p>This depicts the arrival of the Hittite princess before Ramesses II. Their diplomatic marriage cemented the peace between the two previously warring entities.</p>
<p>Modern opinion:</p>	

- Aldred states that “he usurped a great deal of the work of earlier kings to adorn his new capital city of Pi-Ramesses.”
- Roberts states that “his temple at Abu Simbel on the southern border was meant to impress the southerners with his power and importance.”
- Clayton states that “during his long reign of 67 years, everything was done on a grand scale. No other pharaoh constructed so many temples or erected so many colossal statues and obelisks.”
- Ray asserts that for Egypt to prosper post the Amarna Period, it was essential that Ramesses II dedicated and attributed military success and buildings to the gods as it reaffirmed polytheism and solidified the restoration of Amun and other gods. This was vital as through the promotion of religion, he was seen as the true ruler characterised by strength and greatness thus allowing for the legitimisation of his reign.
- Wilson believes that his buildings simply impressed the public through overpowering size and that Ramesses II had no concern for the artistic quality that his forebears displayed.
- Hennessey notes that Ramesses II was a superb propagandist, spreading messages through his building program of the mighty battle of Kadesh in order to fulfil the warrior pharaoh image and demonstrate his power.
- Wilson and Kitchen agree that at the battle of Kadesh, his military strategy was incredibly flawed and they suspect a falsified victory.

Changing role and contribution of queens: Tiye, Nefertiti, Ankhesenamun, Nefertari

Tiye

- Religious
 - Linked to several goddesses; represented in a temple in Nubia as a goddess and on a plaque; holds the ‘ankh’ to the nostrils of Amenhotep III, in the role of a god
 - Given prominence in the scenes of her son’s divine conception and birth at the Luxor Temple
 - Amenhotep III built a temple for her at Sedinga, Nubia, where she is depicted as a goddess
- Political
 - At least one foreign ruler wrote personally concerning matters of state, or simply asking her to support him in his requests for gold from Egypt
 - Tushratta, king of the Mitanni, wrote directly to her following the death of her husband
- Changing or traditional?
 - Changing role; she wielded a lot of political power and religious significance
 - Hawass states that “Tiye is featured prominently on her husband’s monuments, and seems to have borne more real power than the queens who came before her. Her name is even written in a cartouche, like that of the king”

Nefertiti

- Religious
 - Enthusiastic supporter and a full partner in the process of spreading the new religion. It is clear that the royal couple truly believed in their new faith, but they have left us no further explanation for the move against centuries of polytheism.
 - Nefertiti was a full partner in this religious reformation; she is pictured worshipping alongside her husband and on other state occasions. She was never given the title God's Wife of Amun but she appears to have performed all of the functions normally associated with that office. She was pictured killing the enemies of Egypt in a scene normally reserved for pharaohs and she was shown with her husband awarding gold to royal favourites at the Window of Appearance.
- Political

- Unlike queens before her, Nefertiti played a prominent role in her husband's reign. She not only bore him six daughters (two of whom would become queens of Egypt), she also seems to have acted more as his co-ruler, rather than his consort.
- Nefertiti was very powerful, usurping kingly privileges in order to serve as a priest and offer to the Aten. A group of blocks recovered from Karnak and Hermopolis Magna shows Nefertiti participating in the ritual smiting of the female enemies of Egypt. She wears her own unique headdress—a tall, straight-edged, flat-topped blue crown.
- Nefertiti's role as a warrior is also shown in the bust of Nefertiti in which she is depicted wearing the blue warrior crown usually only worn by the pharaoh himself.
- Changing or traditional?
 - Nefertiti had a changing role because she helped her husband change from polytheism to monotheism. she also was depicted as having an active role in the military. through this active role in both the military/politics and religion gained her a lot of power of which is suggested she was co-regent.
 - Even though most queens during this period had a substantial amount of political power Nefertiti was the most influential due to her continual motivation to change Egypt

Ankhesenamun

- Religious
 - Changed her name from Ankhesenpaaten to Ankhesenamun to establish her link with the return of a polytheistic religion
 - Moved with Tutankhamun back to Thebes
 - Items such as the small golden shrine in Tutankhamun's tomb depict her in a variety of poses that reveal her religious role in the rebirth of her husband and her association with Hathor
 - Depicted handing arrows to her husband, thereby carrying out her symbolic duty of ensuring his happiness in the afterlife
- Political
 - Handed down from ruler to ruler in marriage (Akhenaten to Smenkhkare to Tut to Ay) to confirm their status as pharaoh
 - Did not want to marry Ay because "it is repugnant for me to take one of my servants to husband" therefore her asking for a Hittite prince of the same status as her
 - Tried to take a more important political role after Tutankhamun's death. Letter found in the Hittite archives reveal her invitation to the Hittite king to send one of his sons for her to marry. However, he was assassinated en route, showing that Egypt was not ready for a queen to wield power in such a way.
 - "My husband has died and I have no son. They say about you that you have many sons. You might give me one of your sons to become my husband. I would not wish to take one of my subjects as a husband... I am afraid."
- Changing or traditional?
 - Ankhesenamun represents a traditional role, as she was married to a number rulers to confirm their status of pharaoh. She attempted to have a changing role in society, through her communication to the Hittite King, however this was disallowed by officials.

Nefertari

- Religious
 - Played important religious roles during her husband's reign
 - Often depicted officiating jointly with him during religious ceremonies on the walls of a shrine at Gebel el Silsila
 - Here she is shown as a religious officiant where she is portrayed as "appeasing the gods". The scene demonstrates Nefertari's importance, as it was generally the king in his role as chief priest who would make such offerings.

- She also presided over religious festivals and the investiture of at least one high priest
- Ramses II dedicated the Small Temple to Nefertari and the goddess Hathor.
- Nefertari's constant donning of the headdress is indicative of her "willingness to conform to and even perpetuate established Egyptian ideals." Abram is asserting that Nefertari did not deviate from the expectations placed upon her as queen of Egypt and that she was willing to carry out her traditional duties.
- She exercised her title of God's Wife of Amun and the epithet "who satisfies the gods" in order to ensure the prosperity and well-being of the nation through placating the gods and thus ensuring their kindness
- Political
 - Nefertari played a significant diplomatic role. There is evidence of letters exchanged with the Hittite queen after the treaty between Egypt and the Hittite nation in year 21 of Ramesses' reign, saying, "With me, your sister, all goes well... with you, my sister, may all go well"
 - Often exchanged greetings with the Hittite Queen, Pudukhepa
 - Depicted accompanying her husband on royal processions on the Nile and preceding religious festivals; depicted next to Ramesses II and is held in high regard
- Changing or traditional?
 - Nefertari's role upheld the traditional role expected during the 19th dynasty. This is evident through the upholding of her religious roles; her role does not depict a changing one. She accompanied her husband in religious festivals, officiated religious ceremonies and was present for the investiture of high priests. Therefore, it is evident that she played a traditional religious role. As Mary Abram asserts, Nefertari did not deviate from the religious expectations placed upon her as queen and that she was willing to carry out her traditional duties. This is also evident in Nefertari's political and diplomatic contribution as she communicated with other queens.

Modern opinion

- "On an ideological level, the queen represented the female principle of the universe through which the male king could renew himself... Both the king's mother and the king's principal wife had important ritual roles to play, and it is possible that these offered potential power to the holder." (Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, p. 55)
- "One feature of the imperial age of Egyptian history was the prominence of women. In a sense, this was not new. Egyptian queens had been important factors in the Old Kingdom. The 18th dynasty, however, surpassed previous ages in the acknowledged influence of women." (Wilson)
- "New Kingdom queens were more visible than ever before with increasing emphasis on individuality and divinity." (Tyldesley)

Role and contribution of prominent Egyptian officials within Egypt and the empire

Roles of the vizier

- Head of a multifaceted, highly centralised system of administration with an extensive bureaucracy
- Responsible for seeing that officials followed correct conduct
- For most of the Ramesside period, there were two: one for Upper Egypt and one for Lower Egypt
- The Duties of the Vizier = Text with four versions from tombs of viziers of southern Egypt, one of which is Paser, a 19th dynasty vizier who worked under Seti I and Ramesses II. Has enough detail to gain understanding of the vizier has the head of a multifaceted, highly centralised system with an extensive bureaucracy.
- Three main roles:
 - King's deputy:
 - Personal executive assistant to king
 - Main channel of communication with king

- Met daily and provided reports about current events, gained from an extensive network of subordinate officials
- Acted as a mediator when someone petitioned the king
- Listened to royal decrees and saw they were enforced
- Allocated state-owned plots of land to officials
- Withdrew land from officials found guilty of misconduct
- Head of palace administration
 - Responsible for security
 - Appointed key personnel to the palace, gateways and guard posts
 - Issued orders to open and close city gates
 - Received detailed reports about the people and goods entering and leaving the palace
 - Every day, with the overseer of the treasury, opened the Golden House (royal workshops and storehouses at the palace)
 - Responsible for official communication between the palace complex and the outside world
- Head of civil administration
 - Responsible for the proper operation of the machinery of government
 - Appointed leading officials in central government departments and local administration
 - Representatives of the vizier (*wehemu*) in each district; established deeds of property ownership, registered changes of ownership and lodged deeds in the central government archives; informed the vizier of the activities of all departments and affairs of each district
 - Vizier could summon local authorities, like district councillors and overseers of the fields
 - District councils (*kenbet*) reported to the vizier every four months

Roles of the religious elites

- High priests played political, economic and religious roles
- Temples were supported by estates and gifts given by the king
- Temple estates and workshops employed thousands
- Position of high priest could be given by the king as a reward for loyal service in other branch of government (e.g. In Heliopolis, Ramesses II appointed one of his chief charioteers as High Priest of Re and in Thebes, he rewarded Paser with the position of High Priest of Amen)
- Religious positions were often concentrated in a single family (e.g. In Abydos, position of High Priest of Osiris was held consecutively by 6 members of the same family)
- High Priest of Amen was the most powerful religious official, known also as 'Overseer of the Prophets of All the Gods'

Roles of the administrative elites

- Administration of the royal estate
 - Royal estates were handled by a separate bureaucracy headed by the Chancellor, a trusted confidant of the king
 - Under him was the Chief Steward, the Chamberlain and a host of officials and scribes
- Civil administration
 - Under the pharaoh were the two viziers (one for each Upper and Lower Egypt), Viceroy of Kush, Overseer of the Treasury, High Priest of Amen, Overseer of Granaries, Overseer of Works for the King, and an assortment of regional and local officials like nomarchs (governors) and mayors of districts and cities
 - Career as an administrator involved working through a succession of positions
 - One could hold multiple administrative offices at once as well as priestly positions

Roles of the military elites

- Leading the army was the pharaoh or one of his sons as commander-in-chief (e.g. Ramesses II held this role during the reign of his father, Seti I)
- Army was divided into a northern and southern corps
- Viceroy of Kush also headed a military force

Official	Role	Contribution
Amenhotep, son of Hapu (served Amenhotep III)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Priest of Amun-Re • Scribe of recruits • Overseer of all the king's works 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oversaw his lavish and expensive building program, important on a political and religious level, including the colossal statues and mortuary temple
Mahu (served Akhenaten)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commandant of the police and Akhetaten 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Duties included protecting the palace and temple, maintenance, armed escort • Received customary honours from the window of appearances
Maya (served Tutankhamun, Ay and Horemheb)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overseer of building works in the Place of Eternity • Royal scribe • Overseer of the treasury 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allowed for the building program to be successful • Assisted in the running of Egypt by ensuring the royal household was running smoothly • Ensured financial security
Nakhtmin (served Tutankhamun and Ay)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Royal scribe • Overseer of the army • King's son 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Had some control over the military, which may have included, training, maintaining and ensuring loyalty
Paser (Served Seti I and Ramesses II)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governor of Thebes • Vizier to Seti I and Ramesses II 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Important head of the Egyptian bureaucracy • Responsible for the departments of justice, treasury, armed forces, home affairs, agriculture, government communication and others • Became High Priest of Amun in his old age