

Personality Study: Hatshepsut
Red = primary/Blue = secondary

Part 1. Historical context

- **Geography, topography and resources of Egypt and its neighbours**
 - Extensive desert areas and surrounding oceans; the Nile, Black & Red Sea
 - Nile = supplies seafood, transportation, building materials, papyrus, etc
 - Periodic inundation ensured crops were nutrient rich
 - Barren desert acted as a protective barrier against enemies
 - Hatshepsut’s ancestors controlled sections of Syria-Palestine & Nubia
 - Hatshepsut expanded the empire with Punt
 - Cedar = Lebanon
 - Gold/ivory = Nubia
 - Turquoise/malachite = Sinai
 - Silver = Palestine
 - Kemet = Black land (fertile)
 - Deshret = Red land (desert)
 - **“Egypt was the gift of the Nile.” (Herodotus)**

- **Historical overview**
 - Middle Kingdom success deteriorated into confusion/chaos under divided rule
 - Foreign invaders from Palestine, the Hyksos, invaded Lower Egypt for 100 years
 - Humiliating for Egyptian pharaohs
 - Upper Egypt was ruled by Princes who paid tribute to the Hyksos
 - Hyksos maintained dominance through their military innovations (horse drawn chariots and composite bows)
 - King Kamose, 17th dynasty, began military improvement & challenged the Hyksos
 - His plans were finished by his brother Ahmose
 - They, and their line, are Hatshepsut’s ancestors
 - **“Fierce militarism, promotion of the new state god, Amun, and liberal treatment of royal women” transformed the Egyptian State (Tyldesley)**
 - Had begun process of colonisation eg **“King’s son of Kush” = Viceroy of Kush**

Ahmose	Amenhotep I (Ahmose’ son)	Thutmose I (H father)	Thutmose II (H husband)
Expelled the Hyksos, unifying Egypt and the New Kingdom. Transformed into a military power.	Deliberate policy of expansion, reconquering Nubia.	Established the ‘warrior pharaoh’ image by extending Egypt in Nubia and in the Euphrates river.	Put down rebellions.
Improved the army and began expanding into Palestine with the support of mercenary	Rebuilt fortresses to ensure the flow of gold from Nubia.	Established idea of empire.	His wife, Hatshepsut, and son, Thutmose III,

troops, the Medjay.			are better known.
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- **Overview of the social, political, military and economic structures**

Political Structures

- God-king (pharaoh) was the most powerful
- Controlled every aspect of society & government
- King's role...
 - Uphold maat (divine order established during creation)
 - Honour the gods eg perform rituals, attend festivals, build temples
 - Dispense justice
 - Provide prosperity/nourishment to the land and people
 - Protect Egypt
- Hierarchical bureaucracy ran daily life

Vizier = 2nd to pharaoh, head of administration

Steward of the Royal Domain

Overseer of all Priests of All the Gods

Commander of the Army

Son of Kush

- Male dominated society
- Humble beginnings did not bar someone from prominence
- Women were granted considerable freedom and legal rights
- Enabled a number of queens to gain influence as regent
- Control over Kush and Nubia brought extensive wealth and established Egypt as the world's strongest/wealthiest nation

Social Structures

Kuster: 4 classes

- Upper class: nobles, officials and priests
- Middle class: scribes, skilled craftsmen, trades people, teachers, artists and soldiers
- Peasants: farmers, labourers, servants
- Bottom: slaves
- Classes were well defined
- Social mobility was possible but limited

Military Structures

- Developed a permanent army
- Crucial to nation's growth
- Navy (largely for transporting troops along the Nile) developed

Economic Structures

- Women could own property, hold official positions and inherit money from parents/husbands
- Extensive foreign trade
- Grain etc collected under tax and then redistributed as payment to workers

- Gained booty from military campaigns
- No currency, used barter system
- **Relationship of the king to Amun**
 - Rulers of Thebes worshipped Amun (the hidden one)
 - He was associated with the sun God Re, so as not to have competition
 - Amun-Ra became the imperial god of Egypt
 - Regarded as pharaohs father
 - Believed responsible for New Kingdom success
 - **Lichtheim** miraculous births of kings propaganda was common
 - Important for people to see the pharaoh fulfilled rituals to please the god = stability/prosperity
 - Egyptians considered pharaohs to be chosen by the divine
 - Crop failure/plague seen as the king being out of favour with the god
 - **Karnak Temple** example of Amun cult significance; each pharaoh contributed
 - Priesthood increased in power and prestige as Thebes became the religious capital
 - Cult had significant influence
- **Overview of religious beliefs and practices**
 - Pharaoh had the status of the gods & Divine Kingship (dual human/god nature)
 - Maintained divinity through specific kingship rituals, eg. **Heb Sed festival**
 - Approximately 700 gods = polytheistic
 - Religion influenced by tradition: little questioning of previous beliefs
 - Body seen as link to the afterlife; practiced mummification to preserve for afterlife
 - Pharaoh worshipped in life and death
 - Necropolis 'city of the dead' emerged for royal tombs

Part 2. Background and rise to prominence

- **Family background**
 - Line of influential kings and queens
 - Succeeded number of exceptional queens who expanded the role of royal women
 - Royal women were sometimes granted prominent religious and political roles
 - Father = Thutmose I
 - Inherited **God's Wife of Amun** title and grew up participating in the cult
 - Female predecessors were present at royal audiences, toured buildings, attended award presentations, etc
- **Claim to the throne and succession: Divine Birth and Coronation reliefs**
 - Last surviving child of greatest pharaoh, Thut 1, and daughter to royal wife Ahmose
 - Pharaohs long claimed to be the son of the principal God (New Kingdom: Amun Re)
 - H went further than normal Egyptian assumption - irreconcilable with gender
 - Her husband Thut II died, leaving her coregent of the boy pharaoh Thutmose III
 - Unusual because he was not her son/descendant
 - Assumed powers of pharaoh, using propaganda to justify her succession
 - Linked herself to powerful men
 - **Tyldesley** suggests a "gradual" manoeuvre

Propaganda exists in mortuary temples

Divine Birth Reliefs

- While others had claimed to be the son of God, none had pushed it so far
- Showed Amun declaring he would father the princess of Egypt
 - Amun impregnating Queen Ahmose in the guise of Thut I
 - Amun holding the Ankh to Ahmoses nose, giving life to Hatshepsut
 - Captions naming H as king
 - God of Creation/Pottery moulding H & her Ka
 - Ahmose being led off by goddesses to give birth
 - H suckled by Hathor
 - New baby depicted with boy genitalia
- Reinforces her divinity and strengthens her ties to her father (strong and capable)
- Does not correspond with historical reality

Coronation Reliefs

- Rewrites history: claims Thut I selected H as his successor; to enhance her legitimacy
- Amun showing H to the Gods of Egypt, demonstrating her being chosen
- H & Thut I travelling to shrines where he presents her as future king (no evidence)
- Coronation ceremony before the nobles
- "Her form was like a god"
- **Gardiner** maintains fictional due absence of Thut II, presence of Thut I, and the date not corresponding with her obelisks
- Does not correspond with historical reality

● **Political and religious roles of the king and queen in the 17th and 18th dynasty**

- Egyptian kings thought to be divine incarnations of the god Horus/Amun
- Pyramids and the tombs ensured the survival of the king's influence after his death.
- Role of a Pharaoh was to govern the country: directing battles, ensuring the country's economic stability, changing the religion of the country to suit their propaganda and maintaining maat.
- No feminine words for a reigning monarch = women had little political power
- Roles of the king shifted over these 2 dynasties.
- Originally their role was mainly military - expelling the Hyksos and reuniting Egypt
- Became more innovative/expansive
 - Foreign policies
 - Expanding Egypt's borders and wealth through development of the army
 - Creating civil administration to ensure successful governance
 - Building programs → revealed their power/wealth/stability, pleased the gods, created work
 - Support (reciprocated) for religious cults
- Dynasty queens were able to
 - Assume high public positions
 - Carry out a range of state duties

- Participate in court functions
 - Own their own estates
 - Hold numerous secular/religious titles
 - Wear distinctive regalia
- **Tetisheri:**
 - Grandmother of King Ahmose
 - Offered support and advice to the pharaohs during the Hyksos expulsion
 - **Donation Stela** from son/grandsons; modern scholars “**Mother of New Kingdom Egypt**”
- **Ahhotep:**
 - Regent and mother of King Ahmose
 - Politically active; rallied troops and eliminated rebels in his absence
 - Pacified Upper Egypt
 - Received the **Golden Flies of Valour**
 - **Karnak dedication stela** states Ahhotep “**is in control of affairs**” and “**unites Egypt.**”
- **Ahmose Nefertari**
 - Wife of King Ahmose
 - Grandmother of Hatshepsut
 - First to receive priestly position **God's Wife of Amun** (granted economic security, large estate, female companionship)
 - Title indicates high religious and political status
 - Deified
- **Hatshepsut**
 - Earlier queen's established a precedent for female rule = led to Hatshepsut
 - Saw her vital task as the rebuilding/stabilising of Egypt
- **Marriage to Thutmose II**
 - Son of Thut 1 by different wife (half siblings)
 - Produced one daughter, Neferure
 - As a queen, she was not unusual and accepted her subsidiary role
 - Depicted behind her husband in stela eg **Karnak Gateway relief**, “**approved wifely fashion**” (**Tyldesley**)
 - Prepared a traditional queen's tomb away from her husband's
 - No evidence she was dissatisfied with her role (**Ibid**)
 - Some suggestion H was behind his policy, as hers pursued similar tendencies

Part 3. Career

- **Titles and changes to her royal image over time**
 - Civilians couldn't read, so they relied on images to show order

Why did she claim power?

1. May have felt that she had a better claim. Their cooperation disagrees.
2. Wanted to secure the throne for her daughter.
3. Feared others would influence the young pharaoh.

As wife

- God's wife of Amun
- King's great wife
- Feminine with slender waist dressed in the vulture headdress eg **Red granite statue**

As regent

- Assumed role of regent for her small stepson Thut III
- She was in late teens when her husband died
- Expected she hand total control to him at his maturity
- Evidence of her future ambitions in her use of titles modelled on kings "lady of the two lands"
- Commissioned her first pair of obelisks = prerogative of a king
- Slowly reinforcing her position by "drawing on kingly iconography, titulary and actions" **G. Robins** *Images of Women in Antiquity*, (used same titles as her male forebears)
- Consolidated her position by linking careers with officials eg Ineni
- Pharaonic symbols eg **atef (white crown of Osiris), royal kilt, serpent**

As King of Upper and Lower Egypt

- Crowned with full pharaonic powers and titles of a ruling king
- Gradual seizure of power "carefully controlled political manoeuvre" **Tyldesley**
- Officially was a joint ruling but she was the senior power
- Unknown why changed her status to king
 - Felt had more right to the throne as a direct descendant of Ahmose?
 - Feared Thut would die young and she wanted to secure the throne for her daughter?
 - Feared an influential group would use Thut?
- No evidence for animosity of his challenge of her authority
- **Lower colonnade at Deir el Bahri** shown as a sphinx trampling her enemies (warrior)
- *Image below - Deir el Bahri* - depicted in male stance, with Khepresh crown & false beard, crook and flail, muscular
- Coronation ceremony adopted titles of a ruling king
- Scribes referred to her in both masculine and feminine terms "her majesty, king maat ka re"

- **Foreign policy:
Military campaigns**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fragmentary evidence led scholars to believe she focused on domestic. - Also influenced by their context (60's) in which women could not be powerful 	
Sir Alan Gardiner	<u>"Barren of any military enterprise except for an unimportant raid into Nubia."</u>
Wilson	<u>"No military campaigns or conquests"</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nothing suggests she had a deliberate non aggression policy. - Maintained warrior image pharaoh through war crown, eg on the Karnak obelisk 	
Redford	<p>Inscriptions suggest at least four campaigns. Notes she needed peace to gain prosperity. Speos Artemidos suggests she was in a state of readiness.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nubian led by H (graffito by Tiy) 2. Consolidatory attack on Palestine/Syria 3. Coronation inscription 'predicts' her capturing of Nubian chiefs 4. Thut III captures gaza
<u>"Her arrow is among the northerners."</u>	

Expedition to Punt

- She regarded it as one of her greatest achievements, calling it a military campaign
- Recorded in her mortuary temple
- 5 ships laden with gifts for barter were despatched to Punt (untravalled)
- Maintained she was responding to calls of Amun; likely High Priest suggested myrrh trees be planted in Temples so could easily access incense
 - "I have made for him a Punt in his garden"
- Peaceful trade allowed continuous supply of fragrant woods, ebony, ivory, baboon
- Reliefs reveal trade, referred to as 'tribute'
- Trade is largely one sided = tribute
- Propaganda attempts to equate the trade to a military campaign
 - Shows chieftains presenting the goods to H

Other Trading...

- **Speos Artemidos** and **tomb of the treasurer** allude to further trade

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

- Building scale demonstrates sudden economic prosperity of the regime
- Ensured her legacy & reminded public of her power

- Generated business and employment for tradesmen and skilled craftsmen
- Offerings to the Gods "I have done this with a loving heart for my father Amun"
- **Redford** believed building program was her top priority due to scale
- Expressed her devotion to the gods
- Reflected the general prosperity of her reign.
- **Tyldesley** says buildings reminded people of the pharaoh's power
- **Speos Artemidos Inscription**
 - Restoration text, claiming the land was in chaos prior to Hatshepsut
 - "Carved the annals of her supremacy"
 - "Punt overflows for me"
 - "I made her (Pakhet) temple worthy."
 - "Eternity on the throne of Horus"
 - "Made strong what was decayed."

Restoration

- Repair temples damaged by the Hyksos
- Restore Egypt's former glory and pride (motive)
- Pays respect to the old Gods
- E.g. **Temple of Hathor**

Completion

- Finished buildings originally started by Thut II
- Note that many of these have vanished - public buildings/royal chambers were made from mud brick which disintegrates
 - Reveals value of religious objects which were primarily stone
- E.g. **Gateways & halls at Karnak (sandstone)**

Construction

- Number of new structures, temples, chapels, pylons and obelisks
- Built along the Nile
- Displays innovation and engineering skills
- Acted as propaganda to justify her unusual role
- E.g. **Red Chapel, Karnak Obelisks, Speos Artemidos, Deir el Bahri**

Deir el-Bahri "Holiest of the holiest" (By Senenmut)

- Mortuary temple including sanctuary to Amun
- **Djeser-djeseru** was her mortuary temple in Deir El-Bahri
- Inscriptions justify her claims to the throne and advertise her major achievements
- Dug into cliffs so as to blend into natural environment
- Provided a sanctuary for daily offerings to her, instead of intruding on her tomb
- Included mortuary chapel to her father (reminds public of her lineage)
- Dedication to Amun
- Featured:
 - **Long processional avenue allowing the temple's entrance to align with the entrance to Karnak on the opposite side of the river**

- Forecourt lined with six sphinxes & myrrh trees from Punt
- Colonnade decorated with Punt, Coronation, & Birth reliefs & H statues
- Chapels to Hathor (fierce lioness goddess) and Anubis
- Recordings of the construction/transportation of the obelisks
- Hatshepsut suckling Hathor with Amun in a barque

Additions to Karnak

- Pylon & gateway
- Red Granite Chapel to house the barque of Amun
- 4 red granite obelisks (2 remain)
 - Inscriptions:
 1. Hatshepsut's right to the throne
 2. Glorification of Amun
 3. Relationship with her father Thutmose I
 - "My heart directed me to make for him two obelisks."
 - Describes the chaotic Hyksos rule
 - Praises her reign and restoration

Valley of Kings Tomb (By Hapuseneb)

- Sarcophagi found but no bodies
- Passages cut 213m below ground
- Intended to build passage through cliffs to connect with burial chamber below Deir el Bahri but faults in the rock prevented

Beni Hasan (Speos Artemidos)

- Dedicated 2 temples to god Pakhet
- Recorded all her achievements "I have restored that which was in ruins."

● Religious policy: devotion to Amun and promotion of other cults

- Heavily involved with the cult as a youth as **God's Wife of Amun**
- Royals displayed piety through fulfillment of rituals
 - New idea that Gods could dictate moral behaviour saw a turn towards real piety
- Introduced
 - **"The litany of Re" - a hymn to Re**
 - **"Amduat" - religious story**
 - **"The Book of Coming Forth by Day" - series of spells used after death**
- Used propaganda to justify the change of worship/succession of throne
- Pharaoh who most raised the status of Amun
- She dedicated all her buildings at Karnak as enduring monuments to Amun
- Linked herself as the daughter of Amun through the Divine Conception relief
- Claimed was directed to trade with Punt by Amun
- Mortuary temple was a dedication to Amun
- Built/repared temples, restored forgotten festivals, doubled offerings
- Association with Hathor (goddess of fertility)
- Appeared she was truly faithful, but saw political motive

- Amun oracles pronounced her as ruler and legitimised her position
- Mutual interests saw the increase of the cults prominence
- Merged Amun and Re = combined most powerful gods (past & present)
 - Reveals unity and striving to regain stability
 - Became a source of ethical authority = new role for god's
 - God offered his guidance through oracles
 - Guidance shown through dipping of Amun's barque in certain directions
- Kneeling statue at **deir el bahri** designed to make offerings to Amun
- **Repaired Thoth's temple in Hermopolis**
- Various gods involved in the divine birth and coronation reliefs
- Coronation reliefs depicts her visiting the temple of various gods while travelling Egypt

- **Relationship with the Amun priesthood, officials and nobles**

- Appointed Chief Steward of Amun, Senenmut to be her daughter's tutor
- Hapuseneb (High Priest of Amun) and Senenmut helped her attain power
- Built political support system of powerful men, some associated with her father
- Sexism exists amongst scholars who say her power relied on male support
- More accurate to say that her relationships show her political powers
- She rewarded people for hard work and loyalty

Hapuseneb

- Appointed vizier, control of all the priests of all the gods of Egypt = superior cult
- Civil titles as “overseer of the temples”
- Constructed her tombs

Senenmut

- Closest advisor
- Controversial figure from humble background; intimate terms with royals
- Some believe he was H lover but no evidence
- Titles: **Chief Steward of Amun, Chief Steward of the King** suggest was a highly competent administrator and financial manager
- Controlled the king's estate, royal household, and the estate of Amun
- Evidence she gave him permission to sign his place in various monuments
- Tomb of his mother was richly decorated, as was his
- The images of him within her temple suggest they were lovers
 - **Dr Callender** dismisses; blaming on sexism
- Senenmut mysteriously disappeared in Year 16 of her reign
 - Possibly pushed his power → lack of burial; name chiseled from statues
 - Possibly just died → was quite old

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

- No doubt she was the senior partner
- Past have believed her to be of bad character, quashing the great Thut into silence

- Modern scholars increasingly suggest their positive/respectful relationship
- Shared monuments together (side by side as an adult); given leadership of the army
- Names, titles and images erased from walls following her death
- Replaced with her father, and other kings names
- Statues were smashed and dumped in a pit at **Deir el Bahri**
- **Karnak obelisks were enclosed behind a wall**
- Many believe Thutmose III embarked on a ferocious campaign to erase her memory, out of vengeance
- **C.F. Nims** has proven the destruction occurred over 20 years after her death, and questions that vengeance would allow Thut to wait so long; destruction was selective

Stable, complementary coregents	Tinged with hatred & resentment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural for young boy to rely on older, more experienced administrator • Depicted standing side by side (equality) • Together during ceremonies e.g. Presentation of titles to Senenmut • Officials like Enebi referenced both monarchs in their temples • Historian Mimms believes defacement occurred 20 years later, & Neville says 100. Conclude that would have destroyed much earlier if bad feelings. Instead, proposes Thut III had to make political show of restoring ma'at (which had been destroyed by female pharaoh). Suggestion damage not as extensive as believed as some was destroyed under later pharaohs • Historian Hennessey: Thut had power of military and could have taken over if wanted • Redford: Thut felt uncomfortable comparing their reign • Damage occurs only to her images as pharaoh • Robins suggests erased because “didn’t conform with maat,” upsetting the people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • H depicted to the forefront in Red Chapel (dominance) • Removing someone’s name was significant as prevented their afterlife • Gardiner: traditional 50s view that a man would naturally resent being less than a woman • Achievements hidden eg Karnak obelisks • Did not name her in his Chamber of Kings as an ancestor • Reid's: Thut's strong character would not have appreciated a secondary role • Tyldesley: damage to Senenmut shows how he had become too influential

Part 4. Evaluation

- **Impact and influence on her time**
 - Successfully completed pharaonic duties of maintaining maat
 - Glorified the gods by repairing temples destroyed by the Hyksos
 - Restored neglected rites, festival and cult processions
 - Built new monuments to the gods (particularly Amun)
 - Significantly funded the cult of Amun, advancing its priesthood by gifting official posts
 - Increased prosperity

- Building program generated employment
- Trade with Sinai and Punt opened new routes for wealth
- Maintained a well trained and equipped army which protected Egypt
- Provided stability and order by working with officials and the elite to ensure harmony
- This instilled confidence in civilians

- **Assessment of her life and reign**

- Competent political skills manifested in 21 prosperous and peaceful years
- Strong and persevering personality to attain powers not available to women
- Sensible approach to gradual attainment of power
- Charisma/personality allowed her to gain and maintain the loyalty of elite officials
- Amicable ruling with her coregent; she prepared him for kingship
- One of the greatest builders, leaving many glorious structures
- Opening of permanent trade
- Effectively used propaganda
- Will never know why she took power
 - Strong character

- **Legacy**

- Provided stability that allowed Egypt to continue to prosper
- Domestic security allowed her successor to expand the empire
- Guidance and opportunities she gave Thut formed him into a great leader
- Status of Amun cult greatly raised, acquiring religious and political influence
- Restored Egypt's former glory, instilling confidence
- Not only created a precedent of a female ruler, but changed the concept of Kingship
 - Began to involve a close relationship between the king and the god Amun
- Reinvigorated festivals

- **Ancient and modern images and interpretations of Hatshepsut.**

- Was removed from the ancient Egyptian Kings Lists
- Unknown of by scholars until 1822
- Various interpretations of her character and actions
- An inscription reveals she worried over how people would speak of her
- Many historians biasly viewed her as a scheming and power hungry woman = discredited
- Turn of the 20th century historians were familiar with Queen Victoria = legitimate, successful ruler
- **Naville** "[enlightened government](#)"
- **1983 Drioton/Vandier** claimed her military policy was a result of her weaker gender
- 60s made image of her as evil, failing to create an empire
- **J.A Wilson** "[pacifist...her achievements did not measure up](#)"
- **K. Seele** "[kept her co ruler on the sidelines and thwarted his ambitions](#)"
- **Hayes** "[bad tempered, vain, shrewd, ambition woman](#)"

- **Gardiner** [“deliberately abused a position of trust by stealing the throne from a defenceless child”](#)
- Modern change in opinion
- **Tyldesley** [“Egypt prospered under her rule”; “unexceptional”; “boringly conformist wife”](#)

Glossary:

Barque of the God: Sacred/sacramental boat on which Amun’s statue travelled during the Opet festival

Obelisks: Giant column with a pyramid tip covered in electrum. Stands unsupported on its flat base.

Chancellor: Egyptian Prime Minister

Valley of the Kings: Where the new kingdom pharaohs were buried

Mortuary Temple: Temple which pays respect to the deceased but does not contain the body

Oracle: Person who receives the words of God and shares them with the people

Minor: Someone not of age and is therefore unable to assume power

Regent: Acts/rules on behalf of a minor until they become of ruling age

Great Wife of the King: Major/official wife and queen of the king

Dyarchy: Rule by 2 people