Section 1  The trading expedition to the land of Punt - an introduction

Prior to or during the ninth year of her reign Hatshepsut ordered preparations to be made for an expedition to the Land of Punt. Hatshepsut appears to have regarded the Punt trading expedition as an extremely important part of her reign. She wanted to be remembered for it because it contributed to Egypt’s prosperity and showed her devotion to her father Amun.

You were introduced to this expedition in Part 1 - Finding out about Hatshepsut.

Do you remember looking at some of the Punt reliefs on the walls of Hatshepsut’s Mortuary Temple at Deir el-Bahri?

These Punt reliefs are referred to as primary sources.

Before we proceed any further let’s revise what is meant by a primary source.

Jot down what you understand a primary source to be.

A primary source is something written, printed, sculpted, made or built by people who lived in the particular period being studied.

Earlier accounts of the Land of Punt

The Land of Punt was known to the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom as a fabulous, semi-mythical realm. It was the source of incense and myrrh which was an important requisite in all temple worship. Although several Old Kingdom rulers are supposed to have sent
expeditions to these incense lands, much of this valuable product probably made its way into Egypt via Arabia.

The records show that during the Middle Kingdom, several kings commissioned expeditions to Punt.

1 Hennu, the Chief Treasurer of King Mentuhotep III relates:

His Majesty commissioned me to fit out ships for Punt, in order to fetch fresh incense from the princes, the chiefs of the red country [desert].

Hennu marched with 3,000 men through the eastern desert to the Red Sea. His record continues:

I reached the sea, and I built this ship, and I equipped it entirely and prepared a great sacrifice for it of calves, oxen and gazelles.

However, he did not accompany the expedition and we learn nothing more about it.

2 The inscription of another treasurer under King Amenhemet II describes how he:

returned happily from Punt - his soldiers were with him, hale and hearty, and his ships landed at Sauu.

Despite these apparent Middle Kingdom expeditions, the distant Land of Punt continued to be one of mystery about which incredible tales were told.

A Middle Kingdom tale about Punt

A Middle Kingdom papyrus contains The Wondrous Traveller’s Tale, a fabulous story of an Egyptian treasurer and his adventures in Punt.

The treasurer set out in a boat 150 cubits* long and 40 cubits broad with 150 of pharaoh’s best sailors. At some point in the journey a gale blew up and the waves reached eight cubits high. Everyone perished except the treasurer who was washed onto an island where he spent three days alone. He found ‘figs and grapes, all manner of plants and fruits, all kinds of melons, fish and birds’ to sustain him.

Then he heard the sound of thunder and the earth shook. He saw a snake approaching.

He was 30 cubits in length and his beard was more than 2 cubits long. His limbs were inlaid with gold and his colour was like real lapis-lazuli. He rolled forward and opened his mouth; I threw myself down before him and he spake: who brought thee thither? Then he took me in his mouth and took me to his lair. God has brought you to this spirit island where nothing is wanting and which is plenteous in all good things.
The snake-prince of Punt told the treasurer that he would stay on the island for four months and then a ship would come to collect him. He added:

as soon as thou shalt have departed from this place thou shalt never see this island again: it will be changed into water.

When the ship came as prophesied the prince gave the Egyptian:
presents of myrrh, of the oil heken, of frankincense and cassia, of the woods teshepses and Sha'as, of panther skins, of merery wood, of much common incense, of elephants' teeth, of greyhounds, of the Guf monkeys and the lu monkeys and of all manner of precious things.

After spending two months on the return journey, as the Lord of Punt had predicted, the treasurer delivered the presents to pharaoh.

* A cubit was an ancient measure based on the length of the forearm (about 45 - 50 cms)

[Adapted from A Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*]

Even though there were supposedly several expeditions sent to Punt during the Middle Kingdom, the Egyptians of that time still regarded the incense lands as fabulous realms.

Perhaps this is why Hatshepsut recorded on the walls of her Temple that until her reign:

No one trod the Myrrh-terraces, [Punt] which the people knew not; it was heard of from mouth to mouth by hearsay of the ancestors.

The expedition, initiated by her, may have been the first to lift the veil on this land.

Of course she might have had another motive for saying that no-one had been to Punt before her reign. What do you think it could have been?

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Part 5 3 hatshepsut's trading and military activities
Where was the Land of Punt?

Even today we do not know exactly where this land was. However, there tends to be an agreement among scholars that it was somewhere in the vicinity of present-day Somalia.

Look carefully at the two maps on pages 4 and 5. Figure 1 shows Egypt, Nubia, the Red Sea and the possible location of Punt. Figure 2 shows the same area as it is today.
Evidence that points to present-day Somalia

Study the pictorial primary sources below and see if you can suggest what clues might have led scholars to place the ancient Land of Punt near present-day Somalia.

Figure 3
Possible clues used by scholars to locate the Land of Punt.

Read the following text which was part of the reliefs on the wall of Hatshepsut's temple. It describes some of the goods from Punt being loaded onto the ships.

Would this text have given scholars any more clues? If so what would they have been?

all goodly fragrant woods ... heaps of Myrrh-resin, with fresh myrrh trees, with ebony and pure ivory, with gree-gold of Emu, with cinnamon wood, ... with apes, monkeys, dogs and with the skins of the southern panther ... [J H Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol II, p109]
Exercise 1

Why was the land of Punt so attractive to the ancient Egyptians?
Section 2  Opening the way to the myrrh terraces

The purpose of the expedition

Before we look at what the inscriptions say was the specific purpose of this expedition, see if you can work it out from the plan of the reliefs shown below. The reliefs were inscribed over the south, west and north walls of the Temple at Deir el-Bahri. The scenes are numbered from 1-10.

What does the description of the scenes tell you about the specific purpose of the expedition?

Figure 5  Layout of the Punt reliefs on Hatshepsut's temple walls
The inscriptions below are associated with the Punt reliefs on the walls of Hatshepsut's temple. Read the inscriptions carefully and re-write them in your own words. Do they support what you worked out from the plan on the previous page?

The majesty of the court made supplication at the steps of the lord of gods: a command was heard from the great throne, an oracle from the god himself, that the ways to Punt should be searched out, that the highways to the Myrrh-teraces should be penetrated. I will lead the army on water and on land, to bring marvels from God's-Land for this god. [J H Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol II, p116]

... that which he hath ... commanding me to establish for him a Punt in his house, to plant the trees of God's-Land beside his temple, in his garden according as he commanded. [J H Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol II, p121 - 122]
Did you mention that the purpose of the expedition appears to have been the collection of incense, in the form of resin and trees, for use in Amun’s temple.

However, the underlying purpose was probably to ensure the continuing support of the priesthood of Amun. By opening up this area to trade, Hatshepsut would guarantee a continual supply of incense and the other exotic products, such as ivory, ebony, gold and exotic animals, that Egyptians prized so much. Most of these products would find their way to Amun’s Temple at Karnak and to the temple workshops.

Perhaps the idea of the expedition was suggested to Hatshepsut by Senenmut or even by the High Priest of Amun, Hapusoneb. The expedition’s

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**Exercise 2**

Write a paragraph explaining how we know what the purpose of Hatshepsut’s expedition was.

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**Preparations for the expedition**

**Organisation**

The expedition was organised by Nehsi, hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, chief treasurer.

It is not known however, if Nehsi is the same person referred to in the reliefs as King’s messenger who negotiated and traded with the Puntites. It is quite likely that after organising the expedition, Nehsi accompanied it only as far as the Red Sea port from which it left.

In one of the later Punt inscriptions he is described as dispatching, rather than conducting the army to Punt. He may have followed the example of the treasurer, Hennu, from the Middle Kingdom, who went only as far as the Red Sea where he organised the building of ships for the voyage to Punt.

In the remainder of this section we will refer to the leader of the expedition as the King’s messenger rather than Nehsi although they may have been one and the same man.
Journey to the Red Sea

It's not known how the members of the expedition reached the Red Sea port from which they sailed south.

Like the expeditions of the Middle Kingdom, Hatshepsut's may have left the Nile at Coptos and crossed the Eastern Desert via the Wadi Hammamat (refer to map on page 4). The ships may have been constructed somewhere on the Red Sea coast.

However, Strabo, the Greek geographer of the first century AD, believed that one of the kings of the Middle Kingdom had built a canal through the Wadi Tumilat connecting the Delta with the Red Sea (refer to map on page 4). Hatshepsut's expedition may have used this canal. There is some evidence to back this up. In the reliefs the same ships are shown sailing on the Red Sea and along the Nile.

Ships and personnel

A contingent of soldiers accompanied the King's messenger.

Can you think of a reason or reasons why Hatshepsut sent an escort of soldiers on this expedition?

It was common practice for a force of soldiers to escort royal expeditions (trading and mining). Not only did the army protect the members of the expedition and its valuable products but they often did some of the labouring work as well. Hatshepsut records that she was proud of the part her army played in rebuilding Egypt.

In many ways this economic venture to Punt, designed to bring back valuable goods for Amun, could be compared with a military campaign. A large share of the booty and tribute from conquered people was given to the god.

There appear to have been five expeditionary ships, each about twenty metres long with huge sails and thirty rowers each. The ships were laden with bales of cloth, jars containing wine and beer and a variety of gifts to exchange for the products of Punt.

Sacrifice

Prior to the departure a sacrifice was made to the goddess Hathor so that she would send the wind. Hathor was referred to as the Mistress of Punt because she was regarded as the goddess of foreign countries.

Take another look at the plan of the reliefs in Figure 5. Is there any record of the journey south?
Reception in Punt

The Egyptians made their first contact with the Puntites near the coast. They may have moored their ships in a river estuary.

Exercise 3

a Read the description below.

b Label and write brief descriptions for each of the numbered parts of the Punt reliefs (Figures 6 and 7).

According to the reliefs, the Puntites lived close to the shore in small conical huts built on piles. Cattle and asses (donkeys) grazed beneath the huts which were hidden among trees and exotic plants.

The King’s messenger, at the head of his escort of soldiers carrying ceremonial axes and standards to show their peaceful intentions, approached the Puntites. Close to the beach the Egyptians set up tables covered with gifts - a pile of necklaces, bangles and large rings, hatchets, daggers and every good thing from the court. Perhaps the Egyptians also presented small statues of Amun and Hatshepsut to the King of Punt.

Although these goods were really for trade with the Puntites, the inscription refers to them as an offering to the Egyptian Goddess, Hathor, Mistress of Punt.

Can you suggest a reason for this?

The native king, Paruhu, and his incredibly fleshy or deformed wife, Eti, and three children advanced at the head of their people. The queen travelled to the meeting on an ass.

The Puntites, probably distrusting the sight of armed men, moved forward somewhat hesitantly with their hands uplifted in supplication and with bowed heads.

They prayed for peace and asked the Egyptians how they had come to the land no one knows of. They enquired if the foreigners came upon the ways of heaven or sailed upon the sea of God’s-Land.
According to the inscription they gave praise to Amun-Re and asked that they be allowed to live by the breath which Hatshepsut gives.

_Do you think that the Puntites would have given praise to the Egyptian god, Amun-Re, at this initial meeting?

Another portion of the relief shows the King’s messenger standing to the left of a tent. The Egyptians had pitched their tents in the myrrh terraces on the side of the sea, in order to receive the chiefs of this country. They offered the Puntite chiefs bread, beer, wine, meat and fruit.

_The King’s messenger is shown receiving the tribute of the chief of Punt. These goods include heaps of myrrh-resin and rings of white-gold._

The trade products from Punt are depicted in the inscriptions as tribute which was normally a payment made by conquered rulers to their overlord.

_Why do you think Hatshepsut had the trade goods depicted as tribute in the inscriptions at Deir el-Bahri?_

Now look at the copy of the reliefs on the pages 16 and 17.
The loading of the ships ... with marvels of the country of Punt: all goodly fragrant woods ... heaps of myrrh resin, with fresh myrrh trees, with ebony and pure ivory, with the green gold of Emu, with cinnamon wood, kheyt wood, with hathut-incense, soker incense, eye cosmetic, with apes, monkeys, dogs and with skins of the Southern panther, with natives and their children.

J.H. Breasted  (Ancient Records of Egypt Vol 2 pg 109)

The loading of the cargo-boat with great quantities of marvels of the land of Punt, with all the good woods of the divine land, heaps of gum of ant, and trees of green ant, with ebony, with pure ivory, with pure gold from the land of Amu, with cinnamon wood, Khesit wood with balsam, resin, antimony* with cyncephali* monkeys, grey hounds, with skins of Panthers of the South, with inhabitants of the country and their children.

J. Bentley  (Hatshepsut)

* antimony - white metallic element used in alloys and medicine
*cyncephali - dog-faced baboon

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Look to your feet, ye people! Behold the load is very heavy! prosperity be with us for the sake of the Myrrh tree in the midst of God's land, for the house of Amun. There is a place where it shall be made to grow for Makare, in his temple...

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Study carefully the labelled copy of the relief of the loading of the ships.

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Loading the ships and the return voyage

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Hatshepsut's trading and military activities
The baboon was a sacred animal of the sun-god.

Myrrh was an incense used in daily rituals in the cult temples and during the bathing and purification of the god.

In Tutankhamun's tomb there was a gold and ebony throne inlaid with ivory and jewels. Other items included ivory coffers for jewels, ivory headrests, chests of wood and ivory.

Most Egyptian jewellery was made partly from gold.

In tomb paintings, apes and monkeys were shown as household pets. Their chief role seems to have been to entertain.

Fragrant woods and incense resins were burnt in peoples homes as well as in mortuary temples as an offering to the dead.

Among royalty and the nobility, animal skins were used for coverings on chairs and stools.

Hatshepsut covered her obelisk with electrum (mixture of gold and silver). Gold was used extensively in the temple workshops for ritual and funerary items. In Tutankhamun's tomb, a large percentage of the grave goods were made from or covered in gold sheet.

Scenes in the tombs of some nobles show trained monkeys gathering nuts and dates.

The Egyptians painted their eyelids with a variety of cosmetics - green malachite, black and grey kohl and red haematite.

Egyptian nobles and royalty spent many hours in the desert with their dogs hunting wild animals, such as lions and gazelles.

The Egyptians used cosmetics to protect as well as adorn their eyes.

Cinnamon, frankincense and myrrh were mixed with other ingredients to produce a perfumed oil.

Cinnamon, frankincense and myrrh were mixed with other ingredients to produce a perfumed oil.

Ebony was a precious black wood, greatly prized in Egypt and a fragment from the Punt reliefs shows the felling these trees in large quantities.

Ivory was sometimes used in amulets (protective charms). It was also used to make game pieces and as inlays for furniture.

Members of the nobility often wore perfumed wax cones on their head. As these cones melted in the heat, the perfumed oil ran down their bodies.

Because ebony was such a valuable timber, it was probably used mostly for ritual items such as shrines and tomb furniture.
Exercise 4

a) Draw up a table of two columns with the headings Products from Punt and Possible Uses. Fill in the first column with the information in Figure 8. Match the products with their possible uses from the information in Figure 9.

b) What do you think would have been the status of the Puntite natives and their children who were taken to Egypt? Explain why you think this way.

The final scene relating to the actual expedition shows three vessels under full sail on the Nile with the inscription:

Sailing, arriving in peace, journeying to Thebes with joy of heart, by the army of the Lord of Two Lands with the chiefs of this country (Punt) behind them. They have brought that, the like of which was not brought for other kings, being the Marvels of Punt ...

[J H Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol II, p110]

Exercise 5

What impression do you think Hatshepsut was trying to create about the expedition with the words journeying to Thebes with joy of heart, by the army of the Lord of Two Lands with the chiefs of this country (Punt) behind them?
Section 3  The presentation and dedication of the products of Punt

The majority of the Punt reliefs are concerned with what happened after the expedition returned to Egypt.

Refer back to the plan of the reliefs (Figure 5) and make a list of the scenes showing what happened after the expedition arrived back in Thebes.

The return of the expedition was marked with great celebrations. Native chieftains from Punt and two other unknown countries (Irem and Nemyew) bowed before Hatshepsut as they presented the treasures to her (Figure 10). The land of Irem could have been either an inland Nubian kingdom or a country on the Red Sea coast north of Punt.

The accompanying inscription again describes the products from these lands as tribute rather than trade items and records that Amun set all the lands beneath her (Hatshepsut) sandals. Hatshepsut tried to create an impression that she had dominion over these countries as if she has conquered them.
Figure 10  Presentation of the *tribute* to Hatshepsut
The next scene shows the queen standing before the *tribute* which includes:

- *thirty-one fresh myrrh trees* and piles of myrrh resin
- *electrum; eye-cosmetics; throw-sticks of the Puntites; ebony; ivory; shells*
- *a southern panther alive, captured for her majesty in the south countries*
- *many panther skins; 3 300 small cattle.*

Some of these products such as gold and cattle may not have come from Punt but rather from Nubia.

*Do you think 3 300 small cattle would have fitted on the five ships taken to Punt?*

The incense, the gold rings and bars of electrum were measured and weighed (Refer to Figures 11 and 12). The reliefs show one of Hatshepsut’s officials, Thutiyy, supervising this task and recording the results on her behalf. The god, Thoth is shown recording the quantities on behalf of Amun.

Then Hatshepsut formally offered the products to Amun and declared that she has done everything that he commanded - which was to:

- find the way to Punt
- penetrate the Myrrh terraces
- bring back marvels for the god
- make a Punt for Amun in Egypt by planting the myrrh trees in his *house* (temple).

The inscriptions continue with a speech by Amun praising Hatshepsut and promising success for future expeditions.

Finally Hatshepsut made a formal announcement of the unprecedented success of the expedition to the assembled court. The reliefs feature three court dignitaries, two of whom have been identified.

1 Chief Treasurer, Nehsi organiser, if not the leader of the expedition

2 Senenmut, Steward of Amun, favourite of Hatshepsut. As Steward of Amun, Senenmut was responsible for the financial management of the Temple of Karnak.

The other figure is not identified. All three figures have been mutilated.
Figure 11  Measuring incense resin. In the background are mature myrrh trees which were to be planted in Amun's temple.
Figure 12  Weighing gold rings and bars of electrum

Identify the figure to the right of this relief from the information on page 23.
Exercise 6

Write a suitable caption for the following figure from the information on page 23.
Exercise 7

Make a list of all the things that you have learned about the Land of Punt and the expedition sent there by Hatshepsut.

Ignore all those aspects that Hatshepsut had included about herself and the god Amun.

Exercise 8

As you worked through Sections 1 - 3 you were guided to think about some of the propaganda aspects of the Punt reliefs and inscriptions.

In about one page explain how Hatshepsut used the expedition to promote and glorify herself and the god Amun.

Punt, Nubia and the other southern African lands were not the only areas where Hatshepsut promoted trade.

She also encouraged trade with the Levant (modern-day Israel, Lebanon and Syria) and some of the islands of the Mediterranean.
Section 4 Hatshepsut's military activities - comments on the sources

Inequalities in the primary sources

Although all primary sources associated with Hatshepsut (inscriptions, reliefs, statues and stelae) have suffered damage, it appears that she preferred to emphasise some aspects of her reign more than others. For example we have already seen the amount of archaeological and written information about Hatshepsut's building program and trading expedition to Punt.

Before we proceed look back to Part 2 and skim through the information on Hatshepsut's male predecessors.

What is the theme of most of the written inscriptions associated with these kings?

Did you mention that they were almost all about military campaigns?

Read the quotes below and see what you think they are telling us about Hatshepsut's policy.

She made for her monument for her father Amun ... two great obelisks of hard granite of the south, their upper side being of electrum, of all the best of all foreign lands. [M Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature Vol II, p 27]

I have repaired what was destroyed, I have raised up what was in pieces ever since the Asiatic have been in Avaris in the Delta. [D Redford, History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty p80]

The successive scenes [the trading expedition to Punt] and the accompanying inscriptions tell a story of the expedition so clearly that no introductory outline is necessary [James A Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol 2, p 104]

Of the innumerable reliefs left by Hatshepsut there are none of a martial [military] character. This is interesting since the walls of temples built by other pharaohs of the New Kingdom are typically covered in battle scenes. [S Ratie, Hatshepsut, Sources and Problems]
What do you think these quotes seem to indicate about Hatshepsut’s policy?


What did Hatshepsut appear to want future generations to remember her by?


According to J A Wilson [The Culture of Ancient Egypt, p 174], Hatshepsut recorded no military conquests because her pride was in the internal development of Egypt and in commercial enterprise rather than imperial expansion like her predecessors. He maintains that she was interested in pursuing a peaceful, policy and making foreign contacts through commercial and cultural penetration.

This is one historian’s view of why there are no monumental reliefs (reliefs covering the walls of cult and mortuary temples) showing Hatshepsut waging wars.

What other reasons can you think of to explain the lack of monumental reliefs of a military nature?

See you if you can come up with at least three.
Did you suggest some of the following possibilities:

1. Official reliefs relating to foreign campaigns under Hatshepsut might have been destroyed after her death as were many of her inscriptions and monuments.
   Comment - If this were the case then the lack of evidence does not mean that military actions did not take place. There could be evidence found elsewhere which throws some light on this matter.

2. Thutmose III might have dealt with any external threats to Egypt from the time he came of age.
   Comment - Hatshepsut was not likely to focus on the military exploits of Thutmose III while she still wielded the power within Egypt.

3. Perhaps there were some unsuccessful military campaigns which were never recorded.
   Comment - Egyptian kings never recorded anything which did not show them in a good light.

4. As a woman Hatshepsut would not have been trained in arms and would be less likely to personally lead a campaign.
   Comment - One of her female predecessors, Queen Ahhotep, supposedly lead an army. Also kings who did not personally conduct military campaigns still depicted themselves in the reliefs as warrior kings. There is sufficient evidence that Hatshepsut was as ruthless and forceful as any male ruler and would certainly have ordered military action if necessary.

5. Scenes of battles and of kings smashing in the heads of their enemies was the appropriate symbolism for a male rather than a female ruler.
   Comment - Hatshepsut may have seen the economic triumph of the Punt expedition as just as important as a military triumph and a more appropriate symbolism for her. She did send a contingent of soldiers on this expedition and referred to the Punt trade items as tribute.
Contradictions in the secondary sources

What is a secondary source?

A

Jot down what you think a secondary source is.

There are a number of aspects of Hatshepsut’s reign about which historians hold conflicting views. For example:

- The eminent scholar, Sir Alan Gardiner stated emphatically:

  The reign of Hatshepsut had been barren of any military enterprise except an unimportant raid into Nubia. [Sir A Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p 189]

- T G H James, however, says:

  Positive evidence of what happened during this time is lacking, but there is no reason to suppose that there was any deliberate full in Egypt’s aggressive foreign policy. [T G H James, *p 59*

- Juliette Bentley goes even further:

  It used to be thought that her reign was peaceful, with no military activity, but in fact there is a fair amount of evidence to the contrary. She apparently conducted campaigns both in Nubia and in western Asia, and she led the Nubian one herself. [J Bentley, article on Hatshepsut p 8]

Part 5

Hatshepsut’s trading and military activities
Exercise 9

What are some of the reasons which might help to explain why these three scholars have different opinions about Hatshepsut's military activities?
Section 5  Evidence of Hatshepsut’s military activities

Although the evidence for military activity during Hatshepsut’s reign is scanty it does appear that there were a number of foreign campaigns.

The written material includes a specific description of a war undertaken by Hatshepsut and a number of indirect and vague references to other campaigns. When these references are looked at together rather than separately the evidence for foreign campaigns is more plentiful than is sometimes thought. [D Redford, History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty]

Military activity in Nubia (Kush)

The major piece of evidence

A graffito (singular form of graffiti) found on the island of Sehel, near Aswan, was translated in 1957. It was originally written by Tiy, one of Hatshepsut’s nobles.

... The hereditary prince and governor, treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend, chief treasurer, the one concerned with the booty, Tiy. He says: ‘I followed the good god, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt [Maat ka-re] may she live! I saw when he overthrew the Nubian bowman, their chiefs being brought to him as living captives. I saw when he destroyed Nubia, I being in his majesty’s following ... [Adapted from the original translation]

Note the change in gender from she to he. Do you remember we said in Part 3 that the scribes who wrote these texts were a bit confused about how to describe a female pharaoh? Perhaps they thought it more appropriate to use the masculine form when describing military matters.
Exercise 10

a Where was this inscription found?
b On what would this record have been inscribed?
c Who was its author?
d What official position did he hold and what was his chief role during this campaign?
e Where did this campaign take place?
f What was the result?
g What does this inscription imply about Hatshepsut?

Further pieces of evidence

A second text which throws a little more light on Hatshepsut's Nubian campaign, was found on a stela (upright tablet) belonging to a scribe called Djehuty. This stela was located at a place called Dra-Abu Naga.

I saw the collection of booty by this mighty ruler [Hatshepsut], from the vile Kush who are deemed cowards. The female sovereign, given life, prosperity and health forever.

Exercise 11

How does this text substantiate what Tiy says about Hatshepsut?

Another text, similar to those inscribed by most pharaohs, was found on the wall of the lower colonnade of Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el-Bahri. If this conventional text was the only description of a military campaign we had then it would be of no great significance. However, in light of the previous graffito by Tiy, it takes on more importance.
This text, which is very fragmentary, starts with a reference to a previous campaign in Kush [Upper Nubia] led by Hatshepsut’s father. It seems that Hatshepsut’s campaign may have been connected in some way.

Exercise 12

See if you can work out what the text below is saying. Certain words and phrases have been highlighted to help you.

a Where did these hostilities occur?
b What do you think was the cause of this military campaign?
c What happened?

I will cause to sail south ... the chief of Kush whom they brought as a living captive; ... in his moment who seizes without anything being seized from him. She says: "As Amun lives for me and loves me ... the land in might and valour ... these fortress-towns of his majesty ... the garrisons of the sovereign raged ... as was done by her victorious father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkare, who seized all lands ... a slaughter was made among them. The number of dead being unknown: their hands were cut off ... she overthrew ... the gods ... likewise: all foreign lands spoke their heart’s rage but they turned back on account of the greatness ... the enemy were plotting in their valleys, saying ... overland horses upon the mountains ... the number of them was not known ... Amun, Lord of Karnak who leads me ... [D Redford, History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty, pp 58-59]

On a broken block at Karnak there is a reference to the land of Nubia being in submission to Hatshepsut.

From the preceding evidence, particularly that of Tiy and Djehuty, it appears that there was a war in Nubia early in Hatshepsut’s reign. Hatshepsut may have led the campaign herself or if not, she was at least at the scene of hostilities.
Military activity to the north of Egypt

Although most of the evidence points to war in Nubia, there are several references at Deir el-Bahri to a campaign in Palestine/Syria (Retenu). This was probably carried out early in Hatshepsut's reign also and may have been a mopping-up operation to consolidate her father's conquests. It often happened that conquered chieftains took the opportunity to rebel when a new Egyptian ruler came to the throne - perhaps this is what happened.

One of the texts, later modified by Thutmose III, says *her arrow is among the northerners*. Another reference is found in Hatshepsut's coronation inscription. This is in the form of a prediction that she would *seize the chiefs of Retenu, bearing the sword, the survivals of thy father*. Redford believes that there may be some historical basis in this statement.

References to Thutmose's military activities during Hatshepsut's reign.

Thutmose probably received military training from an early age. Hatshepsut may have hoped that when he reached adulthood he would take over the command of the army and lead foreign campaigns. The evidence suggests that this was the case.

1. In an unidentified campaign Thutmose is believed to have taken the town of Gaza on the Egyptian-Palestinian border.

2. A rock inscription at Tombos in Upper Nubia, dated to year twenty of the co-regency, described Thutmose III as *the good god who overthrows him who has attacked him*.

3. According to D Redford, Thutmose conducted a campaign in Nubia just prior to Hatshepsut's death. A passage on a stela alludes to him having bagged a rhinoceros by archery in the southern land of Nubia after he had journeyed to Maw to seek him who had rebelled against him in that land.

When Thutmose III eventually ruled alone, he campaigned tirelessly and ruthlessly in foreign lands for over twenty years. By the time of his own death he had built up and consolidated an empire from which untold wealth flowed into Egypt.
A summary of Hatshepsut's military policy

In the preceding sections we have presented enough evidence to show that Hatshepsut did not deliberately pursue a policy of non-aggression. In fact she kept her army in a state of readiness. The following text was inscribed on the front of the small temple to Pakhet which she built at Speos Artemidos.

My troops which were formerly unequipped are now well paid since I appeared as king. [J A Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol 2, p 124]

The evidence suggests that during her reign there were at least four and possibly six military campaigns. Redford in his History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty suggests the following:

1 a campaign to Nubia, possibly conducted by the queen herself, early in her reign
2 a mopping-up operation in Palestine and Syria, also probably early
3 the capture of Gaza by Thutmose III, probably later in Hatshepsut's reign
4 the campaign against Nubia by Thutmose III shortly before the Queen's death.

Exercise 13

In the light of the evidence presented in Section 5 comment on the views of Gardiner and Wilson expressed in the quotes below. You should be able to write about two pages.

The reign of Hatshepsut had been barren of any military enterprise except an unimportant raid into Nubia. [Sir A Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p 189]

She (Hatshepsut) records no military campaigns or conquests ... her pride was in the internal development of Egypt and in commercial enterprise. [J A Wilson, The Culture of Ancient Egypt, p 174]
Section 6  Revision

In this section we want you to write a structured essay in which you:

- use the primary sources to describe Hatshepsut’s expedition to Punt
- note the propaganda aspects included in the primary sources.

Firstly let’s revise some facts.

Exercise 13

Quick quiz

1  Name the High Priest of Amun.
2  Who was the Steward of Amun and Hatshepsut’s closest advisor?
3  Name the person chosen to organise the expedition to Punt. What was his position in the bureaucracy?
4  What was the chief product (in its two forms) that the members of the expedition were required to collect?
5  What was the approximate year of the expedition?
6  What is the possible location of the ancient Land of Punt?
7  How many ships are believed to have comprised the expedition?
8  What was the title given to the leader of the expedition in the texts?
9  What personnel accompanied the expedition?
10 What items did the Egyptians take to trade with the Puntites?
11 What style of houses did the Puntites live in?
12 Where did the Egyptians set up camp?
13 Name the Puntite king and queen.
14 What was the unusual aspect of the queen's appearance?

15-19 List five products (other than the chief product sought) brought back to Egypt.

20 Name the scribe who was responsible for weighing and measuring the trade items when the expedition returned.

Exercise 14

List five propaganda features in the Punt reliefs.

Exercise 15

Structured essay

What do the primary sources tell historians about Hatshepsut's trading expedition to Punt?

Follow the suggestions below when writing your essay:

- Explain what a primary source is. Name the particular primary source used by historians to gather information about the expedition to Punt.
- Describe briefly some previous Egyptian contacts with Punt and the early view held by Egyptians about Punt.
- Explain what the texts say about the purpose of the expedition.
- Give some details about the official chosen to organise the expedition.
• Mention what clues the texts and reliefs provide about the route taken and the possible location of Punt?

• Describe what the texts and reliefs indicate about the ships, personnel and trade items taken by the Egyptians and explain why the Egyptians sacrificed to Hathor before leaving.

• Describe what the reliefs indicate about the landscape of Punt and the reception that the Egyptians received from the Puntites.

• Give details of the negotiations and the products provided by the Puntites.

• Explain what the texts say about the return of the expedition, the presentation of the products to Hatshepsut and the dedication to Amun.

Wherever you can include some mention of the propaganda aspects of the texts and reliefs.