

Women's Voices in Antiquity

HATSHEPSUT AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF HER ROYAL IMAGE

Pauline Stanton and Alexandra Woods

Department of Ancient History



Usurper | Ambitious | Unscrupulous

“Instead of surrendering her regency as soon as Thutmosis III reached his majority, Hatshepsut usurped the titles of a sovereign ruler of Egypt... In order to justify her usurpation, the ancient dogma of the divine origin of the king was produced and applied to her own birth.”

G. Steindorff & K. Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East* (Chicago, 2nd Edition, 1957), 40-41.

Hatshepsut springing into action following the death of Thutmosis II: *“it was not long ... before this vain, ambitious, and unscrupulous woman showed herself in her true colours.”*

W. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, (Cambridge Mass., 1953), I, 82.

“He [Senenmut] cannot, under such circumstances, escape the imputation of a share in the devious politics of his mistress.”

H.E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahari, 1911-1931* (New York, 1942), 147.

Usurper | Ambitious | Unscrupulous



MACQUARIE
University

“It must have been very much against his will that the energetic young Thutmose III watched from the sidelines the high handed rule of the “pharaoh” Hatshepsut... and now the king wreaked with fury his vengeance on the departed ones who in life had thwarted his ambitions.”

G. Steindorff & K. Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East* (Chicago, 2nd Edition, 1957), 46.

“Her end came abruptly, after she had been “king: for seventeen years...the evidence of the vindictive fury of Thut-mose III is clear.”

J.A. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt* (Chicago, 1951), 174.

Passive | Influenced | Beautiful



“The reigns of Hatshepsut and of Thutmose III contrast strongly in the activities of the state. She records no military campaigns or conquests; he became the great conqueror and organizer of empire. Her pride was in the internal development of Egypt and in commercial enterprise; his pride was in the external expansion of Egypt and in military enterprise.”

J.A. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt* (Chicago, 1951), 174.

“The reign of Hatshepsut had been barren of any military enterprise except for an unimportant raid into Nubia ... It is not to be imagined that even a woman of the most virile character could have attained such power without masculine support.”

Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1962), 189.

Passive | Influenced | Beautiful



MACQUARIE
University

“The person chiefly responsible for Hatshepsut’s success was apparently her Chief Steward Sen-ne-mut, a canny politician and brilliant administrator... As confidant of the female pharaoh and guardian of her daughter he was evidently on the most intimate terms...”

W. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, (Cambridge Mass., 1959), II, 106.

“She was beautiful, of course; all great queens are beautiful... she could not deny her heart...”

B. Mertz, *Temples, Tombs and Hieroglyphs* (New York, 1964), 148, 154.

Statue of Senenmut Holding a Sistrum, reign of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III, Dynasty 18. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Acc. No. 48.149.7



Gender-bender | Cross-dresser

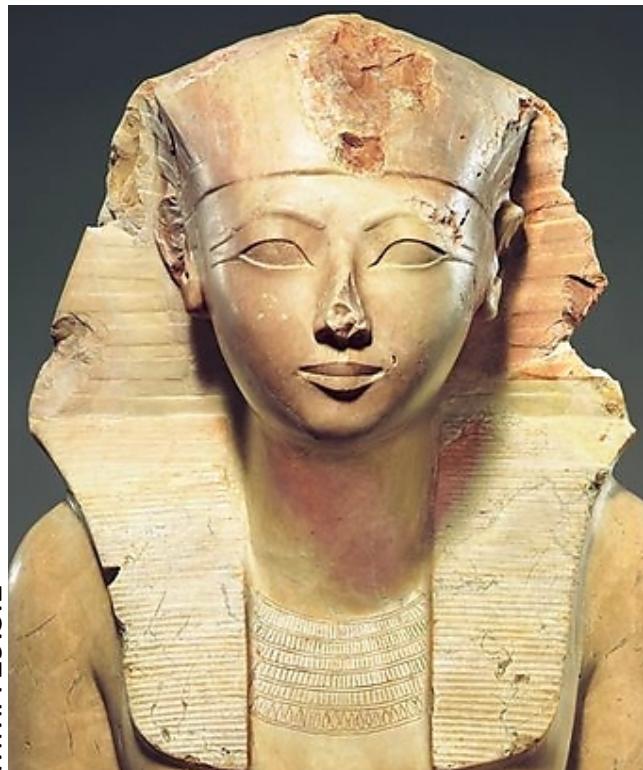


MACQUARIE
University

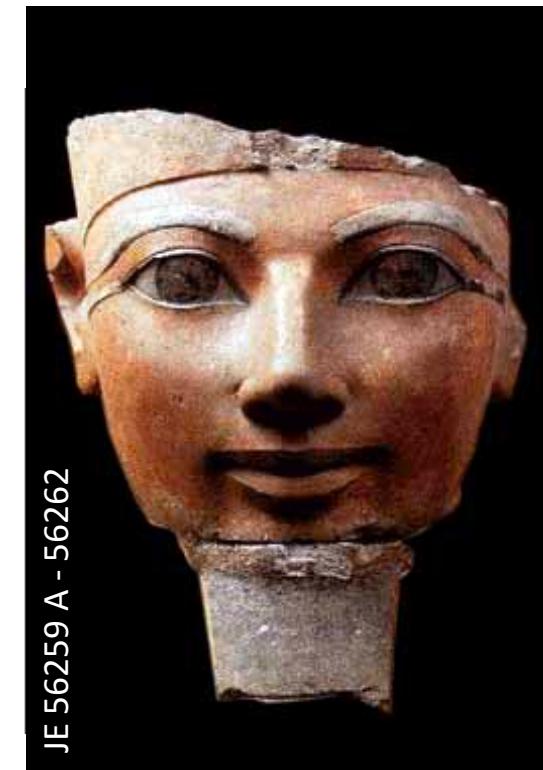
EVOLUTION OF ROYAL ICONOGRAPHY



MMA 31.3.153



MMA 29.3.2



JE 56259 A - 56262

Phase 1:
*Feminized version of
predecessors*

Phase 2:
Androgynous

Phase 3:
Masculine phase
(synthesis of Phases 1 & 2)

Secondary source: D. Laboury, in: Galán / Bryan / Dorman (eds.) *Creativity and Innovation In The Reign of Hatshepsut* (SAOC 69, Chicago, 2014), 49-91, esp. 79, 85. Available online.

Gender-bender | Cross-dresser



MACQUARIE
University

*“We have no idea how **she dressed in real life**...there was a **tension** between Hatshepsut’s biological sex and the male gender role of king.”*

G. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1993), 51.

*“An interesting case of **gender-crossing** in the context of a clash between biological body and what society requires to be in terms of gender.”*

L.D. Morenz / L. Popko, “The second intermediate period and the new kingdom” in: A. B. Lloyd (ed.) *A Companion to Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2010), 110-111.

*“There is no confusion over **Hatshepsut’s sexuality** as there is over the heretic King Akhenaten, and no suggestion that she was either a lesbian or a transvestite.”*

J.A. Tyldesley, *Daughters of Isis: Women in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1995), 223.

Leadership and the media: Gendered framings of Julia Gillard's 'sexism and misogyny' speech

KATHARINE A.M. WRIGHT AND JACK HOLLAND

University of Surrey

This article analyses Australian media portrayals of former Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard's 'sexism and misogyny' speech to parliament in October 2012. Our analysis reveals that coverage of the speech comprised three principal gendered framings: strategic attack, uncontrolled emotional outpouring and hypocrisy. We argue that these framings demonstrate the role the media plays as a gendered mediator, perpetuating the gender double bind that constrains female political leaders, as they negotiate the demand to demonstrate masculine leadership attributes without tamishing the feminine qualities expected of them. In this instance, gendered media framings limited the saliency of Gillard's speech, curtailed calls for wider introspection on Australian political culture and further disassociated women from political leadership.

Keywords: female political leaders; feminism; politics and gender; politics and the media; political leadership

Introduction

On 9 October 2012, Australia's first female Prime Minister, Julia Gillard, responded to a question by the Leader of the Opposition, Tony Abbott, during parliamentary questions with a rousing 15-minute speech drawing attention to the opposition's double standards on sexism and misogyny. The speech quickly attracted international attention, going viral on social media, being reported in the international press, and receiving praise from world leaders, including US President Obama. As several commentators noted, far from being a mere 15 minutes of fame, Gillard's speech elevated her to the status of global feminist icon (Sholl 2013).

As coverage around the world acknowledged, the speech was remarkable for a number of reasons. Foremost among these was that Gillard called the Opposition Leader and his Party out on their sexism and misogyny for the first time in her leadership, having previously been reluctant to risk the perception of acting specifically for women. This reluctance seems vindicated by the negative national media coverage

Katharine A.M. Wright is a PhD candidate in international politics at the University of Surrey. Jack Holland is Senior Lecturer in International Relations at University of Surrey. We would like to thank two anonymous reviewers and the editors for their detailed and helpful feedback, which has helped us to produce a stronger article.

© 2014 Australian Political Studies Association

Politics & Gender, 11 (2015), 291–319.

Playing the Gender Card: The Uses and Abuses of Gender in Australian Politics

Carol Johnson

University of Adelaide

I want to just say a few remarks about being the first woman to serve in this position. There's been a lot of analysis about the so-called gender wars, me playing the so-called gender card because heaven knows, no-one noticed I was a woman until I raised it. But, against that background I do want to say about all of these issues the reaction to being the first female prime minister does not explain everything about my prime ministership, nor does it explain nothing about my prime ministership. . . . it explains some things, and it is for the nation to think in a sophisticated way about those shades of grey.

Julia Gillard, final speech as Prime Minister, June 26, 2013 (cited in Sales 2013).

In the quotation above, Australia's first female prime minister, Julia Gillard (in office June 2010–June 2013), rightly suggests that the gender issue doesn't explain everything about the difficulties she encountered during her period as prime minister of Australia that contributed to her downfall.¹ However, Gillard suggests that gender does

My thanks to this journal's anonymous reviewers for their useful feedback on this paper. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the Fourth South Australian Women's and Gender Studies Annual Public Lecture, Flinders University, Adelaide, May 2013, and at the Australian Political Studies Association Conference, Murdoch University, Perth, September 2013. My thanks also for the feedback received on those occasions.

1. Gillard was speaking after being replaced as Labor leader, and therefore prime minister by Kevin Rudd, whom she had in turn ousted three years earlier and who then lost the subsequent election. This article acknowledges that a wide range of issues would need to be examined, including Gillard's Published by Cambridge University Press 1743-923X/15 \$30.00 for The Women and Politics Research Section of the American Political Science Association.

© The Women and Politics Research Section of the American Political Science Association, 2015

doi:10.1017/S1743923X1500045



MACQUARIE
University

THE CONVERSATION

Academic rigour. Journalistic flair.

Arts + Culture Business + Economy Cities Education Environment + Energy FactCheck Health + Medicine Politics + Society
Science + Technology



August 22, 2016 1:48pm AEST

Feminism informs Hillary Clinton's personal story and influences her policies, but only to a degree. Reuters/Marcus Mekhora

Email Twitter 67 Facebook 215 LinkedIn Print During the 2016 Democratic National Convention, Julia Gillard, prime minister of Australia between 2010 and 2013, wrote an [open letter](#) to Hillary Clinton in The New York Times. She conceded:

I'm not egotistical enough to think that the most qualified and prepared presidential candidate the United States has ever seen needs my advice on policy.

But even someone of her vast experience has been buffeted by what I call the "curious question of gender." She knows what it's like to be the subject of the stereotype that a powerful woman cannot be likeable, that if she is commanding then she must be incapable of empathy.

Gillard is well placed to offer such advice. She experienced an unprecedented level of sexism as Australia's first female prime minister.

Clinton [admired](#) Gillard for her famous 2012 "sexism and misogyny" speech. And Gillard has [repeatedly](#) encouraged Clinton to combat sexism on the campaign trail, early and with vigour.



q. Search analysis, research, academics...

Author

Ana Stevenson
Postdoctoral Research Fellow, International Studies Group, University of the Free State

Disclosure statement

Ana Stevenson does not work for, consult to, own shares in or receive funding from any company or organisation that would benefit from this article, and has disclosed no relevant affiliations beyond their academic appointment.

Partners





Leadership and the media: Gendered framings of Julia Gillard's 'sexism and misogyny' speech

KATHARINE A.M. WRIGHT AND JACK HOLLAND

University of Surrey

This article analyses Australian media portrayals of former Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard's 'sexism and misogyny' speech to parliament in October 2012. Our analysis reveals that coverage of the speech comprised three principal gendered framings: strategic attack, uncontrolled emotional outpouring and hypocrisy. We argue that these framings demonstrate the role the media plays as a gendered mediator, perpetuating the gender double bind that constrains female political leaders, as they negotiate the demand to demonstrate masculine leadership attributes without tarnishing the feminine qualities expected of them. In this instance, gendered media framings limited the saliency of Gillard's speech, curtailed calls for wider introspection on Australian political culture and further disassociated women from political leadership.

Keywords: female political leaders; feminism; politics and gender; politics and the media; political leadership

Introduction

Or to
to qu
do at
att
re
me
he
nu
Le
sh
we
Ka
Ho
two
us
©

"We are all, women in politics, trying to crack through to the next stage of engagement in public debate where we are no longer viewed as an oddity, we are no longer assessed on what we are wearing, how we are wearing our hair or indeed how we keep our kitchen but we are assessed on what it is that we say, what should be done for the good of the nation."

J. Gillard, "Doorstop Interview," September 28, 2005.
Johnson (2015: 315)

Playing the Gender Card: The Uses and Abuses of Gender in Australian Politics

Carol Johnson

University of Adelaide

I want to just say a few remarks about being the first woman to serve in this position. There's been a lot of analysis about the so-called gender wars, me playing the so-called gender card because heaven knows, no-one noticed I was a woman until I raised it. But, against that background I do want to say about all of these issues the reaction to being the first female prime minister does not explain everything about my prime ministership, nor does it explain nothing about my prime ministership. . . it explains some things, and it is for the nation to think in a sophisticated way about those shades of grey.

Julia Gillard, final speech as Prime Minister, June 26, 2013 (cited in Sales 2013).

THE CONVERSATION

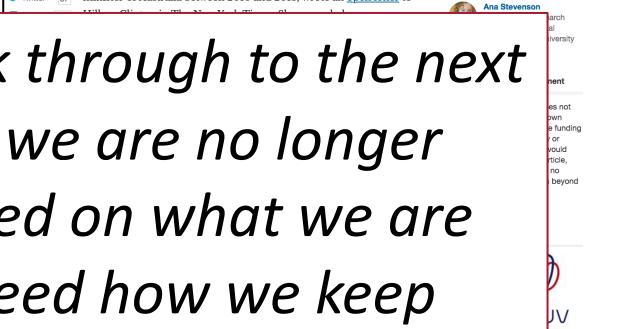
Academic rigour. Journalistic flair.

Arts • Culture Business • Economy Cities Education Environment • Energy FactCheck Health • Medicine Politics • Society
Science • Technology



Feminism informs Hillary Clinton's personal story and influences her policies, but only to a degree. [Reuters/Marcin Matkowiak](#)

Email During the 2016 Democratic National Convention, Julia Gillard, prime minister of Australia between 2010 and 2013, wrote an [open letter](#) to



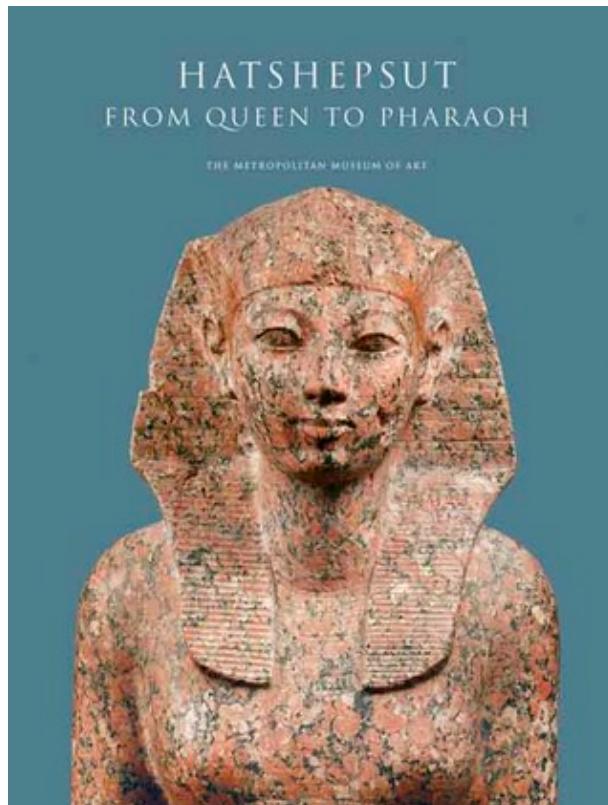
Ancient view on Hatshepsut

“His son (Thutmose III) stood in his place as king of the Two lands... while his sister, the god’s wife Hatshepsut, is carrying out the affairs of the land. The Two Lands are under her plans, one works for her, as Egypt bows the head.”

Biographical inscription of Ineni
reigns of Amenhotep I-Thutmose III, Thebes
Breasted, *Ancient Egyptian Records*, Vol. 2 §341.



MACQUARIE
University



OCCASIONAL PROCEEDINGS OF
THE THEBAN WORKSHOP

Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut

edited by
José M. Galán, Betsy M. Bryan, and Peter F. Dorman

Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010

STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION • NUMBER 69
THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO • ILLINOIS

J Archaeol Method Theory
DOI 10.1007/s10816-016-9288-9



**(De)queering Hatshepsut: Binary Bind in Archaeology
of Egypt and Kingship Beyond the Corporeal**

Uroš Matić¹

© Springer Science+Business Media New York 2016

Abstract The representations of Egyptian female king Hatshepsut are, as a consequence of a binary heteronormative sex/gender bind, continuously queered in scholarship. Statements on her body and identity are often made by directly equating her representations with the corporeal. This paper offers a critique of the heteronormative interpretations of Hatshepsut, which often identify her as a cross-dresser, gender-bender or "woman with a beard." An alternative approach will be attempted with the discussion of her imagery in the context of queer and Actor Network theoretical encounters. This paper argues that the binary bind of the sex/gender system can be traversed through a complex network of actants, including bodies, ancestors, relatives, gods, and material culture.

Keywords Hatshepsut · Sex/gender · Binary bind · Heteronormativity · Queer theory · Actor Network Theory

Introduction

In archaeology, the "binary bind" is a term that can refer to two different but seemingly related concepts. The first is an assumption regarding the existence of a binary (male-female) gender system in a certain society, which is often taken to be a fixed, natural, and normal division of bodies. Modern interpretations of what constitutes an appropriate male or female body are transferred onto past societies, at the same time excluding and silencing bodies considered to be *Other* both now and then. This is the case with many archaeological studies lacking gender awareness. The second concept derives from second-wave feminist criticism. It defines sex as the biological division of male

¹ Uroš Matić
urosmatic@uni-muenster.de

¹ Institut für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Münster, Germany

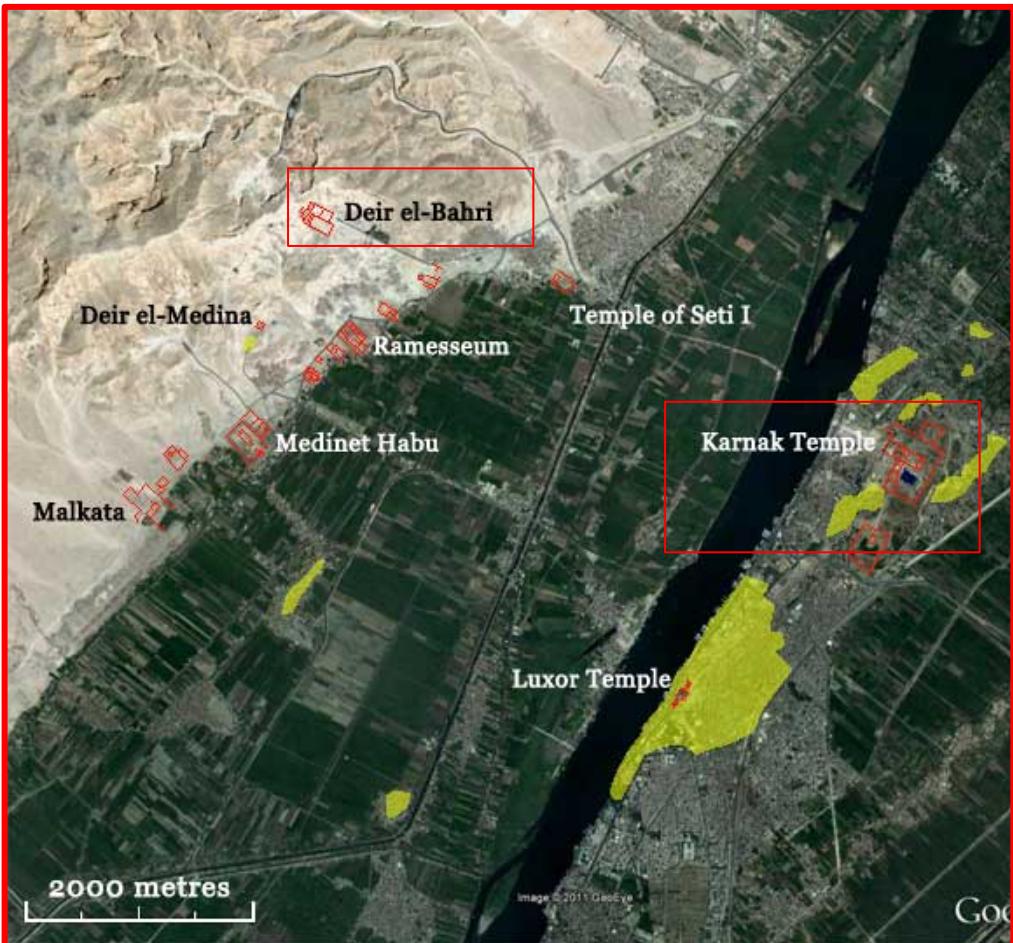
Deir el-Bahari

الدير البحري



MACQUARIE
University

PORTRER AND MOSS,
TOPOGRAPHICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY, II:2, 340-374.

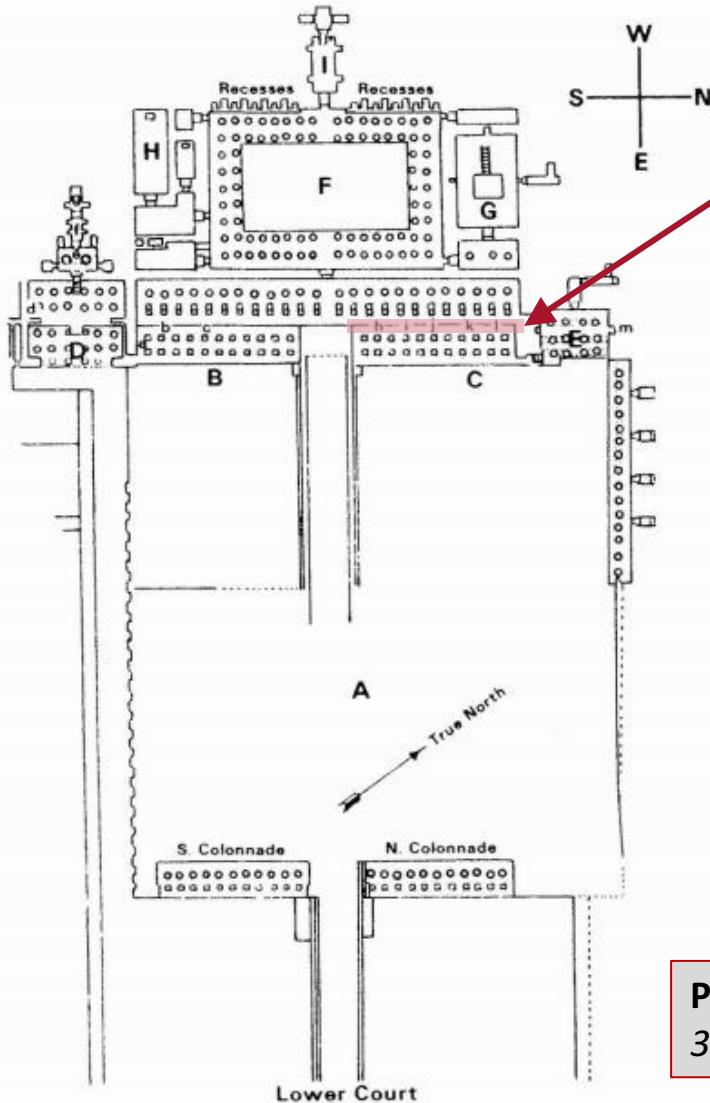


Mortuary Temple of Hatshepsut



MACQUARIE
University

NORTHERN COLONNADE, SECOND TERRACE



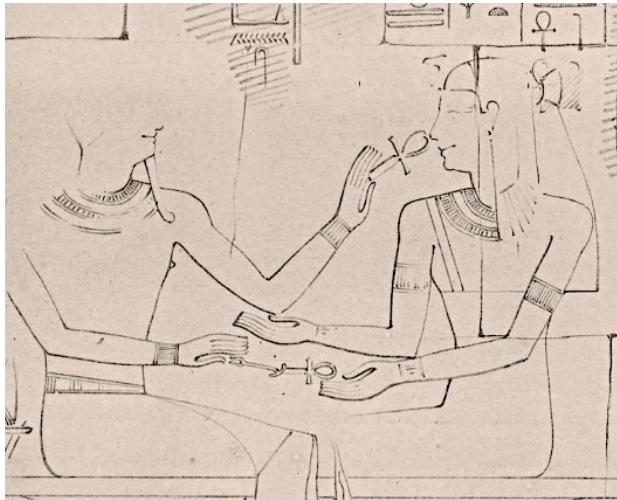
Divine birth narrative



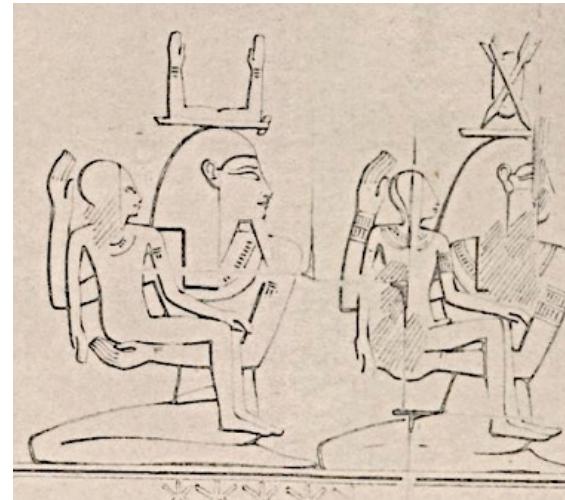
Primary sources: É. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari. Parts 2 & 3* (London, 1896-1898), pls. 46-55. Available online.

Divine birth narrative

TIME PERIODS



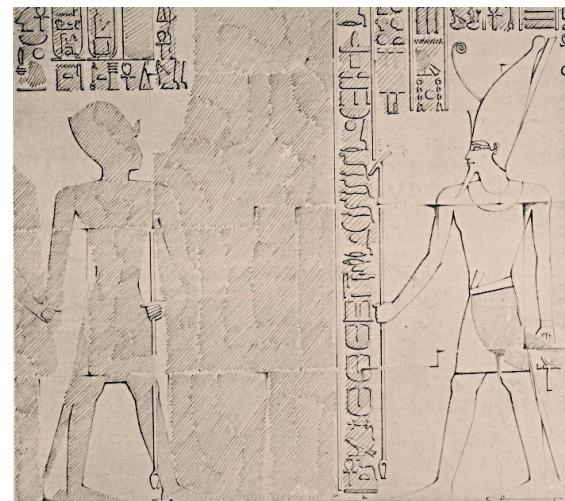
1.
Hatshepsut's conception and birth



2.
Hatshepsut as a dependent infant



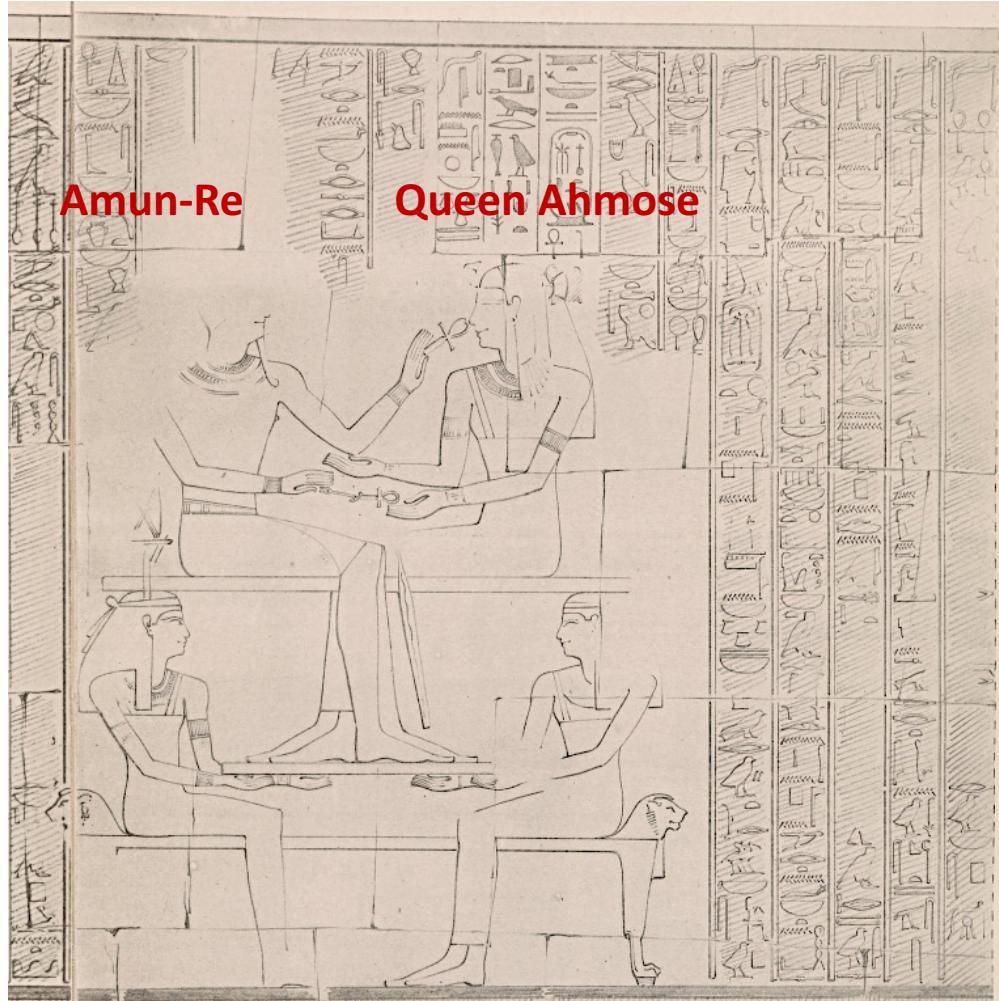
3.
Hatshepsut as an adolescent



4.
Hatshepsut as an adult ready to act as king

Divine birth narrative

SCENE 4: THE MEETING BETWEEN AMUN AND QUEEN AHMOSE



"When he (Amun-Re) came before her, she rejoiced at the sight of his beauty, his love passed into her limbs."

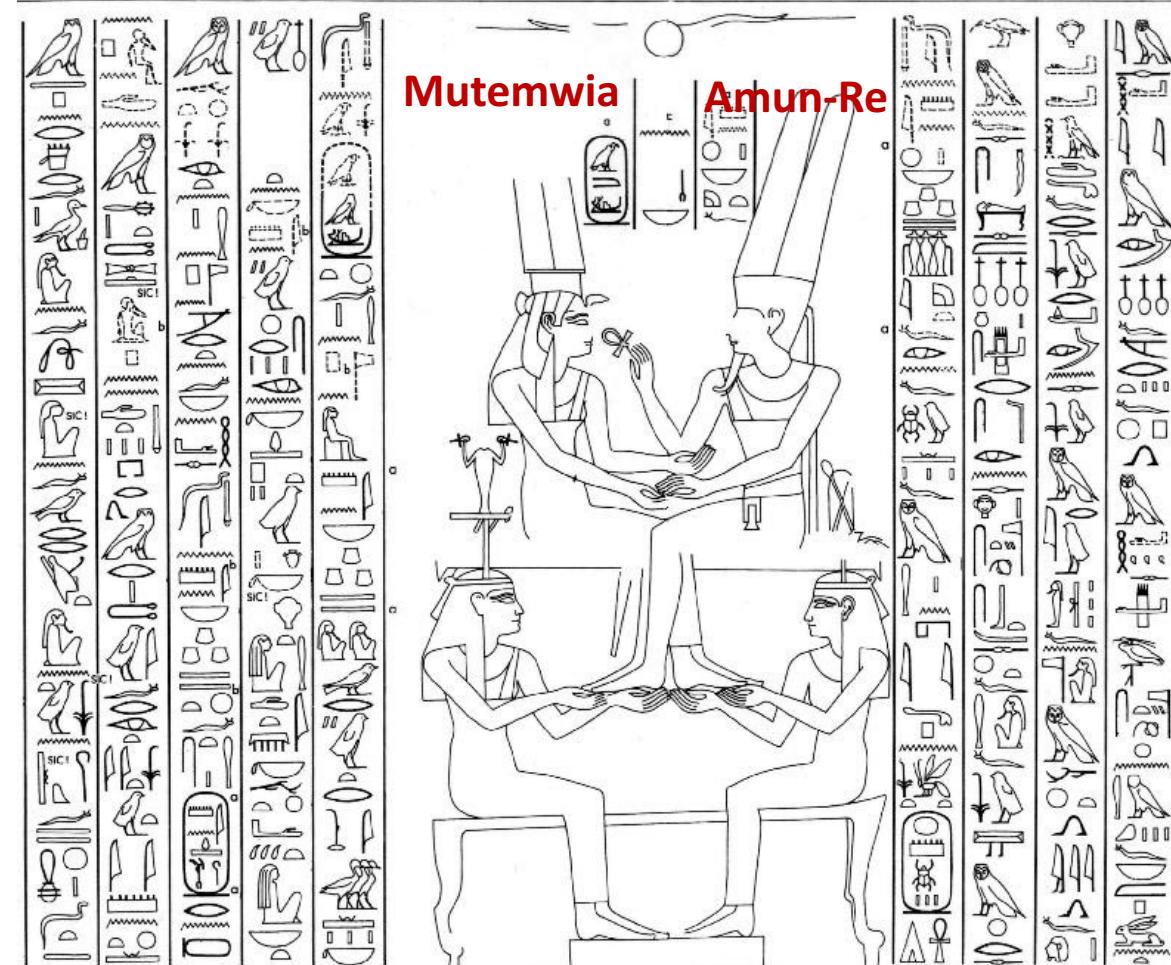
Words of Queen Ahmose:
"It is splendid to see thy front...thy dew is in all my limbs..."

"After this, the majesty of this god (Amun-Re) did all that he desired with her."

Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt, II*, §196–197

Divine birth narrative

AMENHOTEP III, DYNASTY 18, TEMPLE OF AMUN, LUXOR



"She rejoiced at the sight of his beauty and the love of him coursed through her limbs."

Words of Mutemwia:
"How great is your power... your dew permeates all my limbs."

"Then the majesty of this god did all that he desired with her."

Divine birth narrative



MACQUARIE
University

PAPYRUS WESTCAR, SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

Berlin Egyptian Museum, Inv. No. P 3022.



Secondary source: A.M. Roth, "Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple at Deir el-Bahri: Architecture as Political Statement", C.H. Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut. From Queen to Pharaoh* (New York, 2005), 147–151.

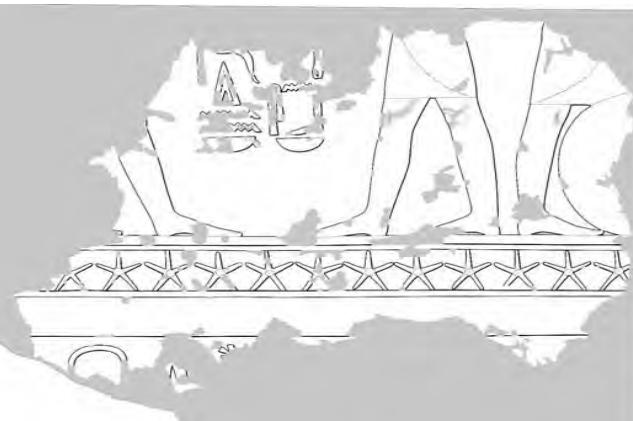
Divine birth | Adolescence

SENWOSRET III, DYNASTY 12, CAUSEWAY, DAHSUR

Thoth (?)

Re (?)

Anubis (?)



disk

Senwosret III



Secondary sources:

- A. Oppenheim, "The Early Life of Pharaoh: Divine Birth and Adolescence Scenes in the Causeway of Senwosret III at Dashur" in: M. Bárta / F. Coppens / J. Krejčí (eds.) *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010* (Prague, 2011), I, 171-188 (figs. 2, 6 above).
- A. Ćwiek, "Old and Middle Kingdom Tradition in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari", *Études et Travaux* 27 (2014), 62-93.

Divine birth | Adolescence



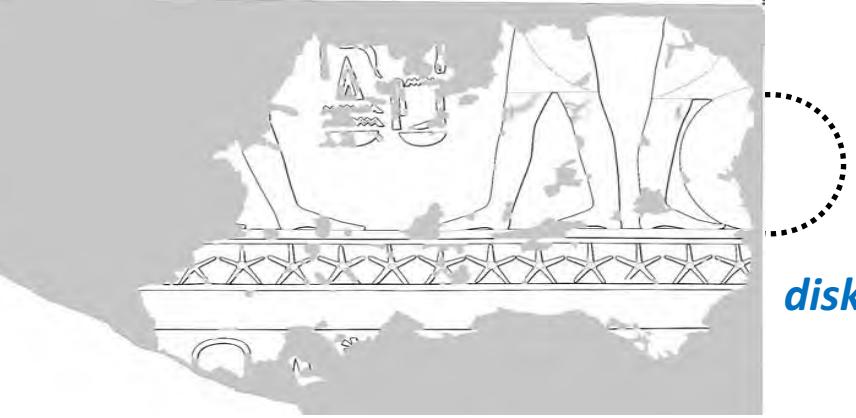
MACQUARIE
University

Senwosret III

Thoth (?)

Re (?)

Anubis (?)

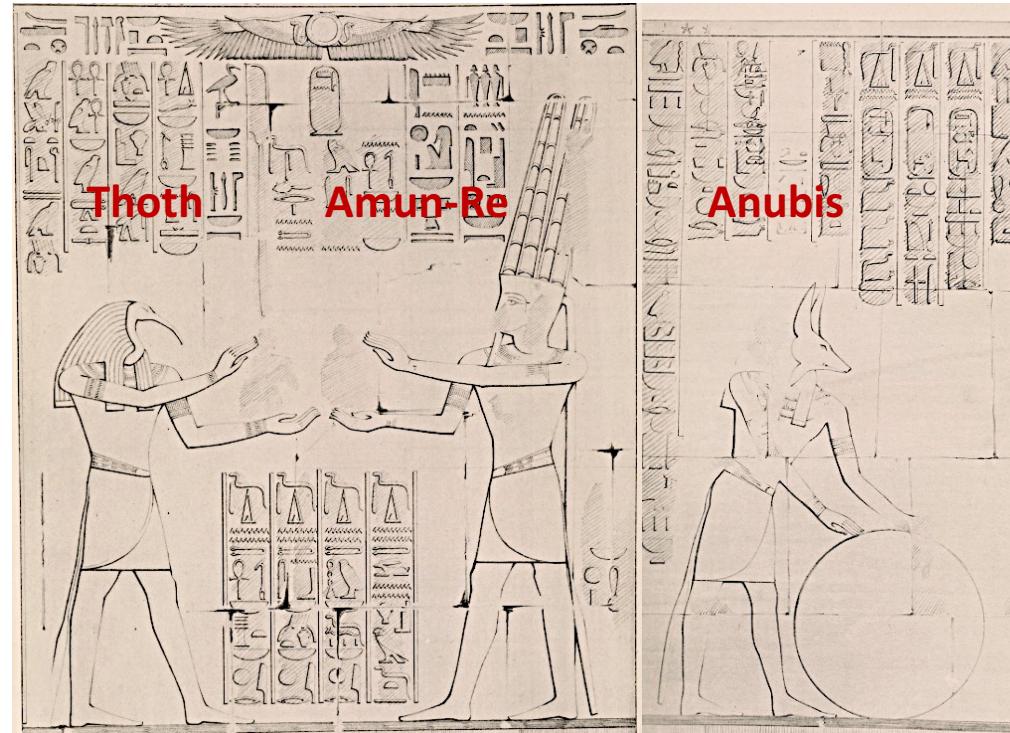


Hatshepsut

Thoth

Amun-Re

Anubis

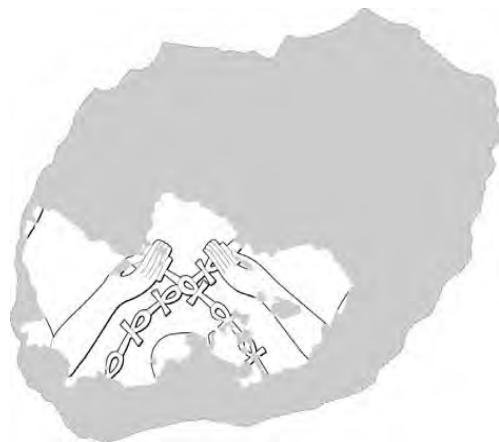


Divine birth | Adolescence



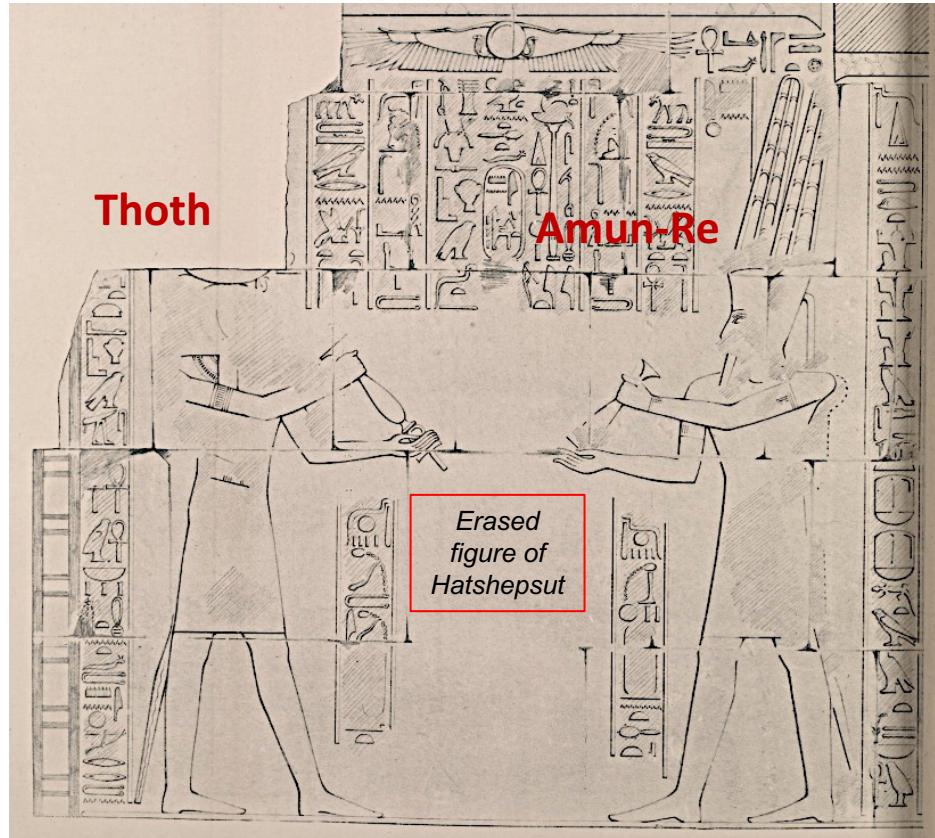
MACQUARIE
University

Senwosret III

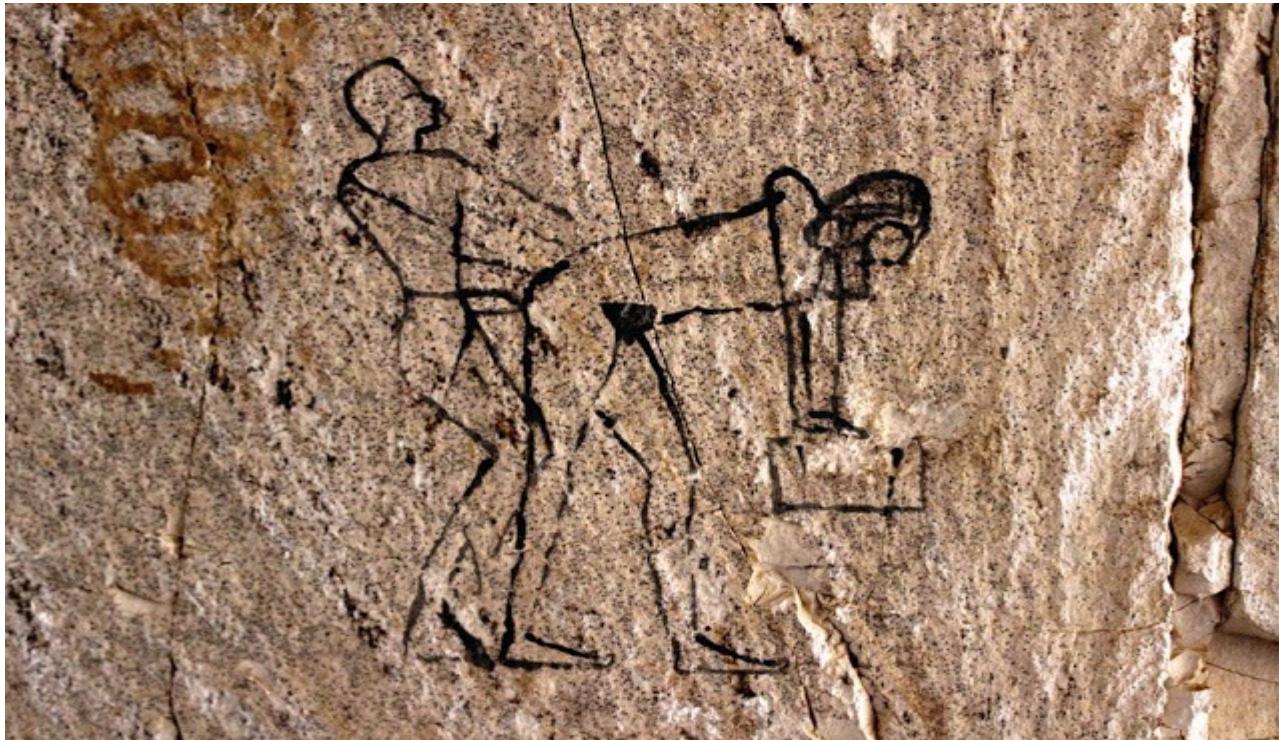


Oppenheim in: Abusir and Saqqara 2010, fig. 6.

Hatshepsut



Naville, *Deir el-Bahri*, III, pl. 56.



Secondary sources:

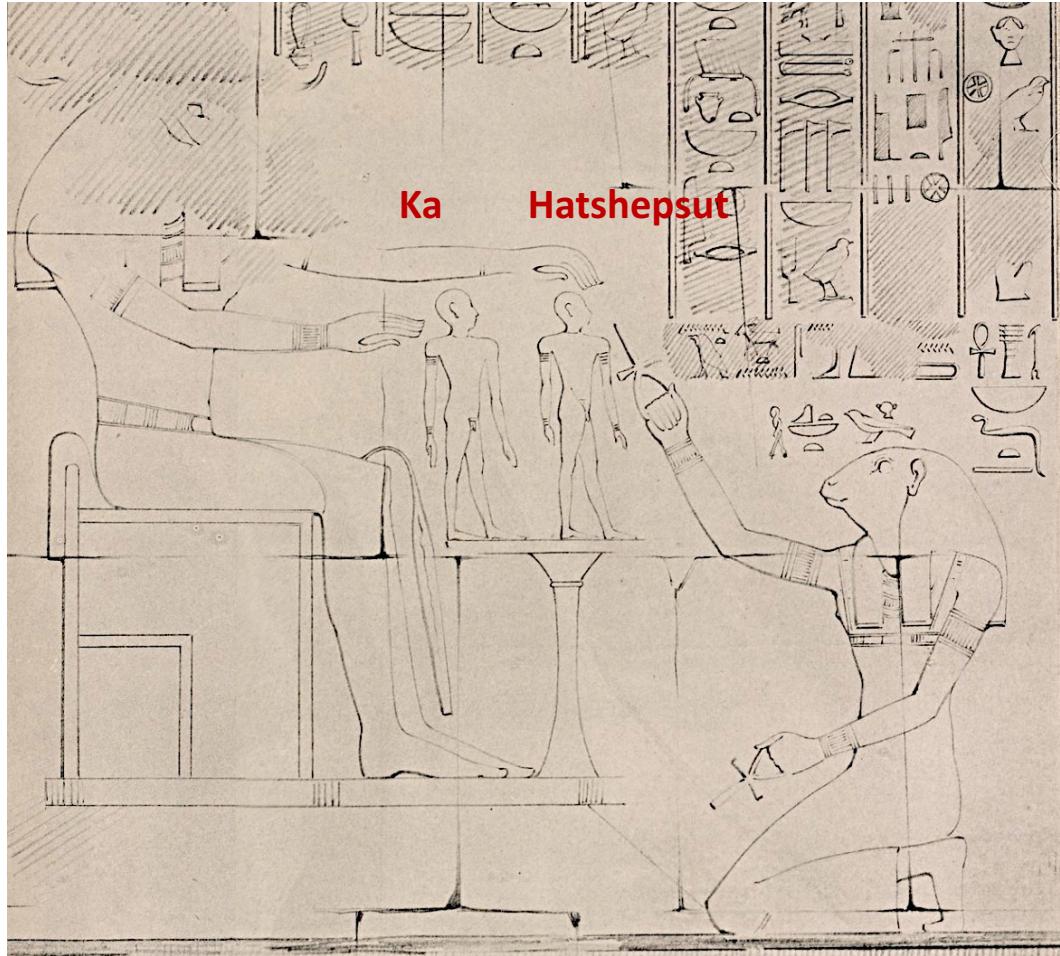
- P.F. Dorman, *The monuments of Senenmut. Problems in historical methodology* (London, 1988), 18–65.
- C. Hue-Arcé, “Les graffitis érotiques de la tombe 504 de Deir el-Bahari revisités” *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 113 (2013), 193–202.

The divine qualities of the king



MACQUARIE
University

HATSHEPSUT AND HER KA



- The divine qualities of the king is manifested in the royal *ka*
- Dual nature of the king:

Divine > Re / Amun-Re

Earthly > Mother

Legitimacy through divine selection

Hatshepsut

- “Whom Amun himself caused to appear on the throne in Southern Heliopolis (Thebes), and whom *he chose in order to protect Egypt* (and) in order to overawe the nobles (patricians) and subjects.”

Thuthmosis IV

- “Whom Amun has *chosen from amongst the people.*”

Amenhotep III

- “Whom he (Amun) *chose, distinguished from millions to lead the people for eternity.*”

Epithets

- “*whom Re has chosen*” | Throne names of Tuthmosis I, III and IV, Sety I and Ramesses II.

Women's Voices in Antiquity

HATSHEPSUT AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF HER ROYAL IMAGE

Pauline Stanton and Alexandra Woods

Department of Ancient History



Further reading

- Bell, L., “Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44 (1985), 251–94.
- Breasted, J.H., *Ancient Records of Egypt. Volume 2. The Eighteenth Dynasty* (Chicago, 1906).
- Callender, V.G., “The Innovations of Hatshepsut’s Reign” *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 13 (2002), 29–46.
- Cline, E.H., / O’Connor, D., (eds) *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006).
- Ćwiek, A., “Old and Middle Kingdom Tradition in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari”, *Études et Travaux* 27 (2014), 62–93.
- Dodson, A., “Crown Prince Djhutmose and the royal Princes of the Eighteenth Dynasty” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76 (1990), 87–96.
- Dodson, A., / Hilton, D., *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2004).
- Dorman, P., *The Monuments of Senenmut. Problems in Historical methodology* (London, 1988).
- Dorman, P., “Hatshepsut: wicked Stepmother Or Joan of Arc” *The Oriental Institute News and Notes* 168 (2001), 1–6.
- Galán, J., / Bryan, B., / Dorman, P., (eds) *Creativity and Innovation In The Reign of Hatshepsut* (SAOC 69, Chicago, 2014).
- Laporta, V., “Legitimation and ontological changes in the royal figure of queen Hatshepsut (c. 1479–1458)” in: el Gawa, H.A., / Andres, H., / Correas-Amador, M., et al. (eds.) *Current research in Egyptology 2011. Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Symposium Durham University 2011* (Oxford, 2012), 117–126.
- Matić, U., “(De)queering Hatshepsut. Binary Bind in Archaeology of Egypt and Kingship beyond the Corporeal” *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 23 (2016), 810–831.
- Ockinga, B., “Hatshepsut’s Election to Kingship: The BA and KA in Egyptian Royal Ideology” 6 (1995), 89–102.
- Ockinga, B., “Hatshepsut’s Appointment as Crown Prince and the Egyptian Background to Isaiah 9:5” in: Bar, S., / Kahn, D., / Shirley, J.J. (eds) *Egypt Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature* (CHANE 52, Leiden, 2011), 254–267.
- Oppenheim, A., “The Early Life of Pharaoh: Divine Birth and Adolescence Scenes in the Causeway of Senwosret III at Dashur”, in Bárta, M., / Coppens, F., / Krejčí, J., (eds.) *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010* (Prague, 2011), 171–188.
- Robins, G., *Women in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1993).
- Silverman, D.P., ‘The Nature of Egyptian Kingship’, in O’Connor, D., / Silverman, D.P., (eds) *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden, 1995), 49–92.
- Tyldesley, J.A., *Daughters of Isis: Women in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1995).