Hatshepsut: the Woman Who Ruled Egypt

Ancient Egypt, one of the first complex societies in history, is home to numerous innovative ideas such as the famous Great Pyramids of Giza, a complex writing system composed of hieroglyphic characters, and many well-preserved rulers through the process of mummification. In the Egyptian context, the title given to these rulers is the King of Egypt or the pharaoh.¹ The pharaoh was the authority figure within the Egyptian society, who played an active role in upholding truth, balance, order, law, morality, and justice in ancient Egypt.² More specifically scholars have classified this position within the ancient Egyptian society as primarily male dominated, because of the accumulated evidence from preserved skeletal remains at tomb sites and the analysis of surviving artwork. Although the position of the pharaoh was designated for male heirs within the royal family, women could also hold significant roles within the ancient Egyptian society under a different title.³

In the beginning of the New Kingdom period (1550-1070 BC)⁴, this male dominated position became flexible and allowed a woman in the royal family, Hatshepsut, to obtain the position of the pharaoh under a unique set of circumstances.⁵ Hatshepsut assumed the throne in 1473 BC,⁶ under the title of ‘pharaoh’, which only five women in ancient Egypt were able to

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¹ Renée Dreyfus, Cathleen Keller and Catharine Roehrig, *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 13. This research paper will use the term pharaoh to describe this position of authority within the Egyptian society.

² Dreyfus, Keller and Roehrig, *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 4.

³ See the paragraph about the Mothers of the Kings for more information.


⁵ See figure 1 for a map of the New Kingdom period. See figures 12, 13, 15, and 16 for statuary of Hatshepsut. These statues are analyzed in the section ‘Analysis of artwork depicting Hatshepsut throughout her reign’ of this paper.

do.7 As a result, it was vital for Hatshepsut to conform to the existing pharaonic norms to associate herself with the previous pharaohs. Hatshepsut conformed to the general expected norms of the pharaoh throughout her reign, which consisted of being in control of Egypt, maintaining the state’s wealth, and valuing religion. At the same time, she was also able to integrate experimentation and new perspectives throughout her reign, because of her female identity. This is visible in the artistic representation of Hatshepsut as a pharaoh, as she sought out a balance between the established masculine image of a pharaoh and her biological female identity. Also she deliberately shifted away from a military focus that the male pharaohs had during the New Kingdom period to a focus on architecture. These goals that Hatshepsut had led to a noteworthy historical time in ancient Egypt, because Hatshepsut’s approach to the position of the pharaoh was different from the past and future pharaohs of Egypt.

Pharaohs of Egypt

The development of social stratification begins to occur within complex societies as a result of intensive agriculture and the production of surpluses.8 The surplus of resources were then distributed among the individuals of the society as a reflection of wealth, as opposed to the necessity of goods for the mere survival of the population. So if an individual accumulated large quantities of wealth, they would be placed in a high category on the social stratification spectrum.

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7 Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh, 12. The other female pharaohs of ancient Egypt include, the wife of Djedkare Izezi (her name has not been preserved) who reigned during the fifth dynasty, Neith Iqerti reigned during the sixth dynasty, Nefrusobek reigned during the twelfth dynasty, and Cleopatra VII reigned during the Ptolemaic Dynasty.
8 Kathryn Bard, An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt (Malden: Blackwell Publisher, 2007), 138.
In ancient Egypt the vast majority of the population belonged to the lowest social status category, and were referred to as peasants.\(^9\) Peasants were the working class individuals that were tied down to the agricultural duties of the fertile land or performed other tasks for temples, they were often illiterate, and individually peasants did not possess much control or exert changes into the Egyptian society.\(^10\) On the opposite side of the social stratification spectrum, only a handful of individuals occupied the elite position. The well-known position associated with the elite category was the pharaoh. It was understood among the Egyptian society that the rest of the population were subjects to the pharaoh, and the pharaoh exercised the majority of the control within the state.\(^11\)

This system of social hierarchy created large distinctions between the expectations and the opportunities that were available to each group of individuals. Unfortunately the system was rarely flexible enough to allow individuals to independently increase or decrease their social status. Instead, an individual’s social status mostly depended on their kinship lineage.\(^12\) Kinship lineages were most likely indicators of someone’s inherited social status, because it was typical that younger generations would take over the occupations that their parents had. This means that it was unlikely that an individual that came from a low familial status could achieve an elite status.

The elite position of the pharaoh was also traditionally passed down through kinship lineages.\(^13\) More specifically within these kinship connections, the pharaonic status was inherited through paternal relationships. In an ideal situation, a father who was currently the pharaoh

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\(^12\) Kinship lineage refers to generations of individuals within a family.
\(^13\) Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 9.
would pass on the throne to his son after his death. However, there were some instances when a pharaoh and his wife did not conceive a son that could inherit the throne. As a solution to this situation, in general it was not unusual for pharaohs to be polygamous and seek sexual relationships with women outside of their marriage. So there was the possibility that the pharaoh and another woman could have a son. If this were to occur, the son born outside of the pharaoh’s marriage could eventually inherit the title of ‘pharaoh’, because there would be an existing blood connection between the son and the pharaoh. It is also a possibility that the pharaoh only fathered a daughter with his wife, in this circumstance it was acceptable for the daughter of the pharaoh to be married off, and her husband could become the pharaoh by marriage into the royal family. These arranged marriages would be carefully orchestrated and the chosen husband was usually advantageous politically or economically for the royal family. In addition, the man that was arranged to be married to the daughter of the pharaoh could already have existing relations to the royal family. Marriages between members of the royal family were seen as ideal, because it ensured that the title of ‘pharaoh’ would stay within the royal family.

In addition to the connection to the royal family, there was also a spiritual element that was necessary for an individual to achieve the position of the pharaoh. The culture of the ancient Egyptians focused immensely on religion. The ancient Egyptians were polytheists and worshiped a system of multiple gods. These gods were numerous and some of the gods had intricate connections to other gods, but more importantly the gods all had designated roles within

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the state of Egypt. The roles that the gods played ranged from state functions that assisted the success of Egypt or the god could have a personal role for an Egyptian. For example, Amaunet had a broad responsibility for the protection of the state, and the god Ishtar had an individual-focused role as the fertility god. Overall, the accepted belief of the society was that the state of Egypt and the people were the products of the gods. This accepted belief across the Egyptian society reflected how important and relevant religion was for the Egyptians, and it could be said that religion was essentially the backbone of the civilization.

Since religion had a daily connection to Egypt, it is unsurprising that the Egyptians believed that the gods had a relationship with the human ruler of Egypt. One example of this relationship between the pharaoh and the gods, was that the Egyptian population believed each individual that fulfilled the position of the pharaoh was predetermined by the gods. Two prominent gods that will be discussed are Re and Amun. These gods were considered state gods and were closely related to the pharaoh and were worshiped throughout the entirety of Egypt.

Amun was one of the first Egyptian gods, and he was representative of the Egyptian gods as a whole. When depicted through art, Amun physically resembles some of the characteristics that are associated with the pharaoh because he is shown enthroned, he is crowned, and he wears a false beard which is part of the attire of the pharaoh (figure 2). The significant connection that Amun has to the pharaoh is that often times throughout artwork Amun is frequently in contact with the pharaoh and they display a bi-directional relationship. In these narratives, the

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23 Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 84.
pharaoh is often shown offering goods to the god as a form of worship or Amun is depicted watching over the pharaoh (figure 7 and 9). In addition to the visual representation of the relationship between the pharaoh and the god, there is evidence that some pharaohs have also identified themselves with the god by incorporating Amun’s name into their own. An example of this is the female pharaoh, Hatshepsut, she extends her name to Hatshepsut Khenemet-Amun, which means “United with Amun”.27

The god Re was known as the sun god or the god of creation, and he also had a significant role in the life of the pharaoh.28 Re is often easily identified in artwork, because of his distinct appearance. The depiction of Re consists of a male human body, the head of a bird – hawk or falcon – and is accompanied with a circular sun (figure 3). The god Re was essential for the pharaoh during his coronation, which was the ceremony when the new pharaoh would dedicate their life to the position of the pharaoh. During the coronation, the new pharaoh would give statements that were explicitly directed to the god Re, and there were blessings that would be performed on the pharaoh on behalf of the sun god, which were intended to assist the pharaoh during his reign.29 In addition, similar to numerous pharaohs adopting Amun’s name, some pharaohs also integrated the god Re into their name. This decision allowed the pharaoh to identify and symbolically connect themselves to the god. Hatshepsut’s father, Thutmose I, adopted the name Aakheperkare, which translates to “Great is the Development of the Ka of Re”. This decision to incorporate the name of specific gods like Amun and Re appears to be advantageous for the pharaohs, because it reflected the relationship that the pharaoh had to the

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29 Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 60.
gods in a culture where the society believed that the gods created, monitored, and determined the fate of Egypt.\textsuperscript{30}

Once an individual dedicated their life to the position of the pharaoh, there were numerous areas of the state that they were expected to engage in. Primarily, the responsibility of the pharaoh was to be a communicator between the Egyptians and the gods. This was one of the main priorities for the pharaoh, because the culture of ancient Egypt was focused around religion, and they attributed the state’s success to the gods.\textsuperscript{31} The pharaoh was an appropriate central figure to engage in communication between the gods and the Egyptians, because when the pharaoh ascended the throne they were considered to be partially deified, until their death when they would fully become a god.\textsuperscript{32} This led to a highly ritualized lifestyle for the pharaoh, including being involved in religious acts, and incorporating a religious perspective into his other duties.\textsuperscript{33}

The other management functions that the pharaoh actively participated in were related to the economic, administrative, and military functions of Egypt.\textsuperscript{34} In regards to the pharaoh’s economic role, the pharaoh was the main authority figure that led expeditions around Egypt in order to obtain raw materials and manmade goods through the process of trading.\textsuperscript{35} The administrative functions that the pharaoh was involved in related to the land of Egypt. These functions dealt with the irrigation systems and the pharaoh was in charge of deciding what to do with any existing surpluses.\textsuperscript{36} Lastly, the pharaoh took part in the military aspects of the state,

\textsuperscript{30} Jan Assmann, \textit{The Search for God in Ancient Egypt}, 60. Personal interpretation.
\textsuperscript{31} Morkot, \textit{The Egyptians: An Introduction}, 152.
\textsuperscript{32} Payne, \textit{The Pharaohs of Ancient Egypt}, 34.
\textsuperscript{33} Morkot, \textit{The Egyptians: An Introduction}, 152.
\textsuperscript{34} Morkot, \textit{The Egyptians: An Introduction}, 49.
\textsuperscript{35} Morkot, \textit{The Egyptians: An Introduction}, 49.
\textsuperscript{36} Morkot, \textit{The Egyptians: An Introduction}, 94.
which included being in charge of the Egyptian troops, leading campaigns, and building military installations. All of these responsibilities made it evident that the pharaoh participated or had authority in numerous branches of the Egyptian state.

As mentioned above, although the position of the pharaoh was typically male dominated, there were still instances throughout ancient Egypt’s history when females had authority over the state. Usually women did not rule under the title of ‘pharaoh’, but instead they were referred to as the King’s Mother. This leadership position allowed women to hold temporary authority within the Egyptian society. The typical process that would allow a woman to obtain this title occurred when the current pharaoh –her husband– died, and her son who was intended to inherit the position was too young to rule. She would then be given temporary authority over Egypt, until her son was able to adequately perform the pharaonic responsibilities. The logical incorporation of this leadership role ensured that the position of the pharaoh would stay within the royal family and be passed on to her son. If this role did not exist it would be possible for another male to attempt to take over the position and this could result in the creation of a new dynasty.

Although these women under the title of King’s Mother were place holders for their sons, they also gained comparable authority to the pharaoh and had the ability to enact decisions over Egypt while in this position. In addition, the King’s Mother also received similar amounts of respect from the Egyptian society, which is reflected in the commemorative temples for the women that did hold the title of King’s Mother. For example, during the First Dynasty (3000-2800 BC), Merneith was honored with an extravagant tomb that was similar to the size and

37 Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh, 75.
38 Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh, 10.
position of contemporary male pharaohs.\textsuperscript{40} This reveals that women were not viewed as lower than men in the society, despite the fact that men typically occupied the ultimate leadership position in Egypt.\textsuperscript{41}

Nonetheless, it was rare for females to obtain the position of the pharaoh, because the position was traditionally passed down through paternal lineages.\textsuperscript{42} Still, even though it was rare, it was not impossible for a female to fulfill the position. Hatshepsut was a woman who was provided with a unique set of circumstances and she was able to successfully transition from the queen of Egypt to the position of the pharaoh.\textsuperscript{43}

\textit{Hatshepsut becoming pharaoh}

Hatshepsut was a prominent figure in ancient Egypt during the eighteenth dynasty (1550-1295 BC).\textsuperscript{44} She was a member of the royal family, and she was able to achieve pharaonic status based on the unusual circumstances that occurred within her genealogy (figure 4). Hatshepsut’s position in the royal family was of the daughter of the pharaoh, Thutmose I, who reigned during 1504-1492 BC.\textsuperscript{45} He was married to a woman named Ahmose.\textsuperscript{46} Throughout the course of their marriage, Thutmose I and Ahmose had a daughter, Hatshepsut, and they also had a few sons, but none of their sons survived.\textsuperscript{47} In addition to his marriage with Ahmose, Thutmose I also had a sexual relationship outside of his marriage with a woman named Mutnofre.\textsuperscript{48} Mutnofre

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\textsuperscript{40} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 11.
\textsuperscript{41} John Malam and Ruth Manning, \textit{Ancient Egyptian Women} (Chicago: Heinemann, 2003), 7.
\textsuperscript{42} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 9.
\textsuperscript{43} The term queen is used to describe Hatshepsut’s position in Egypt before becoming a pharaoh, because she was married to the King of Egypt. Hatshepsut specifically was unable to become the King’s Mother, because she was not the biological mother of Thutmose III nor did she have any sons of her own.
\textsuperscript{44} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 6.
\textsuperscript{45} Morkot, \textit{The Egyptians: An Introduction}, 225
\textsuperscript{46} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 7. Ahmose is also referred to as Ahmes.
\textsuperscript{47} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 3.
\textsuperscript{48} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 7.
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eventually conceived a son with Thutmose I, and this child carried on the name of the pharaoh, as Thutmose II.\textsuperscript{49} Due to the fact that Ahmose never conceived a surviving son to inherit the throne, it was decided that there would be an arranged marriage between Thutmose II and Hatshepsut. As a result, in the year 1492 BC, when Thutmose I died, Thutmose II automatically took over the throne.\textsuperscript{50} This is the beginning of the unusual events that led up to Hatshepsut acquiring the position of the pharaoh.

In the span of Thutmose II’s reign, he only fathered one daughter with Hatshepsut, who was named Neferure.\textsuperscript{51} In addition, Thutmose II also sexually explored outside of his marriage, and was involved with a woman named Isis.\textsuperscript{52} The product of this relationship was a son, who also secured the pharaoh’s name, as Thutmose III.\textsuperscript{53} Then, thirteen years into Thutmose II’s reign (around 1479 BC), an unexpected evented occurred, and he suddenly passed away.\textsuperscript{54} This required quickly finding someone within the royal family to replace Thutmose II’s position as the pharaoh. Traditionally, the throne would be passed on to the queen’s son, however Hatshepsut never had a son. In this situation the throne would then alternatively be passed on to Thutmose III, because he was the pharaoh’s son and therefore he had a blood connection to the pharaoh. But, Thutmose III was still an infant during the time of his father’s death, which made it impractical for him to automatically rule over Egypt.\textsuperscript{55}

As mentioned above, in the event that the son who was intended to inherit the position of the pharaoh was too young to rule, his mother could reign under the title of the King’s Mother.

\textsuperscript{49} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 7.
\textsuperscript{50} Kathleen Kuiper, \textit{The 100 Most Influential Women of All Time} (New York: Britannica Educational, 2010), 17.
\textsuperscript{51} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 7.
\textsuperscript{52} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 3.
\textsuperscript{53} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 7.
\textsuperscript{54} Morkot, \textit{The Egyptians: An Introduction}, 225.
\textsuperscript{55} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 3.
This was problematic for Isis, because she did not have any other independent connections to the royal family, and the newly widowed wife of the pharaoh, Hatshepsut, could not reign as the King’s Mother because she was not Thutmose III’s mother and she did not have any sons of her own (figure 4).\(^6^6\) These were important individuals to consider to replace Thutmose II, because it was crucial to ensure that the throne was kept within the bloodline of the royal family. As a result of these unique conditions, Hatshepsut was the only likely candidate to take over the role of the pharaoh. During this time, she was roughly twenty-four years old so she was capable of taking on the responsibility of the position in place of the infant Thutmose III.\(^5^7\)

When Hatshepsut ascended into the pharaonic role, she had to go through a formalized and ritualized ceremony to confirm her social change within the Egyptian society.\(^5^8\) The coronation ceremony that the new pharaohs participated in was significant, so that the new pharaoh could publically dedicate their life to the position of the pharaoh, and to establish that they intended to maintain contact with the gods throughout their reign.\(^5^9\) As discussed above, in Egypt it was generally believed that all of the pharaohs were predetermined by the gods, because the gods governed the running of Egypt.\(^6^0\) This made it problematic for Hatshepsut to make a seamless transition from the position of queen to the position of the pharaoh, because it was clear that Hatshepsut was not originally intended to be the pharaoh at all. Instead Hatshepsut was put in this situation as a last resort to keep the position of the pharaoh within her family after the death of her husband.\(^6^1\) This made it necessary for Hatshepsut to legitimize her right to become

\(^5^6\) Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 13. Before Hatshepsut was crowned the pharaoh, both Ahmose and Isis were deceased. The cause of their deaths are not stated.


\(^5^8\) Cooney, *The Woman Who Would be King*, 131.

\(^5^9\) Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 13.

\(^6^0\) Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 87.

\(^6^1\) Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 13.
the pharaoh through her connection to religion. In order to do so, Hatshepsut rewrote her familial history, ignored the reality that she was previously married to Thutmose II, and she overlooked the fact that she was queen during the time of her husband’s reign. Instead, she fabricated another family history that consisted of her receiving a prophecy during her father’s reign. The prophecy described an event when the gods told her she would inherit and fulfill the position of the pharaoh after her father. In addition to this prophecy, she claimed that she was born as the daughter of the god Amun-Re. These stories solidified her right to be the next pharaoh through the religious standards of the position. As a result, during her coronation ceremony Hatshepsut participated in rituals that not only crowned her as the pharaoh of Egypt but also made her part god.

*Hatshepsut’s impact in Egypt during her reign*

The Egyptian pharaohs had a vast amount of involvement in the running of Egypt, which corresponded with the amount of authority that they could attain to enact changes in various areas of the state. The common forms of control that pharaohs typically had were religious, economic, military, and administrative. Before Hatshepsut’s reign, her father, Thutmose I, focused primarily on the military aspects of Egypt. During his reign some of his accomplishments consisted of establishing a large, stable troop and leading a military campaign outside of Egypt across the Euphrates River. This left a long lasting impact on the state of

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62 Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 88. If Hatshepsut was actually intended to be the pharaoh of Egypt she would have directly inherited the position of the pharaoh, thus she would have never been queen.

63 Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 87.

64 Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 135.


Egypt, which would later be continued by his grandson, Thutmose III. In contrast to this military focus that the male pharaohs had, Hatshepsut instead decided to shift her attention to the economic status of the state.\textsuperscript{68} This is reflected in a well-known expedition during 1469 BC that Hatshepsut led to the land of Punt for trading purposes (figure 5).\textsuperscript{69} This reconstructed drawing of a relief is a narrative of the activities that occurred at the island. The bottom tier contains four large ships powered by the paddling of numerous Egyptians towards the land of Punt. These ships are depicted on top of a horizontal strip that contains various kinds of fish, which represents the Red Sea.\textsuperscript{70} The top tier contains two large ships and focuses on the trading activity that occurred between the Egyptians and the individuals that resided in the land of Punt.

After analyzing the artwork and inscriptions depicting the expedition to Punt, scholars describe and interpret the scenes behind the reconstruction drawing and the exchanges that took place.\textsuperscript{71} When the ships initially arrived at Punt, Hatshepsut was met by the chieftain of the land and his wife. In this interaction with the chieftain, Hatshepsut initially presented gifts from Egypt consisting of beer, wine, meat and fruit, with the intentions of initiating trade.\textsuperscript{72} In exchange the Egyptians received myrrh trees –sometimes used for spiritual incense–, ebony, ivory, gold, baboon, and leopard skins.\textsuperscript{73} In the top tier of the reconstructed drawing, it can be interpreted that the expedition was a success, because there are depictions of numerous individuals walking up slanted planks as they board goods from the island onto the ship. In addition, the goods that are inside of the ship are likely to be positioned above the ship walls, so an individual that is

\textsuperscript{69} Gardiner, \textit{Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction}, 186.
\textsuperscript{70} Cooney, \textit{The Woman Who Would be King}, 133.
\textsuperscript{71} Gardiner, \textit{Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction}, 186.
\textsuperscript{72} Gardiner, \textit{Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction}, 186. The land of Punt is not specifically known, but it is thought to be located near the coast of Yemen.
\textsuperscript{73} Gardiner, \textit{Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction}, 186.
viewing the piece is aware of the large quantity of resources that were obtained during this expedition.\textsuperscript{74}

This decision to lead an expedition to Punt was purposeful on the part of Hatshepsut, because based on other expeditions that previous pharaohs had to Punt, it was known that they were able to accumulate precious, rare and symbolic materials that were not produced in Egypt.\textsuperscript{75} Therefore, Hatshepsut knew she would be able to benefit greatly for the state of Egypt after this expedition at the cost of losing mundane goods that the Egyptians offered. This is an example of artwork that portrays Hatshepsut’s accomplishments and depicts her successfully making an impact on the economic status of Egypt.

As a result of the trading ventures and materials that Hatshepsut was able to accumulate for the state of Egypt during her reign, she also focused on building monuments in Egypt.\textsuperscript{76} One of the first building projects that Hatshepsut became involved in was the erection of obelisks at the Temple of Amun in Karnak. Initially, Hatshepsut’s father, Thutmose I, had delved into creating obelisks during his reign as a pharaoh.\textsuperscript{77} These obelisks were enormous in size, and they were composed of red granite that was collected from Aswan, and were shaped into tall pillars with the triangular tips covered in beaten gold and electrum (figure 6).\textsuperscript{78} Adapting this interest that her father had in obelisks, Hatshepsut also began her building project with the construction and erection of obelisks. She initially ordered Senenmut –her lead administrator– to supervise a trip to Aswan to collect red granite, for the construction of obelisks that were intended for the

\textsuperscript{74} Personal interpretation.
\textsuperscript{75} Gardiner, \textit{Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction}, 186
\textsuperscript{76} Morkot, \textit{The Egyptians: An Introduction}, 78.
\textsuperscript{77} Cooney, \textit{The Woman Who Would be King}, 49.
\textsuperscript{78} Cooney, \textit{The Woman Who Would be King}, 49.
restoration of Karnak Temple. This was significant because during this time, much of Karnak was constructed in mudbrick, so incorporating monuments composed of granite would ensure that these monuments and the messages that were chiseled into them would survive over time.

These obelisks were likely to have had a significant role in confirming that Hatshepsut was a righteous pharaoh, and validated that she was meant to hold the position of the pharaoh, because they contained both a symbolic and physical connection to the gods. The symbolic connection was visible when the sunlight beamed on the obelisks, then the sunlight was reflected off the surface of the obelisks onto the temple. This resulted in an optical effect that the gods were entering the temple. Furthermore, these monuments explicitly were dedications and mediums of worship to the gods from Hatshepsut by the inscriptions and reliefs that were chiseled into the surfaces. An artistic relief on one of the obelisks depicts Hatshepsut kneeling in front of the enthroned god Amun, as he places his hand on her shoulder and on her head (figure 7). This represents the relationship between Hatshepsut and the god Amun, and the positions that the two individuals take can be interpreted as Amun watching over Hatshepsut during her reign.

In addition, an excerpt from an obelisk at Karnak Temple reads:

“I [Hatshepsut] have made this with a loving heart of my father Amun, […] I have not been forgetful of any project he has decreed. For My Majesty knows he is divine, and I have done it by his command. He is the one who guides me. I could not have imagined the work without his acting: he is the one who gives the directions.”

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81 Personal interpretation.
This excerpt directly addresses the primary role of a pharaoh, who is a mediator between the people of Egypt and the gods. As a result, through her obelisks she reveals that she does in fact have a relationship with the gods, which secures her position as the pharaoh. But, the construction of the obelisks was just the start of the building projects that Hatshepsut would implement within the state of Egypt throughout her reign.

Another key construction site for Hatshepsut’s building program was also located in the Karnak Temple. This building project is now referred to as the Red Chapel or Chapelle Rouge.86 The launch of the construction at this site began during Hatshepsut’s sixteenth year, which followed a festival that commemorated Thutmose III and Hatshepsut’s co-regency.87 Before the construction began at this site there was a dilemma, because there already was a pre-existing wooden shrine in the middle of the courtyard that was actively being used—even by Hatshepsut herself—, which was used for ritual purposes.88 Thus Hatshepsut had to deconstruct, relocate, and reconstruct the wooden shrine in a new location, before constructing the Red Chapel. This process of relocating the wooden shrine, required energy, resources, and time, which reflects the extent of Hatshepsut’s dedication and the amount of planning that went into her building projects. There was also an immense amount of planning that went into the design and the execution process of the new chapel [the Red Chapel].89

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87 Cooney, *The Woman Who Would be King*, 172. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III were co-regents when Thutmose III became of an appropriate age to inherit his position as a pharaoh. At this time, Hatshepsut could not resign from her position of the pharaoh, because she dedicated her life to the position during her coronation and Thutmose III justifiably inherits the position of the pharaoh as a direct descendant of the previous pharaoh, Thutmose II.
88 Cooney, *The Woman Who Would be King*, 173. The wooden shrine would be referred to as ‘the Place in the Heart of Amun’ after its relocation.
89 Personal interpretation.
The Red Chapel was a small rectangular structure that was composed of deep red quartzite and black diorite. These materials were sturdy, which allowed them to survive over extended amounts of time. As a result of the durable materials that were used, they were also hard to work with. Thus strategizing was important when chiseling the reliefs into the blocks (figure 8).\textsuperscript{90} On the inside of the structure, the blocks that make up the walls are chiseled with fine, detailed scenes that contribute to the significance of the chapel. The planning that went into these reliefs is visible in the fact that each block contains a completed scene that reflected a similar pattern of themes including Hatshepsut’s major life events, Hatshepsut as a pharaoh, and the depictions of gods and rituals.\textsuperscript{91} Some specific scenes present in the Red Chapel are representations of Hatshepsut erecting obelisks, becoming crowned pharaoh at her coronation, Hatshepsut enthroned, offering valuable goods to the god Amun [gold and incense], and processions.\textsuperscript{92} Figure 9 is a relief from the Red Chapel depicting Hatshepsut [as the left figure] offering incense to a wooden statue of the god Amun-Re, in front of the shrine.\textsuperscript{93} The accumulation of these reliefs in the Red Chapel seem to reflect more than the mere desire to leave a materialistic legacy in Egypt after her reign. Instead it is important to evaluate what types of scenes are [repeatedly] integrated in her monuments. This continuous depiction of religion shows that Hatshepsut had a deep focus and commitment to the gods, which is highly valued in the Egyptian context.\textsuperscript{94}

The pinnacle of Hatshepsut’s building program is the complex mortuary temple reserved for herself. This temple was an intensive project that finished construction towards the end of

\textsuperscript{92} Blyth, \textit{Karnak: Evolution of a Temple}, 57.
\textsuperscript{93} T.G.H James, \textit{The British Museum Concise Introduction to Ancient Egypt} (London: British Museum, 2005), 95.
\textsuperscript{94} Morkot, \textit{The Egyptians: An Introduction}, 152.
Hatshepsut’s reign (figure 10). This structure was and continues to be a great achievement for Hatshepsut for multiple reasons including the specific location of the temple, the unique architectural design, and the symbolic meaning behind the temple. In Deir-el Bahri, the mortuary temple is distinctively situated within a grand landscape of cliffs. These cliffs were not only astonishing visually, but the cliffs also had a religious significance. As a result this location allowed her temple to be frequently visited or seen by the public. The religious context that the cliffs had in the Egyptian context were thought to be associated with the god Hathor. Hathor was the daughter of Re, the sun god, and she had control over the Western mountains. Due to the religious significance that this location had for the Egyptian population, this was the location that ‘The Beautiful Feast of the Valley’ would take place when the Nile ran low and the population of Egypt feared future famine. The Beautiful Feast of the Valley, first began when priests from Karnak –the location where Amun’s temple is located–, would send statues of the god Amun down the Nile in a barge, to the west bank, referred to as the land of the dead. During this transportation of the statues, there would be thousands of people that followed along to ensure that the statues made a safe arrival, and there would be music, dancing and drinking for the Egyptians to celebrate the possibility of new beginnings.

Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple was a physically distinctive monument in ancient Egypt. The exterior appearance of the mortuary temple consists of a tiered façade, with three colonnade

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95 Cooney, The Woman Who Would be King, 144. Hatshepsut referred to her mortuary temple as Djeser Djeseru, which translated into ‘Holy of Holies’.
96 Cooney, The Woman Who Would be King, 145.
97 Cooney, The Woman Who Would be King, 145.
98 Cooney, The Woman Who Would be King, 144.
100 Cooney, The Woman Who Would be King, 144.
layers (figure 10). The three tiers of the façade are connected by two ramps, which lead up to the main entrance into the temple. Inside the entrance of the top tier is an open court yard, and on the opposite side of the court yard is where the main sanctuary chapel is located. This chapel was constructed by cutting nineteen meters into the bedrock of the cliff, and was dedicated to the god Amun-Re (figure 11). Although this mortuary temple had sanctuaries dedicated to different gods, the ultimate purpose of this temple was to serve as a final resting place after Hatshepsut’s death. As a result of the function that the temple served, it was covered in decorations of Hatshepsut that celebrated her life achievements and connected her to the gods whom she would be united with. On the exterior of the temple, there were reliefs and statues that reflected Hatshepsut’s life and Thutmose III is also present in the artwork, because they were co-regents. Some examples of the specific events that were depicted on the exterior of the building, were Hatshepsut’s divine birth, the transportation of her obelisks from Aswan to the Karnak Temple, and the expedition to Punt. There were also an estimated two hundred statues that were carved in the round of Hatshepsut, which were created for the mortuary temple. Some of the statues included Hatshepsut enthroned, kneeling with offerings for the gods, mummified, in the form of a sphinx, and most significant, in the appearance of the god Osiris. The god Osiris, was the god of the dead and the ruler of the underworld. In the Egyptian context, Osiris was not feared, instead he was interpreted similarly to the sun god, but for the deceased. Therefore it is logical that Osiris would be referenced on her mortuary temple, because of his function within

101 Cooney, The Woman Who Would be King, 144.
103 Furlong, Hatshepsut’s Mortuary Temple Deir-el Bahri, 3.
105 Cooney, The Woman Who Would be King, 144. Fred Kleiner 40 The statues of Hatshepsut taking on the appearance of Osiris are still visible on the exterior of the temple.
106 Hart, A Dictionary of Egyptian God and Goddesses, 158.
the Egyptian society. Overall, the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut is significant because it was one of the first monumental dedications to a female’s achievements in history by incorporating a collection of all of her accomplishments and her spiritual involvement. Furthermore, this temple still exists today, and has been declared as the first surviving Temple of Millions of Years.107

Analysis of artwork depicting Hatshepsut throughout her reign

A focus on Hatshepsut’s experimentation with the expression of gender

In the Egyptian context, literacy rates were low for the majority of the Egyptian population [peasants] and thus artwork played a significant role in not only recording Egypt’s history, but it also was a medium for propaganda and communicating to the Egyptian population at the time.108 Therefore, it is understandable why there were numerous reliefs in temples and on obelisks that depicted the achievements of pharaohs primarily through images. One prominent form of artwork in the Egyptian culture was statuary. Frequently statues were created to commemorate the individuals from the elite position, especially the pharaohs.

As stated above, in the Egyptian context, the position of the pharaoh was inherited through the paternal relationships of the royal family. Therefore this affected the artistic prototype of what a pharaoh traditionally was supposed to look like within the Egyptian culture, which had an extremely masculine appearance.109 This may have been difficult for Hatshepsut to adjust to during her reign, because these expectations did not align with her feminine identity. Again, before obtaining the role as a pharaoh Hatshepsut was portrayed as a queen and a mother. These roles in the Egyptian society were associated with a feminine appearance (figure 12).

107 Cooney, The Woman Who Would be King, 144.
When classifying Hatshepsut’s statuary as reflecting a feminine identity it is important to define and describe how females were portrayed and what position they had within the ancient Egyptian society. In artwork there is a representational depiction of Egyptian women regardless of their social class.\textsuperscript{110} Thus women were depicted in settings that ranged from in the fields, in the market place, in entertainment, or in temples.\textsuperscript{111} But the standard appearance that women had regardless of the setting included a bulky curly wig, a long dress that covered their ankles, slim body frame and a youthful appearance.\textsuperscript{112} The women of the royal family had some additional accessories that they were often depicted in that are not present in the standard appearance of women. Elite women were depicted in more elaborate outfits composed of jewelry, beads at the ends of their hair, beaded collars, and on occasion headdresses with the head of Horus or feathers for Anka.\textsuperscript{113} In general the appearance of Egyptian women also had a prototypical appearance in the depiction of an idealized body that was clothed in cultural garments that were associated with the female population.

As stated before, Hatshepsut probably experienced an internal conflict throughout her reign regarding the balance between representing her biological appearance and the expected appearance of a traditional pharaoh. Thus visible subtle changes were incorporated gradually into her artwork that led up to the obvious masculine appearance of Hatshepsut as a pharaoh. The general overview of Hatshepsut’s exploration of identity expression has been classified into three phases by scholars. Initially Hatshepsut had a feminine appearance that incorporates some traits described above, following her coronation. One interpretation of this decision to use feminine

\textsuperscript{111} Lesko, “Women’s Monumental Mark on Ancient Egypt,” 5.
\textsuperscript{112} Lesko, “Women’s Monumental Mark on Ancient Egypt,” 7.
\textsuperscript{113} Mary Houston, \textit{Ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Persian Costume} (New York: Dover, 2002), 15 and 37.
imagery could be because it was consistent with how she was portrayed before being a pharaoh, when she was a queen and a mother.\textsuperscript{114} This would allow the population of ancient Egypt to recognize her in the statuary. Progressing further into her reign, the second phase is a visible combination between a feminine and masculine appearance. Lastly she fully conforms to the masculine prototypical appearance of the pharaoh. This final adoption of the fully masculine appearance of the pharaoh may have been beneficial for Hatshepsut to associate herself with the image of previous pharaohs and to visually make it obvious that she was the current pharaoh of Egypt.\textsuperscript{115}

Initially at the start of Hatshepsut’s reign, since she was not able to rule under the title of the King’s Mother, Hatshepsut identified herself as the ‘God’s Wife of Amun’.\textsuperscript{116} This label probably came shortly after her coronation, which is when she dedicated herself and her reign to the gods.\textsuperscript{117} Solely when just looking at the label of the God’s Wife, it is associated with a feminine identity because the terminology of ‘wife’ refers to the female spouse in a marriage. As expected under this title Hatshepsut continued to be portrayed with a feminine appearance in her statuary, similar to when she was a queen (compare figure 12 and 13). The statue referred to as, Hatshepsut as a Female Pharaoh, displays Hatshepsut as a feminized pharaoh (figure 13). Hatshepsut is shown enthroned and is wearing the typical striped headdress, which reflects her status as a crowned pharaoh.\textsuperscript{118} In this statue of Hatshepsut, her anatomy and garments that she wears contrasts with the typical appearance of a pharaoh (figure 14). Instead her wardrobe

\textsuperscript{114} Personal interpretation
\textsuperscript{116} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 87.
\textsuperscript{117} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 88.
\textsuperscript{118} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 9.
Shade 23

consists of a tight, long dress that ends near her ankles, and she is wearing jewelry, which is most visible through the circular incisions around her ankles.\textsuperscript{119} In addition, the anatomy of Hatshepsut’s body also has aspects that are associated with the appearance of a female. The portrayal of the statue depicts Hatshepsut with a small, idealized waist and larger hips, which often symbolizes fertility for women.\textsuperscript{120} In addition, her arms and legs appear slim by the smooth carved surfaces of her limbs, which indicates a lack of physical labor or strength, instead she has a delicate body frame.\textsuperscript{121} Other feminine aspects present in this statue are her facial features, she does not have a defined chin or cheek bones instead she has a full, rounded face. Most importantly for the feminine appearance of this statue are her prominent breasts. All of these factors reject an assimilation to the prototype of the traditional pharaoh. This is unsurprising that she continued her feminine identity in her early artwork as a pharaoh, because this is the appearance that she was familiar with when her primary roles were as a mother and queen.\textsuperscript{122}

Eventually during her reign, Hatshepsut’s artwork took another turn and began reflecting artistic experimentation, which involved the integration of both Hatshepsut’s female identity and the more traditional male identity of a pharaoh.\textsuperscript{123} In the statuary known as, the \textit{Seated Statue of Hatshepsut}, Hatshepsut adopts more of a masculine appearance, but she still does not fully commit to it (figure 15). The facial features that Hatshepsut has in this seated statue, are quite similar to her previous statuary when she was depicted as a female pharaoh. This consistency made it easier to identify the seated statue as Hatshepsut, despite some changes that were

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{119} Hilliard and Wurtzel, “Power and Gender in Ancient Egypt,” 27. Cooney, \textit{The Woman Who Would be King}, photo section. Hatshepsut also has circular incisions around her wrists to represent bracelets, which are less easily noticeable.
\item \textsuperscript{120} Greg Woolf, \textit{Ancient Civilizations: The Illustrated Guide to Belief, Mythology, and Art} (London: Baird, 2005), 180.
\item \textsuperscript{121} Personal interpretation.
\item \textsuperscript{122} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 9.
\item \textsuperscript{123} Hilliard and Wurtzel, “Power and Gender in Ancient Egypt,” 27.
\end{itemize}
implemented. One of the most noticeable changes is that she substitutes her full-length, tight-fitted dress for the customary pharaonic kilt. This is significant because adopting the kilt worn by the pharaohs, visually reinforces her position as the pharaoh within the society. Furthermore, the biological portrayal of Hatshepsut’s body begins to transform to an experimental combination of both the male and female anatomy. The shift to a more masculinized set of features is evident in the reduction of her womanly hips, and there is an increase in the amount of her body that is exposed. In this seated statue Hatshepsut reveals her legs and she is also now topless. The general depiction of a female topless may have generated concerns for the Egyptian population, but in this statue Hatshepsut’s breasts are less prominently carved and are slightly hidden behind the pharaonic headdress. These slight modifications allowed Hatshepsut to physically be associated with the previous pharaohs of Egypt, while still enabling the public to distinguish her as a female pharaoh by her facial features.

Ultimately, the portrayal of Hatshepsut becomes fully masculinized towards the end of her reign through statuary that is present in her mortuary temple. This decision of conforming to the artistic prototypical appearance of the previous pharaohs can be related to the concept of archaism. Archaism within the ancient Egyptian culture refers to the frequent adoption of artwork and imitating the appearance of previous periods. The specific statue, Hatshepsut Offers Maat to Amun, depicts Hatshepsut kneeling with a jar in each of her hands (figure 16). The garments that Hatshepsut is depicted wearing in this statue are similar to the ones that are present in the seated statue of Hatshepsut, which include the pharaonic headdress and the kilt

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124 Hilliard and Wurtzel, “Power and Gender in Ancient Egypt,” 27.
125 Cooney, The Woman Who Would be King, photo section.
126 Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh, 23.
minus the false beard that is now newly adopted.\textsuperscript{127} The false beard was also a recognizable piece of the traditional costume of a pharaoh, and it is understandable that Hatshepsut did not adopt this male accessory until she completely assimilated to the appearance of the previous male pharaohs. The biological portrayal of Hatshepsut in this statue is drastically different when compared to the statuary that was created of her initially after her coronation (compare figure 13 and 16). This complete conformity to the male appearance of the previous pharaohs now makes it much more difficult to correctly identify her based on the statue alone, because the individualized characteristics of Hatshepsut are no longer present. The final biological changes incorporated to reflect a masculinized appearance are evident through her muscular, flat chest and in the fact that in some of her statues she has thicker arms to represent muscles. As a result of these extreme changes in the presentation of Hatshepsut’s identity, it was sometimes difficult for scholars and excavators to classify which statues were actually of Hatshepsut when hieroglyphic labels were not legible.\textsuperscript{128} Previously scholars tended to clump all of the masculinized statues of this time under Thutmose III, but this may not be accurate.\textsuperscript{129}

Nevertheless one aspect remained the same throughout the duration of her reign, even when she complied fully with the masculinized appearance of the pharaoh. This consistent and unique feature present on her statuary is the continued use of the feminine word endings, when referring to her position and her name to label her artwork.\textsuperscript{130} This may not have been effective to inform the Egyptian population about her female identity, because most of the population was illiterate thus they would not be able to decipher the hieroglyphs. But it is still a unique aspect to

\textsuperscript{127} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 99.  
\textsuperscript{128} Hilliard and Wurtzel, “\textit{Power and Gender in Ancient Egypt},” 27.  
\textsuperscript{129} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 10.  
\textsuperscript{130} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 9. Some of the labels that Hatshepsut continues to use are “The Daughter of Re” and “Lady of Two Lands”.
consider, because this probably was an intentional decision on behalf of Hatshepsut as a strategy to hold onto her female identity.\textsuperscript{131}

\textit{Hatshepsut's Legacy}

The accumulation of the trading expeditions, the implementation of new architecture, and the commemorative statuary that was created by –or in dedication of– Hatshepsut all had a profound effect on the economic, architectural, and religious areas of the state. These aspects led to the public’s awareness of Hatshepsut, and allowed her to gain popularity within the ancient Egyptian society. Then, in the year 1458 BC, Hatshepsut’s reign ended due to her death. Upon Hatshepsut’s death Thutmose III was finally able to acquire complete control as the sole pharaoh of Egypt.\textsuperscript{132} As stated above, Hatshepsut and Thutmose III eventually became co-regents over Egypt when Thutmose III finally became of age to rule, because Hatshepsut had to fulfill the position after her husband’s unexpected death and Thutmose III biologically inherited the throne, since he was the son of the previous pharaoh, Thutmose II. During the span of this dual regency, Thutmose III developed a resentment towards Hatshepsut because he believed that she unjustifiably stole the position of the pharaoh from him.\textsuperscript{133} The outcome of this resentment that Thutmose III had towards Hatshepsut was detrimental. He began ordering men to damage the artwork that depicted Hatshepsut or the monuments that were part of her building program.\textsuperscript{134} This had a severe effect on the long-term legacy that Hatshepsut intended to leave in Egypt after her death.

\textsuperscript{131} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 9.
\textsuperscript{132} Morkot, \textit{The Egyptians: An Introduction}, 225.
\textsuperscript{133} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 9.
\textsuperscript{134} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 9.
In order to erase Hatshepsut’s legacy, Thutmose III engaged in damnatio memoriae by erasing the images of Hatshepsut in her reliefs and destroying some architecture that was associated to her. As mentioned above, one particular building project that Hatshepsut was actively involved in designing was the Red Chapel. The Red Chapel was a monument that contained numerous reliefs of Hatshepsut’s achievements. After a few years following the death of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III made it a priority to demolish the building. Each block of the chapel was removed and discarded in another location in Karnak. One of the blocks that was discarded from the original Red Chapel is a clear example of the damnatio memoriae process. This relief reflects an intentional removal of Hatshepsut’s image by the method of precise chisel marks, which cannot be mistaken for natural damage (figure 17). This scene that this relief depicts is of Hatshepsut being crowned by two Egyptian gods. In addition to this chiseled out figure of Hatshepsut, the hieroglyphic labels located above her head, which were used to identify her are also removed. Figure 18 shows the appearance of the hieroglyphs that represented Hatshepsut, which are grouped together in two cartouches. The existing appearance of these cartouches also maintains its original shape on the relief, but has also endured damnatio memoriae. The consequence that this had for Hatshepsut’s legacy were unfortunate. As time passed on, it was difficult to identify the accomplishments that were associated with her because these artistic records were destroyed. Furthermore, the acknowledgement that she ever held the position of the pharaoh was not included in the list of Egypt’s Kings for a significant amount of years.

135 Cooney, The Woman Who Would be King, 198.  
136 Cooney, The Woman Who Would be King, photo section.  
137 Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh, 294.
Conclusion

In the New Kingdom period of ancient Egypt’s history (1550-1070 BC)\textsuperscript{138}, Hatshepsut rose to the position of the pharaoh. This was an unusual event for the Egyptian society because the position of the pharaoh was typically inherited through the paternal lines of the royal family. This male dominated leadership position was then only available to Hatshepsut under a specific set of circumstances when there were no males in the royal family that could take over the position. Therefore, when Hatshepsut was crowned the pharaoh of Egypt, she inevitably tested the social norms associated with the position of the pharaoh. This required Hatshepsut to strategize a balance between continuing the established expected, traditional roles of a pharaoh, while also incorporating her identity and interests into her reign.

The traditional role that she adopted from the previous Egyptian pharaohs were the responsibilities of the pharaoh. This includes her expedition to Punt in response to the economic duties of the pharaoh, and the religious focus that Hatshepsut integrates into her reign. In addition she adopts the expected identity of a pharaoh as she manipulated her appearance towards the end of her reign through statuary. This was evident in her adoption of both the male anatomy and cultural garments that were associated with Egyptian males. On the other hand, she incorporated new perspectives as the pharaoh by taking pride in and dedicating resources to her intensive building projects and she also never fully disregarded her female identity when she was a pharaoh.

This acknowledgment to her female identity was first apparent in the beginning of her reign when Hatshepsut was portrayed as a female pharaoh with the female anatomy and feminine

\textsuperscript{138} Dreyfrus, Keller and Roehrig, \textit{Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh}, 6.
attire, and she also continued to utilize the feminine word endings to identify herself throughout the entirety of her reign. Overall, the balance of conformity and preserving her identity throughout her reign, allowed Hatshepsut to make an impact in the economic, religious and architectural status in the state of Egypt during her reign. At the same time, these elements, paired with Thutmose II’s resentment towards Hatshepsut, stunted her long-term legacy because her artistic records were damaged. This made it difficult for credit and admiration to be attributed to Hatshepsut for her achievements in the years following her death. But, with the research conducted by scholars, her life story has been pieced back together and this has restored the public’s awareness about Hatshepsut’s reign. Now Hatshepsut is able to be remembered as an influential female figure in Egypt, and also the rest of the world.
Figure 1
A map representing the territory of Egypt during the New Kingdom period.

Figure 2
The god Amun is depicted with the appearance that is associated with the pharaoh.

Figure 3
The god Re, is distinctively accompanied with an image of the sun.

Figure 4
A chart of Hatshepsut’s familial connections.
Figure 5
Reconstruction of a relief that contains scenes of the expedition to Punt led by Hatshepsut.

Figure 6
Generic photo of obelisks in Egypt, not specifically Thutmose I’s. This photo shows what the general appearance of an obelisk looks like.
Figure 7
An obelisk relief of the god Amun (left figure) placing his hands on Hatshepsut (right figure).

Figure 8
Exterior view of the reassembled Red Chapel.

Figure 9
A relief from the Red Chapel that displays Hatshepsut (left figure) offering incense to the god Amun (right figure).
Figure 10
Exterior view of Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple in Deir-el Bahri.

Figure 11
The plan of Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple has a descriptive key to indicate the function of each location and room within the temple.
Figure 12
This statuary depicts Hatshepsut as a queen. She does not wear the pharaonic headdress.

Figure 13
*Hatshepsut as a Female Pharaoh,* portrays Hatshepsut as a feminized pharaoh.
Shade 35

Figure 14
Khafre Enthroned is an example of the prototypical appearance of a male pharaoh.

Figure 15
*Seated Statue of Hatshepsut*, incorporates a mixture of both the male and female gender.
Hatshepsut Offers Maat to Amun, portrays Hatshepsut with a fully masculinized appearance.

Hatshepsut’s images from reliefs after her reign, ordered by Thutmose III.

Hatshepsut’s hieroglyphic name label.
Bibliography


