QUEEN HATSHEPSUT: EGYPT’S TRIUMPHANT YEARS

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In Ancient Egypt, the pharaoh was a monarch who was viewed as a semi-divine being and who lived on earth and ruled the mortals in his kingdom. Throughout Egyptian history, there were several pharaohs whose names are known for their achievements and the excellence of their rulership. This would include pharaohs such as Rameses II, Seti I, and Thutmose III. There is one pharaoh, however, who deserves to have these notions of prestige associated with “his” name: Queen Hatshepsut. Hatshepsut was a female pharaoh who ruled during the 18th Dynasty. While she was biologically a woman and thought of herself as woman, it was when she became pharaoh that she would appears as a “he” in order to solidify her power and to be taken seriously by her subjects. It is during her reign as pharaoh (and, to an extent, even before she became pharaoh) that she would become a remarkable leader to the Egyptians and leave her mark upon history. It was through Hatshepsut’s life and rule that Egypt developed into an economically and militarily sound kingdom, despite the backlash that came from other high-ranking figures around her due to the fact that she could rule as a man after being born as a woman.

As the daughter of a pharaoh, Hatshepsut lived a comfortable life. She was educated by the finest tutors in Egypt and was taught directly by the priest of Amun.\(^1\) The education of Egyptian royalty was focused on morality and good manners.\(^2\) Along with these lessons of morality and good manners, she learned some of the same subjects as we do in the modern era. She had reading, writing, and mathematics lessons as a young girl and into her teenage years.\(^3\) In her history lessons, Hatshepsut learned about her family heritage, especially the strong female figures in power. These strong female leaders included her grandmother Nefertari. Nefertari was the queen and wife of Ahmoses I, who was the first Pharaoh of 18th Dynasty. Ahmose I and Nefertari successfully won Egypt back from the Hittites. While she was not involved in direct

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1 Wells 1969, 68.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., 69.
fighting, she was the face of the palace and took over most of her husband’s duties while he was away. She also learned from her father, Thutmose I, about how far his kingdom expanded and about the inner workings of the kingdom. None of Thutmose’s I children, especially the girls, were trained as vigorously as Hatshepsut. She was being groomed to become the future Queen of Egypt. However, ancient Egyptians did not expect Hatshepsut to become Pharaoh or even to ascend to the throne as a prominent figure. She had at least two brothers, Amenmose and Wadjmose, who were supposed to inherit the throne before her, but they died at a young age. This would leave Hatshepsut and her half-brother Thutmose II to rule together.

In her late adolescence, Hatshepsut’s fate was sealed after marrying her step-brother Thutmose II. There has been some debate about the exact age at which Hatshepsut and Thutmose II married, but most speculate that is was around the age of 18 to 20 years old. She became the Queen of Egypt and Thutmose II became Pharaoh. As the queen, Hatshepsut was given many roles within the royal court in ancient Thebes. Her most important role was the “God’s Wife of Amun.” Like her husband, Thutmose II, she was responsible for carrying out certain religious ceremonies and duties for the kingdom’s well-being. When depicted as Queen of Egypt, Hatshepsut wore both traditional and untraditional garments when compared to previous queens. Traditionally, she wore a wide collar and a sheer dress, in which her breasts and feminine curves were shown to her advantage; she frequently also showed off bracelets and anklets. Per L. Troy, “However, unlike traditional queens, she wears the pharaonic nemes headdress and uraeus

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4 Dorman 2005, 87.
5 Well 1969, 155.
7 Galford 2005, 43.
adornment, a cobra on the front of the headdress. The uraeus is a phallic form associated with the sun god.”

While the queens of Egypt tended to have power in their husband’s kingdoms, Hatshepsut had more than several queens before her. As a young child and into adulthood Thutmose II was very sickly. With a frail husband like Thutmose II, she took over most of his responsibilities as Pharaoh. She oversaw most of the construction of monuments that she and Thutmose II started. She began plans for her own temple at Deir el-Bahari before Thutmose II passed away, while looking ahead to a time when she would become pharaoh. Thutmose II and Hatshepsut also made their marks at the Temple of Karnak. Historian believe that she helped Thutmose II serve sacrificial feasts at that site. They began to rebuild the Middle Kingdom obelisks and temples in Karnak, as well.

Through this marriage, she and Thutmose II had a pair of children, two daughters named Merit-Re-Hatshepsut and Nefrure. She groomed both of her daughters, especially Neferure, as the future leaders of Egypt. While this marriage did not produce any male heirs, Hatshepsut knew that this would not be a significant impediment. Nearly all Pharaohs had minor wives or concubines who could produce male heirs, and this happened. Thutmose II had a lesser wife named Isis, and she produced a male heir named Thutmose III. Thutmose III grew up with a hatred of Hatshepsut because his mother, Isis, was jealous of Hatshepsut and resented the fact that she was queen of Egypt. The hatred of Hatshepsut would be a catalyst for Thutmose III to overthrow Hatshepsut when she became Pharaoh. However, before Thutmose III, could

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8 Troy 2003, 97.
9 Galford 2005, 43.
10 Keller 2005, 97.
11 Wells 1969, 166.
comprehend what his mother was teaching him, his father, Thutmose II died unexpectedly. After only ruling around 10 years with her husband as Pharaoh by her side, Hatshepsut became a widowed queen.

As Thutmose III was too young to rule at the age of seven or eight, Hatshepsut would rule alongside him as co-regent. It is estimated that Hatshepsut was around 30 years old while reigning with the child co-ruler. In the first two years of Thutmose III’s co-regency with Hatshepsut she is not mentioned in any historical texts, a fact which puzzles many historians.\(^\text{14}\) Obviously, Thutmose III could not take on a several roles as co-regent because of his age, and that is where Hatshepsut stepped in. She would no longer be identified as a woman or queen, but she would instead become a male king. Hatshepsut would be called Maatkare and in relief sculpture, and she would be dressed a man rather than a woman.\(^\text{15}\) Both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III were identical in the depiction of their images. During their reign, both were depicted as existing peacefully with each other, which is quite strange. One would think that Thutmose II would resent sharing the throne, but he apparently did not.

Throughout their reign, many of their accomplishments were reflected via their building program.\(^\text{16}\) Particularly at Karnak, the works of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III would shine and stand out. Hatshepsut was already making repairs to the area with Thutmose II, and this continued under the joint rule with Thutmose III. She would restore the two obelisks in the area and the Palace of Maat, which created a new complex giving entry to the Middle Kingdom sanctuary.\(^\text{17}\) While this co-regency lasted for 15 years in peace, Hatshepsut knew that Egypt

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\(^{14}\) Matić 2016, 814. 
\(^{15}\) Keller 2005, 96. 
\(^{16}\) Ibid., 97. 
\(^{17}\) Ibid.
needed a single ruler. She decided to pursue the title of Pharaoh, and this decision would change her life and her lasting image after death.

She began these transitions in the seventh and eighth year of her co-regency with Thutmose III. To begin the process of becoming Pharaoh, Hatshepsut would have to perform various religious rituals to honor the gods. Only a Pharaoh could perform these tasks within the Egyptian religious realm. After the rituals were performed, she held a coronation ceremony performed by all male monarchs in ancient Egypt and during which they would receive their new name. Once this coronation ceremony was finished she would officially become Pharaoh of Egypt. To earn the respect as Pharaoh, she would dress as a male in front of the royal court and her subjects. She wore the traditional male kilt, the double-crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, and a false beard as well. Thus, Hatshepsut would appear male. Her appearance as a woman was shifting to male iconography when she and Thutmose III were depicted together, but when she was depicted alone she was still female; this changed, however, after her coronation. She would be depicted as a man, and most of her images would be changed.

This transition from one gender to the other in iconography and public images would distinguish Hatshepsut from other female Pharaohs before and after her reign. According to Kristina Hilliard and Kate Wurtzel,

“Hatshepsut’s images depart from the canon of traditional kingly imagery. Hatshepsut’s images shifted from one gender to another, but also displayed aspects of what may be considered androgyny, meaning that they evoked both gender identities together. For

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19 Galford 2005, 49.
20 Ibid.
example, when she was represented as a female king, she wore male accoutrements such as the nemes headdress, a cloth folded over the head and tucked behind the ears.”\(^{21}\)

Another aspect of this imagery is the depiction of husband and wife as mother and father, which Hatshepsut did differently as well. In depictions of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut before his death, they were portrayed as father and mother of Egypt. While most of her depictions were of her alone, she used aspects of androgyny to include both genders in her imagery, conveying that she was both mother and father of Egypt by herself.\(^{22}\) She was the first female king to depict herself in this way, and by doing so she began to gain acceptance among the Egyptian people.

Furthermore, the changing of Hatshepsut’s royal image upon her coronation was another factor regarding her new male identity. In all the doctrines and carved images of Hatshepsut, she would be referred to as “he”. After her coronation, she chose the name Maatkare, which means “Truth is the Soul of the Sun God Re.”\(^{23}\) This is not the only title that she was given or that she chose to call herself in writing. She had five names, including her Horus name \(wsrt-k\jmathw\), the Nebty name \(w3dt-\text{rnpwt}\), the Golden Horus name \(nt\text{-}t-h\ 'w\), the first cartouche name \(m3\ 't-k\jmath-r\), and the epithet added to her birth name, \(hnmt-jmn\).\(^{24}\) Each name has a meaning that is specific to the power of the Pharaoh and connections with the gods. The Horus name means “powerful of kas” and is closely connected to the royal \(ka\), the spirit of the afterlife; the royal \(ka\) and its name play an important role in the Opet festival.\(^{25}\) Hatshepsut is the first known king to have depicted the Opet festival on her monuments.\(^{26}\) Her Nebty name means “flourishing of years”\(^{27}\). Per Uros Matić, “She uses Wadjet-reneput as her Nebty name, a name associated with patron goddesses of

\(^{21}\) Hillard and Wurtzel 2009, 27.
\(^{22}\) Ibid.
\(^{23}\) Ibid.
\(^{24}\) Galford 2005, 49.
\(^{25}\) Robins 1999, 103.
\(^{26}\) Ibid., 104.
\(^{27}\) Ibid.
Upper and Lower Egypt, which is the feminine form of Wadjreneput, an alternative Golden Horus name of Thutmose I found on his Karnak obelisk. Her Golden Horus names means “divine of appearances/manifestations/crowns.” This name is a masculine combination of previous kings’ names like Pepi II and Dedumose. Her first cartouche name means “true one of the ka of Ra” and this name is unique when compared to the others. Per Gary Robins,

“At first sight Hatshepsut's name appears to be constructed differently because the writing of the element mȝ’t with the image of the goddess seems to suggest that the reference is to the goddess Maat rather than to the name-holder, Hatshepsut, giving a reading: 'Maat is the ka of Ra'. Yet, if we look past the writing of mȝ’t with the goddess's image, we can understand it as a feminine participle from the verb mȝ’, 'to be true.' Lastly, her birth name, which is Hatshepsut, means “foremost of noble women.” Unlike preceding kings of the 18th Dynasty, her name contains no reference to any deity. When she took on the role as king she added the epithet meaning “united/imbued with Amun.” These names would solidify her ritual role and once again enable her to appeal to the Egyptian people as Pharaoh.

Depictions of Hatshepsut would also change from male to female in statuary images of her set up throughout the kingdom. Royal statuary had two main functions: the first was a religious function in which the king is a part of a ritual, and the second was a political function as an expression embodying an ideological message, which means that Hatshepsut was using it to
show that she was a strong “male” king for the Egyptians.\textsuperscript{35} When she was Queen of Egypt with Thutmose II, she was depicted as a typical Egyptian royal woman and, in the very few relief images of her as a child, she was a woman. It was not until two years into Thutmose III’s reign and her full ascension into her kingship that she would be depicted as a man or as someone simply mirroring Thutmose III in relief sculpture of them together. She was sculpted or carved and painted as a man with a false beard, red skin, and the dual-crown of Upper and Lower Egypt (see Fig. 1.1). Per Cathleen Keller,

“The face lengthened and, at the beginning of this phase, sometimes took on a geometric appearance; later a broadening across cheekbones, coupled with a narrow, sometimes pointed, chin, created a heart-shaped countenance. The brows in the works of this phase arch high above the slightly tilted almond-shaped eyes; the nose begins to assume a distinctly curved profile; the lips become thinner; and the expression tends to be more serious”.\textsuperscript{36}

However, where Hatshepsut differed from her predecessors and those after her was in her mixing of both masculine and feminine characteristics and in the individual variations among them all.\textsuperscript{37}

Famously, in her seated sculptures, these characteristics are on full display. The seated statues from her temple at Deir el-Bahari depict the single recipient of a cult ritual and a few variations, which means that these images must represent the peak achievement of Hatshepsut’s sculptors when they were made (see Fig. 1.2).\textsuperscript{38} According to Cathleen Keller,

“Our stylistic, textual, and iconographic differences also account for the position of primary importance they occupy for historians and art historians a like, both as exemplars

\textsuperscript{35} Tefnin 1979, 163-5.
\textsuperscript{36} Keller 2005, 158.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
of the development of Hatshepsut’s kingly iconography and as indicators of the evolution of style in the joint reign, during which Hatshepsut’s image became increasingly masculine and was invested more and more with male kingship symbolism.”

So, once again Hatshepsut was making her mark in history with these individualized statues of her image.

What is more, regarding this range of colossal and almost-human-sized sculptures, most of them were decorative features at Hatshepsut’s Temple at Deir el-Bahri. Deir el-Bahri is Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple and has been viewed as a beautiful and astounding monument for centuries (see Fig. 1.3). This temple is located at the base of the desert cliffs on the west bank of the Nile facing the Amun temple at Karnak across the river. She began construction on the temple when she was Queen of Egypt with Thutmose II, and she was depicted as being female. Within decorative elements on other structures and monuments when she became co-regent and then pharaoh, her image around the temple changed from male to female. As Ann Macy Roth points out, “Hatshepsut’s temple consisted of an entry-level courtyard and two higher platforms, each reached by a central ramp. Colonnaded flanked the ramps of each level, and a third pair of colonnades flanked the entrance to the higher platforms.”

Beyond these colonnades are reliefs of Hatshepsut claiming her rightful place on the throne. The pathway to the temple was lined with small sphinxes with Hatshepsut’s face. Throughout the temple are depictions of several military, political, there are images and economic achievements like trading in the land of Punt. On the northside of the temple there are images depicting divine birth and, on that side, there is also a small shrine to Anubis. Anubis was mortuary god and his presence connects with the

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39 Ibid., 158-9.
divine birth of Hatshepsut and her right to be pharaoh. On the south side there is chapel dedicated to Hathor. Hathor is an important mortuary goddess for the Theban area, and she is represented as the mistress of the West Hills which are the hills, that Deir el-Bahri is built upon. She is also depicted as the mistress of Punt, which is another reason why she is near the relief of Punt at the temple.

The complex is built next to the temple of Mentuhotep II, a pharaoh from the 11th Dynasty in the Middle Kingdom (see Fig. 1.4). Both temples are similar in design and structure, but Hatshepsut’s temple is larger and has various features that make it stand out from Mentuhotep’s temple. Most of the influence from Mentuhotep’s temple comes from the designs of the open colonnades surrounding the temples. Unlike Mentuhotep’s temple which was built on one platform, Hatshepsut built her temple on two, which alters the overall spatial organization of her colonnades. This means that the colonnades were spaced evenly across both platforms rather than being on only one level, as on Mentuhotep’s temple. The use of the colonnades on both Hatshepsut’s and Mentuhotep’s temples is uniquely different whom compared to other Egyptian temples. Most temples from the Old Kingdom to the Roman period temples were screened off from the world because of the faceless walls surrounding them. These temples look like fortresses with the colonnades on the interior of the structure. The use of an open colonnaded decorative course on the temple, makes it appear as a welcome place to enter rather than as an impenetrable fortress.

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41 Ibid., 149.
42 Ibid.
43 Hobson 1987, 142.
45 Ibid.
46 Roth 2005, 147.
At Deir el-Bahri, all of Hatshepsut achievements are documented on the walls, but her achievement in one foreign land is still surrounded in secrecy; this land is Punt. The land of Punt is not only surrounded by mystery, but it was the main hub for trading with Hatshepsut’s Egypt and throughout the 19th dynasty. What is more, long before Hatshepsut started trade with Punt, Pharaohs in the Old Kingdom traveled and traded goods in Punt. The earliest record of Punt dates to the Fifth Dynasty via the “Palermo Stone” from the reign of King Sahure and his expedition. The stone states that ships were sent to Punt and returned with 80,00 measures of myrrh, 6,000 measures of electrum and 2,600 rods or staves. From this point in the Old Kingdom, later rulers traveled to or had contacted Punt. It was dubbed as “God’s Land” due to the trade riches found in the area and that they imported. It is unclear whether Pepi II traveled to Punt; however, in several ancient inscriptions and texts, it is stated that he had ships made for the journey to Punt, even though they were not used. After the Old Kingdom, there was not any contact made with Punt during the First and Second Intermediate Periods and Middle Kingdom.

Nevertheless, once the New Kingdom began, stability and new resources begat a renewed age of trade with Punt. After the Egyptian Empire was taken back from the Hyksos, Ahmose decided to reconnect with Punt and its wonderful treasures. With the location of Punt shrouded in mystery, Ahmose imported lapis lazuli for jewelry and cedar for sacred barges, while columns were obtained from a foreign source in the north. This location could be Punt, but researchers are still not sure. Per Stanley Balanda, “Punt tends to be located on the Ethiopian-Sudanese border, between the Blue Nile and the Red Sea, where the main resources of Punt (herbs, spices, gold, ivory, ebony) are to be found together, and the landscape depicted in the Deir el Bahari

47 Wicker 1998, 155.
48 Landstrom 1970, 56.
49 Malek and Form 1897, 118.
50 Breasted 2001b, 14.
It was not until the reign of Hatshepsut’s father Thutmose I that contact was renewed with Punt via an old Nilotic route used during the Old Kingdom.\textsuperscript{52} What is more, Hatshepsut is the one New Kingdom pharaoh that made extensive contact with Punt. During, her lessons with her tutors, is it very likely that Hatshepsut was taught where the location of Punt when her father went on his expedition and this could be the catalyst for her going to Punt.

Hatshepsut decided that after the consolidation of the southern region of Egyptian kingdom, the “God’s Land” or Punt was the next place for the pharaoh to venture.\textsuperscript{53} An inscription on her temple at Deir el-Bahri had announced a command; “a command was heard from the great throne, an oracle of the god himself, that the ways to Punt should be searched out, that the highways to the Myrrh terraces should be penetrated”.\textsuperscript{54} Along with this inscription on her temple, there is a series of reliefs illustrating the expedition and the presentation of the cargo. At the temple in the upper register of the relief to the left of the boats being loaded, there appears the following inscription:

“The loading of the cargo boats with great quantities of the marvels of the land of Punt, with all good woods of the divine lad, heaps of gum of anti (incense) and trees of green anti, with ebony, with pure ivory, with green (pure) gold of the land of Amu, with sandalwood, cassia wood, with balsam, resin, eye paint, with monkeys, greyhounds, with skins of panthers of the south, with inhabitants of the country and their children (slaves). Never brought such things to any king since the world was” (see Fig 1.5).\textsuperscript{55}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{Balanda 2005/2006, 36.}
\footnote{Creasman 2014, 398.}
\footnote{Ibid.}
\footnote{Breasted 2001b, 116.}
\footnote{Wicker 1998, 157.}
\end{footnotes}
Hatshepsut reopened a very important trading point for pharaohs who would come after her. Thutmose III would continue to trade and travel to Punt for these exotic items that would be transported to and from Egypt and the Levant.

The southern region of the Egyptian empire in the vicinity of Nubia was another focus of trade during Hatshepsut’s reign. During her father’s reign, he began to conquer Nubia and the southern region of present-day Sudan. He did this successfully, but sadly Thutmose I died before he could consolidate the area. It was left to his son Thutmose II and his queen Hatshepsut. As previously stated, Thutmose II was a very frail and sickly pharaoh, so most of his work was done by Hatshepsut and his advisors. Once Thutmose II died as well, Hatshepsut took full control and went to consolidate Egypt’s power in Nubia. Once consolidation was achieved, she began to trade with Nubia. Ceramic materials and limestone were two prominent trade goods from this area. The ceramics from Nubia were in major demand. The type of clay and glaze from this area made the ceramic products quite distinct from other examples of pottery throughout the empire. Around the rim of the distinctly Nubian ceramic cup or other comparable vessels, one could observe a dark brown coating while the rest of the cup would be a reddish-brown with a beautiful shine on it (see Fig 1.6). Having these cups or other vessels would serve as a sign of high status with the Egyptian society, given that Hatshepsut was a pharaoh she herself would have had these items in her possession. This trade with Nubia would continue with during the reign of Thutmose III, but Hatshepsut was able to make this possible through her concerted effects.

Along with these triumphs of trade with Punt and Nubia, Hatshepsut’s ability as a military leader was demonstrated in these territories beyond the borders of Egypt. During her reign, there were not many military campaigns as there had been and would be under the

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rulership of her father Thutmose I and her step-son Thutmose III, but she did consolidate areas like Nubia. Under her rule, and throughout much of the 18th Dynasty, peace did reign throughout the empire. While Hatshepsut did not initiate many military campaigns, proving that she was an excellent military leader was necessary for her. In times of war in ancient Egypt, women were not involved in military campaigns nor war, but as pharaoh she need to prove that she had the ability to lead the army. The first opportunity she had to lead the army was the expedition to Punt. The Punt expedition was an area of trade that Hatshepsut depicted on her Temple at Deir el-Bahri. Punt was the first time during which she would be leading the army on her own as sole ruler. She had to prove her divine right as a “male” ruler even though she was female. Hatshepsut was successfully able to lead this campaign from Thebes to Punt and back without any hitches. She proved that she was able to command an army as “male” pharaoh and that it was her divine birth right to do so.

As all reigns of great pharaohs must end, the reign of Hatshepsut ended. Her 22-year reign ended in 1482 B.C. Many scholars debate whether she was sent into exile by Thutmose III then died or whether she died while on the throne (leading to Thutmose III inheriting the throne). Most scholars believe that Hatshepsut was exiled once Thutmose III overthrew her, but there is no concrete evidence to support this thought. It is in this same year that she died around the age of 53 which is a significantly longer life than most women enjoyed in her era and an even longer than quite a few male pharaohs enjoyed before and after her reign. With her achievements documented on her temple at Deir el-Bahri and various places throughout her empire, she hoped that her legacy would live on for other pharaohs to admire, but Thutmose III had other plans.

58 Galford 2005, 52.
59 Ibid.
Thutmose III assumed the throne after Hatshepsut’s death or exile in 1482 B.C. It was not until 20 years into his sole reign that he planned to deface Hatshepsut’s image and legacy. All the hatred that he was taught as a child by his mother Isis and jealously built up from Hatshepsut’s reign finally came to fruition. Thutmose III decided to etch out her image as male pharaoh and erase her name in many cartouches around Egypt. In the modern era this is called damnatio memoriae, a Latin phrase which means “damnation of the memory,” a punishment which was applied in several pre-modern societies like Ancient Rome. An example of this etching can be seen at the Temple of Amun at Karnak (see Fig 1.7). By erasing her image as pharaoh, Thutmose III believed that he would affect her spirit in the afterlife. In ancient Egyptian religion, it was believed that whatever image a person is depicted in as pharaoh, he or she will live as this image in the afterlife. Etching out Hatshepsut’s image as pharaoh meant she would not be able to live as a pharaoh in the afterlife. With these images of Hatshepsut destroyed, Thutmose III would put his own image or that of his father Thutmose II in place of her image or name on temples. Another technique that Thutmose III allowed to survive used was covering. Hatshepsut’s obelisks at Karnak were sheathed with new masonry to cover her name or image. The only images of Hatshepsut that Thutmose III were depictions of her as woman with Thutmose II or those placed at inaccessible heights like the images of Hatshepsut as pharaoh on her obelisks. He wanted Hatshepsut to be depicted as queen rather than pharaoh, most likely because he was vengeful over the loss of power that he had suffered during their co-regency.

Thutmose III’s final act of revenge toward Hatshepsut’s image would be the destruction of her temple at Deir el-Bahri. The Temple at Deir el-Bahri was Hatshepsut’s greatest structural achievement, and it told the story of her entire life. This was a mortuary temple. Thutmose III

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60 Dorman 2005, 267.
61 Roth 2005, 279.
knew that by destroying her greatest achievement the site would be forgotten along with her life and legacy. However, his defacement of this site would be different than his other attempts. None of the statues of Hatshepsut was altered to represent another person, and almost all of the inscriptions featuring her name were still intact.\(^{62}\) The first phase of destruction at Deir el-Bahri was performed on the sphinxes that lined the path to the temple. The uraeus cobras on the headdress of these sphinxes were carefully removed.\(^{63}\) This was odd because the uraeus cobra was standard regalia for princesses, queens, and pharaohs. Some researchers hypothesized that Thutmose III was trying to make Hatshepsut look as though she were not of royal descent.\(^{64}\) However, this was not Thutmose III’s most severe achievement of the defacement of Hatshepsut; much of the damage had been done in other parts of the empire. From this point on, Thutmose III hoped that Hatshepsut would be a forgotten in history because of his actions.

While Hatshepsut’s name was indeed forgotten for many centuries, her name was finally rediscovered found in the late 1820s. Her reputation, however, had changed. It was during Jean-Francois Champollion’s expedition in 1828-29 to Deir el-Bahri that her name would be found.\(^{65}\) He was confused at how a male pharaoh at Deir el-Bahri would go unnoticed but was also faced with this depiction of a woman and a female name. He did not recognize the name written in the cartouche and thought her name was Amenenthe.\(^{66}\) However, after further analysis from Champollion’s team, Hatshepsut was eventually identified as “Hatshepsut.” Champollion and his team also found several records that Thutmose III had commissioned. These inscriptions made her look like person who was constantly lurking behind Thutmose III for power.\(^{67}\) Since there

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\(^{62}\) Arnold 2005, 270.
\(^{63}\) Ibid.
\(^{64}\) Ibid., 272.
\(^{65}\) Keller 2005, 294.
\(^{66}\) Ibid.
\(^{67}\) Ibid.
was no evidence to either support or disprove this statement, this image of Hatshepsut lingered for years.

It was not until the 1960s, in fact, that this image of Hatshepsut began to change for the better. Many Egyptologists wanted to solve this mystery surrounding Hatshepsut and how she fit into the line of ancient pharaohs. According to Cathleen A. Keller, “Egyptologists began to utilize analytical approaches derived from the social sciences. The search for patterns if behavior, as reflected in the archaeological record, was on.”\(^\text{68}\) This meant looking at the destruction of her images along with prominent figures in her royal court. Other researchers were observing and researching the royal aspects of Hatshepsut. In 1961, the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo lead a team to perform fieldwork at Deir el-Bahri.\(^\text{69}\) With the discovery of Thutmose III’s temple in the previous year, researchers began to reevaluate the relationship between him and Hatshepsut.\(^\text{70}\) This would then lead researchers in 1970s to begin a revolution in the perceptions of Hatshepsut’s reign, which was long overdue.\(^\text{71}\) Two of the most important works about Hatshepsut were published in 1979. Suzanne Ratié published *La reine Hatchepsout: Sources et problèmes*, and Roland Tefnin published *La statuaire d’Hatshepsout: Portrait royal et politique sous la 18th Dynastie.*\(^\text{72}\) Both authors would describe the statuary of Hatshepsut and the 18th Dynasty, and both wrote about Hatshepsut in a positive light which had not been done in centuries. Moreover, the 1990s was an era during which Hatshepsut’s reign was would be reassessed by Emily Teeter, as she would publish her landmark work in 1993 in the issue of *Les dossiers d’archéologie* which was devoted to the king and her monuments with

\(^{68}\) Ibid., 295.

\(^{69}\) Ibid.

\(^{70}\) Galford 2005, 59.

\(^{71}\) Keller 2005, 296.

\(^{72}\) Ibid.
drawings. In 1995 the Polish Centre that began research three decades earlier would begin reconstruction on the Temple at Deir el-Bahri and reconstruction continues during the present-day.

The discovery of her mummy would add to and enhance her legacy, as well. Hatshepsut had a tomb in the Valley of Kings where most pharaohs from the New Kingdom, including her father, were buried. However, her body was not found in her tomb. Her body had been moved in pharaonic times, so that looters would not steal the body. Her body was found with several other women in a cave not far from the Valley of the Kings. Hatshepsut’s mummy would be put in the Mummy Storage Room in the Egyptian Museum for several years until Dr. Zahi Hawass began his search for her body in 2007. There were three possible candidates that could have been Hatshepsut, but the one in storage at the Egyptian Museum was her. The mummy had its right arm bent to the heart, which means that this person was of royal status and quite possibly a pharaoh. When the body was originally found, a box with a mummified liver and a tooth were discovered with it. Forensic scientists took ancient DNA from the hip of the mummy and analyzed the tooth to see whether it belonged to the mummy. The DNA was tested alongside the ancient DNA of Thutmose I, since he was her father and there would be a genetic connection between the two if the first sample was truly taken from Hatshepsut. This mummy that was left in the storage room was proven to be Hatshepsut, the woman who became a pharaoh. Now that researchers and the museum staff know that the mummy is that of Hatshepsut, her remains are on display in the Mummy Room at the Egyptian Museum.

With all this information about Hatshepsut’s life and achievements at hand, the question remains: is her reign worthy of being called “great” and “prosperous” and of being viewed in the same light as the reigns of other illustrious New Kingdom rulers. Naturally, in order to answer

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73 Ibid., 297.
these questions, one must examine the evidence of her life. Hatshepsut had the best tutors for her lessons, and she understood the layout and extent of her father’s kingdom. Once she married Thutmose II, she took on more responsibilities and projects than other Egyptian queen because of her sickly husband. Once Thutmose II died, she took on the role as co-regent with her eight-year-old stepson and changed her public images to please her subjects and to be taken seriously as a ruler. Hatshepsut became a pharaoh and appeared as a man from that point until her death. Her expedition to Punt was both an economic and military achievement because she was able to lead an army as a “man” and to prove that she was worthy to be pharaoh. Peace reigned throughout her kingdom. She commissioned a beautiful mortuary temple, so that her image would be remembered for centuries to come. When all is said and done, it is quite clear that Hatshepsut was undoubtedly one of the greatest pharaohs in Egypt and that her reign was prosperous.

In conclusion, by examining the available historical, epigraphic, archaeological, and artistic evidence, we can see that Hatshepsut had an effective, bountiful, and remarkable reign as pharaoh in the 18th Dynasty. This was accomplished despite her successor, Thutmose III, trying (and almost succeeding) to erase her name and image as pharaoh from history. This fact alone reflects the type of legacy that this female pharaoh was able to establish and the impact that she had upon history. It also demonstrates that no matter how hard a person tries to erase someone else’s hard work, those deconstructive efforts will not stand. This is who Hatshepsut was, as triumphantly conveyed as in the propagandistic images set up during her reign: Hatshepsut is the woman who became a successful pharaoh.
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Figure 1.1. Colossal statue of Hatshepsut.

Figure 1.2. Seated Hatshepsut.
Figure 1.3. Temple at Deir el-Bahri.

Figure 1.4. Mentuhotep II Temple.
Figure 1.5. Punt relief at Deir el-Bahri.

Figure 1.6. Nubian ceramic cup.
Figure 1.7. Hatshepsut’s chiseled-out image at the Temple of Amun at Karnak.