

## Hatshepsut, the Female Pharaoh: How a Female Acquired and Maintained the Rule of a Male Governed Country

By *Pari Perkins*

"Hatshepsut has been variously touted as a pacifist, a protofeminist, and a transsexual. . . ."<sup>1</sup> The woman mentioned here, Hatshepsut, may not be familiar to a large majority of people, but it is a name worth knowing. Hatshepsut, "Chieftainess of noble women!"<sup>2</sup> ruled as Pharaoh during Egypt's eighteenth dynasty, the only female to do so. She worked diligently to first acquire the rule of Egypt and then to maintain it over its rightful heir, Thutmose III. T. G. H. James puts it well when he states, "This queen . . . was presented with the opportunity of seizing supreme royal power in Egypt . . . firstly as royal regent, and secondly by assuming the forms and trappings of divine royalty, she usurped the government of the country and assigned her nephew [Thutmose III] to a position of subservience."<sup>3</sup> Hatshepsut took each of these situations and used them to her advantage, trying not to make too many changes at once. It was a delicate balance that she had to maintain, but she did it.

It is important to understand that Hatshepsut could not have done this alone. In her faction of the Thutmosids there was her father, a powerful source himself, her administrative staff, and the military. The question still remains, though: Why would these groups support a female when there was a budding super-pharaoh waiting in the wings? The answer can be found by looking at what was going on in Egypt. At the time that Hatshepsut came to power, three generations had passed since the expulsion of the Hyksos, and Egyptians had been engaged in many military activities in Africa and Asia. These were primarily protective measures so that Egypt would not fall under foreign rule again. However, from this activity, two factions began to grow. The first faction was the one of which Thutmose I and Hatshepsut were a part. They believed in the idea of Egypt the way it always had been, isolated from other countries because it was superior to the others. The other faction, that of Thutmose III and his followers, thought that the best way to assert Egypt's superiority was to become an imperialist nation.<sup>4</sup> This faction eventually won out after Hatshepsut's death. It was during her twenty-two year reign that she tried to restore *ma'at* (Egypt's natural, god-given order) by turning back the hands of time and focusing on Egypt's internal glories, rather than attempting the new idea of empire building. The actions that Hatshepsut took, the methods that she used to gain the support she needed, and the control that she desired are needed to begin to comprehend how such a breach in Egypt-

tian tradition could occur, without correction, until her death about 1468 B.C., twenty-two years after she began her reign.

Hatshepsut's upbringing, from the very beginning, played a large role in bolstering her confidence and preparing her to rule over Egypt one day. Hatshepsut was born as one of four children by Thutmose I and his Chief Wife, Ahmose. The fact that Hatshepsut was full-blooded royalty was very important because in ancient Egyptian times, the heir to the throne was determined from the maternal side. Ahmose was the surviving heir of Amenhotep I, a past pharaoh; therefore, Thutmose I was married to her to solidify his legitimacy as Pharaoh. Since, after the marriage, both were considered royal, Hatshepsut was considered fully royal and might someday be used as the same connecting link that her mother was. This became especially important when Hatshepsut's three siblings all predeceased her, leaving her as the sole heir to the throne.

It is possible that Hatshepsut's early signs of beauty and intelligence made her the favorite of the palace and its officials. It is known that, from time to time, pharaohs have had their own children murdered for the sake of passing the throne on to the person of their choice, rather than the heir tradition would have dictated. Hatshepsut's brothers' and sister's death were in such close succession that it can be imagined that the palace priests, who were knowledgeable in medicine, might have poisoned the other children in order to ensure that Hatshepsut is left as the surviving heir.<sup>5</sup> The idea that Hatshepsut was the favorite of her father is further supported by several reliefs that Thutmose I had inscribed after the death of his other royal children. The scenes depicted Thutmose, together with the gods, promising to make Hatshepsut great someday. Thutmose then declared Hatshepsut Crown Prince of Egypt, a title normally reserved for royal male children only.<sup>6</sup> This was the first sign of Hatshepsut taking on a man's role in the monarchy.

Hatshepsut was Crown Prince for fifteen years. In these years she learned many of the necessary skills it took to run a kingdom and be a Thutmosid. Her father would take her on trips around Egypt where she would watch her father's wonderful building projects and discover the good that could be brought to herself and Egypt through them. After completing his military campaigns, Thutmose had embarked on a mission to beautify Egypt. He planned for many of his projects to be finished or improved upon by Hatshepsut after his death. Given that Thutmose was an intelligent man, histori-

ans can surmise that it was his idea that the internal rebuilding of Egypt would be a better situation for his daughter to rule over than having her take on wars which might hinder her rule.<sup>7</sup> During these years, Hatshepsut was an adolescent maturing into a woman. However, she continued to wear short kilts that were typical male clothing; indeed, it certainly was not a royal lady's attire. She did this to please her father and work her way into his heart more and more. Hatshepsut realized already that Thutmose had big plans for her someday, but by wearing the clothes that his male heir would have worn, had he survived, she impressed upon him her desire and capability to lead the country as the next Horus.<sup>8</sup>

Thutmose further improved Hatshepsut's position of power by making her his Queen, thus enabling her to sit beside him on the throne of Egypt. This occurred shortly after Thutmose's chief wife Ahmose had passed away, invalidating Thutmose's claim to the throne. Never before in Egyptian history had a king elevated his daughter to the position of Queen. This action serves as further evidence that Thutmose thought highly of his daughter and had grand plans for her as he grew older. Hatshepsut was a mere twenty years of age when she was declared Queen of Egypt.<sup>9</sup> At this point in her life, Hatshepsut already held thirty-five names and titles!<sup>10</sup> On his death bed Thutmose declared:

This is my daughter Khnum-Amen, Hatshepsut, who liveth, I have appointed her; she is my successor, she is assuredly who shall sit upon my wonderful seat. She shall command the people in every place of the palace; she is who shall lead you; ye shall proclaim her word, ye shall be united at her command. He who shall do her homage shall live; he who shall speak evil in blasphemy of Her Majesty shall die.... The dignitaries of the king, the nobles and the chief of the people hear this command of the dignity of his daughter, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkara (Hatshepsut), living forever.<sup>11</sup>

The final action on Thutmose's part to ensure Hatshepsut's sovereignty over Egypt was the last in a series of coronation ceremonies—an appeal to the gods to make her queenship official. It was held at the Great Temple at Thebes on New Year's Day. The temple is where Thutmose made his direct plea to the gods, looking for their approval of Hatshepsut. "The king pleaded. 'I am before you, king of the gods. I prostrate myself. In return for what I have done for thee do thou bestow Egypt and the red land [the Sahara] on my daughter Ramaka [Kamare, child of the sun] living eternally, as thou hast done for me.'<sup>12</sup> After Amon nodded his approval, to the relief of Thutmose and Hatshepsut, Thutmose placed the official crown of the Queen on Hatshepsut's head. This would not be the last crown that Hatshepsut would don. The throne name that Hatshepsut was given signals the theme that Thutmose hoped for her rule. Maat-ka-ra, Hatshepsut's throne name, means truth, justice, and harmony.<sup>13</sup>

Thutmose did not leave Hatshepsut with titles and ceremonies

to alone guide her way to the throne. He married Hatshepsut to his son, Thutmose II, the son of a minor wife. Hatshepsut profited from this marriage for a couple of reasons. First, Thutmose II would be the father of her children; thus Hatshepsut, the only one of the two with fully royal blood, could produce offspring to carry on the dynasty after her death. It is even believed by some scholars that Hatshepsut was planning on her eldest daughter being named as her successor in a similar fashion as she had been named her father's heir.<sup>14</sup> Hatshepsut failed in this endeavor. Second, a male presence on the throne was useful to fend off any rebellions that might break out in the wake of Thutmose I's demise, as often happened following the death of a great pharaoh.<sup>15</sup> This way, Hatshepsut would not have to face the added difficulties of engaging in military conflict, especially not early on in her reign when her hold over the country was not yet totally secure. Finally, Thutmose I knew of his son's weak personality and frail body. Therefore, it can be hypothesized that Hatshepsut's marriage to Thutmose II was a planned advantage because her strong, outgoing personality would dominate the relationship and, through the guise of him, the country. Consequently, while Thutmose II held the title of Pharaoh for the brief remainder of his life, it was Hatshepsut that ran the government from behind the scenes.

Thutmose II died after a short reign, leaving his son by secondary wife Isis, Thutmose III, as Pharaoh. However, since the youngest Thutmose was still a child, probably around age twelve, tradition dictated that Hatshepsut, the child's aunt, was to rule as regent until he was old enough to take on the responsibilities himself. A mere ten months into Thutmose III's reign,<sup>16</sup> Hatshepsut claimed that "came forth the king of the gods, Amon-Re, from his temple, saying: 'Welcome, my sweet daughter, my favorite, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkare, Hatshepsut. Thou art the king, taking possession of the Two Lands.'<sup>17</sup> Hatshepsut made this message of the god Amon public at the festival of Opet where she, as current ruler after the death of her husband and in the youth of her nephew, took on the role the king would normally take.<sup>18</sup> It was at this festival that she had the double crown of the king of Egypt placed on her head for everyone to see. There was no way to dispute her rights to the crown. The message came directly from the god Amon, and nobody could argue with divinity. It was a shrewd move on the part of Hatshepsut. Thutmose III could only sit back and watch this happen. He was the heir Pharaoh, chosen by Thutmose II, but Amon had spoken to Hatshepsut personally. From this time until Hatshepsut's death, he would have to share the title of Pharaoh with a woman! Hatshepsut most likely had her faithful supporters to thank for making this oracle happen.

In order to stay at the top she had to accumulate a powerful group of supporters, keep the military happy, and continually reassure these groups that she was the rightful ruler and the best man for the job. How did Hatshepsut gain the willing support of these groups? The answer is clearly her manipulative use of propaganda. She used various forms of propaganda over and over again to reach her various audi-

ences. This became an especially important weapon once Thutmose III launched a counter-propaganda war against Hatshepsut.

Although as Pharaoh Hatshepsut was considered divine, she had to continuously impress this fact upon the people since she was female, and a female Horus was a hard thing for them to grasp. Therefore, she began a huge propaganda campaign that can be seen through inscriptions on her various reliefs throughout the land. In the stone carvings, Hatshepsut used a blend of politics, mythology, and personal beliefs to convince people that her rightful position was Pharaoh.

For example, Hatshepsut mentioned her father often and with great adulation in her inscriptions. This could be partly because she recognized the huge role that he played in getting her into her position of high power, but mostly to place further emphasis on the idea that she is the female Horus to the preceding ruler's Osiris. Other pharaohs did not place as much attention on matters like this, but Hatshepsut's position was shaky due to the fact that she was a woman. Therefore, the written word was a way of drilling her legitimacy into people's heads and making them believe what was otherwise hard to fathom. Hatshepsut had a sarcophagus for Thutmose I placed next to hers to highlight the closeness of their relationship and the legitimacy of her as his successor. Included in her mortuary temple, Deir el-Bahri, are separate chapels for the cults of Thutmose I. All of these depictions of her father and herself, Hatshepsut believed, were important to her control over Egypt because they validated her position as a female king to a country that had never known such a thing before her. Another piece of propaganda that Hatshepsut relied heavily on was her origin through divine birth. The walls of Deir el-Bahri tell the story of how "the god Amun himself desired to create his living image on earth, to reveal his greatness and to carry out his plans. He disguised himself as Thutmose I, went one day to see the queen, and the result, in due course, was Hatshepsut. Amun did not mind that his image was female, so why should anyone else?"<sup>19</sup> At Karnak, Hatshepsut spoke of herself, claiming, "I am the Aten who created all being, who shaped the earth, who completed its creation."<sup>20</sup> The two previously mentioned pieces of propaganda may seem to contradict themselves. How could she have been born the child of Amun, chosen from birth, yet selected as heir to the throne by her father? This is easily solved. There are many things in Egyptian life and mythology that are contradictions. Egyptians had a unique way of ignoring contradiction or at least not seeing things as contradictory. Therefore, it was possible for Hatshepsut to make the claims that she was picked by both her heavenly father and her earthly father without anyone questioning otherwise.

Within her reliefs, it is evident that the masculine form which Hatshepsut took on as a child continued on into her adulthood. Words referring to Hatshepsut often appear in the masculine form. This is partly due to the fact there were no feminine titles for king. Due to this grammatical stumbling block, the feminine pronoun was often used before the mas-

culine word. An example would be, her majesty, the King. Barbara Mertz has an explanation for this in her book, *Red Land, Black Land*: "Hatshepsut is, of course, the great female usurper. Her violation of tradition lay not only in the fact that she ruled, but that she ruled as a king. Obviously the reigning monarch of Egypt had to be male; the titles, laudatory inscriptions, and ceremonies were all designed for men, and they were so deeply rooted in tradition and dogma that it was easier for woman to change her sex — ritually speaking — than change the titles."<sup>21</sup> Beyond the fact that it was easier to change her sex than the language, the use of masculine titles probably had the effect of making people believe that she could perform the job of ruling a country just as well as any man. Basically, it served as yet another form of propaganda to convince people that she was meant to be their pharaoh.

Hatshepsut does not appear masculine in writing only. Mertz adds in another book, "In her assumption of the king's role... she cast off the trailing skirts of a woman and put on the kilt and crown of a king."<sup>22</sup> From this quote, it is evident that Hatshepsut continued to dress like a man. She occasionally appears female in sculptures, but in important pictures where her role as Pharaoh needs to be emphasized, she appears with the braided beard that kings wear along with the typical Thutmosid face and profile. Once again, this was an effort to show that she was Pharaoh, even though she was a female. Hatshepsut may have also realized that she had already overstepped her bounds extensively and that preserving some of the tradition would be important to her stability, lest people would think that she was trying to change everything and attempt to overthrow her.

Without the support of her advisors and administrators, Hatshepsut would not have been able to achieve any success. The common people of Egypt were not a factor that Hatshepsut was too concerned with impressing: "... they were a negligible force, illiterate and unorganized."<sup>23</sup> Hatshepsut needed the help of the more powerful groups instead. These groups possibly included the priests, bureaucracy, military, and landed gentry. Although these Egyptians were not important to her reign, it most likely did not hurt Hatshepsut's popularity any that the background of her staff was so diverse; it even included a commoner, Senenmut, Hatshepsut's personal favorite. Hatshepsut had begun to develop personal friendships and relationships with these men shortly after she was declared Crown Prince of Egypt because she was then placed in a separate dwelling with a staff all her own. Evelyn Wells, the author of *Hatshepsut*, says, "A capacity for friendship was evidently one of Hatshepsut's most invaluable attributes. During these post-adolescent years she was developing a social-political following that could be depended upon to help defend her against potential enemies."<sup>24</sup> A large number of Hatshepsut's advisors were also her father's most trusted men. Ineni, Thutmose I's chief advisor and architect, had been faithful to the family for generations. Hapuseneb, another advisor who was close to Thutmose I, filled the role of vizier and high priest of Amun. Taken together, his top two positions played

a significant role in tying the civil bureaucracy and the priesthood together.<sup>25</sup> Hapuseneb, being in the temple around other priests, also could have been an asset to Hatshepsut because he had the opportunity to listen in and catch any treasonous efforts before they got very far. This was especially important since the festering Thutmose III was positioned in the priesthood and might try to use it to his advantage.<sup>26</sup>

Hatshepsut had more help from the priesthood than just Hapuseneb. It is most likely that the priests were the persons in charge of maneuvering Amon to turn toward Hatshepsut in a nod of approval of her as Pharaoh. Why, however, would the priests want to help a female out in this manner since they could have just as easily made the statue of Amon turn toward Thutmose III? The priests, like many of the other advisors, probably came to the carefully thought out conclusion that they would make more personal gain with Hatshepsut on the throne. Hatshepsut was known to reward her administrators more than any other pharaoh in the past had done. She gave them many gifts and also gave them permission to engrave the words of praise she offered to them on their own graves.<sup>27</sup> Ineni writes, "Her majesty praised me, . . . she loved me, she recognized my worth at the court, she presented me with things, she magnified me, she filled my house with silver and gold, with all beautiful stuffs of the royal house."<sup>28</sup> Without permission, nobody would ever even consider doing such a thing. This was a chance for them to receive a little bit of personal fame.

Propaganda was even used as a method of earning the support of the priesthood. It was her personal belief that the whole reason Amon created her was to rebuild Egypt and restore the purity of the temples. She tells the story in her reliefs. "[She shall build] your chapels and sanctify [your] houses," Amon had prophesied to the gods concerning the child Hatshepsut; and the gods themselves had addressed [sic] the princess with the words "you shall refound it (the land), you shall repair what is in ruins in it, you shall make your chapels your monument. . . ." <sup>29</sup> Later, after she had climbed to the top and proclaimed herself Pharaoh, she made the following declaration: "The Asiatics were in Avaris of the North Land, roving hordes in the midst of them overturning what had been made, and they ruled without Re, and he acted not with divine command down to the time of My Majesty."<sup>30</sup> In other words, Hatshepsut claimed to be the first person to legitimately rule with the god Re since the Hyksos had been expelled almost a century before. How could the priests reject the authority of a god? Yet another building project taken on in the name of Amon to gain the favor of the priests was the raising of two giant obelisks during her Jubilee festival. Normally, this festival was celebrated thirty years into a pharaoh's reign, but Hatshepsut was not Egypt's traditional pharaoh. John Ray points out in his article in *History Today* that, "Since her position as Pharaoh was unorthodox, an appeal to fundamentalism was necessary to correct the balance."<sup>31</sup> She was in constant need of some form of propaganda to keep her in the favor of the high classes. This is why she chose to have her Jubilee festival only fifteen years into her rule. Once again, Hatshepsut claimed that the obe-

lisks were in honor Amon, her heavenly father who made her. A few of Hatshepsut's many other architectural works include Deir el-Bahri, temples at Medinet Habu and the Second Cataract, and the eighth Pylon at Karnak. Each of these structures served a dual purpose. They all helped her gain the support of the priesthood because they were built for a god. Also, the stories on them and the fact that they were built by Amon's will served to further impress upon the people that Hatshepsut was divinely destined to rule Egypt.

Although Hatshepsut had the support of her advisors and the religious officials, she still would have been nowhere without the support of the army. After all, how many times in history has a powerful general risen up and overthrown the government of a country? Thutmose I had been a great commander of the army and had made numerous conquests for Egypt. With the death of Thutmose I, to the advantage of Hatshepsut, the army was ready to rest and support the Pharaoh's program of internal efforts, and take on civil service duties.<sup>32</sup> Also, Hatshepsut used this time to improve the weapons and chariots that the army had been using.<sup>33</sup> Granted, these were meant to preserve the peace, but the army was grateful to her for these improvements to their field.

Now that the question of how to gain the army's support was settled, Hatshepsut had to determine the best way to use the army to her advantage. She was intelligent enough to realize that if she made any attempts to conquer other lands and failed, the fact that she was female would be a good excuse for the army to blame the defeat on her. Not merely for that reason did she feel it was smart to avoid war, but she also knew that one victory would spark the army to want more victories and eventually a defeat would fall on her. Therefore, it was to her advantage to tie up the remaining business that her father had begun in Syria and Nubia and then to maintain peace by only taking defensive measures. Also, Thutmose III was very military minded, and she knew this very well. Had there been war, she would have had to have him trained in the military as all pharaohs' sons traditionally were. If he were to then rise in status, the army might have left her to support him, bringing her reign to an end.<sup>34</sup> Since she opted not to be militarily active, Hatshepsut had to find other ways to keep the army occupied. She did this through her many expeditions to foreign lands and her massive building projects throughout Egypt. These other ventures left very little time for military activity.

Like many of the other things Hatshepsut sponsored during her reign, the expedition to Punt served several purposes. It has already been discussed that this was one of the ways of keeping the army occupied during her rule. Another reason once again goes back to her various forms of propaganda. This time, however, she was fighting a propaganda war against Thutmose III who was finally old enough to take his rightful place on the throne and was gaining supporters to help him out.<sup>35</sup> Punt had been visited previously by Egyptians but not in Hatshepsut's lifetime. Embarking on this adventure boosted her reputation by once again opening up an old relationship with the rich, fairy-tale land of Punt and by making Hatshepsut the provider of Punt's exotic trea-

tures to Egypt. Some of the exotic things that were brought back from the expedition were monkeys, gold, ebony, myrrh, and most importantly, incense trees, which were planted at Deir el-Bahri for Amon.

These and other foreign contacts also helped to bolster the economy. A good economy is always helpful to a leader who wants to stay in power. Wilson tells us that, "Through the time of Hat-shepsut, the foreign contacts had been exploited through commercial and cultural penetration, to the material advantage of both parties."<sup>36</sup> This indicates that both sides of the trade benefited economically. When both sides benefit economically, good foreign relations are often the result, which in turn lead to continued economic success and continuing power for the monarch. "These associations took definite shape in the embassy of Keftiu (Cretans) to Egypt in the reign of Hatshepsut . . . [sic] What they brought with them the Egyptians naturally called 'tribute,' but what was actually happening was the starting of trade relations through diplomatic channels in the manner characteristic of Hatshepsut's reign."<sup>37</sup> Hatshepsut benefited by referring to the products brought to Egypt as tribute because the use of the word tribute made Egypt appear to be superior than the country from which the products originated. Once again, Egypt could see for itself that Hatshepsut was an effective ruler and Egypt benefited by having her on the throne ruling over the land. Detailed scenes of these trips to Punt appear in Hatshepsut's inscriptions where scenes of military success would normally appear. These serve as yet another piece of propaganda touting the glories of Hatshepsut for all to see and realize that she is destined to revive Egypt.

Lastly, it is important to look at some of the ways in which Hatshepsut attempted to appease Thutmose III so that he would not feel the need to rise up against her. Hatshepsut married her youngest daughter, Meryt-ra Hatshepsut to Thutmose III. By taking such an action, Hatshepsut legitimized Thutmose III's right to the throne since being the son of a secondary wife, it was necessary that he marry someone fully royal in order to attain the throne. This action ensured Thutmose III that Hatshepsut had no intentions of preventing him from ever being Pharaoh, and that one day he would indeed have power over all of Egypt. Hatshepsut's thought may have been that this arrangement would make him more willing to wait out her life before gaining control instead of overthrowing her. Hatshepsut also let Thutmose III maintain an outward appearance as king by letting the ordinary people refer to him as King and to her as Queen. She even had him pictured in important reliefs with herself, although he appears much smaller and is positioned behind her. This action also was to make Thutmose III feel that he was being treated fairly; after all, he did receive some recognition. As a member of the priesthood, Thutmose III was elevated quickly in the hierarchy of the temple. He was given the seemingly important job of burning incense before Amon in celebration of the return of the Punt expedition.<sup>38</sup> It is possible Thutmose III thought that by doing this, he would earn the gods' favor as well as his aunt's and he might eventually gain more power, even though Hatshepsut really had no intention of relin-

quishing power until after her death. Finally, Hatshepsut had chapels for Thutmose III's cults in her mortuary temple. All of these were ways that Hatshepsut tried to make Thutmose III feel important so that he would not try to stage a counter-coup against her government.

Hatshepsut died (it is not known how, but supposedly of natural causes) after ruling over Egypt for approximately twenty-two years. In that time, "She had rebalanced its economy, expanded its trade, stabilized its government, and developed architecture and art. She had built the Deir el-Bahari temple and raised the two obelisks at Karnak. . . the Punt expedition showed her to be a hard-headed business woman as well. . . ."<sup>39</sup> All of these factors stemmed from Hatshepsut's attempts to legitimize her rule. With Hatshepsut's death, her party fell and Egypt entered into its final era, a time of imperialism. Never before Hatshepsut and never since has a female gone so far as to declare herself Pharaoh of Egypt and be so successful at it. It took the work of her father to prepare her for the position, her administrators to help her along the way, the army to support her internal efforts, and her own will and determination to make Egypt as glorious as it used to be. Her various reliefs, which served as her tool of propaganda, also serve to tell modern historians the story of this magnificent woman-king. Maybe, as she herself believed, it was divine fate that she should be Hatshepsut, the female pharaoh and rebuilder of Egypt.

## Endnotes

- 1 John Romer, *People of the Nile: Everyday Life in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1982), 157.
- 2 Evelyn Wells, *Hatshepsut* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1969), 144.
- 3 T. G. H. James, *Pharaoh's People: Scenes From Life in Imperial Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 31.
- 4 John A. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 174.
- 5 Wells, 80.
- 6 Ibid., 78-9.
- 7 James Baikie, *The Story of the Pharaohs* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908), 77.
- 8 Wells, 77.
- 9 Ibid., 114.
- 10 Ibid., 144.
- 11 James Baikie, "A History of Egypt. Vol. II, From the Earliest Times to the End of the XVIIIth Dynasty" (New York: MacMillan Company, 1929), 63.
- 12 Wells, 142.
- 13 John Ray, "Hatshepsut, the Female Pharaoh," *History Today* (May 1994): 25. *History Today*, May 1994.
- 14 Donald B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 74.
- 15 Wells, 153.
- 16 Redford, 76.
- 17 Barbara Mertz, *Temples, Tombs and Hieroglyphs: The Story of Egyptology* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1964), 167.
- 18 Hermann Kees, *Ancient Egypt: A Cultural Topography*; trans. Ian F. D. Morrow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 261.
- 19 Ray, 27. Ray and Redford use Amun as an alternate spelling of the god Amon.
- 20 Kees, 270.
- 21 Barbara Mertz, *Red Land, Black Land: Daily Life in An-*

- cient Egypt, Rev. ed. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1978), 65.
- 22 Mertz, *Temples*, 165.
- 23 Ibid., 169.
- 24 Wells, 84.
- 25 Wilson, 175.
- 26 Wells, 188-9.
- 27 Ibid., 188.
- 28 Baikie, *History*, 59.
- 29 Redford, 80.
- 30 Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), 188.
- 31 Ray, 25.
- 32 Wilson, 175.
- 33 Wells, 213.
- 34 Mertz, *Temples*, 184-5.
- 35 Wells, 231-3.
- 36 Wilson, 174. Wilson spelling for Hatshepsut is Hat-shepsut.
- 37 Kees, 140.
- 38 Mertz, *Temples*, 173.
- 39 Wells, 248. Wells uses Deir el-Bahari if reference to Deir el-Bahari.

- Redford, Donald B. *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.
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There is far less evidence remaining from Hatshepsut's reign as Pharaoh than from the reigns of other Eighteenth dynasty pharaohs. After Hatshepsut's death, Thutmose III destroyed many of her inscriptions or covered over them with the names of himself, his father, or his grandfather. Thus, for a long time there were disputes as to the Thutmosid succession. Over time, pieces of Hatshepsut's inscriptions were pieced back together by modern Egyptologists and the coverings of her works were worn away to reveal new information concerning the female pharaoh. It became clear that her name had been carved over and replaced with the names of Thutmose I, II, and III. Once these changes were revealed, the currently-accepted Thutmosid succession (the one used in this paper) became clear. It is not only through these revelations that the following sources derive their notions concerning Hatshepsut's reign, but also through many untouched sources. The obelisks at Karnak reveal many stories about Hatshepsut's reign, as do the hidden areas of her temple at Deir el-Bahari where Senenmut left his mark for the Queen. There was also one of Hatshepsut's officials, Ineni, who was so respected by Thutmose III that his inscriptions were not destroyed like those of most of Hatshepsut's supporters. In fact, it is Ineni's biography that provides the most powerful, presently accepted evidence for the Thutmosid succession. All of these findings have allowed the authors of the sources used in this paper to piece together the highlights and details of Hatshepsut's rule. It is hard to fathom that all of this information was carved into stone, but one must remember that this was the pharaohs' primary way of preserving their names and their stories for posterity.

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