

Conclusion

One fact is clear: social media is not going anywhere. This global phenomenon has changed the way the entire world communicates, educates, and receives and shares information. There are undoubtedly serious risks that parents and children put themselves in when they use social media, but experts recognize how the benefits of social media heavily outweigh those risks. There are certain standards citizens are expected to uphold in the offline community that children naturally learn by example. As social media becomes more prevalent in our society, the authors believe it is imperative that adults practice exemplary digital citizenship so children can develop those skills in online communities as well. ■

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A FEMINIST AND QUEER THEORY TAKE ON THE LEGITIMIZATION OF HATSHEPSUT AS KING

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ABSTRACT

This paper considers a Western white male bias of ancient Egyptian custom and culture, and more specifically King Hatshepsut, Pharaoh and Co-regent of Eighteenth Dynasty ancient Egypt. Western anthropologists have routinely and incorrectly labeled Hatshepsut as queer because of her masculinized political character. These accusations are rooted in a traditional Western belief in a male-female gender binary system, and these beliefs have been applied to a culture that does not recognize the same understanding of gender, sex, and sexuality. Further, I discuss the myriad ways in which Hatshepsut legitimized her rule, including her political manipulation of masculinity, her proclamation of ancestral and divine lineage, the artistic commissions of herself and of Thutmose III - her co-regent, stepson, and nephew, and her strength as a military leader.

Key words: Pharaoh, ancient Egypt, king, anthropology, bias, western beliefs

Throughout modern history, and specifically from the conception of American anthropology, the way that the human experience has been studied, understood, and transcribed has been through a male European American ethnocentric point of view which was colored by cultural, racial, and gender bias. The problem with many American representations of history is that it has not been considered through a neutral lens, and has, instead, been subjected to the projection of

western societal beliefs and ideologies onto cultures and societies who do not prescribe to the same set of beliefs and values. Though women joined the anthropological field in greater numbers in the early 20th century, it was not until the feminist movement in the 1970s that women were able to successfully argue that past anthropologists had failed in accurately documenting the human experience, as men had only studied the lives of other men, leaving gaping holes in the historical record.

Hatshepsut, co-regent and pharaoh of New Kingdom Eighteenth Dynasty ancient Egypt (ca. 1479-1485 BCE), has been a controversial figure to western anthropology because of the way that she presented herself publicly and politically to secure her position of power. Hatshepsut was not the first female pharaoh, but she was the first to present herself through a masculine performing character. Upon her discovery, American male anthropologists incorrectly labeled Hatshepsut as queer, transgender, and as a cross-dresser. She has also been labeled as a conniving, manipulative, power-hungry usurper who stole the throne and attempted to convince her people that she was something other than what she was. These baseless accusations are attributed to the fact that western traditional beliefs (male supremacy and a male-female gender binary system) have been applied to a culture which does not recognize the same understanding of gender, sex, and sexuality as well as the inherent misogynistic beliefs that a woman could not rule successfully without the help of a man (or men) and that only by stealing power through some sort of nefarious means could a woman rule, though it has been proven that other women ruled successfully and lawfully as pharaoh before Hatshepsut. The only difference between these female rulers was Hatshepsut's masculinized character presentation. Hatshepsut legitimized her rule as pharaoh through the political manipulation of masculinity, her proclamation of ancestral and divine lineage, the artistic commissions of herself and of

Thutmose III – her co-regent, stepson, and nephew, and her strength as a military leader.

American history has routinely and incorrectly characterized Hatshepsut as queer based on the western understanding of a gender binary system; it accepts only the male and female sex as gender identities. However, gender is a social construct which is associated with maleness, femaleness, and other non-binary gender categories and is agreed upon by a society or culture which contributes to it. Sex is the biological and physical characteristics of a person based on chromosomes, hormones, and genitals. These two concepts are not interchangeable. A feminist understanding of history attempts to reduce male bias and transform our understanding of history into a more complete picture. Queer theory, a relatively new study, furthers the feminist lens and aims to challenge the way that we understand gender and sex-based binaries for a more progressive and accepting future (Matic 2016). A feminist lens combined with queer theory can and should be utilized to create an accurate historical record surrounding Hatshepsut and her reign as king.

Hatshepsut was the biological daughter of Thutmose I and Queen Ahmose, a sibling marriage. Hatshepsut married her half-brother, King Thutmose II, and aided in his rule, as he was known to be an ill man. It is likely that Hatshepsut accepted and thrived in this role, which may have explained why she decided to pursue the role of king after the end of the regent period with Thutmose III. It should be noted that this is only speculation, as there is no documented reasoning for this shift. Thutmose II bore a male child, King Thutmose III, with a lesser queen of his royal harem, Iset (or Isis). He also bore a female child with Hatshepsut, Princess Neferure. Upon the death of Thutmose II, a young Thutmose III would inherit the throne, though he would need a regent. Per Egyptian custom, it was the duty of the late king's wife – which would have been Hatshepsut, as she held the title of "King's Great Wife" and "God's Wife of Amun" – to rule in his stead until he came of age

(Callender 1988; Creasman 2014; Diamond 2020; Matic 2016). About seven years into their co-regency, Hatshepsut was able to successfully elevate herself to claim the king's title, where she reigned, in total, some twenty years.

As required by ancient Egyptian tradition, when a leader ascended to pharaoh, they would also take on a new succession of five royal names. Hatshepsut, while following tradition to keep in line with her expectations for the throne, took on her new names, she altered the traditionally masculine name structure with feminine construction to keep in line with her female gender identity. She wanted to portray herself as masculine to fit with the role while staying true to who she was. In an article called, "The Names of Hatshepsut as King" by Gay Robins, they describe Hatshepsut's artfully crafted names: "When Hatshepsut became king, she took the Horus name wsrt-k3w, the Neby name w3dt-rnpwt, the Golden Horus name ntrt-h'w, the first cartouche name m3't-k3-r', and epithet hnmt-jmn to her birth name" (Robins 1999, 103). Though her names were created using the traditional method, they were very different from all her predecessors. The structure of the first four names follows the standard which was set by the Old Kingdom: a pattern of participle plus direct genitive. The tradition diverged in that Hatshepsut's names all begin with the feminine participle – a demonstration of her female gender identity (Robins 1999, 103). It was not the first nor the last time that a woman ruled Egypt as pharaoh, but it may have been the first time that two kings occupied the throne at the same time, also considering that Hatshepsut was the first woman who displayed overt female masculinity. Hatshepsut was, undoubtedly, a king of many firsts. Her reign was also characterized by prosperity and peace which prevailed through upper and lower ancient Egypt.

Because of the male-to-male succession of rulers, not considering the previous two female kings, Nitocris (Sixth Dynasty) and Sobekneferu (Twelfth Dynasty), who helped to pave the way for

Hatshepsut's reign, as well as several queen-regents, it was likely that she ran into some issues in her campaign towards legitimization. It was understood that the role of king was a masculine role, depicted as Horus in life (as well as The Son of Re, or Amun) and Osiris in death, and Hatshepsut, with her team of advisors, made the decision to curate a masculinized image of herself to match the gendered expectations that came with the position (Diamond 2020; Matic 2016). The decision to create this masculine character was not because she personally identified herself as male, but more likely to ensure that she was able to reap the benefits and privileges of a masculine identity. Hatshepsut was able to successfully separate the idea of maleness from the physical male body (Diamond 2020). This process did not occur all at once, but over the course of her multi-decade reign. In her early career, Hatshepsut presented herself as feminine and there are not many likenesses that have been discovered. There is a life-size seated statue of her wearing a khat headcloth which paints her as king. She had the Nine Bows, the traditional symbol for Egypt's enemies, under her feet while donning female garb. In addition, she wore the nemes (a striped headdress which was tied at the back of the head) and an uraeus (when portraying a pharaoh, a nemes featured a cobra in the middle).

Before her complete transformation into a masculine character, she experimented with her image. Some have feminine sex characteristics in the torso but have a bare chest and feature the male bull's tail, nemes headdress, and uraeus, but the text is gendered female. Over time, she was more and more masculinized. She merged fully with Osiris, her skin was colored a male red-brown, and she wore the false beard (Diamond 2020, 180). Hatshepsut was also not the first female queen to play with her political identity, and the concept of a gender binary system did not always apply in Egyptian theology, so the people that she ruled were not unfamiliar with the complexities of gender. More specifically, these deities were comprised of both male and female traits and sexual functions but were denoted as either

male or female with uterine symbolism defining nurturing, and phallic symbolism denoting penetrating and propagating (Diamond 2020). Hatshepsut knew of the existence of hermaphroditic creator deities, the true androgyny of being king, and post-mortem gender fluidity, and was able to successfully utilize this in her legitimization process (Diamond 2020). One of the roles of the king of Egypt was the mediator relationship between gods and humans, and divine emulation was customary. An example of this is the Myth of Isis (female) and Osiris (male). In the conception of Horus, Isis says that she has acted in the role of the male even though she is female. Further, Neith, a creator deity, was associated with weaponry and hunting, male associations, and has been depicted with a phallus. Neith and another god, Hathor, were described as “two-thirds male and one-third female” (Diamond 2020, 173). Because emulation of the gods was expected of a king’s rule, and because Hatshepsut’s female masculinity captured the essence of hermaphroditic gods, she was able to legitimize herself as a lawful ruler. Considering the ways in which gender and sexuality differ from western ideology, it is impossible, inarguably, to project this flawed understanding onto ancient Egyptian culture and specifically onto Hatshepsut as king.

The roles of king and queen were deeply intertwined, and one could not exist without the other (Diamond 2020; Matic 2016). While the kingship was considered masculine, it could not be considered solely masculine because of the close association with the queenship. While the man was known to be Horus and Osiris, the woman was known as the “female Horus” and “The Daughter of Re” (Diamond 2020, 174). The female titles, when masculinized, reflect the titles reserved for the king. An example of this is the female king Sobekneferu, co-regent with Amenemhet III, who ruled in the Twelfth Dynasty. They portrayed themselves as the male and female Horus, and unlike Hatshepsut, maintained a feminine appearance apart from one statue which portrays Sobekneferu in feminine traditional clothing with the

king’s nemes headdress (Diamond 2020). Further, the social capital of women grew largely with the conception of the New Kingdom (c. 1550-1069 BCE). During this time, many young kings came into power, and as per Egyptian custom, required a king’s wife to serve as regent. Queen Ahhotep acted as regent for her son, Ahmose, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and his successor, Amenhotep I, was often portrayed with his mother, Ahmose-Nefertari. With the rise of young kings portrayed with their regents, women’s status and claim to power rose exponentially, paving the way for future female leaders in power (Diamond 2020, 175). Why, then, did Hatshepsut have to present herself with this masculine identity? Likely because the masculine aspect allowed her a closer relationship with the gods, and because she was ruling as senior king with Thutmose III. Without the masculine presentation, he would have surpassed her for the throne (Diamond 2020).

Another example of the symbiotic relationship between king and queen is the evidence accrued from the New Kingdom which describes post-mortem gender fluidity. Royal women were able to facilitate their rebirth into the afterlife by undergoing a sexual transformation. In the Sixth Dynasty, the queen was able to be renewed by the sun god Re (Amun) and Osiris, but the masculine powers of creation and fertility were exclusive to the male sex. The wife’s role in the male-female relationship was required for the king’s rebirth in the afterlife. Additionally, women also had to take the male sexual role for their own rebirth – the husband was not a necessary part in the same way that a female was required for the male, though she did not lose her feminine identity (Diamond 2020, 176). It is clear, then, that the ancient Egyptians understanding of gender, sex, and sexuality were not the same as the western understanding, and so, the assumption that Hatshepsut was queer because of her political gender presentation is both unfounded and inaccurate.

Hatshepsut legitimized her claim to the throne in more ways than one and a major factor in her campaign was that in her temple, Deir el-Bahri, she claimed that her father, King Thutmose I, proclaimed her as his heir before his death (Callender 1988; Carney 2001; Creasman 2014; Davies 2004; Diamond 2020; Manuelian and Loeben 1999 a; Manuelian and Loeben 1999 b; Teeter 2006). It was recorded at Deir el-Bahri that Thutmose I presented Hatshepsut as his associate and heir, dressed in men's clothing, to his high-ranking officials when in talks of preparation of the expedition into Kush (Creasman 2014, 401).

According to the scholarly journal article "A Critical Examination of the Reign of Hatshepsut" by Gae Callender, the author wonders if, outside of the propaganda, that it was possible that Thutmose I truly did present Hatshepsut as heir, and the findings suggest it was. At some point during his reign, King Thutmose I presented his daughter before court, as stated by Professor Redford of Toronto University (1988). Callender is not aware of any other similar occasion in which a princess was presented at court. This account is quite like the account depicted by Hatshepsut, so this claim may, in fact, be true, and not solely rooted in propaganda. To further this claim, Hatshepsut had her father exhumed from his tomb in the Valley of the Kings and planned to rebury him next to her own sarcophagus. It was suggested by authors Manuelian and Loeben that Hatshepsut may have had a second funeral designed to reaffirm her legitimization in a show of pathos, though this is unconfirmed (Manuelian and Loeben 1999 a). A minimum of four sarcophagi were created and a series of burials and reburials took place at her queen's tomb Wadi Sikkat Taqa el-Zeid and in the Valley of the Kings. After her reign as king, Hatshepsut was ultimately buried in the Valley of the Kings. Later, Thutmose III would make two more sarcophagi for Thutmose I (Diamond 2020; Manuelian and Loeben 1999 b).

To further remove doubt of her legitimacy, Hatshepsut claimed

to be of divine birth between Queen Ahmose and the god Amun in a scene recorded at Deir el-Bahri. In this scene, Hatshepsut is born and presented to various gods and proclaimed to be the king of Egypt – she was also depicted as biologically male here and in her ka – a symbol of a pharaoh's right to rule, and is considered to be the life force of a person. Upon her ascension to king, Hatshepsut added "United with Amun" to her name to suggest a personal relationship (Diamond 2020, 178). Again, Hatshepsut uses a male gender presentation to prove her legitimacy as king, not as a personal identifier, but to fulfil the expectations set forth by previous kings. She is also using the knowledge that Egyptians accepted that the pharaohs were gods to her advantage (Callender 1988).

During the reign of the pharaoh, it was common for Sed-festivals to be held – festivals which celebrated the long reign of the king. This Sed-festival would have further legitimized the rule of Hatshepsut in the state of public opinion. In reliefs found at Deir el-Bahri, Hatshepsut provided many references to her Sed-festival, though in some instances, it seems that Thutmose III is pictured as king taking part in the festival. Thutmose III would have several festivals all on his own, though this joint Sed-festival was Hatshepsut's only. In the relief, it shows Hatshepsut offering a loaf to Amun while Thutmose III, wearing the uraeus, offers a table to Amun. In her shrine of Anubis, she is shown making offerings to Anubis and Amun and receiving many Sed-festivals in return. The strongest evidence for this joint festival, the author notes, is from the north colonnade of the middle terrace where the birth and coronation of Hatshepsut are depicted. Amun embraces Thutmose III who wears the double crown of Egypt and the red crown of Lower Egypt. In another scene, Thutmose III and Amun are shown, but Hatshepsut is represented wearing the atef crown, holding a mace, and carrying an ankh sign (representative of eternal life – the key of life) and the phrase "I give to thee the celebrating of millions of Sed-festivals" (Uphill 1961, 249). An argument could be made here that

Hatshepsut used Thutmose III's natural legitimacy to foster her own. They are both often depicted wearing the upper and lower crowns of Egypt, the white and the red crown, along with the double crown, along with depictions featuring kingly garb and symbology – all strong indicators of legitimacy. Still, western anthropologists have long speculated on the nature of the relationship between Thutmose III and his stepmother, aunt, and co-regent.

Some twenty years after the death of Hatshepsut, her nephew and co-regent, Thutmose III and his son Amenhotep II went on to attempt to eradicate her memory. In many cases, Hatshepsut's name was replaced with either Thutmose III, Thutmose II, or Thutmose I, and only imagery that portrayed her as king was destroyed. This destruction of her memory prompted western anthropologists to determine that Hatshepsut was a usurper, that she was the evil stepmother, or a traitor (Davies 2004). Thutmose III did not eradicate her memory until more than 20 years after her death – this is a long time to hold a personal grudge, and though it is unlikely that this was the case, it is not impossible (Callender 1988; Diamond 2020; Teeter 2016). Early anthropologists determined that Hatshepsut was stricken from the record and not mentioned in the King's List because she was a woman, or because she was pretending to be a man, or because she attempted to conceal her gender in a bid to be deceitful. These are all male-centric assumptions based on western beliefs, not on the facts of Egyptian culture. It has been speculated that, Princess Neferure of the Ahmoside line, daughter of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut, was being groomed by Hatshepsut and her advisors to take over as pharaoh and that it could be possible that Thutmose III and his son demolished these works to ensure that Amenhotep II and the Thutmoside line would continue to rule Egypt (Callendar 1988; Davies 2004; Diamond 2020) and some would say that this theory is more plausible, though still speculative.

Anthropologist Vanessa Davies examined Hatshepsut's artistic depictions of Thutmose III to determine how she intended his role to be perceived in an attempt to understand the relationship between the two rulers. Davies focused on major building projects and some smaller inscriptions dated to the time that they ruled jointly as kings. Davies notes that the dataset is not entirely inclusive, though the conclusions drawn are from a highly representative sample (Davies 2004, 56). Based on the evidence gathered, the conclusion was drawn that Hatshepsut did not intentionally ignore her co-regent, nor did she truly make him seem lesser. Thutmose III was depicted as king without Hatshepsut present in the scene in 62% of scenes. He appears with a large variety of deities and carries many royal titles and epithets. Whether he was physically present in the scene or not, his presence was clear. These depictions position him as the supreme ruler of Egypt; one who had contact with the divine. The posture in his depictions also indicate performing rites, offering to the gods, and embracing them. He wears ten different crowns and headdresses. In 62% of scenes, Thutmose III is positioned behind Hatshepsut. In 38% of scenes, they face each other. Davies states that because of the conventions of Egyptian art, the scenes showing one king behind another may be intended to indicate that they were standing side by side. In all, there is no evidence suggesting that Hatshepsut placed Thutmose III in a subordinate position, and instead, more often paints him as an equal. Davies says, "Based on the depictions examined in this study, it is evident that Hatshepsut did not intentionally portray Thutmose III as any less of a king than she herself was. In fact, she seems to have used his recognized role as king to legitimate her own claims to the throne" (Davies 2004, 66). From these conclusions, it is unlikely that Thutmose and his son damaged her memory not out of resentment for some personal resentment or revenge-fueled vendetta, but more likely as a political move to try to assert his line as dominant.

One of the most important roles of the king was military participation. In a scholarly journal article titled, "Women and military leadership in pharaonic Egypt" by Elizabeth D. Carney, Carney examines the roles of women within three categories of leadership: participation and command in actual battle, administrative leadership, and symbolic leadership (2001, 25-6). Hatshepsut was not the first female to engage in a masculine role in relation to military leadership. Ahhotep, the mother of Ahmose, first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, "... defeated the Nubians, expelled the Hyksos, and re-established national monarchy, thus creating the 18th dynasty" (Carney 2001, 26; Diamond 2020). Evidence suggests that Ahhotep was the leader of the army, as seen in an inscription from her stele at Karnak which notes that she, acting as regent, unified Egypt and suppressed rebellion. This event took place before her son was old enough to act as ruling king and after the death of her husband. Not only does her son acknowledge her role on the stele, but he praises her.

Ahhotep's successful military campaign set Hatshepsut up to be regarded with respect for her military expeditions. Still, several male historians and anthropologists claim that Hatshepsut waged no wars and was entirely a pacifist, that Thutmose III was responsible for her victories, that she was a usurper, that the women before her were usurpers, and some of these men include John Wilson, Leonard Cottrell, Carl Roebuck, Steindorff and Steele, and Alan Gardiner (Callender 1988). Hatshepsut was the first to be shown as a sphinx trampling her enemies, an explicitly military image (Carney 2001). It is overtly stated, in several places by different people, that Hatshepsut waged at least two wars, and may have been involved in (leading and commanding) more than five. (Callender 1988, 93-7; Carney 2001). "She [Hatshepsut] actively continued to consolidate Egyptian rule in Nubia; surviving inscriptions attest to two campaigns during her reign, at least one of which she undertook personally" (Creasman 2014, 398). One inscription with Hatshepsut's prenomen (the throne name of the

king) says that "overthrowing the (Nubian) nomads, their chiefs being brought to him as prisoners. I saw him destroying the land of Nubia, while I was in the following of his majesty" (Carney 2001, 32). It is clear, then, that Hatshepsut, female king, led successful military campaigns. Relations between Punt and Egypt had been non-existent somewhere between 150-300 years before her military expedition, and the reason that Hatshepsut took her military campaign to Punt was in honor of the god Amun, who she claimed as her divine ancestor. Punt had greatly desired incenses, potentially frankincense and myrrh, which were used in sacred temple rituals, as well as gold, and exotic woods, especially ebony (Creasman 2014, 396). Hatshepsut likely understood that creating this connection with Punt would not only be material but political – she acts on behalf of Amun to open highways to Punt herself with her fleet. Further, Hatshepsut's journey into Punt coincides with her ascension to king. An inscription notes that the fleet returned in the year 9, and given that the journey would have taken nearly a year, it was likely that it launched in the year 8. It would have also taken time to prepare for a departure, making the years between 2 and 7, either directly after or just before her coronation as king (Creasman 2014, 401). Hatshepsut did everything that these male historians and anthropologists claimed that she could not or did not do because she was a woman, and therefore passive and incapable.

Hatshepsut was subjected to incredible scrutiny upon her discovery by western male anthropologists who projected a traditional belief system of misogyny and a gender binary system onto her and to the culture and society in which she ruled. A feminist and queer theory approach proved that hermaphroditic deities, the androgyny of kingship, and post-mortem gender fluidity were all impervious to western ideology and so cannot be applied to Hatshepsut or to ancient Egypt. She created a masculinized character which allowed her the benefits of male privilege and power using gradual imagery depicting

her first as female, then to an androgynous figure, and then to her final masculine form which consisted of male regalia, gender presentation, a reddish-brown skin tone, and a false beard. Further, Hatshepsut legitimized her claim as king through her claim to ancestral and divine parentage and her artistic commissions of Thutmose III which proved that she intended for him to be a legitimate ruler alongside her as well as the considerations for the status of their relationship before and after her death. Finally, her successful military campaigns depicted her with traditionally masculine military regalia and symbology, and supported her divine ancestry to the god Amun, solidifying herself among his following. Hatshepsut was a great king of many firsts, and she deserves to be respected and remembered for her truly incredible campaign for legitimization. ■

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