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THE THUTMOSID SUCCESSION

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THE THUTMOSID SUCCESSION

By
WILLIAM F. EDGERTON



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I

INTRODUCTION

The exact chronological relation between the reign of the "female king" Hatshepsut and her immediate male relatives, the first three¹ Thutmoses, has always been, and is today, a subject of disagreement among Egyptologists. The autobiographical inscription of Ineni, an architect whose long and successful career was closed by death during the period of Hatshepsut's power, narrates, after the manner of such texts, the successive tasks which Ineni performed and honors which he received under the pharaohs Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, and the "son" of Thutmose II. If we select from the long and ornate text those sentences which purport to record the beginnings and ends of the reigns of Thutmose I and Thutmose II, we may read (following Breasted's translation):

The king (i.e., Thutmose I) rested from life, going forth to heaven, having completed his years in gladness of heart. The Hawk in the nest [appeared as] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, ³*hpr-n-R* (i.e., Thutmose II), he became king of the Black Land and ruler of the Red Land, having taken possession of the Two Regions in triumph. . . . (He) went forth to heaven in triumph, having mingled with the gods. His son stood in his place as king of the Two Lands, having become ruler upon the throne of the one who begat him. His sister, the Divine Consort,² Hatshepsut,³ settled the 'affairs' of the Two Lands by reason of her plans.⁴

Egyptian words for "son" and "sister" are not to be taken too seriously; but the statement that he flew up to heaven is a customary

¹ The numerals attached to pharaohs who bore the same name, as in this case, are modern and reflect only modern ideas regarding the order of succession.

² A common title of the queen of Egypt, the Pharaoh's principal wife.

³ Name inclosed in a cartouche, as often in the case of the wives and children of the Pharaoh.

⁴ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II (Chicago, 1906) §§ 108, 116, 118, 341. There follows a series of poetic expressions celebrating the power and glory of Hatshepsut. There is no further reference to Thutmose III, whose name does not occur at all in the text.

expression for the death of a king.⁵ The words above quoted, therefore, must have been intended to mean that Thutmose I died and was succeeded by Thutmose II; that Thutmose II then reigned until he in turn died; and that Thutmose III ascended the throne on the death of Thutmose II, but that the real power, from the death of Thutmose II until the date when Ineni's autobiography was written, had been held by Queen Hatshepsut.

Ineni's inscription was first made known to modern scholars in 1892;⁶ so far as the order of the three Thutmoses was concerned, it merely confirmed what had already been believed for half a century.⁷ A different view was first put forward by Sethe, who in 1896 undertook to prove that the order of succession was (1) Thutmose I; (2) Thutmose III; (3) Hatshepsut and Thutmose III jointly; (4) Thutmose III again alone; (5) Thutmose II (jointly with Thutmose I until Thutmose I died, afterward alone); (6) Hatshepsut and Thutmose III until Hatshepsut died, after which (7) Thutmose III ruled alone.⁸

The evidence on which Sethe relied was extremely complicated, and those scholars who were qualified to weigh it independently differed widely in their attitudes toward it. With minor modifications Sethe's theory was accepted, for instance, by Breasted,⁹ Moret,¹⁰ and Steindorff;¹¹ and it was vigorously attacked by Naville.¹²

⁵ Sethe, *Das Hatshepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht* ("Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften," Jahrgang 1932. Phil.-hist. Klasse. No. 4) p. 90. This work is hereafter referred to in the notes as *HP*.

⁶ *Recueil de travaux* XII (1892) 106-7. The most convenient edition of the Egyptian text is in Sethe, *Urkunden* IV 53-62. The narrative of Ineni does not stand alone; see the other contemporary texts discussed by Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II¹ (2d ed.; Berlin, 1928) 110, n. 1; Sethe, *HP*, § 106.

⁷ For a summary of earlier efforts to untangle the history of this royal family, see Maspero in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* XIV (1892) 170 ff.

⁸ *Die Thronwirren unter den Nachfolgern Königs Thutmosis' I., ihr Verlauf und ihre Bedeutung*, in his "Untersuchungen" I (1896) 1-58 and 65-129 (hereafter referred to as *Thronwirren*).

⁹ See especially *A New Chapter in the Life of Thutmose III*, in Sethe's "Untersuchungen" II, Part II (Leipzig, 1900); *A History of Egypt* (New York, 1905 and 1909) chap. xv; *Cambridge Ancient History* II (1926) 60-61.

¹⁰ *Rois et dieux d'Égypte* (Paris, 1911) chap. i.

¹¹ *Die Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs* (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1900) pp. 28-40, and again with important modifications in the 2d ed. (1926) pp. 42-54.

¹² *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* XXXV (1897) 30-67; XXXVII (1899) 48-55. The earlier of these two articles was answered by Sethe, *op. cit.* XXXVI (1898) 24-81.

Divergent solutions, more or less influenced by Sethe but by no means accepting his theory in its entirety, are to be found in the writings of Petrie¹³ and Bilabel.¹⁴ Still another attitude was represented by the late H. R. Hall, who admitted the bare possibility that Sethe's theory might be true, but evidently could not himself believe it in the absence of "decisive confirmation," and who gave a very lucid statement of his reasons.¹⁵

Naville's writings seem to have had little influence on other scholars; the support lent to Sethe's theory by such widely read and authoritative histories as those of Breasted and Steindorff probably resulted in its acceptance by most persons who had not themselves found time or inclination to follow all the mazes of the evidence.

The year 1928 marked an important change in the history of the problem; for in that year Sethe's theory was positively repudiated *in toto* by two scholars working quite independently of each other, H. E. Winlock¹⁶ and Eduard Meyer.¹⁷

Sethe has now reviewed the whole subject in a very closely reasoned volume, *Das Hatschepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht*,¹⁸ in which his theory is greatly simplified and, to that extent, rendered more plausible. Anyone who wishes to form an independent opinion must have both this book and the *Thronwirren* at his elbow; no other published presentation of the evidence begins to equal these in thoroughness, and none can surpass them in dispassionate objectivity.

The statements published in 1928 by Winlock and Eduard Meyer corresponded closely to conclusions which had been gradually shaping themselves in my mind for some years previously; and I therefore tended to dismiss the subject as settled. Sethe's new book—which,

¹³ *A History of Egypt* II (7th ed.; London, 1924) 52 ff.

¹⁴ *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens vom 16.–11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Heidelberg, 1927) pp. 20–31.

¹⁵ *The Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 286–91. I have before me the fifth edition (London, 1920) and the eighth edition, revised by C. J. Gadd (London, 1932). These pages seem identical in the two editions, but Winlock's new view is summarized without comment in the addenda to the eighth edition, p. 598.

¹⁶ "The Egyptian Expedition, 1925–1927," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Sec. II of February, 1928, pp. 46–58; see also "The Egyptian Expedition, 1927–1928," *op. cit.* Sec. II of December, 1928, pp. 5–22, and "Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* XV (1929) 56–67.

¹⁷ *Geschichte des Altertums* II¹, 2d ed., pp. 110–20.

¹⁸ See above, p. 2, n. 5

while abandoning some of the more wildly improbable conclusions of the *Thronwirren*, still holds to the old fundamentals, especially in the manner of using the various kinds of evidence—has led me to re-examine the whole matter; and in the following pages I offer my results for the criticism of scholars. My work has been based primarily on the ancient evidence as collected by Sethe in the *Thronwirren* and revised by him in *Das Hatschepsut-Problem*, checked, as far as my time and geographical situation permitted, by the original monuments themselves. I have tried also to take full account of Sethe's argument, as presented in *Das Hatschepsut-Problem*, with due consideration of what he formerly wrote in the *Thronwirren* and in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* XXXVI (1898) 24–81 and of the relevant writings of others, especially Breasted, Hall, Eduard Meyer, and Winlock; to all of these I am much indebted. But I have not attempted always to list the names of those who think as I do on this or that point, or to refute every idea which seems to me untenable.

II

REVISION OF THE EVIDENCE

My residence at Luxor in the service of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has made it possible for me to check a large portion of the intricate mass of evidence which Sethe has collected from the Theban area; and the Theban evidence constitutes the greater part of the whole in bulk. I have also taken advantage of a vacation journey to Wadi Halfa to proceed from there to Kummah and examine doorway *d*. In this case I profited by the collaboration of Mr. and Mrs. K. C. Seele.

In the following paragraphs I list every case in which I have found reason to differ essentially with Sethe's statement of the evidence, and also a few cases which he has passed over in silence but which I think may perhaps deserve mention. I do not list the very much larger number of cases in which I agree with Sethe's statements.

TEMPLE OF KUMMAH

*Doorway d.*¹—It is true, as far as can now be determined, that the names of Thutmose II on the front (Fig. 1) of this doorway are original; that is to say, the entire inscription, covering the lintel and both jambs and including the names of Thutmose II, was clearly carved simultaneously on a smoothed surface; and careful examination of unweathered portions in very advantageous sunlight fails to reveal any trace of earlier carving.

Note, however, that the doorway inscription is incised, whereas the adjoining wall surfaces are decorated in relief. The front of door *c* also is incised, while the rear of door *c* and the front of door *e* are in relief. Since doorway *d*, like *c* and like many another doorway of the period, projects a little forward from the wall, and since there is no way of determining whether or not it originally projected still farther, the possibility remains open that the surface in question may once

¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (hereafter abbreviated to *LD*) III (Berlin, 1849) 58, 59a; *LD Text* V (Leipzig, 1913) 206, 211; *HP*, § 81.

have borne another text (perhaps in relief; see the following account of the rear of this same doorway). It would have been a simple matter for a Thutmosid workman to smooth away all traces of such an earlier

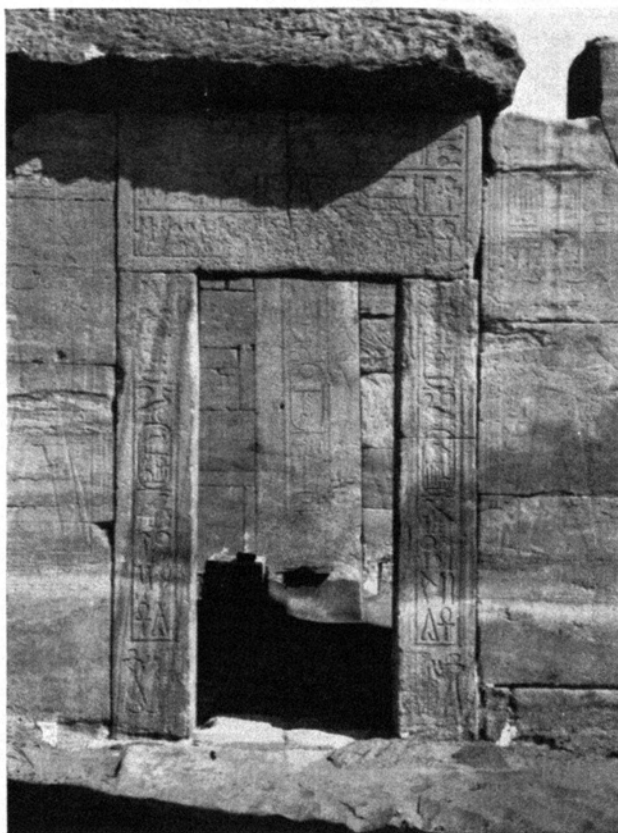



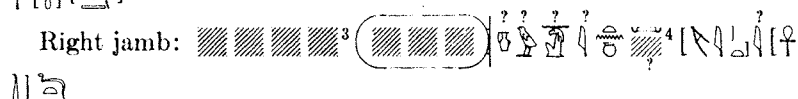
FIG. 1.—DOORWAY *d* IN THE TEMPLE OF KUMMAH

text, if any earlier text had been present, giving the Thutmose II inscription the "original" appearance which it certainly now has.

The rear of this doorway *d* is not "noch ohne Inschriften," as Lepsius stated, but bears the remains of a carefully erased inscription of Hatshepsut on each jamb; and the traces of signs mentioned by

Sethe² belong, in fact, to this inscription. Mr. and Mrs. Seele and I by our combined efforts made out the following signs:

Left jamb: 

Right jamb: 

We discussed each sign separately in the presence of the original, taking turns throwing light on the stone with a hand mirror. Each sign which appeared to any one of us to be in the slightest degree questionable is duly questioned in the foregoing copy; the absence of a question mark on any sign, therefore, is equivalent to a very emphatic *sic*.

Each of these two texts is carved partly on the door jamb and partly on the adjacent wall. It is perfectly clear that the two jamb inscriptions and the reliefs on either side of the doorway belong to a single scheme of decoration. The epigraphic evidence, therefore, proves conclusively that the doorway was in its present position when the reliefs and inscriptions of Hatshepsut were carved; and now that this fact is established, the doorway as a whole loses its special importance for the Hatshepsut problem.⁵

The question then arises whether the doorway (Figs. 2-4) was not actually *earlier* than the stone wall in which it now stands.⁶ The structure of the doorway is certainly unusual and suggests the possibility that it may have been intended to stand in a mud-brick wall (like

² *HP*, p. 65, n. 1.

³ The length of the initial lacuna on each jamb has not been determined.

⁴ My notes do not enable me to state definitely whether there is room for [ⲁ ⲓ ⲓ] under ⲙ on the right jamb.

⁵ Sethe thought that the doorway was a later insertion by Thutmose II, breaking through the reliefs of Hatshepsut. If the objective facts had been as he believed them to be, this would have been an important support to his theory. That the doorway was later than the wall was also the opinion of Lepsius ("dem Baue nach später eingesetzt," *LD Text V* 211).

⁶ The doorway and the wall appear to be of exactly the same kind of sandstone. The northwest jamb is a single block, extending from floor to lintel, the whole thickness of the wall; the southeast jamb is built of two blocks, one above the other, each of which includes the whole thickness of the wall.

doorway *b*, visible in the background of Fig. 2), but I personally believe that the doorway was erected together with the wall in which it stands. This is also the opinion of Professor Hölscher, who has never

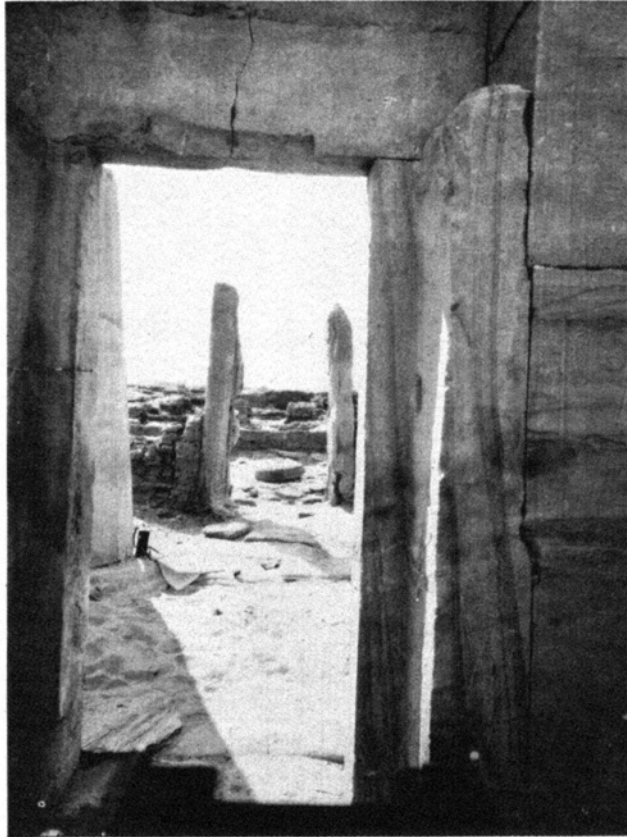


FIG. 2.—INNER FACE OF DOORWAY *d* IN THE TEMPLE OF KUMMAH

seen the original but who kindly examined my photographs at my request.

EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE AT MEDINET HABU

*Room O, doorway leading to room P.*⁷—The cartouche 3-*hpr-n-Rc*, which Sethe⁸ assigns to the right jamb of this doorway, may perhaps have stood there anciently, but certainly not in modern times. The

⁷ *HP*, p. 41, Fig. 15 *g*.

⁸ *Thronwirren*, p. 88.

entire block which would have borne it was destroyed or removed anciently, and a new block was inserted in its place but never inscribed. To determine which Thutmose's name was substituted for

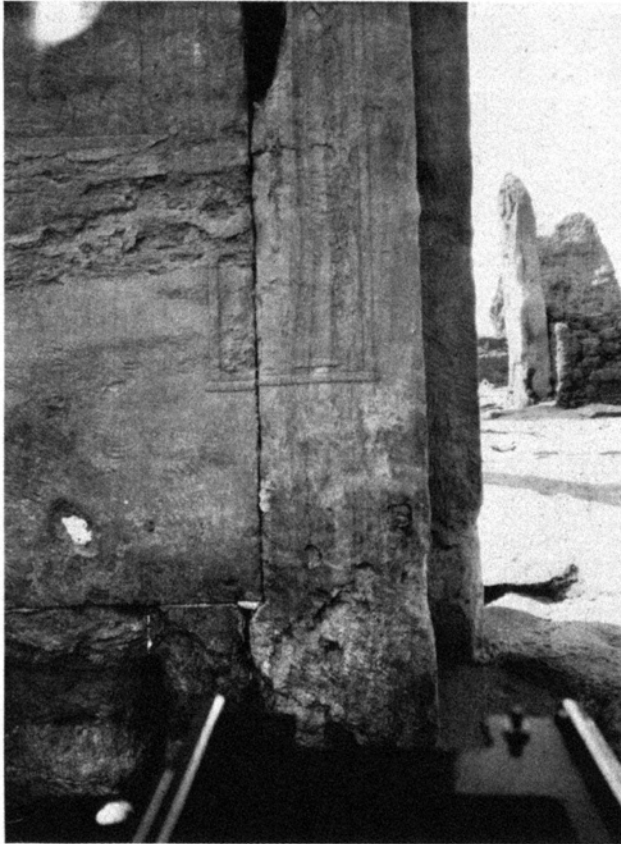


FIG. 3.—BOTTOM OF LEFT JAMB, INNER FACE OF DOORWAY *d* AT KUMMAH

Hatshepsut's here, we have only the second cartouche, *Dḥwtj-ms-ir.n-Imn* (correctly given by Sethe), which may be that of either Thutmose I or Thutmose II.

Room P (the northwest⁹ corner room).¹⁰—In the notes of Lepsius the

⁹ In describing Theban monuments I name the points of the compass in the Egyptian way; in my notes, therefore, the 18th dynasty temples at Medinet Habu and Deir el-Bahari face "east."

¹⁰ *Thronwirren*, p. 89; *HP*, p. 46, n. 1.

two shorter walls of this room have been interchanged, and Sethe has copied this mistake. Actually it is the west end wall, farthest from room *M*, that bears two representations of Thutmose III ꜥꜥ; and

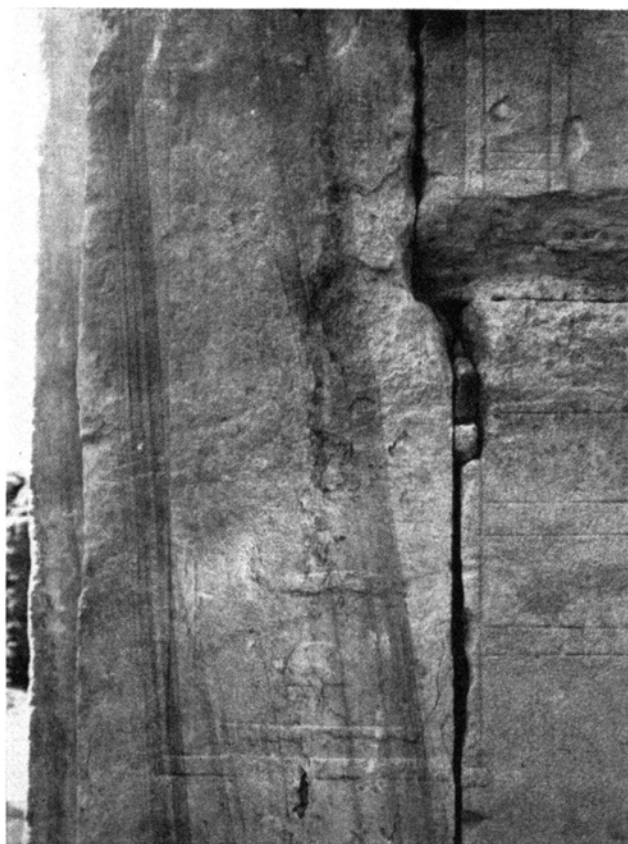




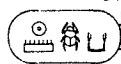
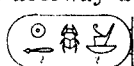
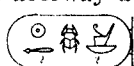

FIG. 4.—PART OF RIGHT JAMB, INNER FACE OF DOORWAY *d* AT KUMMAH


I cannot find any traces of feminine grammatical forms such as might prove that this wall had originally been decorated during the reign of Hatshepsut. The east end wall bears, on the left, a table of offerings substituted for Hatshepsut and, on the right, a scene containing an original Thutmose III with an epithet which I cannot read with certainty. The second (Thutmose) cartouche is preceded by the


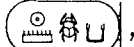
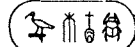
title  with erased , showing that Hatshepsut was on the throne at the time.

It may be worth remarking that the two groups of offerings which have been substituted for Hatshepsut on the north wall of this room differ conspicuously in technique: the one on the right is in good low relief, comparable to other elements in the decoration of this temple which can be positively attributed to Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, or Harmhab; the one on the left is hardly more than a scratched outline, though the drawing here also is tolerably good.

HATSHEPSUT'S HATHOR TEMPLE AT DEIR EL-BAHARI





*Outer sanctuary, room D, doorway leading to the inner sanctuary, room E.*¹¹—Sethe has rightly observed that the name  recorded by Duemichen on the jambs of this doorway does not occur on the jambs. Instead we appear to have  (i.e., Thutmose II) on each jamb.¹² Of these four signs, the sun disk is original carving in each case, whereas the three following signs  are substitutions, in paint only, over erased .

The preceding Horus-name  is also a substitution on each jamb, though carved as well as painted. As far as I see, this Horus-name was never used elsewhere by Thutmose II, though it was used by Thutmose III and several later kings.

Sethe has failed to note that the names of Thutmose III on the left half of the lintel, , , and , are all substitutions, though the same names in identical form on the right half of the lintel are all original. The left half of this lintel, therefore, is an exception to Sethe's rule that the form *Mn-hpr-k3-R* never occurs in substitutions.

*Inner sanctuary, room E.*¹³—Hatshepsut was original everywhere in

¹¹ Johannes Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften* II (Leipzig, 1869) Pl. XXXIV; *HP*, § 61.

¹² I see no trace of  on the right jamb, but  there seems certain. On the left jamb, both  and  are probable.

¹³ Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* IV (London, 1901) Pls. CV-CVI; *HP*, § 72, "Tilgung der H. ohne Aneignung ihrer Namen für Th. II." In *HP*, § 73 and elsewhere, Sethe uses the fact that the name of Thutmose II has

this room except in one place on each of the two long walls (the north and south walls), where an original Thutmose III still kneels behind her. Her pictures seem untouched; her cartouches were all erased, but usually so lightly that all signs are still clearly legible. Substitutions seem to have been made, in paint only, in all of the erased cartouches; and a number of horizontal lines suggestive of — and traces suggesting the name Thutmose limit the substituted names in general to Thutmose I and II. In only one case can I decide between the two, namely, on the north wall just behind the cow's horns (unpublished). Here I see the red crown (in paint only) over the lightly erased *k3* of the name *K3-m3-t-Rc*. This one cartouche, at least, was appropriated for Thutmose II; the other cartouches of Hatshepsut were probably appropriated either for him or for Thutmose I.

The cartouches accompanying the two figures of Hatshepsut which kneel at the udders of the two cows are afterthoughts, having been carved after the background had been smoothed away; their present condition merits further study.

GREAT TEMPLE OF DEIR EL-BAHARI

*Upper court, east wall, south of the granite doorway.*¹⁴—In addition to the trace of Hatshepsut's rear foot which is given in the publication, I see an even clearer trace of her tail.


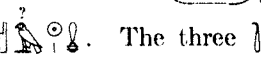
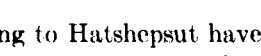
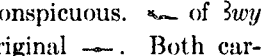

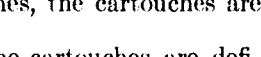
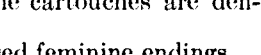
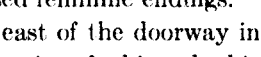
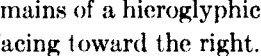
Sethe's suggestion that Hatshepsut formerly stood in the left-hand picture also, where now there are tables of offerings, is, I think, certainly correct. I see on the left a trace of her forward foot, which crosses the sloping front of the pedestal on which the divine figures sit and is entirely within the right-hand one of the two tall offering vases or stands, and on the right a trace of her tail, hanging down toward the toe of the remaining picture of [Thutmose III].


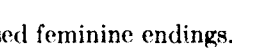
not been substituted for that of Hatshepsut on certain walls, to prove that these walls were decorated after Thutmose II had ceased to reign. Of course I agree with the result, since I believe that Thutmose II died before either Thutmose III or Hatshepsut ascended the throne; but I cannot agree with Sethe's logic. The same logic, if correct, would prove that the Punt reliefs, for instance, were carved by Hatshepsut after Thutmose III had ceased to reign; for Thutmose III's name, like that of Thutmose II, has not been substituted for Hatshepsut's in the Punt reliefs.

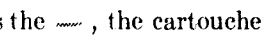

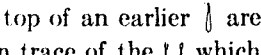
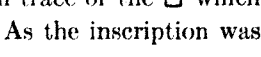
¹⁴ Naville, *op. cit.* V (London, 1906) Pl. CXXIII; *HP.* § 43 a.






*Rooms south of the upper court: doorway leading from room K to room M.*¹⁵—Sethe seems to suppose that the doorway represented in his Figure 17 is the one leading from the upper court (room E of Lepsius) into room J of Lepsius; actually it leads from room K to room M. This error in location has led him to the untenable conclusion that the “Southern Hall of Offerings” and adjacent rooms were probably not decorated until after the period of the usurpation of cartouches for Thutmose II.

*Upper court, south wall, between the central door (which leads to room J of Lepsius) and the western door (which leads to room O of Lepsius).—*This is unpublished and was apparently overlooked by Sethe.

Thutmose II has been substituted for Hatshepsut in two of the scenes on this wall. From the eastern (left) one of these two scenes I copied the following text, in vertical columns:      The three  signs are untouched; the feminine 's referring to Hatshepsut have been lightly erased, but are still clear and conspicuous.  of *3wy* [*ib*] *f* seems to have been substituted for original . Both cartouches are definitely secondary.

In the western (right) one of the two scenes, the cartouches are  and . Here also the cartouches are definitely secondary and are accompanied by erased feminine endings.

West of these two scenes and immediately east of the doorway in the southwest corner of the court are scanty remains of a hieroglyphic text in at least seven vertical lines with signs facing toward the right. At the bottom of the line which I should provisionally number 4 I see , of which the  alone is original, whereas the , the cartouche 

ring, and the  are secondary. Traces of the top of an earlier  are still clear at the top of the ; I see no certain trace of the  which must once have stood where  now stands. As the inscription was



¹⁵ Of the plan in LD I 87 (HP, § 54 d 9 with Fig. 17; § 76).



apparently to be read from right to left, the original *ꜥnhly* was in the proper order, and the secondary *dy ꜥnh* is reversed.


*First (east) niche in the north wall of the first sanctuary room.*¹⁶—This is unpublished and apparently was not noticed by Sethe.

On the west and north (left and rear) walls of this niche the names and figures of Thutmose III are very crude substitutions. On the east (right) wall the face of the royal figure is partially preserved and evidently original, but the names are lost.

*South niche (u of Lepsius) and north niche (t) opening from the second sanctuary room.*¹⁷—Lepsius stated that on the west wall of the south niche Thutmosis was substituted for Hatshepsut.¹⁸ Sethe interpreted this in the *Thronwirren* as “Thutmosis [scil. II]”;¹⁹ and he now lists this spot without any indication of doubt among the places where Thutmose II has been substituted for Hatshepsut.²⁰

On the original I find that both cartouches of Hatshepsut have been erased (except ☉ and , both of which are original). Below ☉ of the first cartouche, I see a horizontal red line which can only be a painted . I see no other trace of restoration, even in paint, in this cartouche. In the second cartouche are some traces of red apparently later than the erasure, but I cannot identify any painted sign. Other painted signs may be preserved under the soot in both cartouches, but it is impossible at present to determine whether Thutmose I or Thutmose II was substituted here.

On the south (rear) wall of the south niche *m3-t* and *k3* in Hatshepsut's cartouche were erased, but ☉ was untouched; substitutions were made in paint only:  just below the sun disk and  at the bottom. Neither of these painted signs is entirely visible, but both may be regarded as fairly certain. The substituted name was therefore Thutmose II. I see no trace of *hpr*.

In the north niche²¹ the cartouches of Hatshepsut on the west wall were erased (except ☉ and , which are original) and very crudely

¹⁶ Niche *p* of *LD* I 87.

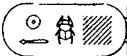
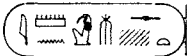


¹⁹ *Thronwirren*, p. 100.





¹⁷ *HP*, § 54 d 5.

²⁰ *HP*, § 54 d 5.

¹⁸ *LD Text* III (Leipzig, 1900) 116.

²¹ Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives* I (Paris, 1844) 578; *LD Text* III 116; *HP*, § 54 d 5.

recut.²² I see  and  as given by Lepsius; the missing signs  (at the bottom of the first cartouche) and  (at the bottom of the second) which Champollion gives may well have been there in his time.

On the north (rear) wall of the north niche *m3t* and *k3* in Hatshepsut's cartouche have been very lightly erased and can still easily be made out. Substitutions in paint are a horizontal red line which must be , just below ☉, and a shapeless red daub at the bottom, which cannot be  but may well be part of  or .

*Room at the northwest corner of the upper court.*²³—What Sethe says of the substituted cartouches of Thutmose II on the north (rear) wall of this room seems to be true; it may be added that the entire royal figure is secondary.

On the other two walls (east and west) Sethe's statement, "Überall sonst sind in diesem Raume die Gestalt und die Namen der Königin nur flüchtig und teilweise getilgt," is true of the names, but not of the pictures. On the contrary, all five of the royal figures representing Hatshepsut were totally erased, and the existing ones are substitutions, whereas only the two figures of Thutmose III are original. This is perfectly certain in every case. A particularly conspicuous spot is the head of the first royal figure at the north end of the east wall; the shape of this head is incredibly crude. This crude carving, taken in conjunction with the absence of substituted names, suggests that the substituted royal figures on these two (east and west) walls may be of some period even later than the 19th dynasty and may have arisen merely from a pious desire to have some proper officiant before the god (the god having presumably been restored in the 19th dynasty).

*Passage from the upper court to the vestibule of the altar court.*²⁴—The

²² When Sethe, *HP*, § 54 d 5, states that Lepsius did not notice this substitution, I think he is unfair to Lepsius. The words "sehr urspr. aussehend" in *LD Text III* 116 refer to the *picture* of the king (which I also, without knowing what Lepsius had written, described in my notes as "probably untouched"). These words have no point unless we assume that Lepsius had noticed the substitution in the cartouches; and in fact the substitution is obvious. But it is not marked by the usual convention in Lepsius' drawing.

²³ *HP*, § 54 d 7.

²⁴ Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari I* (London, 1895) Pl. II; *HP*, § 46 b 2 and § 85.

name of Thutmose II in this scene has been characterized as original by Lepsius²⁵ and Naville.²⁶ I believe it to be a substitution; and, as the case is not absolutely clear, it seems necessary to state my reasons at length.

Above the king's head an erased \triangle is clearly visible under the 𓆎 ; this much is certain and suffices to prove that the scene was at least begun under Hatshepsut.²⁷ To the left of this certain \triangle is what looks like the right-hand corner of another erased \triangle under 𓆎 . The appearance of the whole area under $\triangle \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \uparrow$ is such as to suggest that four original \triangle 's have been very carefully erased; and this appearance of careful erasure extends downward to the bottom of the scene. The original blue color of the background is preserved, on the right, to the bottom of the scene behind the shrine which is depicted behind Amon; and on the left also traces of the same original blue extend nearly to the bottom behind Re-Harakhte and between his legs. But I cannot find any traces of this blue background around the king's figure. Moreover, the king's figure itself (especially the upper part) seems somewhat lower than those parts of the relief which are certainly original. For example, the king's nose is one or two millimeters lower than the 𓆎 which Amon is holding practically in contact with it. Similarly, the back of the king's crown is lower than the adjacent hand of Re-Harakhte.²⁸

Above the cartouche the signs 𓆎 are original, but the signs 𓆎 have been erased and restored and are therefore at nearly the same level as the background. I believe that the cartouche itself and the signs 3-ḥpr-n-R inside it are also secondary; the whole group seems to be slightly lower than the vertical line on the right which separates this text from Amon's.²⁹

²⁵ *LD Text* III 108.

²⁶ *Op. cit.* I 5.

²⁷ Cf. Sethe, *HP*, § 85, where the possibility is considered that the signs 3-ḥpr-n-R may have been inserted in an empty cartouche.

²⁸ The 𓆎 held by Amon and the figure of Re-Harakhte are 18th dynasty originals, not post-Amarna restorations.







²⁹ In Amon's text the forearm, hand, and loaf of 𓆎 and the whole of 𓆎 are original, whereas the humerus of 𓆎 and all signs above it are post-Amarna restorations. The vertical line mentioned above, which separates Amon's text from the cartouche, does not seem to have been damaged in the Amarna period.

TEMPLE OF KARNAK, PYLON VIII




*Door jambs.*³⁰—Contrary to Sethe's present opinion, I believe that the inscriptions of Thutmose II on these two jambs are secondary *in toto*.³¹ On the south face of the pylon the entire surface which bears the jamb inscription of Thutmose II is slightly concave. This is visible without the aid of any instrument to an observer looking either upward from the bottom or (better) downward from the top; and from the top of the pylon one can also feel the horizontal upper edge of the depression with the hand. In other words, the entire original surface was cut away, leaving only the edges at or near the original level; and the work was done so well that no trace of the original inscription can be detected.

On the north face of the pylon the right jamb was much less carefully reworked. This had two results: first, the existing surface is more irregular than it is on the south face, and the concavity is less easy to establish; second, the north face, unlike the south, still shows definite traces of an erased inscription, as shown in Figure 5.³²

The following notes refer to the numbers along the margin of Figure 5:

1.  and the upper part of  are obviously recut, as shown by Lepsius. Parts of both 's and of both 's are visible.
2. The sun disk has been partially shaved off.
3. The second  (the one which crosses ) has been partially shaved off.

³⁰ *LD III 16e* (north side, right jamb) and *16f* (south side, left jamb); *Thronwirren*, p. 114; *HP*, §§ 56, 70, 84.

³¹ Sethe formerly believed that the *names* of Thutmose II were here substituted in inscriptions of Hatshepsut; he has rightly abandoned this view (*HP*, p. 50, n. 2). The  of *LD III 16e* (= my Fig. 5) is certainly "original" in the sense that it is contemporary with the rest of the text to which it belongs; the  alleged by Champollion in front of  certainly never existed on the stone; the "niche" mentioned by Champollion as having replaced one cartouche is not older than the Hellenistic age. The cartouches of Thutmose II on both jambs are certainly contemporary with the texts in which they are now read; it is the entire text (cartouche and all) which is secondary.

³² My drawing is not a facsimile of the original, but is based on *LD III 16e*, with modifications derived from a sketch which I made at Karnak. I had the advantage of a ladder long enough to reach the very top of the pylon.

4. On the left an erased sign suggestive of { cuts through Δ and — .
 5. On the right two lines hang downward from the bottom of the book roll; one of them cuts through — .

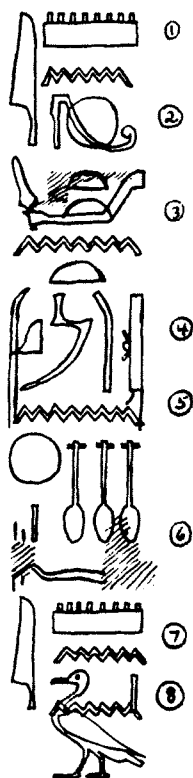


FIG. 5.—TRACES OF AN ERASED INSCRIPTION FROM PYLON VIII OF THE TEMPLE OF KARNAK

6. On the left two vertical lines are visible both above and below the break where the head of — once was.

7. — and probably — are recut, as shown by Lepsius. The — is certainly recut (also shown by Lepsius), and here again (as at 1) there are clear remains of two — 's which were carved in the same place at different times.

8. There are clear remains of two — 's which were likewise carved in the same place at different times.

So far as I see, the signs or traces which I have pointed out at 3, 4, 5, and 6 can only be explained as remnants of an earlier inscription which was erased from this jamb before the existing text was carved; the same explanation probably applies also to the sun disk at 2 and to the — at 8 which crosses both the s3-bird and the two strokes.

Both ends of the lintel are still in place above this doorway. No royal name is preserved on either face; but on the south face we have the feminine participle *mryt* on the left and the masculine participle *mry* on the right, while on the north face *mryt* stands twice on the right (the ends of two lines being preserved here) and *mry* once on the left.

Evidently the two faces of the lintel were originally divided in the same way as the jambs below them: Thutmose III occupied the east half of the lintel and the east jamb, both north and south, while Hatshepsut occupied the west half of the lintel and the west jamb. This answers a question raised by Sethe;³³ it is not necessary to assume that the names of Hatshepsut remained intact on the lintel.

³³ *HP*, p. 50, n. 3.

III

INTERPRETATION OF THE EVIDENCE

The following three facts seem to me to stand out conspicuously from the bewildering mass of destroyed and usurped pictures and cartouches:

I. **There is no example anywhere of a cartouche in which Hatshepsut's name has been restored.** Wherever another royal name was substituted for hers, the substituted name remains intact today except in so far as it may have been accidentally damaged. There is nowhere a trace of any intentional injury to the names of Thutmose I, II, or III where any one of these has been substituted for Hatshepsut. Wherever Hatshepsut's name was erased and no other substituted, the name remains erased today.

II. **There are extremely few places on monuments erected by Hatshepsut where the names of Thutmose I and Thutmose II are original.** All of these, it seems to me, are in situations which suggest that they may probably have been carved by order of Hatshepsut. The places known to me where Thutmose II's name seems to be original on monuments erected by Hatshepsut¹ are exactly three:

1. The first sanctuary room at Deir el-Bahari, north and south walls, where the deceased Thutmose II is represented as entering the temple from the west (i.e., from the abode of the dead).²

2. The west side of the west niche in the south wall of this same room, where Thutmose II, with the epithet *m3' hrw hr ntr*³, sits at a table receiving offerings from a *wn-mwt-f* priest.³

3. On the south wall of one niche on the west side of the upper court

¹ The temple of Buhen does not come in question here, since it seems to have been erected before either Hatshepsut or Thutmose III had ascended the throne (cf. *HP*, § 13; see further our p. 38).

² *LD III* 20a; Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari V* (London, 1906) Pl. CXLIV; *Thronwirren*, p. 98; *HP*, §§ 60 e 3 and 83; cf. below, pp. 27-28.

³ *LD III* 19, 2c; *Thronwirren*, p. 99; *HP*, §§ 60 e 3 and 83. The original is in Berlin.

5. The doorway in Pylon VIII at Karnak.⁹ See above, pages 17–18.

6. The entrance to the vestibule of the altar court at Deir el-Bahari.¹⁰ See above, pages 15–16.

III. **There are surprisingly few cases in which the name of Thutmose III has been substituted for that of Hatshepsut** (“merkwürdig selten”).¹¹ Since Thutmose III was the undisputed master of Egypt for more than thirty years after all of his rivals were dead, and since he certainly hated Hatshepsut and zealously destroyed her names and portraits, it seems curious that he did not oftener avail himself of Hatshepsut’s erased cartouches for the perpetuation of his own name.

When these three facts are once recognized and set side by side, it seems to me that the correct history of the Thutmosid succession emerges almost of itself. If Hatshepsut had been alive when the names of Thutmose I and Thutmose II were substituted for hers, and if she had afterward regained the throne, she would certainly have reclaimed some of the usurped cartouches. At the very least, she would have destroyed some of the cartouches of Thutmose I and Thutmose II or put back her own name and figure where no substitution had been made or where a mere table of offerings had been substituted. It is an acknowledged fact that none of these things ever happened; and this fact is absolutely inexplicable unless we assume that Hatshepsut had disappeared forever from the scene before the erasures and usurpations were made. In other words, the erasures and usurpations occurred after her death, and the very earliest pharaoh who could possibly have ordered them was Thutmose III. This is the decisive fact, and no theory which ignores it can claim to be in accord with the archeological evidence.

This difficulty (which, in my opinion, is alone sufficient to make Sethe’s theory impossible) was pointed out by Eduard Meyer in 1928.¹² Sethe (who in *Thronwirren*, § 57, had stated the fact without even appearing to realize that it constituted a difficulty for his theory!) has now tried to meet it with a single sentence: “Dass aber

⁹ *HP*, § 84.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* § 85.

¹¹ *Ibid.* § 58. One previously unnoticed example, in the Theban tomb of a certain Thuty (No. 110), has recently been pointed out by Davies in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932) p. 286. Two others are noted above, pp. 11 and 14.

¹² *Geschichte des Altertums* II¹, 2d ed., pp. 110–11, n. 1.

H. keinen Versuch gemacht zu haben scheint, die in so verschiedener Weise von ihren Gegnern verunstalteten oder abgeänderten Denkmäler wieder in ihren alten Zustand versetzen zu lassen, ist bezeichnend für eine gewisse Einschränkung ihrer Macht in diesen Zeiten nach dem Wiederaufkommen Th.' II."¹³ This is simply no explanation at all. We are asked to believe that Hatshepsut regained the throne and reigned a number of years (at least seven, perhaps more than ten) not merely as one of two or more coregents but as the first in dignity among the sovereigns of Egypt; that she so maintained herself, not merely against her weak husband Thutmose II and her aged father Thutmose I (both of whom, according to Sethe, died during this period), but against the young, vigorous, and extraordinarily able Thutmose III; that she was able to open the tomb of Thutmose I after his burial, remove his mummy from his sarcophagus, and rebury it in a discarded sarcophagus of her own in the tomb which she had prepared for herself as king. But at the same time we must believe that this King Hatshepsut, who during these same years was carving her own (not Thutmose III's) Punt expedition and her own (not Thutmose III's) miraculous birth on the walls of the middle terrace at Deir el-Bahari, was prevented by "certain limitations on her power" from sending her workmen a few yards away to reclaim the destroyed or usurped reliefs and inscriptions of the Hathor chapel, the Anubis chapel, and the upper terrace, which, as everyone knew, were really hers!

Fact II, that very few cartouches of Thutmose I and Thutmose II are original on monuments erected by Hatshepsut, would be of very little importance by itself, but is of some interest in connection with Fact I. When Hatshepsut finally ceased to rule, considerable areas of wall at Medinet Habu were blank, awaiting decoration; the blank areas were actually occupied (excepting the exterior) by her successor, Thutmose III. If she had been succeeded first by Thutmose I or II, or by both Thutmose I and II jointly, and if Thutmose I and II or

¹³ *HP*, § 118. Sethe also refers to the difficulty in the last sentence of *HP*, § 77, without at that point attempting to explain it: "Verwunderlich mag es dabei freilich erscheinen, dass man die leeren Flächen, die vielfach bei der radikalen Tilgung entstanden und nicht durch Abänderung der verbleibenden Figuren gefüllt wurden, all die Zeit unter H.s weiterer Regierung so leer hat stehenlassen."

either of them had taken the trouble to erase the names and pictures of Hatshepsut on the walls which had already been decorated, substituting their own names in some places and offering-tables in others—in that case would they not also have proceeded to occupy some of the walls which Hatshepsut had left entirely blank? This is, I admit, an argument from silence, and weak in itself.

On the other hand, since we know for certain that Thutmose III (who certainly destroyed many examples of Hatshepsut's name and figure) did not have any very active desire to substitute his own name for hers, what could be more natural than that he should honor his father (Thutmose II) and his grandfather (Thutmose I) by perpetuating *their* names in some of the erased cartouches which he did not care to occupy for himself?¹⁴ This would be particularly natural if (as has been made probable, especially by Sethe) Thutmose I and Thutmose II also had suffered from the machinations of Hatshepsut. Thutmose III, who himself had lived twenty years under the firm hand of his aunt, possessing the mere shadow of kingly power while she held the reality, might well have taken a special delight in glorifying, at the expense of that aunt, a father and a grandfather who also had had cause to hate her in their time.

To summarize these three facts and the conclusions which, I think, follow inescapably from them: The erasures and usurpations of Hatshepsut's reliefs and inscriptions cannot possibly have occurred until after her final disappearance from the throne—in other words, until after year 20 of Thutmose III. Since Thutmose I and Thutmose II were admittedly dead at that time,¹⁵ it is not possible that either of them could have ordered the substitution of his name for Hatshepsut's. Thus the substitutions can only have been due to Thutmose III

¹⁴ In *HP*, § 80, Sethe makes of the fact that Thutmose III did not often insert his own name in the cartouches which he had erased an argument *against* his being responsible for the insertions of Thutmose I and Thutmose II. I can only reply that this seems to me a complete reversal of logic. Does Sethe really believe that his case would be weaker than it is if those erased cartouches, which are in fact blank, had all been occupied by Thutmose III? To my mind, his case would then be stronger; for it would then be more difficult to explain why Thutmose III should anywhere insert the names of Thutmose I and Thutmose II.

¹⁵ I believe it is universally admitted that Thutmose I and Thutmose II died before the close of Hatshepsut's reign; nevertheless I have put together the more important evidences of the fact on pp. 27–29 below.

or to still later kings, and there is no reason why Thutmose III may not have been the author of most of them.

I have made an earnest effort to appreciate the arguments which have been supposed to make this view impossible; but, frankly, I cannot attach the slightest weight to any of them. The arguments which seem to have carried most weight with others are, I believe, the two following:

1. Sethe alleges that the various kinds of persecution of Hatshepsut which he enumerates (e.g., simple erasure, substitution of offering-tables, substitution of the names of Thutmose I and of Thutmose II, etc.) are not arbitrarily applied, now here, now there, but consistently, each one in certain special places.¹⁶

Against this statement, I submit the following: **The places where any specific form of persecution occurs can be defined only as the places where that form of persecution occurs.** The places where offering-tables have been substituted for the figure of Hatshepsut have nothing in common except the fact that in those places offering-tables have been substituted for the figure of Hatshepsut; and so on down the list. I have satisfied myself of this fact in my walks through Medinet Habu, Deir el-Bahari, and Karnak; and anyone who cares to take the trouble can repeat the experiment in his own study with the aid of Sethe's books.

2. A second belief which has evidently influenced Sethe to an important extent is that a king's name could only have been inserted on a wall by order of that king and during his reign.¹⁷ This is a proposition which in the very nature of the case can never be proved, and only in the rarest cases could we hope to disprove it; it is therefore of some importance for the present argument that *Sethe himself now thinks it at least possible that certain cartouches of Thutmose II may be work of the 19th dynasty.*¹⁸ It is not to my purpose to discuss the dates

¹⁶ "Die verschiedenen Verfolgungsarten . . . [werden] nicht willkürlich bald hier bald da, sondern ganz konsequent, jede an besonderen Stellen angewendet" (*Thronwirren*, § 22). The same idea in different words is given in *HP*, § 30; in fact, this idea underlies large portions of both books and may well have been the starting-point of Sethe's entire theory.

¹⁷ "Die Namen der beiden Könige Thutmosis' I. und II. können nicht von Thutmosis III., sondern nur von ihnen selbst eingesetzt worden sein" (*Thronwirren*, § 25, spaced for emphasis).

¹⁸ *HP*, § 41; cf. § 56 f 1.

of the particular cartouches to which Sethe's doubts apply. The only thing which interests me at the moment is Sethe's admission that cartouches of Thutmose II may be attributed to the 19th dynasty if considerations of style require it. Within the period of 54 years from the accession to the death of Thutmose III there are no criteria of style by which work carved during years 1-20 (the period of Hatshepsut's glory) can be distinguished from work of years 22-54 (after Hatshepsut was dead); and if cartouches of Thutmose II which look like work of the 19th dynasty may for that reason legitimately be attributed to the 19th dynasty, then there is certainly no reason why cartouches of Thutmose I and II which look like Thutmosid work may not be assigned to the years which followed Hatshepsut's death when the historical situation demands it.

However, I find in conversation with my colleagues that not everyone is prepared to follow Sethe in admitting even the possibility that cartouches of Thutmose II may have been carved during the 19th dynasty or at any other time except during the lifetime of that king. The argument is essentially that only a few of the greatest pharaohs (notably Thutmose III) made such an impression on posterity that later kings were moved to perpetuate their names—and then only under very special circumstances, perhaps only in cases where the dead king had had some actual connection, direct or indirect, with the monument on which his name was later inserted; that the insertion of the name of such an insignificant ruler as Thutmose II by any later king on a monument which was not begun until after Thutmose II's death, and without any phrase naming the actual author of the insertion, would be totally unparalleled.

I must answer that the historical situation which led to the insertion of the names of Thutmose I and Thutmose II in Hatshepsut's cartouches is equally unparalleled. In no other case have we a king (here Thutmose III) succeeding his father and grandfather (here Thutmose II and Thutmose I) after the intervening reign of a usurper (here Hatshepsut).

Nor do the strange features of the situation end there. It seems almost certain from the evidence before us that Thutmose III must have publicly accepted Hatshepsut's usurpation throughout all the years of her reign as "female king." The only alternative to this view, I

think, would be the assumption that Thutmose III was imprisoned and had no communication except with his jailers during these years. Only by one of these two assumptions (his public consent to the usurpation or his close imprisonment) do I feel able to explain his frequent appearance (regularly in a subordinate position) on the monuments of King Hatshepsut. The imprisonment hypothesis cannot perhaps be absolutely excluded; but it seems to me that it creates greater difficulties than it solves, and I think probably no one would seriously defend it.

We return, then, to the supposition that Thutmose III must have publicly consented to Hatshepsut's usurpation, while of course he believed privately that he alone was the rightful king.¹⁹ Now Hatshepsut's reign as king did not end before the twentieth year of the reign of Thutmose III; therefore Thutmose III must have been at least adolescent, if not adult, during Hatshepsut's later years. During the next few years (beginning with year 22) Thutmose III was destined to exhibit very extraordinary ability, particularly along military lines, and great personal courage; these facts also must be borne in mind when we try to guess at his emotions just before and just after the close of Hatshepsut's reign. He was not a man who would submit to the usurpation of his rights by another without some very severe inward struggle.

We can scarcely hope to unravel with certainty, from the evidence now available, the personal drama of the loves, hates, ambitions, hopes, and fears which lay behind these external phenomena; but we shall hardly go far wrong if we suppose that Thutmose III found himself in a very extraordinary frame of mind after Hatshepsut's death. During the later years of her life he must have looked forward with growing impatience to the day when her removal from the scene should leave him free to pursue his own designs. This impatience crystallized into a hatred which could direct both the impulsive shattering of colossal granite statues and the patient erasure of broad areas on limestone and sandstone walls. We might have thought that he would be eager to insert his own name on every monument of Hatshepsut

¹⁹ Alternatively, if Thutmose I and Thutmose II were still alive, Thutmose III may presumably have considered that the right lay with them or with one of them.

which he did not totally destroy—a false expectation, for he left blank a far greater number of her erased cartouches than he appropriated for himself. We might, alternatively, have thought that he would scorn to appropriate a single picture or inscription of the hated usurper—false again, for he did usurp a few of her cartouches for the perpetuation of his own name. So far are we from being able to catalogue his feelings!

Along with his implacable hatred toward Hatshepsut, what emotions did he feel toward his father Thutmose II and his grandfather Thutmose I? He perhaps hardly remembered his father, and he may never have seen his grandfather; but he may well have felt that if they had lived longer his own childhood and young manhood would have been happier. In any case, “to cause the name of his father to live” was a duty which plainly rested on him, as on every other Egyptian. He could not let himself appear less zealous on their behalf than the hated usurper had been in her time; and the usurper, whatever her motives may have been, had certainly provided in some degree the mortuary service of both Thutmose I and Thutmose II in her own mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari. I do not claim, myself, to know *precisely* why Thutmose III chose the unusual course of inserting the names of Thutmose I and Thutmose II in certain of the erased cartouches of Hatshepsut; but I see no difficulty in letting it stand as the act of an extraordinary man in a unique situation, influenced by very powerful and very complicated personal emotions.

Those who still assume that the names of Thutmose I and Thutmose II cannot possibly have been inserted by Thutmose III or any later king have, it seems to me, just one loophole left: they may suggest that Thutmose I and Thutmose II were still alive after Hatshepsut’s final disappearance from the throne and that, whether they then returned to the throne or not, they were able to have their names inserted into the erased cartouches where we now find them. I am unable to believe this explanation for the following reasons:

1. There is no scrap of affirmative evidence to support it, but only the bare assumption that no later king can have inserted their names in Hatshepsut’s erased cartouches.
2. On the two long walls of the first sanctuary room at Deir el-

Bahari²⁰ Thutmose I and Thutmose II, both characterized as *mꜛ hrw hr ntr* 3, "justified in the presence of the Great God," and accompanied by other apparently deceased members of the family, are shown coming out from the west (the abode of the dead) and walking in the direction of the bark of Amon which occupies the middle of each wall. They are conceived as "being in the following of Amon, entering into the temple of *Dsr-dsrw* (i.e., Deir el-Bahari)."²¹ East of the bark on each wall King Hatshepsut originally knelt, making an offering to Amon, who sat enshrined in the bark; she was followed on the south wall by her daughter Neferure and on the north wall by Thutmose III and Neferure again. It seems to me very difficult, if not impossible, to interpret these two scenes without assuming that Thutmose I and Thutmose II died at some time previous to the conclusion of Hatshepsut's reign; in this I am influenced not only by the scenes themselves—impressive as they are—but also by their location at the very heart of the great Deir el-Bahari temple.

3. For the two individuals Thutmose I and Hatshepsut four stone sarcophagi are now in existence:²²

a) A royal sarcophagus prepared in the ordinary way for King Thutmose I, presumably by his order during his reign, although the inscriptions refer to an unnamed "son" as the giver, was found in modern times in his royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings and is now in Cairo. This sarcophagus was once forced open, as if by tomb-robbers, after it had been sealed.

b) A sarcophagus prepared for Hatshepsut as queen ("great royal wife") was found in modern times in a remote tomb far to the south-west of the Valley of the Queens and is now in Cairo. Neither the sarcophagus nor the tomb appears ever to have contained a burial.

²⁰ Room *P* of Lepsius. There is no publication of either of these walls as a whole; very careful large-scale drawings of them have been prepared for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, by C. K. Wilkinson. Meanwhile, see the fragmentary publications listed by Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* II. *Theban Temples* (Oxford, 1929) pp. 126–27, Nos. 136–42. Sethe (*HP*, § 83) draws the same conclusion as I from these two pictures.

²¹ Label in front of Thutmose II; cf. Sethe, *HP*, p. 52, n. 2.

²² For the facts used in this paragraph and for further discussion of their significance, see Winlock in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* XV (1929) 56–68; Sethe, *HP*, §§ 107–12.

c) A royal sarcophagus prepared originally for Hatshepsut as king, but afterward altered to receive the body of Thutmose I in his innermost coffin, was found in Hatshepsut's royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings and is now in Boston.

d) A second royal sarcophagus prepared for Hatshepsut as king and found, like the one last mentioned, in her royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings, is now in Cairo.

It would perhaps be just possible to frame a theory "explaining," in some sense, the alteration of sarcophagus *c* for Thutmose I and the preparation of the new sarcophagus *d* for Hatshepsut without assuming that Thutmose I was dead before the close of the reign of King Hatshepsut; but I do not think that any such alternative explanation could be taken very seriously. Altogether, therefore, the weight of evidence tending to show that Thutmose I and Thutmose II died before the close of Hatshepsut's reign is very considerable, even if we ignore the contemporary narratives which state that they died before Hatshepsut had ascended the throne.

The other arguments in *Thronwirren*, § 25, are, I think, sufficiently answered by pointing out the established fact that Thutmose III did not care a great deal about inserting his own name in the erased cartouches. As for the dedication inscriptions, to which Sethe recurs several times²³ as if they were of special importance, we can see how little Thutmose III cared about them by the very conspicuous example of the granite doorway at the east entrance to the upper court at Deir el-Bahari,²⁴ where Thutmose III did insert his own name. Both jambs on the east face of this doorway proclaim, in large, clear characters which any 18th dynasty schoolboy could read without pausing in his walk up the ramp: "Horus *Wšrt-k3w* (i.e., Hatshepsut), King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of Making Offerings, *Mn-hpr-Rc* (i.e., Thutmose III): she made it as her monument for her father Amon, Lord of Karnak, making for him the great gate (called) 'Amon is Splendid of Monuments,' of granite, that she may be endowed with life forever." If Thutmose III had been very specially concerned about dedication inscriptions, he would hardly have left this one in this condition.

If we now return to the contemporary narrative inscriptions, we

²³ *HP*, especially § 79. ²⁴ Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* V, Pl. CXX.

find them in complete accord with what we have just deduced from the evidence of the usurped cartouches. Thutmose I reigned until he died, when he was succeeded by his son Thutmose II, who reigned until he in turn died. On the death of Thutmose II the crown passed to Thutmose III; but for some reason (presumably because Thutmose III was too young to rule²⁵) Queen Hatshepsut, a daughter of Thutmose I, half-sister and probably wife of Thutmose II, was able first to establish a sort of regency and later to assume the pharaonic crown. She did not remove Thutmose III, but kept him in a subordinate position; she herself remained *the* sovereign par excellence until her death, when Thutmose III took the sole power and held it thirty-odd years.

²⁵ Cf. below, pp. 42-43.

IV

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON SETHÉ,
DAS HATSCHEPSUT-PROBLEM

Reduced to the bare outline of events included in the last paragraph, my view is identical with those of Winlock and Eduard Meyer. It seems to me that this outline of events has the merit of being perfectly consistent with all of the evidence and that it is the only account of these events for which such a claim can justly be made, though other matters (such as the exact relationship of some of the individuals to one another, their personalities, and the forces which helped or hindered them in their careers) are more or less doubtful. It remains to comment on various passages in Sethe's latest book which have not happened to come up for discussion in the foregoing pages. I shall deal with these passages in the order in which they occur in *Das Hatshepsut-Problem*.

§§ 17 ff.—Sethe again¹ demonstrates that Hatshepsut's story of her coronation by her father Thutmose I cannot be true; she never actually called herself king until some time (probably four or five years) after the accession of Thutmose III. It is a significant fact that all of the kings for whom the claim of miraculous birth is known to have been made (the first kings of the 5th dynasty in Papyrus Westcar; Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari; Amenhotep III at Luxor; Ramses II in blocks of his re-used by the Ptolemies at Medinet Habu and perhaps as usurper in Hatshepsut's reliefs at Deir el-Bahari, where he made an incomplete restoration and never labeled the royal child) are kings who, in fact, were *not* regarded at birth as heirs to the throne. The same remark, of course, applies also to the foreign conquerer Alexander in the romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes which Sethe mentions.

§ 26.—Sethe makes it appear highly probable that Hatshepsut must

¹ Cf. Sethe in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* XXXVI (1898) 63–68; Breasted, *A New Chapter in the Life of Thutmose III*, pp. 24–25 (= "Untersuchungen" II 48–49).

have possessed great power and importance—far above those of an ordinary queen—even during the reign of Thutmose II.²

§ 27.—Sethe still adheres to his interpretation of *hnrtt* in *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* IV 139, line 3, as a veiled reference to Hatshepsut. I believe this interpretation first appeared in print in his German translation (Leipzig, 1914) of part of *Urkunden* IV.³ The passage reads there: “Es ist ein Fürst im Norden des elenden Kusch; er schickt sich an, die Gefangene zu unterstützen⁴ (*tr*) mit den beiden nubischen Beduinen von den Kindern des Fürsten des elenden Kusch,” etc., with a footnote on the word “Gefangene”: “Gemeint ist gewiss die Königin Hatschepsowet, die der König entthront hat.” It is clear, therefore, that the equation *hnrtt* = Hatshepsut arose in Sethe’s mind under the influence of the belief that Hatshepsut and Thutmose III had reigned for a time before the accession of Thutmose II—a belief which he has now rightly abandoned. The following further comments suggest themselves:

a) Even the series of consonants *hnrtt* does not appear to be above question. In *Urkunden* IV 139, line 3, the initial sign is made like the sun disk (as though we had to do with the word $\overline{\text{h}} \text{f} \odot$, $\overline{\text{h}} \text{f} \odot$, “time”) and not like *h*. We must therefore assume, in the absence of any specific statement, that the sign is ambiguous.

b) If a word *hnrtt* occurs here, this seems to be its only occurrence in the entire Egyptian literature.

c) If *hnrtt* does stand here with the meaning “she who is (or ought

² Similarly Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 288; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II, 2d ed., p. 112.

³ Meyer (*op. cit.* p. 111, n. 1) in repudiating this interpretation attributes it to Sethe in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, Vol. XXXVI. The form of the reference itself (without page number) is suspicious; I cannot find any such statement in the volume in question; and its presence in that volume (published in 1898) would be hard to reconcile with Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II, p. 49, n. *g* (published in 1906), or with the manner in which Sethe wrote out the text itself in *Urk.* IV 139³ (likewise published in 1906).

⁴ Rightly changed to “respektieren” in *HP*, p. 26, n. 3, with the comment: “Das Wort *tr* könnte geradezu mit ‘anerkennen (als Herrscher)’ übersetzt werden.” It is true that “anerkennen (als Herrscher)” would be a better German equivalent of *tr* than is “unterstützen”; but if “Herrscher” here means “pharaoh” (and what else can it mean if the reference is to Hatshepsut?), then one must ask how a Nubian chieftain can have recognized Hatshepsut as pharaoh half-a-dozen years (at least) before she herself ever claimed to be pharaoh.

to be) in prison," and if the person so designated is Hatshepsut, then Hatshepsut must (one would imagine) be the person uppermost in the author's mind throughout the narrative; and it seems strange that the text elsewhere speaks only of "Nubian Troglodytes," "children of the chief of wretched Kush," and the like, and never uses any other word which could possibly be thought to mean Hatshepsut. If *hnrtt* is the word, and if it has the meaning which Sethe assigns to it, it is much more likely to refer to some otherwise unknown Nubian or Negro queen who happened to be prominent in people's minds at the moment.

§ 28.—Sethe makes it seem improbable that the interval between the accession of Thutmose I and that of Thutmose III can have been much more than twenty years.⁵ We have, as he points out, a date of year 18 of Thutmose II, but this rests on the sole authority of Daresy,⁶ and the original cannot now be located; it is therefore proper to treat the date as doubtful, as Sethe does.

But if the year 18 of Thutmose II should be substantiated, I do not see why we should hesitate to confine the reign of Thutmose I within the four years which are known from dated inscriptions, or a very slightly longer period. We know that Thutmose I warred in Nubia in years 2-3; that he afterward warred in Asia; that he erected Pylons IV and V at Karnak with the very small hall between them and the pair of obelisks⁷ in front of Pylon IV and a few minor buildings, in addition to his not very impressive cliff tomb. It seems to me that these activities might well be included in a reign of four or five years. That he celebrated his *hb-sd* (if he did celebrate it; see below, p. 41, n. 3) is, of course, not directly in conflict with this assumption.⁸

§ 29.—Sethe's belief that Hatshepsut was buried in the tomb which

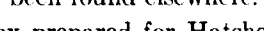
⁵ Eduard Meyer, who also gave consideration (*op. cit.* p. 110, n. 1) to the data mentioned by Sethe, allowed about thirty years for this interval, *ca.* 1535 to *ca.* 1505. This is not impossible.

⁶ *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* I (1900) 99.

⁷ He seems not to have inscribed the northern obelisk; see the references in Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* II 27.

⁸ It is possible that both Thutmose I and Thutmose II may have had short reigns, totaling much less than twenty years; in that case the reign of Amenhotep I must apparently have been longer than we now suppose. But I mention this only as a remote possibility.

she had prepared for herself as king⁹ seems to me irreconcilable with the established and universally admitted facts regarding the persecution of her memory by Thutmose III. The Thutmose III who destroyed so many of Hatshepsut's statues, reliefs, and inscriptions, and who, in so doing, obviously desired not to aggrandize himself but merely to destroy her—this same Thutmose III really cannot easily be credited with having had Hatshepsut embalmed and buried in her royal tomb, when it would have been so much easier and cheaper to destroy her body like her statues. If I were to hazard my personal guess, I should say that Hatshepsut's body was probably disposed of in the same manner as the bodies of Setna's children in the demotic tale¹⁰—that the dogs and the cats ate her.

The only affirmative evidence tending to show that Hatshepsut was buried, either in her royal tomb or anywhere else, is a wooden box found in the great Deir el-Bahari cache, inscribed, according to Maspero,  and containing "a human liver or spleen." The name of Amon had been erased. This was not done on Hatshepsut's sarcophagus or canopic box, so far as I can gather from Theodore M. Davis' publication and from Winlock's article;¹¹ and this difference suggests that the box found in the cache was probably not in the tomb in Ikhnaton's reign. No body marked as Hatshepsut's was in the cache,¹² nor has any body so marked been found elsewhere. It is much more probable that the wooden box prepared for Hatshepsut was merely utilized for some later personage—conceivably for Queen K3-m3-t-R^c of the 21st dynasty, as Maspero suggested.¹³ Sethe himself, in another connection, has

⁹ Winlock is of the same opinion as Sethe on this point; see *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* XV (1929) 64; similarly Hall, *op. cit.* p. 290.

¹⁰ Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford, 1900) p. 36.

¹¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 56 ff.

¹² "Two female bodies stripped of all covering and without coffins or inscriptions" were in the cache, but there is no reason to suppose that either of these was Hatshepsut's, as Theodore M. Davis did in Davis, Naville, and Carter, *The Tomb of Hatshepsut* (London, 1906) p. xv.

¹³ "Les momies royales de Deir el-Bahari," *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française au Caire* I (1889) 584.

pointed out the danger of assuming that all human remains found in the Deir el-Bahari cache are correctly labeled.¹⁴

§§ 57 and 107; contrast §§ 110 and 118 near end.—The inscriptions on the Louvre statue of Hapuseneb¹⁵ present a still unsettled problem. They were first published by Newberry,¹⁶ who did not notice that any erasures or substitutions had been made. I mention this as showing that the problem must be difficult of solution, even in the presence of the original, since Newberry is known to be an accurate observer. There cannot be the slightest hope of settling it from photographs or squeezes. Feminine grammatical forms referring to the sovereign make it certain that the inscriptions were originally carved during the reign of Hatshepsut. It follows that all cartouches designating the then reigning sovereign must originally have contained Hatshepsut's name, since no one today maintains that Thutmose II and Hatshepsut ever reigned jointly.¹⁷ Now Sethe, who apparently has never examined the original, takes a somewhat complicated position. He holds that certain passages¹⁸ containing feminine grammatical forms referred originally to Hatshepsut,¹⁹ while in another passage,²⁰ which contains none of the tell-tale feminines and which seems to narrate the earlier part of Hapuseneb's career, Sethe now supposes that the cartouches of Thutmose II are original. The question is of some interest, since this last passage mentions, among other things, the making of a royal tomb. If, as Sethe now believes, the tomb meant is that of Thutmose

¹⁴ "Beiträge zur Geschichte Amenophis' IV.," *Göttinger Nachrichten*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1921, pp. 125–26. He refers to this argument in *HP*, § 110, in connection with the mummies labeled "Thutmose I" and "Thutmose II."

¹⁵ *Urk.* IV 471–78.

¹⁶ *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* XXII (1900) 31–36.

¹⁷ The name of Thutmose II is the only royal one now found on the statue.

¹⁸ *Urk.* IV 471¹⁰–72⁸ and 473¹⁰ ff.

¹⁹ These feminine forms in themselves prove not that the particular cartouches to which they refer were originally Hatshepsut's, but only that the text as a whole was originally carved during Hatshepsut's reign. I have in my notes a number of examples of feminine forms referring to Thutmose III where his name is unquestionably original (one such is mentioned above, pp. 10 f.). In at least one case the feminine old perfective $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$ follows the undoubtedly original cartouches of Thutmose I (at Deir el-Bahari, the second from the north of the eight niches discussed by Sethe in *HP*, § 54 d 4, the north wall of the niche; unpublished).

²⁰ *Urk.* IV 472⁹–73⁸.

II, then this is the only evidence now known to show that Thutmose II ever made a tomb for himself;²¹ and this again has a bearing on the problem of the reburial of Thutmose I by Hatshepsut. It is usually held that the tomb excavated by Hapuseneb was the royal tomb of Hatshepsut in the Valley of the Kings, where Carter found her royal sarcophagus together with the sarcophagus which she had had made over for Thutmose I.

The question cannot be settled without a careful re-examination, on the original, of the one particular cartouche²² which was certainly meant to designate the owner of the royal tomb. Meanwhile we have one bit of testimony which Sethe seems to have overlooked. Breasted's translation and notes²³ are based on his own copy of the original. He states: "I found the cartouches also sunken, showing the effect of cutting out the first name";²⁴ and again, "Hapuseneb, vizier under Hatshepsut, was architect of a royal tomb, *probably that of Hatshepsut*" (italics mine).²⁵ Evidently Breasted found several cartouches which were certainly usurped, and not one which was certainly original; but the specific one which alone concerns us here may have been doubtful.

§ 80.—Sethe wonders why, if Thutmose III was the author of all of the usurpations in Hatshepsut's cartouches, he did not treat her statues in the same way.

In a very large proportion of the scenes where a royal figure is accompanied by a usurped cartouche (Thutmose I or Thutmose II substituted for Hatshepsut) the royal figure itself is not original, but has been substituted for an earlier royal figure, usually of identical form. In other words, not only the cartouche was erased, but the picture of Hatshepsut as well. The first care was to *destroy Hatshepsut*; and destroying Hatshepsut, according to Egyptian ideas, meant destroying her images as well as her names. This has been done, for instance, in room *B* in the Hathor temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari²⁶ and throughout the group of rooms south of the "cella of Philip" at Kar-

²¹ In *HP*, §§ 110 and 118, Sethe treats it as possible that Thutmose II may never have made a tomb for himself.

²² *Urk.* IV 472¹⁰.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 161, n. *a*.

²³ *Ancient Records of Egypt* II §§ 388–90.

²⁵ *Ibid.* § 388.

²⁶ *HP*, § 55 *e* 2. The only figures of Hatshepsut now preserved in the Hathor temple are those in the innermost sanctuary (*E* of Sethe's plan).

nak.²⁷ I have not attempted to record all examples everywhere, but the phenomenon is very common; I have the impression that the cases where an original figure of Hatshepsut accompanies a usurped cartouche are exceptional.

Now sculpture in the round does not readily lend itself to this treatment. A picture carved in low relief on a stone wall is most naturally destroyed by erasure with mallet and chisel; but in the case of a stone statue the sledge hammer is more likely to suggest itself.

§ 87.—There is in the world exactly one monument of which it can now be stated with certainty that it bears the *original* (not substituted) names of Thutmose II and Thutmose III so juxtaposed as to suggest a coregency—a fragmentary doorway found by Petrie at Abydos, now preserved in the museum at Berlin.²⁸ This may well have come from some monument (a cenotaph?) erected by Thutmose III on behalf of his deceased father; compare the names of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut side by side on a stela from the mortuary chapel which Hatshepsut built for Thutmose I at Deir el-Bahari.²⁹ But the doorway may also really date from a time when both Thutmose II and Thutmose III were alive and jointly reigning, though certainly not under such circumstances as Sethe supposes (cf. the next two paragraphs).

§ 88.—Sethe is very properly cautious in his use of the inscription *Urkunden* IV 180–91 to support his theory of a second reign of Thutmose II jointly with Thutmose III, sandwiched into the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. He recognizes, among other difficulties, that what the inscription actually claims is something totally different, namely, that Thutmose III was proclaimed coregent before Thutmose II had ceased to reign. In addition to the grounds for caution which Sethe mentions, it should be borne in mind that Thutmose III may well have had his private reasons for wishing it to be believed that he had been proclaimed coregent in his father's lifetime; especially if, as Sethe thinks probable,³⁰ he really owed his elevation to the hated Hatshepsut.

²⁷ *Ibid.* § 56 f 2. ²⁸ *Abydos* I (London, 1902) Pls. LXI, LXIV; *Urk.* IV 145.

²⁹ Published and discussed by Winlock in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* XV 57, 64–67, and Pl. XIII.

³⁰ *HP*, § 115.

of a ship, not of a king. There is no reason why the ship may not have remained in honored commission under the son and the widow of Thutmose II; but if the place of honor occupied by the "ship of King Thutmose II" were in any way connected with the living presence of Thutmose II at the time, it would be impossible to account for the failure of the crew of this particular ship to name him (either alone or together with Hatshepsut and Thutmose III whom they actually do name) in their chant of praise.

Nothing whatever for our purpose can be deduced from the imperfectly preserved and now nameless seated figure of a king in *hb-šd* costume on the boat in the lower left-hand corner of Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* V, Plate CXXII; there is no reason to suppose, as Sethe does, that it represents Thutmose I. It may just as well be Thutmose III or Hatshepsut. The presence of a royal figure labeled "Thutmose III" on the prow of the boat which this one is towing does not even remotely tend toward proving that the seated king on the first boat is not also Thutmose III; for the canons of Egyptian art did not include the unity of time within one scene.

A very instructive companion piece to these scenes of river processions at Deir el-Bahari, and in many ways a fruitful object to be pondered by those who would derive chronological conclusions from the mere juxtaposition of cartouches, is the "Beautiful Feast of Opet" as represented by Tutenkhamon at Luxor. Take, for example, the bark of Mut in the procession from Luxor back to Karnak.³⁴ Here we have two figures of King Harmhab (originally Tutenkhamon in both cases; one of these, incidentally, corresponds exactly in position and function to the preserved figure labeled "Thutmose III" on the Deir el-Bahari boat mentioned above) and one of King Amenhotep III; all three figures are "endowed with life like Re," though Amenhotep III was certainly dead at the time. Amenhotep III (still "endowed with life like Re") stands simultaneously on another boat in the same procession; and no one, I suppose, will question the statement that Harmhab (originally Tutenkhamon) must also have appeared simultaneously in

³⁴ Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet* ("Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin-Expedition in Ägypten" V [Leipzig, 1931]) Pl. II 3, described on p. 33; inscriptions 31a-c, pp. 62-63.

other, now destroyed, portions of the same procession—at least on the bark of Amon.³⁵

§§ 98-101.—The entire outer (east) face of the east wall of the upper court at Deir el-Bahari on both sides of the granite doorway was originally covered with reliefs and inscriptions of Hatshepsut, but these have been erased practically in their entirety and others substituted; the substituted reliefs, as Sethe shows in detail, seem to have been primarily in the interest of Thutmose I and Thutmose II rather than of Thutmose III. Sethe then concludes: "Alle diese in § 98-101 beschriebenen palimpsestartigen Veränderungen sind so tiefgreifender Natur, dass es ganz undenkbar erscheint, sie irgend-einem anderen Herrscher zuzuschreiben als den unmittelbar dabei interessierten Königen."³⁶ Sethe means, of course, Thutmose I and II.

But, in the first place, only the lower courses of the wall are preserved at all, and consequently the long texts, which were in vertical columns, exist only in disconnected fragments; it is not at all beyond the limits of possibility that if we had them in their entirety we might see clearly why Thutmose III took the trouble to record them here. In the second place, even if we assume with Sethe that these texts and pictures, when complete, benefited primarily Thutmose I and II and only indirectly Thutmose III, still Sethe's conclusion would not follow. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that Thutmose III wished to honor his father and his grandfather, and in fact we have abundant reasons for believing that he did so.

³⁵ For my own part, I conceive these Luxor figures as statues; but if this is correct, then the figure labeled "Thutmose III" on the Deir el-Bahari boat is likewise a statue, for it certainly belongs in the same category with the Luxor ones. I abstain from discussing the figure of Thutmose I in *HP*, Fig. 22, since it seems to me that that figure was disposed of for all time by the photograph which Naville published in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* XXXVII (1899) 53; all of the figures which appear to be marching with it are of later date, and we have no part of the original context of the Thutmose I figure.

³⁶ Last sentence in *HP*, § 101.

V

CONCLUSIONS

King Thutmose I was probably not the son of a king, but was certainly married to a princess of the royal house, Ahmose ("vermutlich . . . eine Schwester Amenophis' I."),¹ who seems to have been still alive in the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.² Thutmose I reigned at least four years, and perhaps, at the utmost, twenty-odd; he probably celebrated his *ḥb-šd*, but this is not absolutely certain.³ Two heirs apparent of his, Prince Wazmose and Prince Amenmose, must have died during his reign.⁴ Princess, later Queen, Hatshepsut certainly was not proclaimed coregent during the reign; it is possible that she may have begun to take an active part in public life, though this belief rests only on her own statement, made in connection with other claims which are certainly false.

Thutmose I was succeeded on his death by his son Thutmose II, who probably married his half-sister Hatshepsut. Hatshepsut's title of queen ("great royal wife") therefore probably dates from this time.⁵

The recorded dates of Thutmose II's reign are "year 1" and "year 18"; the occurrence of year 18 is open to serious question. Since the reigns of Thutmose I and Thutmose II together can hardly have lasted much more than a score of years, and since the other evidence, such as it is, tends more toward a long reign in the case of Thutmose I than in

¹ *HP*, § 7.

² *Ibid.* § 112.

³ The belief that Thutmose I celebrated his *ḥb-šd* rests exclusively on one clause on his Karnak obelisk, *šdšr.n n f nb ntrw ḥb-šd hr išd špsy*, "(King Thutmose I) for whom the Lord of the Gods has gloriously recorded the *ḥb-šd* on the august *išd*-tree." Certainly the most natural interpretation of this passage is that the *ḥb-šd* either had occurred or was to occur in the immediate future; but the view that it was a mere pious hope, referring to the more remote future, seems perhaps just within the limits of possibility. Such very common expressions as "First occurrence of the *ḥb-šd*; may he celebrate a great many!" seem not to occur here or elsewhere on monuments of Thutmose I. Sethe's view (*ibid.* § 95) that Thutmose I in *ḥb-šd* costume appears in a relief of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari is without foundation (see our p. 39).

⁴ *Ibid.* § 19.

⁵ *Ibid.* § 24.

that of Thutmose II, the more probable view at present seems to be that Thutmose II died after a reign of only a few years. A mummy found in his coffin in the Deir el-Bahari cache may or may not be his;⁶ the statements that the man whose mummy this is was diseased and that he died before the age of thirty have not received the unanimous support of anatomists.⁷ Nevertheless it may be true that Thutmose II was diseased and that he died young; his early death would help to explain both the succession of the child Thutmose III and the fact that no tomb of his is known.

The later substitution of the names of Thutmose I and Thutmose II by Thutmose III in the erased cartouches of Hatshepsut would receive a very natural explanation if Sethe's suggestion were established that Hatshepsut had been a thorn in the side of Thutmose I and Thutmose II during their reigns. There is some evidence which may legitimately be so interpreted as to support this view, and apparently there is no evidence against it.

Thutmose III was a son born to Thutmose II by one of the minor ladies of his harem. He may have been crowned as coregent during his father's lifetime. His statement to that effect is no more trustworthy in itself than Hatshepsut's similar statement about her own coronation, which is known to be false. But Thutmose III's statement has certain external supports which Hatshepsut's unfortunately lacks (cf. pp. 37-38). In any case, he was probably a mere child when, on the death of his father, he became the titular sovereign of Egypt.⁸ The personal character which he displayed twenty-two years later, when Hatshepsut's death had finally released his energies, makes it difficult to believe that any combination of forces whatever could have led him to accept Hatshepsut's regency in his earliest years (as he certainly did) and later actually to tolerate her as a co-sovereign superior in dignity to himself (as he certainly did), unless he was a child during the years when Hatshepsut was consolidating her power. If the Thutmose III who was later to stake life and empire on his dash through

⁶ Similarly Sethe, *ibid.* § 110.

⁷ See G. Elliot Smith, *The Royal Mummies* ("Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire [Le Caire, 1912]) pp. 29-30.

⁸ This is not necessarily inconsistent with his statement that he previously held a priestly office.

the pass of Aruna had been in the vigor of young manhood at his accession, Hatshepsut's struggle for power against him could only have ended in exile or death for one of them—not in the quiet acceptance of Hatshepsut's superiority by Thutmose III.

The theory that the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III was interrupted by a second reign of Thutmose II, or of Thutmose I, or of these two together, is (1) contradicted by contemporary narratives, which tell us that Thutmose I and Thutmose II died before the accession of Thutmose III or of Hatshepsut, and (2) totally unsupported by evidence of any kind, when the evidence is rightly interpreted. Sethe's effort to interpret the evidence of erased and usurped pictures and inscriptions in such a way as to support this theory rests partly on mistakes of fact regarding the archeological evidence itself, partly on mistakes of method in dealing with it, and involves an interpretation of the narrative inscriptions which, as he himself admits, is simply forced to fit his conception of the archeological evidence. It is highly significant that we have here a philologist consciously warping the literary evidence to fit a theory which he thinks is demanded by archeology; while the archeologist Winlock, after working for years at Deir el-Bahari, finds himself able without difficulty to accept the literary evidence at its face value, using it in the manner in which Sethe also would use it if it stood alone.

