

REIGN OF IKHNATON

QUARRY INSCRIPTION AT SILSILEH^a

932. This inscription is among the earliest surviving documents of the great revolution under Ikhнатon. It records the opening of quarry-chambers at Silsileh to obtain stone for the king's first temple^b to his new god, whose cult already seems to be in full development. Although Amon is not yet banished, Aton has his formal name, but not yet in the cartouches, in which it later always appears. The king is however, "*High Priest*" of his new god, whose sanctuary he is about to erect. Of this temple not one stone was left upon another by the king's enemies at his death. The materials have been found at Thebes, but scattered in various structures from Karnak to Erment, chiefly, however, in the Karnak pylons of Harmhab.^c The name of this temple was: "*Aton-¹is-Found¹-in-the-House-of-Aton,*"^d

^aTablet fourteen feet high, cut on the quarry wall at Silsileh; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 110, *i*; Legrain, *Annales*, III, 263.

^bOn the Aton-temples at Akhetaton (Amarna), see tomb of Hui (§§ 1016 ff.); and on the ones at Heliopolis, Hermonthis, and elsewhere, *ibid.* On the Aton-temples in general, see my remarks in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 110 ff.

^cSee Nestor l'Hôte, *Papiers inédits*, III, 80, 96, 97, 101, 104, 105 (not seen); Prisse, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2d Ser., I, 76-92, and again Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, V and XI; following Prisse, J. S. Perring, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2d Ser., I, 140 ff.; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, Pl. 57, 2, *a-k*; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 110, *c* and *g*; Bouriant, *Recueil*, VI, 51 ff.; and a letter by Piehl (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1884, 41), which also refers to the names of Tutenkhamon and Eye as occurring in blocks rebuilt into this pylon. Blocks reused in repairs on the temple of Amenhotep II (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 50); in Karnak (*ibid.*, 52); in town of Luxor (*ibid.*, 89).

^dSee tomb of Ramose, § 941, note.

and it must have been a large and imposing sanctuary.^a It was erected early in the Aton schism, for the surviving fragments show a reference to Horus and Set. The name of Aton occurs without the cartouches,^b and the king still bears his old name.^c This last fact shows that the temple was built before the sixth year. It is also referred to in the tomb of Hatey (*h³t-y³y*) at Thebes (Kurna), who was "scribe, overseer of the granary in the house (*h³t*) of the Aton,"^d at a time when the Amon cult was still unrepressed. Thebes as a whole was now apparently called "*City (nw³t)-of-the-Brightness-of-Aton*," and the temple quarter was known as "*Brightness-of-Aton-the-Great*."^e

933. ^fThe quarry inscription informs us that the highest officials of the court served in superintending the work of transportation. The date of the inscription must be very early in the king's reign, because the materials taken from the quarry were built into the temple, completed, and inscribed before the sixth year. The work in the quarry was therefore probably done in the first or second year. Over the inscrip-

^aIn the heart of Harmhab's pylon I found blocks of Ikhnaton's masonry of considerable dimensions; one cornice was 32 inches high. The king's leg, in a fragmentary relief, was 20 inches across at the lower edge of the apron; the *k*-vessel was 13 inches long; the *dy*-loaf was 12 inches high. The names of Aton and the king had been expunged before the destruction of the building.

^bFrom my own copies of blocks deep in Harmhab's pylon. I found there also a date which might have settled this question, but unfortunately the year is lost, and only the season and the day remain. [Later: This date is now published in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 52.]

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 110, *d*. The old name, "*Amenhotep*," continued until the fifth year of his reign (Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, Pl. 38 and pp. 91 and 92). In the sixth year we find the new name, "*Ikhnaton*," on the boundary stelæ at Amarna (§§ 949 ff.). The Theban temple must, therefore, have been built and sculptured before the sixth year.

^dDaressy, *Annales*, II, 2-4; Legrain, *ibid.*, III, 265.

^eOn Canopics published by Legrain (*Annales*, IV, 17-19).

^fLegrain's arguments for dating the temple, or a temple of Aton at Thebes, before Ikhnaton's reign are inconclusive (*Annales*, III, 265).

tion was a relief^a showing the king worshipping before Amon, but it has been erased, probably by Ikhnaton himself. The inscription below is as follows:

934. ¹Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Lofty of Plumes; Favorite of the Two Goddesses; Great in Kingship in [Karnak];^b Golden Horus: Wearer of Diadems ²in the Southern Heliopolis; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, High Priest of Harakhte-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon, in His Name: "Heat-Which-is-in-Aton:" Neferkheprure^c-Wanre; ³Son of Re [Amenhotep,^d Divine Ruler of Thebes], great in his duration, living forever and ever; [Amon]-^e Re, lord of heaven, ruler of eternity.^f

935. First occurrence of his majesty's giving command to — — — — — to muster all the workmen^g from Elephantine to Samhudet^h (*Sm* ³-*Hw* ⁴*t*), and the leaders of the army, ⁵in order to make a great breach for cutting out sandstone, in order to make the great sanctuary (*bmbn*)ⁱ of Harakhte in his name: "Heat-Which-is-in-⁶Aton," in Karnak.

^aNot shown on Lepsius' plate, but given by him in his notes (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 96, 97).

^bLepsius has incorrectly restored Akhetaton in this lacuna. This mention of the city in the first or second year had caused me much difficulty; but the publication of this stela by Legrain (*Annales*, III, 263) shows that "Akhetaton" is an error. We should restore "Karnak" as in the contemporaneous Zernik stela (*ibid.*, 260 f.). This fragmentary stela recorded similar quarry-work in the cliffs opposite and above Esneh. The king bears his old name, and the god's name also is as in the Silsileh stela; it is undated, but is clearly from the same time as the Silsileh stela, and the expedition recorded was carried out by Eye, afterward king. There is another stela beside Eye's, showing the "chief of quarrymen, Neferonpet," worshipping Amon (*ibid.*, 261 f.).

^cThis is the Napkhurfa of the Amarna Letters; it means: "Beautiful is the Being of Re." Wanre, the second part of the name, means, "Unique One of Re."

^dThis old form of the king's name has been erased because it contained the name of Amon.

^eErased.

^fThe connection of the god's name is uncertain, but probably "beloved of" has been omitted before it (after it in original).

^gThe text has "works," but Brugsch has a similar example (*Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch, Supplement*, 1337), with "the people" as object of the verb, showing clearly what is meant here.

^hLike the Hebrew "from Dan to Beersheba." On Samhudet, see Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 704-6. Elephantine was, of course, at the first cataract, and Samhudet was in the Delta.

ⁱDetermined with an obelisk.

Behold, the officials, the companions, and the chiefs of the fan-bearers, were the chiefs of the quarry-service,^a for the transportation of stone.

TOMB OF THE VIZIER RAMOSE^b

936. This tomb contains reliefs and inscriptions which are among the most important documents of this reign, because among other facts they furnish contemporary and conclusive evidence of the identity of Amenhotep IV and Ikhnaton, the great religious revolutionary.

Ramose, the owner of the tomb, was an official high in the favor of the king and of exalted rank. He was:

"Governor of the (residence) city, vizier;" "hereditary prince, count ——— of Horus in his house; a doer of truth, a hater of deceit, ——— wearer of the royal seal, chief of works among the great monuments, chief of prophets of North and South, vizier, just judge; sole companion, approaching his lord, whom the Lord of the Two Lands loved because of his remarkable traits, who enters the palace, and comes forth with favor, with the utterances of whose mouth one (= the king) is satisfied;" "(*mr' t-ntr-*) priest, the mouth that makes content in the whole land, (*sm-*) priest, master of all wardrobes, entering into the secrets of heaven, of earth [and of the nether world];" "master of secret things of the palace;" "attached to Nekhen, prophet of Mat, chief justice."^c

^aSee Hammamat Stela of Ramses IV, l. 14 (IV, 466); also Brugsch (*Aegyptologie*, 216 f., note). In Papyrus Hood there is a "*chief of the quarry-service of the whole land*" (p. 216).

^bA cliff-tomb in the hill of Shekh Abd-el-Kurna on the west shore at Thebes, known as Stuart's Tomb, No. 108. It was discovered by one "Mustapha Noak" in 1860, and opened successively by Ebers in 1872 and Villiers Stuart in 1879 (see Wiedemann, *Recueil*, XVII, 9). It was inadequately published by Stuart in *The Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen*, 89 ff.; and *Egypt after the War*, Pl. 27, and pp. 386-88. Bouriant has some notes on the tomb in *Revue archéologique*, 1882, N. S., XXIII, 279-84. and *Recueil*, VI, 55, 56. Nearly all the inscriptions were published by Piehl with great accuracy in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 127-30; 1887, 37-39. I excavated the unpublished inscriptions and recopied the whole in December, 1894. Some signs had been lost since Piehl made his copies. The accompanying translations are based upon a collation with Piehl, and upon my own copies alone, where Piehl had not copied.

^cThese are all the titles in the tomb, as found in my copies.

937. Ramose, as head of the religious, judicial, and administrative organization, must have been the most powerful official at the court of Ikhnaton. He had been vizier under the king's father, Amenhotep III;^a he was early won over to the Aton faith, and the particular value of his tomb lies in the fact that we may trace in it this conversion of Ramose at a time when Ikhnaton still called himself Amenhotep, and still permitted references to Amon and "*the gods.*" This last term, as well as the name of Amon, has been expunged^b at a later date. The materials in the tomb are as follows:

Relief Scene^c

938. A king sits enthroned on the right, his face and figure executed in the usual conventional style; behind him the goddess Mat; before him, with upraised arms, Ramose.

^aIt must be the same Ramose who, in an inscription on the island of Sehel, is called: "*Hereditary prince, the two eyes of the king in the whole land, governor of the (residence) city and vizier, Ramose*" (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1216, gg = de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 90, No. 79). See also Wiedemann, *Recueil*, 17, 9; Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 70, No. 21; *ibid.*, 72, No. 50; and Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, 13, No. 334.

^bThis expungement is very significant; for it is not the name of a particular god, but the word "*gods,*" which is expunged. I have found this same erasure of the word "*gods,*" at Karnak in the long offering inscription of Amenhotep III on Pylon III, and in the Coronation Inscription of Thutmose III; also on a number of Eighteenth Dynasty monuments in European museums. With this fact compare the erasure of the gods' names at Karnak as noted by Lepsius: "Auch hier [Temple of Ptah, northern Karnak] waren die Namen des Ptah und Amon wie auch der Hathor und ihre Figuren alle ausgekratzt; so auch auf dem Architrav der Thüre die Namen des Ptah. Ebenso sind sämtliche Götter im Tempel zu Med. Habu und in dem hinteren Theile des grossen Tempels von Karnak ausgekratzt; die Götterverfolgung muss also nicht nur dem Amon gegolten haben, sondern viel allgemeiner gewesen sein."—Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text, III, 8; read also end of section), and see *ibid.*, 31. By comparing Leyden Stela, V, 26, and Vienna Stela, 53, it will be seen that the wife of a certain "*overseer of the cattle of Amon*" was a "*musician of Upwawet,*" but when her husband became "*overseer of the cattle of the house of Aton,*" she was obliged to drop her title (see Baillet, *Notice sur la collection égyptienne de l'Abbé Desnayers*, 40, and *Recueil*, 23, 144; also Bergmann, *Recueil*, IX, 42). The persecution therefore included all the gods. See Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 108-10.

^cInner wall, first chamber, left of door.

939. The accompanying inscriptions are:

Over the King^a

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, — re, given life, Son of Re, his beloved, Amenhotep, God, Ruler of Thebes, great in his duration.

Over Mat

Mat, daughter of Re, presider over the palace, mistress of heaven, ruler of the gods. She gives myriads of years.

Over Ramose^b

940. Utterance of the governor of the (residence) city, the vizier, Ramose, triumphant, for the benefit of thy ka: "An adjuration to thy father, 'Harakhte-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon, in his name: Heat-Which-is-[in]-Aton,'^c that he may praise thee, that he may love thee, that he may establish thee, that he may give to thee myriads of years (so that) thy annals may be jubilees; that all lands may be under thy feet, that he may fell thy foes, dead or alive; that all joy may be with thee, all health with thee, all life with thee, and that thou mayest abide upon the throne of Re forever."

Relief Scene^d

941. Under the radiating sun-disk stand a king and^e queen, worshipping, all in the peculiar Amarna style. They are in a building, doubtless a part of the Theban Aton-temple. Outside are groups of bowing officials.

942. The inscriptions are these:

^aIn two lines; a third mutilated line is omitted above. Over the king's head is also the winged sun-disk, with its usual inscription: "*The Edfuan (Horus) great god, etc.*" This disappears entirely during the later Aton movement.

^bThis entire speech of Ramose to the king appears twice over his head, with slight variants.

^cThis and the mention in the Silsileh inscription are the earliest occurrences of Aton's name; it is not yet in the cartouche.

^dInner wall, first chamber, right of door.

^eThere are no children present as usual in such scenes so common at Amarna. This is perhaps another indication of the early date of this tomb in the reign.

By the Sun-Disk

^a“Harakhte-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon; in his name: Heat-Which-is-in-Aton,” residing in “Aton-Is-Found¹-in-the-House-of-Aton.”^b

By the King

Lord of the Two Lands, Nefer[khepru]re- —, given life, Lord of Diadems, Amenhotep, God, Ruler of Thebes, great in his duration.

Over the Queen

Great King's-wife, his beloved, Mistress of the Two Lands, — — living, flourishing.

943. These two reliefs show, first: that the Aton faith was in full swing under an Amenhotep whose prenomen begins like that of Ikhnaton; second, a king with the unmistakable features of Ikhnaton, worshipping the latter's peculiar god, appearing in public with his queen, as only Ikhnaton did, bears the name “Amenhotep.” This is proof positive of the identity of Ikhnaton and Amenhotep IV.

944. The remaining reliefs illustrate the high favor of Ramose with the king.

Scene

The king stands at the left holding audience; before him in successive moments appears Ramose, kissing the earth, kneeling, standing decorated with gold, departing with servants bearing the gold collars just received from

^aThe god's two names are here in cartouches.

^bThis is the name of the Aton-temple at Thebes, in which the reliefs represent the king and queen as standing. The phrase “red image of Aton” (Bouriant, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès à Chéikh-abb-el-Gournah*, p. 7) is due to reading the bird here as the “red” bird (*dšr*), but even then the translation is impossible, for the word “image” is lacking. “*Gem-Aton*” is of uncertain meaning, but the name was also applied by Ikhnaton to a new city founded by him for the Aton-worship in Nubia, in the central cataract region. This Nubian city survived a thousand years under the name “*Gem-Aton*,” and is mentioned several times on the Nastesen Stela (see my remarks, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 106 ff.).

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