

VICTORY STELA OF PIANKHI

ca. 725 BCE

*“His Majesty himself went to arrange the battle formation of the ships
Then Memphis was taken like a cloudburst.”*

Overview



The Victory Stela of Piankhi—also known as Piye, the name used on the stone slab—dates to Egypt’s Twenty-fifth Dynasty (ca. 747–656 BCE), during the twenty-first year of Piankhi’s reign (ca. 747–716 BCE). It was intended to justify his rulership over all of Egypt. The stela was designed to represent

Piankhi, who was a Nubian, as a true Egyptian and as superior to his Libyan opponent in the Nile Delta. Nubia was located along the Nile River just south of Egypt in an area between modern-day Aswan and Meroë, Sudan. During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the capital of Nubia was located at Napata, from which Piankhi reigned.

The stela, made of dark-gray granite, was discovered in the temple of the god Amun (spelled “Amon” in the document) at Jebel Barkal in 1862. It measures approximately six feet in height; four feet, seven inches in width; and one foot, five inches in thickness and weighs some two and a quarter tons. The text on the stela consists of 159 lines. When discovered, the stela was almost intact, with the exception of one piece from the right-hand portion of the reverse side, which compromises parts of lines 35–50 of the text.

This was the second stela commissioned by Piankhi. The first one commemorated his initial military expedition to Egypt, a journey Piankhi made after his coronation, presumably to reaffirm oaths of allegiance made by the Egyptians to his father, Kashta. During his time in Egypt, Piankhi probably made a trip to Thebes, where he would have been crowned in the Temple of Amun, thus establishing himself as the rightful ruler of Egypt. Connections between the Piankhi stela and the stela of Thutmose III, both found at Jebel Barkal, are apparent, even though they were commissioned more than seven hundred years apart. Among differences between the texts, Piankhi’s is considerably longer, as the design of the text in Thutmose III’s stela was inscribed on only one side; the single-sidedness of the inscription indicates that it was intended to be placed against a wall, whereas Piankhi’s stela is inscribed on all four sides and was intended to be a freestanding piece. The modifications and expansions made by Piankhi may have been done in competition with Thutmose III, a renowned

ruler from the fifteenth century BCE, during the New Kingdom era. By making his stela bigger and the text longer, Piankhi was attempting to portray his accomplishments as more important than those of his predecessors, especially the Egyptian pharaohs.

Piankhi’s relationship with the god Amun was probably the motivating force for creating the stela. Although the significance of Amun to the Nubians during the reign of Piankhi is unknown, Amun had been adopted as a primary deity in the Nubian pantheon after being introduced by the Egyptians. In the Egyptian pantheon, Amun had his cult center at Thebes. The importance of Amun to Piankhi might have influenced his response and subsequent military action when the Theban troop commander pleaded with Piankhi for assistance.

Context

Egypt underwent many foreign invasions following the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (ca. 1190–1069 BCE), which was marked by the death of Ramses XI. During his reign, many acts and periods of upheaval occurred, including robberies of the royal tombs, worker strikes, and the civil war of Panehsy, the “King’s Son of Cush” (that is, governor of Cush, or Kush—the province of Nubia). The Twenty-first through Twenty-fifth dynasties cover a period referred to by scholars as the Third Intermediate Period, a time of civil unrest under a weak central government. The Twenty-fifth Dynasty, beginning in the eighth century BCE, was a time of foreign rule in Egypt, as the country was controlled by the Nubians, with additional foreign forces attempting to exert their authority over Egypt. Historians are uncertain as to the events leading up to the Nubian conquest of Egypt, but it is believed to have begun sometime during the reign of either Alara or Kashta, rulers who were sparsely documented. The Egyptians and Nubians had contact with each other from the earliest times, with documentation of expeditions to Nubia by Egyptian dignitaries dating to as early as the Sixth Dynasty (ca. 2345–2181 BCE). Through their contact, the Egyptians gained access to various natural Nubian resources, with the primary one being gold. The abundance of gold in Nubia may have contributed to the

Time Line	
CA. 760 BCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Kashta ascends to the Nubian throne and leads a campaign into Egypt.
CA. 747 BCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Piankhi ascends to the Nubian throne.
CA. 743 BCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Piankhi embarks on his first campaign into Egypt; while there, he is crowned in the Temple of Amun and establishes his rightful rule over Egypt.
CA. 727 BCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Piankhi sends his army to Egypt.
CA. 726 BCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Embarking on his second campaign into Egypt, Piankhi defeats the rulers Namlot and Tefnakhte.
CA. 725 BCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Piankhi has his Egyptian victory recorded on a stela.
CA. 716 BCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Piankhi dies, and his brother Shabaka ascends to the Nubian throne.

development of the name *Nubia* since the ancient Egyptian word for “gold” is *nbw*.

Takeloth III and Osorkon III were coregents ruling Egypt when the Nubians, led by Piankhi’s father, Kashta, began their northward march into Egypt sometime during his reign. Kashta’s name occurs only in relational mentions on

the monuments of his descendants. He may not have progressed beyond the first cataract of the Nile at Aswan, where he erected a dedication stela on the island of Elephantine. Kashta’s northward march marked the first attempt of Nubian expansion into Egypt after the New Kingdom.

Piankhi succeeded Kashta around 747 BCE, and he began his first campaign into Egypt shortly thereafter. This campaign, which probably took place in Piankhi’s fourth regnal year, may have resulted in the extension of Piankhi’s rule to Thebes and the installation of his sister Amenirdis I as “God’s Wife of Amun,” one of the most important positions held by women in ancient Egypt. Afterward, Piankhi returned to Nubia, where he enlarged the Temple of Amun at Jebel Barkal. In his twentieth regnal year, Piankhi invaded Egypt again. This latter campaign resulted in the defeat of Tefnakhte (or Tefnakht), ruler of Sais. After defeating Tefnakhte, Piankhi returned to his capital city of Napata, where he erected a victory stela in his twenty-first regnal year.

About the Author

The Victory Stela of Piankhi was commissioned sometime after the ruler’s twenty-first year on the throne. Piankhi was the third ruler of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and reigned from about 747 to 716 BCE from the Nubian capital at Napata. He was buried in the royal cemetery at el-Kurru, located just downriver from the capital. His greatest documented military victory was over the Libyan king Tefnakhte, who was located in the Nile Delta and attempted to conquer all of Egypt. Not much else is known about the reign of Piankhi. Although the victory stela was commissioned by Piankhi, it is unlikely that it was constructed in Nubia. The expert use of classical Middle Egyptian indicates an Egyptian author. Since Middle Egyptian had been out of use for nearly half a millennium, it is likely that the author was a member of the Theban clergy, as which he would have been well educated in the language. Another possibility is that Piankhi dictated the contents of the inscription to his royal scribe, who would have been responsible for writing down all decrees of the king.

Explanation and Analysis of the Document

The top of the stela (also known as the lunette) depicts Piankhi standing with his back toward the god Amun and the goddess Nut. Piankhi faces Namlot, the ruler of Her-mopolis, who is shown bringing a horse and shaking a *sistrum*, a musical instrument of the percussion family that was popular in the cult of Hathor, the goddess of love. *Sistra* were often used during religious ceremonies and processions. On the level below Namlot are three Libyan kings, who are shown in a pose of subservience. Behind Nut stand five Libyan princes in the same pose as the Libyan kings—two on the top level and three on the bottom. Beneath the lunette is the text of the stela.



The stela text is written in flawless classical Middle Egyptian and is remarkably well preserved. This is unique, because for over four hundred years before the date of this text, there was no literary tradition in Upper Nubia. The lack of documentation is curious because it is highly unlikely that the Nubians had no written records when they modeled so much of their culture after the Egyptians, who documented everything. Although the primary portions of the text were written in classical Middle Egyptian, when Padiese and Tefnakhte address Piankhi, the language switches to contemporary grammar, which indicates that Padiese and Tefnakhte were considered to be of a lower status than Piankhi. The stela is not divided into specific sections, but an attempt has been made to create breaks in the text, for readability.

While the text of the stela may appear straightforward, it actually has various levels. Foremost, it is a simple outline of a military campaign in which the king sends his troops to stop the resistance of an opposing ruler. Through the subsequent battles, the king reclaims his rightful place as ruler of Egypt and Nubia. The beginning of the stela indicates ultimate victory for the author, since Piankhi states that he has done more than the ancestors that came before. Piankhi's journey to achieve victory is a long one, as seen through the mention of the various sites visited and the resistance experienced at each city. Eventually, all his enemies surrender and acknowledge Piankhi as the rightful ruler and maintainer of *ma'at*, the Egyptian concept of truth and justice.

◆ Paragraph 1: Opening Speech

At the beginning of the stela is the date of “regal year 21, first month of Inundation,” where inundation season was the time of year when the Nile flooded and rich soil was deposited on the surrounding farmland. Following the date, the decree of Piankhi states that he has done more than his predecessors, which was a common declaration among kings—each one always wanted to do more than his predecessors and prove that he was the rightful heir to the throne. Piankhi also states that he is the manifestation of the god Atum, the son of Ra (or Re), and is beloved of Amun (“Amon”), those names being typical elements in Egyptian pharaonic names. His affiliation with these powerful deities provided additional justification for his reign not only in Nubia but in Egypt as well.

◆ Paragraphs 2–24: Piankhi in Nubia

In paragraphs 2–4, a messenger sent to Piankhi informs him of Tefnakhte's advance southward. The information is related through mention of the various nomes, or provinces of ancient Egypt, that Tefnakhte has fought and conquered. These nomes were under the authority of various local rulers, called *nomarchs*, whose roles were indicative of the lack of a centralized government at this time. Since the country was not unified under one ruler, Tefnakhte saw the opportunity to gain more territory and therefore began his own campaign southward with the goal of expanding his sphere of influence.



A fragment of linen donated by Piye to a temple of Amun, possibly at Karnak. A column of inscription close to the fringed edge of the cloth gives the king's titles and a year from his reign. (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

In paragraphs 8 and 11, Piankhi comments on the pleas for help, represented in paragraph 6, sent by the local rulers now under the authority of Tefnakhte. The nomarchs believed that Piankhi was taking an isolationist approach and ignoring the situation in Egypt. This rouses Piankhi to action, and as a result he orders his commanders stationed in Egypt to fight. In paragraphs 10–13, Piankhi sends his troops to Egypt and gives them orders regarding what is considered to be proper and improper conduct. He wants his troops to fight nobly; thus, he tells them to engage in battle only during daylight hours and to announce to the opponent that attack is imminent. Piankhi also tells them that before they may fight at Thebes, they need to be pure and avoid arrogance, which is the mark of a man ignorant of the power the god Amun will use to support the troops. Following his instructions, the army praises Piankhi (paragraph 15) and proceeds to Thebes. Once the order is given,



Gilded silver statuette of Amun from the Temple of Amun at Karnak, Thebes, Egypt (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

the army of Piankhi fight against and conquer the united forces of Tefnakhte at Heracleopolis (paragraph 16), forces that consist of rulers and kings from Lower Egypt. This was the final battle at which Piankhi was not in attendance.

Paragraphs 17–25 provide a list of names of the rulers of Lower Egypt and the fate they encounter when fighting Piankhi’s forces. The army fights against the rulers of Lower Egypt, and those who remain, including King Namlot, flee back to their homes. After this attack, the army reports back (in paragraph 25) to Piankhi, detailing their victories in his name.

◆ **Paragraph 26–33: Piankhi Goes to Egypt**

After the battle at Heracleopolis, King Namlot retreats to Hermopolis to warn the people of the impending bat-

tle. Upon hearing of the escape of the enemies, Piankhi is said to have “raged because of it like a panther” and resolved to go to Egypt himself. Piankhi also states that the driving motivations for his travel to Egypt were to reaffirm the oaths made by previous local rulers to his father and to participate in the celebrations of New Year’s and Opet. The New Year’s festival was seasonal and was intended to bring prosperity to the coming year. The Opet festival was classified as a divine festival because it involved the procession of the Theban triad of gods—Amun, Mut, and Khonsu—from Thebes to Luxor Temple and back again.

◆ **Paragraphs 34–37: The Battle at Hermopolis**

From a military point of view, the text of the stela has two primary episodes: the victory at Hermopolis and, later, the victory at Memphis (described in paragraphs 55–66). In this first episode, Piankhi joins his forces at Hermopolis, telling his army, “It is the year for finalizing a conclusion, for placing fear of me in Lower Egypt, and for inflicting upon them a severe and painful defeat by striking.” After days of battle, “Hermopolis threw itself upon its belly,” in submission “before the King of Lower Egypt.”

◆ **Paragraphs 38–46: Namlot Surrenders**

Piankhi also had two primary victories against his enemies, namely, the surrender of Namlot and the later submission of Tefnakhte. At the time of Namlot’s surrender, Namlot enlists the assistance of his wife, who seeks support from the women in Piankhi’s company. Because the role of women was typically a secondary one in ancient Egypt, for Namlot to ask the help of his wife indicated that he held her in high regard. When the two rulers meet, Piankhi opts to take pity on Namlot because he has classified Namlot’s actions as being a result of insanity. The strangest part of this meeting is that Namlot, as part of his tribute, leads a horse by his right hand and holds a *sistrum* in his left. There is no logical explanation for this gesture, and it was odd enough even to Piankhi that he had it depicted on the lunette of the stela.

◆ **Paragraph 47 and 48: Piankhi Tours Namlot’s Residence**

While exploring Namlot’s residence, Piankhi goes into the stables and discovers the horses in a state of starvation. This angers him because horses were an important element of Nubian culture. Piankhi had horses depicted at the top of this stela as well as on the walls of the temple of Amun at Jebel Barkal. He also began the practice of entombing horses in a cemetery near the royal burial site of el-Kurru, located just east of the Nile’s fourth cataract. Three of his successors also had horse burials. Although Piankhi attempted to identify with his Egyptian predecessors and emulated them, he built the first true pyramid in Nubia, and the anger he experienced when faced with the conditions under which the horses were kept demonstrated that he maintained his Nubian values.



Bronze door hinge from a temple, inscribed with the names of Amenirdis I and Shepenwepet II, both of whom successively held the office of God's Wife of Amun. (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

◆ **Paragraphs 49–54: Additional Rulers Surrender**

Following Namlot, the ruler of Heracleopolis as well as rulers from additional towns announce their surrender and bring tribute to Piankhi. The presentation of tribute and their throwing themselves upon their bellies were customary practices of the defeated. Piankhi was slowly regaining control over Egypt.

◆ **Paragraphs 55–66: The Capture of Memphis**

The second major military episode was Piankhi's surprise attack and victory at Memphis. Even though the army did not experience great victories until Piankhi joined them in Egypt, they were respectably victorious, and therefore Piankhi's constant raging "like a panther" was unwarranted. Mention of this might have been included to justify Piankhi's decision to join his forces and personally fight his enemies.

Piankhi details that the Memphite contingency consisted of eight thousand troops. This is a direct parallel with Thutmose III's mention that at the Battle of Megiddo his army faced forces totaling one thousand settlements and all the chiefs of the northern countries. Although the numbers are clearly exaggerated, they are inflated to emphasize the victories of the kings.

◆ **Paragraphs 67 and 68: The Surrender of Three Additional Rulers**

Following the capture of Memphis, "every nome" in the region hears the news, "opening their fortifications and fleeing in flight." King Iuput, ruler of Leontopolis in the

delta region of Lower Egypt, along with the ruler Akanosh and the prince Padiese, surrendered and brought tribute to present to Piankhi.

◆ **Paragraphs 69–71: Piankhi Visits Heliopolis**

The day after King Iuput, Akanosh, and Padiese surrender, Piankhi travels east to Heliopolis, giving offerings along the way to the god Atum and to the "Ennead," a group of nine gods, including Ra (spelled "Re" in the document), his children Shu and Tefnut, and their descendants Geb, Isis, Nephthys, Nut, Osiris, and Se. This he does to ensure that he would live a life of prosperity and health.

◆ **Paragraphs 72–80: Padiese and Other Northern Rulers Surrender**

In paragraphs 72–77 the prince Padiese surrenders directly to Piankhi and invites him to visit his palace at Athribis in Lower Egypt. Piankhi goes to the palace and receives tribute in the form of gold, gemstones, jewelry, and royal linen. Padiese also offers any of his horses to Piankhi, an offer that have appealed to a Nubian in his love of horses. Paragraph 78 lists northern rulers, all of whom were defeated and bring tribute offerings to Piankhi. The last two paragraphs, with breaks in the text, seem to describe an episode of resistance on the part of Padiese's troops. Piankhi's forces quell it, killing everyone.

◆ **Paragraphs 81–85: Tefnakhte's Submission**

Piankhi's second personal victory was the submission of Tefnakhte, who never participated in battle against

“Have you been silent so as to ignore Upper Egypt and the nomes of the Residence, while Tefnakht seizes what is before him, having found no resistance? Namlot ... has gone to be a subordinate at his (Tefnakht’s) heels, having shrugged off allegiance to His Majesty.”

(Paragraph 6)

“He [Piankhi] made for himself a camp at the southwest of Hermopolis, keeping a stranglehold on it daily. ... Days passed, and Hermopolis became foul to the nose, deprived of its ability to breathe. Then Hermopolis threw itself upon its belly, pleading before the King of Lower Egypt, while messengers came and went bearing everything beautiful to behold.”

(Paragraph 36)

“His Majesty then proceeded to the stable of the horses and the quarters of the foals. When he saw [that] / they were starved, he said: ‘As I live, as Re loves me, as my nose is rejuvenated with life, how much more painful it is in my heart that my horses have been starved than any other crime that you have committed at your discretion.’”

(Paragraph 47)

“Then he sent his ships and his troops to assault the harbor of Memphis. ... [There was not] a common soldier who wept among the entire army of His Majesty. His Majesty himself went to arrange the battle formation of the ships Then Memphis was taken like a cloudburst, with numerous people slain within it, in addition to those brought as prisoners to the place where His Majesty was.”

(Paragraphs 63–65)

“These two rulers of Upper Egypt and two rulers of Lower Egypt, those entitled to royal uraei, came to kiss the ground because of the wrathful power of His Majesty. Now, however, ... their legs / were like the legs of women. They could not enter into the palace since they were uncircumcised and eaters of fish—such is an abomination of the palace.”

(Paragraph 87)



Piankhi. After Piankhi returned to Nubia, Tefnakhte might have regained some of his power but no longer attempted to rule all of Egypt. In submitting, he suggests that the two rulers come to an agreement that would prevent Piankhi from having to fight beyond the Egyptian borders. The oath of Tefnakhte is taken at Thebes in the presence of witnesses. The location used, the temple of Neith at Sais, was probably chosen because Tefnakhte would give his oath before the city's patron deity. The witnesses, representatives of Theban religious and military factions, were there presumably because they were the ones who originally had pleaded for Piankhi's aid and they would be responsible for ensuring that Tefnakhte followed through with his oath after Piankhi returned to Nubia.

◆ Paragraphs 86–89: Piankhi Returns to Nubia

In these final paragraphs, the remaining rebels surrender to Piankhi and his forces. Piankhi has achieved total victory, as he is told that “there is no nome sealed against His Majesty among the nomes of the South and North, while the West, the East and the islands in between are upon their bellies through fear of him.” At dawn, the rulers bowed in subservience to him. After the display of submission, Piankhi's loot was loaded onto boats and the king returned to Nubia as his subjects recited a chant of jubilation to him, ending with the words “You are eternal, your victory enduring, / O ruler beloved of Thebes!”

Audience

Throughout the text of the stela there are various speakers and addressees. The speakers include Piankhi, messengers, inhabitants of the various cities visited by Piankhi,

Namlot and his wives, Tefnakhte, generals, priests, rulers who were conquered by Piankhi, and the people praising Piankhi at the end. The various addressees include general readers, Piankhi, the armies, Namlot, inhabitants of the cities, and priests.

The variety of speakers and addressees indicates that this stela had a specialized intended audience. Since most of the general population was illiterate, the stela was not meant for them. Additionally, the stela was located in a portion of the temple not readily accessible to the public, which would have limited the viewing audience to the temple priests and the king. Thus, considering the placement of the stela as well as the repetition throughout the text that Piankhi is beloved of Amun, it is possible that the actual intended audience was the god himself. If Amun was the intended audience, it would have indicated a continued allegiance to the deity and reaffirmed Amun's importance to the Nubians of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

Impact

The campaign detailed on the Victory Stela of Piankhi was a major milestone in the fight for Nubian control over Egypt, and the stela itself is one of the most extensive military documents dating to this time period. Before the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the Nubians were generally under Egyptian control, as is evident in Middle Kingdom Egyptian forts in the region as well as a statement placed on the boundary stela of Sesostri III, of the nineteenth century BCE. These forts were intended to house branches of the Egyptian military, which was in Nubia to maintain control over the country. The boundary stela states that no one—that is, no Nubian—is permitted to cross the border without permis-

Questions for Further Study

1. The rulers of ancient dynasties often believed that they had to justify their rulership. Select another document—possibilities include “Mandate of Heaven: The Numerous Officers” and Divine Birth and Coronation Inscriptions of Hatshepsut—and compare and contrast the nature of the justifications they used.
2. Historians, particularly Egyptologists (those who study ancient Egypt), often have to rely on incomplete information or on such documents as the Victory Stela of Piankhi. What are some of the possible difficulties that historians face in reconstructing the history of any ancient culture on the basis of these kinds of records?
3. What can modern readers learn about the religious beliefs of ancient Egyptians by reading the Victory Stela of Piankhi?
4. What conditions in ancient Egypt enabled the Nubians under Piankhi to take control of Egypt?
5. Why were the Nubians bent on conquering Egypt? What material or political advantages did they gain by doing so?

sion. However, at the onset of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the Nubians took advantage of unstable political conditions in Egypt and moved to conquer the land to the north. Following his victory, Piankhi returned to Nubia and began a large building program at Jebel Barkal, expanding the temple of Amun and making additional documentation of his victory in Egypt. It is thought that he never returned to Egypt, even though he was recognized as its ruler until his death.

Piankhi's precedent provided the incentive for his successors to embark on their own Egyptian campaigns. In his second regnal year, 715 BCE, Shabaka began a drive into Egypt and eventually conquered Memphis. Because the Nubians were already very familiar with many aspects of Egyptian culture, including key concepts of Egyptian religion and kingship, they were able to portray themselves as rightful pharaohs rather than as foreigners. The Victory Stela of Piankhi thus marked the beginning of a long Nubian occupation of Egypt. Piankhi and his successors were able to maintain their control over Egypt until 656 BCE, when Tanwetamani was expelled by the Assyrian army. After their expulsion from Egypt, the Nubians continued to rule in Nubia until the end of the Meroitic period (350 CE). The Nubian empire proved a noteworthy civilization in eastern Africa that prospered for twelve hundred years.

Owing to the abundance of contact between the Egyptians and Nubians, aspects of Egyptian culture became evident in Nubian society. This tendency is referred to as "archaism" and can be seen in both monumental and non-monumental remains. The Nubians adopted a connection with the Theban god Amun, which can be seen through their construction of a temple to Amun at Napata. The Nubian rulers likewise utilized Egyptian royal titles as well as Egyptian royal regalia. They built Egyptian-inspired pyramids and placed Egyptian-style grave goods within them. The Nubians also modified traditional Egyptian elements, making them uniquely Nubian. Headdresses were fashioned with double uraei (figures of sacred serpents) rather than a single uraeus, and there was the development of a new headdress known as the "Kushite cap." Their Egyptian-style tendencies may have reflected a desire to legitimize the reigns of the various kings in both Egypt and Nubia in order to declare themselves restorers of *ma'at*—or the Nubian rulers might have simply been emulating aspects of a culture they appreciated and respected.

Further Reading

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—Sarah M. Schellinger



VICTORY STELA OF PIANKHI

Regnal year 21, first month of Inundation, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Piye, beloved of Amon, living forever. The decree which My Majesty has spoken:

“Hear what I have done in exceeding the ancestors.

I am the king, the representation of god, the living image of Atum, who issued from the womb marked as ruler, who is feared by those greater than he, [whose father] knew and whose mother perceived even in the egg that he would be ruler, the good god, beloved of the gods, the Son of Re, who acts with his two arms, Piye, beloved of Amon.”

One came to say to His Majesty: “The Chief of the West, the count and chief in Behbeit el-Hagar, Tefnakht, is in the (Harpoon) nome, in the nome of Xoïs, in Hapi, in [...], in the marshy region of Kom el-Hisn, in Per-noub and in the nome of Memphis. He has seized the West even in its entirety, from the northern coastal marshes to Lisht, sailing southward with a sizable army, while the Two Lands are united behind him, and the counts and rulers of estates are as dogs at his heels.

No stronghold has closed [its doors in] the nomes of Upper Egypt: Meidum, the Fort of Osorkon I, Crocodilopolis (Medinet el-Faiyum), Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa), and Takinash. Every city of the West has opened doors just through fear of him. When he turned about to the nomes of the East, then they opened to him likewise: The Mansion of the Phoenix, El-Hibeh, the Mansion of the King, and Aphroditopolis (Atfih).

Behold, [he is] / beleaguering Heracleopolis (Ihnasya el-Medina), and he has made himself an enclosing uroborous, not allowing goers to go nor allowing entrants to enter, while fighting every day. In its full circuit he has measured it, with every count knowing his (assigned) wall, while he stations every man among the counts and rulers of estates to besiege his section.” Then [His Majesty] heard [this] defiantly, laughing and amused.

But these chiefs, counts and generals who were in their cities were sending word to His Majesty daily saying:

“Have you been silent so as to ignore Upper Egypt and the nomes of the Residence, while Tefnakht seizes what is before him, having found no resistance? Namlot, [ruler of Hermopolis], count of Hutweret, has thrown down the wall of Nefrusy. He has demolished his own city through fear of the one who would seize it for himself in order to beleague another city. Behold, he has gone to be a subordinate at his (Tefnakht’s) heels, having shrugged off allegiance to His Majesty. He stands with him just like one of [his followers] in the nome of Oxyrhynchus, while he (Tefnakht) gives to him rewards as his desire dictates from among everything that he has found.”

Then His Majesty sent word to the counts and generals who were in Egypt, the commander Pawerem, and the commander Lamersekny, and every commander of His Majesty who was in Egypt:

“Proceed in battle formation, engage in combat, encircle and beleague it! Capture its people, its herds, its ships upon the river! Do not allow the cultivators to go forth to the fields! Do not allow the plowmen to plow! Beleague the frontier of the Hare nome; fight against it every day!”

Then they did likewise.

Then His Majesty sent an army to Egypt, charging them forcefully:

“Do not attack at / night in the manner of a game. You should fight when there is sight. Announce battle to him from afar! If he should say: ‘Wait for the troops and cavalry of another city,’ then may you sit until his army comes. Fight when he says. If, further, his supporters are in another city, let one wait for them. The counts, these whom he has brought to support him, and the trusted Libyan troops, let one announce battle to them in advance, saying:

‘O you whom we do not know how to address in mustering the troops! Yoke the best steeds of your stable! Line up in battle formation! Be informed that Amon is the god who sent us!’

When you arrive within Thebes before Karnak, you should enter into the water. Purify yourselves in the river! Clothe yourselves in the best linen! Lay down the bow, withdraw the arrow! Do not boast of

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greatness as a possessor of strength! The mighty has no strength in ignorance of him (Amon), for he makes the broken-armed strong-armed. (Thus) do multitudes turn tail to the few; one seizes a thousand men. Sprinkle yourselves with the water of his altars. You should kiss the ground before him and you should say to him: 'Give us passage, that we might fight in the shadow of your strong arm! The corps of recruits whom you have sent, let its onslaught occur while multitudes tremble before it.'

Then they placed (themselves) on their bellies before His Majesty, (saying):

"It is your name that will serve as our strong arm,
your counsel that brings your army to port,
with your bread in our bellies on every passage,
and your beer / quenching our thirst.
It is your valor that provides our strong arm,
so that one is terrified at the mention of your name.
No army profits whose commander is a coward.
Who is your equal there?
You are a mighty king, who acts with his two arms,
the master of the art of war."

They then went sailing northward and they arrived at Thebes; they did exactly as His Majesty had said. They then went sailing northward on the river, finding that numerous ships had come southward with soldiers, sailors, and troops of every valiant warrior of Lower Egypt equipped with weapons of warfare to fight against the army of His Majesty.

Then a great slaughter was made among them, in incalculable numbers. Their army and their ships were captured and brought away as captives to the place where His Majesty was. They then advanced to the frontier of Heracleopolis, announcing battle.

List of the counts and kings of Lower Egypt:

King Namlot and King Iuput,
Chief of the Ma, Sheshonq, of Busiris,
Great Chief of the Ma, Djedamoniuefankh, of Mendes,
and his eldest son, who was the general of Hermapolis Parva,
the army of Hereditary Prince Bakennefi
and his eldest son, the Chief of the Ma, Nesnau, in Hesebu,

every plume-wearing chief who was in Lower Egypt,
and King Osorkon (IV) who was in Bubastis and the district of Ranefer,
with every count and ruler of estates in the West, in the East, and the islands in between being united in a single alliance as subordinates at the heels of the Great Chief of the West, the ruler of estates of Lower Egypt, the prophet of Neith, Lady of Sais,
the *setem*-priest of Ptah, Tefhakht.

They then went forth against them. Then they made a great slaughter among them, greater than anything, and their ships on the river were captured. The remnant then crossed over, landing on the West in the vicinity of Perpega.

As the land lightened and the morning dawned, the army of His Majesty crossed over against them, so that army joined battle with army.

Then they slew numerous men among them together with horses in incalculable numbers, with trembling occurring in the remnant so that they fled to Lower Egypt from a beating more severe and painful than anything.

List of the slaughter which was made among them.

Men: (hellip;) persons. (Horses: ...)

King Namlot fled upstream to the South when he was told: "Hermopolis is faced with enemies from the troops of His Majesty, with its people and its herds captured."

Then he entered into Hermopolis while the troops of His Majesty were on the river and the bank of the Hare nome.

Then they heard it and surrounded the Hare nome on its four sides, without letting those who would go out nor letting those who would enter enter. They sent word explicitly to report to the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Piye, beloved of Amon, given life, detailing every attack which they had made, detailing every victory of His Majesty.

Then His Majesty raged because of it like a panther: "Have they allowed a remnant to remain among the troops of Lower Egypt so as to let go an escapee among them to relate his campaign, not killing them to exterminate the last of them? As I live, as Re loves me, as my father Amon favors me, I shall go northward myself, that I might overturn / what he has done, that I might cause that he retreat from fighting for the course of eternity! After the rites of the New Year are performed, when I offer to my father Amon



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in his beautiful festival, when he makes his beautiful appearance of the New Year, let him send me in peace to behold Amon in the beautiful festival of the Opet feast, that I might convey his image in procession to Luxor temple in his beautiful festival of "The Night Feast of Opet" and the festival of "Abiding in Thebes" which Re devised for him in the primordial time, that I might convey him in procession to his house in order to rest on his throne on the day of ushering in the god in the third month of Inundation season, day 2, and that I might make Lower Egypt taste the taste of my fingers."

Then the troops who were there in Egypt heard the raging that His Majesty had made against them.

Then they fought against Oxyrhynchus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, taking it like a burst of water and sending word before His Majesty, but his heart was not appeased because of it.

Then they fought against "The Peak, Great of Victories," finding it filled with troops comprising every valiant warrior of Lower Egypt.

Then a battering ram was employed against it, so that its walls were demolished and a great slaughter made among them in incalculable numbers, including the son of the Chief of the Ma, Tefnakht.

Then they sent word to His Majesty because of it, but his heart was not appeased regarding it.

Then they fought against Hutbenu, so that its interior was opened and the troops of His Majesty entered into it.

Then they sent word to His Majesty, but his heart was not appeased regarding it.

First month of Inundation season, day 9. His Majesty then came sailing northward to Thebes. At the feast of Opet, he celebrated the festival of Amon. His Majesty then went / sailing northward to the quay of the Hare nome. His Majesty came out of the cabin of the barge, the horses were yoked, the chariots were mounted, so that the grandeur of His Majesty extended to the hinterlands of the Asiatics, and every heart was quaking before him.

Then His Majesty burst forth to revile his army, raging at it like a panther: "Do they endure while your combat is such that my business is delayed? It is the year for finalizing a conclusion, for placing fear of me in Lower Egypt, and for inflicting upon them a severe and painful defeat by striking."

He made for himself a camp at the southwest of Hermopolis, keeping a stranglehold on it daily. A talus was made to clothe the wall, and a platform was erected to elevate the archers when shooting and the slingers when slinging stones, slaying the people

among them daily. Days passed, and Hermopolis became foul to the nose, deprived of its ability to breathe.

Then Hermopolis threw itself upon its belly, pleading before the King of Lower Egypt, while messengers came and went bearing everything beautiful to behold: gold, every sort of precious gemstone, clothing by the chest, and the diadem which had been on his brow, the uraeus which had inspired respect of him, without ceasing for numerous days, imploring his crown.

Then One (King Namlot) sent his wife, the royal wife and royal daughter, Nestanetmehu, to implore the royal wives, the royal concubines, the royal daughters, and the royal sisters, and she threw herself upon her belly in the women's house before the royal women:

"Come to me, royal wives, royal daughters and royal sisters! May you appease Horus, Lord of the palace, whose wrath is great, whose vindication is grand! Cause / that he [...] me. Behold, he [...] [...] him. Behold, [...] ... [Speak (?)] to him, so that [he] might then turn about to the one who praises him. [...]"

[...] provision [...] [...] of life in [...] / [...] [...] they filled(?) with what was efficacious [...] praise him [...] the royal wives, the royal sisters [...] They threw] themselves upon their bellies [before His Majesty ...] the royal wives [...] Namlot,] ruler of Hutweret. [...] for his city (?), the ruler / [...] [...] as ruler [...] in the city (?) [...] [...] through lack of [...] / [...] to the place where [His] Majesty was. [His] Majesty spoke (?) to him [...]:

"Who [...] your mother? Who has guided you? Who has guided you? Who, then, has guided you? Who has guided you [so that you have abandoned] the path of life? Has heaven then rained with arrows? I was [content] when Southerners bowed down and Northerners (said): 'Place us within your shade!' Was it bad that the King (?) [of Hermopolis came (?)] bearing his offerings? The heart is a rudder, which capsizes its owner by what issues from the wrath of god, when he has seen flame in the cool waters in (?) the heart. [...] / There is no adult who is seen with his father, for your nomes are filled (only) with children."

Then he threw himself on his belly in the presence of His Majesty: "[Peace be with you,] Horus, Lord of the palace! It is your wrath which has done this against me. I am one of the King's servants who pays taxes to the treasury as daily offerings. Make a reckoning of their taxes. I have provided for you far more than they."

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Then he presented silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, copper, and every sort of gemstone in great quantity.

Then the treasury was filled with this tribute, and he brought a horse with his right hand and a sistrum in his left—a sistrum of gold and lapis lazuli.

Then His Majesty appeared in splendor from his palace, proceeding to the temple of Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis, and he sacrificed long-horned cattle, short-horned cattle, and fowl for his father Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis, and the Ogdoad in the temple of the / Ogdoad.

The troops of the Hare nome proceeded to shout and sing, saying:

“How beautiful is Horus, appeased in his city,
The Son of Re, Piye!
May you celebrate for us a jubilee,
As you protect the Hare nome!”

His Majesty then proceeded to the house of King Namlot, and he went into every chamber of the palace, his treasury and his storehouses. He caused that there be presented to him the royal wives and the royal daughters. They proceeded to hail His Majesty with feminine wiles, but His Majesty did not pay attention to them. His Majesty then proceeded to the stable of the horses and the quarters of the foals. When he saw [that] / they were starved, he said: “As I live, as Re loves me, as my nose is rejuvenated with life, how much more painful it is in my heart that my horses have been starved than any other crime that you have committed at your discretion. Your neighbor’s fear of you is testimony for me. Are you unaware that the shadow of god is over me, and that my deeds have not failed because of him? If only another had done it to me, whom I did not know, whom I had not rebuked because of it! I am one fashioned in the womb and created in the egg of god, with the seed of god within me! As his *ka*-spirit endures, I have not acted in ignorance of him! He is the one who commanded me to act!”

Then his property was assigned to the treasury / and his granary to the endowment of Amon in Karnak.

The ruler of Heracleopolis, Pefthchauuibast, then came bearing tribute to Pharaoh: gold, silver, every sort of gemstone, and the pick of the horses of the stable. He threw himself upon his belly in the presence of His Majesty, saying:

“Hail to you, Horus, mighty King, bull who attacks bulls!

The netherworld has seized me, and I am deep in darkness!

O you who give me the enlightenment of your face,

I cannot find a friend on a day of distress, who will stand up on a day of fighting,’ except for you, O mighty King!

From me you have stripped away the darkness I shall be a servant together with my property, while

Heracleopolis is levied with taxes / for your domain.

You are indeed Horachty, chief of the imperishable stars!

As he exists, so do you exist as king.

He will not perish, nor will you perish,

O King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Piye, living forever!”

His Majesty then sailed northward to the opening of the canal beside Illahun, and he found Per-Sekhemkheperu with its ramparts heightened, its fortress closed, and filled with every valiant warrior of Lower Egypt. Then His Majesty sent word to them saying:

“O living dead! O living dead!

O miserable wretches! O living dead!

If the moment passes without opening to me, behold, you belong to the tally of the fallen!

Such is the one subjected to royal punishment.

Do not bar the gates of your life so as to confront the

slaughter block of this day!

Do not desire death so as to hate life!

[Choose (?)] life in the presence of the entire land!”

Then they sent word to His Majesty, saying:

“Behold, the shadow of god is upon you.

The son of Nut, may he give to you his arm’s, then your wish will come to pass directly

like what issues from the mouth of the god

Behold, you are born of god,

because we see (it) by the actions of your arms.

Behold, as for your city and its fortifications,

/ [do what pleases] you with them.

May entrants enter and goers go;

may His Majesty do what he will.”

Then they came out with a son of the Chief of the Ma, Tefhakht. The troops of His Majesty then



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entered into it, without his slaying anyone among all the people whom he found [there...] men and treasurers to seal his possessions, while his treasuries were assigned to the treasury, and his granaries to the endowment of his father Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. His Majesty then went sailing northward and he found that in Meidum, the House of Sokar, Lord of Illumination, had been closed, not having been attacked, and had intent to fight. [...] seized them; fear [over-powered (?)] them; awe sealed their mouths.

Then His Majesty sent word to them, saying:
“Behold, two ways are before you; choose as you wish.
Open, you will live; close, you will die.
My Majesty will not pass by a closed city!”

Then they opened to him directly, and His Majesty entered within this city and he presented a [great] offering [to] Imenhy, foremost of Illumination. Its treasury and granaries were assigned to the endowment of Amon in Karnak. His Majesty then sailed north to Lisht, and he found the stronghold closed and the walls filled with valiant troops of Lower Egypt.

Then they opened the fortifications and they threw themselves on their bellies in the presence of [His Majesty, and they said to] His Majesty:

“Your father has entrusted to you his legacy.
Yours are the Two Lands, and yours those in them.
You are the Lord of what is upon earth.”

His Majesty then proceeded to have a great offering presented to the gods who are in this city, consisting of long-horned cattle, short-horned cattle, fowl, and everything good and pure.

Then its treasury was assigned to the treasury and its granaries to the endowment of / his father Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. His Majesty then sailed northward to] Memphis.

Then he sent word to them, saying: “Do not close; do not fight, O residence of Shu from the primordial time! The entrant—let him enter; the goer—let him go! No traveler will be hindered, I shall offer an oblation to Ptah and the gods who are in the Memphite nome; I shall make offering to Sokar in his sanctuary; I shall behold (Ptah) South-of-His-Wall; and I shall sail northward in peace, [while the people] of Memphis are safe and sound, and children are not

mourned. Look, then, to the nomes of the South. None among them has been slain except for the rebels who blasphemed god, so that a slaughter was made among the traitors.”

Then they closed their fortification and they sent out troops against some of the troops of His Majesty, who were but craftsmen, architects and sailors who had come [... to] the harbor of Memphis. Now that Chief of Sais arrived in Memphis at night, ordering his soldiers, his sailors, all the elite of his army, a total of 8,000 men, ordering them firmly:

“Behold, Memphis is filled with troops comprising all the elite of Lower Egypt, with barley, emmer, every sort of grain, with the granaries overflowing, and with every sort of weapon [of war. It is protected(?) by a] stronghold; a great battlement has been built as a work of skillful craftsmanship; the river encircles its East, and fighting will not be found there. The stables here are filled with oxen, the treasuries supplied with everything: silver, gold, copper, clothing, incense, honey, and oil. I shall go that I might give things to the Chiefs of Lower Egypt, that I might open for them their nomes, and that I might become [...] days until I return.”

He then mounted upon his horse, as he did not trust his chariot. He then went northward in fear of His Majesty. As the land lightened and the morning dawned, His Majesty arrived at Memphis. When he moored on its north, he found the water risen to the ramparts, with ships moored at / [the houses of] Memphis.

Then His Majesty saw that it was strong, the enclosure walls high with new construction, and the battlements supplied in strength. No way of attacking it was found. Every man proceeded to state his opinion among the troops of His Majesty, entailing every tactic of fighting, with every man saying: “Let us lay siege [to Memphis.] Behold, its army is numerous,” while others were saying: “Make a ramp against it so that we elevate the ground to its ramparts. Let us put together a, (siege) platform, erecting masts and using sails as walls for it. Let us divide it by this means on every side of it, with talus and [...] on its north, to elevate the ground to its rampart so that we might find a path for our feet.”

Then His Majesty raged against it like a panther, saying:

“As I live, as Re loves me, as my father Amon favors me, I have discovered that this has happened for it by the command of Amon, This is what [all] men [of Lower Egypt] and the nomes of the South say: ‘Let them open to him from afar! They do not

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place Amon in their hearts, nor do they know what he has commanded. He has done it expressly to give evidence of his wrath and to cause that his grandeur be seen. I shall seize it like a cloudburst; [my father Amon] has commanded me.”

Then he sent his ships and his troops to assault the harbor of Memphis, and they brought away for him every boat, every ferry, every pleasure boat, as many ships as were moored at the harbor of Memphis with prow rope fastened among its houses. / [There was not] a common soldier who wept among the entire army of His Majesty. His Majesty himself went to arrange the battle formation of the ships, as many as they were. His Majesty commanded his army:

“Forward against it! Mount the ramparts! Enter the houses atop the river! If one among you enters over the rampart, no one will stand in his way, [...] no troops will repel you. It would be vile, then, that we should seal Upper Egypt, moor at Lower Egypt, and yet sit in siege at “The Balance of the Two Lands.”

Then Memphis was taken like a cloudburst, with numerous people slain within it, in addition to those brought as prisoners to the place where His Majesty was. Now [after the land] lightened and a second day occurred, His Majesty sent men into it, protecting the temples of the god for him, consecrating the shrines of the gods, offering cool water to the divine tribunal of Hikuptah, purifying Memphis with natron and incense, and putting priests in their assigned places. His Majesty proceeded to the estate of [Ptah], his purification was performed in the robing room, and there was performed for him every ritual which is performed for a king. He entered into the temple. A great offering was made to his father Ptah, South-of-His-Wall, consisting of long-horned cattle, short-horned cattle, fowl and everything good. His Majesty then returned to his house.

Then every nome that was in the region of Memphis heard (it): Heripademi, Peninaiua, The Fort of Biu, and The Oasis of Bit, opening their fortifications and fleeing in flight, and no one knew where they went.

King Iuput then came together with the Chief of the Ma, Akanosh, and the Hereditary Prince, Padiese, / and all the counts of Lower Egypt, bearing their tribute in order to behold the beauty of His Majesty.

Then the treasuries and granaries of Memphis were assigned, made over to the endowments of Amon, of Ptah and of the Ennead which is in Hikuptah.

As the land lightened and the morning dawned, His Majesty proceeded to the East. An offering to

Atum was made in Babylon (Old Cairo), to the Ennead in the Estate of the Ennead, and to the cavern and the gods within it, consisting of long-horned cattle, short-horned cattle, and fowl, so that they might give life, prosperity, and health to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Piye, living forever.

His Majesty proceeded to Heliopolis over that mountain of Babylon on the road of the god Sepa to Babylon. His Majesty proceeded to the camp which is on the west of Ity, his purification was performed, he was purified in the midst of the Lake of Cool Water, and his face was washed in the river of Nun where Re washed his face.

Proceeding to the High Sand in Heliopolis. Making a great offering on the High Sand in Heliopolis in the sight of Re at his rising, consisting of white oxen, milk, myrrh, incense, and every sort of sweet-smelling perfume pellets. Coming in procession to the Estate of Re. Entering into the temple in great acclamation, with lector priests adoring god and ritually repelling enemies from the king. Performing the rites of the robing room. Tying on the *sedeb*-garment. Purifying him with incense and cool water. Presenting to him bouquets of the Mansion of the *Benben*-mound. Bringing to him amulets of life. Mounting the stairway to the great window to behold Re in the Mansion of the *Benben*-mound, while the king himself stood alone. Breaking the seals of the doorbolts. Opening the doors. Seeing his father Re in the Mansion of the *Benben*-mound, Consecrating the morning-bark for Re and the evening-bark for Atum. Bringing the doors back into position. Applying the clay. Sealing / with the king's own seal. Giving orders to the priests: “I myself have inspected the seal. No other can enter into it, among all the kings who may arise.” Before His Majesty they placed themselves on their bellies, saying: “(It is) to be established and enduring without fail, O Horus, beloved of Heliopolis!” Coming and entering the Estate of Atum. Presenting myrrh to the image of his father Atum-Khepri, the great one of Heliopolis. King Osorkon (IV) came expressly to behold the beauty of His Majesty.

As the land lightened and the morning dawned, His Majesty proceeded to the harbor at the head of his ships and crossed over to the harbor of the nome of Athribis, and the camp of His Majesty was made on the south of Kaheny, on the east of the nome of Athribis. Then there came these kings and counts of Lower Egypt, all the plume-wearing chiefs, all viziers, all chiefs, all royal confidants, from the West, from the East, and from the islands in between, to behold the beauty of His Majesty. Then the Heredi-



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tary Prince Padiese threw himself upon his belly in the presence of His Majesty, saying:

“Come to Athribis, that you might behold the god Khentykhety that the goddess Khuyt might protect you, that you might present an offering to Horus in his temple, consisting of long-horned cattle, short-horned cattle, and fowl. May you enter into my house, for my treasury is open to you. I shall gratify you with my ancestral property, and I shall give you gold to the limits of your desire, turquoise heaped up before you, and many horses from the best of the stable, the foremost of the stall.”

His Majesty then proceeded to the Estate of Horus Khentykhety to have long-horned cattle, short-horned cattle, and fowl presented to his father Horus Khentykhety, Lord of Athribis. His Majesty proceeded to the house of Hereditary Prince Padiese, who presented him with silver, gold, / lapis lazuli, turquoise, a great heap of everything, clothing of royal linen of every thread count, couches spread with fine linen, myrrh, unguent in jars, and horses both male and female, being all the foremost of his stable. He purified himself by a divine oath even in the sight of these kings and great chiefs of Lower Egypt:

“Any one here who conceals his horses or who hides for himself his worth, he shall die the death of his father! I have said this just so that you might testify for me, your humble servant, in all that you know that I possess. You should say whether I have hidden from His Majesty anything of my father’s house: gold ingots, gemstones, every sort of vase, armlets, gold bracelets, necklaces, collars inlaid with gemstones, amulets of every limb, garland crowns for the head, rings for the ears, every royal adornment, all the vessels of the king’s purification in gold and every sort of gemstone. All of these I have presented in the royal presence, and clothing of royal linen by the thousands, being all the best of my weaving workshop.

I know that you will be satisfied with it. Proceed to the stall, choose what you wish among all the horses that you desire.”

Then His Majesty did likewise. These kings and counts said before His Majesty: “Send us to our towns that we might open out treasuries, that we might choose in accordance with what your heart desires, and that we might bring to you the best of our stalls, the foremost of our horses.” Then His Majesty did likewise.

The list of them:

King Osorkon (IV) in Bubastis and the district of Ranefer,

King Iuput (II) in Leontopolis (Tell Moqdam) and Taan,
 Count Djedamoniuefankh / in Mendes and The Granary of Re,
 His eldest son, the general in Hermopolis Parva, Ankhhor,
 Count Akanosh in Sebennytos, in Iseopolis (Behbeit el-Hagar), and Diospolis Inferior,
 Count and Chief of the Ma, Patchenefy in Saft el-Henneh and in the Granary of Memphis,
 Count and Chief of the Ma, Pamai in Busiris,
 Count and Chief of the Ma, Nesnaiu in Hesebu,
 Count and Chief of the Ma, Nakthornashenu in Pergerer,
 Chief of the Ma, Pentaweret,
 Chief of the Ma, Pentabekhnet,
 Prophet of Horus, Lord of Letopolis (Ausim), Padihorsomtus,
 Count Horbes in the Estate of Sakhmet, Lady of Eset, and the Estate of Sakhmet, Lady of Rahesu,
 Count Djedkhiu in Khentnefer,
 Count Pabasa in Babylon (Old Cairo) and in Atar el-Nabi, bearing all their good tribute [...] of gold, silver, [...] couches spread [with fine] linen, myrrh in jars, [...] of good value, horses / [both male and female, being all the foremost of his stable ...]

[Now after]wards, one came to say to [His] Majesty [...] army(?) [...] him [his] walls [through fear (?)] of you, while he has set fire to his treasury [and to his ships on] the river. He has reinforced Mosdai with soldiers even while he [...].

Then His Majesty sent his army to see what had happened there among the troops of the Hereditary Prince Padiese. They returned to report / to His Majesty, saying: “We slew every man whom we found there.” Then His Majesty gave it as a gift to the Hereditary Prince Padiese.

Then the Chief of the Ma Tefnakht heard it and sent a messenger in fawning supplication to the place where His Majesty was, saying:

“Peace be with you! I cannot look upon your face in days of shame. I cannot stand before your fiery blast, for I am terrified of your grandeur. Indeed, you are the Ombite (Seth), Lord of Upper Egypt, Montu, the strong-armed bull! To whatever city you might turn your attention, you cannot not find me, your humble servant, until I have reached the islands of the sea, / for I am fearful of your wrath,

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saying: 'His flame is hostile to me.' Is not the heart of Your Majesty cooled by these things that you have done to me? I am indeed one justly reproached, but you did not smite me commensurably with my crime. Weigh with the balance, ascertain with the weights! May you multiply them for me in triplicate, (but) leave the seed that you may harvest it in season. Do not tear out the grove to its roots! As your *ka*-spirit endures, terror of you is in my body, fear of you is within my bones! I cannot sit in the beer hall, nor has the harp been played for me. For I have eaten bread in hunger, I have drunk water in / thirst, since that day when you heard my name! Bitterness is in my bones, my head is balding, my clothing rags, until Neith is appeased toward me! Long is the course that you have brought upon me, and your face is against me yet. It is a year for purging my soul. Cleanse the servant of his fault! Let my property be received into the treasury: gold and every sort of gemstone, even the foremost of the horses, repayments in every kind. Send to me a messenger in haste, that he might dispel fear from my heart! Then I shall go to the temple in his sight to cleanse myself by a divine / oath.

When His Majesty sent the chief lector priest Padiamon(neb)nesuttawy and the general Pawerem, he (Tefnakht) presented him with silver, gold, clothing, and every sort of precious gemstone. When he went into the temple, he praised god and cleansed himself by a divine oath, saying:

"I shall not transgress the royal command. I shall not thrust aside that which His Majesty says, I shall not do wrong to a count without your knowl-

edge. I shall act in accordance with what the king has said. I shall not transgress what he has commanded."

Then His Majesty was satisfied concerning it.

One came to say / to His Majesty: "Crocodilopolis has opened its fortress and Aphroditopolis is placed upon its belly. There is no nome sealed against His Majesty among the nomes of the South and North, while the West, the East and the islands in between are upon their bellies through fear of him, having their property sent to the place where His Majesty is, like servants of the palace."

As the land lightened and the morning dawned, these two rulers of Upper Egypt and two rulers of Lower Egypt, those entitled to royal uraei, came to kiss the ground because of the wrathful power of His Majesty. Now, however, these kings and counts of Lower Egypt who came to behold the beauty of His Majesty, their legs / were like the legs of women. They could not enter into the palace since they were uncircumcised and eaters of fish—such is an abomination of the palace. However, king Namlot entered into the palace since he was pure and did not eat fish. Three stood in their positions while one entered the palace.

Then the ships were loaded with silver, gold, copper, clothing, and everything of Lower Egypt, every product of Syria, every incense pellet of god's land. / His Majesty then sailed southward with his heart gladdened and all those on both sides of him shouting. The West and East took up the announcement, shouting round about His Majesty.

The chant of jubilation which they said:

Glossary

High Sand	a flood barrier
ka-spirit	in the religion of ancient Egypt, the vital force or spiritual twin
morning-bark ... evening-bark	in Egyptian mythology, the boats on which the sun traveled
nome	a province in ancient Egypt
setem-priest	embalmer who produced mummies and said the appropriate prayers during the process
talus	a mound of rock debris piled in a slope against a wall
uraeus	the emblem of Lower Egypt, a rearing cobra, worn as part of a ruler's headdress
uroborous	a symbol that shows a snake eating its tail, used in reference to the king's completely surrounding the city



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“O mighty ruler, O mighty ruler! Piye, O
mighty ruler!
You return having conquered Lower Egypt;
making bulls into women!
Happy is the heart of the mother who bore
you,
and of the male whose seed is within you!
Those in the Nile valley praise her,
the cow who gave birth to a bull!
You are eternal, your victory enduring,
O ruler beloved of Thebes!”