THE

INSCRIPTION OF PIANCH! MER-AMON, KING OF EGYPT.

XXIInd DYNASTY.

TRANSLATED BY

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THE inscription of Pianchi Mer-Amon was discovered at Gebel Barkal, the ancient Napata, in the year 1863, and after a short interval its general purport was made known to scholars, first by a brief account of M. Mariette, Revue Archéologique, 1863, then by a more detailed notice in the Revue Archéologique, 8vo., Paris 1865, p. 94 and foll., by M. le Vicomte De Rougé, and lately by a series of articles in the same review by M. F. Lenormant, 1871-2-3. An account of it was also given by M. Läuth, Sitzungsberichte d. königk. bayer. Akademie d. Wissenschaften. 8vo., München 1869, p. 13 and foll.

A very considerable number of passages are also quoted and explained by M. Brugsch in his *Hiero-glyph-demotisches Worterbuch*, fo., Leipzig 1867-8.

The text itself however was not published before the latter part of the year 1872. But it is now accessible to Egyptian scholars, and it forms part of a work in course of publication. Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, etc., etc., Paris 1872.

In 1869 I obtained a copy of a work, in which M. Mariette had printed this and several other documents of high importance under the title of *Fouilles d'Abydos*, fo., 1869. That work was withdrawn before publication, but the copy which I had previously received is now in my possession, and it has enabled me to complete the translation which I now submit to the public.

It has been examined by two eminent Egyptologists, Mr. C. W. Goodwin, and Dr. S. Birch, who have collated it with great care, and permit me to say that it gives a correct view of the contents of the inscription.

The inscription is surmounted by a picture in which the king Pianchi Mer-Amon is represented standing before Amen-Ra, Lord of the throne of the world, seated on his throne, behind which is the goddess Mut standing. The Prince Nimrod, holding a sistrum in one hand and his horse by the bridle, advances to the monarch. He is preceded by his wife; there are three other princes prostrate kissing the ground. They are Osorkko, Wuapat, and Pefaabast. Behind the throne of Amen five others, Sheshank, Tat-amonanchef, . . . teta, Patenf, and Pa-mu are represented in the same attitude.

INSCRIPTION OF PIANCHI MER-AMON.

I In the twenty-first year, in the month Thoth, in the reign of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, PIANCHI Mer-amon, the ever-living: a proclamation of His Majesty. "Hear what I have done beyond my ancestors!

I am the King, the divine form, the living image of Tum, proceeding from his body, a sword,2 as King before 2 whom the Chieftains tremble, the illustrious offspring of his mother; he became a King from his birth,3 a good Deity, loved by the gods, son of RA, vigorous in action,4 Mer-amon Pianchi."

A messenger came to His Majesty saving:

"The Commander in the West, the great Chieftain in Pe-neter, TAFNECHT, in the nome, and ATHRIBITES, 3 in Hap,6 in An,7 in Penub,8 and in Memphis, hath taken possession of the West in its entire extent from

² A sword, sc. instrument of divine wrath; cf. Ps. xvii. 13.

4 Lit. "doing with his arms," the same phrase occurs l. 15.

6 Hap, the Egyptian name of the Nile, here denotes a city, the Southern Hap, the uu of the fourth Nome, see Duemichen Rec. iii. 62. G.

7 An, a town in the nome "Libya," the third, to the extreme West: it was probably so named from a spring עין, ain.

8 Pe-nub, i.e. "City of Gold," Χρυσόπολις, now called by the Arabs Badnub, not far from Sais.

¹ The year dates, as usual in Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions, from the accession of the king.

³ His birth, literally "from the egg," a common Egyptian idiom.

⁵ Pe-neter, or Mer-neter, "the divine city or divine Mer" is frequently named in the monuments; see Brugsch, "G. I.," p. 289, who identifies it with Μένουθης, according to Stephanus Byz., κώμη πρὸς τῷ Κανώβῳ. It was a considerable place under the Pharaohs. A city of this name is found in the eighteenth Nome, i.e. the Bubastite, see Duemichen Rec. iii. Pl. lxii. The expressions indicate the extent of Tafnecht's government in Lower Expect from Soir to Bubastic and Southwards to Memphis Egypt, from Sais to Bubastis, and Southwards to Memphis.

Pehuu to Ti-tata, sailing up the stream, with multitudes of warriors from the whole land following him, Chiefs and Governors of cities like hounds at his feet; no fortress is closed to him. He has occupied the nomes of the 4 South, Mertum, Pe-ra-sechem-cheper, Ha-sebek,2 Pematet,3 Tokaneshu. Every city of the West has opened its gates for fear of him. He returned then to the nomes of the East, they opened to him likewise; Ha-bennu, Taiutit, Sutenha, Pe-neb-apu-ka,4 from were subdued as far as Sutensenen; 5 he 5 has made them dependent on his orders: he allows none to go out, or to enter in, carrying on war continually: he has cut them off on all sides, every Chief in his fort; allowing them all to remain within their own 6 districts, as Chieftains or Governors. Behold (thus) in pride of heart he indulges ambitious projects."6

Then the Chiefs, the Governors, and the Commanders of the troops, which remained (faithful) in their cities sent messages to His Majesty without cessation, saying: "Art thou then silent and forgetful (even) of the Southern land, and the nomes of central Egypt? Tafnecht takes all before him, he meets none who can withstand his 7 arm. NIMROD, Prince of Ha-ment, has overthrown his

¹ Mr. Goodwin supplies this note: "Pehuu was the name of the *pehu* (frontier town) of the 20th Nome (South) i.e. Heracleopolites. Ti-tata was the name of the last fortress towards the North at which Pianchi arrived before reaching Memphis, see line 83. It may have been considered as the boundary between the North and South lands."

² Ha-Sebek, *i.e.* Crocodilopolis, where Sebek the Divine Crocodile was worshipped; site uncertain; B. "G. I." p. 283.

³ Oxyrynchus. The three cities Ha-bennu, Taiuti, and Ha-suten, were on the East bank, opposite to Oxyrynchus.

⁴ Pa-neb-apu-ka, "House of the Lord of Chieftains, the Bull," was a city in the 22nd Nome.

⁵ Sutensenen is now identified by Egyptologists with Heracleopolis.

⁶ The construction is very doubtful; Birch suggests "in pride teaching his heart to be exalted," or, as the Hebrew idiom has it, "enlarged."

forts, the walled city of Neferus: he has himself destroyed his own city, in fear that it should be taken from him, and that he should be shut up in another city. Remark that (even he) is gone to be his follower: he hath re-8 nounced allegiance to His Majesty: he stands with him as one of He (Tafnecht) has granted to him the nome of (Aphroditopolis) as a reward, that he might give his heart to everything he (Tafnecht) might find for him to do."

So His Majesty sent word to the Princes and Generals who were over the realm of Egypt, the Captain² Poarma, and the Captain Lamersekeni, and all the Captains of His Majesty who were over Egypt: "Go forth, destroying, 9 prepare war, go round (the whole land) capturing its men, its cattle, its ships on the river, not permitting the labouring men to go out to the fields, nor permitting the ploughers to plough, blockading all that belongs to the nome of Un,³ warring against it continually."

Behold they acted accordingly.

Behold His Majesty sent (fresh) troops to Egypt, giving to them great reinforcements. (...)⁴ "night: let there be no delay in arming your troops, when you see that he has marshalled his army for an expedition. If, saith he, the infantry and cavalry are gone away to another city, why sit ye (idle) until his soldiers come, (and so) fight (just) II when he tells you? If he should go with his forces to another city—well, let them be driven back, the Chiefs, those whom he has brought to support him, Tehennu

¹ To the North of Heracleopolis, the nineteenth Nome of Upper Egypt; see Brugsch, Geogr. I. taf. xxvii.

² The orderer, or Marshal.

³ Un, or Hermopolis was the metropolis of the Hermopolite Nome.

⁴ A lacuna of about four letters.

troops on whom he relies. Grant they are marshalled for war, as by a hero, say, we are not to be driven back."

He (Pianchi) called out as he reviewed his troops, 12 "Harness the mighty war-horse, the best of the stud; ah, let there be destruction in battle. Thou knowest what Amon the great god hath commanded us: when you enter the city of Thebes, (on the bank) over against Apet,2 enter with lustrations, purify yourselves in the river: array yourselves in your best garments; draw out3 13 your bows, prepare your arrows in front of the Chief as a conquering Lord; there is no victory over men without his knowing it. He hath done glorious deeds with his mighty arm; and many shall turn their backs on a few, and one shall rout a thousand. Sprinkle your-14 selves with the (holy) water of his altars: prostrate vourselves before his face: say to him, 'Grant us the path of war under the shadow of thy scimitar, let the youths whom thou hast appointed overthrow with their blows myriads."

Behold they all threw themselves prostrate before His Majesty. "Doth not thy name give to us victory? Doth not thy command sustain thy soldiers? Thy food is in 15 our bellies in every expedition: thy beer quencheth our thirst; will not thy might give us the victory? Terrible is the mention of thy name. The troops (of the enemy) shall not hear their Captains, the men of the mercenaries shall be as women, as though thou wert thyself present. Thou art the mighty King, achieving (victory) by thine arms, Master of the arts of war!"

¹ On the Tehennu, foreign legionaries, see M. Chabas, Etudes sur l'Antiquité historique, p. 181. They were the Libyans.

² Apet, near Luxor, was the name of a principal quarter of Thebes, from which some derive the name Thebæ.

³ I understand this clause to mean that the troops should present their arms before the god at Thebes, thus consecrating them for the war.

16 Then they set forth sailing down the river, and approached Thebes: they did according to all which the King had commanded. Then they went on sailing down to Atur: they found many ships advancing up the 17 stream, with soldiers, mariners, Captains and the might of the north of Egypt, with every kind of instruments of war, to war against the soldiers of His Majesty.

So a great defeat was made of them; the number of soldiers and vessels captured was beyond calculation; they were brought as prisoners to His Majesty's residence;

They then went on sailing down the river to Sutensenen, to prepare for fighting, (and) to send information to the Chiefs and Princes of the North.

18 Lo! the Prince Nimrod, with the Prince Wuapat, and the Commander of the mercenaries. Sheshonk of Peosiris-neb-tattu: with the great Chief of the mercenaries Tat-amenaufanch, of Pe-ba-neb-tattu,3 with his son Semes, who was a Chief of the troops at Pe-thoth-Aprehuhu, the soldiers of the Prince Bak-en-nefl,4 with his son and heir Chief of mercenaries, Nasna-sechemi of the nome of Kahebs;5 every Chief of plume-bearing rank who was in the North of Egypt; with the Prince Osorkon who was in Pe-Bast,6 and the frontier city of Ra-nefer;7 every Chief, every Governor on the West and the East, and the central districts, all with one accord were followers of the great Chieftain of the West, the

The mer of the eighth Nome.

² Heracleopolis.

³ Pe-ba-neb-tattu, lit. "Temple of the Ram Lord of Tattu," i.e. Mendes-Pe-Osiris (Gr. Βούσιρις) was the sacred name. This was the chief city in the ninth Nome.

⁴ Bak-en-neft, "Servant of breath," resembles Bak-en-ranf, i.e. Boc-choris.

⁵ The eleventh Nome.

⁶ Bubastis.

⁷ Ra-nefer, Ra the Good.

Prince of the cities of the North, the Prophet of Neit Lady of Sais, the High Priest of Ptah, Tafnecht.

- 20 They then went forth against them: so they made a great overthrow of them, greater than any previous one, capturing their vessels at Atur. The remainder of the (enemies') troops fled and sailed down (and landed) Westward over against Pe-Pak.¹
- On the dawn of the second day the soldiers of His Majesty sailed on after them; (then as) warriors rushing on archers, lo they slew multitudes of their soldiers, horses innumerable were smitten. The remainder fled on foot Northward in utter defeat, wretched above all things. The count of the slaughter made of them was so many men 3
- when it was said to him, Sesennu⁵ is harassed by the enemy. The troops of His Sacred Majesty had captured his people and his cattle.

Then he entered into the port of Un. The troops of His Majesty were on the Nile, over against the shores 23 (of the Hermopolitan district). So when they heard of it they blockaded Hermopolis on all quarters. No one was permitted to go out or to come in.

Then they sent to inform His Majesty the King Mer-Amon Pianchi, Life-giver, concerning all the overthrow they had inflicted with all the forces of the King.

Pak, the word means "byssus," or flax.

² This seems to imply that Pianchi's troops were heavy-armed infantry $(\delta\pi\lambda \hat{\imath}\tau\alpha\iota)$, whereas the foreign legionaries were chiefly archers.

³ A blank space, which contained of course the number of the slain.

⁴ Nimrod, a Prince of the race of the Sesonchs and Osorkons, held Hermopolis as a sovereign; he is called Suten, or King.

⁵ No city is named more frequently in inscriptions: the fifteenth Nome was called Un, the city Sesennu, or Pe-sennu, i.e. the eighth. Hermopolis.

⁶ Hermopolis.

- 24 Behold His Majesty was furious at that account like a leopard. "What," said he, "shall it be allowed to them that any remnant shall be left of the troops of the North? What, shall any one of them be allowed to go forth to give an account of his outgoing? Shall they not be given up to slaughter and utter destruction? I swear, so may RA love me, so may my father Amon 25 be gracious to me. I will sail down the Nile myself:
 - I will destroy the forts which he has built: I will force him to retreat by fighting, even an eternal rout. If after the performing the ceremony of the festival of the beginning of the year I make oblation to my father Amon in his excellent panegyry, (when) he makes his excellent manifestation at that festival, and I go forth in peace to see Amon in his excellent panegyry of the festival of Apet, and I glorify him in his image in the South of Apet,
- 26 in his excellent panegyry of the panegyry of Apet, on the night at the panegyry of Menta, in the city of Thebes, the festival which he appointed for RA in the first day, and I conduct him in procession to his temple resting on his throne, on the day that the god is brought in on the second day of the month Athor, then will I make all the land of Egypt taste my finger."
- 27 Behold all the troops which were dispersed over Egypt heard that the wrath of His Majesty was kindled against them.

Behold they attacked (Aphroditopolis,) and Pe-ma-tet. They took it like a storm of rain.

Then they sent an account of this to His Majesty, but his heart was not appeased by it.

28 Then they attacked the stronghold Tatehn, called Oer-nechtu; they found it full of soldiers, of all mighty men of the land of the North; behold a battering machine was made and brought against it: it battered down its

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wall. A great slaughter was made of them, an unknown amount, with a son of the great Chief of the mercenaries TARNECHT.

Behold they sent an account of this to His Majesty, his heart was not appeased by it.

29 Behold they attacked Ha-bennu, and forced an entrance for the soldiers of His Majesty: they sent word to His Majesty, but his heart was not appeased by it.

So on the 9th day of the month Thoth His Majesty set forth and sailed down to Thebes, where he concluded the

festival of Amon with a panegyry at Apet.

30 Then he advanced down the stream to the district of Hermopolis.

His Majesty came forth from the state cabin of his ship. The steeds were harnessed: he was raised high on his war-car: the terror of His Majesty reached the Asiatics,2 every heart was filled with his terror: Lo His Majesty went forth giving free course to his indignation against his troops: he raged against them as a leopard.

"What, have they made a stand? You have fought them without spirit! My message went out a year ago. Will you not complete the pursuit, spreading fear of me over the North of Egypt? Inflict upon them a defeat a terrible overthrow by smiting."

(Then) he took up for himself quarters on the Southwest of Un,3 and blockaded it without cessation, making palisades to invest the walls, raising works to mount the archers, that they might shoot arrows, and balistæ to hurl stones at it: (thus) slaying men among them continually.

It is not clear whether the son of Tafnecht was captured or slain. If captured, only Bocchoris in person may be intended.

² I.e. at once extended even beyond the frontier of Egypt, alluding possibly to the Assyrians connected with Nimrod's family.

⁴ Lit. "clothe." 3 Hermopolis.

(And so) it took place in three days, and in Un¹ there was a stench: their nostrils were without pleasant smells.

33 Lo Un' now threw itself down prostrate in supplication before the face of the sovereign. Their heralds came forth in procession bearing all splendid gifts, gold, all precious stones, and embroidered vestments. Upon (the King's) head was the uraus impressing them with terror of him.

Not many days passed after this act of homage to the Lord of all Egypt, (when) behold he (NIMROD) sent out 34 his wife, a Queen by marriage and birth, NESTENNEST, to do homage to the King's Wives, and Concubines, and Daughters and Sisters, to prostrate herself in the harem before the King's Wives, saying, "I am come, O Queens and Princesses, do you reconcile the Divine King, Lord of the palace, whose spirit is mighty and whose justice is great. Grant—"

- 35 [The next tablet from line 35 to 51 is entirely effaced, 5 from 51 to 56 partially mutilated.]
- 53 (The Chiefs) of the South are humbled, those of the North (cry out) "Grant to us to be under thy shadow." With his oblations.
- 55 Not a Chief see.

Thy provinces of the North and South are as children. Behold he threw himself prostrate before the King, (saying)

- 56 "Horus, Lord of the Palace, by thy spirit it has been done to me. I am one of the King's slaves, bound to
 - Hermopolis.

² Lit. "to his double crown," the Pschent denoting the sovereign acknowledged as the legitimate head of all Egypt.

³ The Divine King, lit. "Horus Lord of the Palace." The Pharaoh is frequently styled Horus in inscriptions of the ancient empire.

⁴ Spirit, the personality of kings, "full of the Spirits," is thus designated.
⁵ The effaced lines contained of course an account of Nimrod's acts of submission and homage.

make offerings for the treasury; the tributes which I now

57 make to thee in addition to those (already presented)."
He offered silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise and crystal, every kind of precious stone in abundance. Lo the treasury was filled by their offerings.

58 He led his horse, (bearing) in his right hand a vase,

in his left a sistrum of gold and lapis lazuli.

59 Then behold (PIANCHI) made a solemn procession from his palace, and went forth to the temple of Thoth, Lord of Sesennu; he sacrificed oxen, cows, geese, to Father Thoth, Lord of Sesennu, and to the eight gods in their temples.

60 Then were the soldiers of Un³ in rejoicing and shouting; they said, "O the goodness of Horus, resting peacefully in his city, Son of the Sun,

61 PIANCHI; thou makest for us a festival as thou rulest

over Un." 4

62 Then the King went forth to the house of the Prince NIMROD; he went to every apartment of the royal palace, his treasuries, his storehouses, that he might have peace-offerings brought to him.

63 Then came the Queens and Princesses to adore the King after the manner of women, but His Majesty did

not turn his countenance upon them.

64 The King (then) went forth to visit the stud of broodmares, and the stables of the young steeds, he saw that

⁴ The Nome of Hermopolis.

Mafek and tahen; Chabas shows good reason for the identification of the former with some kinds of turquoise, or malachite, and of the latter with crystal or "quartz hyalin."

² Thoth with eight deities made up a Paout, or group of nine. Other deities mentioned in connexion with Hermopolis are Tum, Sa, or As, and Nehemawait, a form of Isis, identified by Plutarch with Δικαιοσύνη.

³ Southern Hermopolis.

⁵ Lit. "with things of women;" which I take to mean "after the wont of women."

they had famished them. Then said he, "By my life, 65 so may RA love me, I loathe the youth, wretched creatures" are they to my heart, who have starved my steeds (this is) more than any abomination thou (NIMROD) hast done altogether."

66 My remonstrance reached every heart, "terror is over all thy people!" "What! didst thou not know that the

67 shadow of the Deity was over me? Did he ever fail me? Had any other done this to me whom I knew not I should

68 not have been so indignant with him about it. I am

69 born of the loins, created from the egg, of the Deity, the divine procreation is in me. All hail to him, I have not acted without his knowing: (he) ordained that I should act."

Behold he appointed his offerings for the treasury and 70 granaries and as oblations to Amon in Apet.

Then came the Prince of Sutensenen,³ Pefaabast, 71 with tributes to Pharaoh, gold, silver, and all precious stones, with steeds the choicest of his stud. He threw himself prostrate before His Majesty, and said, 72 "Hail to thee Horus, Royal Bull, smiting cows! Hades 73 has seized me. I am immersed in darkness! Give me light over it. I have not found a friend in the evil time standing by me in the day of battle, save thee only, O 74 King. Do thou lift the darkness from me. I am thy slave together with my subjects in Sutensenen, attached 75 to thy royal apartments; thou glorious image of Hormachis, ruling over the indestructible constellations!

[&]quot; "In evil plight," or perhaps "as evil livers." The construction, however, is obscure.

² This would seem to express the feelings of those who heard Pianchi's remonstrance.

³ Heracleopolis, now Ahnes, about 90 miles to the north of Hermopolis. The two princes Nimrod and Pefaabast belonged to the same family, and their dominions were probably contiguous.

76 While he exists thou existest, as he is indestructible thou 77 art indestructible, O King of all Egypt, PIANCHI, living for evermore."

Then His Majesty sailed down to Aptmer and Marhunt. He found the city of the temple of Ra-sechem-Cheper with its walls repaired and its fortress closed, full 78 of the best soldiers of the North.

So His Majesty sent an embassy to them, saying, "Living ye are dead men, (unless you surrender) you will be captured or slain. If the time pass by, and there be no opening, ye shall be numbered among those slain under the blows of the King when he forces the gates. You live (only) to be collected for execution on 79 this day, owing to your loving death and hating life, (a punishment which will be inflicted) in the face of the whole country."

So they sent an embassy to His Majesty, saying, "Lo the Divine shadow is over thy head, O son of Nur! He gives you his arms! The utterance of thy heart is (fulfilled) forthwith as that which proceeds from the mouth of the Deity. For he hath procreated thee a Deity to see us obedient on our beholding thy arms. Behold thy city, its fortresses (taken), none enter, none go out: His Majesty doth what he will."

80 So they came forth with the son of the chief Commander of the mercenaries Tafnecht.

Then the troops of His Majesty entered into it. He did not slay a single man of all whom he found. (He 81 went up) together with his officers to the citadel, and ordered an exact account (to be taken) of its magazines and its granaries, for oblations to his father Amon-Ra, Lord of the thrones of Egypt.

This appears to be another son of the chieftain; see line 28.

The city.

Then His Majesty went on sailing down the Nile. He found Mertum, Pe-Sokari, the Lord of light, closed. He did not approach it so as to allow any fighting within it; 82 they were however alarmed with great terror; and they closed their gate.

Then His Majesty sent to them, saying, "Two ways are before you; choose as you will; open, and live; shut up, and die! His Majesty does not pass by any closed

fort." Lo they opened forthwith.

Then His Majesty entered into his city, that he might offer to Menhi who dwells in light. He took account of the treasury and granaries for oblations to Amon in Apet.

Then His Majesty sailed down to Ti-tata. the gate closed and the walls full of the strongest soldiery Behold they opened their citadels. of the North.

84 throwing themselves prostrate (before) His Majesty, saying, "Thy Father hath sent thee: thou art his heir, who art Lord over both realms: thou art the ally of the gods; thou art Lord over the land."

Then the King went forth to make great offerings to the gods of this city, of bulls, cows, geese, and all things good and pure. He then took account of the treasury and the granaries for oblations. (After this he dispatched an embassy) to Heliopolis.

85 Then he sent to them, saying: "Let there be no closing (and) there shall be no fighting within the city of SHU. The first time that I enter he enters; going forth, (as) he goeth forth, my outgoings are not to be arrested. When I have made oblations to PTAH, god of the gods who are in Memphis: and have made offerings to Sokarix in the sanctuary: and have seen his Southern temple: 86 then I will sail down in peace to Memphis. No weeping

An appellation of Ptah.

² The narrative here is obscured by the mutilation of the inscription.

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