

AN UNPUBLISHED PEDESTAL OF RAMSES II FROM ANTINOOPOLIS WITH REFERENCE TO THE NINE BOWS

Abstract: This paper aims to study an alabaster pedestal of Ramses II, preserved in the World Museum (Liverpool 1966.159). Currently, it is displayed in the Ancient Egypt Gallery, Level 3, World Museum [NMGM Liverpool 66.159/ Liverpool Museum 03/061]. This pedestal has been found in Antinoopolis, known as El-Sheikh 'Abadah in El-Minya of Middle Egypt. It is inscribed with lines and columns of Hieroglyphic inscriptions written in vertical and horizontal ways, which refer to the nicknames of Ramses II in addition to some phrases that were shared between the Deities and the King. The context also refers to the so-called Nine Bows, known as the conventional enemies of the ancient Egyptians.

Keywords: Pedestal, Antinoopolis, Ramses II, Nicknames, Nine Bows

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INTRODUCTION

Many questions arose when studying this pedestal such as: Is this pedestal removed from another place as Hermopolis where there was a temple from the reign of Ramses II dedicated to god Thoth? Is this pedestal related to Hatnub the quarry for alabaster? Is it reused as a block in the Roman city, known as Antinoopolis? Is it an integral part of another base? Why the lotus and papyrus were represented in unique forms? The objective of this study is to investigate and discuss an inscribed pedestal of Ramses II, which was found in the archaeological site of Antinoopolis¹ adjacent to El-Sheikh 'Abadah, 10 km north-west of Mallawi in El-Minya, on the eastern bank of 15th Nome of Upper Egypt, opposite Hermopolis or Hermopolite nome². This pedestal is preserved in the World Museum (Liverpool 1966.159). Currently displayed at the Ancient Egypt Gallery, Level 3, World Museum [NMGM Liverpool 66.159/ Liverpool Museum 03/061]. The database of Website of World Museum Liverpool indicated the absence of bibliography for this pedestal and it has not been published yet³. The objectives of the study will be disclosed through the investigation, discussion, analysis, which can be addressed through a detailed examination of the elements or structure of the study content, typically as a basis for discussion or interpretation. This will be evident through the methodology and structure of the study, which will serve as a discussion of the content of the study.

1. QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1.1. Is this pedestal removed from another place as Hermopolis where

¹ DONADONI 1975, 323-325; cf. BELL 1940, 133-147; BOWMAN 1985, 137-163; BUNBURY/ MALOUTA 2012, 119-122; GROSSMANN 2008, 41-46; SPANU 2014, 59-82.

² Hermopolite nome was also known as Antinoite nome. For more about this see GAUTHIER 1935, 183; CALDERINI 1966, 69; HOMBERT 1937, 347-349.

³ <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/detail.aspx?id=4224> (Access date: 11 April 2017)

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there was a temple from the reign of Ramses II dedicated to god Thoth? This question is based on the fact that Antinoopolis/El-Sheikh 'Abadah is a Roman city that was founded by Hadrian in 130 AD, to memorialize his friend Antinous who drowned in the Nile⁴. It is worth mentioning that there are no Pharaonic monuments has been yet discovered, so there is a belief that this Nome was a Roman Nome, called Antinoite Nome. In the late 18th century, the Napoleonic Expedition visited this site and gave a brief description for a Roman Portico, pillars, a monumental gate and a theater, but now they are almost disappeared. To the west of the Roman city and across the river, there was a temple devoted to Thoth and the gods of Hermopolis as well Heliopolis⁵. It is worth mentioning that the excavations of Gayet (1896-1908) have dealt with the Egyptian temple and put into evidence some structures hastily called "Temple of Isis" and "Temple of Serapis"⁶. Therefore, there was a temple built by Ramses II⁷ and I think this pedestal was part of a statue related to this temple.

1.2. Is this pedestal related to Hatnub the quarry for alabaster? Hatnub is located in the Eastern Desert, almost 65 km from El-Minya, southeast of Tell el-Amarna. Hatnub was the prominent quarry of Egyptian alabaster, as well as a large settlement of quarry workers⁸. For this reason, I think that Hatnub is an effective factor in making this pedestal of Egyptian alabaster, and even the whole statue.

1.3. Is it reused as a block in the Roman city Antinoopolis? I think that because the other parts of the statue do not exist, or not found. According to the database of Liverpool Museum, this pedestal is listed in the Liverpool Museum as it was brought from El-Sheikh 'Abadah/Antinoopolis and the previous owner was the collector Johan Möger, who handed over numerous objects to the Liverpool Museum in the 1960s and 1970s, no information about how it was arrived to Möger.

1.4. Is it an integral part of another base? I think so because I noticed that the bottom edge of the base is not carefully polished and incomplete, but this edge was extended regularly and deliberately. Thus, it may have been installed on another base (Figs.1-3).

1.5. Why the lotus and papyrus were represented in unique forms? Lotus and papyrus were represented as unique forms to my knowledge (Figs.4-5, 7-8). There were a few unusual representations⁹, not typical, or of exceptional characteristic, this was actually rare and was limited to only a few representations. It is worth mentioning that ancient Egyptian art can be identified directly from the first glance through its distinctive features. The inscriptions and highly elegant designs on temples, tombs and monuments

represent spiritual and historical details of ancient Egyptian art and culture. For this reason, when looking at the lotus and papyrus forms represented on the pedestal, this will give the impression that these representations are unique (Figs.4-5, 7-8). Compared to some other forms represented papyrus and lotus flowers from the reign of Ramses II (Fig.9), it is clear that these forms represented on the pedestal are unique. For this reason, a comprehensive and comparative study for these representations is required.

2. THE METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The methodology and structure of this study will serve as a detailed examination of the elements or structure of study, typically as a basis for discussion or interpretation; the methodology will be based on the examination, investigation, discussion, documentation, analysis and then the analytical context and conclusion of the content of the study. It is worth mentioning that the methodology and structure of the study will be clear through the following items, which can be addressed as follows;

2.1. The descriptive study

The pedestal of Ramses II has a rectangular shape, made out of the Egyptian alabaster; the dimensions are about 302 mm 357mm 635 mm (Fig.1 [a-b]). The titular titles of Ramses II are inscribed on both sides (Figs. 2-3). Bodies of foreign captives are represented under the cartouches of Ramses II listed across the front of the pedestal (Figs.4 [a-b]-5[a-c]). Those captives substitute the well-known Nine Bows, the conventional enemies of the ancient Egyptians (Fig.6). The relevant characteristics of this pedestal can be described as follows;

2.1.1. Sculpture Type: Inscribed pedestal (Figs. 1-6).

2.1.2. Work Type: Bas-relief related to the art of the New Kingdom.

2.1.3. Material: Egyptian Alabaster.

2.1.4. Inscriptions: Hieroglyphs inscribed in lines and columns.

2.1.5. Description: A cubic block of Ramses II, made out of the Egyptian alabaster, the dimensions are about 302 mm 357mm 635 mm (Fig.1 [a-b]).

2.1.6. Period, Dynasty and Reign: According to the database of Liverpool Museum, the preferred date is almost 1279 BC - 1213 BC (Dynasty 19: Reign of Ramses II).

2.1.7. Geographical Area: Egypt, Middle Egypt, El-Minya, Antinoopolis which is adjacent to El-Sheikh 'Abadah located on the eastern bank of 15th Nome of Upper Egypt, opposite Hermopolis or Hermopolite Nome.

2.1.8. Archaeological Site: Archaeological area of Antinoopolis/ El-Sheikh 'Abadah.

2.1.9. Excavations: According to the database of Liverpool Museum, there was no archaeological excavations mission, but it was collected by Johan Möger before 1966, and then purchased from J. Möger by 1966.

2.1.10. Registration Number: 1966.159

2.1.11. Dimensions: ca 30cm × 35cm × 63cm.

2.1.12. Current Place: The current acquisition is entrusted to the Liverpool Museum, on display in Ancient Egypt Gallery, Level 3, World Museum [NMGM Liverpool

⁴ KÜHN 1913, 7-8; cf. GAUTHIER1935, 183; CALDERINI1966, 69; HOMBERT1937, 347-349.

⁵ DONADONI1975, 323-325; cf. STILLWELL 1976; BRECCIA/ADRIANI 1967, 193-195; GAYET 1902 a, 209-211; GAYET 1902b, Pl. XX; SIMON 2007, 193-209; BELL1940, 133-147; WATERS 1995, 194-230; HOSKINS 2007, 70-71.

⁶ Cf. GAYET 1902b, Pl. XX; GAYET1903, 115-140; GRUEBLER 1907, 105-106; D'AMATO2012, 42-43.

⁷ For this temple see GAYET 1897; DONADONI 1939, 665-677; DONADONI 1940, 715-720; DONADONI 1945, 171-190; DONADONI 1994, 449-453; ROSATI 1998, 975-981.

⁸ For more about Hatnub see SIMPSON 1977, 1043-1045; SHAW 1986, 189-212; SHAW 2010.

⁹ For more about unusual representations see MERZEBAN2008, 41-71.

66.159/ Liverpool Museum 03/061].

2.1.13. Notes and Acquisitions: The pedestal is listed in the Liverpool Museum as it was brought from El-Sheikh 'Abadah/Antinoopolis. The previous owner was the collector Johan Möger, who handed over numerous objects to the Liverpool Museum in the 1960s and 1970s. It is worth mentioning that there is no information about how it was arrived to Möger, but selling was a way of dealing.

2.1.14. Current Status: Preserved in a good case.

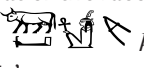
2.1.15. Bibliography: Unpublished.

2.2. A descriptive study of the pedestal of Ramses II

2.2.1. The front side of the pedestal

2.2.1.1. The inscriptions on the front side of the pedestal were carried out through a bas-relief, representing two symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt (Figs.7-8). From the left side, there is a representation of the goddess Nekhbet ¹⁰

, the symbol of Upper Egypt, represented in the form of a vulture, standing on the ideogram *nb* ; she is wearing the atef crown , while the title *Nhbt rsyt*  is written behind the goddess, also the symbols *šn* , *w3s* , and *nh*  are pushed from the left claw of Nekhbet in front of the head of Horus. Below Nekhbet, there is lotus plant *sšn* sign of Upper Egypt, in addition to the sign  to right of *sšn*, whilst the sign  was on left side. On the lower level, there are the three ideograms *nh* , *w3s*  and *mr* .

2.2.1.2. The second representation from the left is that of the ideogram  *srh* with the Horus name of Ramses II  *k3 nht mry M3t*, the strong bull, beloved of Ma'at, surmounted by god Horus. The later is wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt  and over him is represented the sun disc  holding the ideograms ,  and .

2.2.1.3. The right side of the pedestal has the same theme of representation but with a figure of Wadjet¹¹, which appeared as an alternative to the goddess Nekhbet, there is a scene that matches the left side; however, there is differentiation in the representation way of the goddess. She is appeared as a symbol of Lower Egypt and represented in

the form of a serpent , standing on the ideogram  with the atef crown ; her title *W3dt* [*mhyt*]  [//////] is inscribed behind her, but there is a lacuna in the word *mhyt*.

¹⁰ For more about the goddess Nekhbet see LIMME 2008, 15-50; LEITZ 2002, 301-303; WILKINSON 2003, 213-214; NAGY 1983, 3-8; VAN VOSS1982, 366-367; DERCHAIN 1962, 255-258; WERHROUEK 1952, 197-203; GARDINER 1911, 47-51.

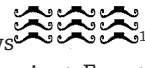
¹¹ For more about the goddess Wadjet see LEITZ 2002, 269-273; BEDIER 1994, 35-50; FISCHER-ELFERT 1986, 906-909; WILKINSON 2003, 226-227.

Like the left side, the symbols *šn* , *w3s* , and *nh*  are pushed from Wadjet in front of the head of Horus. Below the goddess, there is the bulrush *w3d* as a signal to Lower Egypt.

To the right of *w3d*, there is the sign  and on the left was the sign , whilst at a lower level, there are the three ideograms *nh* , *w3s*  and *mr* .

2.2.1.4. In the middle of the pedestal, there are two prominent cartouches with two feathers, in addition to the sun disk , figured above the ideogram  *nwb*. On the right side, there is the birth name of Ramses II  *s3-Rc* ¹² (*Rc ms sw mry Tmn*). On the left, there is the coronation name  *nswt-bity*¹³ (*wsr M3t Rc stp n Rc*).

2.2.2. The two sides of the pedestal

The two sides of the pedestal are divided into two registers; the upper one is a horizontal line of inscription including legend of Ramses II, while the lower represents the nine captives who have been restricted in a vertical way (Figs.2-4, 10[a-b]). The upper level is devoted to Ramses II who conquered the people of the nine bows, while the lower complementary level outlines the humiliated bodies of captives as reference to Nine Bows ¹⁴, who were the conventional enemies of the ancient Egyptians. At the lowest section of the captive bodies, there are oval rings including the names of the countries to which they belong. The nine tribes are figured from right to left as following;

I. The first tribe: people of *h3w-nbw* ¹⁵, the northernmost foreigners who were related to foreign countries located in the northern coast of Egypt and in the Aegean islands, or along the Mediterranean Sea¹⁶.

II. The second tribe: people of *s3tyw* ¹⁷, the people of an area belonging to the land of Nubia¹⁸, or the inhabitants near the third jandal/cataract in the south of Egypt. Vercoutter¹⁹ think that *s3t/s3tyw* means the people of Shat. Wenig²⁰ and Uphill²¹ have the same opinion. But the word could also be read *s3t/s3tyw*²² which means the people of Sat who are generally associated with the desert, and are mainly attached to ostriches²³ that are imported from Punt countries and are associated with desert sands.

III. The third tribe: people of *B-smw* ²⁴, generally are the residents of southern Egypt and are mainly

¹² For more about "*s3-Rc*" see WB III, 410, 7-14.

¹³ For more about "*nswt-bity*" see WB II, 325, 1-4.

¹⁴ For more information see GRAHAM 2001, 163-167; WILDUNG 1982, 472-473. For more about writing forms see WB I, 570, 6-7.

¹⁵ For more information about writing forms see WB III, 11, 1-12.

¹⁶ For more information see LEAHY2001, 257-260; O'CONNOR2000, 85-102.

¹⁷ For more information about writing forms see WB IV, 420, 1-12.

¹⁸ For more information see WELSBY 2001, 551-557; WENIG 1982, 526-532; UPHILL 1966, 393-420; VERCOUTTER 1948, 108-111.

¹⁹ VERCOUTTER 1948, 110-111.

²⁰ WENIG1982, 526-532.

²¹ UPHILL1966, 395-396.

²² WB IV, 420, 1-12.

²³ WENGROW2006, 19-20; TRIGGER *et alii* 1996, 8-9; ERMANN1972, 523-524.

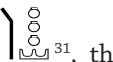
²⁴ For more information about writing forms see WB V, 227, 4-14.

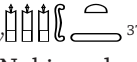
the citizens of Upper Egypt. Uphill pointed out that Egyptian kings were considered the inhabitants of Upper and Lower Egypt among the population who should be controlled along with other neighboring peoples²⁵. Carnagey believe that the expression refers to the tribes dwelled the remote zone which located to the east of Nile Valley, or was mainly between Nile Valley and Red Sea coast, as well as the tribes that inhabited the Oases²⁶.

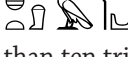
IV. The fourth tribe: people of *shtyw-i3m* ²⁷, generally are the dwellers of desert oases as recorded in the nine bows lists and are mainly related to the dwellers of Siwa Oasis²⁸.

V. The fifth tribe: people of *t3-mhw* ²⁹, generally are the residents of the Delta, or northern Egypt and are mainly the citizens of Lower Egypt.

VI. The sixth tribe: people of *pdtyw-s3w* ³⁰, the barbarians in general, and are mostly the nomads or Bedouins dwelling in the eastern desert or the Arabian Desert between River Nile and Red Sea coast.

VII. The seventh tribe: people of *thnw* ³¹, the dwellers of west and south-west of Egypt³² and are definitely the Libyans who are divided into four categories; Tehenu ³³, Temehu ³⁴, Ribu or Libu ³⁵ and Meshwesh ³⁶.

VIII. The eighth tribe: people of *iwntyw-sty* ³⁷, the residents of Nubia or natives of the land of Nubia and are in particular the dwellers of the southeastern desert³⁸.

IX. The ninth tribe: people of *mntyw-nw-stt* ³⁹, the nomadic ethnic group who lived in north eastern Egypt, as well as the Bedouins of Sinai along with the Bedouins of Asia⁴⁰. The Asian nomads were divided into four categories as follows; Shasu ⁴¹, Retenu ⁴², Zinzar/Seidjar ⁴³ and Hittites ⁴⁴. Kitchen⁴⁵ pointed out that there were more than ten tribes which are listed in ancient Egyptian sources,

²⁵ UPHILL1966, 394-395.

²⁶ CARNAGEY1997, 17-18.

²⁷ For more information about writing forms see WB IV, 230, 10-13; I, 79, 2-8.

²⁸ VERCOUTTER 1948, 111-114; UPHILL1966, 395-396; cf. WB IV, 230, 10-13.

²⁹ For more information about writing forms see WB V, 224, 12.

³⁰ For more information about writing forms see WB I, 570, 4-5.

³¹ For more information about writing forms see WB V, 394, 5-7.

³² For more information see COONEY2011, 32-37; YOYOTTE1961, 121-181; ČERNÝ1959, 1-3; YOUSSEF1964, 273-280; WAINWRIGHT1962, 89-99.

³³ For more information about writing forms see WB V, 394, 11.

³⁴ For more information about writing forms see WB V, 368, 5-7.

³⁵ For more information about writing forms see WB II, 414, 2-3.

³⁶ For more information about writing forms see WB II, 157, 3.

³⁷ For more information about writing forms see WB I, 55, 2-7.

³⁸ SETHI1920, 53-54; UPHILL1966, 394-395; CARNAGEY 1997, 18-19.

³⁹ For more information about writing forms see WB II, 92, 5-6.

⁴⁰ For more information see REDFORD 1992, 32-33; WILLIAM 1972, 56-60; DANIEL 1876, 52-57; WAINWRIGHT 1964, 40-46; WENTE 1963, 167-172.

⁴¹ For more information about writing forms see WB IV, 412, 10-11.

⁴² For more information about writing forms see WB II, 460, 10-12.

⁴³ For more information see MEYER 1897, 71-72; MASPERO 1896, 363-364.

⁴⁴ For more information about writing forms see WB III, 349, 16-17.

⁴⁵ KRI VII, 98.

but their names are lost (Fig.11), where the tenth tribe was the people of *ht3-hsy* ⁴⁶, who are the residents of Northern Syria, known as Hittites of the land of Khatti or Khetta⁴⁷. But the pedestal of Ramses II denotes only the nine tribes.

3. A LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE PEDESTAL OF RAMSES II

3.1. Inscription and linguistic context of left side

3.1.1. *Nhbt-rsyt di=s w3s 'nh (n) mry (=s)Hr k3-nht mry M3't nswt-bity (wsr M3't R'c stp n R') s3-r'c (R'c ms sw mry Imn)*

(The goddess) Nekhbet southerly, she gives authority and life (to her) beloved⁴⁸ Horus, the strong bull, beloved of Ma't, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt dthe strong justice of R', the chosen by R'), son of the sun 3the birth giving by R', beloved of Amun).

3.1.2. *W3dt-[mhyt] di=s w3s 'nh (n) mry (=s)Hr k3-nht mry M3't s3-r'c (R'c ms sw mry Imn) nswt-bity dwsr m3't R'c stp n R')*

(The goddess) Wadjet [northerly], she gives authority and life (to her) beloved Horus, the strong bull, beloved of Ma't, son of the sun dthe birth giving by R', beloved of Amun), the King of Upper and Lower Egypt dthe strong justice of R', the chosen by R').

It is worth mentioning that this context included a symbolic meaning that represents a sequential layout of the context, or the so-called contextualism; both of them are complementary and each of them is equal of importance, where the left side delivers to the middle side. In a similar way, the right side grants to the middle side as an implicit link leading to the concept of eternity that is granted and guaranteed through the content of context.

3.2. Inscription and context of both sides

On both sides of the pedestal, there are two identical texts read as following;


'nh Hr k3-nht mry M3't nswt-bity <wsr M3't R'c stp n R'> s3-r'c nb-h'w // // // //

May he live, Horus, the strong bull, beloved of Ma't, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the two lands (the strong justice of R', the chosen by R'), son of the sun, the lord of the crowns // // // //

At the end of the text, there are lacunae that can be addressed by comparison with a similar text inscribed on another pedestal conserved in British Museum with No.681⁴⁹. Thus, the lacunae and text can be completed as

 *s3-r'c nb-h'w (R'c ms*

⁴⁶ For more information about writing forms see WB III, 349, 16-17; cf. VERCOUTTER 1948, 115.

⁴⁷ For more information see MASPERO 1896, 55, 148, 192, 329, 359; cf. VERCOUTTER 1948, 115.

⁴⁸ This expression means "preferred before all others of the same kind, better than another, favored, and recommended, or for the sake of Ramses II and therefore Cf. WB I, 60, 1, for "n-ib".

⁴⁹ For more information see BIERBBRIER 1982, 13, Pl.18; KRI VII, 98.

sw mry 'Imn) di 'nh dt, the son of the sun, the lord of the crowns (the birth giving by R', beloved of Amun) given life forever.

4. AN ANALYTICAL SURVEY OF THE NINE BOWS TRIBES

The nine bows were well mentioned in ancient Egyptian documents since, at least, Old Kingdom. In the course of the Predynastic period, the nine bows were not indicated by the names of tribes; however, there is a representation inscribed on the head of scepter discovered in Hierakonpolis or Nekhen from the reign of Scorpion King⁵⁰, where the nine bows appeared as an implicit concept in the opposite side to Rekhyt-birds, which are symbolically related to the Egyptians. The nine bows are clearly represented on a statue of Djoser⁵¹ which was found close to the Southeastern side of the enclosure of the Step Pyramid complex at Saqqara. Regarding the Pyramid texts, it is worth mentioning that the ancient Egyptian believed in the concept of dualism or the two cosmic forces, which control the system and framework of the universe; the order/*M3't* along with the Ennead of the gods and then the King as a vice of the gods in opposite to chaos/*Isft* together with the nine bows and then the enemies' tribes. In fact, the nine bows represent the foreign enemies who are conflicted with the Kings of ancient Egypt, but theologically, the nine bows represent an aspect of chaos belonging to *Isft* which is conflicted with *M3't* as well as the Ennead of the gods. Completely, each of them depends on the other in order to exist and dominate. The struggle for existence against every part of the two aspects is the usual interaction achieved by the effective tendency of both opposing forces; this is carried out through a social, political, ideological or theological approach. There is a reference to this dualism mentioned clearly in spell No.222 (202b) of the Pyramid texts, where the deceased King appeals to the Sun god in order to grant him control of the nine bows and the support of the Ennead of the gods⁵². The context of spell No.222 (202b) of King Wnisis at Saqqara⁵³ refers to the following;


di=k i3k (Wnisis) pn pdwt 9 htm=f psdt

That you may make this (Wnisis) rule the nine bows and provide the Ennead

The nine bows tribes can be addressed through investigation and survey as follows;

1. The first tribe: people of *h3w-nbw* listed on archaeological evidences as following;

1.1. In a stela from the reign of Ahmose I found in the temple of Karnak, preserved in the Egyptian museum of Cairo No.CG 34001⁵⁴.

1.2. In the Tombos stela⁵⁵ from the reign of Thutmose

⁵⁰ UPHILL1966, 393; cf. CARNAGEY 1997, 17.

⁵¹ UPHILL1966, 394; cf. CARNAGEY 1997, 17.

⁵² ALLEN2005, 39; cf. COONEY 2011, 74; POO 2005, 43; FAULKNER 1969, 50; MERCER 1952, 67.

⁵³ PYR 222 §202 b; PT 222 §202b.

⁵⁴ URK IV, 14-20; cf. LACAU 1909, 1-4.

⁵⁵ The Tombos stela is an ancient Egyptian rock-inscription, it was discovered in about 1829 on the eastern bank of the Nile in the area of Tombos in Nubia, and dating back to the second year of the reign of Thutmose I. This stela attests

I⁵⁶.

1.3. In the topographical list of Seti I at the temple of Karnak⁵⁷.

1.4. In the topographical list of Seti I at the temple of Qurneh⁵⁸.

1.5. In the topographical list of Ramses II at the temple of Karnak⁵⁹.

1.6. In the topographical list of Ramses II at the temple of Luxor⁶⁰.

1.7. In the topographical list of Ramses II at the temple of Abu Simbel⁶¹.

1.8. In the Beth-Shan stela of Ramses II, preserved in the University Museum of Pennsylvania No. 29.107.958⁶².

1.9. In the inscriptions of rock-cut Egyptian temple of El-Derr in Lower Nubia⁶³.

1.10. In the topographical list of Ramses III at the temple of Medinet Habu⁶⁴.

1.11. In the topographical list of Ramses III at the temple of Karnak⁶⁵.

1.12. In the inscriptions of the kneeling statue of Hor-Psamthek from the 26th Dynasty, this was found in Leontopolis/ the Lion city, currently called Tell el-Yahudiyeh⁶⁶.

2. The second tribe: people of *s'tyw* listed on archaeological evidences as following;

2.1. In the poetical stela of Thutmose III, preserved in the Egyptian museum of Cairo No.CCG 34010⁶⁷.

2.2. In the topographical list of Seti I at the temple of Karnak⁶⁸.

2.3. In the topographical list of Seti I at the temple of Wadi Kanais of Eastern desert of Egypt⁶⁹.

2.4. In the topographical list of Ramses II at the temple of Abydos⁷⁰.

2.5. In the topographical list of Ramses II at the temple of Karnak⁷¹.

2.6. In the topographical list of Ramses II at the temple of Luxor⁷².

2.7. In the topographical list of Ramses II at the temple of Abu Simbel⁷³.

2.8. In the topographical list of Ramses III at the temple of Karnak⁷⁴.

2.9. In the topographical list of Shashanq I at the military campaign of Thutmose I into Nubia around the area of the third jandal of the Nile Cf. PM VII, 174-175.

⁵⁶ URK IV, 82-86.

⁵⁷ KRI I, 28:1, 31:7.

⁵⁸ KRI I, 33:10.

⁵⁹ KRI II, 169:8.

⁶⁰ KRI II, 184:12, 185:10.

⁶¹ KRI II, 205:15.

⁶² KRI II, 151:15.

⁶³ KRI II, 203:2.

⁶⁴ KRI V, 35:5.

⁶⁵ KRI V, 109:14, 110:15.

⁶⁶ For more information see PETRIE 1906, 18, Pl.20.

⁶⁷ URK IV, 618:1; cf. LACAU 1909, 17-21.

⁶⁸ KRI I, 28:1;31:7.

⁶⁹ KRI I, 35:12; cf. WEIGALL 1909, 71-84; GAUTHIER 1919, 1-38.

⁷⁰ KRI II, 192:5.

⁷¹ KRI II, 169:8.

⁷² KRI II, 184:12, 185:10.

⁷³ KRI II, 205:15.

⁷⁴ KRI V, 109:14.

temple of Karnak⁷⁵.

3. The third tribe: people of *t3-šmꜥw* listed on archaeological evidences as follows;

3.1. In the dedication text from the reign of Ramses II at the temple of Abydos⁷⁶.

3.2. In the dedication stela of Kuban from the reign of Ramses II, preserved in Grenoble Museum⁷⁷.

3.3. In the inscription from the reign of Ptolemaios II/Philadelphos⁷⁸ at the temple of Philae⁷⁹.

3.4. In the inscription from the temple of Dendera⁸⁰.

3.5. In the inscription from the temple of Edfou⁸¹.

4. The fourth tribe: people of *šhtyw-i3m* listed on archaeological evidences as follows;

4.1. In the topographical list of the tomb of Userhat/TT56 at the necropolis of Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna⁸².

4.2. In the topographical list of the tomb of Puimre/TT39 at the necropolis of El-Khokha⁸³.

4.3. In the topographical list of Seti I at the temple of Karnak⁸⁴.

4.4. In the topographical list of Ramses II at the temple of Karnak⁸⁵.

4.5. In the topographical list of Ramses III at the temple of Karnak⁸⁶.

4.6. In the topographical list of Shashanq I at the temple of Karnak⁸⁷.

4.7. In the inscription from the reign of Psamtik I⁸⁸.

4.8. In the inscription from the reign of Ptolemaios VII/Neos Philopator⁸⁹ at the temple of Edfou⁹⁰.

5. The fifth tribe: people of *t3-mḥw* listed on archaeological evidences as follows;

5.1. In the inscription of the Palermo stone, rt. 6, 2; vs. 2, 2⁹¹.

5.2. In a stela found in the tomb of *Imny* at the necropolis of Abydos, preserved in the Egyptian museum of Cairo No.CG 20135⁹².

5.3. In a stela found in the tomb of *Imny* at the necropolis of Abydos, preserved in the Egyptian museum of Cairo No.CG 20562⁹³.

5.4. In a stela found in the tomb of *Mḥw-š3-ḥtpw* at

the necropolis of Abydos, preserved in the Egyptian museum of Cairo No.CG 20592⁹⁴.

5.5. In the inscription of a statue of Senusret I discovered in El-Lisht, and preserved in the Egyptian museum of Cairo No.411⁹⁵.

5.6. In the rock-inscription of Tombos stela, found in the area of Tombos in Nubia, dated to the second year of the reign of Thutmose I⁹⁶.

6. The sixth tribe: people of *pḏtyw- šw* listed on archaeological evidences as follows;

6.1. In the topographical list of Seti I at the temple of Karnak⁹⁷.

6.2. In the topographical list of Seti I at el-Qurna⁹⁸.

6.3. In the topographical list of Seti I at the temple of Wadi Kanaïs of Eastern desert of Egypt⁹⁹.

6.4. In the topographical lists recorded on the statues bases of Ramses II at the temple of Luxor¹⁰⁰.

6.5. In the topographical list of Ramses II at the temple of Abydos¹⁰¹.

6.6. In the Beth-Shan stela of Ramses II, preserved in the University Museum of Pennsylvania No. 29.107.958¹⁰².

6.7. In the topographical list of Ramses III at the temple of Medinet Habu¹⁰³.

7. The seventh tribe: people of *ṯḥnw* listed on archaeological evidences as follows;

7.1. In the spell No.570 (1456c, 1457c, 1458c) of the Pyramid texts of Merenre (Nemtyemsaf) at Saqqara¹⁰⁴.

7.2. In the inscriptions of the Court official Weni¹⁰⁵.

7.3. In the inscriptions of the Nomarch of the 1st Nome of Upper Egypt, Harkhuf¹⁰⁶, and this records inscribed in his tomb found at the necropolis of Qubbet El-Hawa, Aswan¹⁰⁷.

7.4. In the topographical list of the tomb of Userhat/TT56 at the necropolis of Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna¹⁰⁸.

7.5. In the poetical stela of Thutmose III, preserved in the Egyptian museum of Cairo No.CCG 34010¹⁰⁹.

7.6. In the topographical list of Seti I at the temple of Karnak¹¹⁰.

7.7. In the Beth-Shan stela of Ramses II, preserved in

⁷⁵ For more information see MÜLLER1906, 51-54.

⁷⁶ KRI II, 336:8.

⁷⁷ KRI II, 354:2; cf. TRESSON 1922, 1-11.

⁷⁸ For more about the Royal titles of Ptolemaios Philadelphos see LD IV, 7c: Text IV, 160, 7g: Text IV, 257-258; GAUTHIER 1915, 222-245; VON BECKERATH 1999, 234-235, 2: E, 2: N, 2: T3; LEPROHON 2013, 178-179.

⁷⁹ For more information see BÉNÉDITE 1893, 41.

⁸⁰ CAUVILLE 2007, 197.

⁸¹ CHASSINAT 1930, 278.

⁸² LD III, 63; cf. COONEY 2011, 355.

⁸³ LD III, 76; cf. FAKHRY 1973, 374.

⁸⁴ KRI I, 28:2; 31:10

⁸⁵ KRI II, 151: 15; 169:10; 184:5-10.

⁸⁶ KRI V, 35:6.

⁸⁷ MÜLLER 1906, Pls.75, 86.

⁸⁸ VERCOUTTER 1948, 112; cf. FAKHRY 1937, 39.

⁸⁹ For more about the Royal titles of Ptolemaios Philopator see VON BECKERATH 1999, 238-239, 2:E, 2:N, 2:T3; LEPROHON 2013, 182.

⁹⁰ CHASSINAT 1932, 230.

⁹¹ SCHÄFER 1902, 39-40

⁹² LANGE/SCHÄFER 1902, 158-159.

⁹³ LANGE/SCHÄFER 1908, 196-197.

⁹⁴ LANGE/SCHÄFER 1908, 230-231.

⁹⁵ BORCHARDT 1925, 21-23.

⁹⁶ URK IV, 82:14.

⁹⁷ KRI I, 28:4, 31:7.

⁹⁸ KRI I, 33:10.

⁹⁹ KRI I, 35:14.

¹⁰⁰ KRI II, 184:7, 187:10.

¹⁰¹ KRI II, 192:9.

¹⁰² KRI II, 150:15.

¹⁰³ KRI V, 35:7.

¹⁰⁴ PYR 570 §1456c, §1457c, §1458c; PT 1456§570c, §1457c, §1458c.

¹⁰⁵ For more about Weni, see STRUDWICK 2005, 352-355; LICHTHEIM 1973, 18-22. The autobiography of Weni is recorded in his tomb at Abydos and preserved at the Egyptian museum of Cairo. For more information see: URK I, 101:10-15; cf. BREASTED 1906, §319-324, §306-315, §294-291; GREBAUT 1900, 25-26, Pl.27; MARIETTE 1880a, 83-84; MARIETTE 1880b, Pls. 44-45.

¹⁰⁶ For more about Harkhuf see VERNUS/YOYOTTE 2003, 121-122; cf. LICHTHEIM 1973, 23-27; BREASTED 1906, § 325, 328.

¹⁰⁷ URK I, 125:10-12; cf. YOYOTTE 1952, 173-178; KARENGA 2004, 52.

¹⁰⁸ LD III, 63; cf. COONEY 2011, 355.

¹⁰⁹ URK IV, 617:8; cf. LACAU 1909, 17-21.

¹¹⁰ KRI I, 28:2, 31:10.

the University Museum of Pennsylvania No. 29.107.958¹¹¹.

7.8. In the Tell-Basta stela¹¹² from the reign of Ramses II¹¹³.

8. The eighth tribe: people of *iwntyw-sty* listed on archaeological evidences as follows;

8.1. In the topographical list of the tomb of Userhat/TT56 at the necropolis of Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna¹¹⁴.

8.2. In the topographical list of the tomb of Puimre/TT39 at the necropolis of El-Khokha¹¹⁵.

8.3. In the topographical list of Seti I at the temple of Karnak¹¹⁶.

8.4. In the topographical list of Ramses II at the temple of Karnak¹¹⁷.

8.5. In the inscription from the reign of Psamtik I¹¹⁸.

8.6. In the inscription from the reign of Ptolemaios VII/Neos Philopator¹¹⁹ at the temple of Edfou¹²⁰.

9. The ninth tribe: people of *mntyw- nw- stt* listed on archaeological evidences as follows;

9.1. In the topographical list of the tomb of Userhat/TT56 at the necropolis of Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna¹²¹.

9.2. In the topographical list of the tomb of Puimre/TT39 at the necropolis of El-Khokha¹²².

9.3. In the topographical list of Seti I at the temple of Karnak¹²³.

9.4. In the Beth-Shan stela of Ramses II, preserved in the University Museum of Pennsylvania No. 29.107.958¹²⁴.

9.5. In the topographical list of Shashanq I at the temple of Karnak¹²⁵.

9.6. In the inscription from the reign of Ptolemaios VII/Neos Philopator at the temple of Edfou¹²⁶.

CONCLUSION

The pedestal of Ramses II was found in Antinoopolis/El-Sheikh 'Abadah, El-Minya, Egypt and is preserved in World Museum, Liverpool with No. 1966.159. It is now displayed in Ancient Egypt Gallery, Level 3, World Museum [NMG Liverpool 66.159/Liverpool Museum 03/061]. The pedestal has the form of a rectangular block made out of the Egyptian alabaster, and engraved by Bas-relief related to the art of the New Kingdom and the reign of Ramses II. The inscriptions included lines and columns of Hieroglyphic writing inscribed on the three sides. On the forefront of the pedestal, there are the cartouches of Ramses II in addition to his Horus name, the whole is protected by the two goddesses Nekhbet and

Wadjet who offered symbols *ḥnh*, *w3s* and *šn* to Horus. On both sides, there are the name and legends of Ramses II, which were above the bodies of humiliated captives personified as substitutes to the Nine Bows; the conventional enemies of the ancient Egyptians. Those captives were exemplified on both sides in the forms of humiliated captives kneeling under the King's feet, symbolically, under his control. The context refers to the royal titles and some phrases that were shared between the Deities and King, in addition to the nine bows, or the conventional enemies of the ancient Egyptians. The nine bows tribes or the enemies of Ramses II were registered and represented as follows; *ḥ3w-nbw* are the northernmost foreigners, *šḥtyw* are the southern Nubians or the people of an area belonging to the land of Nubia, *t3-šmḥw* are generally residents of southern Egypt and are mainly the citizens of Upper Egypt, *šḥtyw- i3m* are generally the inhabitants of desert oases and are mainly the dwellers of Siwa oasis, *t3-mḥw* are generally the residents of the Delta, or northern Egypt and are mainly the citizens of Lower Egypt, *pḏtyw- šw* are the barbarians in general, and are mostly the nomads or Bedouins dwelling in the eastern desert, or the Arabian Desert between River Nile and Red Sea coast, *ṯḥnw* are generally the dwellers of west and south-west of Egypt and are mostly the Libyans who are divided into four categories; Tehenu, Temehu, Ribu, and Meshwesh, *iwntyw-sty* are in general the residents of Nubia or natives of Nubian land and are in particular the inhabitants of the southeastern desert, and finally *mntyw- nw- stt* are the nomadic ethnic group who lived in north eastern Egypt, as well as Bedouins of Sinai along with Bedouins of Asia, or Asian nomads that were divided into four categories; Shasu, Retenu, Zinzar/Seidjar, and Hittites of the land of Khatti or Khetta. The nine bows are well documented in ancient Egyptian sources since, at least, Old Kingdom. In the course of the Predynastic period, the nine bows were not referred to by the names of tribes; however, there is a representation inscribed on the head of a scepter discovered in Hierakonpolis or Nekhen from the reign of the Scorpion King, where the nine bows appeared as an implicit concept in the opposite side to Rekhyt-birds, which were symbolically linked to the Egyptians. As well as, the nine bows were represented on a statue of Djoser, which found close to the Southeastern side of the enclosure of the Step Pyramid complex at Saqqara. By comparison between the tribes list of the nine bows recorded on the pedestal of Ramses II and the other lists registered in ancient Egypt, it was clear that:

- a) The list of the nine bows inscribed on the pedestal of Ramses II has the same shape of the classical nine bows list of Amenhotep III.
- b) The list of Ramses II has the same order of representation of the classical nine bows list of Amenhotep III.
- c) The equivalence of the order between the two lists is obvious according to the classification of the nine bows tribes, which were as follows; (I) The tribe of *ḥ3w-nbw*, (II) The tribe of *šḥtyw*, (III) The tribe of *t3-šmḥw*, (IV) The tribe of *šḥtyw- i3m*, (V) The tribe of *t3-mḥw*, (VI) The tribe of *pḏtyw- šw*, (VII) The tribe of *ṯḥnw*, (VIII) The tribe of *iwntyw-sty*, (IX) The tribe of *mntyw- nw- stt*.
- d) There were some others tribes recorded in the list of Amenhotep III such as; Assyria, Babylon, Naharin,

¹¹¹ KRI II, 150:15.

¹¹² NAVILLE 1891, 39-40, Pl. 36

¹¹³ KRI II, 306:7.

¹¹⁴ LD III, 63; cf. COONEY 2011, 355.

¹¹⁵ LD III, 76.

¹¹⁶ KRI I, 28:2, 31:10, Cf. KRI I, 35:11.

¹¹⁷ KRI II, 163:10; cf. KRI II, 206:14-16, 409:14, 465:6; KRI VII, 98:10.

¹¹⁸ VERCOUTTER 1948, 112; cf. FAKHRY 1937, 39.

¹¹⁹ For more about the Royal titles of Ptolemaios Philopator see VON BECKERATH 1999, 238-239, 2: E, 2: N, 2:T3; LEPROHON 2013, 182.

¹²⁰ CHASSINAT 1932, 230; cf. VERCOUTTER 1948, 116.

¹²¹ LD III, 63; cf. COONEY 2011, 355.

¹²² LD III, 76.

¹²³ KRI I, 28:2, 31:10, 35:11; cf. VERCOUTTER 1948, 114.

¹²⁴ KRI II, 150-151:15; cf. VERCOUTTER 1948, 111, 114.

¹²⁵ MÜLLER 1906, Pls. 75, 86; cf. VERCOUTTER 1948, 113.

¹²⁶ CHASSINAT 1932, 230; cf. VERCOUTTER 1948, 116.

Keftiu, Mentius, and Retenu, which were not listed in the list of Ramses II. In fact, this is not an exception in New Kingdom sources concerning the nine bows tribes, as found in some topographical lists of Kings in the New Kingdom, which were more than eleven tribes listed, so there were about twenty-four tribal names listed on the pedestal of the Persian King Darius I.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ASAE *Annals du Service des Antiquités de L'Egypte, (Le Caire).*
- BIFAO *Bulletin de L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, (Le Caire).*
- IFAO *Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, (Le Caire).*
- JARCE *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, (Boston).*
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, (London).*
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies, (Chicago).*
- KRI *Kitchen, K. A., (1975-1990). Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical, 8 Vols. (Oxford: Blackwell).*
- LÄ *Helck, W./Otto, E., (eds.), (1975-1986). Lexikon der Ägyptologie, 6 Vols. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).*
- LD *Lepsius, R., (1849-1858). Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, 13 Vols. (Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, Centre de documentation du monde oriental, Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1972).*
- MÄS *Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, (Berlin).*
- MIFAO *Mémoires publiés Par les membres de L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, (Le Caire).*
- MMAF *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologie Française du Caire, (Paris).*
- OLA *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, (Leuven).*
Orientalia
Orientalia, Nova Series, (Rome).
- PM *Porter, B./Moss, R., (1995). Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings, Vol. VII, (Oxford: Griffith Institute, the University of Oxford Press).*
- PT *Allen, J. P., (2013). A new Concordance of the Pyramid Texts, 6 Vols. (Providence: Brown University Press).*
- PYR *Sethe, K., (1908-1910). Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrucken und Photographien des Berliner Museums, 2 Vols. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung).*
- URK I *Sethe, K., (1933). Urkunden des Alten Reichs, 2nd rev. ed., (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs).*

URK IV

Sethe, K., (1906). Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Historisch-biographische Urkunden, Vol. I, Heft 1- 4, (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs).

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FIGURES



Fig. 1 [a-b]. The pedestal of Ramses II

(After: <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/wml/collections/antiquities/ancient-egypt/item-296213.aspx>), (Access date: 11 April 2017)



Fig. 2. The left side of the pedestal

(After: <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/wml/collections/antiquities/ancient-egypt/item-296213.aspx>)
(Access date: 11 April 2017)

Fig. 3. The right side of the pedestal
(After: <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/wml/collections/antiquities/ancient-egypt/item-296213.aspx>),
(Access date: 11 April 2017)





Fig. 4 [a-b]. The cartouches of Ramses II,
(After: <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/wml/collections/antiquities/ancient-egypt/item-296213.aspx>), (Access date: 11 April 2017)



Fig. 5 [a,b,c]. More illustrations for the cartouches of Ramses II
(After: <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/wml/collections/antiquities/ancient-egypt/item-296213.aspx>), (Access date: 11 April 2017)



Fig. 6. The humiliated bodies of captives as reference to the Nine Bows
(After: <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/result.aspx?location=01/1294/3>), (Access date: 11 April 2017)



Fig. 7. The original shape of the pedestal of Ramses II which was in the form of alabaster block (After: <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/wml/collections/antiquities/ancient-egypt/item-296213.aspx>), (Access date: 11 April 2017)



Fig. 7. The facsimile of the pedestal of Ramses II which was in the form of alabaster block (Author)



Fig. 8. The original shape of the cartouches of Ramses II that are inscribed on the front side of the pedestal, (After: <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/wml/collections/antiquities/ancient-egypt/item-296213.aspx>), (Access date: 11 April 2017)



Fig. 8. The facsimile of the cartouches of Ramses II that are inscribed on the front side of the pedestal (Author) (Author)





Fig. 10a. The original shape of the frieze and nine captives or bows are inscribed on both sides of the pedestal, (After: <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/result.aspx?location=01/1294/3>), (Access date: 11 April 2017)



Fig. 10a. The facsimile of the frieze and nine captives or bows are inscribed on both sides of the pedestal (Author)



1. *h3w-nbw*



2. *s'tyw*



3. *t3-šm'w*



4. *shtyw- i3m*



5. *t3-m'hw*



6. *pdtyw-šw*



7. *t'hnw*



8. *iwntyw-sty*



9. *mntyw- nw-stt*

Fig. 10b. Illustrations for the previous facsimile of the frieze and nine captives or bows are inscribed on both sides of the pedestal (Author)

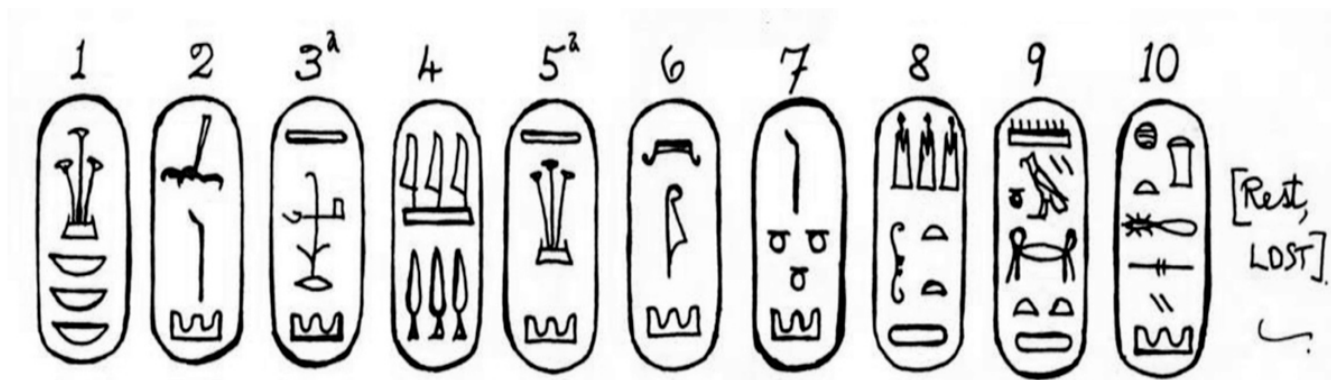


Fig. 11. The nine bows tribes as referred to by Kitchen, (After: KITCHEN1987, 98)