

## New Light on the Possible Reasons for Representing the Nine Bows in Some 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Private Theban Tombs

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### ABSTRACT

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In only some 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty Theban private tombs that few scenes depicted the king in his royal kiosk with the Nine Bows as a decorative motif. This motif had disappeared from the private Theban scenes of the latter periods for unknown reasons. Therefore, this paper aims at identifying the locations of the tombs including these scenes, their dates and the titles of their owners. It also displays and examines the scenes showing this motif in the Theban private tombs and their types to understand the possible reasons behind their appearance in certain tombs and times and disappearance in the later times. It uses analytical descriptive methodology for the scenes and their contexts. It concludes that the representation of the Nine Bows in the funerary context was because of political context of the country, social state of the owner of the tomb and a reflection of religious funerary belief on the funerary art during a short time. The disappearance of this phenomenon was maybe of a change of artistic style or kings' desire to limit this icon to their monuments.

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### I.Introduction

In different contexts, the ancient Egyptian kings were represented dominating their enemies in a degrading imagery from early times of the Egyptian history. These representations increased during the New Kingdom and varied in their forms as they were shown on the walls of the temples, tombs as well as various artifacts chariot, royal footstools, statues, weaponry, etc. As a concept, the enemies of the king such as foreigner captives or else were an example of Chaos (Isfet), the primordial opposition to Order (Maat) which Egyptian kings sought to establish.<sup>1</sup> The depictions in Ancient Egyptian art for the humiliated and bound captives was common during the New Kingdom because kings expanded their empire and fought against different foreign peoples as Asiatics, Libyans, and Nubians and other ethnics. One of the traditional depictions for these enemies was the Nine Bows (nine enemies).<sup>2</sup> For the ancient Egyptians, three was used for 'plural', and nine was therefore the 'plural of plurals' which expresses the meaning of totality. The peoples who were covered by this term of Nine Bows (psdt pdt) changed with the change of enemies of Egypt over time, and therefore there is no standard list of the Nine Bows.<sup>3</sup> They even changed in their form from period to another.<sup>4</sup>

It was normal that the kings would show the Nine Bows or the other forms of humiliated enemies on their monuments for their own political propaganda. However, some Theban nobles of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in the decorative program of their tombs had also depicted the Nine Bows, maybe for showing their loyalty for the king and their recognition of his power. The Nine Bows could be related to a funerary beliefs or art style reflected by the context of the life of the tomb's owner. Some scholars have studied the Nine Bows such as Uphill,<sup>5</sup> Valbelle,<sup>6</sup> Carnagey,<sup>7</sup> Hartwig,<sup>8</sup> and others. Most of their studies have focused on the Nine Bows depicted on the royal scenes and artifacts or on the identity of the peoples representing the Nine Bows. Peirce examined most of the Nine Bow motifs from the Theban tombs and extracted what she thinks that they are only in the form of name rings.<sup>9</sup> Her study focused on the details of the form of figures of the Nine Bows and discussed their connection to the monumental examples for dating purposes.<sup>10</sup> The current paper does not completely agree with Peirce's list of Nine Bows and interests in the type and the included context of the scenes and their tomb owners' titles. In addition, some studies mentioned briefly the royal kiosk and its decorative motifs without showing further details about the historical and artistic context and the reason for choosing such decorative motif in some Theban tombs. Others like Shaheen<sup>11</sup> dealt only with only the political symbolism of the Nine Bows in general manner on some objects, statues, texts, royal scenes from the predynastic times until the the end of the New Kingdom. He concluded that the symbolism of this image reflects the control, power and victory over the enemies of the Egyptian sovereignty but he neglected many of the Nine Bows in royal kiosk scenes in Theban private tombs. The previous references have not analyzed the reasons behind the appearance of this icon in some private tombs' scenes in a specific time and ignored the relationship between the location of tombs, except for Peirce who has different list and different concept for the Theban Nine Bows, and the job of their owners.

This article does not ignore the known political symbolism of Nine Bows icon in the current studied context but it tries to understand, above all, the reasons of showing this icon in some private tombs during the time of some 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty kings and the religious significance related to the funeral purpose. It concludes the possible reasons behind the disappearance of the Nine Bows icon from the latter private tombs of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> dynasties, although it continued to be represented in many depictions such as in Seti I's temple at Qurnah and in a relief in Karnak and in the colossal statues of Ramesses II at Luxor.<sup>12</sup> It also shades the light on the few scenes of representing the Nine Bows as a decorative element and the reasons behind their depiction in some private Theban tombs. This could enable to define the characteristic features of certain decorative programs of some tombs and thus their date. This paper aims at explaining the context of the scene in which exists such kind of decorative motifs and the purpose of representation for the tomb's owner.

## **II. Scenes Depicting the Nine Bows in the Theban Private Tombs:**

The royal kiosk scenes containing the Nine Bows as a decorative element in the Theban private tombs will be divided, here, according to their date. These scenes had appeared in the beginning of the New Kingdom during the reign of king Tuthmosis III and last represented during the reign of king Amenhotep IV as this paper will display.<sup>13</sup>

### A. Tombs dating back to the Reign of Tuthmosis III:

**A- 1- TT 42 of Amenmose:** this tomb was the burial place of Amenmose in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. The owner of the tomb was a prominent member of the military aristocracy. He was “Captain of Troops, Eye of the King in Retenu” during the reign of king Tuthmosis III and his son Amenhotep II.<sup>14</sup> The hall decorations of this tomb includes a scene showing king Tuthmosis III while he is seating on his throne that was decorated was Nine Bows on the base. The owner of the tomb Amenmose is standing in front of the king and is offering a floral vase with a frog to him. The scene shows also Syrians with tribute including floral vases and vases with lion-handles and lion’s heads, horses and chariots. This tribute scene has probably a relation with the tomb owner’s position as “Overseer of the Northern Countries”. The recorded tribute in this scene has a unique character, as the presentation of the gifts does not occur in the Egyptian court as usual but in Syria-Palestinian territory during a military campaign.<sup>15</sup> The place of these events is described as “the land of Negau”, which is located now in Lebanon. The Syrain fortress is shown as being located within a dense pine forest. Amenmose was shown introducing to the enthroned king Tuthmosis III four registers of Syria-Palestinian porters with different gifts including metal vases, minerals, armament, horses, chariots and bulls and women leading their children by the hand.<sup>16</sup>



**Fig. 1.** The Nine Bows depicted under the Kiosk of King Amenhotep II, TT 42 (After, M.M.A photos T. 3036)

### B. Tombs Dating back to the Reign of Amenhotep II:

**B. 1- TT 367 of Paser:** It is located in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and belongs to the Theban noble, Paser, who was the Head of Bowmen, Child of the Nursery and Companion of his Majesty tomb during the reign of king Amenhotep II.<sup>17</sup> In the hall of the tomb, the scene of the royal kiosk shows the owner of the tomb with his wife and daughter,

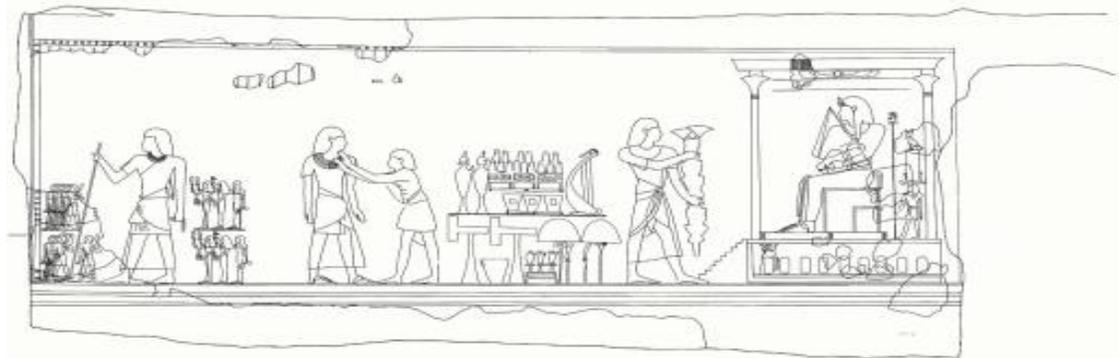
proceeded by two fan-bearers and followed by four registers of men bringing cattle, ibex, offerings. The deceased offers bouquet to Amenhotep II who is sitting on a throne inside a kiosk decorated by the Nine Bows on the base.<sup>18</sup>



**Fig. 2.** The Nine Bows depicted under the kiosk of king Amenhotep II, TT 367 (After, Fakhry 1943, pl. xvii.)

### C. Tombs Dating back to the Reign of Tuthmosis IV:

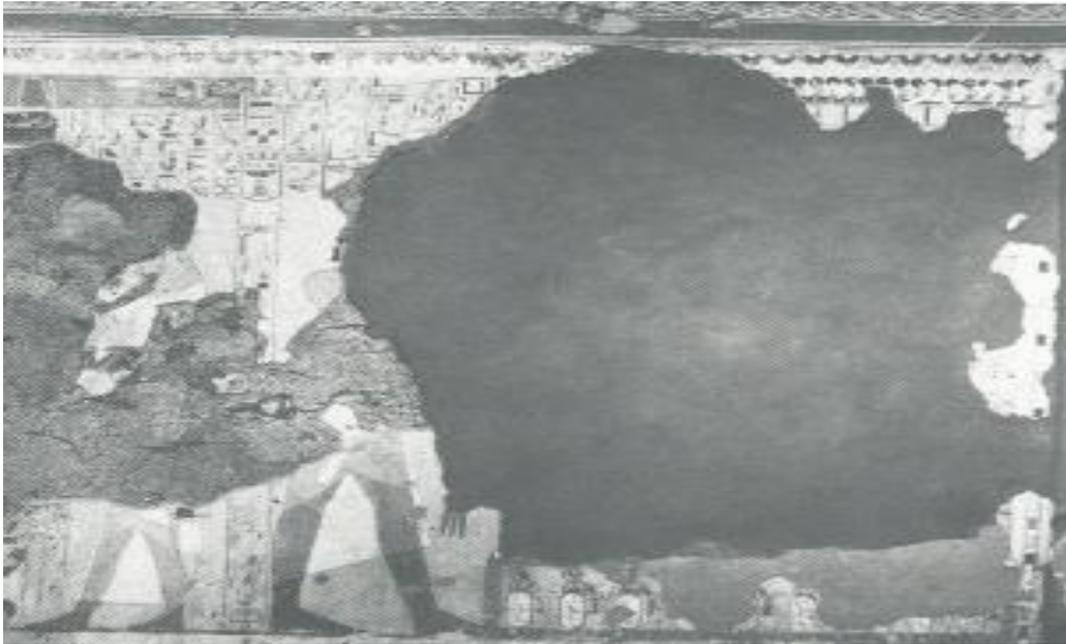
**C. 1- TT 63 of Sobekhotep:** this tomb is located in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and dates back to the reign of king Thutmose IV. It belongs to Sobekhotep, who was the Mayor of the Southern Lake and the Land of Sobek (Faiyum) and the Overseer of the Royal Treasurers.<sup>19</sup> One of the scenes represented on the walls of the hall of this tomb shows king Thutmose IV with the *k3* on the throne with the representation of the Nine Bows on the base of his kiosk while he is receiving gifts from the owner of the tomb.<sup>20</sup>



**Fig. 3:** The Nine Bows depicted under the kiosk of king Tuthmosis IV, TT 63 (After, Dziobek, E. and Abdel Raziq, M., *Das Grab des Sobekhotep, Theban Nr 63*, Mainz, 1990, taf. 34).

**C. 2- TT 74 of Thanuny:** this Theban tomb is located in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. It is the burial place of Thanuny, Royal Scribe, and Commander of the Soldiers during the reign of king Thutmose IV.<sup>21</sup> In the hall of the tomb, there is a remain of a scene showing the owner of the tomb offering a bouquet of Amun to king Thutmose IV who is sitting

on his throne in a kiosk. In this royal kiosk icon, the traditional decorative motif of Nine Bows is depicted on the base. The scene shows the enthroned king while receiving the offerings comfortably as he is controlling his enemies who are under his feet.<sup>22</sup>



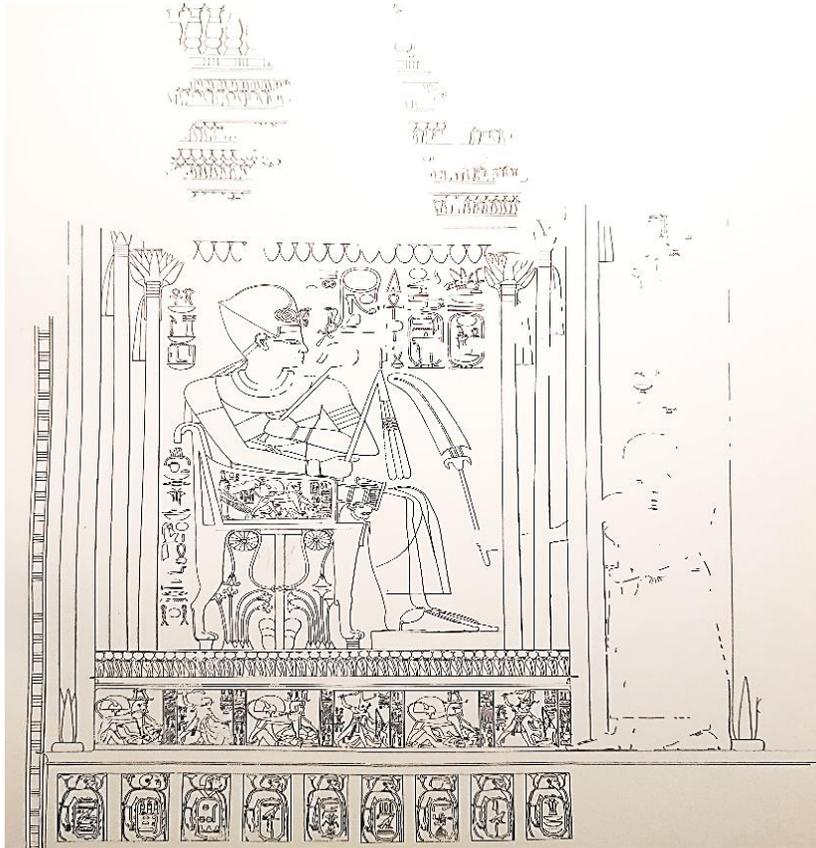
**Fig. 4.** The Nine Bows in TT 74, (After, Brack, A. and A. Brack 1977, taf. 28a and 29a).

### **Tombs dating back to the Reign of Amenhotep III**

**D. 1- TT 47 of Userhat:** The tomb of Userhat, Guardian of the Royal Harem of the Temple of Amenhotep III, is located in the necropolis of El-Khokha.<sup>23</sup> The royal scene exists on the hall of the tomb, at the left of the entrance to the inner room and it shows the owner of the tomb, Userhat,<sup>24</sup> with an attendant who offers necklaces to king Amenhotep III and his wife queen Tiyi in a kiosk with the decorative motif of the Nine Bows on base.<sup>25</sup> It is a ceremonial scene showing the queen, in perfect details, sitting behind her husband during a formal occasion, now the upper part of the queen is in Brussels.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, the complete scene with the Nine Bows is very badly damaged and no image can be found as this part is under debris. Excavation and restoration work are now carried on by Waseda University.<sup>27</sup>

**D. 2- TT 48 of Amenemhat, called Surer:** The Nine Bows were represented also during the reign of king Amenhotep III in this Theban tomb of Amenemhat at El Khokha, who was a Chief Steward, At the Head of the King, Overseer of the Cattle of Amun. The royal scene is on the right back wall of the first hall of the tomb. Close parallel scenes can be found in the contemporary tombs; TT 226,<sup>28</sup> TT 57,<sup>29</sup> TT 120,<sup>30</sup> TT 192.<sup>31</sup> This offering scene shows the owner of the tomb preceded by fan-bearer and followed by eight representation of him with different kinds of offerings including staves, bouquets and pectorals. He presents these offerings to the king Amenhotep III who is sitting alone with blue crown on his throne inside kiosk. The decoration on this kiosk depicts

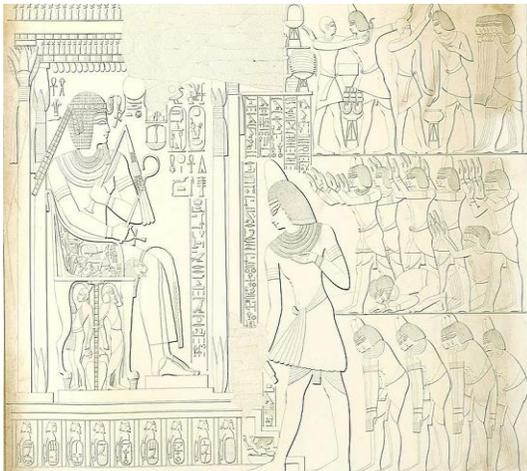
the king slaying foes, sphinx trampling foes, and Nine Bows with name-rings, on the base.<sup>32</sup>



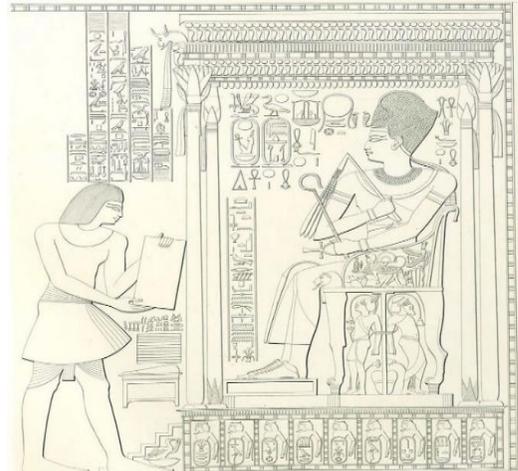
**Fig. 5.** The Nine Bows depicted under the kiosk Amenhotep III, TT 48, (After, Davies 1933, pl. xxx).

**D. 3- TT 57 of Khaemhat, called Mahu:**<sup>33</sup> It is the burial place of the noble Khaemhat at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Its owner was a Royal Scribe and Overseer of Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, during the reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>34</sup> In this tomb, there are two representations of the Nine Bows on two different scenes on the west wall of the first hall. The first scene on the northern side of the wall of the first hall shows Khaemhat before King Amenhotep III (the head in Berlin Museum “14442”, replaced by cast) who is seating alone on his throne inside a kiosk. The throne has some decorative motifs such as a sphinx, with the head of the king, trampling on captive on the arm of the throne, two figures of captives under the seat between the legs of the throne and Nine Bows on the base of the kiosk.<sup>35</sup> The king wears a short wig with a diadem and an uraeus. In his hands, he is holding a heqa scepter and a flail. As the captions reveal, the ceremonial scene represents the king’s Sed festival in which he rewards the officials and leaders of Upper and Lower Egypt. Khaemhat is shown before the king, as largest official while there is many officials behind him, shown in a smaller scale in the two lower registers, bowing down to the king. In the most upper register, there are two officials receiving awards.<sup>36</sup>

The second scene on the southern side of the west wall of the first hall shows again Khaemhat proceeding towards king Amenhotep III (head in Berlin museum "14503", replaced by cast) who is sitting on a throne similar to the throne in the previous scene. The side of the throne depicts again the king as a winged sphinx, trampling a foreigner enemy. Two foreigner captives, bound together at the back, appear beneath the throne. A row of the Nine Bows decorates the base of the kiosk. In this scene, Khaemhat and officials from Upper and Lower Egypt are being rewarded by the king,<sup>37</sup> who is depicted wearing a blue crown and wielding a flail and a heqa-scepter. He also has the ankh (life) sign in his left hand. The text in the kiosk identifies the king as Amenhotep III and also referred to him as Lord of the Sed-festival. Khaemhat is standing on the left side, handing him a document. The caption in front of the king reads: *Appearance of the king on the great throne, receiving the document of the summer of Upper and Lower Egypt.*<sup>38</sup> Today, this scene is severely damaged, with the upper half completely missing.<sup>39</sup>



**Fig. 6.** The Nine Bows depicted under the kiosk of Amenhotep III, TT 57, scene on the northern side of the west wall of the first hall, (After, Lepsius, K.R., *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. Band III: Theben.* Berlin: J.C. Hinrichs, 1897, 79 (c)).



**Fig. 7:** The Nine Bows under the kiosk of Amenhotep III, TT 57, scene on the southern side of the west wall of the first hall, (After, Lepsius 1897, 78 (b)).

**D. 4- TT 120 of Anen:** This tomb belongs to the official Anen, who was a brother of Queen Tiye who rose through the ranks to become Chancellor of Lower Egypt, Second Prophet of Amun, Sem-priest of Heliopolis, and Divine Father during the reign of the king Amenhotep III.<sup>40</sup> It is located in the necropolis of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.<sup>41</sup> The royal kiosk icon in the tomb's hall depicts King Amenhotep III sitting with his wife Tiye while receiving tribute from foreigners. The king is depicted on the throne as a sphinx trampling foreign enemies, while the symbol of union is depicted beneath it. Amenhotep III's footstool depicts foreign enemies lying on it and being crushed by the weight of the pharaoh's feet. A cat holds a duck by the neck and a leaping monkey beneath Tiye's throne. The bowing figures beneath the thrones represent the Nine Bows, or the leaders of the foreign dynasties dominated by Egypt at the time: Minoa,

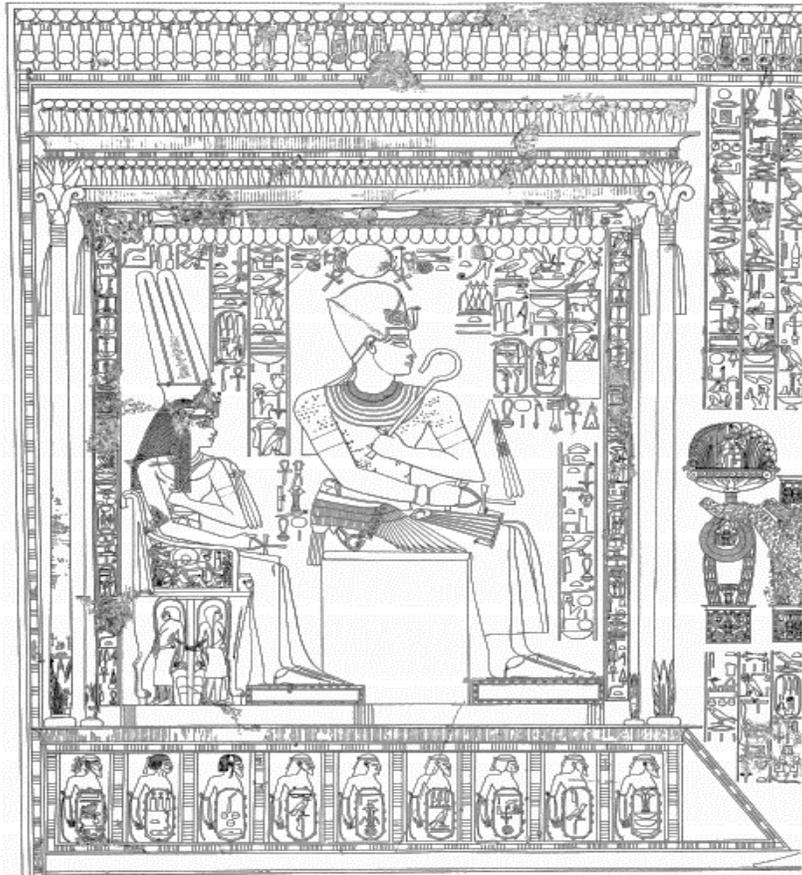
Babylonia, Libya, Bedouin, Mitanni (the Assyrians), Kush, Irem (Upper Nubia), Iuntiu-seti (Nubian nomads) and Mentu-nu-setet (coastal Levant).<sup>42</sup>



**Fig. 8.** The Nine Bows depicted on the base of the kiosk of King Amenhotp III in TT 120, (After <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548566> (last visited 1/12/2021)).

**D. 5- TT 192 of Kheruef, also called Senaa:** In El-Assasif is the tomb of the noble Kheruef who was Steward to the Great Royal Wife Tiye,<sup>43</sup> during the reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>44</sup> In the north wing of the west portico, a scene showing the third jubilee Sed Festival of king Amenhotep III, for which Kheruef was in charge of organizing during the 37<sup>th</sup> year of reign of his sovereign. On the left side of the wall, Kheruef pays homage to king Amenhotep III and queen Tiye in their kiosk and presenting them some gifts of jewelry. The platform of the kiosk containing the Nine Bows represents the occupied or subdued countries (or parts of Egypt). They can be read from right to left: the Hau-Nebus (Aegean isles and others of the Mediterranean) ; the Shatyu (Upper Nubia) ; Ta-shema (Upper Egypt) ; the Sheshtyu-im (inhabitants of the Oases) ; Ta-Mehu (Lower Egypt) ; the Peityu-shu (Desert of the East) ; the Tjehenu (Libyans) ; the Iuntyu-sety (Nubians) ; the Menttyunu-sedjet (Beduins of Asia).<sup>45</sup>

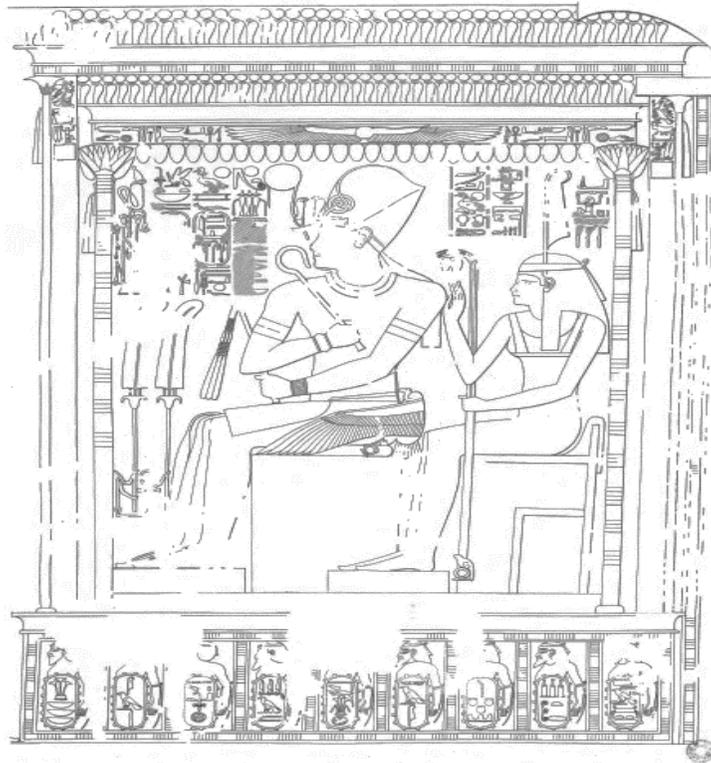
Queen Tiye is shown seated behind the king on a seat which has reliefs on the sides of the armrests depicting her as a sphinx, wearing a mortar with a double uraei, and trampling two captive foreigners. The *sm3-t3wy*, the symbol of unification between the two lands, is located between the chair's front and back legs. A Nubian and an Asian captives, with naked chests and hanging breasts, their hands tied behind are their backs and bound florally to the upright of the emblem by lotus and papyrus plants.<sup>46</sup>



**Fig. 9:** The Nine Bows depicted under the royal kiosk of Amenhotep III and his wife, TT 192, (After, [https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/kheru/e\\_kherouef\\_04.htm](https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/kheru/e_kherouef_04.htm) (last visited 1/1/2021))

#### **D. Tombs Dating back to the Reign of Amenhotep III & Amenhotep IV:**

**E. 1- TT 55 of Ramose:** This royal kiosk icon scene is coming from the tomb of Vizier Ramose<sup>47</sup> at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna which was started in the last years of the reign of king Amenhotep III and finished during the reign of his son Amenhotep IV.<sup>48</sup> In the hall of the tomb, this royal scene depicts king Amenhotep IV with the goddess Maat setting inside a kiosk. To the left of the kiosk, there are four unfinished figures of Ramose with a standard offering bouquet of the Theban triad and of Ra-Horakhty that he is going to present to them. The platform of the kiosk contains the archaic 'Nine Bows', or nine subject peoples, each of which is depicted as a man of a race, whose torso is replaced by a battlemented enclosure with the name of the people within it. The names here are those of the Hau-nebu, Shutiu, Upper Egypt, Sekhetiu-im, the Delta, Pedetiu-shu, Tehenu, Iuntiu-seti, Mentiu-setet. Despite the fact that four of the faces have been lost due to recent mutilation, it is known that Semitic heads were given to all except the man of the South and possibly the Libyan.



**Fig. 10.** The Nine Bows depicted under the royal kiosk of king Amenhotep III, (After, Davies 1941, pl. 29).

### **III. Socio-political, Funerary Belief and Artistic Possible Reasons behind the Nine Bows Representations:**

The political context during the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty was tense even after the expulsion of the Hyksos. From the beginning of this dynasty, the rulers led military campaigns against the Nubian rebels and other foreign countries as Amenhotep I,<sup>49</sup> Tuthmosis I<sup>50</sup> and Tuthmosis II<sup>51</sup>. This context of foreign policy against the enemies of Egypt was reflected in the art and literature of this time and is confirmed by the large number of references mentioned the Nine Bows during the New Kingdom such as the tombos<sup>52</sup> stela of Tuthmosis I,<sup>53</sup> Tuthmosis II,<sup>54</sup> Tuthmosis III.<sup>55</sup> In these references, the Nine Bows were described as they are beneath the feet of the king and the king will make a slaughter for them such what he will do for his enemies.<sup>56</sup> The Nine Bows appeared in an unusual context which is the private Theban funerary tomb scenes.

It can be supposed also that the defeated Nine Bows icon had in the beginning a dual symbolism, the classical one that shows the power of the king and the second one is related to the funerary belief of overcoming of the chaos of death in the afterlife. Through this royal image crashing the tomb owner's want to guarantee his ability to overcome the chaos of death and achieve a successful afterlife.<sup>57</sup> The deceased could derives his strength in the other world to overcome chaos through this royal image.

The context in which the royal kiosk scene with the Nine Bows appeared for the first time as a decorative motif in the Theban private tomb, in TT 42, full of military campaigns with king Tuthmosis III. This great warrior conducted at least 17 successful

military campaigns in 20 years.<sup>58</sup> During these campaigns, Tuthmosis III captured 350 cities and conquered much of the Near East from the Euphrates to Nubia. Egypt at this time became a great empire stretching from the Asian regions of southern Syria and Canaan to the east, to Nubia to the south.<sup>59</sup> The funerary literature and the themes of the depictions of the Theban private tombs by sequence were affected by the society's life events and the surrounding environment which can be seen in different scenes showing the so-called daily life activities.<sup>60</sup>

The social status and the political role of any owner of the tomb seem to be a strong motivator for the choice of the Nine Bows a decorative element. For example, the title of owner of the tomb TT 42, "Captain of Troops, Eye of the King in Retenu", shows his military role and the direct relation with one of the Nine Bows which is Retenu, an ancient Egyptian name for Canaan and Syria.<sup>61</sup> The presence of the king while receiving the tribute in the land of his enemies is an expression of his sovereignty and authority over their country. The depiction of the Nine Bows under his feet is a message for his enemies in their land that he is a powerful and victorious king trampling and humiliating his enemies without mercy. This is a political propaganda for striking fear into the hearts of his enemies especially that the place of the scene can indicate that visitors can pass by the scene. The owner of the tomb as a military man probably wanted to show his important tasks which include subduing the enemies and making them pay tribute to the king. This could help him in the Afterlife and maybe making the visitors of the tomb mention his name. According to the Egyptian mythology, the individual can overcome death and live by if his name is mentioned.<sup>62</sup>

The political situation of the country and the profession of the owner of the second Theban private tomb TT 367 containing the Nine Bows can be also convincing reasons of their depiction. This owner, Paser, was the Head of Bowmen (Captain of Archers).<sup>63</sup> This later title shows his position as a military man that explains his representation to the Nine Bows as enemies under the kiosk of his king Amenhotep II. He maybe wanted to show the enemies whom he is fighting under the feet of master as loyalty for him and belittlement of the enemy. This could be considered as a way of satisfying the king which could lead the deceased to gain an eternal afterlife.

TT 42 and TT 367 were dug in almost the same range of time in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. This could explain the reason for having some similarities between the two decorative programs of the tombs including the Nine Bows motif. However, the socio-political context of the country beside the funerary belief of defeating death by using the image of the defeated Nine Bows could be also reasons behind representing such images.

The foreign policy during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the time of the construction of the tombs, is reflected on the Theban tomb scene that show the foreign people presenting tribute to the Egyptian kings and nobles. This confirms the power of the Egyptian state and the ability of the Egyptian king to impose order on foreign lands.

One of these tombs that has many scenes representing foreigners who bring tribute to the treasury is TT 63 of Sobekhotep. The reason for that could be understood from the title "Overseer of the Treasury"<sup>64</sup> which shows the profession of the owner of the tomb. Sobekhotep as a controller of the tribute of these countries, this could be his motivation

to represent the Nine Bows in the kiosk of his king Tuthmosis IV. He is shown presenting the gifts including some of the delivered tribute coming from the foreign lands. In this offering scene, the Nine Bows could be also an inherited artistic feature from previous tombs for funerary belief concept.

During the time of Amenhotep III, a number of the Theban Private tombs showed a classical list of the Nine Bows on the base of the kiosk such as Kheruef, Surer and others as it was previously mentioned. The context of these scenes is mostly during the celebration of the Sed festival with the people or receiving tribute from foreigners. This expresses a socio-political context of the country in which the Egyptian people will see their king renewing his power for more regnal years. The presence of the Nine Bows as a decorative motif of the kiosk of the king during this occasion is important as it shows the power and the control of the king over his enemies. The form of each "Bow" is depicted as a captive with bound arms behind the back. An oval escutcheon contains the name of the people who has different facial, hair and beard features expressing their ethnic origin.<sup>65</sup> The titles of the owners of the tombs that contain these scenes do not show military position or a relation with the enemies of Egypt as the Nine Bows. However, the reason for representing this decorative motif could be that the political context with with the foreigner enemies of Egypt. However, it could be a trending style of art or a mood adopted by the artists during the beginning of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty which reflected the funerary belief of overcoming the death through the royal image as previously mentioned.

In the royal scene of TT 120, the king is shown with his wife receiving the tribute from foreign people. The decorative motifs of his throne and kiosk especially the one of the Nine Bows on the base of the kiosk convey a threat to those who refuse to pay tribute and make war against the king. Through the artistic depiction and without saying a word, such images elevate the king in discussions with foreign emissaries and even the Egyptians who could see him in his kiosk.<sup>66</sup> This is a way of political propaganda for terrifying his enemies and creating an ideal image of victorious and powerful king.

The royal kiosk scene in TT 55 dates back to the transitional period between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV. It represents an offering scene before the king and a goddess. The royal icon, although it is from the time of Amenhotep IV, preserved the style of traditional decorative motif of the royal kiosk during the reign of Amenhotep III. The representation of the royal kiosk with Nine Bows was maybe have been adopted as a traditional design in the decoration of the tombs at this time. The disappearance of the Nine Bows icon in the funerary context of the Theban nobles' tombs after the time of Akhenaten could be the change of style of royal scenes. This decorative motifs was left after a short period of representation during the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty for other elements. It could be also suggested that the Nine Bows depiction was prevented in the funerary private context by the kings. This could be explained by a possible desire of the kings to monopolize the depiction of this icon on their own monuments. This can be obviously observed in Theban private tombs dating back to the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Dynasties as the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty tomb (TT 266) of Amennakht at Deir el Medina,<sup>67</sup> the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty tomb (TT. 359) of Inherkhau at Deir el-Medina,<sup>68</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty tomb (TT. 51) of Userhat, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.<sup>69</sup>

## Conclusion

It is in only some Theban nobles' decorative program of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty that there are a depiction of the Nine Bows as a decorative motif under the royal kiosk in the royal scenes. These motifs had appeared in the beginning of the New Kingdom during the reign of king Tuthmosis III and last represented during the reign of King Amenhotep IV. The use of this decorative element during this time can be explained by three reasons;

- 1) A political context of the country and the social status of the owner of the tomb represented by his profession that impacted the choice of artists for these decorative programmes in an intentional way for showing the important role of the owner in the society. This could serves the funerary dogmatic purposes of gaining successful afterlife by showing his greatest achievements and his nearness from the king. It is a kind of flattery, praise and glorification of the king by the owner of the tomb.
- 2) It could be suggested that the use of the royal image defeating the nine enemies, usually representing the chaos, is a way of overcoming the chaos of death as a new adopted religious funerary belief during this times. The owner of the tomb maybe wanted to show the role of the king in keeping that cosmic order. Through the royal image, the owner of the tomb could derive his strength in the afterlife to overcome chaos as does the king.
- 3) Artists followed traditional style of decorative programmes during specific times which could be understood via the close locations of tombs in the cemetery and the frame of time that they were built in.

No.	Tomb owner	Number	Location	Reign	Type & place of the scene
1	Amenmose	TT 42	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	Tutmosis III & Amenhotep II	Receiving tribute / Hall
2	Paser	TT 367	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	Amenhotep II	Offering / Hall
3	Sobekhotep	TT 63	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	Tutmosis IV	Receiving tribute / Hall
4	Thanuny	TT 74	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	Tutmosis IV	Receiving tribute / Hall
5	Userhat	TT 47	Khokha	Amenhotep III	Ceremonial / Hall
6	Amenemhat	TT 48	Khokha	Amenhotep III	Offering / Hall
7	Kheruef	TT 192	Assasif	Amenhotep III	Ceremonial / Portico
8	Khaemhat	TT 57	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	Amenhotep III	Ceremonial / Hall
9	Anen	TT 120	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	Amenhotep III	Receiving tribute / Hall
10	Ramose	TT 55	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	Amenhotep III and Akhenaten	Offering / Hall

The majority of the scenes including this decorative motive date back to the reign of king Amenhotep III as there are seven scenes in six tombs from this time showing the Nine Bows. These tombs are in three different areas in the Theban Necropolis; TT 47 and TT 48 in El Khokha, TT 55, TT 57 and TT 120 in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and TT 192 in El-Assasif. The Theban tomb TT 55 dates back to the transitional period between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten. All these royal scenes including the Nine Bows were a part of the decorative program of the first hall of the tomb during this period.

During the reign of Tuthmosis IV (Father of Amenhotep III), two Theban private tombs in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna show the Nine Bows as a decorative feature of the king's kiosk in the royal scenes represented also on the walls of the hall of the tomb. This confirms the traditional style of decoration to the halls of the tombs adopted by the artists and the owner of the tombs during these periods.

Egyptian socio-political context during the beginning of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty was full of military activities against some neighboring countries. This seems to influence their funerary decorative programs and the included elements. The great number of military campaigns of Tuthmosis III and the military role the owner of the tomb TT 42, Amenmose, as "Captain of Troops, Eye of the King in Retenu" seems to be the main reasons for the representation of the Nine Bows decorative motif on the base of the royal kiosk scene in his tomb. The scene represents the king receiving tribute in Syria-Palestinian territory which has relation with the tomb owner's position as "Overseer of the Northern Countries". The Nine Bows as a decorative motif in this context can be understood as a sign of power of the Egyptians as Amenmose received the king in the land of enemies to receive tribute.

Seemingly, the Egyptian political situation in these times and military position of the tombs' owner of TT 367, as "the Head of Bowmen", could be principal reasons of the depiction of the Nine Bows. The scene indicates his thoughts about the royal image and his enemies even in an offering scene in a funerary context. It can be supposed also that the similarities of subjects depicted in some tombs could be because of their construction in the same range of time or/ and in the same necropolis as it can be noticed in TT 42 and TT 367.

The motivation of showing the king receives gifts and offerings in TT 63 could be his position as "the Overseer of the Royal Treasurers". This Nine Bows decorative motif is convenient to the tribute scene, as it will be shown to those people for warning them indirectly of disobedience and non-payment of tribute. From the same period and in the burial site is TT 74 of Thanuny. The owner of this tomb wanted to show through the royal kiosk with the Nine Bows his confirmation for the authority and victory of the king over his enemies as a "Commander of the Soldiers". The artistic style could be now a traditional style which is compatible with the political and social situation .

In the two royal kiosk icons of TT 57, the ceremonial context of the scenes shows the king during the Sed festival rewarding the officials of upper and Lower Egypt. The purpose for representing the Nine Bows is mostly a reflection of reality for what was happening during the ceremonies. The king has to appear in control of all his enemies in front of his people and officials. Via the bound and crushed enemies' icon, the king

indicates his control, domination and power for his foreign enemies and even his officials who he is rewarding.

The context of the royal kiosk scene in TT 120 shows king Amenhotep III and queen Tiye while receiving tribute from foreign people with the Nine Bows on the base of the kiosk. Anen was a brother of Queen Tiye and maybe was a military man before joining the priesthood, and earned his honorable titles. Therefore, the family relations, along with his military background were almost his motivations for representing Amenhotep III as a victorious king over his enemies. The ceremonial scene in TT 192 shows also almost the same context showing images of the crushed enemies including the Nine Bows during the Sed-festivals of the king. The aim of festival is to rejuvenate the strength and stamina of the king while still sitting on the throne. Showing the enemies in such way completes the ideal image of the king as a successful ruler during the time of the festival of renewal of the king's power.

In TT 55, the Nine Bows are depicted in the offering scene under the kiosk of Amenhotep IV and the goddess Maat. The image could mean that the king had defeated the enemies including the Nine Bows who represent chaos succeeded to keep the cosmic order represented by the image of goddess Maat beside him.

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<sup>1</sup> See the following: Muhlestein, K., *Violence in the Service of Order: The Religious Framework for Sanctioned Killing in Ancient Egypt*, BAR International Series 2299, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011. See also Hornung, E., *Idea Into Image: Essays on Ancient Egyptian Thought*, Elizabeth Bredeck, trans., Timken Publishers, 1992, p. 131-146; Assmann, J., *Ma'at: Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 1990; and Karenga, M., *Maat: The Moral Ideal in Ancient Egypt: A Study of Classical African Ethics*, Los Angeles, CA: University of Sakore Press, 2006.

<sup>2</sup> For more about their identity, origin, geographical location of the Bow Peoples see; Uphill, E. "The Nine Bows" in *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap Ex Oriente Lux VI* 19 (1967), p. 393-420.

<sup>3</sup> For more about the Nine Bows and its meaning see; Tait, J., 'Never Had the Like Occurred': Egypt's view of its past. Great Britain: UCL Press, 2003, p. 155-185.

<sup>4</sup> In some depictions, the style of representation of the Nine Bows was difference such as ; Fig. 1, Fig. 4 & Fig. 7

<sup>5</sup> Uphill 1976, p. 393-420.

<sup>6</sup> Valbelle, D., *Les Neuf Arcs. L'Égyptien et les Étrangers de la Préhistoire à la conquête d'Alexandre*, Paris, 1990.

<sup>7</sup> Carnagey, G., "Pharaoh's Nine Bows", *Chafer Theological Seminary* 3/1 (1997), p. 1-19.

<sup>8</sup> Hartwig, M. *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419-1372 BCE*. Monumenta Aegyptica 10. Belgium: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 2004.

<sup>9</sup> Peirce 2021, p. 24-25. This list of Nine Bows in this paper counts TT 120 and does not consider TT 93 and TT 77 as scenes containing the Nine Bows but Name Rings.

<sup>10</sup> Peirce, L., "Name Rings Associated with the "Royal Kiosk Icon" in the Theban Tombs during the Eighteenth Dynasty." in *Journal of Egyptian History* 14, no. 1 (2021), p. 18-48.

<sup>11</sup> Shaheen, A., "The Historical Symbolism of the Nine Bows in Egyptian sources until the End of the New Kingdom" in *Journal Egyptian Historian XIII* (1992), p. 35 - 64.

<sup>12</sup> For more about 19<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> royal depictions of Nine Bows see Uphill 1967, p. 396, 397.

<sup>13</sup> The list of tombs including the Nine Bows is based on the list of PM I, p. 464.

<sup>14</sup> PM I, p. 82

- <sup>15</sup> Davies, N. de Garis. *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose, and Another (nos. 86, 112, 42, 226)*, London, 1933, p. 30-31, pl. XXXVI.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 28-30, pls. XXIII-XXXV; Panagiotopoulos, D., “Foreigners in Egypt in the Time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III” in Cline, E. H. & O’Connor, D. (ed.), *Thutmose III. A New Biography*, University of Michigan Press, 2006, p. 105, 304, 384, 386, 401.
- <sup>17</sup> PM I, 430.
- <sup>18</sup> Fakhry, A., “Tomb of Paser (No. 367 at Thebes)”, *ASAE*, 43 (1943), p. 395-497.
- <sup>19</sup> Bryan, B. M. “The Tomb owner and his family”, In *Dziobek, E. and Abd El-Raziq, M. (eds.). Das Grab des Sobekhotep: Theben Nr. 63*, New York: von Zaber, 1990, p. 83.
- <sup>20</sup> PM I, p. 126.
- <sup>21</sup> Brack, A. and A. Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni: Theben Nr. 74*, AV. 19, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1977; Brack, A., and Brack, A., “Vorbericht über Arbeiten im Grab des Tjanuni (PM 74), 1973/74”, *MDAIK*, 31, 1975, p. 15- 26.
- <sup>22</sup> PM I, p. 145.
- <sup>23</sup> Kampp, F., *Die Thebanische Nekropole, Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, Theben 13, vol. 1, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein, 1996, p. 246- 248, fig. 144; Eigner, D., “Das Thebanische Grab des Amenhotep, Wesir von Unterägypten: Die Architektur”, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 39- 50.
- <sup>24</sup> Userhat was the overseer of the royal Harim at the temple of Amenhotep III, Baikie, J., *Egyptian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, Methuen, 1932; Userhat was the son of the *judge-Neh* and *Sennw* and Userhat's wife was named *Miay*, See, PM I, p. 87; Wasmuth, M., *Innovation und Extravaganzen: Ein Beitrag zur Architektur des Thebanischen Beamtengräber der 18. Dynastie*, BAR International Series, 1165, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2003, p. 86.
- <sup>25</sup> PM I, p. 87. Carter, H., “Report on General Work Done in the Southern Inspectorate”, *ASAE* 4, 1903, p. 177, pl. ii; Maspero, G., *New Light on Ancient Egypt*, University of Michigan Library, 1909, p. 294, pl. facing.
- <sup>26</sup> This fragment of relief representing queen Tiyi was purchased at a public sale in Paris by Jean Capart in 1905. It was sold at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris, April 10-12, 1905, lot n ° 91 from the Paul Philip collection acquired by Jean Capart for the Royal Museums of Decorative and Industrial Arts of Brussels.; 1- Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels – E 2157 – photo MRAH: <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/detail.aspx?id=274> (last visited 1/12/2021). <https://www.egyptpro.sci.waseda.ac.jp/e-tt.html> (last visited 1/12/2021).
- <sup>27</sup> <https://www.egyptpro.sci.waseda.ac.jp/e-tt.html> (last visited 1/12/2021).
- <sup>28</sup> Davies 1933, p. 38 f., pls. xli, xliii.
- <sup>29</sup> Wreszinski, W., *Atlas Zur altagyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, Band I, Leipzig, 1923, p. 203
- <sup>30</sup> Davies, *Bull. M.M.A.*, Eg. Exp. 1928-9, Nov. 1929, p. 36 fl., figs. 1-3.
- <sup>31</sup> Fakhry, A., “A Note on the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes”, *ASAE* 42 (1943), pl. xxxix
- <sup>32</sup> PM I, p. 88.
- <sup>33</sup> This tomb is renowned for the exceptional quality of its reliefs, as well as for the historical importance contained in the representations and texts describing the king’s Sed Festival; Pino, C., “The Market Scene in the Tomb of Khaemhat (TT 57)”, *JEA*, 91 (2005), p. 95.
- <sup>34</sup> PM I, p. 113.
- <sup>35</sup> PM I, p. 115.
- <sup>36</sup> Lepsius, K. R., *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, Abteilung I: Topographie & Architektur*, Berlin, 1846–1856, p. 76b.
- <sup>37</sup> PM, I, p. 116.
- <sup>38</sup> Lepsius 1846–1856, p. 177c.

- <sup>39</sup> Manniche, L., *City of the Dead, Thebes in Egypt*, London 1987, p. 50, fig. 24.
- <sup>40</sup> Dodson, A. and Hilton, D., *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*, London: Thames & Hudson, 2004, p. 157.
- <sup>41</sup> PM I, p. 234.
- <sup>42</sup> M. M. A photo. T. 1943- 1950; <https://www.arce.org/project/conservation-tomb-anen-tt120> last visited in 20-11-2021.
- <sup>43</sup> The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192*, The Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago, OIP 102, 1980, pl. 9
- <sup>44</sup> The tomb is gigantic, indicating the power and the wealth of this noble. It was far from completed when, for unknown reasons, the site was abandoned.
- <sup>45</sup> In the south wing of the west portico, a representation for the first jubilee festival of Amenhotep III in year 30 of his reign. The royal couple were shown attending the ceremony in a kiosk but in this time, the decorative motif on the platform is different as it depicts the *Rekhyt* (crested lapwings).
- <sup>46</sup> PM I, p. 299.
- <sup>47</sup> He was the governor of Thebes and vizier under both Amenhotep III and Akhenaton
- <sup>48</sup> Davies, N. de Garis, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, London: EES, 1941, p. 27.
- <sup>49</sup> Grimal, N, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1988, p. 202; Breasted, J. H., *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. II. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1906, p. 17-18; Steindorff, G. and Seele, K., *When Egypt Ruled the East*, University of Chicago, 1942, p. 23
- <sup>50</sup> Davies, W. V. "Nubia in the New Kingdom: the Egyptians at Kurgus". *Nubia in the New Kingdom. Lived Experience, Pharaonic Control and Indigenous Traditions*. British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan. 3: p. 65–106; Steindorff and Seele 1942, p. 35
- <sup>51</sup> Gardiner, A., *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 180: Steindorff, G. and Seele, K 1942, p. 35: Breasted 1906, p. 49- 51.
- <sup>52</sup> Tombos or Tumbus is an archaeological site and an island in northern Sudan.
- <sup>53</sup> *Urk IV*, 85.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, 138.
- <sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, 792.
- <sup>56</sup> For more sources about different sources of the Nine Bows see Shaheen 1992, p. 35 - 64.
- <sup>57</sup> Flora Brooke Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt: Theban Tomb Paintings from the Early Eighteenth Dynasty*, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016.
- <sup>58</sup> Lichtheim, M., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. Univ of California Press, 2019, p. 340.
- <sup>59</sup> Cline, E. H. and O'Connor, D., *Thutmose III : A New Biography*, University of Michigan Press, 2006, p. 5-6.
- <sup>60</sup> For more about these scenes see ; Hartwig 2004.
- <sup>61</sup> Steindorff, G. and Seele, K. 1942, p. 47.
- <sup>62</sup> Assmann, J., *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, London: Cornell University Press, 2005, p. 35; Jansen- Winkeln, K., *Sentenzen und Maximen in den Privatinschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, Berlin, 1999.
- <sup>63</sup> Mekawy, O., Shaheen, A., Eid, S. M., "The False Door in the Tomb of Paser (TT.367), Captain of Archers", *MEMNONIA* , vol. 27 (2016.), p. 117-129,
- <sup>64</sup> H, Papazian: Departments, Treasuries, Granaries and Work Centers, in: Carlos Moreno Gracia: *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, Leiden, Boston 2013, pp. 73-76: P. Grandet: *The Ramesside State*, in: Juan Carlos Moreno Gracia: *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, Leiden, Boston 2013, p. 868; Bryan 1990, p. 83.
- <sup>65</sup> Uphill 1967, 395.

<sup>66</sup> Anen, the owner of the tomb, had probably military position before joining the priesthood and involving in the religious duties; see <https://www.arce.org/project/conservation-tomb-anen-tt120> (last visited 1/1/2021)

<sup>67</sup> Bruyère, Bernard. Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh. (FIFAO, 1924-1925), pp. 43-44; Kampp, Frederike. Die thebanischen Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie (Theben, 13), 2 vols. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Phillip von Zabern, 1966, p. 543; P.M, 1, 1960, pp. 346-347.

<sup>68</sup> Fakhry, A., "A Report on the Inspectorate of Upper Egypt", *ASAE* 46 (1947), p. 25- 54.

<sup>69</sup> Kampp 1996, p. 255- 257; This tomb had been discovered and cleared in 1904, See, Mond, R., Report of Work in the Necropolis of Thebes during the Winter of 1903-1904, *ASAE* 6 (1905), p. 69-71, fig. 4; Collins, L., "The Private Tombs of Thebes: Excavations by Sir Robert Mond 1905 and 1906", *JEA* 62 (1976), p. 33.



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### ضوء جديد على الأسباب المحتملة لتمثيل الأقواس التسعة في بعض مقابر طيبة الخاصة خلال الأسرة الثامنة عشرة

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المخلص	معلومات المقالة
احتوت فقط بعضا من مقابر طيبة الخاصة من الأسرة الثامنة عشر على مناظر للملك في كشكه الملكي مع الأقواس التسعة كعنصر زخرفي ولكن اختفى هذا العنصر من مناظر طيبة الخاصة في الفترات اللاحقة لأسباب غير معروفة لذا تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التعرف على مواقع المقابر المتضمنة هذه المناظر وتواريخها وألقاب أصحابها كما تعرض وتفحص المناظر التي تظهر هذا العنصر الزخرفي في تلك المقابر وأنواعها لفهم الأسباب المحتملة لظهوره في مقابر وأوقات معينة واختفائه في أوقات لاحقة ولذا يستخدم هذا البحث المنهج الوصفي التحليلي للمناظر وسياقاتها وتخلص الدراسة إلى أن تمثيل الأقواس التسعة في السياق الجنزي كان بسبب الاطار السياسي للدولة والاجتماعي لصاحب المقبرة والفكر الديني الجنزي المستحدث في تلك الفترة والذي جعل هذا العنصر أسلوبًا فنيًا تقليديا خلال فترة قصيرة و ربما كان اختفاء هذه الظاهرة بسبب تغيير الأسلوب الفني أو رغبة الملوك في قصر هذه الأيقونة على آثارهم.	الكلمات المفتاحية الأقواس التسعة؛ عنصر زخرفي؛ الكشك الملكي؛ الحالة الاجتماعية؛ السياق السياسي؛ العقيدة الجنائزية؛ انعكاس فني.
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