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The American University in Cairo
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

“FOUR FACES ON ONE NECK”:
THE TETRACEPHALIC RAM AS AN ICONOGRAPHIC FORM
IN THE LATE NEW KINGDOM

A Thesis Submitted to
The Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Egyptology

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

By Matthew Stephen Treasure

Under the supervision of Dr. Salima Ikram and Dr. Lisa Sabbahy

Outside Reader: Dr. Susan Redford

ABSTRACT

In ancient Egypt, the ram was regarded as a symbol of protection, male virility, fertility, syncretism, rebirth, and resurrection, and the Egyptians accordingly associated some of their gods with the ram because of what it represented. The most popular ram deities, each connected with his own temples and cult centers at different geographic locations, were Banebdjed of Mendes, Heryshef of Herakleopolis Magna, Amun-Ra of Thebes, and Khnum of Esna and Elephantine. Similarly, numbers were another important aspect of Egyptian religion and magic, and the symbolic language of numbers manifested itself in a variety of ways in the art of ancient Egypt; occasionally, ram gods, for example, were represented with multiple heads in order to indicate the syncretism of two or, more frequently, four different divinities. This thesis engages with New Kingdom representations of four-headed ram deities, appearing in separate entrance scenes preserved inside the individual tombs of Ramesses IX (KV 6), Ramesses X (KV 19), and Ramesses XI (KV 4), as an artistic response to theological and political change in the late Twentieth Dynasty. This examination of art applies iconographic and iconological analysis on selected images of tetracephalic ram deities in order to better understand the symbolic message articulated by four rams' heads as an iconographic form. Ultimately, the four-headed ram as an iconographic type during the late New Kingdom was applied to both solar and netherworld divinities, constituting a *demiurge par excellence*. Four rams' heads, as a composite motif, also shows us that Egyptians of the late New Kingdom perceived many similarities between their individual ram gods, in particular, Banebdjed of Mendes and Amun-Ra of Thebes, who were each depicted in art by the Ramesside period occasionally as a tetracephalic ram deity.

DEDICATION

To my wife Mai and our daughter Laila.

I love you both dearly.

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Equally important, the staff from the library at the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo (DAI) and the Rare Books and Special Collections Library (RBSCL) at The American University in Cairo (AUC) have been critical to my thesis. Conducting research during the Covid-19 pandemic indeed has provided me with numerous challenges; therefore, the Egyptology Research Quarantine Library and the Ancient Near East Research Quarantine Library on Facebook must also be mentioned herein. The wonderful members of these two social media groups have helped me gain access to published materials otherwise not available due to the abrupt closing of libraries in Cairo and elsewhere around the world at the beginning of the pandemic.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AeUAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AH	Aegyptiaca Helvetica
ARCE	American Research Center in Egypt
AUC Press	The American University in Cairo Press
AVDAIK	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Memoirs
BACE	<i>The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
BAR I-V	Breasted, James H. 1906-7. <i>Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest</i> . 5 vols.
BdE	Bibliothèque d'étude
BiAeg	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca
BIFA0	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
BM	British Museum
BS	Bollingen Series
BD	Allen, Thomas G. 1974. <i>The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day</i> .
BdE	Bibliothèque d'étude
CB	Chester Beatty Papyrus
CEDEA	Centre de Documentation et d'Etudes sur l'Ancienne Egypte
CENiM	Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et méditerranéenne
CG	Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CM	Cairo Museum
CT	de Buck, Adriaan. 1935-61. <i>The Egyptian Coffin Texts</i> . 7 vols.
DAIK	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut von Kairo
EES	Egypt Exploration Society
EgUit	Egyptologische Uitgaven
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
GRW	Great Royal Wife
HAeB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge
HPA	High Priest of Amun
IFAO	L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JE	Journal d'Entrée
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
KAeT	Kleine ägyptische Texte
KRI I-VIII	Kitchen, Kenneth A. 1975-90. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> . 8 vols.
KV	Valley of the Kings

LÄ	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD I-VI	Lepsius, Karl R. 1849-59. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> . 6 vols.
MANN	Museo Archeologico di Napoli
MH I-IX	Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey. <i>Medinet Habu</i> . 9 vols.
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAF	Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire
MVAeG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft
NISABA	Religious Texts Translation Series
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIMP	Oriental Institute Museum Publications
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden
PÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PM	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L.B. Moss. (1960-81) 1999. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . 7 vols.
PT	Pyramid Texts
RdE	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
SAM	Studies in Ancient Medicine
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature Press
SHR	Studies in the History of Religion
SIE	Studies in Egyptology
StAeg	<i>Studia Aegyptiaca</i>
StG	Assmann, Jan. 1983. <i>Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern</i> .
TT	Theban Tomb
Urk. I	Sethe, Kurt. (1903) 1933. <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums. Urkunden des alten reiches</i> , vol. 1.
Urk. II	Sethe, Kurt. 1904. <i>Hieroglyphische Urkunden der Griechisch-römischen Zeit</i> , vol. 2.
Urk. IV	Sethe, Kurt. 1906. <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums. Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> , vol. 4.
Urk. V	Grapow, Hermann. 1915-17. <i>Religiöse Urkunden. Ausgewählte Texte des Totenbuches</i> . <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> , vol. 5.
USE	Uppsala Studies in Egyptology
VA	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>
WA	Writings from the Ancient World

Wb. I-VI Erman Adolf, and Herman Grapow, eds. *Worterbuch der agyptische
Sprache*. 6 vols.
ZÄS *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

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TRANSLITERATION SYMBOLS AND THEIR USE

< > Used when a scribe has omitted hieroglyphic symbols.

{ } Used for superfluous signs, e.g. whenever signs have been added by a scribe for the purpose of symmetry.

() Used for words that have been supplied for clarity within a translation.

* Used for suggested reconstructions by the author, specifically to correct previous translations.

Ø Zero ending; non-existent; no value.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Numerous paintings and reliefs, featuring images of ancient Egyptian deities, decorate the walls, pillars, and ceiling of KV 6, the late Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses IX (c. 1126-1108 BC).¹ One scene, on the tomb's southern wall, near the entrance, shows the king standing in front of two offering tables, libating before the solar god Amun-Ra-Horakhty and the goddess Meretseger. In this large offering scene, Amun-Ra-Horakhty is represented as mummiform with four rams' heads on top of a human's body (fig. 1). Many ancient Egyptian images were designed with symbolic content that gave visual form to abstract ideas as part of its composition. As stated by Erik Hornung, "any iconography can be no more than an attempt to indicate something of [a subject's] complex nature."² Thus, motifs and imagery, i.e. iconography, in some works of Egyptian art can be interpreted as ideograms, similar to hieroglyphs, which symbolically convey a message, or meanings, to the viewer. Ancient Egyptian artists represented the solar god Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams' heads inside some late Twentieth Dynasty royal tombs in order to visually articulate the syncretism, or union, of multiple divinities, as an artistic response to theological and political change during the Ramesside period (c. 1295-1069 BC). Establishing why the tetracephalic ram god came into use artistically and the possible interpretations of this motif is the subject of this thesis.

Four rams' heads, as an iconographic form, were not applied exclusively to representations of the solar god Amun-Ra-Horakhty. The ram god Banebdjed of

1. For the tomb publications, see Guilmant 1907; Abitz 1990, 1-40.

2. Hornung 1982a, 113.

the ancient city of Djedet (*Ddt*) in the 16th Lower Egyptian nome was depicted in art occasionally also with four rams' heads (fig. 2). The earliest known representation of Banebdjed as a tetracephalic ram deity occurs on a fragment from the Thirtieth Dynasty naos of Saft el-Hinna, where he is identified by the epithet *4 hrw hr nḥb wꜥt*, “four faces on one neck.”¹ Nevertheless, numerous Ramesside period texts, such as a spell for scaring away an enemy, which appears in *Chester Beatty VIII* (BM EA 10688), describe Banebdjed with the same epithet, implying that he was represented with four rams' heads as early as the late New Kingdom.²

Rams were worshipped as sacred animals by the Early Dynastic Period (c. 31000-2686 BC) in the city of Djedet, later called Mendes by the Greeks and hereafter referred to as such throughout the remainder of this thesis.³ Ancient Mendesians believed that certain rams functioned as avatars on earth for the *bas* (Gardiner's sign-list G53; G29), or souls,⁴ of their gods and goddesses,⁵ a pun on the ram's onomatopoeic name, which likewise was pronounced as “*ba*” (Gardiner's sign-list E10; E11).⁶ Spell 17 of the New




1. CG 70021. Naville, 1887, pl. 2.

2. CB VIII, BM EA 10688, verso 6, col. 1. Gardiner 1934, 73, pl. 46; Bourghouts 1978, 7.

3. Redford and Redford 2005, 169.

4. In ancient Egyptian religion, the soul, or *bꜣ*, is one of many components that comprises each person, animal, and deity, along with their spirit (*kꜣ*), name (*rn*), shadow (*šwt*), heart (*ib*), physical body (*ḥt*), and the combined spirit (*ꜣḥ*). For more information, see Taylor 2001, 15-23.

5. In particular, the ram god Banebdjed sometimes appeared in Egyptian art as a deity with four rams' heads, symbolizing the syncretism of the gods Ra, Shu, Geb, and Osiris from the Late Period onward. For more information, see Redford 2010, 124-38. Banebdjed's alignment with as many as four gods is indicated in a number of ancient textual sources, including CT Spell 335, the Great Mendes Stela, the monolithic naos from Mendes, and a spell for scaring away an enemy in *Chester Beatty VIII*. For the *Coffin Texts*, see CT IV Spell 335 (§276-282); Faulkner 1978, 1: 264. For the Great Mendes Stela, see Naville 1976, 122-25. For the naos, see Soghor 1967, 16-32. For a translation of the spell in *Chester Beatty VIII*, see Bourghouts 1978, 7-10.

6. Wb. I, 413-15. See also Hornung 1982a, 138; Wilkinson 1992, 61; 2003, 192; Redford, 2010, 35. The hieroglyphic symbol for  ram (Gardiner's sign-list G10), *bꜣ*, is a homophone that is pronounced the same as the Egyptian word *bꜣ*, meaning “soul,” the latter commonly spelled with either a  human-headed bird (Gardiner's sign-list G53) or a  saddle-billed stork (Gardiner's sign-list G29).

Kingdom *Book of the Dead*, featured in the *Papyrus of Ani* (BM EA 10470), which was written during the reign of Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213 BC), mentions the specific deities who inhabited the body of the Mendesian ram during the Nineteenth Dynasty:⁷



ir b3<wy>.fy hry-ib t3<wy>.fy
b3 pw n R^c b3 pw n
Wsir b3 pw imy Šw
b3 pw imy Tfnt
b3<wy>.fy pw imyw Ddt

As for his two souls inside his two fledglings:
 he is the soul of Ra; he is the soul of Osiris; he
 is the soul which is in Shu;
 he is the soul which is in Tefnut; and
 he is his twin souls which are in Mendes.

The text above identifies four divinities whose individual *ba*-souls, inhabited the ram god Banebdjed: Ra, the god of the sun, Tefnut, the goddess of moisture and the rain, Shu, the god of the air, and Osiris, the god of the flood, resurrection, and the afterlife. Ancient Egyptian artists gave visual form to the *ba*-souls of Ra, Tefnut, Shu, and Osiris by representing Banebdjed occasionally in two- and three-dimensional art with four rams' heads (see fig. 2).⁸ The question of whether Amun-Ra-Horakhty's hypostasis is based on

7. BD 17 §21, in Grapow 1915-17, 49.53-54; Allen 1974, 17.14; Quirke 2013, 59. See also CT IV Spell 335 (§276-282); Faulkner 1978, 1: 264.

8. As already mentioned, the earliest-known representation of Banebdjed with four rams' heads occurs on the Thirtieth Dynasty naos of Soped (see fig. 1-2), where he is identified by the epithet 4 *hrw hr nhb w^ct* "four faces on one neck," which was applied occasionally also to other gods, such as Amun in the *Harris Magical Papyrus* (BM EA 10042). The dating of Banebdjed's first-known appearance in art with multiple rams' heads is problematic, as he is identified ordinarily in this form by an epithet, typically either 4 *hrw hr nhb w^ct* "four faces on one neck" or *B3 wr* "the great *Ba*." Nevertheless, the application of these epithets to Banebdjed is well established in numerous texts dating from the Ramesside Period onward, such as *Chester Beatty VIII* and the *New Kingdom Book of the Day*. A number of two- and three-dimensional representations of four-headed ram gods that occur without inscriptions also exist, including one artifact identified as an eighth-century BC seal of Egyptian origins, now lost, that was discovered in western Syria almost three centuries ago. Although this particular artifact did not possess an inscription, it could be the earliest-known representation of Banebdjed with four rams' heads. For a drawing of this seal, see Culican 1957, fig. 8; Keel 1977, 222-23. For more information about *ba*-theology and its expression in art, see Zandee 1959-62, 60; Redford 2010, 134-35; Redford and Redford 2020, 105.

that of Banebdjed, the tetrad of Ra, Tefnut, Shu, and Osiris, or a different group of divinities entirely, then emerges. This thesis analyzes selected images iconographically in order to determine which tetrad of deities, or religious themes, such as *ba*-theology, catalyzed depictions of certain deities with multiple rams' heads.⁹

Ba-theology is well defined in numerous ancient texts, including spells 75-82 of the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts*, the New Kingdom *Book of the Heavenly Cow*, and the “Hymns to the *Bas* of Amun” preserved inside the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak and the Late Period temple of Amun-Ra at Hibis. In the *Book of the Heavenly Cow*, which appears in complete form for the first time inside KV 17, the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Sety I (c. 1294-1279 BC), mankind revolts against the sun god, and the goddess Hathor-Sekhmet is sent to earth in order to punish humanity for its misdeeds.¹⁰ Thereafter, Ra ascends to the sky on the back of the goddess Nut who had taken the form of a cow, which, in the future, was supported by eight different *Heh*-deities and the air god Shu.¹¹ The fourth and final part of this book defines *ba*-theology, identifying which specific gods, sacred animals, and forces of nature existed as the *ba*-souls of other divinities:¹²

9. Anne D'Alleva defines the term “iconography” as both the “study of the meaning of images” and the “individual motifs and images in a work of art,” see d'Alleva 2014, 19. Maya Müller defines the term “iconography” as the “totality of images,” as well as the “modern approach to ancient art that deals with the themes and motifs on all types which must be identified, classified, and interpreted,” see Müller 2015, 78.

10. Hornung 1999, 149.

11. Hornung 1999, 149.

12. Hornung (1982) 1997, 26f.



*b3 pw n Šw tʿw b3 pw n Nhh hwt
 b3 pw n kkw grh b3 pw n nnw R^c
 b3 pw n Wsir B3-nb-ddt
 b3 pw n šbk mshw iw b3 n ntr nb m hf3w
 iw b3 n ʿpp m b3hw iw b3 n R^c ht t3 r dr:f*

The *ba*-soul of Shu is air.

The *ba*-soul of Neheh is rain.

The *ba*-soul of darkness is night.

The *ba*-soul of the primeval ocean is Ra.

The *ba*-soul of Osiris is the ram of Mendes.

The *ba*-soul of Sobek is crocodiles.

The *ba*-soul of every god is snakes.

The *ba*-soul of Apep is in the eastern mountains.

The *ba*-soul of Ra is throughout the entire land.

The sun god was acknowledged gradually over the course of the New Kingdom as an all-encompassing *demiurge*, or creator deity, who was responsible for the creation of the gods in the Heliopolitan Ennead creation myth and who manifested in a variety of different names and forms. The New Kingdom funerary books, the *Litany of Ra*, the *Amduat*, the *Book of the Gates*, the *Book of the Caverns*, and the *Book of the Earth*, were guides to the Hereafter. These texts focus on the nocturnal union of Ra's *ba* with his corpse, or rather the body of Osiris, and the resulting regeneration of the sun that is allowed to occur after they have merged. Perhaps it is significant, therefore, that the New Kingdom funerary text known as the *Litany of Ra*, which is inscribed commonly on walls inside New Kingdom royal burials in the Valley of the Kings, identifies seventy-five

different manifestations of the sun god by listing his many names and representations of that deity in his various forms.¹³ At first glance, representations of the solar god Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams' heads might seem to be a visual simplification of the message articulated in the *Litany of Ra*, given the fact that the earliest known image of a tetracephalic ram god occurs within the context of a late Twentieth Dynasty royal burial in the Valley of the Kings.

This thesis engages with the earliest known full-scale representations of tetracephalic ram deities in Egyptian art. These images are found in separate scenes inside three different royal burials in the Valley of the Kings: the tombs of Ramesses IX (KV 6; c. 1126-1108 BC), Ramesses X (KV 18; c. 1108-1099 BC), and Ramesses XI (KV 4; c. 1099-1069 BC).¹⁴ By engaging with the selected images and their associated inscriptions, this thesis seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What was the significance of the four-headed ram god in religious-magical texts?
2. What else can we learn from ancient texts about the four-headed ram?
3. To what extent does this iconography reflect theological and political change during the Ramesside Period?
4. What themes other than fertility, creation, male virility, rebirth, and resurrection are brought to bear with the interpretation of the four-headed ram as an iconographic form?

13. Darnell and Darnell 2018, 33-35, 61. The "Book of Adoring Re in the West" also appears in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of the vizier of Thutmose III, Userman (TT 61), and as excerpts at Abydos in the Temple of Ramesses II, the Oseirion, as well as the Chapel of Hakoris and the Edifice of Taharqa in Karnak.

14. Varga 1998, 110-16; Miatello 2008, 286. Another image of a four-headed ram god appears in the unfinished tomb of Ramesses X (KV 18), but regrettably little can be done with this scene due to its poor state of preservation, see Jenni 2000, pl. 41.

1.1: Methodology

Methods developed by art historian Erwin Panofsky, in his highly influential treatises titled *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (1939) and *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History* (1955), are applied to this study of ancient Egyptian imagery in order to determine intrinsic meaning. Panofsky believed that art consists of “underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion.”¹⁵ His three-step method consists of *pre-iconographic analysis*, *iconographic analysis*, and *iconological analysis*. These steps are accomplished in order so that results from a previous stage forms the foundation for the next.¹⁶

In *pre-iconographic analysis*, the viewer engages in a *pseudo-formal analysis* of art, a specific type of description that emphasizes the formal elements of line, shape, form, tone, texture, pattern, color, and composition. In theory, little identification of symbolic content is made during this process, compelling the viewer to examine the ways in which an artist has chosen to depict or distort the representation.¹⁷ Panofsky, however, maintains that certain images and motifs are “universal” to some viewers and do not require a description of form in order to be understood.¹⁸ Therefore, symbolic content is identified in this step throughout this thesis whenever it is already known to the author.¹⁹ The second step of Panofsky’s methodology, *iconographic analysis*, is accomplished by connecting an image’s symbolic content to textual sources from the same historical

15. Panofsky 1939, 7.

16. Panofsky 1955, 26-54.

17. Clark (1995) 1999, 248-53.

18. Panofsky 1955, 26-54.

19. Panofsky 1939, 7-10.

period in which the artwork was produced, as well as those that comment, or build upon, the original literary sources. The imagery is next evaluated within the artwork's larger context in order to discover cultural, historical, religious, political, or social themes during a process called *iconological analysis*. This step analyzes art as a cohesive creation with an overarching theme, while simultaneously acknowledging that meaning occasionally can change over time during a given historical period.

Additionally, location is an equally important aspect to consider when investigating royal tomb decoration in the Valley of the Kings that is examined closely in this study of ancient Egyptian art.²⁰ Specific rules may apply to the positioning and orientation of the images that are examined in this thesis. Moreover, the surrounding funerary texts may impact the intrinsic message articulated by images of Amun-Ra-Horakhty as a four-headed ram deity.

This chapter has shown that four rams' heads constitute symbolic content which must be considered when interpreting the inherent message that is a key component in representations of tetracephalic ram deities. Chapter Two consists of a review of the relevant literature related to this topic, focusing primarily on the publications about New Kingdom representations of four-headed ram gods. Chapter Three explores the role of the ram in Egyptian religion, as a symbol of male virility, fertility, syncretism, resurrection, and rebirth. No less important, the symbolic meaning of the number four in Egyptian religion and magic is examined in Chapter Four. An analysis of specific imagery begins in Chapter Five with the already mentioned representation of Amun-Ra-Horakhty as a tetracephalic ram deity, depicted in fine quality *bas-relief* inside the late Twentieth

20. For more information, see Wilkinson 1994b, 79-86; 1995, 74-81; Richter 2008, 73-104.

Dynasty tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6; c. 1126-1108 BC). This thesis's examination of art continues in Chapter Six with the interpretation of individual iconographical elements that compose a different representation of Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams' heads—an image that appears inside the late New Kingdom tomb of Ramesses XI (KV 4; c. 1099-1069 BC). Finally, in Chapter Seven, the conclusion of this thesis, the selected images are compared and contrasted in order to examine the iconographic changes over time and to interpret how subtle differences impact the symbolic message articulated by late New Kingdom representations of gods with four rams' heads.

Figure 1-1. Amun-Ra-Horakhty as he appears in Corridor A of the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6). Valley of the Kings, Egypt. New Kingdom; Dynasty Twenty, c. 1100 BC. Image created by Matt Treasure.

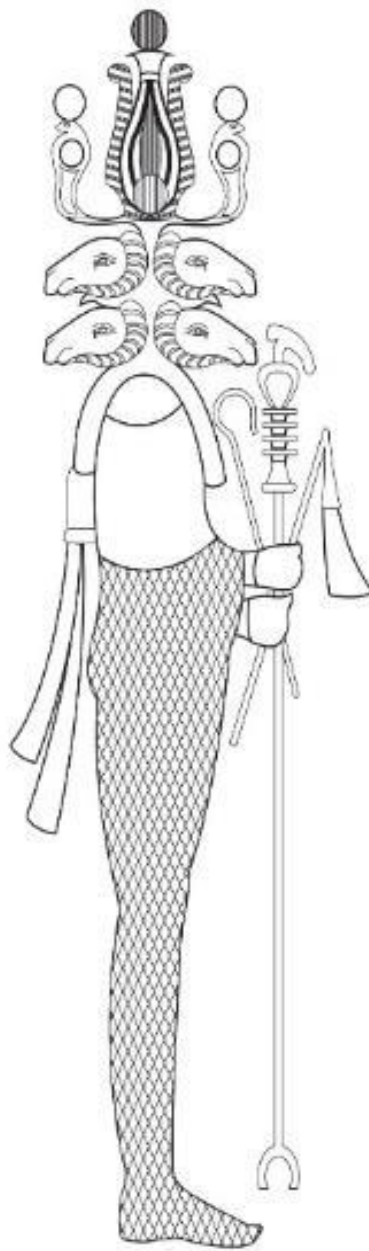


Figure 1-2. Representation of a four-headed ram deity (4 *hrw hr nhb w^ct*) on the naos of Soped discovered at Saft el-Hinna, Egypt. Late Period; Dynasty Thirty, c. 380 BC. Cairo Museum. CG 70021.



Figure 1-3. Accompanying vignette from spell 17 in the *Papyrus of Ani*, which shows the *ba*-souls of Ra and Osiris, respectively, wearing a sundisk and *hedjet*-crown, standing between two *djed*-pillars on a *pernu*-shrine. Nineteenth Dynasty. British Museum. EA 10470.



Figure 1-4. Cf. Vignette from spell 17, featured in the *Papyrus of Hunefer*, which shows five deities: Ra, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, and Banebdjed. Nineteenth Dynasty. British Museum. EA 9901.



Chapter 2

Prior Scholarship

Only a few authors have published on the topic of late New Kingdom representations of tetracephalic ram deities, primarily in popular books or scholarly articles focused on much broader subjects. Although the published studies intersect in numerous ways, much of the research to date has been observational in nature and has not applied a systematic methodology in order to better understand the four-headed ram as an iconographic form. No less problematic, scholars frequently have associated the tetracephalic ram deity's hypostasis with different tetrads of gods and goddesses in the past.

Geraldine Pinch's 2002 book, *Egyptian Mythology: A Guide to the Gods, Goddesses, and Traditions of Ancient Egypt*, is one of the rare publications that acknowledges gods who were represented in art with four rams' heads. Notwithstanding this book's popular nature as it is a source intended primarily for a general audience, Pinch makes one noteworthy observation that could be relevant to this study of New Kingdom representations of tetracephalic ram deities:

The sun god could also be depicted with four rams' heads representing his four *bas* (souls or manifestations). The four souls are often named Ra, Khepri, Atum, and Osiris. In some Underworld Books, Ra mysteriously merges with the corpse of Osiris, the ruler of the underworld. When they become the "United One," the dead can reawaken, and the world can be remade.¹

Pinch seems to connect the gods Atum, Khepri, Ra, and Osiris to a scene from the middle register of the *Amduat*'s seventh hour, where artists depicted four rectangular chests, each one surmounted by two human heads which look inward toward a knife emerging from the center. In this scene, these chests are referred to as: "the one that bears the image of

1. Pinch 2002, 184.

Atum” (*hry sšmw Itm*), “the one that bears the image of Khepri” (*hry sšmw Hpri*), “the one that bears the image of Ra” (*hry sšmw Rʿ*), and “the one that bears the image of Osiris” (*hry sšmw Wsir*).² Simply stated, Pinch seemingly associates the four-headed ram with different aspects of the sun deity: Khepri, the god who surfaces from the underworld, at dawn, in the form of a scarab beetle and pushes the sun over the eastern horizon; Ra, the deity who personifies the sun at midday, at its highest point; Atum, the forefather of the gods in the creation myth known as the Heliopolitan Ennead, or the tired, weary old man who transforms into the waning sun that sets on the western horizon at dusk; and Osiris, the god who is united with Ra during the sixth hour of the night, in the Netherworld.

The tetradic nature of the sun god is evoked in the “Legend of Isis and Ra,” a story preserved in *Chester Beatty XI* (BM EA 10691) and *Papyrus Turin 1993*, both Ramesside period texts, which describe Khepri as the morning, Ra as the midday, and Atum as the evening forms of the sun.³ From the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty onward, some of the most important forms of the sun god were depicted at different intervals of his diurnal voyage on *hypocephali*— the small, disk-shaped mortuary objects that symbolized the sun, which the ancient Egyptians placed occasionally under the heads of their dead. *Hypocephali* were decorated commonly with multiple scenes in which the world of the living appears in the uppermost registers and that of the dead in its lowest, showing the sun god in his morning, midday, evening, and nocturnal forms. The central register of a *hypocephali* was occupied often by a god who was represented with four or more rarely

2. Darnell and Darnell 2018, 201.

3. McDowell 1999, 119-20. On the other hand, Hornung refers to Atum, Ra, Khepri, and Osiris as the “four ‘images,’ or most important aspects, of the sun deity.” Cf. Hornung 1982b, 79-80.

two rams' heads. The god Khepri customarily also appears on *hypocephali* as the eastern form of the sun god in the upper right-hand corner; the god Amun-Ra is depicted as the midday form of the sun god in the uppermost central register; and the falcon god Sokar, rather than Atum, represents the western form of the sun that descends into the *Duat* at dusk in the upper left-hand scene.⁴

Erik Hornung attributes the hypostasis of the four-headed ram god to a different tetrad of divinities entirely, in his book chapter titled “Komposite Gottheiten in der Ägyptischen Ikonographie,” which was published in 1999, in Christoph Uehlinger’s *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (First Millennium BCE)*. In this publication, Hornung describes a scene from the *Amduat*’s eighth hour, where a procession of four rams appear in the middle register, which he refers to as the “rams of Tatenen.” Hornung thereafter asserts that the rams of Tatenen were represented collectively as a mummiform figure with four ram’s heads on top of a human’s body inside the late Twentieth Dynasty tombs of Ramesses IX (KV 6; c. 1126-1108 BC), Ramesses X (KV 18; c. 1108-1099 BC), and Ramesses XI (KV 4; c. 1099-1069 BC).⁵ Although this publication features footnotes throughout its contents, Hornung does not cite any sources to support his claim that the rams of Tatenen inspired late New Kingdom images of four-headed ram deities. Regardless of its merit as a potentially significant observation, Hornung’s assertion would be far more compelling had he provided his readers with some evidence to support his opinion.

4. For more information about the four-headed ram and *hypocephali*, see Varga 1988, 110-16; Miatello 2008, 277-87.

5. Hornung 2000, 10-12.

First published in 1997, in German, under the title *Altägyptische Jenseitbücher*, Hornung's 1999 book, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, provides summaries of the most important texts for the Hereafter, focusing primarily on the New Kingdom Books of the Netherworld. Returning to the topic of the rams of Tatenen, featured in the *Amduat*'s eighth hour, Hornung wrote: "Personified *shemes* hieroglyphs appear next, designating both the jurisdiction and the 'following' of the god, as well as the four rams of Tatenen, which at the end of the New Kingdom were condensed into the figure of a four-headed solar ram."⁶ In his subsequent 2003 book, *Knowledge of the Afterlife: The Egyptian Amduat*, Hornung makes little effort to further refine any of his previous statements, regarding the rams of Tatenen and their connection with the four-headed ram god, aside from associating the rams of Tatenen with a group of seated divinities who appear in the bottom register of the *Amduat*'s fifth hour.⁷ This new tetrad of deities possess crowns that are identical to those worn by the rams of Tatenen with the exception of a sundisk, which is substituted instead by a ram's head placed in the lap of one of the seated divinities. Hornung again states that late New Kingdom representations of the rams of Tatenen depict this tetrad in composite form as a single, zooanthropomorphic deity who is represented as a man with four rams' heads, positing vaguely that this new god consists of the "forms of Ra, and that Ra is united with both Osiris and Tatenen."⁸

Although it can be problematic to draw inferences about the New Kingdom from knowledge of later periods, Colleen Manassa-Darnell's 2007 book, *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period*, does much to

6. Hornung, 1999, 40. Cf. Hornung, 2002 44; 1991c, 143.

7. Hornung 2003, 103. See also Hornung 1967, 132.

8. Hornung and Abt 2007, 103.

clarify lingering questions about the rams of Tatenen. In this book, Manassa-Darnell examines portions of text from the *Amduat* on three Thirtieth Dynasty sarcophagi. Each sarcophagus is supplemented with additional text at the end of the *Amduat*'s eighth hour which diverges from the more common hymns relating to the diurnal cycle of the sun.⁹ Manassa-Darnell believes that the appended text stipulates that the dead prosper due to the creative powers of the gods Tatenen, Atum, Ra, and Ptah, and that the rams of Tatenen could symbolize an all-encompassing *demiurge*, or creator deity, perhaps referring to the four generations of gods in the Heliopolitan Ennead or the four pairs of deities in the Hermopolitan Ogdoad.¹⁰

In his 2004 book, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI, and Ramesses IX*, John Coleman Darnell associates Banebdjed with Amun-Ra-Horakhty, a god who is represented with four rams' heads in entrance scenes preserved inside the late Twentieth Dynasty tombs of Ramesses IX (KV 6; c. 1126-1108 BC), Ramesses X (KV 18; c. 1108-1099 BC), and Ramesses XI (KV 4; c. 1099-1069 BC). Darnell posits that the multiple forms of the sun god aligns with the doctrine of Banebdjed, a deity who appears occasionally also in art represented with four rams' heads, which frequently symbolize the *ba*-souls of Geb, Shu, Ra, and Osiris from the Late Period onward and represent the four generations of male deities in the Heliopolitan Ennead. Nonetheless, inscriptions found inside the late New Kingdom tombs mentioned above, which accompany representations of Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams' heads, do not specify the specific deities who constitute Amun-Ra-Horakhty's four *ba*-souls. Reception theory holds that a

9. Manassa 2007, 263.

10. Manassa 2007, 263.

viewer approaches art and literature as an individual who is shaped by his or her own personal experiences and knowledge, and that a subject can be read or misread in a number of ways depending on how well the receiver of a message interprets the sender in the absence of context. In order to draw a comparison between Banebdjed and Amun-Ra-Horakhty, Darnell conflates various images that accompany the New Kingdom *Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity*, featured inside the tomb of Ramesses IX, with Banebdjed's Late Period tetrad of Geb, Shu, Ra, and Osiris.¹¹ One of the shortcomings of this approach is that the Mendesian ram's hypostasis does not always represent the tetrad of Geb, Shu, Ra, and Osiris during the New Kingdom, as demonstrated by Spell 17 of the *Book of the Dead*, featured in the *Papyrus of Ani* (BM EA 10470), previously mentioned in Chapter One, where the goddess of moisture Tefnut replaces the earth god Geb as one of Banebdjed's four *ba*-souls.¹² Simply put, Darnell's interpretation has some flaws, and one particular area of concern is how Banebdjed's hypostasis changes from the New Kingdom to the first millennium BC.

Támás Bács wrote about the decoration programs in the tombs of Ramesses IX (KV 6; c. 1126-1108 BC) and Ramesses XI (KV 4; c. 1099-1069 BC), in his 1992 article, "Amun-Re-Harakhti in the Late Ramesside Royal Tombs." This important contribution to the study of the four-headed ram god draws upon two earlier works, which were

11. Darnell 2004, 400-401.

12. For more information, see Redford 2010, 124-38. Banebdjed's alignment with as many as four gods is indicated in a number of ancient textual sources, including CT Spell 335, the Great Mendes Stela, the monolithic naoi from Mendes, and a spell for scaring away an enemy in *Chester Beatty VIII* (BM EA 10688). For the *Coffin Texts*, see CT IV Spell 335 (§276-282); Faulkner 1978, 1: 264. For the Great Mendes Stela, see Naville 1976, 122-25. For the naoi, see Soghor 1967, 16-32. For a translation of the spell in *Chester Beatty VIII*, see Bourghouts 1978, 7-10. Furthermore, spell 18 of the New Kingdom *Book of the Dead* refers to a "Great Council" which consists of four deities who reside in Mendes, i.e. Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus, see Allen 1974, 103.

published in 1989 and 1930, respectively: “Der Bauablauf und die Dekoration des Grabes Ramses’ IX,” authored by Friedrich Abitz, and *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh*, written by the French Egyptologist Bernard Bruyère. The totality of the symbolic content applied to the representation of Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams’ heads in the tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6; c. 1126-1108 BC) led Bruyère to associate this image with Ptah and Sokar,¹³ Abitz to stress its Osirian aspects,¹⁴ and Bács to conflate the figure with the god Khonsu.¹⁵ As stated later by Bács, the four-headed ram as an iconographic form survived until “much later times, presumably transmitted after the New Kingdom in the non-royal funerary, temple and magical spheres.”¹⁶ He cites an earlier 1981 article titled “Prophecies of Ram Gods,” in which the author, László Kákósy, maintains that this particular motif was used first by Amun-Ra and, significantly, “other gods,” before it was adopted by Khnum, yet Kákósy fails to mention exactly who these separate deities were.¹⁷

There have been a few recent publications that have engaged with the topic of artistic representations of multi-headed divinities, in general. In his 2014 book chapter, “Polykephalos—Some Remarks on the Multiheaded Nature of Late Egyptian Polymorphic Deities,” Grzegorz First proposes applying the term “polymorphic” to this particular artistic genre, which includes not only representations of gods and goddesses with more than one head but also those with multiple different animal attributes. Moreover, First aptly observed that the addition of more than one head to representations

13. Bruyère 1929-30, 258.

14. Abitz 1989, 9.

15. Bács 1992, 45.

16. Bács 1992, 48-49.

17. Kákósy 1981, 149, n. 70. Kákósy’s assertion does not cite an original source for his assertion which appears in the note.

of ancient Egyptian deities “is the most important element in the construction of polymorphic iconography,” a form that depicts “completeness, variety, and multiplicity of a particular deity, including their numerous *ba*.”¹⁸

In conclusion, few academics have published focused, scholarly research engaging specifically with New Kingdom images of four-headed ram gods. Furthermore, existing scholarship has been mostly observational in nature and generally does not apply a systematic methodology in order to better understand four rams’ heads as an iconographic form. It is unclear if the hypostasis of the New Kingdom four-headed ram god Amun-Ra-Horakhty is based on the rams of Tatenen from the *Amduat*’s eighth hour, the solar cycle, the four generations of male deities in the Heliopolitan Ennead, i.e. the tetrad of Ra, Geb, Shu, and Osiris, or the four pairs of divinities in the Hermopolitan Ogdoad. Additionally, in the case of late New Kingdom representations of Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams’ heads, no single interpretation may be applicable. Nevertheless, the hidden natures of ancient Egyptian gods and goddesses are revealed often symbolically, manifesting in the form of names, epithets, iconography, and sacred animals.¹⁹ These different symbols appear in both art and literature, making it possible to define more clearly the four-headed ram god’s status, within the ancient Egyptian pantheon of deities, by examining these two individual mediums as equivalent bearers of meaning that must be processed collectively.

18. First 2014, 217.

19. Müller 2015, 92; Assmann 1986, 2:760-65.

Chapter 3

The Ram in Ancient Egyptian Religion

According to Erik Hornung, the so-called “rams of Tatenen,” featured in the middle register of the *Amduat*’s eighth hour (fig. 1), inspired later representations of tetracephalic ram deities, appearing separately inside the Twentieth Dynasty tombs of Ramesses IX (KV 6; 1126-1108 BC), Ramesses X (KV 18; 1108-1099 BC), and Ramesses XI (KV 4; 1099-1069 BC).¹ The significance of this statement as an important observation notwithstanding, Hornung’s assertion would be far more compelling had he provided his readers with some evidence to support this claim in any of the publications in which it has been made in the past. The present chapter, therefore, examines the role of the ram in Egyptian religion in order to gain a better understanding of the explicit theologies that may have motivated Hornung to make this judgement.

The ancient Egyptians revered certain traits that animals possessed, and they identified their gods and goddesses with specific animals, including rams. As early as the Old Kingdom, pastoralists used flocks of sheep led by rams to fertilize and tread seeds into the alluvial soil deposited by the Nile’s annual inundation.² Ancient Egyptians also related the process of growing crops with sexual behavior, notably associating their ram gods with fertility as a result.³ It is noteworthy that ram reproductive organs are larger than males of most other animal species; a ram’s testicle size relative to its own body weight, for example, is 25 times greater than an average human’s.⁴ The most important

1. For the English and German publications in which Hornung mentions the rams of Tatenen as inspiring late Twentieth Dynasty images of the four-headed ram god, see Hornung (1982) 1997, 40; 1999, 40; 2002, 77; Hornung and Abt 2003, 103.

2. Osborn and Osbornová 1998, 193.

3. Wilkinson 1992, 61.

4. Liu and Ott 2018, 515.

ram gods in Egypt were Heryshef of Herakleopolis, Banebdjed of Mendes, Khnum of Esna and Elephantine, and Amun(-Ra) of Thebes, all of which attained dominance at different periods.⁵ From the Old Kingdom onward, Heryshef, Banebdjed, and Khnum were represented with an undulating set of horizontal horns based on the species of sheep formerly known as the *Ovis longipes paleo-aegyptiacus*—the same form applied to representations of the sun god Ra in scenes based on the various New Kingdom funerary texts.⁶ During the Middle Kingdom, a new breed of sheep from Asia was introduced in Egypt, once referred to by scholars as the *Ovis platyra aegyptiacus*, which had spiraling horns, the type customarily only applied to representations of Amun(-Ra) in his ram-headed form, perhaps as decorum.⁷

3.1: Explicit Theologies

The syncretism of gods occurs with frequency in ancient Egyptian religion. Hans Bonnet first defined this concept as the fulfillment of “*Einwohnung*,” whereby a god’s *ba*-soul “inhabits” another deity, element, or a sacred animal, including rams.⁸ In addition, the names of multiple divinities were juxtaposed frequently in Egyptian texts, creating composite deities. One of the earliest examples occurs in utterance 217 of the Fifth Dynasty *Pyramid Texts*, with the mention of the god Ra-Atum.⁹ As a consequence of this juxtaposition, Ra-Atum acquired all the divine powers and domains of the individual

5. There were a number of other ancient Egyptian deities who were associated with the ram by either appearing in art as ram-headed or wearing a crown that partially consisted of ram’s horns, e.g. Kherty, Osiris, Min, Tatenen, Anubis, and Andjety.

6. For more information, see Epstein 1971, 2:56; Brewer, Redford, and Redford 1994, 92-93.

7. Osborn and Osbornová 1998, 193. The *Ovis longipes* and the *Ovis platyra* appear together in art only once in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Khnumhotep II, at Beni Hassan, on the north wall of the main chamber, see Newberry 1893, pl. XXX.

8. Bonnet 1952, 239.

9. PT utterance 217 (§152-60), in Faulkner 1968, 44-45; Lichtheim (1971) 2006, 1: 30-32.

deities, Ra and Atum. As a form of Atum, he also became the first god from whom all other divinities were created in the cosmogony that is known as the Heliopolitan Ennead.¹⁰

Syncretisms with the sun god Ra occur often, commonly with other creator deities, such as the god Amun, or Amun-Ra, who was renowned for his virility, as were the other ancient Egyptian ram gods.¹¹ Complicated theological statements about syncretism abound in Egyptian literature: notably, the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts* record that Osiris “appears as Ra” (*Wsir NN pn h^cy m R^c*)¹² and elsewhere, in spell 335, Osiris and Ra meet each other in Mendes, where they exist as syncretized *ba*-soul, assuming the form of the ram god Banebdjed.¹³ Spells such as these allude to known imagery of the sun god Ra in his nocturnal form, as a zooanthropomorphic deity who was represented with a ram’s head on top of a human’s body. Ra was depicted in his nocturnal form of a ram-headed figure with horizontal horns modeled after the breed formerly known as the *Ovis longipes paleo-aegyptiacus* in scenes based on the various New Kingdom Books of the Netherworld.¹⁴ The funerary text known as the *Amduat*, or “That Which is in the Netherworld,” first appears as wall decoration inside the sarcophagus chamber of Thutmose III (KV 34; c. 1479-1425 BC) in the Valley of the Kings.¹⁵ The *Amduat* describes the sun god Ra’s nightly journey through the underworld

10. The Fifth Dynasty *Pyramid Texts* describe Atum as the “father of the gods” who beget Shu and Tefnut. For more information, see PT utterances 577 (§1521a) and 548 (§1546a) in Faulkner 1968, 233, 235. For the creation of Shu and Tefnut, see PT utterance 527 (§1248-1249) in Faulkner 1968, 198. See also CT I spell 75 (§327-338).

11. For one of the earliest known attestations of the god Amun-Ra, see CG 70040.

12. CT I spell 45 (§191g-192a); Faulkner 1978, 1:191-92. Spell 45 refers to the deceased as a form of Osiris who appears as Ra, or “the Osiris NN appears as Ra.”

13. CT IV spell 335 (§276-81); Faulkner 1978, 1: 264.

14. Wilkinson 1992, 60-61; 2003, 208-9.

15. PM 1/2, 551-54.

as a ram-headed figure, traveling in a solar barque. During the sixth hour of the night, a significant event occurs: Ra's *ba* is united with the corpse of the god Osiris.¹⁶ Thereafter, the sun god Ra is regenerated during his nightly journey before being reborn each morning.

The ancient Egyptians believed in multiple cosmogonies, including the creation myth known as the Hermopolitan Ogdoad. The Hermopolitan Ogdoad was composed of a group of eight divinities, consisting of four pairs of male and female counterparts, each couple associated with different aspects of the primordial waters from which all life emerged: Nun and Naunet, water, Heh and Hauhet, infinity, Kek and Kauket, darkness, and Amun and Amaunet, hiddenness.¹⁷ Notably, Egypt's growing season began after the receding of the Nile's waters and the emerging of land from its inundation. The ancient Egyptians accordingly believed in a creation event that began with a mound of earth rising from the primordial waters, on which the sun god appeared and eventually ascended into the sky.¹⁸

One of the Ogdoad's male deities, Amun (*Imn*), whose name means, literally, "hidden one,"¹⁹ ascended to the position of tutelary deity in Egypt near the end of the First Intermediate Period, a position he retained thereafter. New theological content was created for the sun god Ra during the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (c. 1479-1458 BC), which was adopted by Amun-Ra, a composite deity who encompassed

16. Hornung 1999, 87. For a more detailed description of the *Amduat* and a translations of its text, see Hornung and Abt, 2007; Darnell and Darnell 2018, 127-248.

17. See CT II spell 76 (§1-17); CT VI spell 714 (§344). See also PT utterance 301 (§446c), in Faulkner 1968, 90.

18. For more information, see CT I spell 75 (§327-338); CT VI spell 714 (§314). See also Allen 1988, 14-17.

19. Wb. I, 83-85.

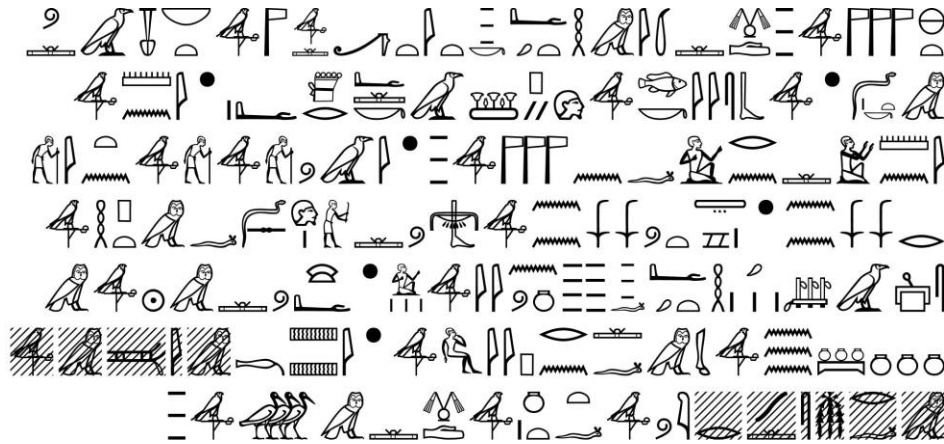
the individual traditions of both Ra and Amun. From this period, the doctrine of Amun, otherwise known as Theban theology, incorporates the different New Kingdom funerary texts, for example, the *Amduat* and the *Litany of Ra*, which first appear inside KV 34, the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Thutmose III (c. 1479-1425 BC), previously mentioned.²⁰ The sun god known as the Aten came to prominence during the Amarna Period (c. 1352-1336 BC), and temples devoted to many other deities, including Amun(-Ra), were starved of resources; however, this particular religious movement did not last beyond the brief reign of the pharaoh Akhenaten.²¹ Thereafter, the god Amun(-Ra) was identified increasingly more as a panentheistic deity whose *ba*-soul manifested in numerous forms, much like his northern counterpart Ra in Heliopolis. Theban theology is articulated often in numerous ancient texts, including the often-cited *Leiden I 350*.²² Written during the reign of Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213 BC), this text posits the following about the god Amun:²³

20. Hornung 1982a, 191. The incorporation of different theologies is thus a rationalization of the syncretism of these two gods, Amun and Ra. Assmann writes that this process was “additive,” positing that Theban theology was accomplished primarily through juxtaposition, for more information, see Assmann 2001, 189-244.

21. According to Dodson, images of the god Amun and the goddess Mut were subject to erasure during the brief Amarna period, but no gods outside of the Theban Triad seem to be affected in such a way, see Dodson 2014, 127-28. On the other hand, Shonkwiler insists that the name of Horus the Behdetite was subject to *damnatio memoriae* also during the Amarna period, noting that Ra and Ra-Horakhty seem to have been spared, for more information see Shonkwiler 2014, 101-2. In addition, the often-cited Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun posits that temples were restored following the Amarna period, for more information about Tutankhamun’s building program, see Dodson 2009, 63-78.

22. Assmann 2001, 243. Hornung notes that under the Ramessides, there was a “renaissance of Amun as king of the gods,” see Hornung 1982a, 220. Ramesside Period royal tombs (c. 1295-1069 BC) also reflect an increasing solarization of funerary beliefs with the addition of new texts as part of the decoration, such as the *Book of the Gates*, the *Book of the Caverns*, and the *Book of the Heavenly Cow*. For more information, see McCarthy 2014, 167-76.

23. Zandee 1947, pl. 4, col. 1-4.



*psdt dmd.ti m ḥwt.k tit(.k) ntr nbt sm3 m dt.k bsi.k tpy š3̣.k dr-ᶜ Imn
 imn rn.f m ntrw i3w i3 tni r nn T3-tnn [i.]nbi [sw] tp ds.f m Pth s3hw ḥwt.f hmntiw ḥi
 m Rᶜ m Nwn whm.f rnpi i.k3p m Itm m r.f msi r Šw Tfnt dmi m b3w*

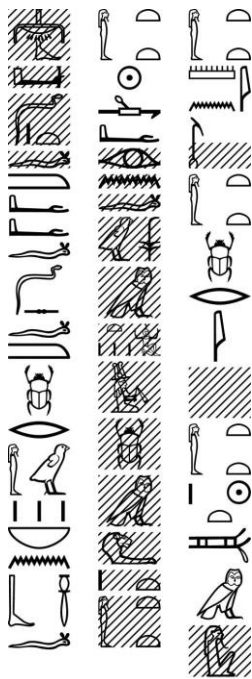
The Ennead, you united in your body, your image is every god joined in your person. You emerged first; you began long ago. Amun, his name is hidden from the gods; ancient elder distinguished from these. Tatenen who built himself by himself with Ptah; the toes of his body are the Hermopolitans, rising as Ra from the primordial waters, so that he might rejuvenate, who sneezed as Atum from his mouth and gave birth to Shu and Tefnut, combined in souls.

In the passage above, the entire pantheon of Egyptian deities consists of little more than images of the monad, i.e. “the hidden one,” whose existence precedes their own. Both Erik Hornung and Jan Assmann have related the multiple forms of ancient Egyptian deities with the theological concept of pantheism, the belief that everything on earth creates an all-encompassing divinity whose form can be expressed in a variety of ways.²⁴ Nevertheless, Hornung eventually concedes that Egyptian religion only inadvertently resembles a pantheistic one, and that it is henotheistic, more or less, adhering occasionally to one particular god out of many.²⁵ On the other hand, Assmann finds pantheistic ideology in the solar hymns of the early New Kingdom, beginning with the

24. Hornung 1982a, 234-35; Allen 1988, 49-55; Assmann 2001, 240-44. See also Hornung’s discussion of $\overline{\text{tr}}$ (Gardiner sign-list R8) and its basic meaning, Hornung 1982a, 33-64.

25. Hornung 1982a, 125-28.

co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (c. 1479-1458 BC)²⁶ and defines their reign as the beginning of a deliberate search by the ancient Egyptians to find a universal “supergod.”²⁷ Assmann also posits that the Ramesside response to Amarna’s monolatry, i.e. the worship of one god above all others while acknowledging the existence of more deities, was not sustained orthodoxy, but rather the perpetuation of a similar doctrine which continued to emphasize the “oneness” of god, wherein *ba*-theology becomes a major theme before reaching its apex during the Late Period (c. 747-332 BC).²⁸ *Ba*-theology, in which a god “inhabits” the form of another deity, element, or a sacred animal, is well articulated in the so-called “Hymn to Amun,” a vast text that encompasses the walls of the aptly named “Chapels of the *Bas* of Amun and his Union with Ra,” in Room F, of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak:²⁹



*twt Imn [. . .] twt Hpri twt R^c-Itm
 twt R^c w^c [ir.n.f sw m hhw T3-tnn]
 [hpr m-h^ct twt nbi dt.f] m ^cwy.f(y) ds.f
 m hpr nb n 3b.f*

You are Amun [. . .]; you are Khepri; you are Ra-Atum; you are Ra, sole one who made himself into millions, Tatenen who was created in the beginning. You are the one who built his body with his own hands, in every form of his desire.

26. Assmann 2001, 189-90; 194-95.

27. Assmann 2001, 243.

28. Assmann, 2004 180. For more information, see also Assmann 1983a, 144-50.

29. Parker, Leclant, and Goyon 1979, pl. 28. Portions of this text have been collated with an identical text from the Late Period temple at Hibis, see Klotz 2006, pl. 4.

Ba-theology, which is alluded to in this Late Period text and previously elsewhere, including the New Kingdom *Book of the Heavenly Cow* and Spells 75-82 of the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts*, created additional opportunities for the expression of ancient Egyptian deities in art, as well as texts. Ultimately, the secretive, or hidden nature of the god Amun, whose name means, literally, “the hidden one,” enabled him to be syncretized more easily with other deities.³⁰ The fusion of these different theologies is thus a rationalization of the syncretism of multiple divinities. In fact, Assmann notably writes that this process was “additive,” positing further that Theban theology was accomplished primarily through juxtaposition.³¹

Frequently associated with craftsmen, metalworkers, and architects, the god Ptah is another well-attested creator deity in New Kingdom Egyptian religion.³² From the reign of Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213 BC), Ptah was syncretized frequently with the chthonic deity Tatenen (*T3-tnn*), whose name carries the meaning, “the risen land.”³³ The god (Ptah-)Tatenen was associated with the earth that emerges from the Nile’s annual inundation after it has receded; furthermore, he was identified with the original mound of earth that surfaced from the primordial waters at the dawn of creation.³⁴ In multiple texts of the Ramesside Period, which are preserved separately at Medinet Habu, Abu Simbel,

30. Assmann 2001, 243.

31. Assmann 2001, 189-244.

32. It is the author’s opinion, which is shared by James Allen, Jan Assmann, and others, that the Shabaka Stone probably was copied from a Ramesside Period document. For more information, see Allen 1988, 42; Smith 2002, 35-38. The inscription on the Shabaka Stone claims that it was copied from an earlier worm-eaten document which was found in a poor state of preservation by the Kushites, for more information, see Lichtheim (1971) 2006, 1: 52.

33. Sandman-Holmberg 1947, 56-63; Schlögl 1980, 54-56, 62. no. 47, 71-72. The number of sources in which Ptah and Tatenen were syncretized during the reign of Ramesses II are numerous. These include the so-called “Rhetorical Stela” from Wadi Sannur. See KRI II, 308, line 10.

34. From the reign of Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213 BC) onward, Ptah appears in numerous ancient texts where he is syncretized with the god Nun, who personified the primordial waters. For more information, see Schlögl 1980, 62. no. 47.

Karnak, and elsewhere, the composite deity Ptah-Tatenen is described with the epithets *wṯt ntrw* and *it ntrw*, meaning “begetter of the gods” and “father of the gods,” respectively.³⁵ Inside the late New Kingdom temple of Khonsu at Karnak, the god Ptah is described additionally as “the creator of the egg that emerged in the primordial waters,” *km3 swḥt pr m Nwn*.³⁶ Accordingly, Memphite Theology, preserved as text on a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty artifact known as the Shabaka Stone, with inscriptions claiming to be copied from a worm-eaten papyrus that was dated probably no later than the Twentieth Dynasty,³⁷ posits that “Ptah is Tatenen, who gave birth to the gods,” (*Pth T3-tnn pw msi ntrw*).³⁸ Ultimately, this explicit theology, articulated in inscriptions found in the New Kingdom temples mentioned above, establishes that the god Ptah-Tatenen preceded Atum in the Heliopolitan Ennead. Therefore, the composite deity (Ptah-)Tatenen, a *demiurge*, or creator deity, was associated occasionally with the ram form, as personified by the procession of four rams appearing in the middle register of the *Amduat*’s eighth hour, i.e. the “rams of Tatenen.”³⁹

35. KRI II, 260.

36. Sethe 1929, pl. 2, lines 10-18. The “egg” refers to the primordial mound of earth. For more information about the god Ptah as creator of the egg, see Graefe 1998, 118-23. See also CT VI spell 714 (§314).

37. Already mentioned, the Shabaka Stone dates from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty; however, its inscription was copied probably from a Ramesside period source, although Memphite Theology could date to the Old Kingdom. For more information about the dating of this inscription to the Ramesside Period, see Allen 1988, 42-43. Cf. Erman 1911, 916-50; Lichtheim (1971) 2006, 1: 51; Ockinga 2010, 99-117.

38. Schlögl 1980, 18-19.

39. The composite deity Ptah-Tatenen is identified as a creator god in the “Hymn to Ptah,” featured in *Berlin 3048*, which was copied from a Twentieth Dynasty source, where the god is referred to as “the one who fabricated the earth in accordance with the plan of his heart, who made everything, the begetter who created what exists,” *ḥm t3 m shrw n ib.f ms nty nb wṯt km3 wnt*. For more information, see Wolf 1929, 18; Leitz 2002, 206; Knigge 2006, 140; Teeter 2012, p. 32, n. 33.

3.2: *The Ram as a Water Deity*

The Egyptians identified their other ram gods with the inundation and the primordial waters from which all life emerged, as well. From the Third Dynasty onward, the name “Khnum,” for example, frequently was spelled with the hieroglyphic symbol *hnm* 𓆎 (Gardiner’s sign-list W9), the root of the word *hnmw*, meaning “cistern,” “well,” or “spring.”⁴⁰ Banebdjed, in particular, was known also as a form of Osiris, god of the inundation,⁴¹ whose *ba*-soul, already mentioned, is described in spell 335 of the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts* as residing at Mendes.⁴² In fact, the Mendesian triad consisted of the ram god Banebdjed, the fish goddess Hatmehit (*H3t-mhwt*), who was recognized as a form of Isis, the consort of Osiris, and their offspring, Horus the Child.⁴³ Moreover, Banebdjed and Khnum are described occasionally with the shared epithet *iw m hꜥpy*, meaning “coming as the Nile.”⁴⁴ Clearly, evidence in ancient texts, as well as art, indicate that the Egyptians perceived many similarities between their different ram gods, who, by the late New Kingdom, were identified frequently in Egypt as different manifestations of Amun(-Ra).⁴⁵

A hymn recorded in *Chester Beatty V* (BM EA 10685), which is a Twentieth Dynasty document, elaborates on Khnum’s connection with the inundation. The so-called “Hymn to Hapy” describes Khnum as a creator deity who ensured that the Nile’s

40. Wb. III, 377-79; Lesko 1982-90, 2: 383.

41. For more information about Osiris as a water deity, see Delia 1992, 181-90.

42. CT IV spell 335 (§276-81); Faulkner 1978, 1: 264.

43. In addition, Banebdjed is identified inside the Ptolemaic Period temple at Edfu with the epithet *ꜥgb-wr*, which means, in Egyptian hieroglyphics, the “flood,” the “inundation,” and the “primordial waters.” For more information, see Mokhtar 1991, 254.

44. See Leitz 2002, 8: 190-92; 601.

45. For more information, see Assmann 1979, 7-42; Assmann 2001, 230-34. Assmann 2004, 179-91.

inundation deposited ample silt along the riverbanks, providing proper conditions for crops to flourish:⁴⁶



*iw kd sw Hnmw
wbn.f hr t3 <m> h^cwt hr ht nb m
ršwt tšt nbt šsp.n sbit ibht nbt kf3*

When Khnum creates him, when he floods,
then the land is in joy, then every belly is
glad, every jaw holds laughter, every tooth
is revealed.

The passage above posits that Khnum created Hapy, the god of the Nile, anew each year. Ancient Egyptians believed that the mythological source of the Nile sprang from a cavern, which was located near Elephantine at the First Cataract.⁴⁷ Therefore, Khnum was identified as a creator deity who was associated with both regeneration and rebirth as the guardian of the source of Nile who brought forth the inundation and the resulting crops.

Much like Khnum, who was identified with the Nile’s mythical source, the ram god Heryshef, perhaps unintentionally, was associated with the flow of water into the Faiyum as the principal deity at Herakleopolis, a city located in the 20th Upper Egyptian nome.⁴⁸ Likewise Mendes, established in the marshes of the northeastern Egyptian delta along the Mendesian branch of the Nile, also had a harbor, as well as a sacred lake within the walls of its temple. The name Heryshef (*Hry-šf*), which means, “he who is upon the lake,” not only refers to the lake at the Faiyum, but also probably to the sacred lake that

46. CB V. BM EA 10685, recto 2. Gardiner 1934, pl. 23, lines 6-9. Maspero 1912, 1-5; Helck 1972, 16-20; Lichtheim (1971) 2006, 1: 204-9.

47. Lichtheim (1971) 2006, 1: 204-9.

48. Mokhtar 1991, 254.

was located inside the enclosure walls of his temple at Herakleopolis.⁴⁹ Within ancient Egyptian temples, the sacred lake was an important architectural element that symbolically recreated the primordial waters from where the god Atum arose in the Heliopolitan Ennead cosmogony.⁵⁰ Utterance 527 of the Fifth Dynasty *Pyramid Texts*, previously mentioned, describes the god Atum as *hpr ds.f*, or rather as “he who came into being of himself,” the first deity from whom all others were created, beginning with the air god Shu and the rain goddess Tefnut.⁵¹ Heryshef thus acquired the domain and divine powers of the creator deity Atum, becoming the principal god in the Heliopolitan Ennead and the one divinity from which everything else on heaven and earth descends.

3.3: *Divine Kingship*

During the New Kingdom, the ram’s connection with male virility and fertility was intensified as the individual ram deities, Banebdjed, Khnum, Ptah-Tatenen, and Amun(-Ra), each became associated with the concept of divine kingship, i.e. the belief that hereditary rule was legitimized through inheritance from a divine father. Khnum, for example, is first mentioned in spell 214 of the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts* as the creator of human beings whose bodies he fashioned from clay.⁵² One of the earliest known depictions of Khnum engaging in this activity occurs in a largely damaged scene from the Divine Birth sequence in Hatshepsut’s Temple of Millions of Years at Deir el-Bahari, where Khnum is shown crafting her body and *ka* on his pottery wheel at the

49. From the Ramesside period, Heryshef’s name instead was spelled *Hr-šfy*, which means, “the one with the magnificent face,” see Mokhtar 1991, 253.

50. For more information about sacred lakes, see Bonnet 1952, 694-95.

51. PT utterance 527 (§1248), in Faulkner 1968, 198. See also Lichtheim (1971) 2006, 3: 41-4.

52. CT III spell 214 (§173-74); Faulkner 1978, 1: 173-74. Although a pottery wheel is not mentioned directly, its use is strongly implied in this spell.

request of another deity occasionally represented as a ram, Amun-Ra, who had transformed himself into the king, Thutmose I, and impregnated Hatshepsut's mother Queen Ahmose.⁵³ This relief legitimized Hatshepsut's claim to rule Egypt by depicting her divine origins on Khnum's pottery wheel and further articulates her personal connection with both ram gods, Khnum and Amun(-Ra).

The divine origin story of Amenhotep III (c. 1390-1352 BC) is recorded in scenes and texts preserved inside Room XIII at Luxor Temple,⁵⁴ where Khnum is shown fashioning his body and *ka* on a pottery wheel (fig. 2), replicating the scene from Hatshepsut's Divine Birth sequence in her Temple of Millions of Years at Deir el-Bahari. Additional reliefs represented inside Room XIII at Luxor Temple show the Queen-mother, Queen Mutemwia, embraced by the goddess Hathor. Eventually, the god Amun-Ra, in the form of Thutmose IV (c. 1400-1390), seduces and impregnates the queen with the future pharaoh Amenhotep III, according to inscriptions recorded therein.⁵⁵

The kingship mythos of Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213 BC) is preserved also in a series of partial scenes and texts found inside a chapel dedicated to Queen Tuya at the Ramesseum.⁵⁶ In one of these texts, Amun proclaims: "how joyful is the dew, the scent of God's land, the smell of Punt. Look, I established my son as the King," (*ršwty i3dt sty t3 nṯr ḥnmw Pwnt m-ḥ k ḥr smn s3.i m nswt*).⁵⁷ Amun-Ra's role in the divine origins of Ramesses II was recorded on numerous Nineteenth Dynasty artifacts, including two separate ostraca (Gardiner 28 and CGC 25204) discovered at Deir el-Medina, dating to

53. PM 2, 347-48. See also Badawi 1937, 19.

54. PM 2, 326-28.

55. For more information, see Campbell 1912.

56. PM 2, 473.

57. KRI II, 6665, lines 9-10.

Year 28 of his reign, which also posit that Amun-Ra established Ramesses II as king of Upper and Lower Egypt.⁵⁸ The totality of these texts, which date before Year 30 of his reign, seemingly indicate that Ramesses II favored Amun above all other divinities prior to the occasion of his first Sed festival.

The divine origins of Ramesses II was modified after the celebration of the king's first Sed festival.⁵⁹ By Year 35, Ramesses II notably added the following epithet to his Horus name: "The Lord of Sed Festivals, like his father Ptah-Tatenen," (*nb hb-sd mi it.f Pth-tꜥ-tnn*).⁶⁰ Significantly, four New Kingdom stela, found at Karnak, Abu Simbel, Amara West, and Aksha, relate the story of how Ptah-Tatenen transformed himself into the ram god Banebdjed in order to sire the future pharaoh Ramesses II (fig. 3-4).⁶¹ The same divine origin story, known as the "Blessings of Ptah," was appropriated and adapted later by Ramesses III (c. 1184-1153 BC) and inscribed on the façade of his Temple of Millions of Years at Medinet Habu (fig. 5).⁶² In this inscription, Ptah-Tatenen declares the following:



dd mdw in Pth T3-tnn it ntrw <n> s3.f n ht.f ntr ntry wr mrt

58. KRI II 377, 14-15. Gardiner 28: "<Your> father Amun who has made your good things in his heart" (*ir n.k. it<.k> Imn n3y.k nfr m ib.f*). KRI II 378, 9. CGC 25204: "[it is your father] Amun-Ra. King of the Gods, Lord of Eternity and Ruler of Everlastingness who has established you as king" (*Imn-Rꜥ nswt ntrw nb r nhh hK3 <dt> smn tw m nswt*).

59. KRI II, 258.


60. KRI II, 380, lines 5-6.

61. KRI II, 258-63; Rosellini 2006, pl. xxxvii-xxxviii; Barguet 2007, 254.

62. MH II, pl. 105-106, lines 3-4.

*wr ḥb mi T3-tnn nsw-bit nb t3wy Wsr-m3^ct-r^c <mri->imn s3 r^c nb ḥ^cw R^c-msi-sw ḥk3-
iwnw ink it.k wtt.n.i tw ḥ^cw.k nb m n^rw iw ir.n.i ḥpr
ki.i m B3-nb-dd nk n m<w>t.k. špst r sms ki.k m nb*

Words spoken by Ptah-Tatenen, Father of the Gods, to his son, beloved of his body, great sacred god, rich in jubilees like Tatenen. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatra-Meriamun, Son of Ra, Lord of Appearances, Ramesses III. I am your father; I begat you; all of your flesh is divine (*lit: gods*). I transformed my form into Banebdjed to copulate with your noble mother in order to create your form as lord.

The “Blessings of Ptah,” copied widely and seemingly distributed throughout all of Egypt and Nubia during the Nineteenth Dynasty, describes both Banebdjed and Ptah-Tatenen at a later point as the “living Khnum” (*Hnmw ḥnh*), conflating all three deities, Banebdjed, Ptah-Tatenen, and Khnum.⁶³ Notably, the kingship mythos of previous New Kingdom rulers, including Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III, recognize Amun(-Ra) in the role of progenitor, as already mentioned, in contrast with the passage above. In the opinion of Ogdon Goelet, the “Blessings of Ptah” articulates the beginning of a political and theological shift, which instead emphasizes Ptah(-Tatenen) of Memphis rather than Amun(-Ra) of Thebes.⁶⁴ Based on the contents of this text, one may surmise that Ramesses II and Ramesses III derived legitimacy from Ptah of Memphis rather than Amun of Thebes or Ra of Heliopolis, although the latter is implied still in the king’s birth name, or nomen, which included the epithet  s3 R^c, meaning “Son of Ra,” implemented from the reign of Djedefre (c. 2566-2588 BC) onward.⁶⁵ In any case, Goelet believes that the “Blessings of Ptah” might be connected with the decision by Ramesses II to move the royal residence away from Thebes to Per-Ramesses.⁶⁶

63. MH VI, pl. 105, line 19.

64. Goelet 1992, 29.

65. Leprohon 2013, 8.

66. Goelet 1992, 32-33.

3.3: Rams as Oracles

From the Fifth Dynasty onward, the Egyptian word *sr*, meaning “to proclaim,” “to prophesy,” or “to foretell,” occasionally was used also to indicate the term “sheep” or “ram.”⁶⁷ During the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (c. 1479-1458 BC), the god Amun first achieves notoriety as an oracle who was consulted as a public means of obtaining divine approval.⁶⁸ According to scenes and texts featured on the Red Chapel, an “image,” or statue, of the god Amun nominated Hatshepsut (c. 1473-1458 BC) as pharaoh during an oracle procession.⁶⁹ Other inscriptions preserved at Karnak also posit that Amun installed Thutmose III (c. 1479-1425 BC), who is shown prostrated before an image of the god, as the king of Egypt.⁷⁰ Thereafter, common Egyptians began to solicit their gods for advice with regard to important decisions.⁷¹ Processions, including the “Beautiful Festival of the Valley,” provided ordinary Egyptians with the opportunity to approach a particular god or goddess. A small shrine, mounted on a portable barque, which was carried by *wab*-priests, concealed the “image” of a deity. Petitioners ordinarily addressed a god or goddess with a simple “yes” or “no” question, and a response was indicated according to how the barque tilted, which consequently was interpreted as an expression of a deity’s divine will. In the opinion of Jaroslav Černý, humankind’s relationship with the divine began to change during the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III from one of mostly servitude and reverence into a bond resembling an

67. Wb. IV, 188-190. The first-known attested use of *sr* to indicate the word “sheep” or “ram” occurs in the Fifth Dynasty *Pyramid Texts*.

68. Černý 1979 (1952), 35.

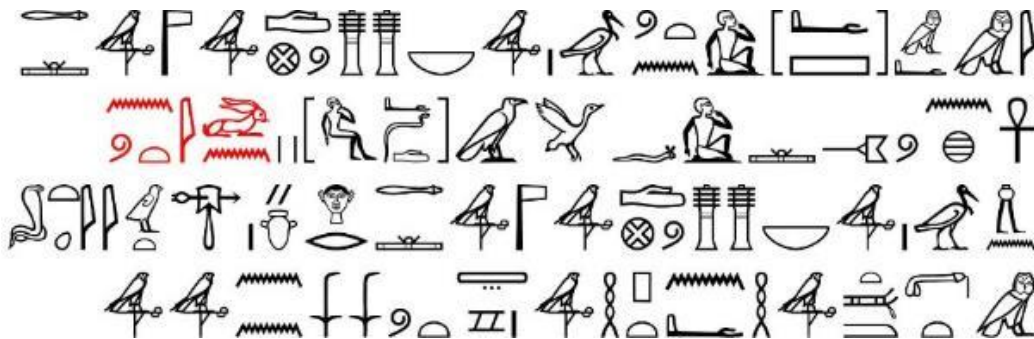
69. Kákosy 1981, 139.

70. BAR II, §140.

71. Assmann 2001, 195.

individual's personal relationship with his or her own father.⁷² In fact, Jan Assmann also believes that Amun's public accessibility, beginning in this period, contributed to the rise of personal piety in ancient Egypt.⁷³

More evidence in late New Kingdom texts indicate additional perceived similarities between Banebdjed and Khnum, in particular. Written during the Twentieth Dynasty, *Chester Beatty I* (BM EA 10681) describes Banebdjed's role in the mythical story of the battle for the right to rule the gods after the death of Osiris, also known as the "Contendings of Horus and Seth." The following example states:⁷⁴



imi ʕš.tw n<.i> B3-nb-dd ntr ʕ3 ʕnh wdʕ.f p3 ʕdd 2 wn.in.tw (hr) in B3-nb-dd ntr ʕ3 hry-ib stt m-b3h Itm hnʕ Pth T3-tnn

Have Banebdjed, the great living god, be summoned to me so that he might judge between the two youths. Then Banebdjed, the great god residing in Sehel, was brought before Atum together with Ptah-Tatenen.

The passage above, i.e. the Osirian succession myth, or the fight between Horus and Seth, does not connect Banebdjed with his cult center at Mendes, but rather it associates him with the island of Sehel, near Elephantine, which was the location of a temple dedicated to Khnum. All the more significantly, Banebdjed is accompanied in the "Contendings of

72. Černý 1979 (1952), 69.

73. Assmann 2001, 195.

74. CB I. EA 10681. Gardiner 1931, p. 1-26, pl. II, lines 2-3; 1932, 37-60; Lefebvre 1949, 178-203; Wilson 1955, 14-17; Bourghouts 1979, 98-112; Lalouette 1987, 92-104; Brunner 1989, 127-41; Grande 1998, 119-38; Bresciani 1999, 363-75; Lichtheim (1971) 2006, II: 214-23.

Horus and Seth” by the composite deity Ptah-Tatenen, who plays no active role at all, further aligning all three gods, Banebdjed, Khnum, and Ptah-Tatenen. Perhaps most importantly, the Osirian succession myth establishes each of the aforementioned deities as oracle-like figures with the power to proclaim the next king.

The sacred ram of Mendes, in whom the *ba*-souls of Ra and Osiris were united, according to spell 335 of the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts*,⁷⁵ among others, previously mentioned, is referred to indirectly as the “United *ba*-soul” on the “Great Abydos Stela to the Gods,” which was inscribed during the reign of Ramesses IV (c. 1153-1147 BC).⁷⁶ A passage from this text posits the following:⁷⁷



*b3 dmd m ntr r tn n sp iw hm n Dhwtj h r-gs.tn r sdsr m wd pri m r.tn ir i dd.tn nb
iw.tn m r w ntw n3y.i.nsw wd n imny*

United *b3*-soul, as this word of god, together. The incarnation of Thoth is standing beside you (all) in order to record the commands coming from your mouth. As for the utterance that all of you say: you are one voice. They are my king’s commands for the daily offerings.

As mentioned in the example above, the ram of Mendes, referred to as the “United *ba*-soul,” made daily proclamations, where its movements were interpreted as prophecies, which a scribe then recorded. By the Twentieth Dynasty, commands from sacred rams, such as those at Mendes, Elephantine, Thebes, and Herakleopolis, seem to have

75. CT IV spell 335 (§276-81); Faulkner 1978, 1: 264.

76. JE 48831.

77. KRI VI, 22-23.

constituted not only matters of state but also issues related to daily affairs of Egyptians. Moreover, an equally important aspect of the ram's prophetic talents is referred to also in *Leiden I 350*, a Nineteenth Dynasty document, where it is stated of Amun-Ra that "Sia is his mind/heart, and Hu is his two lips," (*šī3 ib.f ḥw sp.ty.fy*).⁷⁸ The text continues: "his essence is all that will be, which is in his mouth" (*k3.f wnnt nbt imy r3.f*),⁷⁹ alluding to the duality of the god Amun-Ra as both a prophet and a demiurge that exists because of the thoughts spoken directly from his tongue. Similarly, the composite deity Ptah-Tatenen is recognized later as a creator god in the "Hymn to Ptah," featured in *Berlin 3048*, a Twenty-Second Dynasty document, which probably was copied from a Twentieth Dynasty source, where he instead is referred to as "the one who fabricated the earth in accordance with the plan of his mind, who made everything, the begetter who created what exists," (*ḥm t3 m šḥrw n ib.f ms nty nb wtṯ km3 wnnt*).⁸⁰

3.5: Summary

The ram, regarded as a symbol of protection, male virility, fertility, syncretism, rebirth, and resurrection, as well as oracles, was identified with the nocturnal manifestation of the sun god Ra, among other deities, including Amun(-Ra), Khnum, Heryshef, (Ptah-)Tatenen, and Banebdjed. This chapter has established that the Egyptians identified their individual ram gods, Amun(-Ra), Khnum, Heryshef, (Ptah-)Tatenen, and Banebdjed, with both the inundation and the primordial waters from which all life sprang. In addition, Amun, who originally was an aspect of the primordial waters in the creation

78. Zandee 1947, pl. 5; line 15. The gods Sia and Hu formed a dyad which respectively represent aspects of both perception and word.

79. Zandee 1947, pl. 4; line 16.

80. Berlin 3048. Wolf 1929, 18; Leitz 2002, 206; Knigge 2006, 140; Teeter 2012, p. 32, n. 33.

myth known as the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, was distinguished from other ram deities by his distinctive type of spiraling horns that he was represented with in art, seemingly as decorum. The doctrine of Amun, otherwise known as Theban theology, incorporates the various New Kingdom funerary texts, including the *Amduat* and the *Litany of Ra*, which first appear in KV 34, the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Thutmose III (c. 1479-1425 BC).⁸¹ Thereafter and with intensity during the Ramesside Period (c. 1295-1069 BC), Amun(-Ra), whose *ba* manifested in his many different creations, much like his northern counterpart Ra in Heliopolis, was identified increasingly with other deities, including the ram gods Banebdjed, Khnum, (Ptah-)Tatenen, and Heryshef.

81. Hornung 2001, 191.

Figure 3-1. The rams of Tatenen from the Eighth Hour of the *Amduat*. New Kingdom Tomb of Thutmose III (KV 34). These rams are identified in inscription as *hprw tpy sšmw T3-tnn* “First manifestation, image of Tatenen,” *hprw snw sšmw T3-tnn* “Second manifestation, image of Tatenen” *hprw hmtnw sšmw T3-tnn* “Third manifestation, image of Tatenen,” and *hprw fdnw sšmw T3-tnn* “Fourth manifestation, image of Tatenen.” Eighteenth Dynasty, c. 1425 BC. Photograph by Matt Treasure.



Figure 3-2. Khnum crafting Amenhotep III's body and *k3* on his pottery wheel, Luxor Temple. Room XIII. New Kingdom; Dynasty Eighteen, c. 1350 BC. Photograph by Gus Gleiter.



Figure 3-3. "Blessings of Ptah." Abu Simbel stela. New Kingdom; Nineteenth Dynasty. After Černý 1956, fig. 62.

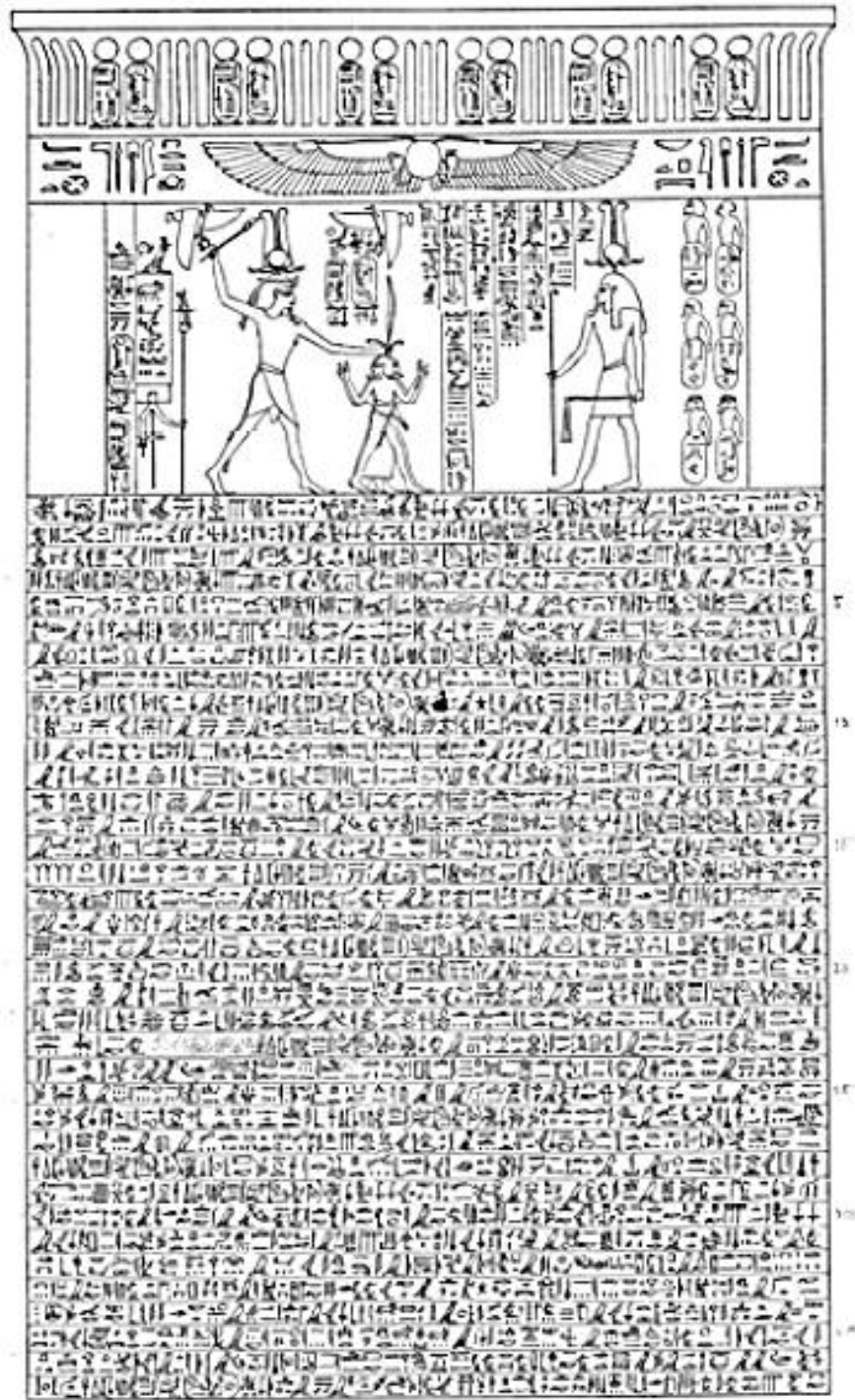


Figure 3-4. “Blessings of Ptah.” Medinet Habu, First Pylon, Southern Tower. New Kingdom; Twentieth Dynasty. Photograph by Gus Gleiter.



Chapter 4

Tetradic Symbolism in Ancient Egypt

The ram form, with its own inherent symbolism, constitutes just one part of a more complex motif in representations of deities with four ram-heads. Equally important, the symbolic message articulated by the number four in Egyptian religion and magic is examined in this chapter. These separate elements work together to produce meaning in representations of four-headed ram gods and must be interpreted collectively in order to begin to understand the inherent symbolism of four ram's heads, as well as the potential theological connection between the so-called "rams of Tatenen," featured in the middle register of the *Amduat's* Eighth Hour, and representations of Amun-Ra-Horakhty as a tetracephalic ram deity in late Twentieth Dynasty royal burials, as attested by Erik Hornung.

Tetradic symbolism was applied often to ancient Egyptian architecture in terms of orientation manifested, for example, at the Giza pyramids, which have four sides that each face a different cardinal direction of north, south, east, and west.¹ The Egyptians occasionally also organized their gods and goddesses into groups of four, or tetrads, which frequently were associated with the four cardinal directions, as well. Consider then how the four cardinal directions of north, south, east, and west might apply to a two-dimensional representation of a tetracephalic ram deity. Inside the late Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6; c. 1126-1108 BC), the god Amun-Ra-Horakhty is represented with four rams' heads shown in profile, so that one head appears on top of another, and one pair of faces is directed forward while the other looks toward the rear

1. Wilkinson 1994, 133-34.

(cf. fig. 1-1). In ancient Egyptian art, multiple perspectives were applied to a subject, rather than a single view, whenever a figure was depicted on a two-dimensional surface, rendering its individual components from the most recognizable angle, a form of representation sometimes called *aspective*, which lacks the appearance of depth.² In accordance with these principles, two-dimensional representations of Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams' heads might be the result of an attempt by Egyptian artists to create the illusion of a figure with a different head directed toward each one of the four cardinal directions (cf. fig. 1).

4.1: The Cardinal Directions

An important tetrad of Egyptian deities, who were identified with the cardinal directions, are the Four Sons of Horus, Imseti, Duamutef, Qebesenuf, and Hapi, the gods associated with canopic jars, the containers that held the viscera of the deceased in the afterlife.

Each son of Horus and his jar were connected ordinarily with a specific organ: Hapi the lungs, Duamutef the stomach, Imseti the liver, and Qebesenuf the intestines.³ These jars were placed sometimes inside a canopic chest or deposited on the floor of a burial chamber or in a niche in such a way that each vessel symbolized a particular cardinal direction: Hapi the north, Duamutef the east, Imseti the south, and Qebesenuf the west, who were each protected by a different goddess, Nephthys, Neith, Isis, and Selket, respectively (see table 1).⁴

2. See Schäfer 1963, 99-100, 395-423.

3. For more information on canopic equipment, see Reisner 1967; Lüscher 1990; Dodson 1994.

4. One of the first mentions of the Sons of Horus in ancient Egyptian literature occurs in the Fifth Dynasty *Pyramid Texts*, where they are described as “these four gods, friends of the king . . . who make firm the wooden ladder . . . and cause the king to ascend as Khepri.” This passage refers to the role of the Sons of Horus as the makers of the ladder on which the sun god and the deceased king ascend to heaven and as their role as the so-called “Pillars (or Rudders) of Shu,” who help the air god Shu support the heavens at the four different corners of the universe. See PT utterance 688 (§2078-2086), in Faulkner 1968, 196-97.

The directional symbolism applied to the Four Sons of Horus was limited sometimes to north and south only, which is articulated in spells 157 and 158 of the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts*, as well as spells 112 and 113 of the New Kingdom *Book of the Dead*, where Qebesenuf and Duamutef are aligned with “the souls of Pe” in the Lower Egyptian city of Buto, and Imseti and Hapi are identified with the “souls of Nekhen” in the Upper Egyptian city of Hierakonpolis:⁵



*ir imsty hpy dw3-mwt.f
 kbh-snw.f it.sn hr
 mwt.sn ist dd.in hr n r^c
 di.k sn sn m p sn sn m nhn m ht.i tn
 hn^c wnn hn^c.i m sipw r nhh*

As for Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, Qebesenuf, their father is Horus and their mother Isis. And Horus said to Ra, place two brothers in Pe, two brothers in Nekhen from this my troupe, and to be with me assigned for eternity.

The Egyptians believed that the coffin was a microcosm of the world in which they lived, and these beliefs are well-reflected in the decoration that they applied to their coffins, which were given directional symbolism. From the reign of Senwosret II (c. 1925-1875 BC), the Four Sons of Horus were either illustrated or had their names inscribed in columns of texts on the four corners of wooden, box-type coffins (*krsw*), where they symbolically support a lid that is the personification of the sky goddess Nut.⁶ This type of coffin is characterized occasionally by an arched lid between four tall posts at the

5. CT II spell 157 and 158 (§326-362); Faulkner 1978, 135-137. For spells 112 and 113 of the New Kingdom *Book of the Dead*, see Quirke 2013, 250-53. For more information, see also Willems 1988, 138-44.

6. Willems 1988, 48.

corners, a design inspired theologically, in part, by spell 148 of the *Book of the Dead*. This spell sometimes is accompanied by a vignette that shows the Four Sons of Horus as four oars, or rather as the “Pillars (or Rudders) of Shu,” which were the mythological columns that helped the air god Shu separate the earth Geb from the sky goddess Nut.⁷ Roth and Roehrig have suggested that names and representations of the Four Sons of Horus were placed deliberately on the corners of this type of coffin in order to replicate the literal position of organs inside the human body.⁸ Therefore, the sons of Horus, Duamutef and Qebesenuf, whose canopic jars held the stomach and the intestines, respectively, which lie in the lower part of the abdomen, were depicted at opposite corners, “bookending” the foot of these coffins and supporting the sky in the symbolic south, whereas the gods Imseti and Hapi, whose canopic jars contained the liver and the lungs, or the upper organs, were depicted at opposite corners at the “head” of this type of coffin, supporting the sky in the symbolic north. In the opinion of Roth and Roehrig, the deliberate placement of embalmed viscera inside four canopic jars, which were protected by the sons of Horus, Imseti, Duamutef, Qebesenuf, and Hapi, who were guarded simultaneously by four goddesses, Isis, Neith, Selket, and Nephthys, perhaps articulates a connection between the human body and ancient Egyptian beliefs about the universe.⁹

7. See also CT VI spell 525 (§118); Faulkner 1978, 151.

8. Roth and Roehrig 2002, 128. For more information, see also Raven 2005, 37-53.

9. There is a connection between the Sons of Horus and their protective goddesses, the eight *hh*-deities, and the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, all of which are groups of divinities that consist of four pairs of male and female counterparts. These deities are identified with the cardinal directions either as supports of the sky or as builders of ladders on which the sun god and the deceased climb to heaven.

For example, CT II spell 76 (§1-3):

Oh you eight infinite ones, who are at the parts of the sky;
whom Shu made from the efflux of his limbs;
who tie together the ladder for Atum.

For more information, see also PT utterance 688 (§2078-80), in Faulkner 1968, 196-97; Hornung 1999, 168-69.

One of the earliest mentions of the Four Winds occurs in the Fifth Dynasty *Pyramid Texts*, where, in spell 311, the deceased recites the following incantation four times: “to the four, these strong winds which are about you, which see with two faces, who contend with fierce roaring,” (*n 4 ipw kh3w ḥꜥw.k m33w m ḥr.wy mdw m wtwt mr*).¹⁰ Although references to the Four Winds occur as early as the Fifth Dynasty in the *Pyramid Texts*, the earliest known artistic representations of a tetrad of deities associated with the four winds appear during the Ptolemaic Period.¹¹ The gods of the Four Winds are illustrated, for example, inside the Ptolemaic Period temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina, where a deity who is identified as the “north wind,” Qebui (*Ḳb.wy*), is depicted as a four-headed ram with outstretched wings, the god of the “east wind,” Henushesui (*Hnw-šss.wy*), is represented with a ram’s head on top of a scarab’s body, the “south wind,” Shehbui (*Šhb.wy*), is depicted as a criosphinx, and the “west wind,” Hutchaiiu (*Hd3y.wy*), appears as a ram-headed bird (fig. 2).¹² It follows that representations of the gods of the Four Winds might be connected artistically and symbolically with solar theology; however, caution should be exercised when drawing parallels between Ptolemaic Period wind deities and New Kingdom representations of Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams’ heads in view of the fact that meaning can change over time. For example, spell 161 of the New Kingdom *Book of the Dead* elaborates on the nature of the gods of the Four

10. PT utterance 311 (§496-98), in Faulkner 1968, 97-98.

11. Keel 1977, 329.

12. The gods of the Four Winds were not represented always in the same way in every context where they are found. In the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor at Dendera, for example, the god of the south wind is represented as a four-headed ram rather than a criosphinx. Elsewhere, in a section of the same temple that was finished during the reign of Tiberius, among the figures in the astronomical ceiling, the god of the east wind is represented instead with four rams’ heads on a scarab’s body. For more information, see Keel 1977, 329-332.

Winds, where instead the north wind is identified as Osiris, the south wind as Ra, the west wind as Isis, and the east wind as Nephthys.¹³

4.2: *The Four Elements*

Four naoi, of which only one remains standing today (fig. 3), perhaps originally arranged in a quadrant based on the four cardinal directions, were erected inside the temple of the ram at Mendes during the reign of Amasis II (c. 570-526 BC) (fig. 4).¹⁴ In 1965 New York University and the Brooklyn Museum excavated numerous inscribed granite fragments from the naos court, the location where all four shrines once stood in antiquity. These finds provided researchers with enough material to partially reconstruct all of the now-destroyed naoi.¹⁵ Available inscriptions show that all four shrines were dedicated during the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty to the gods Geb, Shu, Ra, and Osiris, whose domains included the earth, air (wind), fire (sun), and water (the flood), or the four classical elements.¹⁶ Later excavations by Donald Redford place the four aspects of Banebdjed at this location in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. According to Redford, the Twenty-Sixth

13. Allen 1974, 156-57.

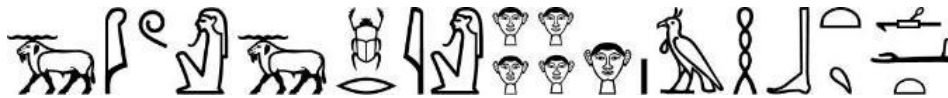
14. See Bothmer 1988, 206; Redford 2010, fig. 6.4, 157-58. Bothmer speculates that the naos of Geb was in the northwest corner, the naos of Ra was in the southeast corner, the naoi of Osiris was in the northeast corner, and the naos of Shu was in the southwest corner. See Bothmer 1988, 206. Tetradic symbolism abounds at Mendes. Additionally, a Twenty-Sixth Dynasty structure built by Amasis II known as Temple T, lying on an east-west axis, which consisted of four cella and a long transverse hall in its interior, all enclosed within a mudbrick outer wall. For more information, see Redford and Redford 2020, 98-107.

15. Soghor 1967, 16-32.

16. By the Roman Period, Montu had temples erected at Medamud, Thebes, Armant, and Tod, and, at each one of these cult centers, he was identified with a different god, namely, Osiris, Geb, Shu, and Ra, or the four generations of male deities in the Heliopolitan Ennead. In this instance, directional symbolism seemingly was applied to each one of the four geographic locations at which there had been a temple erected, see Klotz 2012, 148-67. For information about Montu's connection with four *ka*-spirits, which may have represented birth, old age, death, and burial, in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, see Meeke 1963, 29-47; Thiers 2009, 425-37. Similarly, the *ba*-hypostasis of the ram god Khnum is identified with Osiris, Geb, Shu, and Ra, as well as four different locations where he is worshipped in a passage from the "Great Hymn to Khnum," a text that is preserved on a column inside the Roman period temple at Esna, see Lichtheim 2006, 3:111-15.

Dynasty naoi might be replacements for four earlier shrines that were erected during the reign of Thutmosis III (c. 1479-1425 BC), a theory based on the excavation of four large entrances that appear in the temple’s façade, leading conceivably to four older shrines located once in the temple.¹⁷ This discovery is significant because processional temples from the New Kingdom ordinarily were constructed around a single axis.¹⁸ It is thus noteworthy that the funerary text known as the *Amduat*, featuring the rams of Tatenen during the Eighth Hour, first appears as wall decoration inside KV 34, the tomb of Thutmosis III, conceivably connecting the rams of Tatenen with the four-fold hypostasis of Banebdjed.

A partial inscription found in the chapel of Amun-Ra, which is located within the Twentieth Dynasty Temple of Millions of Years at Medinet Habu, describes an unknown form of the sun god as having “four faces on one neck”:¹⁹



b3 Šw b3 Hpri hrw 4 hr nhbt wʿt
 [. . .] ba of Shu, ba of Khepri, four faces on one neck [. . .]

This passage associates a manifestation of the sun god with the *bas* of Shu (wind) and Khepri (light/fire), but, with only a partial inscription available, any discussion of this text is far from exhaustive. At the very least, a form of the sun god, perhaps Banebdjed, Amun(-Ra), or Ra himself, was associated with two of the four classical elements of light/fire and air/wind. In the author’s opinion, this fragmented inscription, of which so little remains, probably alludes to Banebdjed, a deity who played a large role in the

17. Redford 2010, 71-72.

18. Redford 2010, 71.

19. MH VI, pl. 420.

divine conceptions of Ramesses II and Ramesses III—stories preserved in texts at Abu Simbel, Medinet Habu, Aksha, and Karnak, previously mentioned, which reveal how the god Ptah-Tatenen transformed into the Mendesian ram in order to sire both kings.²⁰ Jan Assmann has reasoned that the doctrine of the four classical elements of earth, air, fire, and water was widespread during the New Kingdom and the Late Period.²¹ One of the shortcomings of Assmann’s assertion, however, is that he occasionally draws inferences about New Kingdom religion from his knowledge of later periods. In particular, he may be over-ambitious in his claims on the topic of the Medinet Habu partial text preserved inside the New Kingdom chapel of Amun-Ra, mentioned above, where the epithet “four faces on one neck” (*ḥrw 4 ḥr nḥbt wꜥt*) is identified with the *ba*-souls of Shu (air/wind) and Khepri (light/fire) only, and does not include the gods Osiris (water) and Geb (earth).²² In contrast, Hornung believes that the four classical elements of earth, air, fire, and water were never personified in ancient Egypt as a doctrine similar to that of the Greeks.²³ Any further discussion of the four classical elements is treacherous at best. It is the author’s opinion that the presence of a doctrine related to the four classical elements of earth, air, fire, and water in the context of the New Kingdom cannot be established without some reasonable doubt. Nevertheless, there seems to be ample evidence supporting the existence of the four classical elements in ancient Egypt during the first millennium BC.

20. MH VI, pl. 105. See also KRI II: pl. 105-106; Rosellini 2006, pl. xxxvii-xxxviii.

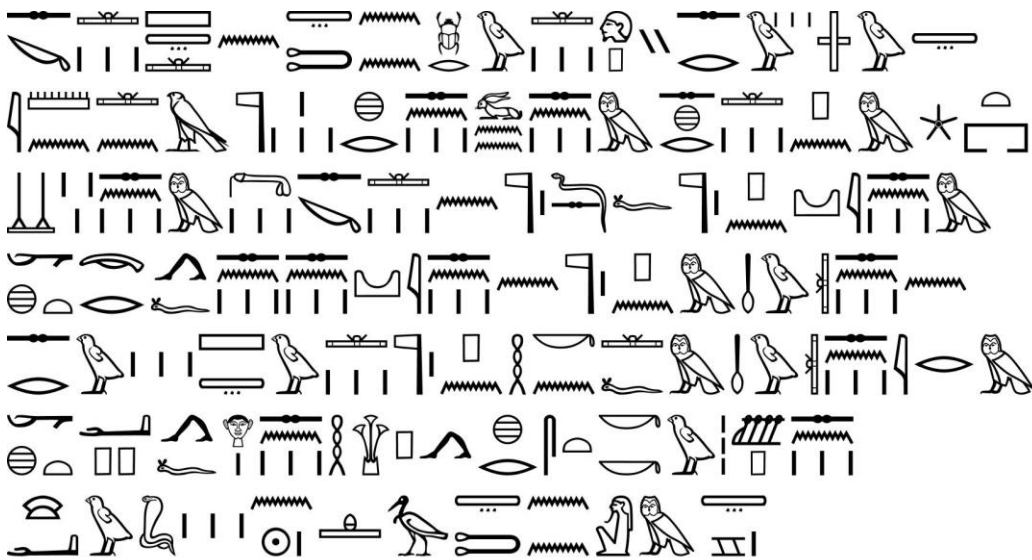
21. Assmann 1995, 189.

22. See Assmann 1995, 189.

23. Hornung 1982a, 80.

4.3: The Rams of Tatenen


Inscriptions and scenes based on the various New Kingdom Books of the Netherworld, the *Amduat*, the *Book of the Gates*, the *Book of the Caverns*, the *Book of the Sky*, and the *Book of the Heavenly Cow*, decorate walls and ceilings of royal burials in the Valley of the Kings. These funerary books sometimes emphasize the enumeration of deities who were represented together occasionally in groups of four and sometimes accompanied by inscriptions which identify their names and functions, including the so-called “rams of Tatenen,” featured in the middle register of the *Amduat*’s eighth hour, where they are accompanied by four 𓄏 *menkhet*-hieroglyphic symbols (*mnht*). In this scene, each ram is identified by an inscription: “first manifestation, image of Tatenen” (*hprw tpy sšmw T3-tnn*), “second manifestation, image of Tatenen” (*hprw snnw sšmw T3-tnn*), “third manifestation, image of Tatenen” (*hprw hmtnw sšmw T3-tnn*), and “fourth manifestation, image of Tatenen” (*hprw fdnw sšmw T3-tnn*).²⁴ Moreover, the four rams of Tatenen are referred to in the following text which is inscribed above their heads:²⁵



24. For more information, see Hornung and Abt 2007, 264; Darnell and Darnell 2018, 209.
 25. Hornung and Abt 2007, 264-65; Darnell and Darnell 2018, 209.

*sšmw št3 n T3-tnn ḥprw tpy srw imyw t3 imn.n Hr w ntrw ḥr.sn wnn.sn m šḥr m dw3t
 mnḥwt.sn m-b3ḥ.sn m sšmw n ntr ds.f ntr pn dwt.f r.sn m-ḥt spr.f sn sn dwti.sn n ntr pn
 m ḥrw.sn n srw št3w ntr pn ḥkn.f m ḥrw.sn ir m-ḥt ḥpp.f ḥr.sn ḥ3phr.st kkw šsp.sn ḥw
 R^c ḥtp b3 T3-tnn m t3*

Mysterious images of Tatenen, first manifestations, rams which are in the earth, where Horus hid the gods. They exist in this state in the Netherworld. Their clothing is before them, as images of the god himself. This god, he calls to them when he reaches them, and they call to this god with their voices as mysterious rams. This god, he is joyful at their voices. Now after he has passed by them, then darkness envelops them. They receive the crowns of Ra, while the *ba*-soul of Tatenen rests in the earth.

In the above text, the rams of Tatenen are described merely as “images” of the gods who were buried beneath the sand by Horus.²⁶ As attested by Colleen Manassa-Darnell, the term “image” (*sšm*) attests to the function of the rams of Tatenen as avatars of the gods whose bodies were interred in the sand.²⁷ Each individual ram is represented in this scene together with a  *menkhet*-hieroglyphic symbol (*mnḥt*), discussed in detail soon hereafter, waiting for the liberation of the gods from the underworld. Ra’s solar barque is carried through the middle register by other deities, as the sun god calls out to the rams of Tatenen when he and his retinue passes by them, thereby summoning the deceased from their tombs so that they may accompany him on his journey through the Netherworld. In response, the rams of Tatenen greet the sun god with their “voices,” possibly emulating wails of mourners during a funeral procession, crying out in sexual gratification, or

26. Annotations in the upper and lower registers of the *Amduat*’s Eighth Hour emphasize the sandy nature of its terrain. See Darnell and Darnell 2018, 210.

For example, in register 3 (plate 10):

They exist in this fashion upon their clothing, as mysteries of Horus, heir of Osiris. This great god calls to their *ba*-souls when he enters this locale of the gods who are upon the sand. This god calls to them on both sides of the earth. The sound of something is heard in this cavern like the cry of a tom-cat. It is their *ba*-souls who call to Ra.

27. Manassa draws comparisons with Late Period tombs at Saqqara. in which a corpse buried in a shaft tomb was filled with sand. See Manassa 2007, 252, n. 232.

reciting the sun god's various names.²⁸ Thereafter, the sun god bestows the "crowns of Ra" upon the rams of Tatenen as the hour descends into darkness and Tatenen rests beneath the earth.²⁹ This inscription brings to bear themes present not only in the *Amduat* but elsewhere in other ancient Egyptian funerary texts, i.e. the perpetual cycle of death and renewal.

Nonetheless, this thesis engages with imagery and texts as equivalent bearers of meaning, and representations of the four rams of Tatenen articulate its own symbolic message. Each individual ram of Tatenen is depicted in the *Amduat* wearing a specific type of crown: the sundisk, the White Crown (*ḥdt*), the Red Crown (*dšrt*), and a pair of ostrich plumes (*šwtj*) (see fig. 1).³⁰ Crowns play an important role in the composition of deities in Egyptian art, as each god and goddess was depicted with particular iconographic features, which mostly distinguished him or her, and each crown conveys its own symbolic message or meaning. The White Crown (*ḥdt*), for example, appearing as a tall, conical headdress that finishes in a small bauble at the top, symbolizes kingship over Upper Egypt.³¹ Inside tombs and temples, the White Crown typically adorns royal imagery appearing on southern walls.³² This headdress is complimented by the Red Crown (*dšrt*), consisting of a flat-topped cap with a tall projection at its rear, and a characteristic "wire" that extends from its base and terminates as a spiral, which symbolizes kingship over Lower Egypt.³³ Accordingly, the Red Crown is depicted on

28. The upper and lower registers of the *Amduat*'s Eighth Hour place great emphasis on the sounds heard in the caverns. For an in-depth discussion about the totality of sounds during the Eighth Hour, see Manassa 2007, 263.

29. For more information about the interpretation of this scene, see Manassa 2007, 252-63.

30. Hornung and Abt 2007, 264; Darnell and Darnell 2018, 209.


31. Wb. III, 211.

32. Collier 1996, 16-20; Goebis 2015, 6.

33. Wb. V, 493-94. See also Collier 1996, 16-20; Goebis 2015, 6.

royal imagery depicted on the northern walls of tombs and temples.³⁴ On the other hand, the double-feathered crown (*šwty*), consisting of two large ostrich plumes, is associated generally with the east and expresses both the sunrise and the annihilation of the sun god's enemies in the morning.³⁵ Likewise a sundisk identifies solar divinities, including Ra, Horakhty, and Hathor. The goddess Hathor, who is sometimes referred to by the epithet “Mistress of the West” (*nbt nt imntt*), articulates a connection between this particular crown and the waning sun that sets each evening at dusk.³⁶ Thus, the individual headdresses, the Red Crown (*dšrt*), the White Crown (*hdt*), the double-feathered crown (*šwty*), and the sundisk, symbolize the four cardinal directions of north, south, east, and west, respectively. These crowns were associated also with various other deities; however, the individual identification of gods and goddesses by a crown occasionally can be problematic due to overlap in the structure and organization of the divine.

4.4: *Meskhenet's Birthing Bricks*

Four  *menkhet*-hieroglyphic symbols (*mnht*), which are a determinative for the ancient Egyptian word meaning “cloth” or “clothing,”³⁷ appear in the middle register of the *Amduat's* eighth hour together with each individual ram of Tatenen (fig. 1).³⁸ A credible explanation for the appearance of four *menkhet*-hieroglyphic symbols in this scene can be drawn from the possible connection between the rams of Tatenen and Meskhenet's four birthing bricks. Meskhenet (*Mshnt*) was an ancient Egyptian goddess of birth who was personified by four bricks, stacked one on top of another and occurring in two pairs, upon

34. Goebis 2015, 6.

35. Collier 1996, 53; Goebis 2015, 11-12.

36. Lesko 1999, 101.

37. Wb. II, 87-88.

38. Hornung and Abt 2007, 264; Darnell and Darnell 2018, 209.

which a pregnant woman squatted while she was in labor.³⁹ The use of four birthing bricks is attested by the Sixth Dynasty at Saqqara in the tomb chapel of Watetkhethor inside a scene with female dancers who are accompanied by a text that relates to parturition.⁴⁰ In this inscription is the phrase “oh four” (*iy ifd*), which is accompanied by four □ *iner*-hieroglyphic symbols (*inr*), a determinative that occurs in the ancient Egyptian spelling of the word *djebet* (*dbt*), meaning “brick.”⁴¹ Given the fact that birthing bricks were made from the alluvial soil that emerged after the inundation had receded at the beginning of ancient Egypt’s growing season, the use of four birthing mudbricks had important symbolic implications, providing a plausible connection with the god Tatenen, whose name means “the risen land.”⁴² Accordingly, the use of four birthing mudbricks and the birth of a newborn child was a metaphor for the birth of the sun god who first appeared on the mound of creation. Furthermore, it stands to reason that a newborn child may have been clothed or swaddled inside a blanket made of cloth immediately after being born, perhaps referring to the depiction of four *menkhet*-hieroglyphic symbols in the *Amduat*’s eighth hour with the rams of Tatenen.

More evidence connecting childbirth with the number four is found in the *Westcar Papyrus* (*Berlin 3033*), a Fifteenth Dynasty document. In the well-known story of the delivery of Raddedet’s triplets, the sun god Ra dispatches a tetrad of four goddesses,

39. Roth and Roehrig 2002, 131. These forms are sometimes identified as Meskhenet the Great (*Mshnt-wrt*), Meskhenet the Grand (*Mshnt-ꜥt*), Meskhenet the Beautiful (*Mshnt-nfrt*), and Meskhenet the Excellent (*Mshnt-mnhꜥt*).

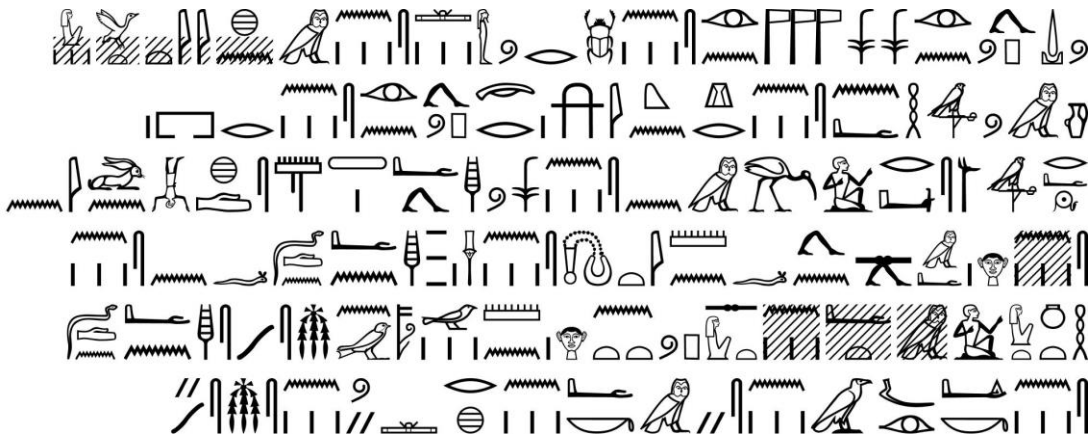
40. Roth 1992, 142, fig. 10.

41. Wb. V 553-54.

42. Birthing bricks have been discovered at Abydos, which have been dated to the Middle Kingdom. For more information, see Wegner 2009, 447-96.

namely, Isis, Nephthys, Heqet, and Meskhenet,⁴³ in order to assist with the royal births.

The following passage posits:⁴⁴



*wd3 pw ir.n nn ntrw ir.n.sn hprw.sn m hnywt Hnmw hn^c.sn hry-kni spr pw ir.n.sn r
pr R^c-wsr gm.n.sn sw ^ch^c d3iw p3hd wn.in.sn hr ms.f mnit.sn shmw ^ch^c dd.n.f sn
hnwt.i mtn st pw ntt mnw ksn ms.s ^ch^c.n dd.n.sn di.k m3.n sy mk n rh.wyn smsy*

These gods set out (*lit*: it is a setting out that they did), having made their appearance as dancing girls. Khnum was together with them as a porter (*lit*: bearing bags). They arrived (*lit*: it is an arriving that they did) at the house of Rawoser, and they found him standing, loincloth upside down. Then they presented him their necklaces and sistra. Then he said to them: “My mistresses, look, it is a woman who is in pain; her birth is difficult.” Then they said: “You should let us see her. You see, we know how to deliver (a woman in childbirth).”

The *Westcar Papyrus* offers a glimpse at what may have occurred ritually during parturition. In the passage above, perhaps significantly, the ram god Khnum is mentioned as a “porter” (*hry-kni*), possibly warding off danger while Raddedet was in labor. In addition, the *Westcar Papyrus* later identifies specific positions taken by two of the goddesses during the delivery of Raddedet’s children: “Isis in front . . . and Nephthys

43. By the first millennium BC. Isis and Nephthys—together with Tefnut and Nut—were identified as forms of Meskhenet. See Roth and Roehrig 2002, 131. In addition, the goddesses Heqet and Meskhenet were conflated as figures who were depicted often breathing life into the nostrils of children at the moment of their birth in scenes showing Khnum fashioning their bodies and *kas* on his pottery wheel. The latter two goddesses are mentioned occasionally in texts also as consorts of Khnum.

44. Berlin 3033. *Westcar* 9, lines 27; 10, lines 1-6. See Blackman 1988, 13.

behind,” (*3st hft hr.s Nbt-hwt h3.s*).⁴⁵ In the opinion of Maarten Raven, this passage suggests that when a human being was born in ancient Egypt he or she was delivered in such a way that his or her head was faced north and back faced south.⁴⁶ Thus, the use of four birthing mudbricks as the personification of four goddesses may have symbolized the four cardinal directions.⁴⁷ Moreover, each mudbrick, like a coffin or a canopic chest, had four sides, perhaps also symbolizing north, south, east, and west.

Raven believes that the four cardinal directions form a central concept that links together four bricks of birth with various other ancient Egyptian tetradic traditions.⁴⁸ For example, Meskhenet’s birthing bricks are associated with four smaller magical mudbricks that were inscribed with passages from spell 151 of the *Book of the Dead* and placed inside some tombs (fig. 6).⁴⁹ Ancient Egyptians designated these mudbricks with a specific geographic orientation of north, south, east, and west, inscribed in hieratic on a brick’s surface, which were wrapped in linen and placed inside a corresponding niche that was located in a tomb’s burial chamber.⁵⁰ Each mudbrick was decorated with a specific amuletic figure: in the east, a recumbent jackal, in the south, a reed that represented a flame, in the west, the *djed*-pillar of Osiris, and in the north, a mummiform figure.⁵¹ The deliberate placement of four magical mudbricks inside some tombs has

45. Berlin 3033. Westcar 10, lines 7-8. See Blackman 1988, 13.

46. Raven 2005, 51.

47. Raven 2005, 51.

48. Raven 2005, 53.

49. For more information on which specific tombs bricks have been found, see Roth and Roehrig 2002, 124.

50. The only tomb where all four bricks have been discovered in the Valley of the Kings is KV 62, the tomb of Tutankhamun, where these artifacts were aligned with the tomb’s theoretical and not its true geographic orientation, see Roth and Roehrig 2002, 123. However, many tombs have niches for these bricks, and presumably they were a common feature in royal as well as elite tombs.

51. There is no clear connection between the totemic figures of tomb bricks and Meskhenet’s brick of births. Roth and Roehrig 2002, 87-88. The only brick identified specifically with a god in spell 151 of the

symbolic implications, suggesting that earthly birthing equipment was needed by the deceased in order to ensure that he or she could be reborn in the Hereafter.⁵²

Perhaps the symbolic message articulated by the number four is summarized best in spell 151 of the *Book of the Dead*, mentioned previously above in association with magical mudbricks. Among a series of utterances spoken by each of the Four Sons of Horus, the god Qebesenuf posits the following: “I have united your bones for you, I have assembled your limbs for you, and I have brought your heart to you and placed it in its place inside your body, (*dmd.n.i n.k Ḳsw.k s3K n.i n.k ḥꜥw.k in.n(i) n.k ib.k di.n.i n.k sw m st.f m ḥt.k srwd.n.i pr.k m-ḥt.k ꜥnh.ti dt*).”⁵³ Simply put, the Four Sons of Horus, i.e. the tetrad, both synonymous with the four cardinal directions, participates in the reconstitution of the physical body, making a deceased person appear whole again. Given that Egypt’s topography also is oriented from south to north by the flow of the Nile, and the sun rises anew each morning in the east and sets each evening in the west, one can surmise that the four cardinal directions, and therefore the tetrad symbolizes the state of totality and completeness, or the condition of being whole.⁵⁴

4.5: Summary

Banebdjed, Amun(-Ra), and various other Egyptian wind gods, many previously mentioned, were represented occasionally in art with four ram-heads by the Ptolemaic Period. Archaeological evidence indicating the presence of Banebdjed’s tetradic hypostasis is indicated by the existence of four openings in the walls of the god’s temple

Book of the Dead is Anubis who is described as “Anubis in the fresh dirt” (*Inpw m sin w3d*). See Quirke 2012, 174.

52. Roth and Roehrig 2002, 139.

53. Quirke 2012, 170.

54. For more information, see Sethe 1916, 44-58; Wilkinson 1994, 126-35; Redford 2010, 134-35.

at Mendes, leading to four naoi perhaps arranged in a quadrant based on the four cardinal directions in a part of the structure that was built during the reign of Thutmose III (c. 1475-1425 BC). Nevertheless, the earliest known image of Banebdjed as a four-headed ram god almost certainly comes from the Thirtieth Dynasty reign of Nectanebo II (c. 360-343 BC). It follows that the four cardinal directions of north, south, east, and west might be connected with the four-headed ram god given the symbolic importance of the number four in ancient Egyptian religion and magic. An association may even exist between the gods of the Four Winds, who were identified with the Four Sons of Horus, and perhaps also with solar theology, the goddess Meskhenet and her birthing bricks, and the rams of Tatenen from the *Amduat*'s eighth hour. Finally, the ancient Egyptians perceived the human body as a microcosm of the world whereupon they lived, which was oriented by the four cardinal directions of north, south, east, and west. It stands to reason that Egyptian notions of the ordered world perhaps formed an all-pervading concept such as the four cardinal directions which links together the various tetradic traditions examined in this chapter.

The syncretism of Ptah-Tatenen with Banebdjed is well documented in the Ramesside Period and might be based on a much older tradition that perhaps dates from the reign of Thutmose III (c. 1479-1425 BC), which could be articulated visually in the middle register of the *Amduat*'s eighth hour with the depiction of four rams in a procession, i.e. the so-called "rams of Tatenen," who were represented, perhaps significantly, with horizontal ram's horns modeled after the breed of sheep formerly known as the *Ovis longipes paleoaegyptiacus*. It is tempting to make a connection between late Twentieth Dynasty representations of tetracephalic ram deities and the rams

of Tatenen; however, one must infer religious knowledge from the Ramesside period in order to support Hornung's claim that the rams of Tatenen inspired late Twentieth Dynasty representations of four-headed ram gods. Accordingly, Hornung's assertion can only be acknowledged as a possibility in spite of all the evidence presented in this thesis thus far.

Table 4.1: The Four Sons of Horus and their Goddesses			
Canopic Direction	Son of Horus	Organ	Protective Goddess
North	Hapi	Lungs	Nephtys
East	Duamutef	Stomach	Neith
West	Qebesenuf	Intestines	Selket
South	Imseti	Liver	Isis

Figure 4-1. Cf. Unknown Egyptian god with four rams' heads, each one facing four different directions. Late or Ptolemaic Period. Metropolitan Museum of Art. MMA 26.7.889.



Figure 4-2. The Gods of the Four Winds from the Ptolemaic Period temple of Hathor. Deir el-Medina. From right to left: the “east wind,” Henushesui (*Hnw-šss.wy*), the “north wind,” Qebui (*Ḳb.wy*), the “south wind,” Shehbui (*Šhb.wy*), and the “west wind,” Hutchaiiu (*Hd3y.wy*). After Keel 1977, fig. 242.

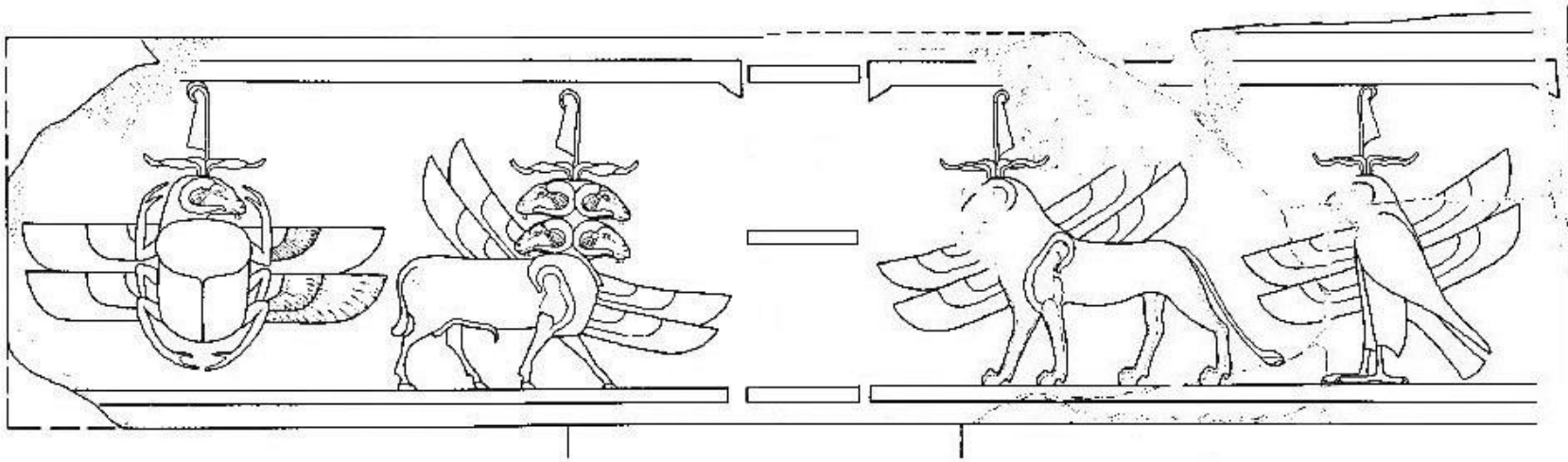


Figure 4-3: Naos at Mendes dedicated to the *Ba*-soul of Shu. Late Period, Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. c. 450 BC. Photograph by Matt Treasure.



Figure 4-4. The Temple of the Ram at Mendes. New Kingdom. c. 1480-1425 BC. A-D: Four Openings in the temple's second pylon (Thutmosis III), E: Four Naoi arranged in a quadrant based on the cardinal direction. After Redford and Redford 2010, fig. 6.4.

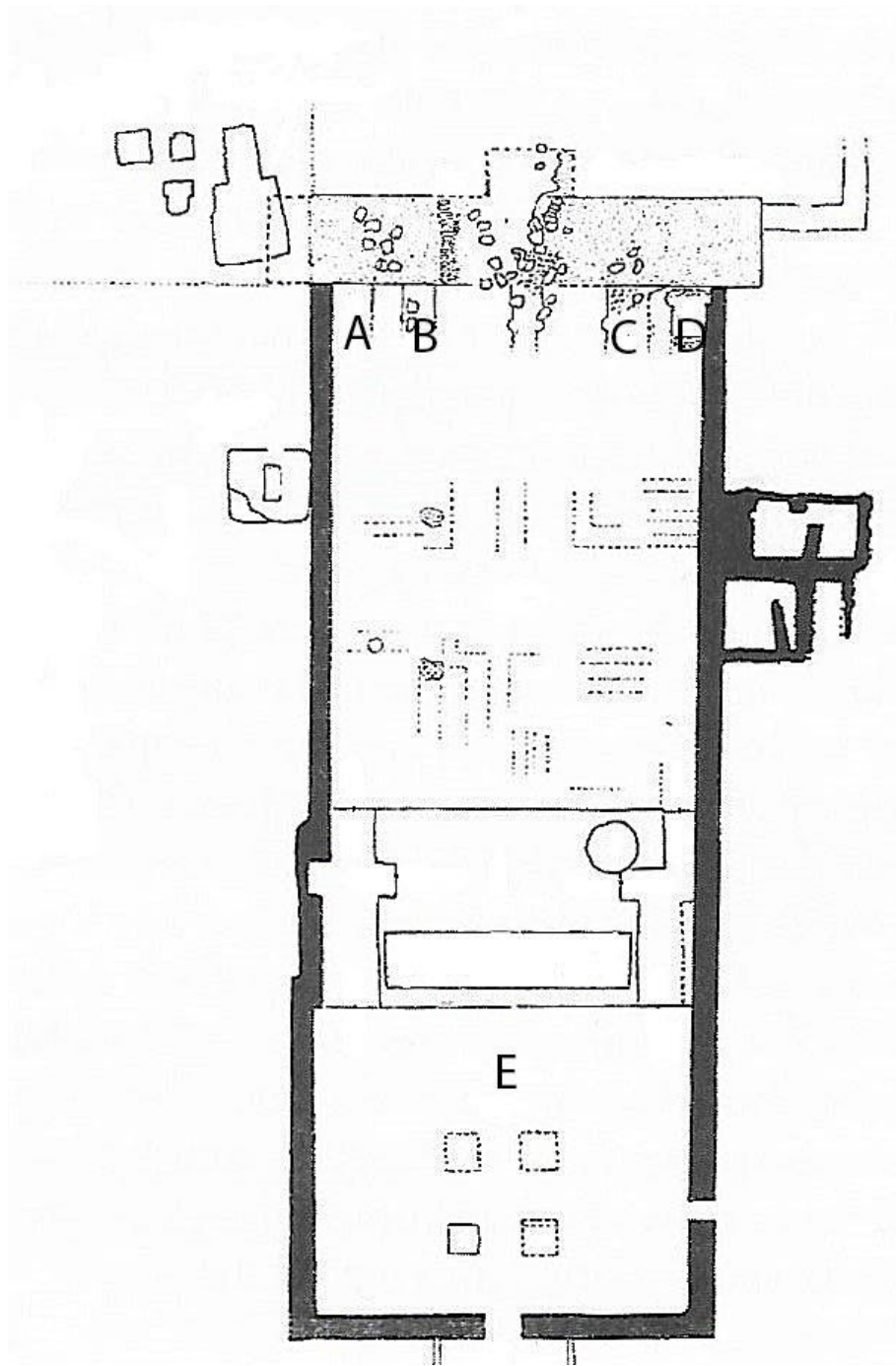


Figure 4-5. Vignette from spell 151 of the *Book of the Dead*, featured in the *Papyrus of Ani*, which shows Anubis in the center completing an embalming, two *ba*-souls in the upper left- and righthand registers, Isis and Nephthys to the left and right of Anubis, respectively, the Fous Sons of Horus in the corner registers, two shabtis in the lower right- and lefthand registers, and four totemic figures identified with magical bricks in the top, right, left, and bottom registers. New Kingdom, Twentieth Dynasty. British Museum. EA 10470.



Chapter 5

The Tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6)

Numerous surviving texts and works of art reveal that the Egyptians perceived a number of similarities between their individual ram gods, Banebdjed, Khnum, Heryshef, and Amun(-Ra). This rationale is explained in Chapter Three's analysis of the ram form as a symbol of male virility, fertility, syncretism, rebirth, and resurrection. Nevertheless, these individual deities had separate theologies, origins, cult centers, and temples at different geographic locations. By the late Twentieth Dynasty (c. 1108 BC), Egyptians in the Thebaid began to regard their various ram deities as separate manifestations of Amun(-Ra), as demonstrated by the similar visual elements used to represent these gods, which occasionally include four rams' heads.¹

This chapter consists of an examination of art in which the subject is a two-dimensional representation of Amun-Ra-Horakhty as a four-headed ram deity, an image that is preserved inside KV 6, the late Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses IX (c. 1126-1108 BC). The effect of location and surrounding funerary texts on the intrinsic message articulated by this particular image of a four-headed ram deity is examined also in this chapter. Finally, *iconographic analysis* is applied to the totality of symbolic content used to represent Amun-Ra-Horakhty as a god with four rams' heads in order to gain a better understanding of this motif and establish a paradigm for which to examine later images of tetracephalic ram deities appearing in separate late Ramesside period royal tombs.

1. For more information about the similarities of the ram cults at Herakleopolis, Mendes, and Elephantine, see Vernus 1978, 297; Mokhtar 1991, 167-70; 1991, 253-54.

5.1 Decoration Program

Inside Ramesside period royal burials in the Valley of the Kings, preference is given ordinarily to the sun god Ra and his various other forms near the tomb's entrance, or uppermost part, since this section is symbolic of the east and the rising of the sun each day at dawn.² In contrast, Osiris is given preference generally in the rear half of the tomb since it is symbolic of the west, and the setting of the sun, which descends into the netherworld on the western horizon each evening.³ Moreover, a tomb's right wall is symbolic north and left wall is symbolic south, adhering to the directional symbolism respectively applied to the goddesses Nephthys and Isis, who are represented kneeling or seated on lotuses, flanking a solar disk in scenes on lintels above the entrances to many Ramesside royal tombs.⁴

Beginning with KV 17, the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Sety I (c. 1294-1279 BC), decorative programs in the Valley of the Kings featured texts and illustrations based on the *Litany of Ra* at the tomb's entry. This funerary text invariably was prefaced by a scene, or *frontispiece*, which shows the king making an offering or libating before the solar god Ra-Horakhty on the left wall (symbolic south) as one enters.⁵ This program was modified in KV 15, the tomb of Sety II (c. 1200-1194 BC), where the scene on the left wall (symbolic south) instead shows the king making an offering to Ra-Horakhty and

2. There were some thematic changes in Ramesside Period royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Some scenes previously located elsewhere in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs were moved toward the entrance, such as the *Litany of Ra*. For more information, see Wilkinson 1994, 84; Wilkinson 1995, 79; McCarthy 2014, 167.

3. No matter where royal tombs are located in the Valley of the Kings, or what its real geographic orientation may be, the tomb's entrance invariably is symbolic east and the rear is symbolic west, see Wilkinson 1994, 84; 1995, 79; McCarthy 2016, 167.

4. McCarthy 2016, 167. Beginning with KV 7, the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213 BC), two images of the seated goddess Maat were represented also on the jambs of the tomb's entrance, which were accompanied on the left wall (symbolic south) by a large lotus plant and on the right wall (symbolic north) by a papyrus clump, for more information, see Wilkinson 2014, 308.

5. Hornung, 1982b, 79-80, 218; Bács 1992, 43; McCarthy 2016, 170.

Nefertum, the god of perfumes, regeneration, and rebirth.⁶ In addition, a companion, or, rather, a *pendant scene* was added to the tomb's right wall (symbolic north) as one enters, depicting the king presenting offerings to Ra-Horakhty and Sokar, a netherworld deity and patron god of necropolis workers, as well as artisans responsible for creating tomb artifacts.⁷

The *Litany of Ra* first occurs during the early Eighteenth Dynasty on the shroud of Thutmosis III (c. 1479-1425 BC), without illustrations, which instead were depicted on the pillars of his sarcophagus chamber.⁸ This funerary book consists of the text called the *Great Litany*, as well as nine other litanies, many of which were divided further into subsections.⁹ Unlike the New Kingdom Books of the Netherworld, the *Great Litany* does not refer to Ra's journey through the netherworld in a solar barque; in contrast, it identifies the seventy-five forms of the sun god by listing his various names with illustrations of that god in a particular form, commonly illustrated on tomb walls. In addition, Litanies 1-9 associate the *ba* of the deceased king with the gods Ra and Osiris, so that the king can be reborn anew each morning together with the sun god.¹⁰ Nevertheless, much like the New Kingdom Books of Netherworld, the *Litany of Ra's* main theme is the symbolic union of Ra and Osiris, whose combined form is referred to in this particular text as the "United One" (*Db3-dmd*).¹¹

6. PM 1/2, 532; Bács 1992, 43; Wilkinson 1996, 173.

7. Wilkinson 1996, 173; McCarthy, 2016, 169.

8. Hornung 1976, 9-11; Darnell and Darnell 2018, 61. Illustrations appear on the pillars of the sarcophagus chamber in the tomb of Thutmosis III (KV 34).

9. Hornung 1976, 25; Abitz 1995, 56-62; Darnell and Darnell 2018, 64.

10. Hornung 1976, 22-23; Abitz 1995, 68-72; Darnell and Darnell 2018, 67.

11. Hawass 2007, 171-85.

A new decorative program was introduced in KV 14, the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Tawosret (c. 1188-1186 BC) and then later Sethnakhte (c. 1186-1184 BC)), which replaced the *Litany of Ra* on the left wall (symbolic south) with scenes showing the king and the queen making offerings and libating to various gods, such as Ra-Horakhty, Anubis, Isis, Horus, and Nefertum.¹² The *Litany of Ra* was reintroduced in KV 11, the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses III (c. 1184-1153 BC), copying Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213 BC) as he did so often, but was omitted again in KV 9, the joint tomb for Ramesses V (c. 1147-1143 BC) and Ramesses VI (c. 1143-1136 BC).¹³ Inscriptions and scenes based on the New Kingdom Books of the Netherworld known as the *Book of the Gates* and the *Book of the Caverns* decorate the entrances of KV 9, the tomb of Ramesses V (c. 1147-1143 BC) and Ramesses VI (c. 1143-1136 BC), and KV 1, the tomb of Ramesses VII (C. 1136-1129 BC).¹⁴

Osiris and Ra are the principal deities featured in the *Book of the Caverns*, and much like the other New Kingdom Books of the Netherworld, the theme of this text is the nightly journey of the sun god through the *Duat* in a solar barque. The accompanying scenes and text emphasize the punishment of the sun god's enemies, who generally occupy the lowermost section of a tomb wall's decoration.¹⁵ The *Book of the Caverns* first appears during the Nineteenth Dynasty as wall decoration in the Oseirion, which is

12. Nevertheless, KV 14, the tomb of Tawosret (c. 1188-1186 BC) and Sethnakhte (c. 1186-1184 BC) has a modified *Litany of Ra* frontispiece, excluding texts, which show the queen before the god Re-Horakhty, see McCarthy 2016, 158, 169.

13. Bács 1992, 43.

14. The *Book of the Gates* appears much earlier than the *Book of the Caverns* in the Valley of the Kings, where it replaces the *Amduat* inside KV 57, the tomb of Horemheb (c. 1323-1295 BC) as the chief decorative element in the king's sarcophagus chamber, see Wilkinson 1996, 37; Darnell and Darnell 2018, 249. The *Book of the Gates* and The *Book of the Caverns* both appear for the first time together in the Oseirion, see Darnell and Darnell 2018, 250.

15. Hornung 1999, 90.

part of the cenotaph complex of Sety I (c. 1294-1279 BC) at Abydos.¹⁶ The most complete version of the *Book of the Caverns* is found inside KV 9, the collective tomb of Ramesses V (c. 1147-1143 BC) and Ramesses VI (c. 1143-1136 BC), while other Twentieth Dynasty royal burials, such as KV 2 and KV 1, the individual tombs of Ramesses IV (c. 1153-1147 BC) and Ramesses VII (c. 1136-1129 BC), contain only excerpts.¹⁷ Parallel entrance scenes preserved inside KV 1, the tomb of Ramesses VII (c. 1136-1129 BC), which occur on the left (symbolic north) and right walls (symbolic south), respectively, depict the king consecrating offerings to the diurnal form of the sun god, a figure who is identified in hieroglyphics as Ra-Horakhty-Atum-Khepri (fig. 1), as well as his nocturnal form, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (fig. 2), a deity who appears before additional scenes and texts based on the first division of the *Book of the Caverns*.¹⁸

Inside KV 6, the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses IX (c. 1126-1108 BC), draftsman reintroduced the *Litany of Ra* on the north wall (symbolic south) of Corridor A, near the entrance, where it is accompanied by the standard Ramesside frontispiece showing the king presenting offerings to the falcon-headed solar god Ra-Horakhty, as well as the god of the underworld Osiris (fig. 3).¹⁹ Furthermore, the solar god Amun-Ra-Horakhty was represented as mummiform with four rams' heads on top of a human's body in a pendant scene located on the south wall (symbolic north) of Corridor A, in the

16. Hornung 1999, 83.

17. KV 6, the tomb of Ramesses IX (c. 1126-1108 BC), features nine different funerary books as part of its decoration program: the *Amduat* (Hours 2-3), the *Litany of Ra*, the *Book of the Caverns* (Divisions 1-6), the *Book of the Dead* (Spells 125 and 126), the *Book of the Earth*, the *Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity*, the *Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques*, the *Book of the Day* (vignette only), and the *Book of the Night* (vignette only).

18. PM 1/2, 495.

19. Bács 1992, 43; McCarthy 2016, 170.

same tomb before additional scenes and text based on the first four divisions of the *Book of the Caverns* (see tables 1-2).²⁰

5.2: Pre-Iconographic Analysis

As already mentioned, the image under discussion is preserved on the right wall (symbolic north) of Corridor A, the first passage of KV 6, i.e. the late Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses IX, where it is framed by a representation of a *pernu*-shrine. The viewer's eye is drawn first to the scene's focal point at the center of the composition: the god, labeled as Amun-Ra-Horakhty, is represented in fine-quality painted relief with four rams' heads on top of a human body, standing stiffly erect on a *maat*-platform (fig. 4a-b). Ancient Egyptian artists arranged Amun-Ra-Horakhty's four rams' heads into pairs: one pair of heads is depicted facing forward while the other is looking to the rear. A set of corkscrew-like horns—modeled after a breed of sheep that once was known as the *Ovis longipes paleo-aegyptiacus*, but is now called the *Ovis aries aries*—supporting an *atef*-crown, extend outward and horizontally from the top of the god. Shown in profile, Amun-Ra-Horakhty's four faces are depicted with the spiraling horn of what once was identified as the *Ovis platyra aegyptiacus*, but is now known as a breed variant of the already mentioned *Ovis aries aries*, wrapping around the back of his skulls and curving under his chins. Moreover, Amun-Ra-Horakhty wears a tripartite wig that mitigates the awkward visual transition between his multiple rams' heads and human's neck and shoulders. Around his neck, the god wears a *wesekh*-collar.²¹ With both hands protruding from his mummy shroud, the subject grasps a crook, a flail, and a *was*-scepter that

20. PM 1/2, 502, Abitz 1990, 13-17.

21. In some previous publications, this collar has been erroneously identified as the *menit*-collar (*mnit*) of Hathor and Khonsu. For more information about the *wesekh*-collar (*wsh*), see Wilson 1997, 416, 476-78.

intersects with a *djed*-pillar, positioned slightly below an *ankh* at the top of his staff (see table 2). Traces of the original colors applied to this figure are preserved in sufficiently good condition: Amun-Ra-Horakhty's four rams' heads, for example, are rendered in Egyptian blue.

The goddess Nekhbet, wearing an *atef*-crown, is depicted as a vulture with outstretched wings in the upper right-hand corner of the scene. The figure of the king is shown directly below the goddess, standing in front of two offering tables, upon which a trussed gazelle and lotus flowers are placed. The king is identified by his nomen, Ramesses Khaemwaset Mereramun, and his prenomen, Neferkare Setepenre, which appear as inscriptions above the offering tables in two vertical columns set inside a cartouche. The king is represented with his head and feet depicted in profile and his body openly facing the viewer, back bent slightly forward as he convenes with the god Amun-Ra-Horakhty and the goddess Meretseger. He wears a lappet wig with a uraeus attached to its fore. Around his neck, Pharaoh wears an elaborate beaded collar balanced by a counterpoise. With a ram-headed *ani*-vessel held in his right hand, the king libates in honor of the god Amun-Ra-Horakhty and the goddess Meretseger, as he reaches across his body with his left hand, which holds a censer.²² The king also wears a kilt that stretches from his waist to his knees, which is complimented by a looped sash and a full-bodied, semitransparent garment that falls loosely around his frame to his ankles.

Meretseger, the patron goddess of artisans at Deir el-Medina, who also embodies the large mountain that dominates the Valley of the Kings, appears on Amun-Ra-Horakhty's left, where she is represented in anthropomorphic form, wearing a vulture

22. No longer visible, a ram-headed *ani*-vessel appears in Guilmant's 1907 drawing. For more information, see Guilmant 1907, pl. iv. For this vessel type, see Radwan 1985, 215. See also fig. 1b. Cf. fig. 5.

headdress surmounted by an *amuntet*-symbol. Meretseger wears an elaborately decorated dress adorned with long, narrow strips of fabric that flow down to her ankles. Standing on the same *maat*-platform as Amun-Ra-Horakhty, the goddess gestures to the sun god with her right hand raised in adoration, and her left arm extended behind his back. Appearing on the right of the goddess, the following text is inscribed in a vertical column:

“Recitation by Meretseger, Mistress of the West, Eye of Ra, Uraeus of his head,” (*dd mdw in Mrt-sgr hnwt imntt irtt R^c hry-tp n tp.f*).²³

5.3: Iconographic Analysis

Shown to the right of the god Amun-Ra-Horakhty and in the center of the offering scene, the following inscription also appears in four vertical columns:²⁴



Imn-R^c Hr-3h^ty b3 šfyt hry-ib 3ht mry dd mdw in Imn-R^c Hrw-3h^ty šfy-hrw šhd kkw b3 imtt Hrw i3btt d^ci pt [. . .] h3wy di.n<.i> n.k rnh dd w3s r fnd.k [. . .] h^c m w3st twt h^cw

Beloved of Amun-Ra-Horakhty, Majestic Ba inside the Horizon, Recitation by Amun-Ra-Horakhty, Majestic of Faces, He Who Illuminates Darkness,²⁵

Ba of the West, Horus of the East, [...] who crosses the sky [...] night. I have given you life, stability, and power into your nose. [...], He Who Appears in Thebes, He Whose Appearance is Pleasing.

23. Guilmant 1907, pl. iv.

24. Guilmant 1907, pl. iv.

25. “He Who Illuminates Darkness” (*šhd kkw*) alludes to a possible connection with the rams of Tatenen, described in the eighth hour of the *Amduat* as secret images of the sun god who are illuminated after they are encountered by Ra in the Netherworld. Hornung 2007, 264; Darnell and Darnell 2018, 209-10.

Four rams' heads, explicitly represented in the image of Amun-Ra-Horakhty, are alluded to in the accompanying text by the plural word *hrw*, meaning "faces."²⁶ Thus, both imagery and text articulate the overarching theme of *ba*-theology, whereby the *ba*-soul of one or more god "inhabits" another deity, element, or sacred animal. *Ba*-theology is attested in numerous ancient textual sources, including the New Kingdom *Book of the Heavenly Cow* and spells 75-82 of the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts*, all previously mentioned.²⁷ More general epithets, which refer to the solar cycle, appear in this text, including "Majestic *Ba*-soul inside the Horizon" (*šfyt hry-ib 3ht*), "*Ba*-soul of the West" (*b3 imtt*), and "Horus of the East" (*Hrw i3btt*).²⁸ Regrettably, the accompanying epithets do not identify the specific gods or goddesses whose individual *ba*-souls inhabit the solar god Amun-Ra-Horakhty, a theme expressed visually by the deity's four rams' heads.²⁹ Thus, additional works of art, depicting deities in a similar manner, must be considered in order to determine which tetrad of divinities may have motivated this representation of Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams' heads, as well as original textual sources, preferably from the New Kingdom, that describe other gods in this particular form.

Not only was *ba*-theology occasionally articulated visually, but it manifests also in texts as an epithet to describe certain deities, Banebdjed and Amun(-Ra), in particular. Subsequently, this thesis engages with texts and imagery as equivalent bearers of meaning. Written during the reign of Ramesses V (c. 1147-1143 BC), *Chester Beatty VIII*

26. Wb. III, 131-32.

27. Horakhty is listed as one of the ten names, and the eighth *ba*, or soul, of the god Amun-Ra, in the "Hymns to the *Bas* of Amun" preserved inside the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak and the Late Period temple of Amun-Ra at Hibis. For more information, see Parker, Leclant, and Goyon 1979, 73, 83; Assmann 1983a, 229, 263; Kákosy 1981, 149; Klotz 2006, 15.

28. For the occurrence of these epithets elsewhere to describe the god Amun-Ra-Horakhty, see Assmann 1983a, 111, 130, 363-64, 367.

29. For more information, see Smith 2002, 52.

(BM EA 10688), a magical and medical text, mentions the ram god Banebdjed as having “four faces on one neck” in an incantation for scaring away an enemy.³⁰



b3-m-dd 4 hrw hr nḥb w^c
Ba in Mendes, 4 faces on one neck

Moreover, the New Kingdom funerary text known as the *Book of the Day* appears in complete form for the first time inside KV 9, the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses V (c. 1147-1143 BC) and Ramesses VI (c. 1143-1146 BC). This funerary book describes the diurnal voyage of Ra in his solar barque, where he is represented with a falcon’s head on top of a human’s body. The *Book of the Day* is represented twice inside KV 9, decorating the ceiling of Corridors C, D, and E, as well as the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses VI.³¹ Some of its text preserved inside the sarcophagus chamber has additional passages, one of which refers to the ram of Mendes by his epithet “four faces on one neck,” near the first register:³²

30. CB VIII, EA 10688, verso 6, col. 6. Gardiner 1934, pl. 34. Bourghouts 1978, 7.

31. PM 1/2, 512-13.

32. Some passages from this funerary book are found also in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III (c. 1184-1153 BC) at Medinet Habu.



*sb3 R^c sh^ct.f in b3w i3btyw b3w i3btyw ntrw 4
 pw sb3 R^c ntsn sh^c R^c wn r m sb3 4 n 3ht i3btt
 nnt ntsn shd n.f m itrw wd3.sn grt ht R^c wbn r^c
 nb <m->ht.f hpr wbn hpr.sn m i^cnw 6 i3.sn hr
 w^ct.f nbt hft hrw 4 ipn³³ nty m sš nht w^ct mi
 sšm T3-tnn pn imy³⁴ Ddt*

Praise Ra! He is made (*lit*: caused) to appear by the *Bas* of the easterners. The *Bas* of the easterners are the four gods who adore Ra. They are the ones who cause Ra to rise; the ones who open the door at the four gates of the Eastern Horizon of Heaven. They are the ones who made light for him in the sanctuary.

They arrive, moreover, before Ra who appears every day. After his (Ra's) rising had come to pass (*lit*: had happened), they became 6 baboons, striding upon all of his paths before these four faces, which is in (this) drawing, on one neck, like this image of Ptah(-Tatenen/Sokar) who is in Mendes.³⁵

33. The ⊗ village with crossroads (Gardiner sign-list O49) hieroglyph is given the cryptographic value of “p.” For more information, see Darnell 2004, 27, 46, 611, pl. 51D, E.

34. The 𐍎 goat-skin (Gardiner sign-list F26) is given the cryptographic value “imy/m.” For more information, see Darnell 2004, 64-5, 595, pl. 5B, 1.7, pl. 5C, 1.6.

35. Müller-Roth 2008, 128. Cf. Piankoff 1954, I: 121; 1954, II: 150; Darnell 2004, 19, n. 19. The number of texts with which Müller-Roth collates the *Book of the Day* is particularly small. He compares it to passages found in the corridor of KV 9 and a Late Period sarcophagus of a sacred ram from Mendes (CG 29792) on which only a brief portion of this text was inscribed, neither showing any determinatives of a figure with four rams' heads.

In his recent collation of the text featured inside the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses



VI, Marcus Müller-Roth posited that the hieroglyphic determinative following the word *seshem* (*sšm*) appears as a figure with four rams' heads on top of a human's body



(Ø, no translation), therefore establishing this symbol as the earliest-known representation of a tetracephalic ram deity (see fig. 2).³⁶ On the other hand, Etienne Driorton interpreted the same hieroglyph as a standing man, wearing a tall crown and




holding a staff (*wr*, the “Great One”).³⁷ However, John Darnell construed this




symbol as a man in a *shuti*-crown, grasping a long staff and flail (*nb*, the “lord”).³⁸


Given the numerous discrepancies caused by the indeterminate rendering of this symbol, it is the author's contention that this hieroglyph cannot be accepted confidently as a representation of a figure with four rams' heads. It stands to reason that this hieroglyph

36. Müller-Roth 2008, 128-29. *fd.w-hr.w r-p(3) ntj-m-sš hr-nhbt-w^c.t mj sšm(.w)-pn im.y-ddt*, “vier Gesichtern-entsprechend der Zeichnung-auf einem Hals, wie dieses Kultbild, das in Mendes ist,” (four faces—according to the drawing—on one neck, like this cult image that is in Mendes).

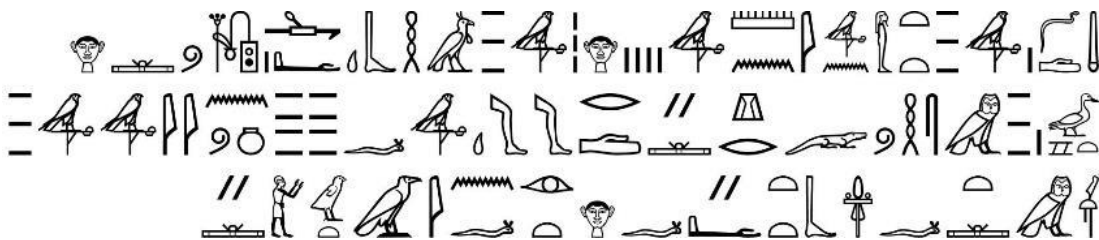
37. Driorton gave the  standing man, wearing a tall crown and holding a staff, the transliteration value of “*wr*,” meaning the “Great One.” Piankoff 1954, I: 12, 391; 1954, II: 150. “Four faces—this is represented on this drawing—on a single neck, similar to this image of the Great One (*wr*) who is in Mendes.”

38. John Darnell gave the  standing man, holding a staff and flail and wearing a *šwtj*-crown, the cryptographic value of “*nb*.” For more information see Darnell 2004, 19, 595, pl. 5B. 1, 7, pl. 5c. 1, 6. *ifd hrw r p3 nty m sš hr nhbt w^c.t mi sšm nb pn imy ddt*, “4 faces (according to this which is in this painting) upon one neck, like the image of this lord (*nb*) who is in Mendes.” Darnell furthermore clarifies that this symbol is given the value of “*nb*” in this passage only as an arbitrary reference to the “Mendesian ram.” For more information, see Darnell 2004, 19, n. 19.



depicts the god Ptah-Tatenen , who is represented, for example, similarly at Abu Simbel in the lunette of a stela that preserves the divine origin story of Ramesses II (cf. fig. 3-3).³⁹ Nevertheless, despite lack of secure visual evidence, the presence of the epithet “four faces . . . on one neck,” mentioned in close connection with the ram of Mendes in the New Kingdom *Book of the Day*, and other ancient texts, including *Chester Beatty VIII* (BM EA 10688), which was written during the reign of Ramesses V, previously mentioned, suggests that Banebdjed indeed was represented in art with four rams’ heads by the Twentieth Dynasty. Lack of visual evidence is not evidence of absence in this circumstance given that Banebdjed’s epithet of “four faces on one neck” occurs with some regularity in texts from the Ramesside period, describing a characteristic of the Mendesian ram god whose association with both the tetrad and the four-headed ram form is well attested during the first millennium BC.

Similarly, the *Harris Magical Papyrus*, which has been identified by scholars only broadly as a Ramesside period document,⁴⁰ describes Amun with “four faces on one neck” in an incantation to repel crocodiles:⁴¹



(1) *ḏd mdw <hr> twt n Imn 4 hrw <hr> nḥb w^c sš hr* (2) *s3t msh ḥry rdwy.f ḥmniw*

39. The same form also occurs in representations of Ptah-Sokar and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (cf. fig. 3-3a, 5-2). Cf. Ptah-Tatenen in the vignette from the “Blessings of Ptah,” fig. 3-3a. For more information, see also Champollion 1835-1872, pl. XXXVII-XXXVIII.

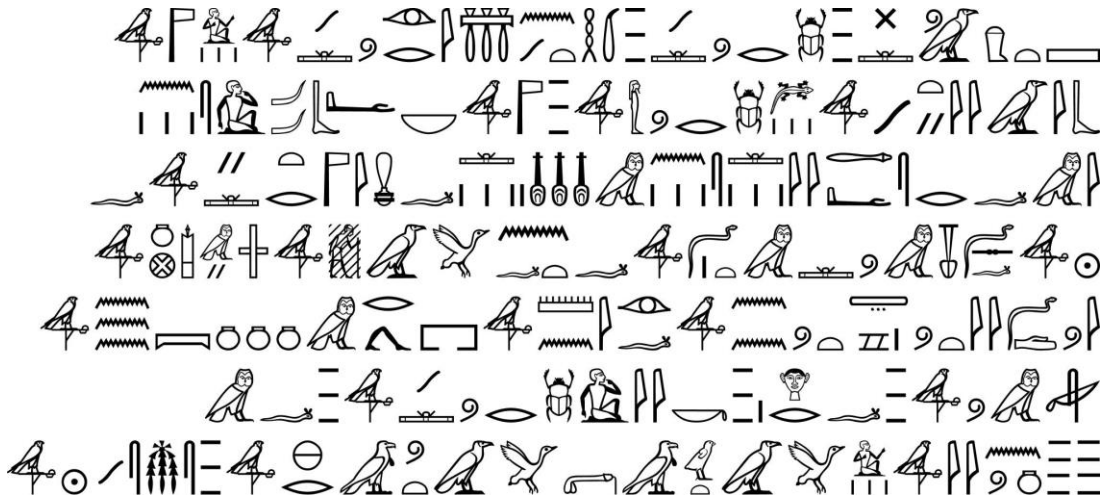
40. As stated by Leitz, this papyrus “may be dated only to approximately the 19th or 20th Dynasty,” see Leitz 1999, 1.

41. BM EA 10042, VI.

(3) <hr> imntt.f i3btt °.f hr irt n.f i3w

(1) Words spoken (over) an image of Amun, four faces (on) one neck, drawn upon (2) the ground with a crocodile under his feet, and the Ogdoad (3) (on) his right and his left, giving him adoration.

In the text above, Amun’s four-headed ram form is acknowledged in a protection spell, much like *Chester Beatty VIII*, previously mentioned, which identifies Banebdjed as having “four faces on one neck” (4 hrw hr nhb w°) in an incantation for scaring away an enemy.⁴² Not only is Amun described in the *Harris Magical Papyrus* as a god with “four faces on one neck” who provides protection from crocodiles, but he is mentioned together, perhaps importantly, with the Hermopolitan Ogdoad. A passage from *Leiden I 350*, written during the reign of Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213 BC), already mentioned, elaborates on Amun’s relationship with the Ogdoad during the Ramesside period.⁴³



št3 hprw tñn irw ntr bi3yti °š3 hprw ntr nb °b.sn im.f r s°3.sn m nfrw.f mi ntry.f
 R° ds.f sm3w m dt.f ntf p3 wr imi Twnw iw dd.tw T3-tnn ir.f Imn pri m Nnw sšm.f hrw
 ky hprw.f hmnw p3wti p3wtyw smsi R°

Secret of manifestations and gleaming of shape. Wonderful God, numerous in forms.
 All gods, they boast of him in order to magnify themselves in his beauty like his holiness. Ra himself is united with his body. He is the great one in Heliopolis. He is

42. CB VIII, BM EA 10688, verso 6, col. 1. Gardiner 1934, 73, pl. 46; Bourghouts 1978, 7.
 43. Zandee 1947, pl. 4, col. 12-14.

called Tatenen. Amun came from Nun to guide the people. Another of his forms are the Ogdoad, primeval one of the primeval ones, begetter of Ra.

Notably in the example above, Amun is described as a transcendent deity who precedes the primeval ocean and the Hermopolitan Ogdoad. Amun is identified also in this text as a form of Tatenen and the father of the sun god Ra. In fact, the hieroglyphic spelling of the words “eight” (*Hmnw*) and “Ogdoad” (*Hmniw*) occasionally appear during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods written with a triliteral sign indicating four rams’ heads (), thus alluding to Amun’s connection with both the four-headed ram form and the

Ogdoad during the late first millennium BC.⁴⁴

In the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Tjannefer (TT 158), the four-headed ram is probably referred to near a representation of the tomb owner in adoration of the god Amun-Ra. The following passage reveals that:⁴⁵

44. Kurth 2010, 72.

45. StG 17, 203-9; Zandee 1959-62, 58-61; Seele 1959, pl. 10.



- (1) *ntk šw shriw <d>w n ʿnh [irt rmt] m33.k ntk ʿw srkw htyt*
 (2) *n ʿnh tsm nb šw.f im.f ntk hʿpy sʿnhw t3 tmmw n ʿnh n <hr> nb nn sw m-ḥnnw.f*
 (3) *ntk wtʿw shprw msw.k m rmtʿw ntrw m ʿwt m mnmnt m ḥf3t nbt*
 (4) *<k>dw [...] k [...] sw hr nhp.f kd.n.k wnnt nbt m-rʿ ʿwy.ky ntk*
 (5) *km3w irw.sn m hr wʿ nb tniw r snnw.f im.sn km3w.n.k*
 (6) *hrw dsrw iw šfy.t.k r rmt b3y.k r ntrw wsrw.k m dt.sn šm.k*
 (7) *m m33wt.k twt.ti m hr.k nfr šfw m hr.k šm.k m ir<t>.n.k tni hr.k m-ḥt*
 (8) *mrr [...] <4 hrw hr> nḥbt wʿt*

(1) You are the light which removes evil. People who do not see you do not live. You are the air that causes the throat to breath. (2) Not a single dog lives when it is without it (air). You are the inundation which causes all men to live; nobody lives when he is not in it. (3) You are the father who causes your children to appear, all people, gods, flocks, herds, and snakes. (4) You are the creator [...] on his potter's wheel. You have created all that exists with your two hands, you (5) who creates their images with a face, each one distinguished from the other, because you have created (6) separate faces. Your respect is with men, your power is with the gods, your strength is in their own(selves). You have power (7) over what you see. Your likeness is with your beautiful face; sovereignty is in your face. You have power over what you have made.

Distinguished is your face on account of the one who is beloved [...] 4 faces on one neck.

This example aligns Amun-Ra, who provides generative force as per Divine birth scenes, with Khnum, the creator of men, animals, and deities whose *kas*, or spirits, he fashions on his pottery wheel.⁴⁶ Khnum, originally described as the builder of the solar barque in the Fifth Dynasty *Pyramid Texts*,⁴⁷ is first introduced as the creator of human beings whose bodies he fashions from clay in spell 214 of the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts*.⁴⁸ The above inscription, which is preserved inside the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Tjannefer (TT 158), presumably describes the god Amun-Ra, or perhaps Khnum, with the epithet “four faces on one neck,” (*4 hrw hr nhbt wʿt*). Given that the ancient Egyptians considered rams symbols of fertility, the alignment of Khnum and Amun-Ra, or, for that matter, any other ram deity, seems only natural.

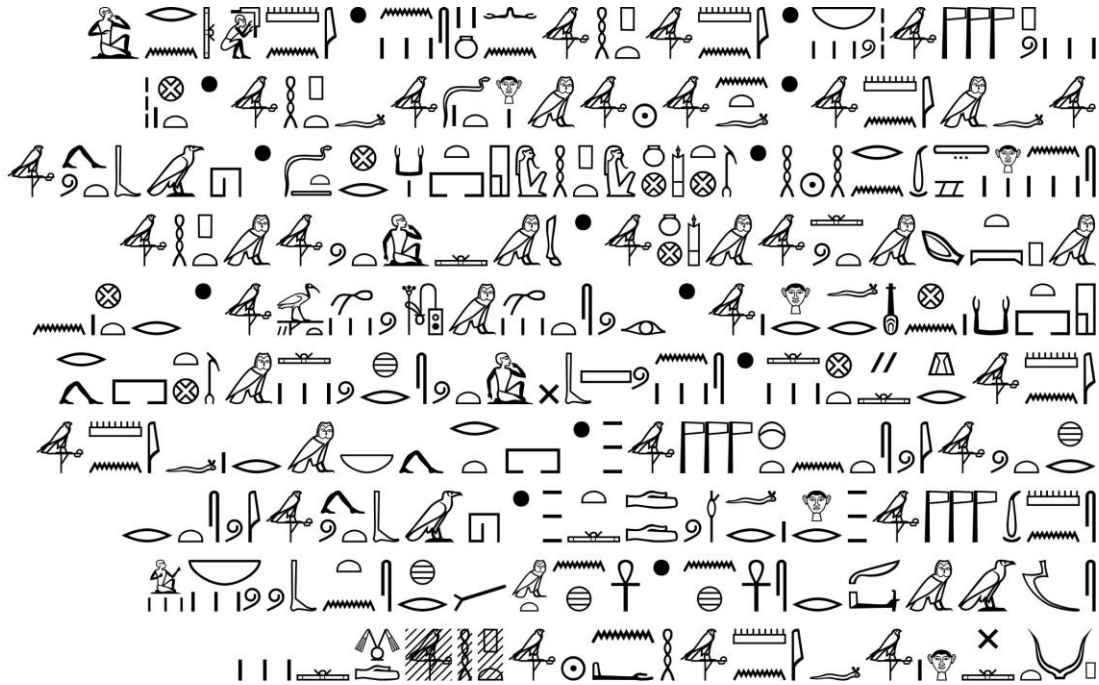
Certain epithets, such as “King of the Gods” (*nsw ntrw*) and “Chief of the Gods” (*hry-tp ntrw*), articulate the concept of kingship among the divine, as well as symbolic imagery, including crowns and other royal regalia, which were applied to representations of gods and goddesses who had attained elevated status within the Egyptian pantheon of divinities. Throughout different periods of Egypt’s ancient history, one or sometimes more gods ascended to this dominant position. The Ramessides of the early Nineteenth Dynasty, who hailed from the Delta region, in particular, frequently showed favor to divinities other than Amun. For example, the great temple at Abu Simbel, built by

46. Sauneron (1982) 1959, 3:130-34; 5: 94-107; Assmann 1975, 344-46; Lichtheim 2006, 3:111-15. For more information, see also Dorman 1999, 95. The earliest known mention of a pottery wheel in Egyptian religious literature occurs in spell 882 of the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts*, where its rotating wheel is conflated with the sun’s disk. CT VII spell 882 (§93); Faulkner 1978, 3:92.

47. PT utterance 300 (§445a), in Faulkner 1968, 89.

48. CT III spell 214 (§173); Faulkner 1978, 1: 171. This spell implies the use of pottery wheel, but this device is not mentioned directly.

Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213 BC), was dedicated to Egypt's three state deities at the time, Ra-Horakhty, Ptah-Tatenen, and Amun-Ra.⁴⁹ Written during the Nineteenth Dynasty, the already cited *Leiden I 350* attests that:⁵⁰



4 pw ntrw nbw Imn R^c Pth nn snw.sn imn rn.f
m Imn ntf R^c m hr dt.f Pth niwt.sn hr t3 smn.<w>
r nhh W3st iwnw hwt-k3-Pth r dt h3b m pt
sdm m Iwnw whm.tw m hwt-k3-Pth n nfr hr irw.st sšr m sš Dhwtj
r niwt n Imn hry niwt sn wšb šhr m W3st prt hrt iw.st n Psdt
prt nb m r.f Imn smn ntrw hr.f r wdw
h3b iw.st r sm3 r s^cnh^c nh^c mt hr.st n nbw rmt wpwt hr.f Imn R^c hn^c Pth dmd 3

All gods are three: Amun, Ra, and Ptah. There is no equal to them. Hidden is his name as Amun. He is Ra in aspect (*lit*: face). His body is Ptah. Their cities on earth are established for eternity: Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis (*lit*: House of Ptah) forever. When a message is sent from the sky, it is heard in Heliopolis, and repeated in Memphis for the god with the beautiful face. It is created in a report, in the writing of Thoth, to the town of Amun in the south (*lit*: below the towns), explaining his concerns, which is heeded in Thebes by an oracle who emerges from the Ennead. All that emerges from his mouth, Amun, the gods are bound to it according to the decree. When a message is sent, it is for killing or giving life. Life and death depend on him for everyone, except for him, Amun, Ra, and Ptah, totaling three.

49. te Velde 1971, 81-82.

50. Zandee 1947; pl. 4; lines 21-25.Hornung 1982a, 56.

The above inscription implies that every divinity within the Egyptian pantheon of gods and goddesses existed as an extension of the divine trinity of Amun, Ra, and Ptah. In the opinion of Erik Hornung, the ancient Egyptians “place the contradictions of the world beside one another and then [choose to] live with them.”⁵¹ Simply put, the passage above articulates a doctrine that permits the juxtaposition of different iconographic elements normally associated with a specific deity. Notably, it describes a unified, transcendent deity whose face is that of the sun god, whose body belongs to the chthonic deity Ptah, and whose name is Amun. This concept, already present in New Kingdom religion, is reverberated, for example, in the New Kingdom *Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity*, which appears for the first time on the second gilded shrine of Tutankhamun (c. 1336-1327 BC),⁵² wherein the composite deity Ra-Osiris exists as a giant, register-spanning figure whose face exists in the upper regions of the sky and whose feet traverse the underworld.⁵³

Finally, in the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Imiseba (TT65), Banebdjed’s hypostasis is referred to in a hymn to Osiris.⁵⁴

51. Hornung 1982, 97.

52. CM 1321. See also Darnell 2004, 36.

53. For more information, see Roberson 2016, 326. For a more detailed discussion, see Darnell 2004.

54. Assmann 1983b, 124-5. Darnell 1995, pl. 38.



(1) *dd mdw in Wsir hnty-imntt nfr-hr k3 3tf*

(2) *nb ʿbwy dm hnwty wsr-ib it sbi*

(3) *wty tpy n Gb hry-tp m ht Nwt Hpr ʿnh*

(4) *wtt mt3 f3i ʿ iwh nhh b3* (5) *št3w hry-ib Ddt ʿpwy hry ntrw sʿh*

(6) *šps imy iwnw sr n hwt-Brbr ʿš3 k3w*

(7) *nb kbhw sšm htpw n 3hyw smsw wʿ*

(8) *n Imn rn.f b3 pn r.mh 4 m štt dmdy n Ddw*

(1) Recitation by Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, beautiful of face, high of *atef*-crown, (2) Lord of the Two Horns, Sharp of Tips, Strong of Heart, who seizes the rebel, (3) first begotten of Geb, chief in the womb of Nut, living Khepri, (4) engenderer of phallus, upraised of arm, bearer of the flail, (5) mysterious ram-form, residing in Mendes, winged one, chief of gods, august (6) dignitary who is in Heliopolis, the Official of the House of the Benben, plentiful of provisions, (7) Lord of Cool Waters, who conducts offerings to the *akhs*, eldest, sole one (8) of His name, Amun, this soul, which is four,⁵⁵ in the Netherworld, the one who is united in Mendes.

In the hymn above, the epithet “upraised of arm” (*f3i-5*) is applied to the god of the inundation and the netherworld, Osiris, but it also appears elsewhere frequently in texts as an epithet to describe the ithyphallic god Min.⁵⁶ Hornung has established that shared epithets between deities indicate the different ways gods were encountered in art, as demonstrated by a six-inch tall, Late Period bronze statuette now on display at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.⁵⁷ This artifact, which has been identified by museum staff as a representation of Amun, depicts a hybrid figure with four rams’ heads surmounted on the form of a bird with human’s legs and arms, wearing a *hemhem*-crown (fig 3).⁵⁸ The god’s right arm is raised with his hand extended upward in a clenched fist while he holds an erect phallus in his left hand, a pose characteristic of the god Min. Without knowledge of the provenance or the availability of an inscription on this statue, museum staff might have identified its subject as any of a number of gods, including Min, Montu, Amun(-Ra), Khnum, Heryshef, or Banebdjed.⁵⁹ Hornung writes that a deity’s representation in art does not reveal his or her true form, but instead it informs the viewer about certain aspects of a god’s nature.⁶⁰ Whatever combination of symbolic content ancient artists chose to apply to a representation of a deity, a hybrid form, such as this, is little more than a hieroglyph, or a way of indicating the function of a divinity rather than a god’s

56. Leitz 2003, 8: 230

57. JE 53109. Hornung 1971, 126.

58. For more information about a similar four-headed ram statuette identified as the god Min in Leiden, see Quaegebeur 1991, 253-68.

59. By the Roman Period, Montu had temples erected at Medamud, Thebes, Armant, and Tod, and, at each one of these cult centers, he was identified with a different god, namely, Osiris, Geb, Shu, and Ra, or the four generations of male deities in the Heliopolitan Ennead. In this instance, directional symbolism seemingly was applied to each one of the four geographic locations at which there had been a temple erected, for more information, see Klotz 2012, 148-67. Similarly, Khnum is identified with the same four gods, as well as four different locations where he is worshipped in the “Great Hymn to Khnum,” a text that is preserved on a column inside the temple at Esna, see Lichtheim 2006, 3:111-15.

60. Hornung 1971, 124.


identity.⁶¹ Particularly in the case of gods that were syncretized with others, the number of artistic forms are vast.⁶² Certain deities, such as Ra and Amun(-Ra), in particular, with their multiple names, epithets, and forms, are aligned with many other divinities, and for this reason ancient Egyptian religion occasionally exhibits pantheistic tendencies. Therefore, as an iconographic form, four rams' heads were an important motif in the composition of a demiurge, or a universal creator deity, and perhaps, as shown by the tetrad's application to different groups of Egyptian divinities throughout this thesis so far, ephemeral tetradic symbolism, such as the four cardinal directions, the four classical elements of earth, air, fire, and water, the four pairs of deities in the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, and the four generations of gods in the Heliopolitan Ennead, although interesting, is unimportant when compared to the artist's intent of representing a composite deity who exists in a state of totality or completeness.

It is necessary to examine the totality of symbolic content used to represent Amun-Ra-Horakhty inside KV 6, the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses IX (c. 1126-1108 BC), in order to establish a paradigm by which to compare and contrast later New Kingdom images of four-headed ram gods and ultimately determine how meaning changes over time. The specific type of headdress that sits atop Amun-Ra-Horakhty's four rams' heads is categorized as an *atef* variant with two ram's horns (*Ovis longipes paleo-aegyptiacus*), two sundisks, and two *uraei* wearing sundisks.⁶³ This headdress is associated with the god Osiris, as indicated by his epithets, "the one crowned with the

61. Hornung 1982a, 124-28.

62. Although ancient Egyptian religion resembles a pantheistic one in many ways, there were forms that certain gods did not take, see Hornung 1971, 101-5, 126-28.

63. Collier 1996, 40. According to Collier, there is a sudden increase in this variant type of *atef*-crown beginning in the Amarna period.

atef” (*3tfty*) and “lord of the *atef*-crown” (*nb 3tf*), as well as a number of additional deities, including the ram gods Banebdjed, Heryshef, and Khnum. The *atef* consists of a tall, conical headdress that appears to be made of reeds or plant stems, flanked on opposite sides by two ostrich plumes (*šwty*). This crown symbolizes the renewal of life, as well as kingship over a united Upper and Lower Egypt.⁶⁴ It is associated with the nocturnal form of the sun god Ra, as demonstrated by its horizontal rams’ horns and an inscription preserved on the Great Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II (c. 1427-1400 BC), where the words “*atef*-crown of Ra” (*3tf R^c*) are written with an *atef* determinative on top of a ram’s head ().⁶⁵ Other frequent gods who are associated with this crown include morning forms of the sun god, such as Horakhty, Horemakhet, and Khepri, among others.⁶⁶

The spiraling horns of Amun-Ra-Horakhty were based on the species of sheep once known as the *Ovis platyra-aegyptiacus*. This particular breed, which possessed a woolen undercoat and a shorter, thicker tail, was introduced in Egypt prior to the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.⁶⁷ Sometimes called the “Amun” ram, ancient Egyptian artists invariably depicted the god Amun(-Ra) with a curved set of horns modeled after this species. The Theban kings of the Twelfth Dynasty elevated the god Amun to the position of state god after the end of the First Intermediate Period, a position he retained thereafter. Ultimately, Theban theology, as previously mentioned, encompassed the



64. Abubakr 1937, 23; Collier 1996, 47-48. On the other hand, the Osiris-crown represents kingship over the Netherworld.




65. Urk. IV, 1277, line 17.

66. Goebis 2015, 10-11.

67. Epstein 1971, 2:56; Behrens 1986, 6:1244-45; Brewer, Redford, and Redford 1994, 92-93; Brewer 2001, 3:278-79; von Pilgrim 2013, VII:3745-47.

separate doctrines of Amun and the sun god Ra, articulating the notion of a demiurge *par excellence*, whose *ba* was present in all things.⁶⁸

A  crook (*hk3*) and  flail (*nhhw*) are held in Amun-Ra-Horakhety's hands together with an *ankh-djed-was-scepter*, standard objects associated with many different divinities. In ancient Egypt, the crook and flail were associated often with the god Osiris, the ruler of the Netherworld. As symbols, the crook and flail evoke the notion of a shepherd-like deity. Both could be borrowed from the god Andjety whose iconography perhaps was absorbed by the cult of Osiris. It has been speculated that Andjety may have been a living king from Busiris who was deified in death.⁶⁹ In any case, the crook and flail symbolize both kingship and authority.

The long staff held by Amun-Ra-Horakhty is an *ankh-djed-was-scepter*. The  *was-scepter* was a symbol for the city of Thebes, which was known as Waset (*W3st*) by the Egyptians, appearing also as a crown worn on the head of the goddess Waset, who personified the city of Thebes. Amun-Ra-Horakhty's *was-scepter* is intersected by a  *djed-pillar*, just below the  *ankh*. The *djed* appears in hieroglyphic script where its written meaning is the word "stability."⁷⁰ It was associated with the god Osiris and symbolized his backbone when depicted in art. Ancient Egyptian coffins were decorated frequently with a *djed-pillar* painted on the inside where the spine of the deceased was laid to rest.⁷¹ In ancient Egypt, the *djed* was reproduced also as an amulet that could imbue its wearer with the regenerative powers of Osiris.⁷² The *ankh*, on the other hand,

68. Hornung 2001, 191.

69. Wilkinson 2003, 123-125.


70. Wb. V, 626-28.

71. Wilkinson 1992, 165.

72. Andrews 1994, 82-83.

embodies the life-forming elements of air and water depicted as a symbol for the “breath of life” in images showing deities and kings accepting offerings of this icon held to their noses.⁷³ Finally, the *was* connotes power and authority when represented in art. It was depicted commonly with deities and kings and frequently paired with an *ankh* and *djed*-pillar, where these three symbols are read hieroglyphically as “life, stability, and dominion.”

One consistent feature associated with the iconography of a number of popular ancient Egyptian gods connected with the underworld, including Osiris, Sokar, Khonsu, and Ptah, was the mummified form. The gods Osiris and Ptah were depicted typically in art sitting stiffly erect on a throne or standing, with both legs and feet bound together and hands projecting from their mummy shroud.⁷⁴ In short, the mummified form used to represent Amun-Ra-Horakhty in KV 6, the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses IX (c. 1126-1108 BC), was a consistent iconographical element associated with chthonic deities, such as Osiris, Sokar, Khonsu, and Ptah, already mentioned.

Ancient Egyptian artists depicted Amun-Ra-Horakhty wearing a *wesekh*-collar (*wsḥ*)⁷⁵ and standing stiffly erect on a slightly raised, narrow dais in the shape of the  *maat* (*m3ʿt*) hieroglyphic symbol, a sign that carries the written meaning of “truth” or “justice.”⁷⁶ These iconographical elements are distinctive to the god Ptah, whose *wesekh*-collar and *menkhet*-counterpoise distinguishes him from similar representations of Khonsu who was depicted instead with a *menit*-necklace, consisting of a keyhole-shaped

73. Wilkinson 1992, 177.

74. Wilkinson 2003, 123-125.

75. This object should not be confused with *menit*-necklace of Hathor or Khonsu whose counterpoise has a distinctive keyhole-like shape, see Wilkinson 2003, 126.

76. Wb. II, 72-73.

counterpoise.⁷⁷ The *wesekh*-collar played a part in the Opening of the Mouth ceremony and often appears in temples scenes as offerings to the gods.⁷⁸ The *maat*-platform, on which the god Amun-Ra-Horakhty stands, symbolizes the defeat of hostile foes, the solar cycle, and the rule of the king.⁷⁹ This symbol is identified also with the goddess that goes by the same name, Maat, who is the personification of truth, justice, and cosmic order.⁸⁰

5.4: Conclusion

As a successor to the entrance scene that featured the god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris inside KV 1, the tomb of Ramesses VII (c. 1136-1129 BC), the representation of the solar god Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams' heads in KV 6 (see fig. 4a-b), the tomb of Ramesses IX (c. 1126-1108 BC), appearing on the right wall (symbolic north), near the entrance, could be the “hidden,” or nocturnal aspect of the sun, implicit in the name “Amun,” in contrast to the subject of the *Litany of Ra* frontispiece (see fig. 3), the solar god Ra-Horakhty, who is the visible expression of the sun, particularly in its morning form. The name “Horakhty” appears in inscription in more than seventy syncretistic combinations during the New Kingdom exclusively, frequently juxtaposed with creator deities, such as the gods Amun and Tatenen, and solar divinities, including Ra, Khepri and Atum, among others.⁸¹

Horakhty (*Hr-3hty*), whose name means, literally, “Horus of the Two Horizons,” refers to a form of the sky god Horus, a deity who embodies the concept of divine kingship in




77. Wilkinson 2003, 126.

78. Handoussa 1981, 143-50; Wilson 1997, 260.

79. Wilson 1997, 397.

80. Wilson 1997, 397.

81. According to Müller, “Horakhty” should be understood as a surname which describes the character of the sun god when juxtaposed with “Ra,” as Ra-Horakhty, see Redford 2002, 325-26. Berteaux takes this idea a step further when she posits that the god Horemakhet, “Horus in the Horizon,” represents the king in the process of change and that Ra-Horakhty, “Horus of the Two Horizons,” represents the transformed king, which is an analogy for the change of rulership between kings after another dies, see Berteaux 2005, 357-59.

ancient Egypt, where the king was perceived as both a god and a living human being. From the mid-First Dynasty, the king's royal titulary consisted of both his  "Horus" (*Hr*) and  "Golden Horus" (*Hr nbw*) names.⁸² Beginning with the reign of Djedefre (c. 2566-2588 BC), the king's birth name, or nomen, also included the epithet  "Son of Ra" (*s3 R^c*).⁸³ These separate titles indicate a familial relationship between Ra and Horus, as father and son, *vis-à-vis* the king who was identified as both the son of Ra and the earthly counterpart of Horus, the king of the gods. Ra-Horakhty (*R^c-hr-3hty*), depicted on the left wall (symbolic south) of KV 6, whose name carries the literal meaning "Ra is Horus of the Two Horizons," represents the sun's diurnal cycle, but particularly the morning form of the sun as whom the king was reborn anew each day. Therefore, the complexities of New Kingdom solar theology may have led to the adoption of four rams' heads by Amun-Ra-Horakhty in KV 6, as a way to visually express the nocturnal form of the sun god.

The totality of symbolic content applied to the representation of Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams' heads inside KV 6 articulates Theban theology, or rather the idea of an all-encompassing demiurge who most importantly is composed of iconographic elements relating to all three state deities, Amun(-Ra), Ra(-Horakhty), and Ptah(-Tatenen), from whom the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty rulers of Egypt derived their legitimacy. It follows that the number four in this particular context solely indicates the state of totality and completeness, or the condition of being whole, probably

82. The earliest attestation of a Horus name occurs during the First Dynasty with King Narmer (c. 3100 BC), whereas the Golden Horus name does not appear until the reign of King Den (c. 2950 BC). For more information, see Leprohon 2013, 8.

83. Leprohon 2013, 8.

in reference to the state triad of Amun, Ra, and Ptah, mentioned together in *Leiden I 350*, as a composite deity whose name is Amun, whose face is Ra, and whose body is Ptah, rather than four individual *bas* which compose a four-fold hypostasis similar to that of the Mendesian ram. It is therefore doubtful that the rams of Tatenen directly inspired late New Kingdom images of four-headed ram gods in royal tombs given that this particular representation of Amun-Ra-Horakhty seems to be motivated by political and religious change during the Ramesside period. Furthermore, one might expect the rams of Tatenen, featured during the *Amduat*'s Eighth Hour, to be represented with the same distinctive type of spiraling horns synonymous with the god Amun. Ultimately, it is not without significance that a form of Amun is the subject of the pendant scene featured inside the tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6). Additional consideration of the importance of this particular image within its historical and religious context will be discussed in the conclusion of this thesis, following Chapter Six's examination of iconography applied to a similar representation of a four-headed ram deity, which instead appears inside the tomb of Ramesses XI (KV 4).

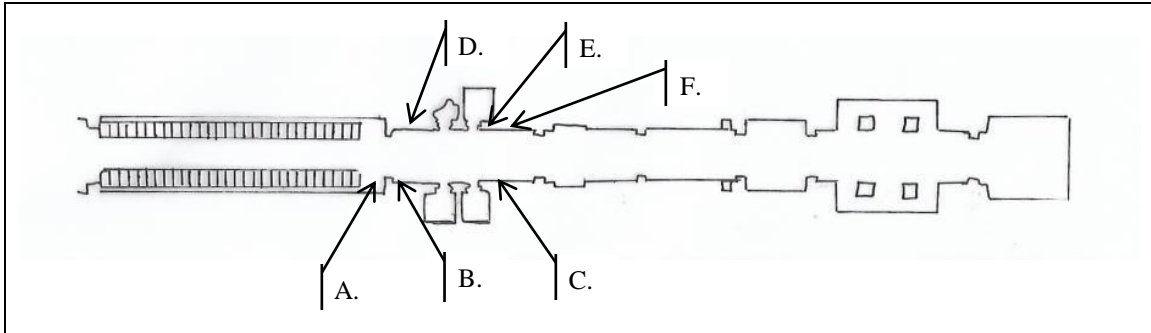


Table. 5-1. Plan of the Tomb of Ramesses IX. Illustration by Mai Mostafa Hassan Abdel Latif after Porter and Moss.

- A. Outer lintel with solar disk and scarab, adored by the king, followed by Isis on the left and Nephthys on the right.
- B. Offering scene with the goddess Meretseger and the god Amun-Ra Horakhty, as a four-headed ram, before the king.
- C. The Book of Caverns, first to the fourth divisions.
- D. Offering scene with the king before a falcon-headed Ra-Horakhty and a mummiform Osiris.
- E. Litany of Ra
- F. Scene showing Inmutef purifying Osiris.

Table 5.2: Decoration Program in the Tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6)

Location	Scene or Funerary Book	
Doorway A		
Lintel	<i>Isis, Nephthys, and the King adoring the sun</i>	
Corridor A		
Left Wall	<i>Frontispiece with Ra-Horakhty</i> The Litany of Ra	Introduction
Right Wall	<i>The King with Amun-Ra-Horakhty</i> The Book of Caverns	First Division
Ceiling	<i>Vulture Decoration and cartouches</i> ⁸⁴	
Corridor B		
Left Wall	The Litany of Ra (continued) Book of the Dead ⁸⁵	The Great Litany, the 2 nd and 3 rd litanies Spells 125 and 126
Right Wall	The Book of Caverns	Divisions 2-4
Ceiling	<i>Astronomical</i>	
Corridor C		
Left Wall	Amduat	2 nd and 3 rd Hours
Right Wall	Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity	
Ceiling	<i>Divine Barques, processions of divinities</i>	
Well Room D		
Left Wall	<i>Iunmutef with libation bowl and ram-standard</i>	
Right Wall	Opening of the Mouth	
Pillared Hall E	Undecorated	
Sarcophagus Chamber F		
Left Wall	The Book of the Earth The Book of Caverns	5 th Division
Right Wall	The Book of the Earth The Book of Caverns	6 th Division
Back Wall	The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques ⁸⁶	
Ceiling	The Book of the Day The Book of the Night	Vignette only Vignette only

84. Guilmant 1907, pl. iv.

85. Roberson incorrectly attributes *Book of the Dead* spells 125 and 126 to KV 9, the tomb of Ramesses VI (c. 1143-1136 BC), rather than KV 6, the tomb of Ramesses IX (c. 1126-1108 BC), see Roberson 2016, 318. Cf. McCarthy 2016, 160. Wilkinson and Reeves 1996, 168; Abitz 1995, 68-72; PM 1/2, 502.

86. Roberson 2013, 1, 173.

Table 5.3: Ramesses IX (KV 6), first corridor pendant scene, right wall	
	Amun-Ra-Horakhty (Symbolic North)
Perspective	
Profile	✓
Pose	
Standing	✓
Orientation	
Right	✓
Head	
Ram (x4)	✓
Horns	
Horizontal	✓
Curved	✓
Body	
Zoanthropomorphic	✓
Mummiform	✓
Headdress	
<i>atef</i> -crown with <i>uraei</i>	✓
Costume	
Tripartite wig	✓
Attribute	
<i>hk3</i> -scepter	✓
flail	✓
<i>w3s</i> -scepter	✓
<i>dd</i> -pillar	✓
<i>nh</i>	✓
Jewelry	
Pectoral	✓
Platform	
<i>m3t</i>	✓

Figure 5-1. Frontispiece, west wall of Corridor A, tomb of Ramesses VII (KV 1), featuring Ra-Horakhty-Atum-Khepri, Valley of the Kings, Egypt. New Kingdom; Dynasty Twenty, c. 1120 BC. After Piankoff 1958, pl. I.



Figure 5-2. Pendant scene with Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, east wall of Corridor A, tomb of Ramesses VII (KV 1), Valley of the Kings, Egypt. New Kingdom; Dynasty Twenty, c. 1120 BC. After Piankoff 1958, pl. II.

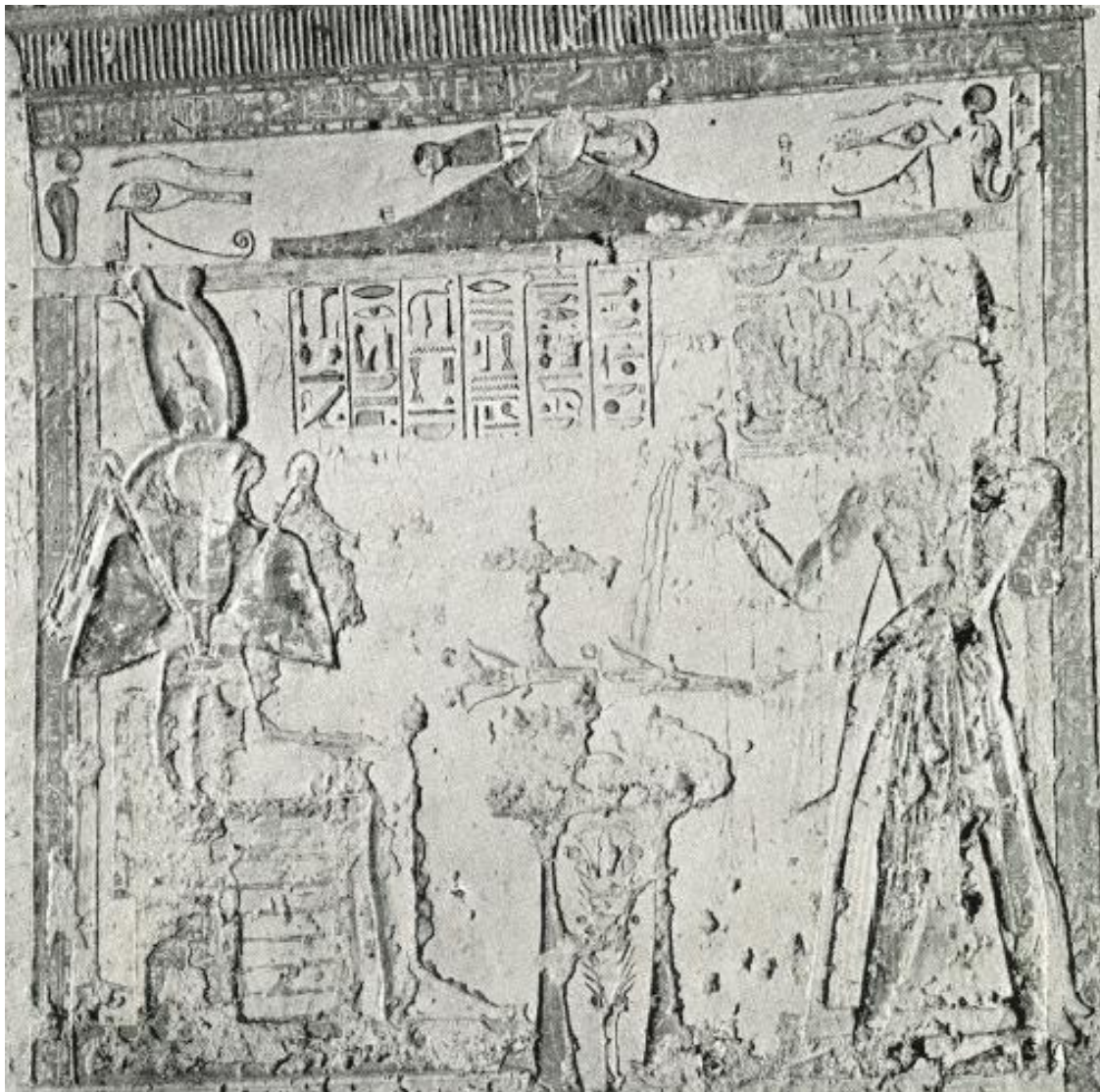


Figure 5-3. *Litany of Ra* frontispiece, north wall of Corridor A, tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6), featuring Ra-Horakhty and Osiris, Valley of the Kings, Egypt. New Kingdom; Dynasty Twenty, c. 1090 BC. Photograph by Matt Treasure.

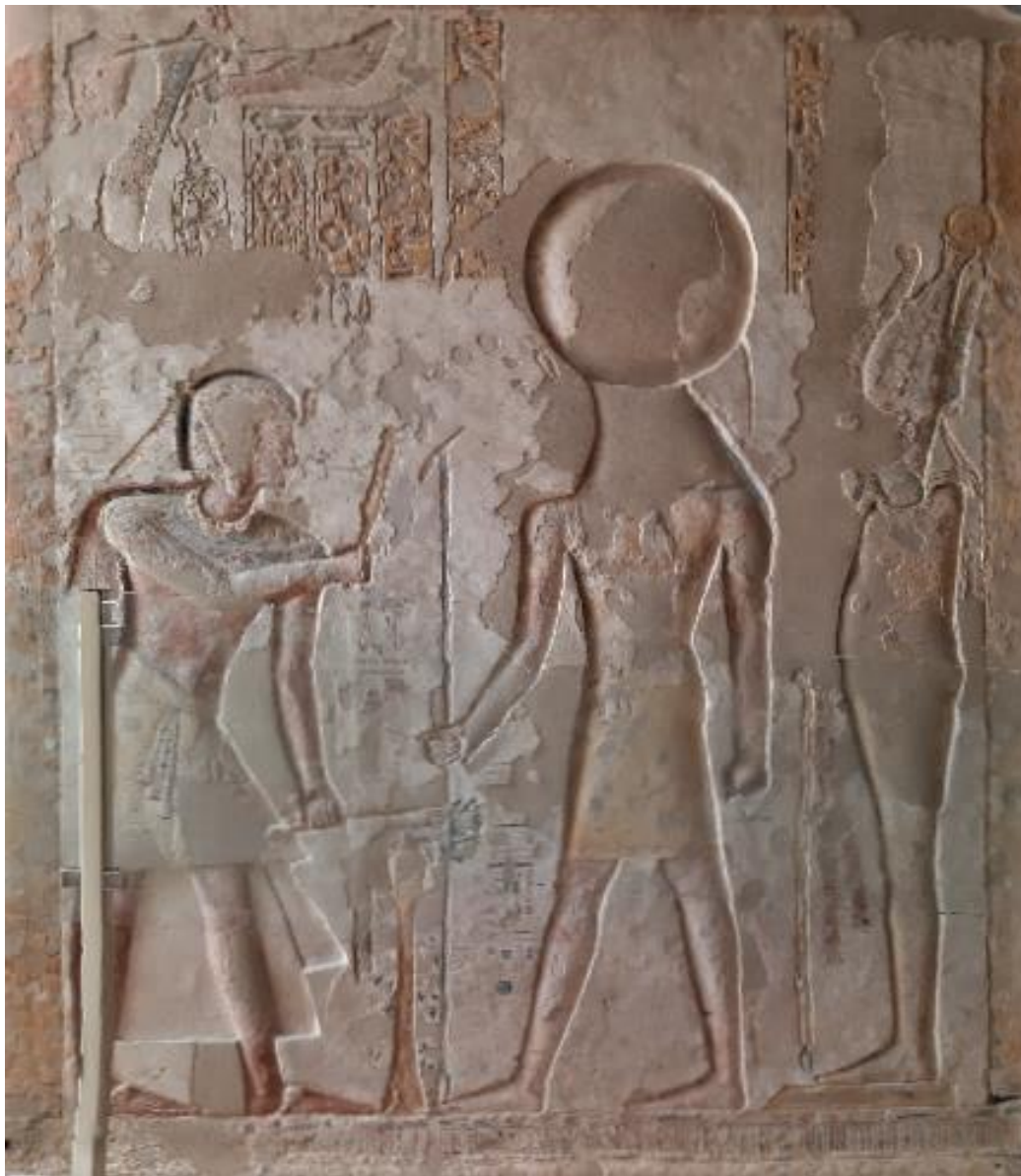


Figure 5-4a. Pendant scene with Amun-Ra-Horakhty as a four-headed ram god, south wall of Corridor A, tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6), Valley of the Kings, Egypt. New Kingdom; Dynasty Twenty, c. 1090 BC. Photograph by Matt Treasure.

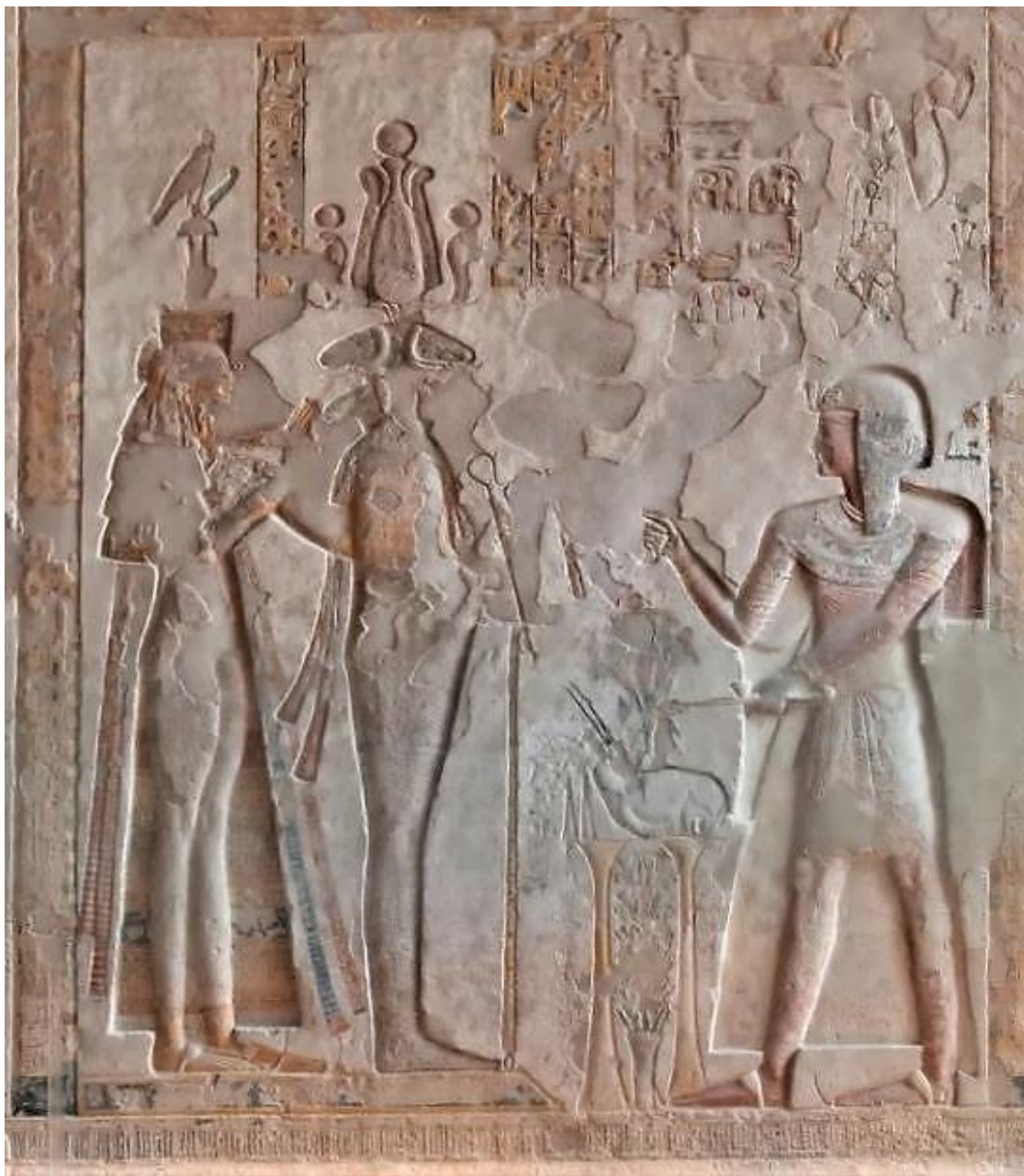


Figure 5-4b. Pendant scene with Amun-Ra-Horakhty, south wall of Corridor A, tomb of Ramesses IX, Valley of the Kings, Egypt. New Kingdom; Dynasty Twenty, c. 1090 BC. Guilmant 1907, pl. 4.

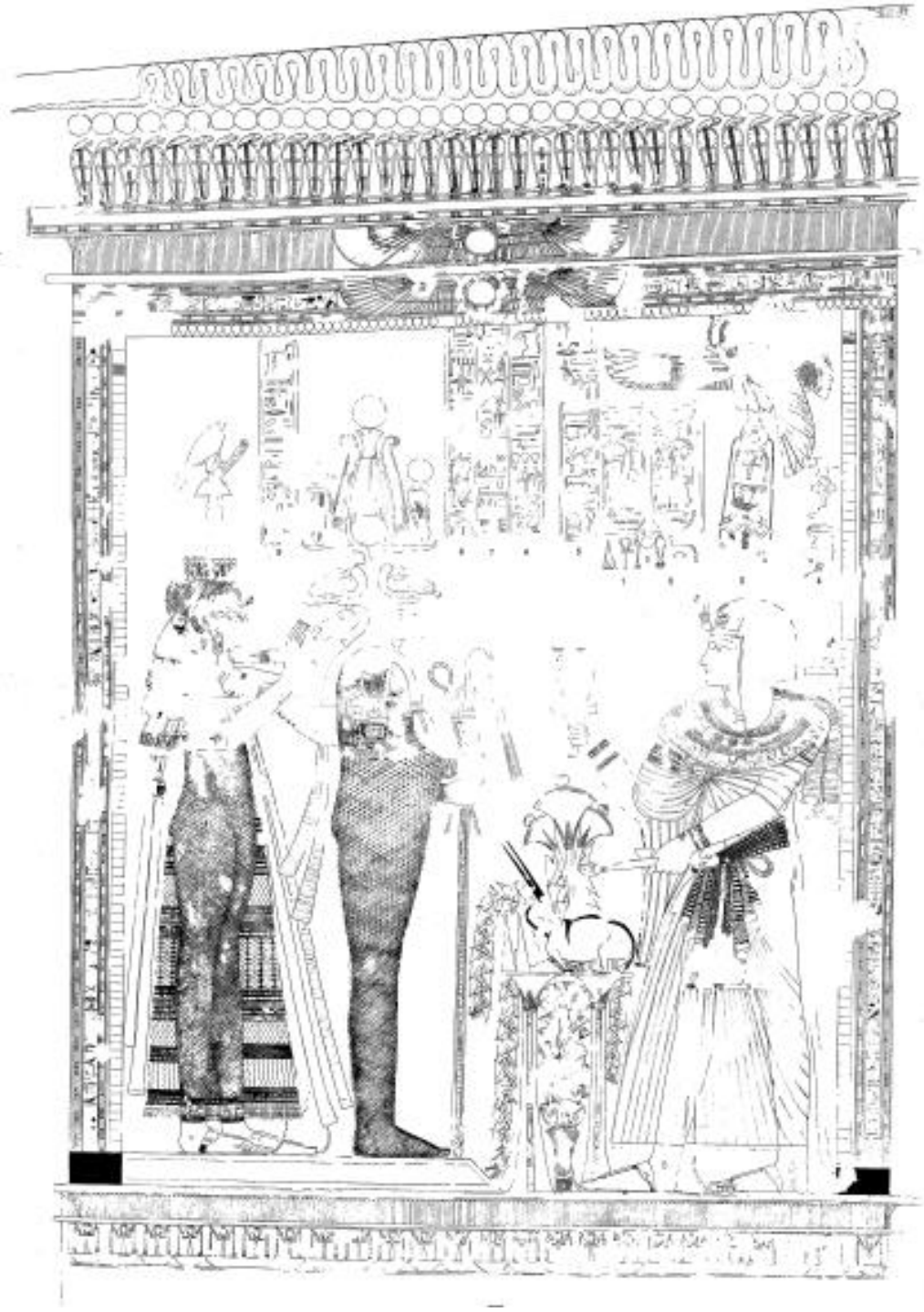


Figure 5-5. Excerpt from the New Kingdom *Book of the Day*, featured in the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses VI (KV 9), which may show a hieroglyph that indicates a figure with four rams' heads on a human's body as a determinative symbol, following the hieroglyphic word *sšm*. Piankoff 1954, p. 150.

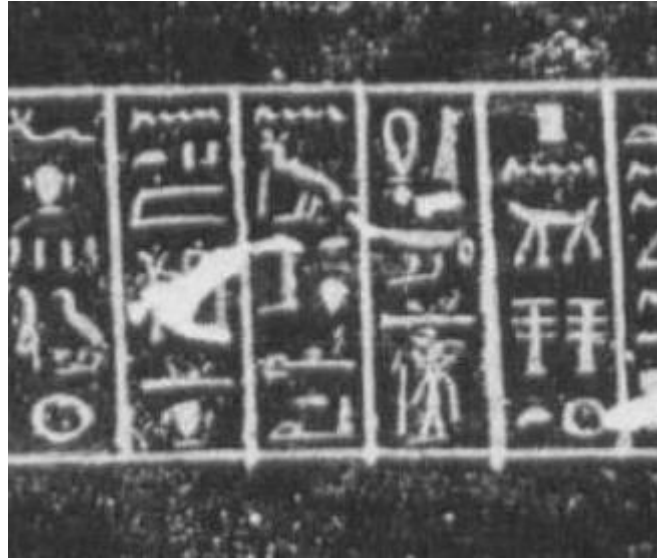


Figure 5-6. Four-headed ram deity, who is depicted with one pair of heads facing forward and the other pair facing rearward. Late or Ptolemaic Period. Photo by Matt Treasure. Cairo Museum. JE 53109.

Chapter 6

The Tomb of Ramesses XI (KV 4)

In this chapter, the symbolic content applied to an representation of Amun-Ra-Horakhty as a four-headed ram deity in KV 6, the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses IX (c. 1126-1108 BC), is compared and contrasted with that of another image of a god with four rams' heads who is depicted in a similar scene inside KV 4, the tomb of Ramesses XI (c. 1099-1069 BC) (fig. 1). Methods used in Chapter Four are applied to the latter representation, so that the intrinsic message articulated by this image may be determined, broadening our knowledge of four rams' heads as an iconographic form in the context of late New Kingdom Egyptian religious art. In general, overlapping symbolic content that has been discussed previously is not elaborated on further.

No less important, a scarcely visible representation of a four-headed ram god appears in a pendant scene that occurs on the right wall (symbolic north), as one enters KV 18, the late Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses X (c. 1108-1099 BC) (fig. 1). Accompanying inscriptions do not survive, and much of the symbolic content used to represent the subjects depicted therein can no longer be determined with any certainty.¹ Nevertheless, a faint representation of a tetracephalic ram deity, wearing a sundisk, appears to be accompanied in this scene by two additional figures, which presumptively consist of images of the king and Meretseger. In addition, traces of a frontispiece, appearing on the tomb's left wall (symbolic south), directly across Corridor A, clearly shows the bust of a falcon-headed god, presumably Ra-Horakhty, wearing a sundisk (fig.

1. See Jenni 2000, pl. 39-40.

2). Little is known of the tomb's decoration beyond the first corridor on account of rubble and debris from the collapsed ceiling.²

6.1: Decoration Program: Tomb of Ramesses XI (KV 4)

The image primarily under examination in this chapter is located inside KV 4, the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses XI (c. 1099-1069 BC), on the right wall (symbolic north) of Corridor A, as one enters (see table 1).³ The damaged scene shows a partially preserved representation of the king before an image of Amun-Ra-Horakhty as a tetracephalic ram deity together with the goddess Meretseger. The name "Ra-Horakhty," written in hieroglyphic, appears on the tomb's left wall (symbolic south), directly across Corridor A, indicating the probable subject of the frontispiece, now almost completely destroyed.⁴ The tomb's walls beyond the entrance corridor were left undecorated and the body of Ramesses XI perhaps buried elsewhere.⁵

6.2: Pre-Iconographic Analysis

In contrast to the offering scene examined in the previous chapter, subjects depicted in the wall scene featured inside KV 4, the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses XI (c. 1099-1069 BC), are framed within a representation of a canopy. The viewer's eye is drawn first to the scene's focal point at the center of the composition, where the figure of the standing god, identified in hieroglyphic inscription as Amun-Ra-Horakhty, is depicted

2. Wilkinson 1996, 172.

3. For the scenes decorating both walls of Corridor A, see PM 1/2, 501; LD III, pl. 239a; Lefébure 1889, 13; KRI VI, 730.

4. PM (1960-81) 1999, 1/2, 501.

5. The workmen of Deir el-Bahari perhaps could not carry out their work in the Theban necropolis during the unstable period leading up to the *Wḥm Mswt*. Barwik surmises that some of the workers may have been conscripted also into the army; however, the situation in Thebes seems to have stabilized partially by the middle period of Panehesy's occupation. Barwik 2011, 91, 103. See also Peet 1920, pl. 6; KRI VI, 735, lines 5-6.

with four rams' heads on top of a human's neck and body (see fig. 1). The subject is represented *aspectively*, in contrast to the four-headed ram god depicted instead KV 6 who instead was represented in profile. Ancient Egyptian artists arranged Amun-Ra-Horakhty's four rams' heads into two pairs: one pair of heads is depicted facing forward while the other is looking to the rear. In addition, a sundisk, with a *uraeus* at its fore, crowns the god's four heads. Each ram-head also has a spiraling horn that wraps around the back of the god's skulls and curves under his chins. A tripartite wig falls over the subject's shoulders, alleviating the awkward visual transition between his multiple rams' heads and human's neck and body. Amun-Ra-Horakhty wears a *wesekh*-collar, and a kilt that stretches from his waist to his knees. With his right hand held downward at his side, he clutches the looped handle of an *ankh*. Moreover, with his left arm extended forward, he grasps a staff that intersects with a *djed*-pillar positioned slightly below a representation of the god *Heh*, who is depicted kneeling on a *Heb*-basin, holding a *renpet*-branch in each hand.

The goddess Nekhbet in vulture form with outstretched wings, grasping a *shen*-ring in her talons, hovers above the king in the upper right-hand corner of the scene. The image of the king, appearing directly below the goddess, is damaged and the details of his regalia and arm positions are unclear. All that survives is a partial representation of the king's head, shown wearing a lappet wig with a *uraeus*. The king's nomen and prenomen are written in vertical columns set inside cartouches to the left the king. A vertical inscription, which is depicted directly below the cartouches, describes pharaoh as "He who is beloved like Ra, power, stability, and life."⁶ The negative space between the king

6. KRI VI, 730.

and Amun-Ra-Horakhty no longer shows traces of what probably were representations of offering tables with offerings to the god. Furthermore, the goddess Meretseger, wearing a vulture headdress surmounted by an *amuntet*-symbol, stands to the left of Amun-Ra-Horakhty, wearing a tightly fitting dress. The goddess gestures to the god with her right hand raised in adoration, and her left arm extended around his back similar to her counterpart featured inside the tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6).

6.3: Iconographic Analysis

Shown to the right of the god Amun-Ra-Horakhty and at the center of the scene featured in KV 4, the tomb of Ramesses XI (c. 1099-1069 BC), the following inscription appears in four vertical columns:⁷



*dd mdw in Imn-R^c-Hr-3hty Hw
šfy h3wt hry-ib <3ht>
di<.i> n.k šfy.k šnt̄ ib rk.f
šhri.k d3ytyw nb imy h^cw nb*

Recitation by Amun-Ra-Horakhty Hu...
Ram-faces, residing in the <horizon>.
I have given your majesty to you (the king),
causing his enemy to be discontent.
May you drive away every opponent, which is
in all people.

The above text deviates from that which is found inside KV 6, the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses IX (c. 1126-1108 BC). The difference between the two inscriptions can be observed by comparing the offerings: Ramesses IX is granted “life, stability, and

7. KRI VI, 730.





power,” whereas Ramesses XI is given the ability to subdue his enemies instead. With both scenes, Amun-Ra-Horakhty’s four rams’ heads articulate the inherent theme of *ba*-theology, a significant component of Theban theology, wherein the god Amun(-Ra) is recognized as a universal demiurge whose *ba* encompasses all creation. Not only is *ba*-theology expressed visually inside KV 4 with an image of Amun-Ra-Horakhty as a tetracephalic ram deity, but it occurs also with the use of the phrase *šfy-ḥ3wt*, describing the god as having multiple “ram-faces.” Furthermore, this particular inscription resonates with Amun-Ra’s role in the kingship mythos of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, in particular, already mentioned, as well as the combined role of Banebdjed, Khnum, and Ptah-Tatenen in the “Contendings of Horus and Seth,” as oracle-like figures with the power to proclaim the next king of Egypt.

Solar divinities, including Amun-Ra-Horakhty, are represented often in ancient Egyptian art wearing a sundisk, symbolizing the sun. The sun was born from the primordial waters of Nun as Atum, who emerged from the original mound of earth at the dawn of creation, becoming the principal source of life which was ruled initially by the sun god as the first king on earth. In ancient Egyptian art, the sundisk personifies the “right Eye of Ra,” i.e. the source of life and heat, fire and flames.⁸ Therefore, the “right Eye of Ra” also symbolizes the sun’s destructive power.⁹ In the New Kingdom *Book of the Heavenly Cow*, for example, which appears in complete form for the first time inside KV 17, the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Sety I (c. 1294-1279 BC), humanity revolts

8. Goebis 172-74. See CT I spell 75 (§390-84); Faulkner 1978, 1: 73; Quirke 2013, 52-63.

9. The ancient Egyptian word *wmy*, which means “right,” is a root word of *wmyt*, meaning “devouring flames.” Wb. I, 321-22.

against its king, the sun god Ra.¹⁰ Consequently, the “right Eye of Ra” is dispatched to the earth as the goddess Hathor-Sekhmet in order to punish mankind for rebelling against the sun god’s authority.¹¹ Similarly, the *uraeus*, which is fixed at the front of numerous types of headdresses, both royal and divine, personifies the protective and fire-spitting cobra goddess of Buto, Wadjet, who is also the embodiment of Ra’s right eye.¹²

The staff held in Amun-Ra-Horakhty’s left hand is illustrated with a *djed*-pillar positioned slightly below a small representation of the kneeling god *Heh*, who is depicted on a *heb*-basin, holding two *renpet*-branches with his hands. A  *Heh*-deity (*Hh*) occurs in ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic script and art where its written meaning is the word “millions.”¹³ Heh, the Egyptian god of eternity, whose image frequently was applied to royal iconography as a means of ensuring longevity, ordinarily was represented kneeling on a  *heb*-basin (*hb*) or a  *nebu*-collar (*nbw*).¹⁴ A *heb*-basin, featured in the scene currently under examination, connotes the written meaning “festival,”¹⁵ and occurs in the spelling of the word *Heb-sed* (*hb-sd*), referring to the “Festival of the Tail,”¹⁶ a ceremony that was held traditionally every thirty years from the reign of King Den (c. 2950 BC), which celebrated the rejuvenation of the king and the wish for his continued rule.¹⁷ In addition, a  *rnpt*-branch (*rnpt*) connotes the written meaning “year.”¹⁸ In sum, the *rnpt*-

10. The *Book of the Heavenly Cow* first appears on the gilded shrine of Tutankhamun, but it may have originated during the Amarna Period. For more information, see Hornung 1999, 148-51.

11. CT I spell 75 (§314-405).

12. Wilkinson 2003, 227; Goebis 2015, 2.

13. Wb. III, 153.

14. Wilkinson 1992, 39.

15. Wb. III, 58-62.

16. Wb. III, 58-60.

17. For more information see, Uphill 1963, 365-83; Murnane 1981, 369-76.

18. Wb. II, 429-432.

branch, *heb*-basin, and *Heh*-deity collectively articulate the desire that the king's rule will amount to millions of years.

6.4: Conclusion

Thus far, this thesis has shown that four rams' heads, as an iconographic form during the late New Kingdom, was applied to both solar and netherworld gods. The four-headed ram, as a motif, shows us that the Egyptians of the New Kingdom in the Thebaid perceived many similarities between their different ram gods, Banebdjed and Amun(-Ra), in particular. This rationale is explained in previous chapters throughout this study of wall scenes that feature representations of the god Amun-Ra-Horakhty as a tetracephalic ram deity, preserved separately inside the individual Twentieth Dynasty tombs of Ramesses IX (KV 6; c. 1126-1108 BC), Ramesses X (KV 18; c. 1108-1099 BC), and Ramesses XI (KV 4; c. 1111-1078 BC). As a companion scene to the *Litany of Ra* frontispiece, featured on the left wall (symbolic south) inside KV 6 (see fig. 4-3), the representation of Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams' heads (see figs. 4-4a-b), occurring on the tomb's right wall (symbolic north), seemingly becomes the netherworldly, or imperceptible, counterpart to the daily form of the sun god Ra-Horakhty. In contrast, accompanying inscriptions and the totality of iconography applied to the representation of the four-headed ram deity inside the tomb of Ramesses XI (KV 4), appearing on the tomb's right wall (symbolic north), as one enters, instead calls attention to the sun god's diurnal aspect and his warlike nature (see fig. 5-3). Analysis of the images discussed in both Chapters Five and Six will continue in the following chapter.

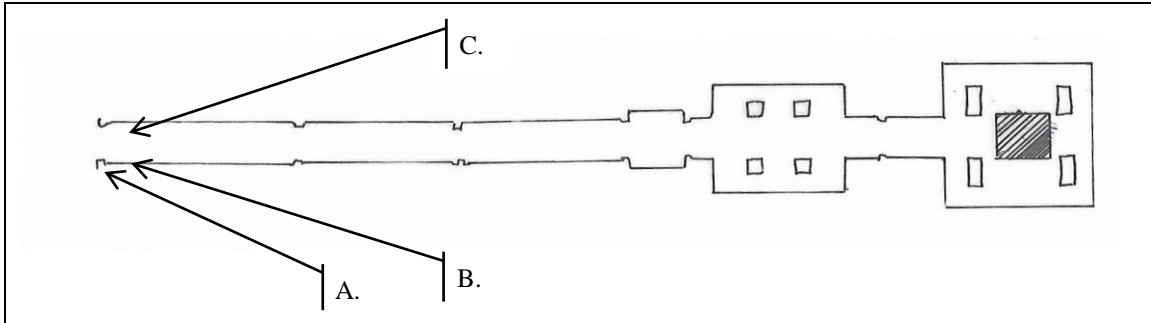


Table. 6-1. Plan of the tomb of Ramesses XI (KV 4). Illustration by Mai Mostafa Hassan Abdel Latif after Porter and Moss.

- A. Unfinished outer lintel showing the king kneeling between Isis and Nephthys.
- B. Offering scene with the goddess Meretseger and the god Amun-Ra Horakhty, as a four-headed ram, before the king.
- C. Unfinished *frontispiece* with the name of the god Amun-Ra-Horakhty inscribed on the wall.

Table 6.2: KV 4 and KV 6 tetracephalic ram gods in comparison		
	Amun-Ra-Horakhty (KV 4; Ramesses XI)	Amun-Ra-Horakhty (KV 6; Ramesses IX)
Perspective		
<i>Aspective</i>	✓	
Profile		✓
Pose		
Standing	✓	✓
Orientation		
Right	✓	✓
Head		
Ram (x4)	✓	✓
Horns		
Horizontal		✓
Curved	✓	✓
Body		
Zoanthropomorphic	✓	✓
Mummiform		✓
Hair		
Tripartite wig	✓	✓
Headdress		
Sundisk with <i>uraei</i>	✓	
<i>atef</i> -crown with <i>uraei</i>		✓
Costume		
tassel		✓
kilt	✓	
Attribute		
<i>w3s</i> -scepter		✓
<i>dd</i>	✓	✓
<i>ḥnh</i>	✓	✓
<i>Hh</i> -deity	✓	
<i>hb</i> -basin	✓	
<i>rnpt</i> -branch	✓	
flail		✓
<i>hk3</i> -scepter		✓
Jewelry		
Collar	✓	✓
Platform		
<i>mḥt</i>		✓

Fig. 6-1. Pendant Scene showing the king with Meretseger and Amun-Ra-Horakhty as a four-headed ram god, wearing a sundisk, south wall of Corridor A, tomb of Ramesses XI (KV 4), Valley of the Kings, Egypt. New Kingdom; Dynasty Twenty, c. 1080 BC. After Lepsius 1904, Abth. III, B1 233, a.

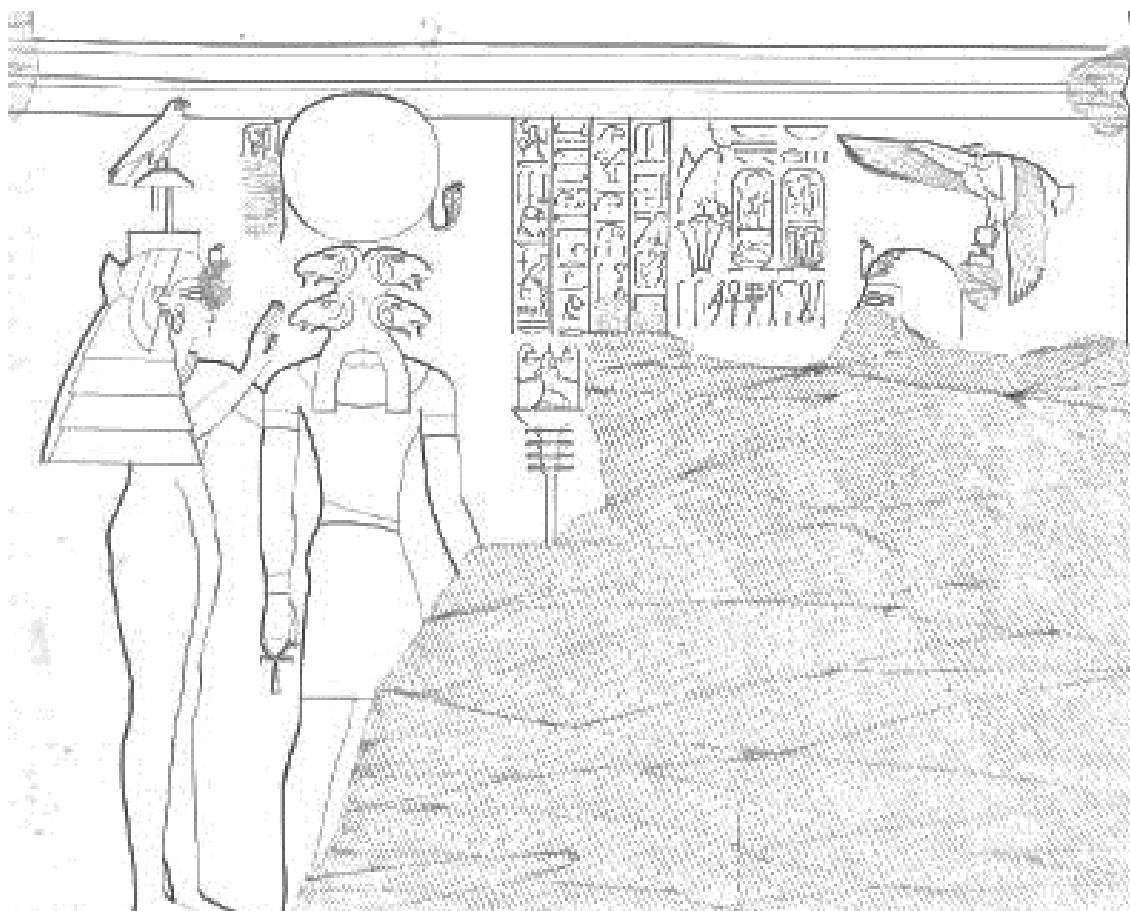


Fig. 6-2: Faint outline of a scene that shows the goddess Meretseger and the god Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams' heads, wearing a sundisk, south wall of Corridor A, tomb of Ramesses X (KV 18), Valley of the Kings, Egypt. New Kingdom; Dynasty Twenty, c. 1100 BC. After Jenni 2000, pl. 41.



Fig. 6-3. Frontispiece showing the bust of Ra-Horakhty, wearing a sundisk, north wall of Corridor A, tomb of Ramesses X (KV 18), Valley of the Kings, Egypt. New Kingdom; Dynasty Twenty, c. 1100 BC. After Wilkinson 2004, p. 172.



Chapter 7

Conclusion

This thesis has shown that the totality of symbolic content applied to late New Kingdom representations of tetracephalic ram deities, which appear in separate entrance scenes preserved inside the tombs of Ramesses IX (KV 6; c. 1126-1108 BC) and Ramesses XI (KV 4; c. 1111-1078 BC), labeled as the god Amun-Ra-Horakhty, are influenced by the separate theologies and iconography of the three Ramesside period state deities, Amun(-Ra), Ra(-Horakhty), and Ptah(-Tatenen). It is not entirely clear, however, which god, Amun(-Ra) or Banebdjed, was represented initially in ancient Egyptian art with four rams' heads, given that both deities are described in texts by the Twentieth Dynasty with epithets as having “four faces on one neck,” preceding the earliest-known surviving image of a tetracephalic ram deity, which appears inside the tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6).

Hornung's claim that the so-called “rams of Tatenen,” featured during the *Amduat's* Eighth Hour, inspired late New Kingdom representations of Amun-Ra-Horakhty as a tetracephalic ram deity inside Twentieth Dynasty royal burials, should not be recognized as fact, but only as a possibility. Nevertheless, the excavation of four openings in the second pylon of Banebdjed's temple at Mendes, in a part of the structure that was built during the reign of Thutmose III (c. 1475-1425 BC), leading to a naos court, which may have featured four naoi oriented in a quadrant based on the four cardinal directions, seemingly indicates an awareness of the Mendesian ram's theology of “four faces on one neck” by the early New Kingdom (see fig. 3-9).¹ A more plausible

1. Redford 2010, 71. Processional temples from the New Kingdom onward normally are organized around a single axis, instead of four as in this case.

connection with the “rams of Tatenen” (see fig. 3-1), appearing in the middle register of the *Amduat*’s Eighth Hour for the first time as wall decoration inside the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Thutmose III (KV 34), which were represented, perhaps significantly, with horizontal ram horns like Banebdjed, is tempting to regard as further evidence that the Mendesian ram god may have been depicted with four rams’ heads in Egyptian art prior to the adoption of this motif by Amun(-Ra), who was depicted instead with a curved ram’s horn.

Based on Redford’s archaeological discoveries, Mendes seemingly flourished during the Ramesside Period, which happened most likely because the pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty hailed from the Delta region.² Redford also attests that Mendesians occupied the royal administration at every level during the Ramesside period.³ The generally accepted view among Egyptologists is that local deities, like Banebdjed, would have acquired wider recognition only gradually, through shifts in political, economic, and religious power.⁴ Ancient Egypt already had a long history of deities whose importance at first was local and who later became dominant throughout the land such as Amun(-Ra), Ra(-Horakhty), and Ptah(-Tatenen), thereby placing the kingship under their divine protection. Between the Nineteenth and Twenty-First Dynasties, the different Egyptian ram deities— Banebdjed, Khnum, and Heryshef, included—whose sacred animals often functioned as avatars for the *ba*-soul of different gods, were elevated to a greater level of importance as manifestations of Amun(-Ra). The various New Kingdom funerary books,

2. Redford 2010, 100.

3. Redford 2010, 77.

4. Nevertheless, the opposite appears true for the deities of the cataract region. In inscriptions and in personal names of the Early Dynastic Period, Khnum appears frequently, meaning that these local deities were already important, see Hornung 1982, 70.

in particular, the *Litany of Ra*, articulate a theological movement in which the panentheistic-like character of (Amun-)Ra is a key religious theme.⁵ In the opinion of Assmann, the Ramesside response to the Amarna heresy was not the continued restoration of orthodoxy, but rather the advancement of a similar ideology, which instead emphasized an all-encompassing demiurge, as previously mentioned.⁶ Consequently, the Ramesside period seemingly deviated from Amarna on account of the fact that it did not isolate one god from the many, but rather allowed for their incorporation as a single deity. Evidence in art and texts from the late New Kingdom onward, including representations of Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams' heads depicted inside KV 6, KV 18, and KV 4, as well as the hymn to Amun-Ra preserved inside the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Tjannefer (TT 158), among other ancient texts, many previously discussed, indicate that Egyptians in the Thebaid by the late New Kingdom conflated their various ram gods, one and all, with Amun(-Ra).

One can form numerous connections between Banebdjed and the state deity Ptah(-Tatenen), from whom the tetracephalic ram god depicted inside the tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6) may have adopted symbolic content, in part. Most notably, a text preserved on four New Kingdom stela, found at Karnak, Abu Simbel, Amara West, and Aksha, which relate the story of how Ptah-Tatenen transformed into Banebdjed in order to sire the future pharaoh Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213 BC).⁷ This text was circulated widely throughout the Nineteenth Dynasty, as indicated by the number of stela on which adaptations of this story have been discovered thus far. The kingship mythos of Ramesses

5. See Assmann 2001, 191.

6. See also Hornung 1982, 220.

7. See KRI II, 377-380.

II, also known as the “Blessings of Ptah,” was appropriated and adapted later by Ramesses III (c. 1184-1153 BC) and subsequently inscribed on the façade of his Temple of Million Years at Medinet Habu.⁸ Banebdjed’s alignment with Ptah-Tatenen in the “Blessings of Ptah” could be based on a much older tradition, perhaps dating from the reign of Thutmosis III and illustrated in the middle register of the *Amduat*’s eighth hour, which shows four rams in a procession, labeled as manifestations of Tatenen.

Inside the Temple of Millions of Years at Medinet Habu, the architecture, inscriptions, and reliefs indicate a growing emphasis on funerary deities during the reign of Ramesses III (c. 1184-1153 BC), in particular, Sokar, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, and Osiris.⁹ The mortuary cult of Ramesses III is distinguished from its predecessors by its chapel, which associates the living king with the Osirid form, rather than his father in the manner of the Qurna temple of Sety I (c. 1294-1279 BC), where the focus of the cult was instead Ramesses I (c. 1295-1294 BC).¹⁰ It has been suggested that Ramesses III was identified with Osiris during his reign and that this particular aspect of the king was venerated in his lifetime.¹¹ The *djed*-pillar, commonly depicted in art where it represents the spine of Osiris, occurs in the hieroglyphic spelling of the ancient Egyptian city of Djedet, later called Mendes by the Greeks, as previously mentioned. The name of the Mendesian ram god, Banebdjed (*B3-nb-ddt*), connotes multiple written meanings, including the “Ram-lord of *Djedet*” and the “Lord of the soul of *Djedet*,” which refer to his connection with the god Osiris. From the reign of Sety I (c. 1294-1279 BC), Ptah’s name also appears in

8. MH II, pl. 105-106.

9. The cult’s focus on the king as Osiris seems to be another expression of the king’s divinity and power. For more information, see Teeter 2012, 49.

10. Teeter 2012, 49.

11. Nelson 1942, 146.

texts where it occasionally was juxtaposed with the epithet “the Noble *Djed*” (*dd šps*), thus aligning all three gods, Osiris, Ptah, and Banebdjed.¹² It stands to reason that Ramesses III may have felt the need to include statues of Osiris, Sokar, and Ptah-Sokar, perhaps in part due to the roles of the chthonic deities Ptah-Tatenen and Banebdjed in his divine origin story. It follows that a four-headed ram god would have been a logical choice to incorporate as the subject of the pendant scene inside the tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6) (see figs. 4-4a-b), as a successor to the composite deity Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, who instead was featured as a falcon-headed god in the pendant scene appearing inside the tomb of Ramesses VII (KV 1) (see fig. 4-2).

Following the death of Ramesses III, Egypt was governed in quick succession by a progressively weak series of rulers during a period that was besieged by famine, civil unrest, corruption, and tomb robberies.¹³ The corpus of texts known as the Necropolis Journals, recorded on various papyri and ostraca, which document the activities of the workmen at Deir el-Medina throughout the New Kingdom, mention desert marauders from the west, particularly during the reign of Ramesses IX.¹⁴ In the opinion of Miroslaw Barwik, the increased presence of desert marauders during the late Twentieth Dynasty illustrates the ineffectiveness of a royal administration “unable to mount any action on a broader scale against the menace from the west.”¹⁵ Reports of grain distribution from Year 17 of Ramesses IX, also recorded in the Necropolis Journals, indicate the presence of a robust crew of workmen operating in the Valley of the Kings.¹⁶ The Valley of the

12. Sandman-Holmberg 1947, 157.

13. For a detailed discussion of the affairs and scandals which beset this period, see Vernus 2003.

14. Barwik 2011, 3-5.

15. Barwik 2011, 3.

16. KRI VI, 568, lines 15-16. See also Barwik 2011, 4.

Kings had been turned into a burial ground for the entire royal family during the reign of Ramesses IX—Queen Baketwernal (KV 10), Queen-mother Tarkhat (KV 10), and Prince Mentuherkhepshef (III) (KV 19), included—indicating perhaps that new tomb construction was halted in the Valley of the Queens, possibly due to the increased presence of desert marauders.¹⁷ In contrast, much less is known from the reign of Ramesses X, who may have ruled from three to nine years only.¹⁸

Eventually, Ramesses XI succeeded Ramesses X as king of Egypt. This period saw the so-called “War of the High Priest,” led by the Viceroy of Nubia Panehesy, beginning possibly as early as the reigns of Ramesses IX or Ramesses X, which resulted in High Priest of Amun Amenhotep’s temporary expulsion from the Theban pontificate. The two most likely causes for the “War of the High Priest” include a military reaction by the king, with assistance from the Viceroy of Kush Panehesy, to High Priest of Amun Amenhotep’s expanding political and economic power, or a sequence of events that possibly places Panehesy in the role of agitator against the combined forces of the High Priest of Amun and pharaoh.¹⁹ Given the contents of the inscription and benefactions presented to Ramesses XI by Amun-Ra-Horakhty in the pendant scene featured inside KV 4, which shows a four-headed ram god, granting the king the power to subdue his enemies, the latter scenario seems far more likely.²⁰ Iconography applied to the representation of Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams’ heads inside the tomb of Ramesses XI (KV 4), including the sundisk personifying the “right eye of Ra,” further emphasizes

17. Barwick 2011, 2.

18. Dodson 2012, 12-14.

19. Barwick 2011, 80.

20. KRI VI, 730.

the god's warlike nature, symbolically striking fear in the collective enemies of the king and the High Priest of Amun. Ultimately, the forces of Ramesses XI defeated Panehesy, compelling the latter's retreat back to Nubia.²¹

After a brief exile, Amenhotep regained his position as High Priest of Amun, holding that office for an unknown period of time before it was assumed by either Piankh or Herihor, both former military commanders.²² As a High Priest of Amun, Herihor's name occasionally was written inside a cartouche, and he notably was represented on the same scale as Ramesses XI in a set of reliefs that occur inside the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, thus showing equivalency of status (fig. 1).²³ The period known as the *Wehem Mesut* (*Wḥm Mswt*), which carries the literal meaning "repeating of births" or the "Renaissance," was instituted during Year 19 of Ramesses XI, with the intention of restoring social order and political stability in Egypt.²⁴ Some scholars hold the view that Herihor may have initiated the *Wehem Mesut* in opposition to the reigning king, Ramesses XI.²⁵ A new dating system independent of the king's regnal years was introduced with the *Wehem Mesut*, perhaps referring to the authority of the High Priest of Amun who acted on behalf of the king in the Thebaid.²⁶ Herihor (c. 1078-1066 BC) eventually replaced Ramesses XI as *de facto* ruler of Egypt in the south at Thebes.²⁷ In addition, the founder of the Twenty-First Dynasty of rulers, a third priest of Amun(-Ra),

21. Barwick 2011, 111.

22. Jansen-Winkel has argued also for reversal of the established order of High Priest of Amun during this period, placing Piankh before Herihor. For more information, see Jansen-Winkel 1992, 22-37; 2006, 225-30. Cf. Taylor 1998, 1143-55; Egberts 1997, 23-25; Egberts 1998, 96-97, 104; Haring 2000, 146-48.

23. Barwick 2011, 11-49; Dodson 2012, 22.

24. Dodson 2012, 12-14.

25 For more discussion, see Barwick 2011, 133-49.

26. Barwick 2011, 133-41.

27. Dodson 2012, 23.

who bore the name Nesubanebdjed (*Ny-sw-b3-nb-dd*), which means “He who belongs to the Ram-Lord of *Djedet/Mendes*” (c. 1078-1053 BC), seemingly married into the royal family, succeeding Ramesses XI as ruler of northern Egypt at the new capital of Tanis. According to Redford, Nesubanebdjed almost certainly was from Mendes.²⁸

The possible adoption of symbolic content ordinarily associated with Banebdjed by Amun-Ra inside late Ramesside period royal tombs seemingly indicates the elevation in status of this primarily local deity to the national level. Banebdjed’s probable rise in prominence can be witnessed also in his number of representations found inside the tombs of princes and queens of the Twentieth Dynasty. In the tomb of Queen Iset-Ta-Hemdjeret (QV 51), for example, the Great Royal Wife of Ramesses III (c. 1184-1153 BC) is depicted offering braziers to the Mendesian ram god, as well as papyrus stems and sistra to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and Ptah-Sokar, respectively, in nearby scenes (fig. 2).²⁹ Furthermore, Banebdjed is referred to indirectly as a form of Ptah-Tatenen in the New Kingdom *Book of the Day*, as previously mentioned, where both deities were collectively described as having “four faces (on) one neck” in a part of the text that occurs only on the ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses VI (KV 6; c. 1143-1146 BC), who also was the son of Queen Iset Ta-Hemdjeret and Ramesses III.³⁰

Inside the late Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Mentuherkhepshef (III) (KV 19; c. 1100 BC), the ram god Banebdjed (fig. 3) is depicted also with symbolic content similar to the representation of Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams’ heads, who is featured as the subject of the pendant scene in the tomb of his father, Ramesses IX (KV 6; c. 1126-1108

28. Redford 2010, 75-78, 100.

29. PM 1/2, 756.

30. PM 1/2, 512-13.

BC) (fig 4-4a-b). The results shown in Table 5.1 highlight the many similarities between these two images, which likewise are composed of ram deities depicted as mummiform, in profile with their feet bound together, standing on a *maat*-platform and holding an *ankh-djed-was*-scepter with both hands protruding from a mummy shroud. Comparisons of these figures may be drawn with images of Ptah, who was represented similarly from the New Kingdom onward as a mummiform figure, in profile with his feet bound together, holding an *ankh-djed-was*-scepter with both hands and standing on a *maat*-platform (fig. 4).³¹ Also of interest, Banebdjed appears in close connection with the god Tatenen in an oath by Ramesses IV (c. 1153-1147 BC), which occurs on the Great Abydos Stela, declaring that: “I have not sworn by Banebdjed in the House of the gods. I have not pronounced the name of Tatenen, nor plundered his provisions,” (*nn šrkw.i n B3-nb-dd m pr n ntrw nn dm.i rn n T3-tnn nn hb3.i n kw.f*).³² Although the context of this particular passage might seem obscure, it is important to remember that Banebdjed and Ptah-Tatenen appear together in the “Contendings of Horus and Seth” and the “Blessings of Ptah,” both Ramesside Period texts, as previously mentioned. In view of the fact that both deities are chthonic in nature, Banebdjed’s association with Ptah(-Tatenen) therefore seems only natural.

The choice not to represent Banebdjed with four rams’ heads in any of the aforementioned tombs seems peculiar given that Banebdjed’s doctrine of “four faces on one neck” is well established by the Twentieth Dynasty. It stands to reason that the priesthood of Amun may have imposed their will on the workmen of the royal necropolis. The theology of Banebdjed as the avatar of multiple divinities aligns well with the

31. See Sandman-Holmberg 1947, 12-17.

32 KRI VI, 23, lines 12-13.

doctrine of Amun(-Ra) as a transcendent deity whose *ba*-soul manifested in many different forms. It is noteworthy that the priesthood of Amun may have played a prominent role in matters of the royal necropolis in view of the diminishing effectiveness of the royal administration during the Twentieth Dynasty.³³ Perhaps the High Priest of Amun was responsible for this decision himself, prohibiting workmen from representing Banebdjed with four rams' heads and reserving this iconographic form solely for Amun(-Ra) as decorum in the context of late Twentieth Dynasty royal burials.³⁴ Soon thereafter work at the royal necropoleis in the Valleys of the Kings and Queens may have been halted indefinitely. The ineffectiveness of the central government in the late Twentieth Dynasty, particularly during the "War of the High Priest," in the opinion of Barwik, may have resulted in the cessation of work.³⁵

The doctrine of Banebdjed as the *ba*-soul of one, two, or, more frequently, four different divinities sometimes overshadows the identities of the gods and goddesses who form his hypostasis. Nonetheless, Ra and Osiris are mentioned frequently, as established in spell 335 of the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts*,³⁶ spell 17 of the New Kingdom *Book of the Dead*,³⁷ inscriptions preserved on the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty naoi at Mendes,³⁸ and many other textual sources written throughout Egypt's ancient history. In this regard, it is noteworthy that the form in which the sun god Ra was depicted during his nightly voyage

33. Barwik notes that there is little recorded in ancient texts about the institution of southern vizier during the late Twentieth Dynasty. For more information, see Barwik 2011, 10. See also Häggman 2002, 231ff.

34. There is precedence for workmen of Deir el-Medina to consult the High Priest of Amun on important matters, rather than the vizier during the Twentieth Dynasty. For the role of High Priest of Amun in necropolis matters in the Twentieth Dynasty, see Valbelle 1985, 142f; McDowell 1990, 10; Janssen 1997, 1f; Demarée 2001, 5f; Häggman 2002, 185ff.

35. Barwik 2011, 154-55.

36. CT IV spell 335 (§276-81); Faulkner 1978, 1: 264.

37. BD 17 §21, in Grapow 1915-17, 49.53-54; Allen 1974, 17.14; Quirke 2013, 59. See also CT IV Spell 335 (§276-282); Faulkner 1978, 1: 264.

38. Soghor 1967, 16-32.

through the *Duat* while *en route* to the god of the underworld Osiris is that of a ram-headed deity with horizontal horns modeled after the breed of sheep formerly identified as the *Ovis longipes paleo-aegyptiacus*. Naturally, *ba*-theology, which is articulated in representations of Amun-Ra-Horakhty as a four-headed ram deity inside the late Twentieth Dynasty tombs of Ramesses IX (KV 6; c. 1126-1108 BC), Ramesses X (KV 18; c. 1108-1099 BC), and Ramesses XI (KV 4; c. 1099-1069 BC), expresses similar themes conveyed in the various New Kingdom funerary texts, including the *Amduat* and the *Litany of Ra*, which is the union of Ra's *ba*-soul with his body, or rather the corpse of Osiris.

Four rams' heads as an iconographic form during the late New Kingdom was applied to both solar and netherworld gods. As a companion scene to the *Litany of Ra* frontispiece featured inside KV 6, the tomb of Ramesses IX, the representation of Amun-Ra-Horakhty with four rams' heads perhaps becomes the netherworldly, or imperceptible, counterpart to the daily form of the sun god Ra-Horakhty, appearing directly across Corridor B in a similar offering scene, on the tomb's northern wall (symbolic south), as previously mentioned (see fig. 5-3). Clearly, meaning is articulated by the juxtaposition of these similar but opposite scenes which each feature the king making offerings to different forms of the sun god. Much like the paired concepts of chaos (*isft*) and order (*m3't*) or the Black Land (*kmt*) and the Red Land (*dšrt*), day cannot exist without night. Simply put, there can be no light without darkness, order without the possibility of chaos, or life without death. It follows that four rams' heads were a logical choice to represent the subject of the pendant scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6), given that the totality of symbolic content used to represent this deity was influenced by the separate

theologies and iconography of all three Ramesside period state gods, Amun(-Ra), Ra(-Horakhty), and Ptah(-Tatenen). Therefore, multiple rams' heads are an iconographic form in which contending forces could be united.

The four-headed ram, as a motif, also shows us that Egyptians of the late New Kingdom in the Thebaid perceived many similarities between their different ram gods, Banebdjed and Amun(-Ra), in particular. This rationalization is explained at length throughout this study of late New Kingdom imagery of a tetracephalic ram deity, which are preserved inside the Twentieth Dynasty tombs of Ramesses IX (KV 6; c. 1126-1108 BC), Ramesses X (KV 18; c. 1108-1099 BC), and Ramesses XI (KV 4; c. 1111-1078 BC). Four rams' heads, functioning as a composite motif, sometimes give visual form to *ba*-theology, as a type of wordplay on the ancient Egyptian pronunciation of the hieroglyphic word *ba* (*b3*), which indicates both "soul" and "ram."³⁹ Ultimately, the image of the god Amun-Ra-Horakhty inside the tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6) is the earliest known representation of a tetracephalic ram deity in ancient Egyptian art. It is not without significance that a form of Amun is the subject of the pendant scene featured inside each of the aforementioned tombs. As already mentioned, new theological content had been created for the sun god Ra during the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (c. 1479-1458 BC), which was adopted by Amun-Ra, a composite deity who encompassed the individual traditions of both Ra and Amun. From this period, the doctrine of Amun, or, rather, Theban theology, incorporates the various New Kingdom funerary texts, for example, the *Amduat* and the *Litany of Ra*, which first appear inside

39 Wb. I, 412-15.

KV 34, the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Thutmose III (c. 1479-1425 BC).⁴⁰ Increasingly after the brief Amarna Period (c. 1352-1336 BC), Amun(-Ra) was recognized as a panentheistic deity whose *ba*-soul manifested in many different forms, similar to his northern counterpart Ra in Heliopolis. Subsequently, Banebdjed and Amun(-Ra), both identified with male virility, fertility, divine kingship, oracles, regeneration, and rebirth, were represented occasionally by the Ramesside period with four rams' heads, constituting different manifestations of an all-encompassing demiurge *par excellence*.

40. Hornung 1982a, 191. The incorporation of different theologies is thus a rationalization of the syncretism of these two gods, Amun and Ra. Assmann writes that this process was "additive," positing that Theban theology was accomplished primarily through juxtaposition, for more information, see Assmann 2001, 189-244.

Table 7.1: KV 6 and KV 19 ram gods in comparison		
Attribute	Banebdjed (KV 19; Mentuherkhepshef)	Amun-Ra-Horakhty (KV 6; Ramesses IX)
Perspective		
Profile	✓	✓
Pose		
Standing	✓	✓
Orientation		
Right	✓	✓
Head		
Ram	✓	✓
One	✓	
Four		✓
Horns		
Horizontal	✓	✓
Curved		✓
Body		
Zoanthropomorphic	✓	✓
Mummiform	✓	✓
Hair		
Tripartite wig	✓	✓
Headdress		
<i>atef</i> -crown with <i>uraei</i>	✓	✓
Costume		
tassel (x2)	✓	✓
Attribute		
<i>w3s</i> -scepter	✓	✓
<i>dd</i> -pillar	✓	✓
<i>nh</i>	✓	✓
<i>hk3</i> -scepter		✓
flail		✓
Jewelry		
Collar	✓	✓
Platform		
<i>m3t</i>	✓	✓

Fig. 7-1. HPA Herihor Presenting a Broad Collar to Khonsu (left) and Ramesses XI before Amun-Ra-Kamutef and Amunet (right). Temple of Khonsu. First Hypostyle Hall, North Wall, Western Half, Middle Register. New Kingdom; Dynasty Twenty. After Epigraphic Survey 1981, OIP 103, pl. 188.

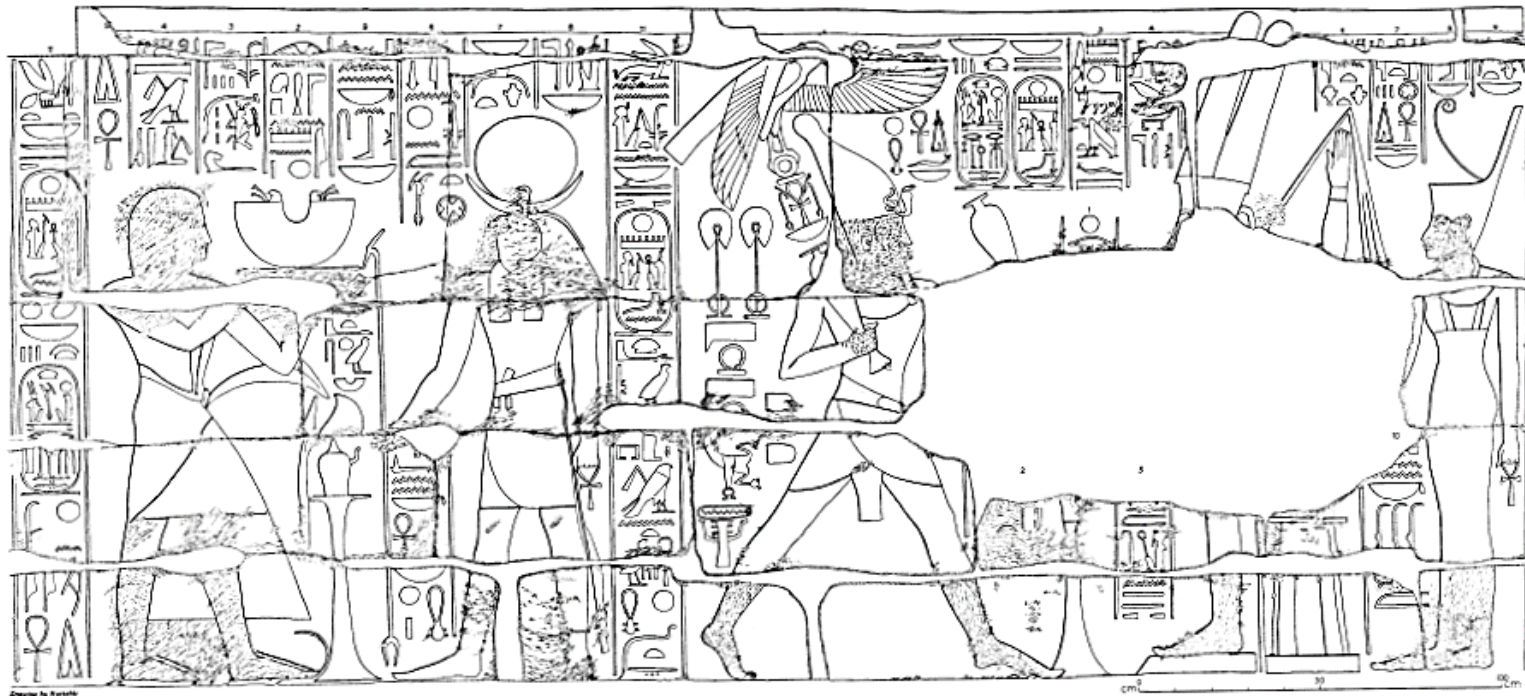


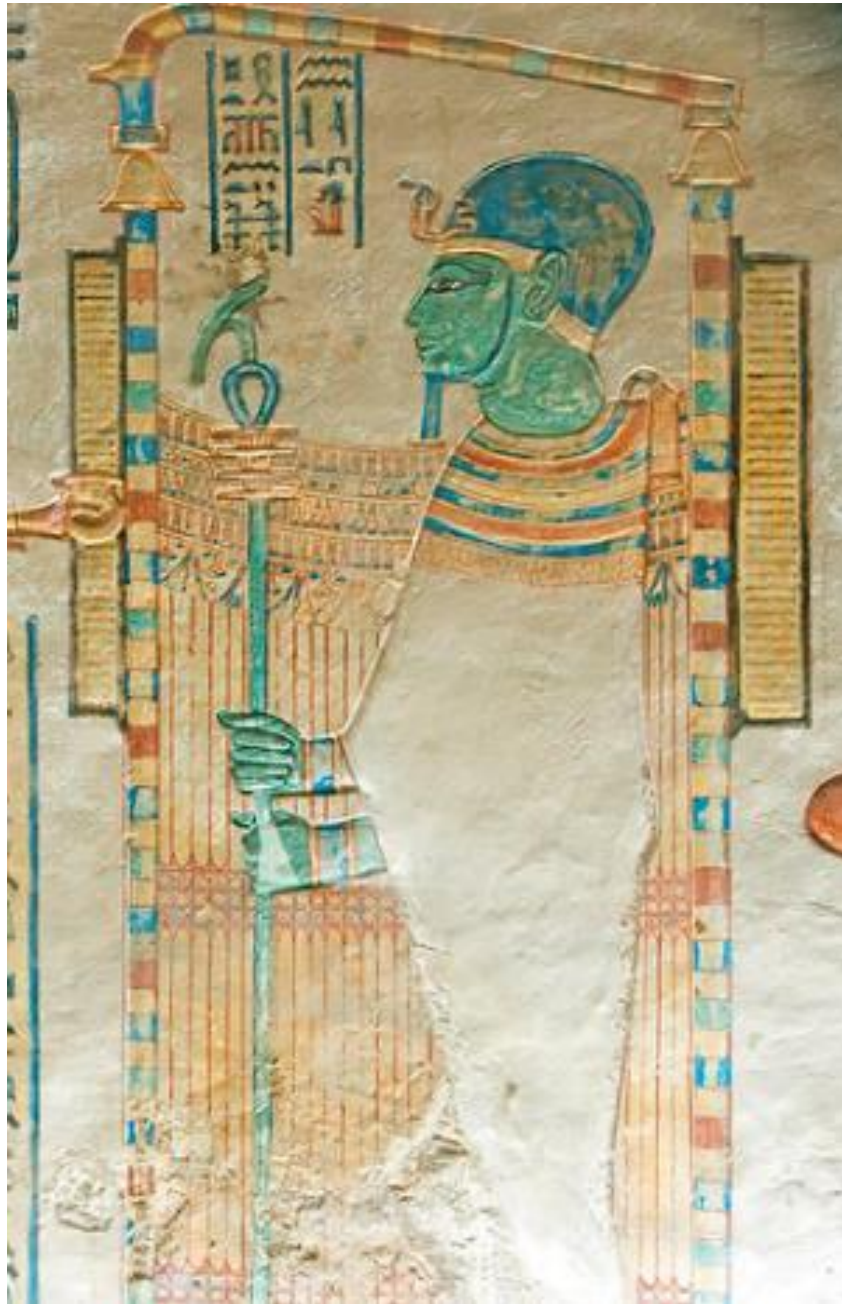
Fig. 7-2. Wall Scene showing Queen Iset Ta-Hemdjeret, GRW of Ramesses III (c. 1184-1153 BC), shaking sistra before the god Ptah-Sokar. QV 51, Valley of the Queens, Egypt. New Kingdom; Dynasty Twenty. After Lepsius 1904, Abth. III, B1 244, a.



Figure 7-3. Prince Ramesses-Mentuherkhepshef libating with a ram-headed *ḥni*-vessel before Banebdjed. Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses-Mentuherkhepshef (KV 19). Valley of the Kings, Egypt. New Kingdom; Dynasty Twenty. Photo by Kairoinfo4u.



Figure 7-4. Ptah. Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Amenherkhepshef (QV 55). Valley of the Queens, Egypt. New Kingdom; Dynasty Twenty. Photo by Kairoinfo4u.



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