God Heryshef
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Abstract
This paper deals with one of the celestial gods in ancient Egyptian religion, god Heryshef, who was the main deity at Ahnsia Al madina. He was god for fertility, and he was a creator god. He was worshipped during the Greco roman period in the form of god Hasrsaphes and they identified him with Hercles (Wilkinson, 2003: 193). It is mentioned at Palermo stone that he was worshipped from the 1st dynasty, but the oldest temple dedicated to this god, dating to Middle Kingdom, and it was enlarged by Ramses II. Heryshef associated with Wsir and Re, and he was known as the bs of these deities (George, 2005:68). He appeared in the form of a ram with horizontal horns or in a human form with ram head. He is characterized by many qualities and titles. The paper aims at studying this god showing how he was important in the ancient Egyptian religion by studying his titles, qualities, forms, and his relations to other deities.

Introduction
The ram was considered one of the sacred animals in ancient Egyptian religion. It was worshipped in many places. The rams were popular in ancient Egypt. The ancient Egyptians worshipped the rams as they admired with their virility which symbolized the fertility and the power. They were associated with many Egyptian deities who were worshipped in different names like khnun, Amon, Hery shef, and Banebdjedet of Mendes. The rams which appeared in ancient Egypt were of two species ovis platyura aegyptiaca which have forward bending horns and thick fleece which came from western Asia. The god who was represented in this species was god Amun. And longipes palaeoaegyptiaca lived in the Nile valley. They have Long horizontallay spiraling horns. The gods who were represented in this species were khnun, Hery shef, and Banebdjedet of Mendes (Arnold, 1995:56).

The cult center of Heryshef was at Ihnasia (hwt nn nsw) which means the residence of the royal child (MONTET, 1961:186). It was known in Arabic as Ihnasia, Ihnase, Ihnase El Madina, and umm El Keman. And in the Greco roman period it is known as Hierakeleopolis (city of Herkles). It was the capital of 20th name of upper Egypt. It was the political capital during 9th and 10th dynasties (Naville, 1894:1).

Ihnasia occupied a great position in the ancient Egyptian religion as god Re appeared for the 1st time there when the sky and the earth were created, and he separated them there.
It occupied a great religious position as god Osiris was crowned there and he was followed by his son Horus. In the legend of destruction of mankind goddess Sekhmet got out from Ihsasia and started her journey to avenge from the mankind whom mocked Re. This place also to where god Seth went after his defeat by Horus (Budge, 1904:58-59).

The Name
His name appeared in many forms through the different periods Moktar, 1983: 139-145; Leitz, 2002:183; بهى الدين, 2002: 68.

During Old kingdom his name was engraved in the following forms:

During Middle kingdom his name was engraved in the following forms:

During New kingdom his name was engraved in the following forms:

During Late period his name was engraved in the following forms:

During Greco – Roman period his name was engraved in the following forms:

It is noticed from the previous forms in which the name of Heryshef were written that they ended with one of the following determinatives:
It is noticed also that different forms appeared during the New kingdom more than the other periods.

The name of Heryshef appeared at Palermo stone as a complete ram referring to this god (Weill, 1936: Fig. b).

![Fig.1. Representation of name of Heryshef at Palermo stone](image)

After R. Weill, "bélier du Fayoum et 21 è nome de la Haute Egypte", *BIFAO* 36, 1936, Fig. b.

In other monuments the name of the god was written in many variants to refer that his name means "who is upon his lake", ʰʳ ˢʳ.ʳ.f, while in other cases the name was written in variants aim to change the meaning to the one with magnificent face ʰʳ ˢʳ.yellow, and once the name was written in the book of the dead as ʰʳʸ ˢʳ.yellow (the one who is upon his sand) identifying him with god Wsir who was killed by Set and buried under sands (Naville, 1894:7).

**Heryshef at the texts**

*Texts from monuments dating to Old Kingdom*

**Left jamb of false door from tomb of Hesi**

*smr wʼti hri hbt imḥw hri š.f hrr wsir nb ḏdw*

sole companion, lector priest, justified in the presence of Heryshef, and wsir, lord of Busiris (El Khoury and Kanawaty, 1988:21).

**Texts from monuments dating to 1st intermediate period:**

**Story of eloquent peasant**

*Prt m sbs ḥwt nṯr nt hri-š.f* "Gets out from the gate of the temple of Herysh ef*

And in the 4th complaint he says" ʰʳṣ tw hri š.f il.n.k m pr.f "May god Heryshef, whom you gets out from his temple, bless you" (*Parkinson, 2012: 46-47.*).
Texts from monuments dating to Middle Kingdom

CT V, 257, spell 420
m33.i ntr nb ntrw hr š3.f nb nn- nsw k3 ṣwṭ nfr ṣwṭ k3 nk ḫr nfrwt nb ḏsrw w3ḏ nmwt b3 mnḥ imy Nn- nsw, ṣwṭ spd m wpt ṣf ẓfr ṛ "May I see the god, lord of deities, Heryshef, lord of Ahnasia, majestic with his jewellery, with beautiful plumes, the bull who copulate the young cows, lord of blood, with fresh slaughter – houses, the strong soul who is in Ihnasia, who wears plumes of Sopdt and Atef crown of Re" (FAULKNER, 1977: 68)

Texts from monuments dating to New Kingdom:

Cairo CG 563, granite statue of mayor of Ahnasia, Hotep, 18th dynasty (Borchardt, 1925:113)

ḥtp di nsw <n> ḫry ṣ.f nsw t3wy ḫk3 ḫdbwy ntrw imyw Nn- nsw "An Offeriing which the king gives to Heryshef, king of two lands, ruler of two banks and the gods who are in Ihnasia"

nd ḫr <n>. k nb ḫ3wt ṭs wpwt ṣhm imy ḫḏt ḥḥn ṭnn ḫwḥ ṣbw ṭf ḫbst m t ḫmn ḫd wtt wnn nsw pt iw n sb3w di ḫ3ṭy ḫmṣ ṣm"Homage to you, lord of fronts, with fixed horns, the power becomes vigorous at Mendes, strong of Phallus, curved his two horns, with beautiful beard, like Khoum who built and procreated the being, king of the sky, pillar of stars, sharp of fronts, venerated of striding"

Fragment from tomb of seti I, 19th dynasty

The inscription over head of Heryshef ḫr ṣfy nsw t3wy (nb) nn - nsw "Heryshef king of two lands, lord of Ihnasia" (Petrie, 1924: PL. LXX).

Text inscribed at the gate leading to chamber of the high priest Hery, reign of Ramses ix

ḥtp di nsw <n> ḫr ṣfy nsw t3wy nb ṣbw ṭs wpwt ḫk3 t3wy nb nn-nsw nb pt k3 nsw nb ḫsw ṭf ms sw mr ḫmn ḫc m w3ṣ "An offering which the king gives to Heryshef, king of two lands, lord of two horns, with fixed horns, ruler of two lands, lord of Ihnasia, lord of the sky, lord of crowns, Ramses, beloved of Amon, who shines in Thebes like Re every day (Moktar, 1983: 166).

Texts from monuments dating to late period

JE94743, base of granite block, 22nd dynasty (Jansen-Winkeln, 2006: 303)

wṛt ḫnṛt n ḫrǐ š.f t3 nt ḫmn ms ṛ ḫrw "The great of the harem of Heryshef, Tanet Amon1, the justified "Behind her daughter ḥm (t) b3ḥ n ḫrǐ š.f niswt t3wy t3 šrīt pth "in the presence of Heryshef, king of two lands, Tashery Ptah"

JE 94748, lintel of door, 22nd dynasty (Jansen-Winkeln, 2006: 303)

ḥm nṯr ṭpy n ḫrǐ š.f niswt t3wy wṣrkn ms ṛ ḫrw "High priest of Heryshef, king of two lands, Qserkon, the justified"
Stela at fragment of Ihnasia, 22\textsuperscript{nd} dynasty (Daressy, 1921: 140)
King $b^3 \text{ di } B^3\text{stt}$ is representing making offering in front of Heryshef who is represented wearing the Atef crown and the scene is accompanied with this text
\textit{qd mdw in hr $\text{ sf nsw wsy hr shty}$" words spoken by \textit{heryshef}, king of two lands". hr skhty}

Statue of Somtefefnakht, 30\textsuperscript{th} dynasty (Daressy, 1921: 141)
$hry \text{ sf nsw tswy wsir} "$king of two lands, wsir" and another part of the text says $hry \text{ sf ntr} "$Heryshef the great god the foremost of the west."

Turin 22053 black granite, base of altar, at the 2\textsuperscript{nd} register, 26\textsuperscript{th} dynasty
$hry \text{ sf niswt tswy m Nn nsw} "$Hershef, king of two lands in Ihnasia" (Habachi, 1977:66)

CG 70013, Naos of Nectanebo II for goddess Bastet, 30\textsuperscript{th} dynasty
$hry \text{ sf niswt tswy } hry \text{ ib bstt} "$Heryshef king of two lands, residing Bubastis" (Rosenow, 2004: 265)

Texts from monuments dating to Greco - Roman period

Heryshef was mentioned in many places in temples of Dendera and Edfu like the following texts:

Dendera, southern wall of chamber B
$hry \text{ sf ntr } c^3 \text{ sf niswt tswy m Nrt } "$Hershef, lord of Ihnasia, great god, he seizes his crown in Naret" (Chassinat, 1987: 197)

Edfu, exterior face of enclosure wall
$hry \text{ sf ntr } c^3 \text{ sf } hry \text{ ib bstt} "$Heryshef king of two lands, the great god, who is worshipped in Edfu" (Chassinat, 1932: 109)

Titles

From the previous studied texts, it is concluded that god Heryshef carried many titles like:

$ntr \text{ c$^3$ (great god), ntr nb ntrw (the god, lord of gods), nb nn- nsw (lord of Ahnasia), kA aAwt (majestic of jewels), nb c$^b$w$^y$ (lord of two horns), nfr $\text{w}^t$ (of the beautiful plumes), k$^s$ nk $h^r nfrt$ (the bull who copulate the young cows), nb $d$srw (lord of blood), Swt spd (who wears plumes of Sopdt), m w$^p$ f st$^f$ ra (with Atef crown of Re), $h^k$s id$^b$wy ntrw $\text{imyw Nn- nsw}$ (ruler of two banks and gods who are in Ihnasia ), nb $h^3w$ $^t$ (lord of fronts ), $ts$ wp$^w$ (with fixed horns), $shm$ $\text{r}$n$^p$ $\text{imy}$ $\text{qdt}$ (the power becomes vigorous at Mendes), $\text{nht}$ hnn (strong of Phallus), $nwh$ c$^b$w$^y$ (curved his two horns), nfr $\text{h}$bst m $\text{h}$nn $\text{k}$ $\text{d}$ $\text{w}$ (the one with beautiful beard, like Khnum who built and procreated the being), $hr$ $\text{sf nswt tswy hr ib bstt}$ "$Heryshef king of two lands, residing Bubastis", nsw pt (king of the sky), nb pt(lord of the sky), $\text{lon}$ sb$^s$w (pillar of stars), di $\text{hs}$t$^y$ (sharp of fronts), nb h$^r$w (lord of crowns) , $\text{ssp}$ f h$^c$ f m N$^r$rt (he seizes his crown in Naret), $hry$ $\text{ib}$ Bhd$^t$ (who is worshipped in Edfu ).
From the previous titles it is concluded that he worshipped at the following centers:

**Edfu:** *hry ib Bhd* (who is worshipped at Edfu)

**Ihnasia:** *Nb nn- nsw* (the lord of Ihnasia)

**Mendes:** *shmr nnpi imy ddt* (the power becomes vigorous at Mendes)

**Naret:** *šsp.f h².f m Nart* (he seizes his crown in Naret)

**Bubastis:** *hr š.f nswt tzwy hr ib bshy* (Heryshef king of two lands, residing Bubastis)

**Iconography and scenes of Heryshef**

![Fig.2. Heryshef is represented in a human form with a ram head with two horizontal horns holding wšs and ṣnh](image1)

After L.Borchardt, *Die Pyramiden: Ihre Entstehung und Entwicklung. Als Erläuterung zum Modell des Grabdenkmals des Königs Sahu-re bei Abusir*, Berlin, 1911, pl. 28

![Fig.3. scene appeared Heryshef standing at the back of god inn, he appears in the human form with ram head surmounted with atef crown and two short horizontal horns and he holds the wšs and ṣnh sign, a stela of Pahen neter, JE 47001](image2)

After W. Fl. PETRIE, *SEDMENT II*, (London, 1924), PL. LXVIII
Fig. 4. Scene represents king Ramses II offering incense in front of god Heryshef in a human form with a ram head, wearing the atef crown with the two horizontal horns of the ram and wide collar and knee short kilt, holding in one hand the w3s scepter and in the other hand the ‘nh, Manchester museum, Inv.No 1780

After Y. Yasouka, Some Remarks on the Palm Columns from the Pronaos of Herakleopolis Magna, *JEA* 97, 2011, fig. 12

Fig. 5. Fragment from relief representing Heryshef with ram head surmounted with atef crown with two serpents with sun disc upon their heads over his horizontal horns, tomb of Seti I.

After W. Fl. Petrie, *Sedment II*, 1924, PL. LXX

Fig. 6. Scene represents Heryshef as a man with ram head and two horns surmounted white crown, Stela JE 42795, 19th dynasty
After M.G.E. Moktar, *Ihnâsy aEl Medina*, fig. 31

**Fig.7.** Heryshef on a scribe's palette, he appears in the human form with ram head wearing atef crown, holding ḫnḫ and ḫs scepter, 18th dynasty

W. Fli. petrie, kahun, Gurob and Hawara, London, 1890, pl. xxiv,5

**Fig.8.** Heryshef is represented here as a complete ram on a statue of Shepensopedet, JE 42228, 22nd dynasty

After M.G.E. Moktar, *Ihnâsy aEl Medina*, pl. xiii

**Fig.9.** Heryshef appears among other deities in a mummiform, Edfu temple

After M. Rochemonteix, *L e Temple d’Edfu I, MMAF* 10, (le caire, 1982), pl.xxiii
Fig.10. Heryshef is represented here in the companion of Horus of Behedet, Hathor and Nekhbet. He wears the atef crown with two serpents over his horizontal horns, holding the w3s scepter and the ‘nh sign. Dendera temple
After É.G. CHASSINAT, Le temple de Dendara VI (Le Caire, 1965), pl. DXVII

Fig.11. God Heryshef is represented in a group of nine sitting deities. He wears the Atef crown with the two crowned serpents, Dendera temple
After É.G. CHASSINAT, Le temple de Dendara vii (Le Caire, 1972), pl. DCLXII

Fig.12. Heryshef appears sitting together with goddess Hathor, he appears as a Ram headed god with atef crown with the two serpents on his horizontal horns, holding w3s and ‘nh, Dendera Temple
After É.G. CHASSINAT, Le temple de Dendera IX (Le Caire, 1987), pl. DCCCCLXVII
Fig. 13. Scene represents god Heryshef in a rare form in a shape of ram headed serpent wearing double crown on pedestal. After N. De G. Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargāh oasis*, New York, 1953, pl. III.

Fig. 14. God Heryshef appears on an ivory magical wand between Bes and Thot. His head only was depicted. He appears with his usual appearance with the Atef crown with the two horizontal horns. After G. Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1994, fig. 19.

Fig. 15. Scene represents Heryshef at the second row to the right side with his name *ḥr. š.f* as a ram headed god wearing the Atef crown, magical stela MB 36250, Greco-Roman period. After G. Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, fig. 7.
From the previous scenes it is noticed that the usual representation for Heryshef was a human headed ram in a standing attitude wearing the atef crown with two horizontal horns and in some cases, it is supported with two serpents upon the horns, crowned with the sun disc. He appeared in other scenes as a complete ram, or in a human form wearing the white crown or with only the horns without any crowns, he was also represented in the mummified form, and lastly he appeared in a rare form with the body of serpent together with the ram head crowned with double crown. He appeared in all scenes in standing attitude except the scenes of Dendera temple were in a sitting attitude.

**His quality**

It is concluded from the titles and the studied texts that this god is characterized with the following qualities:

**Strong god**: Heryshef was one of the ram headed gods who was known with his strength and his great ability as his name at the Ramesside period became $hr \, ^{ṣ}f\,yt$ (the magnificent face). In addition to the titles of Heryshef which refer to his fertility like $s\,hm\, \,r\,n\,pt\,\,i\,m\,y\,\,d\,dt$ (the power becomes vigorous at Mendes)

**Celestial god**: He was an universal god as he worshipped in Ihnasia where the sky and the earth were created, and god Re separated them there. In addition to the titles of Heryshef which refer that he was a celestial god like $n\,sw\, pt$ (king of the sky), $i\,w\,n\, \, s\,b\,\, 3\,w$ (pillar of stars), $n\,b\, pt$ (lord of the sky).

**God of fertility**: Heryshef was like the other ram headed gods who were famous with their fertility as the main aspect of the ram was the fertility. In addition to the titles of Heryshef which refer to his fertility like $n\,h\,t\, \, h\,n\,n$ (strong of Phallus) and $k\,n\, k\,r\, n\,f\,r\,w\,t$ (the bull who copulate the young cows)

**God of Creation**: He associated with the creator deities like Khnum and he carried titles referring to his ability for creation like $n\,f\,r\, h\,b\,s\,t\, m\,i\, h\,n\,n\, k\,d\, w\,t\, w\,n\,n$ (the one with beautiful beard, like Khnum who built and procreated the being)

**God of Therapeutic and Preventive Capacity**: He appeared during the Greco roman periods at the magical stela and magical wands among other deities to make a protection against the dangerous animals who attack any one.

**His relation to other deities**:

From the studied texts and scenes. It is concluded that he was associated and identified with many deities like the following deities

**Wsir**: He was known as the $b\,3\,t\,$ of god wsir. He inherited the throne of Re at Ihnasia (the center of the worship of Heryshef, and he appeared in the form of this god with his ram head, so Heryshef was identified with god wsir and it is obvious from the text recorded at the statue of Somtetefnakht applying Heryshef as $n\,s\,w\, t\,3\,w\,y\, \, w\,s\,r\,$ "king of two lands, wsir " and another part of the text $s\,y\,s\, \, h\,r\, y\, \, s\,f\, n\,t\, r\, \, ^{ṣ}\,h\,n\,t\,y\, i\,m\,n\,y$" Heryshef the great god, the foremost of the west, which was the famous title of god wsir.

**Banebdjedet**: ram of Mendes he was one of the famous deities who appeared in the form of ram. He appeared in many scenes together with Heryshef. He was
identified with Banebdjedet and it is clear from his title "nb ḫswt ṭs wpwt šhm rnpi imy qdt" lord of fronts, with fixed horns, the power becomes vigorous at Mendes.

Re: He associated with Re as he appeared in many scenes wearing the atef crown of God Re and it is obvious from CT V, 257, spell 420 mšš.i ntr nb ntrw ḫr š zf nb nn-nsw ḫs ṭsw nfr šwt ḫs nk ḫr nfrwt nb ḏsrw ḫs ṭsw nmr bź mnḥ imy Nn- nsw, šwt ṭsw m wpt ṭf ṭsf r'. "May I see the god, lord of deities, Hery shef, lord of Ahnasia, majestic with his jewellery, with beautiful plumes, the bull who copulate the young cows, lord of blood, with fresh slaughter – houses, the strong soul who is in Ihnasia, who wears plumes of Sopdt and Atef crown of Re". He was known also as the bź of god Re

Horakhety: Heryshef was also identified with god Horakhety and it is clear from the following text: ḏd mḏw in ḫr šf nsw ḥ ṭswy ḫr ṭḥty "words spoken by Heryshef, king of two lands ḫr Akhty

Khnum: He was one of the famous ram headed gods. He was a creator god who was the main god of the 1st name of Upper Egypt. He was identified with Khnum and he was considered as a creator god like him and it is obvious from his title nfr ḫbst mi ḫmn ḫd wtt ṭwnn (the one with beautiful beard, like Khnum who built and procreated the being)

Sopdt: he was assimilated with Sopdt as he carries the title of Swt ṭp (who wears plumes of Sopdt)

Conclusion and results
From this study it is concluded that:

- The name of Heryshef appeared in many forms through the different periods, and It is noticed that different forms appeared during the New kingdom more than the other periods, and in several forms, it ended with one of the following determinatives

- Heryshef carried many titles like ntr ḫs (great god), ntr nb ntrw (the god, lord of gods), nb nn-nsw (lord of Ahnasia), ḫs ṭsw (majestic of jewels), nb ṭbw (lord of two horns), nfr šwt (of the beautiful plumes), ḫs nk ḫr nfrwt (the bull who copulate the young cows), nb ḏsrw (lord of blood), Swt ṭp (who wears plumes of Sopdt), m ṭwpt ṭf ṭsf r' (with Atef crown of Re), ḫk ṭbw (ruler of two banks and gods who are in Ihnasia), nb ḫswt (lord of fronts), ṭs ṭwpt (with fixed horns), šhm rnpi imy qdt (the power becomes vigorous at Mendes), nḥt ḫmn (strong of Phallus), nwh ṭbw (curved his two horns), nfr ḫbst mi ḫmn ḫd wtt ṭwnn (the one with beautiful beard, like Khnum who built and procreated the being), ḫr š zf nswt ṭswy ḫr ib ḫs ṭt ḫr "Heryshef, king of two lands, residing Bubastis", nsw ṭp (king of the sky), nb ṭp (lord of the sky), ḫn ṭbzw (pillar of stars), ḫn ṭḥty (sharp of fronts), nb ṭcw (lord of crowns), ṭṣp ṭcw ṭm ḫrt (he seizes his crown in Naret), ḫry ib Bhdt (who is worshipped in Edfu).
Heryshef worshipped at many centers like Ihnasia, Edfu, Mendes, Naret, and Bubastis.

The usual representation for Heryshef was a human headed ram in a standing attitude wearing the atef crown with two horizontal horns and in some cases, it is supported with two serpents upon the horns, crowned with the sun disc. He appeared in other scenes as a complete ram, or in a human form wearing the white crown or with only the horns without any crowns, he was also represented in the mummified form, and he appeared in a rare form with the body of a serpent together with the ram head crowned with double crown.

Heryshef is characterised with many qualities as he was known with his strength, his great ability, and his fertility, he was an universal god as he worshipped in Ihnasia where the sky and the earth were created, and god Re separated them there. He was a god of Therapeutic and Preventive Capacity.

Heryshef was associated and identified with many deities like Wsir, Banebdjed, Re, Horakhety, Khnum, and Sopdt.

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المبود حرى شاف
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المملوء

يتناول هذا البحث واحداً من الآلهة السماوية في الديانة المصرية القديمة وهو المعبود حرى شاف، المعبود الرئيسي لمنطقة إهناسيا المدينة، وهو إله للخصوبة وإله خالق، وبعده اليونانيون في صورة الإله إرسافيس، كما تم تجديده مع هرقل، ذكر في حجر البريمو أنه عبد منذ الأسرة الأولى، ولكن أقدم معبد كرس لعبادته يرجع للدولة الوسطى وتم توسعه في عهد رمسيس الثاني، وقد ارتبط حرى شاف بكل من الإله أوزوريس والإله رع، وكان يوصف بروح أو بكلا من أوزوريس ورع، وكان يظهر في شكل الكبش أو شكل أدمي برأس كبش. وتميز المعبود حرى شاف بعده ألقابه وصفاته. لذلك يهدف هذا البحث لدراسة ألقاب وصفاته، وأشكال هذا المعبود وعلاقته بالمعابدات الأخرى ودوره في الديانة المصرية القديمة وذلك من خلال النصوص والمناظر التي ظهر فيها عبر مختلف العصور.

الكلمات المفتاحية
الإله؛ حرى شاف؛ إهناسيا.

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1 Tanet Amon was daughter of Semendes, see Jansen-Winkeln, “Die Libyer in Herakleopolis magna ”,303