

## Harpocrates

**I. Introduction.** *Egyptian god.* H. is a young nude boy with a finger to the lips. This minimal description points to an iconography well known as early as the end of the 4th mill., and is described in the Pyramid Texts (FAULKNER 1969: §§ 663c, 664a) as “the young child, his finger in his mouth.” From its origins this iconographic type is considered a depiction of the newborn sun god (→Solar deities), but later of the young moon god (→Moon [Egypt], →Khonsu) as well. Vice versa, features of these celestial deities were also associated with H. Most elements of the iconography of H. derive from types known prior to his appearance in the Egyptian pantheon (see below) and were adapted to his particular function as son of →Isis and heir of →Osiris. As such, his iconography incorporates types belonging to royal iconography presenting the king (→King [Egypt]) as the child of the gods. The plaited lock of hair at the right side of the head, which occasionally appears on earlier types, becomes an inclusive part of H.’s iconography. This lock is sometimes missing especially on statues, because it was made of a different material from the rest of the sculpture or simply broke off. The hand close to the mouth is always the right one, with the exception of depictions on reliefs where the young god is facing to right. The same holds true for the side lock.

The name “H.” is first mentioned in Egyptian texts at the beginning of the 21st dyn. (c. 1070; cf. MEEKS 1977: 1003). Its earliest association with the iconography of H. dates to the reign of Sheshonq III (835-785) of the 22nd dyn. (1). During the same period the first anthroponyms are documented as well (LEAHY 1992). Accordingly, the catalogue of this article begins with this period, provided that the selected objects are, at least on Egyptian territory, of pure Egyptian style without any external aesthetic influence. It is worth noting that a statuette of H. bearing royal ring names of the late 17th/early 18th dyn. is clearly of Late Period style (DARESSY 1906: 55f; ROEDER 1956: 112 § 159c; Cairo CG 38189 = JE 2080). Moreover, a close examination of the original shows that the inscription is probably a forgery. It should be added that Khonsu-pa-khered, “Khonsu-the-child,” is represented in the same way as H. as early as the end of the 20th dyn. (WENTE 1981: pl. 114). The name of H. appears for the first time in Phoenician and Aramaic in the 5th cent. (DEGEN 1969-70; cf. 4, 108).

Egyptian objects in this corpus sometimes bear the name of the god they represent, which is not necessarily that of H. The reason for this is that the iconography of H. applies to any child god having solar or lunar connotations and is the son of a →mother goddess. That all of them belong to this corpus is proved by the fact that the same specific iconographic type can indifferently be labeled as “H.” or bear another name, which identifies him at a more functional level. The name of H. is a generic one while other names are more specific and usually restricted to one or several specific iconographic types. Depictions from the Levant comprise both Egyptian imports and locally produced items. The latter never identify the god by name, but their iconographic types adhere more or less to the corresponding Egyptian types. Child gods wearing the kilt were excluded from this overview as their iconography, broadly speaking, conforms to that of the nude god. On the other hand, reliefs where H. wears a large cloak over his shoulders but still shows his nudity were taken into account.

The depictions dealt with in the following discussion raise a permanent challenge to the iconographic analysis. Many of the statuettes representing the god alone might have originally been part of a larger group, the nature of which is impossible to determine in most cases. The situation of types like 26 and 27 is typical in this respect. Moreover, when the hand is clenched the fist is frequently pierced through, showing that the hand was originally holding an object. But, here again, its nature remains a guess in most cases. In order to avoid an increased complexity of the typology, some details of H.’s iconography were not taken into account. This concerns the bracelets or the double heart amulet he usually wears on a necklace, which is sometimes omitted. When seated on the knees of Isis lactans H.’s position can vary slightly: he may be sitting on both knees or sometimes only on the right one. In this case his bust is upright, while he is usually leaning back. The typology and catalogue proposed here are destined to remain incomplete. The widespread dispersion of the material in publications and the large amount of unpublished objects in museums all over the world make a complete catalogue an impossibility. Moreover, many pieces are poorly published or only described without any illustration, leaving certain details of the iconography difficult to interpret. As a consequence, what is proposed here is a

mere attempt to put in order a plethoric and diffuse documentation. Lastly, only about half of the objects collected in preparation of this article could be included in the catalogue due to limited space.

## II. Typology

### II.1. Phenotypes

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### A. ANTHROPOMORPHIC

Frequent features of H. are a hair lock at the right side of his head and a uraeus at his forehead. In order to avoid repetition this feature is not mentioned in the typological discussion below.

#### 1. WEARING THE SKULLCAP

The skullcap has been considered as more or less characteristic of H. residing at Mendes in the Delta (YOYOTTE/CHUVIN 1988: 174 n. 36; but cf. § 1.1.2) as some monuments from this site dating to the Ptolemaic Period represent him this way (cf. DE MEULENAERE/MACKAY 1976: nos. 95, 111).

##### 1.1. Skullcap alone

**1.1.1. Striding.** The most frequent gesture of striding H. with the skullcap alone depicts him with a finger to the lips. The oldest association of the name H. with this particular phenotype occurs on a stela from Mendes (1) dating to the reign of Seshonq III (825-773). This very common type is also known as a statuette, e.g., from Memphis (2) or together with the Memphite gods (3). The only possible Levantine example of this type of statuette was purchased on the art market (4). Its base is inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphs on the right side and Phoenician writing on the other three sides, which read: "May H. give life to Amos, son of Eshmunyatón, son of Azarmilik." As the base shows marks of abrasion (DE MEULENAERE 1990: 74 n. 18) one may suppose that some of the hieroglyphs were defaced to leave space for

the Phoenician inscription. This phenotype also appears as an amulet in Egypt (5-6) and at Punic necropoleis (7-8), and is furthermore documented on scarabs (cf. NEWBERRY 1907: no. 37375) from the Levant (9-12) and Western Mediterranean sites (13-14). Striding H. may also simply hold his arms along the body, as on a statue represented in relief on a 26th dyn. naos and named →"Khonsu" (15). Other objects depicting the same phenotype include a fragment of a chalice, probably from Hermopolis (16); a statuette from Memphis (17); and scarabs from Syro-Phoenicia (18) and Sardinia (19). Striding H. also holds various objects, such as the *was* scepter (→Scepter [Egypt]) and *ankh* sign (20) or the *nekhekh* flail as on a stela labeled with "Heqa," the god of magic (21) (for striding H. with the skullcap in the thicket cf. § 8).

**1.1.2. Seated.** H. is often depicted in seated posture with his feet placed on a rectangular base and a finger to his lips. The presence of the rectangular base raises the question of its purpose. When the object exhibits a ring on the back it certainly functioned as amulet (DROSTE ZU HÜLSHOFF 1991: no. 167) and the pedestal had no use. When this ring is missing one can only guess that the god was originally seated on a throne or on the knees of →Isis lactans. The present type is usually named "H." (22) but once also →"Khonsu" (23), proving that the supposed connection of H. wearing the skullcap with Mendes is illusory. A bronze statuette of this type was apparently also found in Spain (24). Statuettes with this kind of pedestal that have marks underneath the thighs such as 25, in which case both arms are held along the thighs, clearly suggest that the young god was originally seated. The same type also exists without a footstool, as on a mummy cartonnage of the 22nd dyn. from Thebes (26), where H. is painted as an amulet on a broad floral collar or on a relief as a statue in a catalogue of sacred images of the temple of Isis at Giza (27).

Seated on a throne with a finger to his lips, H. is depicted in relief on the granite naos of Nectanebo II (360-343) found at Saft el-Henna (28). This type of enthroned H. is also represented by Egyptian amulets (29) and crude glazed amulets from Sardinia (30; cf. also HÖLBL 1986: II pl. 34:2). On scarabs from Carthage, enthroned H. is facing →Sekhmet (31-32) or the king's name written in hieroglyphs (33). In case of 34 H. appears in company with the figurative king.

The popular and widespread theme of H. seated on the knees of Isis lactans occurs in

a variety of object types. It is well attested as Egyptian bronze or stone statuettes (35-40 [→Isis-Selkis]), one of which has even been found in Spain (41), but also as relief (42-43 [→Neith]). Furthermore, in Egypt this type also occurs as an amulet (44), a kind of object also frequently reported from Palestine/Israel (45; cf. also HERRMANN 1994: nos. 19-41, 43; HERRMANN 2002: nos. 1-4, 33; HERRMANN 2006: nos. 2-19), but also from Cyprus (46), Greece (47), and the Western Mediterranean (48-49). Scarabs with this theme are documented from Amrit (50; cf. also the stamp seal impression 51 from Lebanon), Palestine/Israel (52), and the Western Mediterranean (53-54). Last is an ivory plaque from Nimrud with the same motif (55) (for seated H. and Isis lactans in the thicket cf. § 8).

H. with the skullcap is also sometimes seated on the knees of a lion- (56), cow- (57), cat-headed (58) or unidentified goddess (59-60). In 61 and 62, H. sits on the hieroglyphic sign for gold (for seated H. on a lotus flower or in a boat cf. §§ 7.2 and 9). He appears on a relief in the temple of Hibis in the Kharga Oasis (63) seated between the horns of a →cow.

**1.1.3. Standing.** Sculptures depicting a god in a shrine usually have their feet together, a stance of H. known from amulets found in Palestine/Israel (64; HERRMANN 2006: no. 1). Standing H. may also be depicted next to goddesses (65-66) or in 67 on the thighs of kneeling →Isis (for standing H. in the thicket or in a boat cf. §§ 8-9). In 68 H. is standing on enemies.

**1.1.4. Squatting.** The type of statuette such as 69 (missing solar disc on the skullcap?) has a long history going back to the Old Kingdom. Engraved on a scarab (70), squatting H. has the phonetic value *hpr* “become,” proving that the child was considered as the newborn sun (→Sun [Egypt]) as was the case in earlier times. The same phenotype is further documented on scarabs from Acco (71) and the Western Mediterranean (72), but also as an amulet from Megiddo (73; cf. in addition HERRMANN 1994: nos. 4-6 and 74). Furthermore, H. appears in squatting posture being lifted on the hands of two goddess on a relief from Bubastis (75) and is placed on a *heqa* sceptre on a relief from Deir el-Medina (76).

**1.2. Wearing the solar disc on the skullcap.** The solar disc (→Sun [Egypt]) identifies H. as a young sun, a characteristic belonging to the earliest stages of his iconography. This type, named “Heqa” on a stela of year 15 of Sheshonq V from Kom Firin, shows him striding with a finger to

his lips (77). In striding posture he may also clench his right hand before the chest as on 78, probably to hold a now-missing scepter. On 79 seated H. with this particular headgear has his feet on a rectangular base and a finger to his lips. On a scarab from Ibiza (80) →Isis lifts sun-disc-wearing-H. to kiss him (for H. with the solar disc on a lotus flower cf. § 7.1).

**1.3. Wearing the lunar disc on the skullcap.** This type of headgear is usually associated with the moon god →Khonsu. In the inscribed bronze statuette 81 from Athribis, the deity in striding posture is holding a finger to his lips. Likewise, when striding he may clench his right hand before the chest (82). In this case the scepter (→Scepter [Egypt]) and flail (cf. 83) he was holding are missing. Seated with his feet on a rectangular support, H. may hold a finger to his lips (84) or both arms along the thighs as on 85 which bears the inscription “Khonsu-H. the very great, first (born) of →Amun” and probably originating from Thebes (for H. with the lunar disc on a lotus flower cf. § 7.1). Seated H. on the knees of →Hathor on 86 is also possibly wearing the lunar disc (→Moon [Egypt]).

**1.4. Wearing the *hemhem* crown on the skullcap.** In the period under consideration H. with this particular crown (→Crown [Egypt]) is documented in Egypt only in striding posture with a finger to his lips (87), and seated with his feet placed on a rectangular pedestal (88) in the form of an amulet (for H. with the *hemhem* crown cf. also §§ 6 and 8). On a scarab from Cyprus (89) and possibly on one from Spain (90), where the crown is partly broken out so that the type cannot be determined with certainty, H. with the *hemhem* crown on the skullcap is flanked by two protecting uraei. The former shows him in striding posture, the latter seated.

**1.5. Wearing double feathers on the skullcap.** Three representations of this type are known: striding with a finger to his lips and labeled “H.” on statuette 91, possibly from Athribis; standing with feet together and both arms along the thighs as an amulet from Lachish (92); and seated with hands on knees as an amulet from Saqqara (93).

**1.6. Wearing an *atef* crown on the skullcap.** This type in striding pose with a finger to his lips depicts the otherwise unknown god Pa-nehem-nefer “He of perfect rejoicing” (94). The *atef* crown (→Crown [Egypt]) suggests a possible relationship with →Osiris. Striding with both arms along the body and the hands clenched, H. is depicted as a bronze statuette from Bubastis (95). If the

published drawing is correct, this statuette also shows a plaited beard, a curious detail for a child god. This could be explained by the fact that we have here a representation of a new reborn Osiris, matching well with the *atef* crown. Squatting on the ground, this H. with the *atef* crown on the skullcap is pictured on a scarab manufactured in Naukratis (PETRIE 1886: pl. 38:122). Similar scarabs were found in Acco (96) and the Western Mediterranean (for H. wearing the *atef* crown cf. also § 7.4).

**1.7. Others.** The phenotype wearing an *atef* crown (→Crown [Egypt]) over the lunar disc (→Moon [Egypt]) and skullcap is only known in Egypt with striding H. holding a finger to his lips. The crown is usually the one worn by →Osiris lunus. A statuette of this type bearing the name of H. possibly comes from Saqqara (97). A fragment of the basis of a so-called healing statue from Byblos, whose image is now missing (98), belongs to this type of monument, which depicts H. wearing the skullcap topped by a mask of the god →Bes (cf. also 99). On 100 seated H. with a finger to his lips is wearing an atypical crown on the skullcap. In fact, only the circular support of a now-missing crown survives. Its shape suggests that the missing part resembled the flat headgear of the Kushite kings.

## 2. WEARING THE *PSCHENT*

**2.1. STRIDING.** A common type pictures striding H. with a finger to his lips and the *pschent* or double crown (→Crown [Egypt]) as king of the whole of Egypt. It is usually dedicated to H., more precisely to the one of Athribis (101) where many examples were found (KAMEL 1968: pls. 1:443; 4:463, 467; 5:471; 6:475; 7:486, 487). Since one of them was labeled →“Khonsu” (KAMEL 1968: pls. 7:486; 12; cf. also AUCTION 2003: 52f, no. 56), it is possible that other examples named “Khonsu, the child” (e.g., STEINDORFF 1946: no. 450) come from the same site. While bronze statuettes of this type generally come from Egypt (102-107), 108 was possibly found at Carthage (DEGEN 1969-70: 220 n. 8). It bears a Phoenician inscription dedicating the object to H. (cf. 4). In Egypt this type also occurs on a *menat* counterweight (109). This type is depicted on scarabs in Palestine/Israel (110), Carthage (111), and the Western Mediterranean (112-114). The hands of this type may also be held along the body (115), or the right hand is stretched forward (116-117). In some cases H. is holding a flail (118-120).

**2.2. Seated.** A widespread type shows H. in seated posture with a finger to his lips

and his feet placed on a rectangular base (121). Examples from the Ptolemaic Period name this type as H. (VLEESHUIS 1995: no. 66) or Harsiesis (BERMAN 1999: no. 372). Many statuettes of this type were found in Athribis (KAMEL 1968: pls. 2:449; 4:466; 5:469; 6:480; 7:485). In some cases H. may hold his arms along the thighs (122). Enthroned H. with this headgear is depicted on a schist statuette from Saqqara (123) and on a scarab purchased at Byblos (124). On a scarab from Sardinia (125) the god, facing a papyrus stalk, is wearing the *pschent* (→Crown [Egypt]) topped by a lunar disc (→Moon [Egypt]). Sitting on the knees of →Isis, H. is portrayed as a granite relief statue in the catalogue of sacred images on the naos of Saft el-Henna (126), as a bronze statuette (127), and on scarabs acquired in Beirut (128-129). In 130 the suckling goddess is Uto (for seated H. with the *pschent* cf. also § 7.3).

**2.3. Standing, squatting.** H. wearing the *pschent* is standing on a *sma-tawy* sign in a graffito engraved in the Wadi Hammamat quarry (131), which belongs to the well-known iconography of H. of Coptos. This phenotype is also attested on a scarab from al-Mina (132) and a bronze bowl from Olympia (47). Only in one case (133) is H. represented squatting and holding the *heqa* sceptre (→Scepter [Egypt]).

**3. WEARING THE AMONIAN CROWN.** The so-called Amonian crown (→Crown [Egypt]), a low round cap topped with a sun disc (→Sun [Egypt]) and two tall feathers, was previously worn by →Min of Coptos before →Amun was introduced in the Egyptian pantheon. H. with this crown is part of the triad of this town and depicted in striding posture with a finger to his lips on a graffito engraved in the Wadi Hammamat quarry (134), dated to the time of Nectanebo II (360-343). Some statuettes of this type were also found at Athribis (KAMEL 1968: pls. 3:458; 7:489). In striding posture H. may also wear composite crowns. Bronze statuette 135 combines Amonian and Osirian characters (SCHOSKE/WILDUNG 1992: 49) by placing the *atef* crown on the modius. In 136 it is the *hemhem* crown which rests on the modius, apparently representing an Amonian aspect of →Khonsu.

Seated H. with the feet placed on a rectangular base and a finger to his lips appears several times as bronze statuettes, which are named “H. the very great, first (born) of →Amun” (137). All statuettes of this phenotype most likely come from Thebes, except for an uninscribed piece from Abydos (138). As a variant, seated H.

may also hold both arms along the thighs (139). A rather peculiar type, only known from the catalogue of Egyptian deities in the temple of Hibis in Kharga Oasis and dated to the 27th dyn. (525-404), depicts Amonian H. sitting on the knees of a goddess (140).

**4. WEARING THE RED CROWN.** Striding H. with a finger to his lips with this headgear is only known from Egyptian bronze statuettes. One example is dedicated to H. (DARESSY 1906 : 5, Cairo CG 38171), another probably to →Horus Resnet (ROEDER 1956: pl. 75c). One piece was found at Sais (141), confirming that this series is closely related to the goddess →Neith (cf. 104) and pictures of the local child god as king of Lower Egypt that appeared before the reunification of the country. It is noticeable that no figure of H. with the white crown (→Crown [Egypt]) of Upper Egypt has come to light until now. Representations of H. with the red crown from the Levant are limited to stamp seals. Squatting on the ground, he is depicted on a scarab from Amrit (142) and seated on →Isis's knees on two from 'Atlit (143-144). The same motif is also attested from Mediterranean sites (145-146).

**5. WEARING THE BLUE CROWN.** Two exemplars of striding H. wearing the blue crown (→Crown [Egypt]) with both arms along the body were found at Athribis (KAMEL 1968: no. 4); one of them (147) is dedicated to "H. the great god, lord of Athribis." The seated types correspond to those of the Amonian crown, i.e., both arms are held along the thighs (148; named "H.") or H. is seated on Isis's knees (149). Striding H. with a finger to his lips on an amulet from Ibiza (150) and on a scarab from Sardinia (151) may also possibly wear the blue crown.

**6. WEARING THE NEMES.** Representations of H. with only the *nemes* are rare. In seated posture with his feet on a rectangular base and a finger to his lips, he is documented as a bronze statuette of the Late Period (152). The *hemhem* crown (→Crown [Egypt]) on a *nemes* is, however, one of the favorite headgears of the young god (YOYOTTE/CHUVIN 1988: 175f), and ultimately specialized as a distinctive feature of Somtus or Harsomtus. Striding with a finger to his lips and labeled "H.," this type is represented by 153, probably originating in Athribis (DE MEULENAERE 1990: 66f). On a bronze statuette of the same phenotype he is flanked to his left by striding falcon-headed →Horus wearing the double crown (154). Uninscribed examples in seated posture with a finger to his lips are rather common, but some are labeled

"Harsomtus" (GARDINER 1941: 90), →"Khonsu" (MEEKS/FAVARD-MEEKS 1989: 56), "Hor-Khonsu" (DARESSY 1906: no. 38202) but also "H. the very great, first (born) of →Amun" (155). In the fragmentary limestone statuette 156, representing Psammetik II (595-589) as H., the *hemhem* crown above the *nemes* cap is broken away or lost. The variant with the arms along the thighs is also attested apart from unnamed pieces by a bronze statuette inscribed with "H. the very great, first (born) of Amun" (157). Squatting H. with the *nemes* is documented by a green glazed statuette, which in all probability has lost its *hemhem* crown (158). In seated posture he is depicted on an undecorated cubic throne with a finger to his lips by a schist statuette (159).

**7. ON A LOTUS FLOWER.** The whole type has solar signification. In the yellow center of the skylike blue flower (*nymphaea cerulea*), the young child represents the morning sun (→Sun [Egypt]).

**7.1. Wearing the solar disc.** The god sitting on a lotus with a finger to his lips, an arm against his chest, and wearing the solar disc (→Sun [Egypt]) is depicted in relief on the catalogue of Egyptian deities in the temple of Hibis in Kharga Oasis, dated to the 27th dyn. (525-404). He appears among the gods of Hermopolis (160), thereby confirming the Hermopolitan origin of this type as a whole. The same phenotype is also depicted on a scarab purchased at Amrit (161) and probably on a Levantine personal name seal, whose epigraphic attribution is unclear (162; the top of the papyrus stalk above the head of the god could represent a solar disc [cf. 163]). Holding the flail, H. is depicted with the solar disc on a scarab from Byblos (164) and Tartus (165; cf. also NUNN 2000: pl. 43:16) as well as on an ivory panel from Nimrud (166). More items, possibly of Levantine origin, were sold in auction (BORDREUIL/BRIQUEL-CHATONNET/GUBEL 1999: nos. 15, 63). Some ivories from Nimrud (167) represent the same motif, which is also found on a scarab from Sardinia (168). Somewhat more elaborate is the headgear of H. with horns flanking the solar disc on the Hebrew seal belonging to a certain Dala (169), and on a fragmentary ivory plaque from Samaria (170). On an ivory plaque from Nimrud (171) H. wears the double-feather crown with a sun disc (→Sun [Egypt]), pointing with a finger to his lips and holding a papyrus scepter (→Scepter [Egypt]) with the other hand.

**7.2. Wearing the skullcap.** Not yet documented in Egypt is skullcap-wearing H.

seated on a flower with a finger to his lips and an arm against his chest. However, this type is known from Acco (172), Phoenicia (173-174), Amrit (175), Nimrud (176), and Sardinia (177). In a gesture of adoration H. is pictured on the Hebrew seal of 'Asayau, son of Yoqim (178). The type of H. holding the *nekhekh* flail is attested in Egypt (179-181). In 182 from Sardinia, H. is wearing the *hemhem* crown (→Crown [Egypt]) on the skullcap (for this type in the solar bark cf. also § 9).

**7.3. Wearing the *pschent*.** H. on a lotus with the double crown (→Crown [Egypt]) is attested once at Hermopolis on a faience chalice (183), and on scarabs from Ibiza (184) and Sardinia (185). In an ivory plaque from Arslan Tash (186), H. sits on a plant, a hybrid of the heraldic plants of Lower and Upper Egypt.

**7.4. Wearing the *atef* crown.** This type of headgear is only documented on two stamp seals purchased at Amrit (187-188) and an ivory plaque from Samaria (189).

**7.5. Wearing the *hemhem* crown on the *nemes*.** This type of headgear is usually ascribed to Somtus, god of Herakleopolis. Among other Egyptian bronze statuettes, one is dedicated to H. (190). It also occurs on an unusual variant of a *menat* counterweight found at Mitrahina-Memphis, probably dating to the Third Intermediate Period (191) as well as on a scarab from Spain (192).

**7.6. Wearing the lunar disc.** Different object types show H. on a lotus flower with the lunar disc (→Moon [Egypt]). Among them are a pair of bracelets belonging to Prince Nimlot of the 22nd dyn., supposedly coming from Sais (193); a limestone stela from Memphis, which pictures H. holding the *heqa* sceptre (→Sceptre [Egypt]) (194); and a faience bead spacer, probably from Hermopolis (195).

**8. IN A PAPYRUS THICKET.** H. alone striding in the thicket may wear the skullcap (196-197). In seated posture with the *hemhem* crown (→Crown [Egypt]) (198-199) or skullcap (200) and sitting on the lotus flower with the solar disc (→Sun [Egypt]) (163; cf. also 162), he is documented at Western Mediterranean sites. Standing together with →Isis lactans in the thicket, he is not only attested on a Egyptian counterweight (201) but also on a scarab from 'Atlit (202), an ivory plaque from Nimrud (203), and a Phoenician silver bowl from Praeneste (204). Isis lactans with seated H. is previously depicted as an amulet on a painted coffin lid from Thebes, dated to the 22nd dyn. (205). The same type also frequently appears on steatite plaques

produced during the 25th dyn. (206; cf. also ANDREWS 1994: 54 fig. 55a; HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976: no. 647 with further references). Dated to the Saite Period, H. in this pose is furthermore depicted on a situla from Saqqara (207) and an ivory plaque from Nimrud (208). Variants of this theme depict H. with the red crown (209) and the *pschent* (126) (for H. in the thicket in the solar bark cf. § 9).

**9. IN THE SOLAR BARK.** On a plaque from Acco (210) H., wearing a skullcap, his right hand pointing to his lips and the left hand held against his chest, is apparently depicted on a cubic throne placed in the solar bark. The composition, which puts H. at each end of the boat, is known only from the silver cup from Praeneste (→Female solar deities 55\*). In this instance, each H. is sitting on a blue nymphaea flower, one finger is to his lips, the other against his chest holding a flail. On a Levantine scarab (211), both →Isis and H. are standing in the boat facing each other. Seated Isis lactans with H. on her knees is depicted on a scarab from Carthage (212). The theme alludes to the infancy of H. in the Delta marshes. On a scarab found in Sardinia (213), a papyrus thicket surrounds the group inside the boat, confirming the setting of the scene.

**10. OTHERS.** An extremely rare type shows H. wearing the tripartite wig, attested once by a statuette of the seated god who holds both arms along the body with the hands clenched (214). Wearing the mask of →Bes in striding posture with both arms along the body and the hands clenched, H. appears on a statuette possibly from Thebes (215). This unique document once belonged to a larger group as testified by two tenons beneath the base. The type has evolved from the depiction of H. on the so-called →Horus cippi (cf. below § II.2.A.II.2). It is worth noting in this respect that a bronze statue of bearded striding Bes in Baltimore refers to him as "H." (STEINDORFF 1946: no. 625). On the other hand, a very similar type in Cairo is labelled "Min-Hor-nakht" (DARESSY 1906: no. 38836), a well-known epithet of →Horus of Coptos from the Middle Kingdom onward. It is therefore probable that the child with a Bes mask is, in some way, the heir of the mighty victorious god of Coptos. An iconography already known in the royal tombs of the Ramesside Period and appearing again on a sarcophagus of the 21st dyn. from Thebes (216) depicts H. sitting in the womb of his mother. The child is considered as →"Re in the Horizon." A curious type on an amulet found in Nubia dated to the 25th dyn. shows H. holding animals that look like rabbits in

his raised arms (217).

**11. UNCLASSIFIED.** Due to the completely destroyed head and the missing headgear, suckled H. on 218 cannot be classified (cf. also § II.2.A.2.2).

### B. HYBRID

In order to avoid a considerable extension of the present catalogue, only the hybrids with a falcon head (→Falcon-headed gods) are listed here as far as Egyptian objects are considered. Others exist and could be related to H.; for instance, a bronze statue of a child with a →serpent head, wearing a tripartite wig, found in Athribis with many others depicting H. (KAMEL 1968: 67 § 8, pl. 6:479). An →ibis headed child is also known (HORNEMANN 1951-57: no. 181). To what extent they should be considered as figures of H. is a matter of debate.

**1. FALCON-HEADED.** H. with a →falcon head appears in seated posture as a statuette supposedly from Bubastis (219). Sitting on a lotus flower, falcon-headed H. is depicted on 221 wearing the double feather with the solar disc (→Sun [Egypt]) resting on →ram horns. In his right hand he is holding the Nekhekh and in his left the *heqa* sceptre (→Sceptre [Egypt]). A scarab from Byblos (222) pictures striding falcon-headed H. wearing a kilt and a disc on its head. An almost identical scene with H. holding a flail and wearing the solar disc occurs on a scarab from Ibiza (223).

**2. MONKEY-LIKE.** →Monkey § B. HYBRID (→Monkey 96-103).

### II.2. Associations

A. ANTHROPOMORPHIC I. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES AND DEMONS 1. Isis 1.1. With no other deity 1.1.1. Unwinged 1.1.1.1. Suckling (35-39, 42, 44-47, 49-50, 55, 67, 126-128, 143-146, 149, 205, 207-208, 212-213) 1.1.1.2. Standing (132, 182, 201-204, 211-213, 216) 1.1.1.3. Squatting (80) 1.1.2. Winged (9-11, 29, 112, 120, 124, 129) 1.2. With other deities (5-6, 51, 66, 174) 2. Unidentified goddesses 2.1. Anthropomorphic 2.1.1. Seated (59-60, 140) 2.1.2. Standing 2.1.2.1. One goddess (65, 109, 114, 117-119) 2.1.2.2. Two goddesses (150, 161, 173, 179, 186) 2.2. Hybrid (218) 3. Bastet, Uto (56, 58, 66, 171) 4. Neith (43, 103-104) 5. Maat (194) 6. Hathor (57, 86) 7. Memphite gods (3, 31-32) 8. Osiris (76, 107, 174) 9. Falcon-headed gods (169-170) 10. Others (16, 75, 180) II. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS 1. Uraeus (12, 18-19, 54, 61-62, 89-90, 111, 113, 151, 175, 191-192, 193, 195) 2. Others (17, 63, 71, 74, 98-99, 102, 105-106, 154, 166, 181, 217, →Female solar deities 55\*) III. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS 1. Worshipper (47, 83, 132, 188) 2. King (11, 14, 33-34, 110) 3. Enemy (68) B. HYBRID (219, 222-223)

### A. ANTHROPOMORPHIC

#### I. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES AND DEMONS

##### 1. ISIS

##### 1.1. With no other deity

##### 1.1.1. Unwinged

**1.1.1.1. Suckling.** →Isis lactans is the most common and widespread deity associated with H. Isis is frequently seated and wearing the tripartite wig, sun disc (→Sun [Egypt]), and →cow horns with H. sitting on her knees. The headgear of H. may vary. In most cases it is the skullcap (35, 37, 45-47, 50, 55, 126, 205, 207-208). A type apparently known only outside of Egypt, particularly the Levante (143-144; GUBEL 1987: no. 127; NUNN 2000: pl. 43:7, 55) and Western Mediterranean (145-146), depicts H. with the red crown (→Crown [Egypt]), which in all probability is here merely a schematic way to represent the *pschent*. Another variation shows H. with the proper double crown (127-128). An unusual variant of this type found on a scarab from Achzib (67) shows Isis kneeling. Seated Isis may also wear the broad wig. In such cases suckled H. is wearing the skullcap (36) or blue crown (149). The amulet of Isis lactans wearing as crown the sign of her name is extremely common. It is documented in Egypt (42, 44) and from Western Mediterranean sites (49) but so far not in the Levant. A relatively ancient depiction of Isis-Selene nursing a child, which is missing in the present state of 38, shows the goddess with a lunar disc (→Moon [Egypt]). A bronze statuette from Abydos (39) depicts a seated suckling goddess with the *neshemet* bark on her tripartite wig and H. on her knees. *Neshemet*, the sacred bark of →Osiris in Abydos, was identified with Isis, which explains why the suckling goddess wears this symbol on her head. Lastly, on scarabs from Western Mediterranean sites Isis lactans is depicted as sitting in the solar bark with infant H. (212-213).

**1.1.1.2. Standing.** →Isis in this posture appears in different contexts. Both deities placed in the thicket are known from Egypt (201), Palestine/Israel (202), Nimrud (203), and even Italy (204). In the solar bark standing Isis with H. is attested in the Levant (211) and Western Mediterranean (212-213). On a scarab from Sardinia, standing Isis faces H. who is seated on a lotus flower (182), and on another from al-Mina the two standing deities are joined by a worshipper (132). On 216 sitting H. is depicted in the womb of his mother (→Mother [Egypt]).

**1.1.1.3. Squatting.** On a scarab from Ibiza (80) →Isis is sitting on the ground and lifts H. to kiss him. The child holds the flail and wears the sun disc (→Sun [Egypt]).

**1.1.2. Winged.** Enthroned H. protected by striding →Isis with wings vertically spread is known from Egypt (29) and the

Levant (124). The type with striding H. is especially common on scarabs from the Levant (9-10), but also known from the Western Mediterranean (112). There may also be a third figure in the scene as on 11. Instead of spreading her wings Isis may also envelop H. with them (120, 129).

**1.2. With other deities.** →Isis is often accompanied by Nephthys (5-6), a most common type. On a scarab found in Sardinia and bearing a Phoenician inscription (174) H. on the lotus faces a mummiform figure, probably →Osiris, whose regeneration and rebirth H. symbolizes. On the right side of this group stands a goddess wearing a disc and horns, labeled “Isis” in hieroglyphs; on the left side stands a falcon-headed figure wearing the *pschent*, labeled →“Khonsu”. Behind Khonsu is a lion-headed goddess (→Sekhmet?) wearing the solar disc (→Sun [Egypt]) and holding a papyrus scepter (→Scepter [Egypt]). Together with H. being suckled by a lion-headed goddess, winged Isis appears on an unprovenanced amulet (66). The god on a Levantine bulla wearing a crown (→Crown [Egypt]) topped by a lunar disc (→Moon [Egypt]) and facing suckling Isis (51) is unidentified.

## 2. Unidentified goddesses

### 2.1. Anthropomorphic

**2.1.1. Seated.** An unnamed enthroned goddess wearing the *atef* crown (→Crown [Egypt]) with H. on her knees is only known from reliefs representing statues from the catalogue on the naos of Saft el-Henna. In one case (60) this goddess is named “The Northern Unut” and is listed among the gods of Leontopolis. A rather peculiar type, only known from the catalogue of Egyptian deities in the temple of Hibis in Kharga Oasis dated to the 27th dyn. (525-404), shows a seated goddess wearing a composite crown with Amonian H. on her knees (140). An unexpected type, only known from the just mentioned catalogue, depicts an enthroned →Isis-like goddess kissing H. (59).

#### 2.1.2. Standing

**2.1.2.1. One goddess.** A suckling goddess wearing the broad wig stands before H. on a scarab from Carthage (65). Both are flanked by →falcon-headed gods. An early example of this type is found on a stela from Mendes (117) dated to the 23rd dyn. to the reign of Iuput II. (c. 2nd half of 8th cent.). A similar scene is depicted on *menat* counterweights, dated to the Third Intermediate Period (109) and in the Saite Dyn. (664-525; AUBERT/AUBERT 2001: 436 pl. 20). It is also present on scarabs from

Levant (118) and the Western Mediterranean (114, 119).

**2.1.2.2. Two goddesses.** The theme of H. protected by two winged goddesses is common on rectangular plaque amulets at Western Mediterranean sites (150). Flanking goddesses also occur with H. sitting on the lotus flower as on a bead spacer, belonging to a series of probable Hermopolitan provenance and dated to the Third Intermediate Period (179), and an ivory plaque from Arslan Tash (186). This type is also known from Phoenician scarabs (161, 173).

**2.2. Hybrid.** H. suckled by a seated serpent-headed goddess relates to a type already known from the beginning of the New Kingdom onward (BROEKHUIS 1971) as depicting →Renenutet and her son Neper. The dating of a statuette of this type (218) into the Late Period is debatable. On stylistic grounds and owing to the presence of a pedestal under the feet of the child, a dating to the first half of the 1st mill. can be supported.

**3. Bastet, Uto.** H. is repeatedly depicted as being suckled by a lion-headed goddess. As shown by inscriptions on some pieces of this series, the lion-headed goddess is →Bastet or Uto, both considered nurses of the young H. In all occurrences she wears the sun disc (→Sun [Egypt]), which in the case of 66 was broken out. On this amulet H. is too small to reach the standing goddess’s breast, a feature shown on some other amulets. The goddess may also be seated as on 56, which has the same stance as the classic →Isis lactans. In 66 the enthroned goddess is named Uto. On an ivory plaque from Nimrud (171), H. sitting on a lotus is flanked by two lion-headed goddesses. The type of a cat-headed goddess suckling H. is rare. 58 depicts Bastet suckling H. in a more conventional style, at least to the modern eye (cf. also § 1.2 with 174).

**4. Neith.** All depictions of H. with →Neith in the form of bronze statuettes come from Sais. Neith may be seated (103) or striding (104). In the catalogue of sacred images on the naos of Saft el-Henna, a goddess suckling H. is named Neith (43). This type is also known from other reliefs (DAVIES 1953: pl. 4 reg. IX; NAVILLE 1891: pl. 48D) where the goddess is not named.

**5. Maat.** On a limestone stela (194) from Memphis dating to the reign of Sheshonq I (944-923), two winged goddesses labeled →“Maat” flank H., who is seated on a lotus flower.

**6. Hathor.** H. suckled by a cow-headed goddess represents a particular aspect of



→Hathor of Memphis. Her crown with horns and a disc reminds one of →Isis, but with the difference that the disc is topped by two feathers. This type is known as an amulet (57) or bronze statuette (86).

**7. Memphite gods.** Schist statuette 3 depicts →Ptah standing with →Sekhmet on his right and Nefertem on his left. H., labeled “Heka,” is striding at the right of Sekhmet with his right hand to his lips. On two scarabs from Carthage (31-32) H. is represented sitting on a cubic throne facing lion-headed Sekhmet, who is holding a papyrusiform scepter (→Scepter [Egypt]).

**8. Osiris.** On a Ptolemaic replica from Deir el-Medina of a 20th dyn. (1190-1075) scene of the tomb of Neferhotep in Thebes (76), H. is squatting on a *heqa* scepter (→Scepter [Egypt]) holding a *nekhekh* flail in his right hand and the same flail with a *sekhem* scepter in his left. He is facing →Osiris behind the Great Devourer of the untruthful dead. Amid a number of deities (cf. § 1.2) including Osiris, H. is depicted on a lotus flower on a Phoenician personal seal of the late 7th/early 6th cent. (174). An uncommon bronze statuette of the Late Period (107) shows H., with the *pschent* and the right hand to his lips, in a much smaller size than Osiris. He faces Osiris like a worshipper but without the typical gesture.

**9. Falcon-headed gods.** On a Hebrew personal seal (169) the child god sitting on a lotus flower wears a solar disc (→Sun [Egypt]) with horns. Two →falcon-headed gods wearing the double crown (→Crown [Egypt]) flank him, also seated on lotus flowers. A similar group occurs on a fragmentary ivory plaque from Samaria (170). In its present state only the back part of H. and the kneeling god in prayer on the left are preserved.

**10. Others.** The motif of striding H. being purified by →Horus and →Thoth derives from the well-known royal iconography of the “baptism of the pharaoh” (→King [Egypt]), and is depicted on a fragment of a glazed chalice which comes from Hermopolis and dates to the Third Intermediate Period (16). Striding H. is furthermore associated with a crouching dog before his right foot, probably representing →Anubis. An iconography related to H. on a lotus flower flanked by two goddesses depicts H. lifted on the hands of Heh and Hehet, personifying the Eastern and Western mountains where the sun (→Sun [Egypt]) rises and sets (GAILLARD/DARESSY 1905: 139 top). This group is depicted in relief as a statue (75) in the catalogue of sacred images on the naos of Bubastis dated to the reign of Nectanebo

II (360-343). In a variant (JØRGENSEN 2001: 51, fig. 33) the child is lifted by two Meret goddesses, substitutes of →Maat, a type occurring previously in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom (WAITKUS 2002: 382, fig. 13). The constellation with flanking figures may also involve fecundity figures, as on 180.

## II. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS

**1. Uraeus.** The cobra *behind* H. is documented on a scarab purchased at Amrit, with H. on the lotus flower (175). Standing H. with an →uraeus behind appears on several Phoenician scarabs from the Levant (18) and the Western Mediterranean (111, 151). In a scarab from Sardinia (19) the uraeus envelops H. with his wings. 12 and 113 are similar to 18 and 111 except that the uraeus is placed *in front of* H. On scarab 54 from Sardinia, the uraeus appears in front of seated H. and on one from Spain in front of H. seated on a *djed* pillar (90). *Flanking* uraei are depicted on a variety of Egyptian objects such as a gold bracelet (193), bead spacers (61, 195), and a *menat* counterweight (191) dating to the 10th/9th cent. Flanking uraei are also known from Western Mediterranean sites (62, 192) and Cyprus (89).

**2. Others.** H. is associated with various →birds such as the →falcon on a scarab from Acco (71); the →vulture on an ivory plaque from Nimrud (166); and the lapwing (106) and →ibis (154), both on Egyptian bronze statuettes. A favorite motif on Egyptian situlae are flanking →cows, perhaps due to the fact that at least some of them were intended to contain milk. The cows flanking H. on 181 wear a disc (→Sun [Egypt]) between their horns, indicating their →Hathoric nature (cf. also GREEN 1987: nos. 65, 180, 181; EVRARD-DERRIKS/QUAEGEBEUR 1979). The motif of H. sitting between the horns of a cow is known from the beginning of the New Kingdom. It is represented in relief as a statue in the catalogue of Egyptian deities in the temple of Hibis in the Kharga Oasis, dated to the 27th dyn. (63), among the gods of the Fayum. Other animals associated with H. include the →dog (105), in this case probably representing →Anubis; the mongoose (17); adoring baboons (→**Monkey** 74); and the →scarab (→**Female solar deities** 55\*), the latter three associated with the sun (→Sun [Egypt]); and the →frog as symbol of rebirth (102). Lastly, H. is depicted overcoming dangerous animals. On →Horus cippi, an object type appearing during the Third Intermediate Period and extremely popular until the Roman Period, H. is typically represented wearing the

skullcap, the head topped by a mask of the →Bes, and trampling →crocodiles. He holds in his hands →serpents, →scorpion, →lions and oryxes, all considered dangerous animals (cf. STERNBERG-EL HOTABI 1999). A fragment of a basis of a so-called healing statue was found in Byblos with the image of H. it once bore now missing (98). Another cippus of this type comes from Cyprus (99). The central theme of the Horus cippi is also used as an amulet. A curious variant, dated to the 25th dyn. and found in Nubia, shows him holding in his raised arms animals that look like rabbits (217).

### III. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS

1. **Worshipper.** As a good deal of the bronze statuettes of H. once belonged to larger groups, one can expect that these groups included a figure of a worshipper. Few of them still survive. Usually this figure is represented kneeling, facing the god, praying to him or holding an offering of some kind in his hands. He is frequently provided with a back pillar like a small statue. In all cases he is much smaller than the god. An example of this type is the group of Memphite gods on 83. H. wearing the *pschent* walks beside Nefertem in front of the throne where →Sekhmet, now lost, was once sitting. This group is faced by a praying figure with a cat lying before him, the head turned toward the gods. An iconography occurring on some Levantine objects is →Isis lactans with H. and a standing worshipper facing the suckling goddess, as on a scarab from al-Mina (132) or a bronze bowl from Olympia (47). On a scarab from Amrit (188) H. on a lotus flower is facing a worshipper.

2. **King.** On some scarabs found outside Egypt, H. is represented in the company of different figures whose identity can only be guessed from the crowns they wear. On one item coming from Ashkelon, H. striding to the right and wearing a *pschent* is followed by a male figure wearing a skullcap or the blue crown (→Crown [Egypt]) with a →uraeus and raising one hand (110). Another from Lattakia shows H. sitting on a cubic throne, followed by Isis and a king (→King [Egypt]) wearing the *pschent* and raising one hand in a protective gesture (34). On one scarab of Levantine provenance (11) the child protected by the winged goddess faces a human male figure holding a scepter (→Scepter [Egypt]). An exemplar from Ibiza (14) shows the goddess followed by a figure wearing a uraeus and raising one hand. A piece from Carthage replaces the human representation of the

king by his name written in hieroglyphs and facing enthroned H. (33).

3. **Enemy.** A statuette dedicated to “H. lord of Hebit” shows the god trampling on enemies (68). The iconography is perhaps related to the mythology of the region of Behbeit, where the god →Onuris→Shu, son of →Re, is supposed to defeat the enemies of the sun (→Sun [Egypt]).

**B. HYBRID.** →Falcon-headed H. is only associated with →Isis. In 219 only the child survives, but the position of the legs and arms along the thighs make it absolutely certain that the child was once sitting on the knees of →Isis lactans. The statuette is supposed to come from Bubastis, which is not unexpected as →Bastet was considered the nurse of H. On two scarabs from Byblos (222) and Ibiza (223), striding falcon-headed H. is likewise protected by winged Isis.

### III. Sources

**III.1. Chronological range.** H. appears first in Egypt at the very end of the 11th cent. As a consequence, all objects depicting H. outside the Nile valley cannot be older even if some authors consider earlier dates. A glance at the catalogue of this article reveals that non-Egyptian objects hardly antedate the 9th cent. At the outset the typology in Egypt is varied with a slight preference for marshy contexts (papyrus and lotus flowers), with the exception of scenes where H. is depicted with his parents. In this case much attention is given to the crown (→Crown [Egypt]) the god wears as each crown is distinctive of its cultic role, but they have no clear connection with his different cult places. Though present from the beginning, the theme of the suckling goddess becomes increasingly popular from the Saite Period (7th-6th cent.) onward. Outside Egypt the depiction of H. alone is uncommon. Furthermore, the iconography in this case is not, unlike in Egypt, much concerned with the crowns the deity could wear. Only the more usual headgears are taken into account, as they are plainly sufficient to underline the main aspects of the god: solar (→Sun [Egypt]) or lunar disc (→Moon [Egypt]), and royal *pschent*. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the *atef* crown and the *hemhem* crown, the latter being much more common in Egypt than the former. In many cases one wonders if the *atef* crown on non-Egyptian objects could be a simplification or an awkwardly drawn *hemhem* crown. At all periods, types showing H. on a lotus flower or surrounded by a papyrus thicket are much favored as well as the motif with the suckling goddess. All in all, the Levantine

representations and, broadly speaking, the Phoenician-Punic ones fit very well into the Egyptian typology with very few idiosyncrasies, stylistic considerations being set apart. For instance, the themes where H. is flanked by royal animals (e.g., cobras [→Uraeus]) are apparently more developed than in Egypt. Therefore the originality of foreign types is not to be sought in entirely new motifs but rather remains a question of details in the settings.

**III.2. Geographical distribution.** When provenances of objects can be ascertained in Egypt, H. is conspicuously present in the Delta, which is considered his place of origin. However, the glazed faience objects coming from Hermopolis in Middle Egypt and dated to 10th-9th cent. (TAIT 1963) show that an important part of H.'s iconography possibly originates from this region, especially as far as the marshy settings are concerned. The great variety of bronze statuette types found in Athribis (KAMEL 1968) is also noticeable. However, since we frequently know of these finds only due to mere chance, it would be hazardous to draw definitive conclusions on the importance of H.'s cult place or a diffusion center. Outside of Egypt the very nature of objects, namely stamp seals and amulets, precludes any kind of serious analysis in this regard. These small objects travel very easily. On the other hand, they are certainly good markers of the main trade routes around the Mediterranean. But the iconography specific to H., abundant as it is, cannot be considered significant in itself. Moreover, a good deal of this material was purchased and lacks well-set provenance, let alone of an archaeological context.

**III.3. Object types.** In Egypt almost any object type can depict H. During the first stage of the 1st mill., primarily reliefs on stelae and small glazed luxury objects can be noted. The attention of scholars, however, was always more attracted by bronze statuettes appearing, broadly speaking, after the 8th cent. as they provide the widest spectrum of typological variants by far. Moreover, these statuettes are not infrequently inscribed and therefore provide essential information about their exact provenance and the specific cultural setting of the god. These statuettes are very rare outside Egypt and undoubtedly represent Egyptian imports. Statuettes bearing Phoenician inscriptions (4, 108) clearly testify that there were sanctuaries of H. to whom these objects were dedicated. The exceptional piece 4 proves that H. was introduced in the Phoenician and Punic pantheons under his very Egyptian name

and, therefore, with his Egyptian mythological background. The overwhelming bulk of objects stemming from outside of Egypt consists of scarabs, scaraboids, and, to a lesser extent, small amulets. Except when found in a funerary context, it is usually difficult to determine precisely the role they played in everyday life. Stamp seals were mounted as rings and obviously used as seals, as some inscribed specimens and surviving bullae prove, but this was certainly not the only purpose they served. The carved ivory plaques found at Samaria and Nimrud represent a specific set of objects, which has no parallel in Egypt. This is a genuinely Phoenician luxury production, though all of its iconography closely matches its Egyptian counterpart. But this was a rather short-lived industry, as was also the case with contemporary bronze and silver cups, which circulated more widely (MOSCATI 1988: 436-447).

**IV. Conclusion.** It is evident that the study of H.'s iconography is still in its infancy. Further excavations and studies of collections with Egyptian and Levantine objects will inevitably increase the iconographic typology proposed here. However, the first conclusion one can confidently reach is that the features displayed in Levantine and Phoenician-Punic iconography of H. are rooted in some way in the Egyptian tradition. They apparently not only respect its formal aspects, but can also be analyzed in purely Egyptian cultural terms even when foreign ornamental elements such as the *thymiaterion* are introduced.

#### V. Catalogue

1 Stela, limestone, Mendes, 804 (Seshonq III year 22). KITCHEN 1970: 59, fig. 1 2 Statuette, bronze, Memphis, 700-200. STEINDORFF 1946: no. 432, pl. 75 3 Statuette, schist, 700-200. DARESSY 1906: 307, pl. 58 4 Statuette, bronze, 700-400. BARNETT 1963-64, pl. 11:1a; RÖLLIG 1969-70: 118-120; FERRON 1974: pls. 22-24; DE MEULENAERE 1990: 73f, no. 20 5 Amulet, faience, Hermopolis, 700-200. SCHLICK-NOLTE/DROSTE ZU HÜLSHOFF 1990: 214f, no. 171 6 Amulet, faience, Saqqara, 700-200. DARESSY 1906: 316, pl. 59 7 Amulet, faience, Carthage, 600-400. VERCOUTTER 1945: pl. 25:883 8 Amulet, faience, Tharros, 500-300. ACQUARO 1977: 81, no. 492, pl. 20 9\* Scarab, enstatite scarab, Acco, 539-333. KEEL 1997: Akko no. 201 10 Scarab, steatite, Tell Sukas, 600-400. NUNN 2000: pl. 49:90 11 Scarab, steatite, Syro-Phoenicia, 600-400. HÖLBL 1986: II pl. 120:2a-c; NUNN 2000: pl. 51:103 12 Scarab, faience, Deve Hüyük. NUNN 2000: pl. 50:96 13 Scarab, steatite, Tharros, 600-400. MATTHIAE SCANDONE 1975: 46, no. D 17, pl. 10; HÖLBL 1986: II pl. 116:1a-d 14 Scarab, faience, Ibiza, 600-400. GAMER-WALLERT 1978: 172, fig. 92, no. B 15, 265, pl. 52ab 15 Naos, granite, 570-526 (Amasis), Kom el-Ahmar. PIANKOFF 1933: 105, fig. 5 16 Chalice (?) fragment, faience, probably Hermopolis, 1000-800. TAIT 1963: 129 § 4, pl. 23:4 16 Statuette, bronze, Memphis, 700-200. WILLIAMS 1918-19: 50, fig. 9 17 Statuette, bronze, 700-200. Unpublished (Brooklyn Museum, 76.105.2) 18 Scarab, steatite, Syro-Phoenicia, 500-300. HÖLBL 1986: II pl. 111:2a-c 19 Scarab, steatite, Sardinia, 500-300. MATTHIAE SCANDONE 1975: 47f, no. D 19, pl. 10; HÖLBL 1986: II pl. 119:1a-f 20 Amulet, faience, Memphis, 700-200. DARESSY 1906: 44 21 Stela, limestone, Western Delta, 800-713 (22nd dyn.). BERLANDINI 1978: 153, fig. 1 22 Statuette, bronze, Saqqara,

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