



After a search – in vain – for a parallel to this Sidonian scaraboid in a great many publications on the ancient Near East (and on ancient Egypt), as well as in the actual collections of the Louvre in Paris¹, it had to be acknowledged that, to the best of our knowledge at present, no scaraboid of this type (at least as concerns its back) has been published.

The scaraboid was unearthed at the Lebanese site of Sidon. It is made of white faience² with the remains of ochre paint and is pierced lengthwise so that it might be strung on a necklace or mounted on a ring³.

The scene shown on its underside illustrates a theme well known and developed on scarabs and scaraboids found in Egypt as well as in the Levant.

A figure with the head of a raptor is seen, crudely incised and walking towards the right. He wears a striped garment fringed at the bottom, apparently held in at the waist by a belt, and his bird's head could very well be that of a raptor such as a sparrow-hawk, a falcon or a kite. His right hand – which holds nothing – and his right arm, positioned behind him, are disproportionately large in relation to his body; his left arm is held before him, and in his left hand he holds a large sceptre (it in fact stands as tall as the hawk-headed man). It is also very probable that this scene was placed above a *neb* sign, now in part destroyed by the suspension hole mentioned above.

As also mentioned above, this scene is not unique among objects of this kind from various archaeological sites in the Levant, and is very well known, sometimes including varying additional hieroglyphs or subject matter⁴.

It is also known that this scene does not occur in Egypt until the arrival of the Hyksos. It did not disappear completely in Egypt as soon as the sovereign princes of Thebes took control of the realm of the Two Lands at the beginning of the New Kingdom⁵.

In fact, some examples dating from this very period of Egyptian history were found in the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina on the western edge of Thebes⁶. More were found at the site of Tanis, in archaeological levels that can in all probability be dated to the XX-XXII dynasties⁷.

This is not the place to recapitulate the numerous discussions and hypotheses put forward for the identification of the hawk-headed per-

sonage⁸. The author, for his part, is of the opinion that the man with the head of a sparrowhawk is – in this Levantine context – none other than the Semitic god Horan⁹. The cult of this god – together with cults of other divinities from the same part of the Middle East – was not officially implanted on Egyptian soil until the reign of Amenhotep II in the middle of the XVIII dynasty (1424-1398 BC), and then mainly in the Memphite region¹⁰. The god was introduced into Egypt by colonies of Asiatic workmen, who – having been forcibly displaced as a consequence of the Egyptian conquests in the Levant – were installed near the Great Sphinx of Giza¹¹. During the XIX dynasty the cult of this Semitic god was reactivated. Horan was definitively Egyptianized and assimilated to the Great Sphinx of Giza and to Horakhty (= Horus of the two horizons). Connected to the person of the king, he took on his aspect of divine falcon in order to resemble Horus.

To return to the scaraboid and to Horan in his Levantine context: The god Horan is regularly represented on scarabs and scaraboids, from diverse Levantine regions as well as from the soil of Egypt itself, in his half hawk-half man aspects (a figuration equidistant between the Egyptian and Semitic worlds; however, mimicry in the form of a Horus-like representation of this Semitic divinity cannot be ruled out). The diverse representations of Horan on the undersides of scarabs and scaraboids from these Levantine archaeological regions show him holding either a plant in flower (more or less like a lotus in full bloom¹² or a *was* sceptre, originally a shepherd's staff¹³ (here, too Egyptian fashion very probably had an influence on the iconography of such objects); there is, moreover, documentary Egyptian evidence of Horan with the epithet 'Valiant Shepherd'¹⁴ associated with appeals for protection. And in this Levantine context, whether it is the *was* sceptre or a plant in full bloom, the symbolism of these plants is the same; it is incised into the scarab or scaraboid as a reminder that the primary function of this Semitic deity Horan is to neutralize the effects of snake venom by the use of various plants, of which the most important, if not the most effective, appear to have been tamarisk, the fruit of the date palm, the succulent part of the reed and a plant called 'yblt'¹⁵. The text of tablet RS 24.244 from Ras Shamra describes the entreaty of the "mother of the stallion, the mare", daughter of Shapash (or *Šapšu*, a solar deity) to her mother to come to her aid and cure the person with the snake bite; Shapash then addresses ten gods whom she has called to counteract the mortal poison; they steal away one by one until, at the end of her litany, only Horan agrees to intervene. In this narrative from Ras Shamra "only *Hôrānu* acts correctly when one tells him to destroy the venom: instead of sitting down like a snake charmer he behaves like a destroyer of venom"¹⁶. Herewith the part of the text concerned:

(1) The mother of the stallion, the mare,
The daughter of the spring, the daughter of the stone,
The daughter of the heavens and the abyss,

(2) Calls to her mother, *Šapšû*:
"Mother *Šapšû* take a message

(3) To 'Ilu at the headwaters of the two rivers,
At the confluence of the deeps:

(4) 'My incantation for serpent bite,
For the scaly serpent's poison:

(5) From it, O charmer, destroy,
From it cast out

(6) the venom.
Then he binds the serpent.
Feeds the scaly <serpent>,

(7) Draws up a chair and sits.
[The eleven requests for intervention that *Šapšû* addresses to the deities then follow. Horan alone agrees to respond favourably to her request.]
(61) She turns her face to *Hôrānu*,

For she is to be bereaved
(62) of her offspring.

He [= Horan] ¹⁷ returns to the city of the east,
(63) He heads
For Great "*Araššihu*,
(64) for well-watered "*Araššihu* [?].

He casts a tamarisk from among the trees,
(65) The "tree of death" from among the bushes.

With the tamarisk he expels it (the venom),

(66) With the fruit stalk of a date palm he banishes it,
With the succulent part of a reed he makes it pass on,
(67) With the "carrier" he carries it away ¹⁸.

Then *Hôrānu* goes to his house,
(68) Arrives at his court.

The venom is weak as though in a stream,
(69) Is dispersed as though in a canal ¹⁹.



Moreover, in a text unearthed at Ras Shamra, Horan is designated 'Horan the lad' ²⁰, confirming the youth and vigour of this Canaanite god ²¹. Horan thus makes a good general impression, a divinity who preserves from evil those who put their trust in him and seek his protection, in this case, from the bite and venom of venomous snakes ²². 49

The same holds true whether this hawk-man is accompanied by one rearing snake or two, whether they frame him or not ²³. The author inclines to the view that the theme of the man-god shown between two snakes is a reflection of the well-known Near Eastern theme of the *master of the animals*, in fact thrusting aside evil ²⁴.

In the Syro-Palestinian region, Horan is definitively attested well before the time of the Egyptian New Kingdom (± 1600-1000 BC). Paradoxically, it would appear that the first tangible evidence is found in Egyptian documentation. This comes in the form of apotropaic figurines belonging to Asiatic princes of the time of the Middle Kingdom (equivalent to the Syro-Palestinian Middle Bronze Age: 2300-1600 BC) ²⁵, found in the Teti cemetery at Saqqara; these furnish the premises for the attestation by supplying anthroponyms directly connected to the god Horan. Figurines E 17 and E 59 provide the Semitic name 'Houanou-iboum' ²⁶ which can be interpreted as 'Horan is (my) father' ²⁷. Or, if there were Syro-Palestinian princes who placed themselves under the protection of this divinity by bearing this anthroponym connected to Horan, the implication is that the latter was already firmly established in the Levantine world by the eighteenth century BC (equivalent to the Syro-Palestinian Middle Bronze Age II B) ²⁸.

It is known from Egyptian texts of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries BC that Palestine was known as 'Huru' by the Egyptians of the time. This usage no doubt refers to the descendants of the Hurrians ²⁹, a people – referred to in the Bible as 'Horites' – who occupied Mount Seir until they were expelled by the Edomites ³⁰.

The life of this Semitic deity does not, of course, end there. He is found again in Egypt, during the XVIII dynasty, thanks to a personage answering to the name Horana, who went by the title of director of mill owners/millers in the reign of Amenhotep II (1424-1398 BC) ³¹.

In Egypt too, the protective role associated with Horan from the time of his origin remains paramount. His youth and his role as 'shepherd' ³² are only the most apparent reflections of this: proof that his original role was still clearly perceived by the peoples of Asiatic origin who had probably been settled in Egypt for a very long time ³³. However, curiously enough Horan is found in company with other young protective divinities of Canaanite origin: Reshep/Reshef or Shed, much worshipped as saviour gods ³⁴ by the population of the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina ³⁵ and by the people of Asiatic origin installed as workmen in the Delta ³⁶. The author thinks it legitimate at this point to ask himself why these two Canaanite divinities should so frequently be found in association on *ex voto* figurines unearthed in the village of Deir el-Medina. Would not these votive offerings have belonged to workmen of Levantine origin? And is not the fact that in Egypt Horan, in his aspect of falcon, is associated with

Shed, a youthful god still considered a child ³⁷, but at the same time a (female) warrior if not a huntress ³⁸, a reference to the diverse attributes and varied potential of the god. The hawkheaded Horan is simultaneously the youth of the Ugaritic texts and the hunter of venomous snakes.

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As to the back of the scaraboid, since no parallels were found in the course of research in museum collections or in literature, the problem was approached by comparisons with objects similar in style or with similar decoration.

There are no negroid features on the face, which at once distances it from the Egyptian New Kingdom, at the time of which such features appeared on Egyptian scaraboids.

The chin is adorned with a small pointed beard issuing below the lower lip, which appears to connect with a narrow beard along the line of the jaw.

The sockets of the large eyes are very pronounced above the eyes themselves, the nose is well delineated and the lips are fleshy.

But the hairstyle is the most striking feature: the hair is arranged in figures of eight drawn with double outlines.

Not all of these details can be found in Egyptian art. Here again, one looks towards the Levant, since by its general appearance this scaraboid, unique at the time of writing, is clearly of Syro-Palestinian manufacture.

For confirmation, this scaraboid has only to be compared to the scarabs with identical interlaced patterns also dated to the pre-Hyksos or Hyksos periods ³⁹.

Could this be the first known semi-human representation of the god Horan found in the Near East? ⁴⁰ As stated above, there are many examples of this divinity, at least on scaraboids, in his half-hawk half-human form. If this hypothesis is verified, this would be the very first iconographic representation of Horan where the two forms are found in association: the hawk-man (on the base of the object) and the human, with the Semitic face (occupying the base) ⁴¹. It was also possibly thought that the presence of the two different representations of the god would proportionately reinforce the action of the sympathetic magic attached to the scaraboid: to protect its owner from the deadly venom of snakes.

This scaraboid should undoubtedly be dated to the Syro-Palestinian Middle Bronze II BC, that is, according to Egyptian chronology, to the period between the pre-Hyksos and the Hyksos periods; in other words, to c. 1750-1550 BC⁴².

However, another subject should be raised at this point. The most recent studies maintain, and the present state of knowledge would indicate, that the area of influence of the Hyksos barely extended beyond the sites of Megiddo and its region ⁴³ as well as the southern part of Mount Carmel and the plain of Esdraelon in Palestine ⁴⁴. However, the ⁵¹ scaraboid in question comes from Sidon, well to the north. Did the Hyksos influence make itself felt as far away as this city on the Lebanese coast ⁴⁵ or was its presence in Sidon the result of pure chance: a man who was wearing this Hyksos talisman losing it as he fortuitously passed through the city?

When this article was already in the course of being published, the author was made aware of two objects that seemed to him to be essential to the argument set out above. These two objects, both scarabs, reinforce this argument although both are later than the scaraboid from Sidon discussed above.

The first is a scarab excavated by Flinders Petrie at the southern Tell Far'ah ⁴⁶ (Beth Pelet). This object bears a representation of the god Horan/Reshep, bearded, on his head a tall white mitre with a long ribbon attached to the top and hanging down behind. He wears a short, fringed loincloth, his arms are modified into wings; the right wing brandishes a spear, held by the proper left wing with which the god appears to be felling a thicket of trees or else a badly drawn serpent. The ground the divinity stands on, together with the lower end of the base of the scarab, forms a *neb* sign. Petrie dates this scarab to the late XVIII dynasty ⁴⁷.

The second scarab, published by Manfred Cassirer ⁴⁸, is similar, but its provenance is unfortunately unknown. The representation on this scarab is more legible: Horan/Reshep, in the same attitude as that described in the scarab mentioned above, also wears a mitre, but in this case it is surmounted by a (? solar) circle; the front of the mitre appears to be decorated with some sort of uraeus. With his winged arms and his spear, the Semitic god fells a large serpent, in this case clearly recognizable on the base of this scarab. The ground beneath the feet of the god is drawn in the same way as it is on the Tell Far'ah scarab. Cassirer dates this handsome object to the middle of the XVIII dynasty, to the reign of Amenhotep III or to that of his immediate successor.

These two objects prove incontrovertibly that this divinity with Semitic origins was invoked by his worshippers to counteract the danger posed by snakes, and by extension to ward off all the evils that might threaten them. The Tell Far'a scarab and its dating reinforces the fact that the cult of Horan and his worship were more common in the southern Levant and in Egypt than they were in the northern parts of the Near East.

In any case, today the god has only his winged arms to remind one that he originally appeared as a hawk-headed man-bird, if not indeed simply as a bird. As to the thicket and the trees in the poem from Ugarit about the daughter of Shapash, the mare, these too may perhaps represent a very distant allusion to the various plants on the scarab published by Petrie ⁴⁹.

1 Neither the Louis De Clerc collection of scarabs and scaraboids (gift of H. L. Boisgelin to the Louvre in 1967), for example, nor the collections of the Department of Oriental Antiquities of the Louvre yielded anything similar that might be compared to the example under discussion, unearthed during the 2005 season of excavations at Sidon directed by Claude Doumet-Serhal. I should like to thank Christiane Ziegler, *Conservateur Général* in charge of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the Louvre, Annie Caubet, *Conservateur Général* in charge of the Department of Near Eastern Antiquities at the Louvre (now retired), Elisabeth Fontan, *Conservateur en Chef* of the Department of Near Eastern Antiquities at the Louvre and Elisabeth David, in charge of *Études Documentaires* at the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, also at the Louvre, for having made it possible to work on the collections of scarabs and scaraboids in these two departments.

2 Excavation No. S/3889/287-tr. 28.

3 Length 2.05 cm, width 1.3 cm.

4 Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem, inv. No. J 302: A. Rowe, 1936, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum*, Cairo, p. 71–72, No. 270 and Pl. 7 (No. 270). This pale grey steatite scarab was discovered at Gezer and was dated by Rowe to the Hyksos period. It differs from the Sidon scaraboid only in that a rearing cobra faces the hawk-headed figure on this Gezer scarab. G.T. Martin, 1979, "Private-Name Seals in the Alnwick Castle Collection", *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Abt.

Kairo 35, p. 223, No. 71 (scarab of Seneb.en.i, dated to the Second Intermediate Period = Middle Bronze II in the Alnwick Castle Collection). O. Keel, 1995, *Introduction to Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit*, in OBO-Series Archaeologica No. 10, Freiburg and Göttingen, p. 192, Abb. 332 (provenance: Jericho), p. 216, §10 A 2c, Abb. 456 (provenance: Tell el-Ajjul). Louvre, inv. No. AE 026416 (= AF 8534), no provenance on label, but clearly of Levantine origin. *Op. cit.*, inv. No. E 2866 first Collection Clot-Bey [21 F 773]), with 'Canaanite Middle Bronze' written on the label. D. Ben-Tor, 1993, *The Scarab: A Reflection of Ancient Egypt*, Jerusalem, p. 33 (here between two rearing snakes); the author notes, regarding the hawk-headed figure, that: "Some of the figures are falcon-headed and certainly represent a god, though his identity is unclear", p. 70, No. 43 (Israel Museum of Archaeology No. 76.31. 2889), no provenance. In any case, these figures were unearthed in the areas ruled by the Hyksos kings of Lower Egypt.

5 The largest number of this type of scarab – featuring a hawk-headed figure – was unearthed at Tell el-Yahudiya in the eastern Delta, in graves of the XIII to the XVII dynasties attributed to an Asiatic population (Hyksos?). W. M. F. Petrie, 1906, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt 12, 2nd edn., pl. 7, No. 18 and pl. 9 Nos. 162–64, London. See also J. Vercoutter, 1975, ed., *Mirgissa, II/i, Les Nécropoles*, Paris, p. 70, fig. 21.1 (it should not be forgotten that the Hyksos were allied to the Nubians of the Kingdom of Kerma). H. C. Loffet, 2007, *Collections égyptiennes du Museum Emmanuel Liais de Cherbourg Octeville*, Paris, p. 91, No. 134 (inv. No. 1146).

6 See Louvre AE 010770 (= E 144203), l. 1.49 cm, w. 1.14 cm h. 0.69 cm, unearthed by B. Bruyère in the course of his exca-

vations in 1935. This scarab, of steatite (?) with an irregular green glaze, was dated by the excavator to the reigns of Hatshepsut or Thutmose II (it was found in grave No. 1379, that of Saten (?)). The only difference between this scarab and the Sidon scaraboid is that a *nefer* sign is inscribed behind the hawk-headed figure; all other details are identical. Scarab AE 026416 (= AF 8534), l. 1.65 cm, w. 1.18 cm, h. 0.66 cm may also be mentioned in this context. This scarab, light coloured with traces of a greenish-white glaze, displays on its base a hawk-headed figure identical to that from Sidon; because the suspension hole is damaged, however, it is now impossible to tell whether a *neb* sign was ever inscribed there. Unfortunately, neither provenance nor date appear on the label.

7 There is one in the Louvre, AE 033732 (= E 15887), of pale beige steatite, l. 1.65 cm, w. 1.18 cm, h. 0.66 cm. It differs from the Sidon example only in that the hawk-headed figure is not treading on a *neb* sign. This scarab fell to Pierre Montet when the finds of his 1938 excavations were divided.

8 For a discussion of this subject, see I. Vodoz, 1978, "Les scarabées gravés du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève", *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 6, Geneva. See D. Ben-Tor, 1993, note 4 above, p. 72–73.

9 H. Stock, 1955, *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13. bis 17. Dynastie Ägyptens: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Skarabäen dieser Zwischenzeit*, Ägyptologische Forschungen 12, Glückstadt, p. 27–29.

10 R. Stadelmann, 1967, *Syrisch-Palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten*, Leiden, p. 81–88. C. M. Zivie, 1976, *Giza au Deuxième Millénaire*, Bibliothèque d'étude 70, Publications de L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, p. 62 (E), n. (a), Cairo. C. M. Zivie-Coche, 1988, "Aux marges de Memphis: Giza", in *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire*:

Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions, Actes du Colloque International CNRS, Paris, 9 au 11 octobre 1986, ed. A.-P. Zivie, p. 120, Paris. C. Zivie-Coche, 1997, "Giza après l'Ancien Empire", *Bulletin de l'Association angevine d'égyptologie Isis*, 4, p. 17.

11 One proof that this Semitic god had settled in the Memphite region and that he enjoyed official recognition by the Pharaohs of the New Kingdom is the door of the small chapel dedicated to Horan by Tutankhamun and his wife Ankhesenamun, the stiles of which are now at the Cairo Museum (JE 57195). C. M. Zivie, 1976, *Giza au Deuxième Millénaire*, Bibliothèque d'étude 70, Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, p. 176 (Doc. NE 45). J. van Dijk, 1989, "The Canaanite God Hauron and his Cult in Egypt", in *GM* 107, p. 67. C. Vandersleyen, 1995, *L'Égypte et la Vallée du Nil, ii: De la fin de l'Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire*, p. 473, Paris.

12 Musée Calvet, Avignon, *Égypte et Provence*, 1985, p. 134, §323, fig. 63 (31). B. Teissier, 1995, *Egyptian Iconography on Syro-Palestinian Cylinder Seals of the Middle Bronze Age*, in *OBO-Series Archaeologica* No. 11, Freiburg and Göttingen, p. 115, fig. 2 x. F. Tiradritti, 2002, *La Collezione di Scarabei Siro-Palestinesi delle Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche di Milano*, p. 40-41, No. 110. Louvre AE 030813 (= E 548), white steatite scarab with hawk-headed figure holding a lotus in full bloom in his hand and framed by two rearing snakes (unpublished scarab).

One is reminded that in ancient Egypt, various representations of the Near Eastern goddess Kadesh usually show her perched on a lion while offering snakes to Reshep with her left hand while she presents a bouquet of lotuses in full bloom to Min with her right; Kadesh too was a deity commonly invoked in the Levant against venomous animals, snakes in particular. J. Leibovitch, 1961, "Kent et Qadech", in *Syria* 38, p. 23-34, figs. 1-3, pls. I-II.

13 H. G. Fischer, 1978-1979, "Notes on Sticks and Staves in Ancient Egypt", *Metropolitan Museum Journal* supplement to vols. 12-13 p. 5-32, §9. *Idem*, 1979, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy: A Beginner's Guide to Writing Hieroglyphs*, New York, p. 41 (S 40). Even today, shepherds' crooks and staves used by snake hunters have forked lower terminals.

14 Papyrus Harris 501 (= BM 10042), dated to the XIX Egyptian Dynasty. H. O. Lange, 1927, *Der Magische Papyrus Harris*, Copenhagen, p. 86, l. 37-38: "You are the valiant shepherd, O Horan: 'protection, I say protection' ". Here associated with the Canaanite gods Reshep and Anat, he was thus invoked because he got rid of wild animals dangerous to the faithful. A. Caquot, 1979, in "Horon: revue critique et données nouvelles", *Annales archéologiques arabes, syriennes* XXIX-XXX, 1979-1980 (Numéro Spécial Colloque International des Etudes Ugaritiques à l'occasion du Cinquantenaire des Fouilles Archéologiques à Ras Shamra (Ugarit), Latakia, 10-13 October 1979), p. 173.

15 The action Horan took to neutralize the snake venom, especially when the snake was shedding its skin and was thus at its most dangerous, is recounted on Ras Shamra tablet RS 24.244. This document, dated to the thirteenth century BC, is now in the collections of the Damascus Museum, No. § 6587. On this tablet and its text, see C. Virolleaud, 1968, *Ugaritica V*, p. 564-574; A. Caquot, 1979, "Ras Shamra: La Littérature ugaritique", in *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, col. 1389-1391; P. Xella, 1981, *I Testi rituali di Ugarit*, I, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Rome, p. 224-240; *Land des Baal, Syrien-Forum der Völker und Kulturen* (exh. cat., Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin 1982), No. 150; P. Bordreuil, 1983, in *Au Pays de Baal et d'Astarté* (exh. cat., Musée du Petit Palais, Paris, 1983-1984), p. 180-181, No. 209; D. Pardee, 1988, "Les Textes

para-mythologiques de la 24^e campagne (1961)", in *Ras Shamra-Ugarit IV*, ERC Mémoire 77, Paris, p. 193-226 (and, particularly in this case, pages 203 and 224).

16 D. Pardee, *op. cit.*, 53 p. 208.

17 Gloss by the author of this article.

18 These plants appear to be constituents of a medication supposed to fight the lethal effects of snake venom. Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.48 and 85 fortuitously provides a veritable ancient Egyptian treatise on ophiology; it contains numerous recipes for the treatment of the bites of venomous reptiles. See S. Sauneron, 1989, *Un traité égyptien d'ophiologie*; IFAO - Bibliothèque Générale, T. XI), Cairo. In this document, the grape appears several times in pharmacological preparations for the treatment of patients who have been bitten by snakes (§60, 61a, 66a, 71a, 96b) as does the reed (§71a, 99c) and dried dates (§100), although tamarisk is not found, nor is the "abductress". T. Bardinot, 1995, *Les Papyrus médicaux de l'Égypte pharaonique*, Paris, p. 528-546.

19 Translation by D. Pardee, 2002, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit*, in *Writings from the Ancient World* 10, Leiden: Brill, p. 174-178.

20 RIH 78/20, 9-10. A. Caquot, *op. cit.*, p. 173; P. Bordreuil and A. Caquot, 1980, "Les Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découverts en 1978 à Ibn Hani", in *Syria* 57, p. 343-373, l. 9-10: "Houroun chassera (ces) compagnons, le Jouvenceau (chassera ces) associés en ta faveur", *ibid.* p. 350.

21 It will be seen below that this is not simply a naïve remark.

22 M. C. Astour, 1968, "Two Ugaritic Serpent Charms", *JNES* 27, p. 18. In the practice of exorcising rituals to annihilate snakes and neutralize their venom by the magical intervention of Horan, there are frequent allusions to the "tying up" of the snakes. See also D. Pardee, 1978, "A Philological and Prosodic Analysis of the Ugaritic Serpent Incantation *UI 607*", *Journal of the*

Ancient Near Eastern Society, p. 106; *idem*, 1988, p. 225.

23 If they do not frame him, they are sometimes placed one above the other in front of the walking figure. See the catalogue by A. Rowe and the article by D. Ben-Tor cited in note 4 above; O. Tufnell, 1973, "The Middle Bronze Age Scarab-Seals from Burials on the Mound at Megiddo", *Levant* 5, p. 74, fig. 3, No. 120; for the various positions in which the snakes may be found on the bases of Levantine scarabs and scaraboids, see O. Keel, 1995, Introduction to *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit*, in OBO – Series Archaeologica No. 10, Freiburg and Göttingen, p. 156, figs. 263–269.

24 This subject, known from cylinder seals since the time of the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr cultures, is also found at Mari around 2500 BC (see for example, the upper register of the standard with inlays of sea shells in the Louvre), at Minet el-Beida/Ugarit in the thirteenth century BC on an ivory pyxis cover with a representation of Astarte (?) between two caprines which she is suckling and, at the same site, on the gold pendant adorned with an image of the same goddess, naked, separating two serpents while holding two young caprines in her hands (Louvre, inv. No. AO 14714). P. Amiet, 1979, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'art de l'antiquité orientale*, Paris, p. 31, fig. 16, p. 32, fig. 17, p. 55, fig. 39, p. 95, fig. 70, p. 96, fig. 71. P. Montet, *Les Reliques de l'art syrien dans l'Égypte du Nouvel Empire*, p. 100–102, figs. 146 and 154.

25 These figurines have been dated to the end of the XII Egyptian dynasty, thus excluding an earlier dating to before the reign of Sesostri III (± 1872–1854 BC).

26 It is known that since this period, the Egyptian letter "A" was used to render both the "l" and the "r" in Semitic languages in the execration texts. See W. F. Albright, 1934, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, New Haven, p. 12; G. Posener,

1940, *Princes et Pays d'Asie et de Nubie. Textes hiératiques sur les figures d'envoûtement du Moyen Empire*, Brussels, p. 44 and 70 (E 11).

27 G. Posener, *op. cit.*, p. 74 (E 17) and 92 (E 59); J. Gray, 1949, "The Canaanite God Horon", in *JNES* VIII, p. 27–34; J. van Dijk, 1989, "The Canaanite God Hauron and his Cult in Egypt", in Göttinger *Miszellen-Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* Heft 107, p. 59–60; T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, in OBO-Series Archaeologica No. 114, Freiburg and Göttingen, 1992, p. 170.

28 Since the publication of Posener's article, *op. cit.*, the name of Horan has been found as ha-aw-ra-an-a'bi, "Huron is my father", : M. Birot, "Textes administratifs de la salle 5 du palais", in *Archives royales de Mari* IX, Paris, 1960, Texts 19, 7; 24, 30; 27, 30; H. B. Huffmon, 1965, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, Baltimore, p. 32 and 192. A. Caquot, 1979–1980 "Horon: revue critique et données nouvelles", *Annales archéologiques arabes, syriennes* XXIX–XXX, (Numéro Spécial Colloque International des Etudes Ugaritiques à l'Occasion du Cinquantenaire des Fouilles Archéologiques à Ras Shamra (Ugarit)), Latakia, 10–13 October 1979), p. 174.

29 On the Hurrians and the earliest archaeological and textual evidence for them, see E. Dhorme and R. Dussaud, 1949, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie / Les religions des Hittites et des Hourrites, des Phéniciens et des Syriens* (Mana 1), Paris: PUF; L. Cottrell, ed., 1962, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique d'archéologie*, Paris, p. 238; J. Freu, *Amarna letters 2003, Histoire du Mitanni* (Collection Kubaba, Série Antiquité 3), Paris; M. Salvini, 2005, in J. Leclant, ed., *Dictionnaire de l'Antiquité*, Paris, p. 1087–1088; in relation to the Hurrians, however, the best known document remains Amarna letter EA 24, unearthed at the Egyptian site of Tell el-Amarna, W. L. Moran

et alii, 1987, *Les Lettres d'El Amarna* (LAPO 13), Paris, p. 139–151. *Idem.*, 1992, *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore and London.

30 See Genesis 14, 6; 34, 2; 36; 20–30; 36,2; 54 Deuteronomy 2, 12–22; I Chronicles 1, 38–42. A.-M. Gérard, 1989, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Paris, p. 530–531. O. Odelain and R. Séguineau, 2002, *Dictionnaire des noms propres de la Bible*, Paris, p. 175; In the list of Palestinian cities conquered by the Egyptian pharaoh Sheshonq I (925 BC), there is also a mention of a city called Beth-Hurun (the House of Hurun); See P. Montet and P. Bucher, 1935, "Un dieu cananéen à Tanis: Houroun de Ramsès II", *Revue Biblique* 44, p. 162. H. Seyrig, 1935, "A propos du dieu cananéen Houroun", *Syria* XVI, p. 418.

31 R. Stadelmann, 1967, *Syrisch-Palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten*, Leyden, p. 76–88.

32 Should not the 'shepherd' protect his flock above all else?

33 If not since the Middle Kingdom, at the very least from the Second Intermediate Period, that is about 1750 BC.

34 In this context, it is difficult to avoid thinking of the numerous Egyptian examples of "Horus the Saviour", also a young deity invoked against venomous attacks of all kinds. The homophony of "Horus" and "Horan" must have greatly facilitated the assimilation of this protective function in the mind of the common man of the period. In any case, this homophony could only have arisen between "Hr"/"Horus" and the Egyptian transcription of the Semitic "Hwr"/"Hor" and not between "Hwrwn/A"/"Horan/a". On this subject, see S. Sauneron, 1950, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 7, p. 124–125.

35 B. Bruyère, 1937, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh (1934–1935) – Deuxième Partie: La Nécropole de l'Est* (FIFAO XV), Cairo, p. 18, fig. 7, No. 2-31937; *op. cit.*, 1939, *Troisième partie: le village, les décharges publiques, la station de repos de la Vallée des Rois* (FIFAO XVI), Cairo, p. 203, fig. 92. S. Sauneron, 1950, "Deux men-

tions d'Houroun", *RdE* 7, p. 121-126; it is not too fanciful to observe that the two gods on the small stelae illustrated in this article, Horan and Shed, are each walking on three serpents that appear to be trying to rear up. This is a very ancient image in the symbolic iconography of ancient Egypt. It is in effect found on the verso of the Narmer Palette in the Cairo Museum (inv. No. JE 32169 / CGC 14716) where Horus is seen perched on a clump of papyrus and holding the head of a prisoner by a rope as a sign of the prisoner's submission. The symbolism that Horan and Shed embody on the two small reliefs from Deir el-Medina is identical to that of the Narmer Palette: in walking on the serpents, the gods tread them into submission and annihilate the harmful effects of their venom. This same theme occurs on the stelae of Horus and the crocodiles. For the Narmer Palette see J. Vandier, 1952, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol i: *Les époques de formation - La Préhistoire*, Paris, p. 595-599, figs. 391-392.

36 J. Leibovitch, 1944, "Amon-Ra, Rechef et Houroun sur une stèle", *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 44, p. 163-172.

37 In Egypt, this Canaanite god is always represented with the sidelock of youth on his right temple.

38 Is he not seen holding his bow and arrows in his hand?

39 W. M. F. Petrie, 1906, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt 12, 2nd edn., pl. 4: A (E 407), (G, extreme left), (K 4); pl. 9, Nos. 142, 179, 183 and 184 (all of these scarabs are from the site of Tell el-Yahudiya in the eastern Delta), London. C. Berger-el Naggar, 1999, "Des archives sacrées à Saqqâra dans le temple de Pépy I^{er}", *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 12, p. 30 (upper photograph). Christa Mlinar, "The Scarabs Workshops of Tell el-Dab^a", in M. Bietak and E. Czerny, eds., 2004, *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant*:

Chronological and Historical Implications: Papers of a Symposium, Vienna 10th-13th of January, 2002 p. 107 et seq., fig. 6a. (Nos. 1, 5, 6 and 8), fig. 7 (Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4), fig. 11a (No. 7), fig. 14 (No. 2) Vienna. P. Newberry, 2003, *Ancient Egyptian Scarabs and Cylinder Seals: The Timins Collection*, p. 50, (Nos. 16 and 21), pl. 17; p. 53-4, (Nos. 8, 13, 14, 15 and 16), pl. 18, London, New York and Bahrain, the great majority of these scarabs from the Timins collection come from the eastern Delta. H. Ch. Loffet, 2007, *Catalogue de la Collection Égyptienne du Musée Emmanuel Liais de Cherbourg*, Paris, p. 91, No. 136.

40 See note 4 above: D. Ben-Tor, 1933, the reference on p. 70, No. 43.

41 To our knowledge, there is no archaeological or iconographical evidence of a god Houroun ophiomorphe, neither in the Levant, nor in Egypte, D. Pardee, 1988, "Les Textes para-mythologiques de la 24^e campagne (1961)", in *Ras Shamra-Ougarit IV*, ERC Mémoire 77, Paris, p. 215.

42 For a clarification of the origins of the Hyksos, their history and their occupation of an area in the Syro-Palestinian and Egyptian region, see H. Stock, 1955, *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13. bis 17. Dynastie Ägyptens, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Skarabäen dieser Zwischenzeit*, Ägyptologische Forschungen, 12, p. 70-75, Glückstadt. C. Vandersleyen, 1995, *L'Égypte et la Vallée du Nil*, ii: *De la fin de l'Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire*, p. 163-8, Paris. C. Booth, 2005, *The Hyksos Period in Egypt*, *Shire Egyptology* 27: Princes Risborough, p. 6, for the chronology of this period.

43 R. Giveon, 1974, "Hyksos Scarabs with Names of Kings and Officials from Canaan", *Chronique d'Égypte* 49 p. 225. C. Vandersleyen, 1995, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

44 James M. Weinstein, 1981, "The Egyptian Empire in

Palestine: A Reassessment", *BASOR* 241, p. 8-10. C. Vandersleyen, 1995, *op. cit.*, p. 167. See also, however, Aharon Kempinski, 1994, "Tel Kabri: L'Influence crétoise dans un palais de 55 Canaan", *Le Monde de la Bible* 89, p. 38. It is now considered that the information provided by M. Chébab, 1975, September-October, "30 années de recherche archéologique au Liban", in *Les Dossiers de l'Archéologie* 12, p. 12-13 and 14, on the presence of the Hyksos at the sites respectively of Byblos and Baalbek should be treated with caution and used with great prudence.

45 This might provide a new piece of evidence to take into account in studies on the Hyksos. In any case, on the subject of the influence of the Hyksos at Sidon, see the reflections of Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet and Eric Gubel, 2007, *Les Phéniciens: Aux origines du Liban*, Paris, p. 72.

46 There is also a northern Tell Far'ah a few kilometres to the northeast of Nablus, ancient Tirçah. The southern Tell Far'ah is to the south of the present city of Gaza, in Palestine.

47 W. M. F. Petrie, 1930, *Beth-Pelet (Tel Fara)* I, (BASAE 48), London, pl. 12 (No. 171).

48 M. Cassirer, 1959, "A Scarab with an early representation of Reshep", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 45, p. 6-7, pl. 1 (bottom).

49 If the design on the base of this scarab really represents a plant?