The Cult of Heron in Egypt
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Abstract
The cult of the warrior Karian god Heron appeared in Egypt during the Ptolemaic period, its main cult center was at Fayoum. His worship at Fayoum is mainly attributed with the Greek mercenaries who came to Fayoum during the reign of Ptolemy I. He was depicted upon the Roman temples of the Choras of Fayoum as Magdola, Theadelphia and Narmouthis, His worship also appeared as a domestic-cult between the Fayoums' communities during the Graeco-Roman period; his depictions the domestic houses there as Karanis, Soknopaious Neso and Dionysius. Heron's figure is also appeared on the objects and the small materials which were found at Fayoum as on the stelae and terra-Cottas. It’s a worthy notice that the cult of Heron in Egypt was not only illuminated at Fayoum; it also appeared outside Fayoum and his figures appeared on the walls of Deir el-Medina and Deir el-Hagar at Dakhla.
Heron as a cavalier; he always depicted in military dress is surmounting upon horseback or standing beside his horse, turning his glance towards the viewer. A tree and a serpent standing next to the god as his main attributes and the serpent is usually coiled around the tree.
The Greek mercenaries as usual assimilated Heron with the Egyptian gods who carry the same military aspects; so the cult of Heron connected mainly with Egyptian gods as Horus, the two crocodile gods, Harpocrates, and the sun god Re; he is also acted as Horus as a sun-bird. The Heron’s connection with the sun’s cult, give his the characteristic to act as a burial god, the deceased depicted himself in the form of Heron, especially upon the stelae or terra-cottas; the deceased appeared as a rider upon a horse to be as Heron under the protection of the sun god in his afterlife. Heron also attributed with other Hellenistic gods as Herakles, Serapis and the Diskouri.

Keywords: serpent, horse, chora, black servant, cavalier

Introduction
Heroes in general held a special place in ancient Greek religion. Most of the ancient heroes were celebrated not only in traditional legends, but in religious ceremonies as well. Although they formed, alongside gods, a category of their own, they had their own share as far as their powers and prerogative are concerned. They were not immortals; being a subset of ancestors, they shared the nature and prerogatives of mortal people. They gained the power after their death as patron, protector, granter of success in various undertakings; they could even bring disaster in form of a plague, barrenness or disaster. They were remembered, respected, feared and invoked by living people. Ancient literary, iconographical evidence recognized Greek hero cult in many categories of heroes: heroes descending from gods, local heroes, epic heroes, eponymous heroes, warriors, kings, founder of cities, healers, prophets etc. during the time of the Pausanias (2nd cent. A.D) the Greek country was saturated with heroes (Lazova, 2007, p.334), refers for more than a hundred monuments to heroes (Ekroth, 2011, p.122).
Heron is one of the Greek hero cults; the category of hero or “demi-god”, a category that occupied an area between the mortal and the divine realms, it has a special cult-center among the community history within he lived, a heroon, with offering of regular sacrifice and votive gifts, and sometimes a spectacular monument. The rites with which heroes were celebrated were, to some degree,” a chthonic counterpart” to the rites with which the gods were celebrated involving blood sacrifice, offerings of food and libations (Burkert, 1985, pp.203-206). The sacrifice was
always accompanied by a banquet at which the hero was thought to present with a kind of celebration festival. Hero’s cult plainly had a strong political aspect from the 6th century B.C (Potter, 2003, p.418).

His Origin, Figure and Attributes
Heró’s origin remains problematic, his figures most represented sees him the specter Egyptian form of the Thracian horseman, who entered Egypt during the Ptolemaic period (Dunand and Zivie-Coche, 2013, p.195). Heron was identified as a Greek god, with Thracian’s origin, the Thracian heroes shared with the Egyptian Heron a homonymy, some of his epithets, and his iconography(1).

Heron is an imported god, his cult entered Egypt by the mercenaries hired by the Ptolemies (Tallet and Zivie-Coch, 2012, p. 439) neither his military costume nor his horse are Egyptian features whose cult was popular in the Balkan during the Roman period (Vandorpe, 2000, p.74). The cultural context of hero as well-a horseman having his origins in the Roman period, this term became popular, whether the cult is Thracian or non-Thracian, Greek or non-Greek; the vision of hero cult as a variety of specific case identified in the region of Thrace (Lazova, Op. Cit, p. 333).The Thracian heroes shared with the Egyptian Heron a homonymy, some of his epithets, and his iconography. Though riding a horse is very rare in Egyptian iconography, only attributed to the Syrian goddess Anat, it was a popular image in the Thracian society (Tallet and Zivie-Coche, 2012, pp.444-445).

Heron is always depicted in military dress on horseback or standing beside his horse, turning his glance towards the viewer, with a “Patera”; shallow libation dish in his hand which he presents to a serpent, a tree and a serpent standing next to the god and the serpent is usually coiled around the tree, the solar rays often surrounded the god’s head show that he was a solar god (Kaper and Worp, 1999, p. 246).

He appeared wearing a tunic, a breastplate loricasquamata, dressed like the victorious Imperator on a wooden tablet from Fayoum (2)(pl. 1a,b) and a purple paludamentum attached at his chest with a gorgoneion; he is also wearing boots and a painted aureole crown with a nimbus (Rassart-Debergh,1991, pp.349-353), his crown of rays give him solar aspects (Dunand and Zivie-Coche, 2006, pp.318-319).

The serpent was connected to domestic cults in Thrace and Phyrgia, as the snake god Shai was in Egypt in the Hellenistic-Egyptian representations, the serpent lies on or coils up the tree and drinks from a Patera that Heron offers in Roman times, the snake was still depicted, together with the tree, but Heron did not handle the patera, instead performing a libation on an altar. Also, a small masculine character was often depicted next to him (Tallet and Zivie-Coche., 2012, p.445).

The appearance of the horse with Heron is also connected with Thracian heroes; the horse symbolism is generally considered to be part of a porto- Indo- European (or “Kurgan”) stock of religious beliefs, with regard to the Thracian horseman or Thracian Knight. The horse and the dog are the only two animals acquire human features in the myth and epic tradition. They are not only magic helpers of the hero, but also in many cases they even substitutes him in the heroic

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1) About his cult in Egypt and Thracia see : Capovilla, G., Il Dio Heron in Traciaed in Egitto”, in: Revista di Filologia e d’IstruzioneClassica (51), 1923, pp. 424-460; Will, E., le relief cultural Greco-romain, Paris, 1955,
2) This wooden tablet is now in Bruxelles E 7409, one of four representations are conserved with their cards in Alexandria 22978, Berlin 15978 and Providence 59.030. Rondot, V., Derniers Visages des Dieuxd’Egypte, Iconographies, Pantheons et Cultesdans le Fayoumhellenise des II-III Siecles de notre ere, Louvre, 2013, p.14; Tallet, G and Zivie-X=Coche, C., Op. Cit, p. 445, fig. 26.1

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exploits. The horse -together with the dog- is a permanent hypostasis (Poruciuc, 2007, pp. 504-505).

The existence of the serpent beside Heron, not only connect a relationship between Heron and the Egyptian snake god, Shai, but also with the Greek snake god, Agathodaimon, both of Shai and Agathodaimon were regarded as beneficent donors and with “good characters” were known (Weber and Geissen, 2013, p. 84). Heron has the double names as Ἰρωνός καὶ ἈγαθόςΔαίθων (Heron at the end Agathos-Daimon or like Agathos-Daimon).

**His Cult**

In Ptolemaic Egypt, Heron entered the Egyptian pantheon through what is called interpretation Aegyptiaca. Kaper suggested that the Greek gods in Egypt an illustration of similar Egyptian gods, by a Hellenization’s process, they appeared in terra-cotta figurines inside the tombs, or represented as ex-voto in the temples, these statuette keep its Greek’s origin, illustrate Egyptian gods in Greek form. Heron was assimilated with Harpocrates who appeared with the borrow of the Thracian’s god Heron or Apollo or with the wings of Eros (Kaper, 2000, p. 127).

Heron’s worship origin with his military character started between the Thracian mercenaries, the cleruchi soldiers at Fayoum (Dunand and Zivie-Coche, 2006, p.319), so four panels, may be five with Copenhagen 711, from Fayoum depicts Heron, three of them with his companion (the god of the double axe) (Rondot, 2013, p.283).

Heron was always depicted on stelae as a victorious Hellenistic king and borrowed, by imitation the royal uniform and solar rays. In Roman Egypt, he was depicted also as a victorious Roman Imperator. Heron has a special cult center at Fayoum; most of the occurrence of Heron comes from the Fayoum and are to be connected with the cleruchic settlement of Thracian mercenaries from the second part of the 4th century BC. The Thracian immigration was mostly military at Fayoum, were not only low-ranking soldiers but also an important society (Tallet and Zivie-Coche., Op. Cit, p.440). Under Ptolemy Philadephus and Ptolemy Eurgetes I, Thracian mercenaries and soldiers were systematically encouraged to enroll in the army, and then to settle in specific regions in Egypt such as the Herakleopolite, Oxyrhynchite, and Arsinoite nomes (Launey, 1950, pp.959-974).

The descendants of Karian and Ionian mercenaries who had settled in Egypt at the end of the 6th century BC, they brought their own gods and cults (Tallet, and Zivie-Coche, Op. Cit, p.437). Heron’s worship was not limited in the military cycle, and his worshippers were not only just Cleruchi soldiers at Fayoum, the frequency of his name in the onomastic of Fayoum is an evidence of a genuine popularity between the public (Dunand, and Zivie-Coche., 2006, p.195).

Heron was worshipped in the Fayoum villages as Magdola, Tebtynis, Theadelphia and Karanis (Dunand and Zivie-Coche, 2006, p.319), which contains frescos for the military god Heron (Dunand and Zivie-Coche, p.380). His cult appeared upon the red and mud-brick temples, shrines and houses at Fayoum, where niches contain his figures; Magdola is a good example of the bad situation of these red-brick temples of Fayoum (Rondot, 2013, p.49).

**His scenes in the Egyptian temples**

1- Magdola

Rübsam suggested that Heron’s cult appeared at Fayoum during the 3rd century BC at Magdola (Rübsam, 1974, p. 121), since the 2nd century B.C a temple for Heron was dedicated (Lefebvre, 1920, p.237; id, 1921, pp. 163-165). He depicted in the temple of Magdola as a military- god with his lance. Jouguet and Lefebvre excavated in the temple at 1902, they referred to his
depiction there. Later Jouguet’s wife exhibited the scenes of Heron at Magdola in an international exhibition at Lille. Seven panels decorated the Propylon gate of the temple; Heron is depicted on the right side of the entrance and also on the two inner pillars of the court, he is appeared in his traditional figure with his heavy hair, short tunic and long mantle on his shoulder, the horse behind him and a dog on his feet, his companion with his military attributes with the appearance of the serpent around the tree (pl.2).

The other panels of Magdola temple depict bas-relief of three males with long mantle on thrones, two females are surmounting an outstretching eagle, the older female is holding an arrow, also Serapis is depicted with calathos crown, and a bust of Isis on the second pronaos of the temple (Rondot, 2013, p.49).

In Magdola, Two Greek inscriptions, the first one dates back to 118 BC refers to a Hipparchus at the head of the cavalry settlers dedicates a gateway to Heron, while the second one dates back to 95 BC (SB 7259.5 (lines 1-6), SB 8932, Nr.73), mentions that king Ptolemy X granted immunity and the right of asylum to the temple of Heron, requested by two military men who took care of the place (Bernand, 1981,pp.151,152), both of them named Herodes (Rübsam, W., Op. Cit, p.121). The Asylum’s right of the temple of Heron at Magdola gave him the same right of the great temples of Serapis and Isis in the region (Dunand and Zivie-Coche, p.195).

2- Theadelphia

Heron also appeared in frescos representations upon the entrance of the sanctuary of the temple of the crocodile god Pnepheros and Peteschouchos at Theadelphia at Fayoum. Three frescos depict Heron. It dates back to the Roman time, the 2nd century A.D (Dunand, F and Zivie-Coche, C, p.195). These depictions were integrated in the iconography of the temple with the remit of sacerdotal control; thus the priests who painted these frescos for Heron on the entrance to emphasize the holy character of the god inside the temple, and his religious role inside the temple, so the priests didn’t portrayed these frescos inside the sanctuary of the temple, that only the high priest can see, but they put on the entrance, in the open court, in the public area, to be easily recognized by the visitors and pilgrims of the temple (Tallet and Zivie-Coche, Op. Cit, p.446). Heron was known in Thrace aspropylaios, guardian of the doors, an epithet that he also has in Theadelphia and Magdola (Bingen, 2007, pp. 83-93).

The earliest datable example of a cavalier deity is inscribed upon a limestone stela from the temple of Heron at Theadelphia, dated 67 B.C, the reign of Ptolemy XII, and identified the cavalier deity as Heron (pl. 3) (Lefebvre, 1920, pp. 237-238, pl.1). The stela was dedicated by Petosiris to Heron, as “To the health of king Ptolemy, god Philopator and Philadelphos, Petosiris, son of Heracles, his wife and children (have dedicated) the propylon to Heron, the god twice great, in the fifteenth year of Ptolemy’s reign, the nineteenth of Thot” (Lewis, S., Op. Cit, pp. 33-34, note. 25, fig. 35).

The wall paintings of Heron accompanied by the god with the double axe from Theadelphia, are now in the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria (Nrs. 20223-20225), one depicts him riding his horse(pl.4), while the other one shows him standing beside his horse(pl.5), both of them depicted upon the representations of the local pair of crocodile gods. Heron is depicted upon his horse is making libation, traces of the coiled serpent on the tree is visible, a small figure of the god of the double axe on the top of the panel, in its corner(Breccia, 1926, pl. 59; Rostovetzeff, 1933, p. 504; Willems and Clarysse, 2000, fig.66).Heron as one of the Greek gods, which appeared in Egypt, with his special religious characteristics, was assimilated easily with one of the Egyptian gods (Dunand and Zivie-Coche, 2006, p.350).
The Roman -canonical image of Heron upon the temple of Pnepheros as a military soldier, is depicted in his military customs, with his cuirass and gorgoneion (Medusa’s head), short tunic, a mantel upon his chest, a kalathos crown, or a basket surrounded by a radiating nimbus his head, a snake and a tree are beside him, the standing fresco shows Heron in a frontal view, while a small depiction of the man in with his double axe, the follower of Heron upon may wooden panels of the Roman period. Nike also is giving the god another crown of seven rays just upon his head (Koemoth, 2010, p.275, fig.12).

The anonymous god with the double axe has many representations of the Roman period in Egypt, probably has a Thracian or Arabic’s origin (Kaper, Op. Cit, p. 307); his character and figure is clearly syncretic and connected with Egyptian gods, as Tutu, who is depicted on a stela is depicted holding the double axe and the long spear (Kaper, 2003, pp. 298-300, Nr. S30). The oriental custom of the god led many new investigations, Cumot supposed a Syrian’s god who is associated with Heron in Egypt (Cumot, 1939, pp. 1-9, pls. 1,2, figs. 1,2). Dunand supposed that this man is identified with the Syrian god “Lykurgos”, whose main cult center was at Hauran (south Syria), though till now there are no mention of this god in the Egyptian documents (Dunand and Zivie-Coche, pp.195-196, 593).

Since the Ptolemaic period Heron was identified with Horus (Lewis, S., Op. Cit, p. 34) ; by a graffito as Heron Soubattos, a form of the god Horus. The two wall paintings of the two gods on each side of the gate of the temple of Pnepheros are very typical. This similarity between the two gods has led many scholars to identify both of them as Heron, but it well be appeared that Heron and his double are not completely symmetrical, that the depiction of the god with the double axe at the upper corner suggests that it is he who is depicted mounted on a horse as well, not Heron.

Another indication of the non-symmetrical identity of the two gods, both of them are connected with the local god Pnepheros, whose temple at Theadelphia housed two crocodiles; a young one assimilated to Horus, the heir of the Osirian throne, and an old one associated with Osiris, the dead king (Tallet and Zivie-Coche, Op. Cit, p. 446, fig.26,2.b).

The two frescos of Theadelphia depict two crocodiles under the double figure of Heron, the Osirian crocodile is crowned the atef crown and wears the wesekh collar, lie in an elongated covering which is higher than the crocodile’s head that sticks out of it on the front (Dils, 1990, p.80), while the young crocodile is wearing the solar disc of a young regenerated god as Heron Soubattos (Koemoth, P., Op. Cit, p.275).

Lefebvre suggested that the crocodile with the sun disc crown is a form of Horus, while Daressy suggested that is a figure of Sopdou (the Egyptian Spd), a close Hellenistic combination between Horus and Soubattos (Lefebvre, 1920, pp.241-242, n.5). While P. Koemoth mentioned that under cover of the Thracian god, this Heron could indeed hide a local form of Sobek-Re known as anthropomorphic expression Pnepheros which is below it, that a panel was discovered at Dionysias, near Theadelphia, portrays a anthropomorphic figure of Sobek, crowned with two high plumes, holds a scepter and depicted inside the solar disc, unifies with Re, and sending his rays invigorating uncrowned mummmified crocodile under him, as the funerary ritual (hnmltn) which unifies Sobek and his mummy with the Sun disc (Koemoth., Op. Cit, p.276).

G. Tallet and C. Zivie-Coche connected between Heron and his companion with both the two Egyptian crocodile gods Horus and his father Osiris and the Greek twin-brothers Dioskuri (Tallet and Zivie-Coche., Op. Cit, p. 446). The two representations of the crocodile gods and the Dioskuri, were in fact a pair of crocodile gods that Egyptians called Senouy (psosnaus in Greek), literally “the two brothers”, is appeared on a stelae from Theadelphia, depicting a pair of protective crocodiles, as a common double cultic worship in the Fayoum crocodiles’ temples.
(Tallet and Zivie-Coche, Op. Cit, p. 447), and also outside Fayoum, refers to priests of Isis in a temple of the “Two Brothers” in Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. II 254 (c.19/ 20 CE) , and another mention in P. for such temple in the isolated countryside (P. Oxy. XLIX 3467 (98 CE))(1).

The Dioskuri also appeared at Theadelphia on a stela was depicted inside a niche in a private house, it was found by Breccia, it represents the Dioskuri under the service of a goddess, who appears in between the two representation of the Dioskuri, while Harpocrates on the left side and Hermouthis on the right side of the stela (pl. 6) (Rondot, Op. Cit, p. 64, fig.31)

The relation between the Dioskouri and the two crocodile gods is also attested at Akoris by the large relief sculpted on the rock overhanging the city; depicts the Dioskouri with their sister Helena. The Dioskouri both wear a Roman uniform, curb a horse, and have a star surmounting their heads. Usually Helena was depicted with a nimbus or solar crescent, but here she too has a star (Drew-Bear, 1991, pp. 227-234; Bernand, 1988, pl.8), an attribute of Isis-Sothis, a goddess associated with the Dioskouri in Alexandria and connected to the Nile flood. At Akoris the Dioskouri became interpretation Graeca of the Egyptian crocodile gods “Senouy”, and Helena with Isis-Sothis, which reflects the importance of the Dioskouri between the Hellenized parts of the population in Egypt (Tallet and Zivie-Coche, Op. Cit, p. 447).

The Akoris relief and the Theadelphia frescos illustrate the “coexistence of images”, as a “syncretism” (Pfeiffer, 2005, pp. 288-289), “Romanization” or “Hellenization” process for Egyptian gods to be identified with Hellenistic ones, this process which was well-accurate and noticeable during the Roman Egypt (Dunand., 1997, pp. 97-116).

Two fragments of one panel, as private collection, it is about 36/ 30 cm, was purchased in 1955, date back to the Ptolemaic period (between the 3rd -2nd B.C) from Fayoum was dedicated by “Pathebis, son of Herieus for the god”, Heron is accompanied by his usual follower, who is depicted in a small scale on the left side (Rassart-Debergh, 1990, p. 39, fig. 1; id., 1991, pp.353-355, figs.3-5; Kiss, 1996, p.219; Nachtergaeel, 1996, p.141, fig.3 (the right part).

Another representation of Heron is now in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin, only the right half of a wooden panel, was found in a private house from Tebtynis, it is about 41/ 25,5 cm) depicts Heron with his lance in his left arm, while the serpent is coiled around the palm tree(2), most probably, the god of the double axe was depicted on the left side of the panel, which is missing now(pl.7)(Rondot, 2001, p. 220).

Another representation of Heron was found at Fayoum, now at Rhodes Island in Island School of Design, Museum of Art 59.030. It was purchased at Paris in 1953, and then was associated as one of the masterpieces of Rhodes's Museum at 1959; it was restored in the museum in 1972 by a laboratory in the Museum of Fine Arts-Boston.

It was described by Karl Parlaska in the catalogue of Nahman Nr.286, it represents one of the feet of Heron, who is making offering upon an offering table, a serpent is coiled around the tree. A pillar is surmounting with the figure of griffon, with the appearance of his black servant beside him. Heron's face is depicted in a frontal view, while his feet in a profile view is marching towards the right, he is wearing his usual curiass crown, a three-strips belt is around his tunic, which is decorated in longitudinal strips decorated as two black lines, a red- flecked line, then

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2)It is No. 15979 in Berlin Museum, was excavated by Rubenson, O., “Aus Griechisch- Römischen Häusern des Fayoum”, in: JDAI (20), 1905, p. 20; Kiss, Z., “Etudes sur le Portrait imperial romaine en Egypte“, in: Travaux du centre d’archeologie mediterraneene de l’ Academie polonaise des Sciences(23), 1984, pp. 83, 185, fig.214
two red lines. The tunic's sleeves is decorated in two black lines (pl.8a,b)(Rondot, op.cit, pp.208-209)

3- Narmouthis
Vanderlip found a fresco of Heron in white-black colures is depicted on the second court of the temple (Bresciani, 1995, pp.274-278), the stela now in the museum of Turin (Ibid, p.272, fig. 44, pp. 275-276).

4- Karanis
Two paintings were found at Karanis, dedicated to Heron. A mural painting was excavated in Karanis by the Cairo University’s excavation between 1969-1970 there, now in a magazine in Giza, it was found at Hous CIII, it depicts Heron accompanied with “black servant”, on the left side, a person is holding a Doum-palm branch?, he is most probably the god of the double axe, god Lycurgue (pl.9) (Parlasca, (1998), pp.7-10, pl. II,3).
Fresco of Heron was found also inside a nichein Room E of House B50 at Karanis, on the eastern side of a niche in the southern wall (Davoli, P., Archeologia urbana, pp. 87-89; Rondot, V, Visages, p.58, fig. 23). The painting of Heron was adjacent in the same niche to figure of Isis Lacants is suckling her son. Th.Thomas and E. Gazda published both of the paintings of Isis and Heron inside the same niche (Rondot, V., Op. Cit, p.60, fig.26).
The mural painting of Heron is 0.37 m; represent him in his military character mounted on his horse. Here the outline of the god’s figure, the trappings of the horse, the javelin which he grasps in his left hand and the upper part of his gown and sleeve are all a dark maroon red. The kilt of the dress is almost white, the cross work on his grayish blue vest a dark maroon color, his shoes and hair are both a very deep maroon color, almost black(pl.10 a, b) (Boak and Peterson, 1931, p. 34, pl. XXIV). The private house of Karanis contains also paintings of Isis, Harpocrates, the sphinx Tithoes, in addition to the mentioned panel of Heron, F. Dunand dated them back to the 3rd century A.D (Dunand and Zivie- Coche,pp.397-398), while A. Bowman dated the wall-painting of Heron between 50 BC – A.D 50 (Bowman,1986, p. 176, fig. 107).
The house B50 contained also three paintings; one depicts Harpocrates on his seat, putting his finger in his mouth with the appearance of god Tithos as a guardian (Pl.11). The second one depicts a standing Kore, a small unidentifiable nude figure on a cushion holding torches, a standing Demeter, Isis seated on a large throne, Serapis seated on a smaller throne extending his hand to a three headed Ceberus (Pl.12) (Rondot, V., Op. Cit, p.62, fig. 29). The third one contains fragments of unidentified standing figure, unidentified enthroned male figure (the adult Harpocrates), a small Harpocrates, a winged figure holding a troche (Erote), a large standing female figure representing Isis-Fortuna or Hekate, this figure is flanked by two diminutive bulls, one with an altar (Pl.13 )(Ibid, pp.63-64, fig. 30).

5- Sknopaios Nesos
Two paintings were published by Boak, one represents Heron as a cavalier, while the second one represent two gods in a niche is receiving offerings on an altar, the owner of the house and his wife in the act of making an offering to the god Soknopaios (pl.14) (Boak, E et al., Soknopaios Nesos, The University of Michigan Excavations at Dime in 1931-32, University of Michigan Studies, in: Humanistics Series (39), Ann Arbor, 1935, pp.9-10, pl. III; Talalay, S., Alcock in the Field, the Archaeological Expeditions of the Kelsey Museum, Kelsey Museum Publications (4), Ann Arbor, 2006, p.33; Rondot, V., Op. Cit, p.65).
6- Dionysias
A painting of Heron was published by Wild and Schwartz (Shwartz and Wild., 1950, pp. 72-80, pl.1), it was found north-west of the temple, it represents a god is holding a scepter, is wearing a tunic and a mantle painted in multiple colures, to the north, is a seated figure on a throne. Although the damage of this painting, but one can distinguish the beautiful colures on the neck of the standing god, and the remarkable bout of the seated god (pl.15) (Rondot., Op. Cit, p.65, fig. 32).

7- Deir el-Medina
Roman graffito of Harpocrate-Heron is depicted upon the Ptolemaic temple of Deir el-Medina by the pilgrims of the site (Montserrat, 196, pl. XXII, 2) (pl. 16). Heron is also depicted on the coins of the Diospolite nome of Upper Egypt, during the time of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antonius Pius (Daressy, 1921, pp. 7-16; Weber and Geissen., Op. Cit, pl. III 21, 23), this also dues to the huge presence of the Thracian soldiers in the province in the 2nd century A.D.

8- Deir el-Hagar
A dipinto of Dioskouros on the east wall, southern door way, southern reveal of Deir el-Hagar at Dakhla, it is 80 cm H/ 53 cm W, is painted in dark and light red with black inner details. The dipinto is now lost. The identity of this figure is problematic, because his iconography does not conform to the most commonly encountered military gods. He is depicted as a soldier on horseback in a walking attitude, and facing left. He is dressed in a short sleeved tunic with a heavy cloak hanging down from his proper left shoulder. The hair of the god hangs down in curls on either side of his head, and a pointed cap is added on the right, a star upon the top of his head. The proper right arm holds the reins of the horse, while his left arm is raised and holding a long lance (pl.17).

Olaf Kaper assumed that this figure is difficult to be attributed to Heron, because of the missing of the double axe as one of the distinctive attribute of the god, he excluded also that the figure may be for the military Horus, who is depicted in reliefs and terra-cottas in a military dress seated upon his horse, but in all of these depictions Horus is always identified by his falcon’s head or by the double crown, which are both missing in this dipinto. Kaper supposed that the figure is possible connected to one of the Dioskouroi (most probably Kastor) at Deir el-Hagar, is related to a kind of connection or relationship between him and Amun (Kaper and Worp., Op. Cit, pp. 246-247).

This dipinto depiction of the horseman is classified as Dioskouroi, with the combination of the felt hat (pilos), the lance and the star on the god’s head is as one of the twin brothers known as the Dioskouroi, whose their cult spread from its home in Lakonia to many parts of the Greek world during the Archaic period (Shapiro, 1999, pp. 99-107). The soldier must be either Kastor or Polydeukes (Castor or Pollux), the twin sons of Zeus, who were very popular in Roman Egypt(Kaper and Worp., Op. Cit, p. 247. About the Dioskouroi in Egypt see: Hermary, 1981, pp. 567-593; Von Bissing, 1953, pp. 347-357; id, 1954; Quaegebeur, 1983, pp. 312-316), that the Romans had a special veneration for Gastor over Pollux, because Gastor was a military god (Hermary, A., Op. Cit, p. 567).

A stela is now in Turin; it depicts Kastor and Polydeukes, similar to this dipinto, both of them on horseback holding the lances and with the attributed famous star on their heads (Bissing, F., in: Aegyptus (33), pl. between pp. 352-353 (pl. 18).
The Dioskouri was found also in a wall painting from Theadelphia\(^1\), and a large relief cut in the cliffs of Akoris (Hermary, A., Op. Cit, no. 137), that Kastor and Polydeuces were associated with Ammon as sons of Zeus (SB. I, 987; Kaper and Worps., Op. Cit, p. 247), also the limestone sculpture of piloi (hats) from the Mithraeum at Memphis (Hermary, A., Op. Cit, no. 249), and also as pillon the stela of Isis- Renenutet with the Dioskourus from Fayoum from the 1st century A.D (Dubois, 1997, p. 204, no. 207), and there was a sanctuary of the Dioskouroi at Naukratis (Möller, A., Naukratis, Trade in Archaic Greece, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 99-100, 107). Two bronze figures, now in Louvre (Grimm, G., Das ptolemäische Ägypten, Mainz, 1978, p. 104, n.16) and the Cairo Museum (Cairo JE 28123; Edgar, C., Greek Bronzes, CGC, 1904, no. 27646), depict only one of the Dioskouroi. Kaper connected between the occurrence of the bust of Sarapammon- Asklepios of Deir el-Hagar with Roman military background, and the same with the Dioskouroi (Kaper and Worps., p. 247).

In my opinion, the occurrence of god Heron and the Dioskouroi are centered in the desert areas, as Fayoum, Akoris and Deir el-Hagar, inside military communities, so its appearance at Deir el-Hagar may be connected with god Amon-Nakht, Amun-Min-Kamutef or Seth, the protectors of the Western Desert. Heron, as mentioned above, with his serpent was connected with Agathodaimon, and the Thebaid god Amun-Min-Kamutef was appeared as sun god and in the form of a serpent (Weber and Geissen, Op. Cit, 2013, pp. 81, 84). The cult of Amun-Min Kamutef was known at Deir el-Hagar also, so it was normal through this relationship between Heron and Amun-Min-Kamutef, the existence of the cult of Heron at Deir el-Hagar.

Another lost dipinto, most probably for Heron is depicted on the temenos wall, south of the stone gateway, western face of the temple of Deir el-Hagar also. This dipinto is now lost in black colour, it is 36 H/ 16.5 W. It was described also by Kaper, the faint traces show a standing male resting his weight on the proper right leg, while the left leg bent slightly outward, traces of cloak is hanging from the left shoulder of Heron. He is holding a long lance in his right arm, while his left hand is extending towards a serpent, the figure’s head supposed to be crowned, but the traces are too faint to observe. The Greek style of the god in both in its garment and posture, in addition to the existence of the serpent, the lance and the supposed crown, give Kaper to identify this figure as Heron (Kaper and Worps., 1999, p. 248, Fig.15) (pl.19).

**Terra-Cotta**

The black servant who is always appeared in the companion with Heron is depicted on the terracottas. He is depicted in many terra-cottas Louvre AF 1028, 1029, E 20906 bis) (pl.20a,b), he is standing beside a small pillar, holds a garland and in hearing-attitude, that his right hand near his ear (Rondot, Op. Cit, pp.292-293, figs.48-50; Dunand., Terres-Cutes Louvre, n.610; Breccia., Terrecotte Alessandria, n.387).

A wooden panel in the Hartford Atheneum Museum Nr. 1934.6 from the Fayoum, it is 24.5/ 19.5 cm show a bearded -cavalier with a nimbus, calathos and laurel wreath and raises a double axe and lance in his right hand (pl. 21), as he stands next to a figure in Roman armor with a laurel wreath, also holding a lance, with a vertical serpent between them, suggesting a further syncretic fusion of Heron with the Syrian or Carian god Zeus Labraundeus in the Late Roman period (Lewis, S., Op. Cit, p. 36, not.39, fig. 20).\(^2\) Heron and his fellow Lycurgus is depicted also on a

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\(^1\) This painting was taken to the Museum of Alexandria, Breccia, E., Monuments de l’ Egypte Greco- Romaine, publication of the SocieteArcheologique d’ Alexandrie, 1926, pp. 124-126, pl. LXI.1

\(^2\) Pagan and Christian, Egyptian art from the first to the tenth century A.D, Brooklyn Museum, 1941 reprint 1969, nr.7; Thompson, D., The Artists of the Mummy Portraits, 1976, p. 16, figs.53-54
wooden panel in a private collection from Fayoum, it was purchased at 4-5 January 1953 at Paris (Nahman Nr. 283) (Rondot, Op. Cit, pp.154-155) (pl.22 a, b)

The connection between Heron and other gods

The Theracian god Heron was worshipped in several *chora* in the Fayoum, the iconographic equation of Herakles with victorious pharaoh was assimilated and integrated him with other Egyptian gods, as a son god is connected with Horus/ Apollo and Amon-Re and as a god of war with Ares and Herakles (Bowman., Op. Cit, p. 176); the invincible hero who had special appeal among the Greek mercenaries at Naucratis (Höckmann, 2010, pp. 25-33).

Many Egyptian gods appeared in their representations as soldiers or officers, such as Antaio (Seyfried, 1984, pp. 461-472; Quaegebbeur, 1994, p. 348) , Anubis (Grenier, 1997; Id, 1978, pp. 405-408) , Apis (Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1975, Nrs.147, 166), Bes(Kaper, 2005, p. 307) Horus (pl.23) (Frankfurter, 1998, p.3), and Tutu (Lewis, Op. Cit, p. 35, fig.19), and also the figure of Antinous, the dead close-friend of Hadrian, struck on commemorative coins from Alexandria between 134 and 138 A.D as a cavalier (Lewis, S., Op. Cit, p. 35, fig.19). Other Egyptian gods also appeared upon the horse or with weapons during the Graeco-Roman period such as the Alexandrian triad Isis, Serapis and Harpocrates (Clarysse, W and Willems, H., Les Empereurs du Nil, p. 269, cat. 198, p.299, kat. 238); the terra-cottas figures of Harpocrates upon the horse and Harpocrates with the offering or the donation cup are mainly assimilated with Heron since the 1st till the 4th century A.D (Fischer, in: Ägypten Griechenland and Rom, p. 349, kat. 263).

Heron as a cavalier upon his horse is portrayed in many terra-cottas in this figure made him to be as Horu (Harpocrates) (Kaper and Wilems, Cats. 127-238; Clarysse, 2000, cat. 233.6; Weber and Geissen, Op. Cit, p. 84), the juvenile and aggressiveness of Harpocrates assimilated him also as Harpocrates-Heron (Kaper, O and Wilems, 2000, Cats. 127-238). The connection between Heron and Horus, and the existence of the serpent and the solar rays often surrounded the god’s head show that he was a solar god, he was regarded as one of the forms of god Atum. On the otherwise the serpent as chthonischem animal is also a personification of god Heron (Atum). The relation between Heron and Atum is also clear in the inscriptions of the obelisk of the Hermapion by Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm. Marc. XVII.4, 20-23), dates back to the reign of Ramses II, the king instead of describe in the inscriptions as “Son of Atum”, he was described as “Son of Heron “Ἡρωνοςυζυγος”(Erman, 1995, p. 2986). Pithom, the capital of the 20thnome of Lower Egypt was called “House of Atum” (Pr-jtm/ Per-Item), it was called in the Greek texts as “Hrn police” “Ηηον πολεις”. Strabo (1) also referred to Pithomas city of Heron or Heroonpolis.

Many numerous crocodile’s gods but their iconography is less Hellenistic, so it is easy to identify (Dunand, F and Zivie-Coche, Op. Cit, p.592) .Heron is one of many foreign gods who appeared with weapons in a great influence of Hellenistic style of art, in addition to Herakles, Eros, and the god with the double axe, all of them identified as warrior-gods (Kaper, Op. Cit, p. 307).

Goddess Epona, the protector of horses in Roman pantheon; she and her horses might also have been leaders of the soul in the after-life (Brenk, 2007, pp. 181-194).

In Ptolemaic Egypt, the Hellenistic influence from Macedonia, Thrace, Syria and Asia Minor lead to the appearance of a series of simple military riders on horses, the iconography of the

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1) Strabon mentioned four times in his book the city of Heroonpolis, that there are two different cities carry this name, one is Tellel Maskhuta (Pithom) Strabo. 17. 1. 21-26; 35; 16. 4.2. And the other city is Medamud in north of the Thebaide nome. Strabo. 17. 1. 53. Quaegebbeur, J., Le die egyptien Shaidans la religion et l’Onomastique, OLA (2), Leuven, 1975, p.266, not.3
horseman appeared in two ways, either for mortals depicted on funerary monuments of Hellenistic Cavalrymen dating from the 4th and the 3rd centuries B.C, such as the painted stelai from the necropolis of Shatbi (pl.24), or depicted as a series of foreign gods were known as cavalier gods such as Kakasbos, Men, Teshub and Hadad from Anatolia, in addition to Heron from Thrace (Lewis, Op. Cit, p.33).

The riding of the horses is very rare in Egyptian iconography, only found with the Syrian goddess Anat. While horse breeders were important in elite Thracian society, in Ptolemaic Egypt, Heron was mainly appeared as a Hellenized version of the Thracian god as a military uniform figure. In Egypt, the horses were connected with the cavalry and thus with military statues. Heron was connected with Soldiers as their patron and protector, while his worship in Thrace was connected with peasants and hunters (Tallet, G and Zivie-Coche, Op. Cit, p. 445).

A Greek magical papyrus described Heron as the egg of an Ibis, the falcon and the Phoenix, he is the son of Thot, he is as Horus as a sun-bird (PGM. V. 251; Kakosy, L., Op. Cit, p. 2987) . the Heron’s connection with the sun’s cult, give his the characteristic to act as a burial god, the deceased was depicted himself, especially upon the stelae, or terra-cottas as a rider upon a horse(Maderna., “Zum Feinbild der Ptolemäer“, in: Ägypten Griechenland Rom, cat.157) (pl.25), the rider himself, above the winged sun disc can be mounted as Heron, so the deceased hope to be act as Heron and be under the protection of the winged sun disc (Kakosy., Op. Cit, p. 2986) . The connection between Heron and the Agathodaimon also classified the god as a burial one, the deceased hope in his tomb to be Agathodaimon, and with Heron connect (Weber, M and Geissen, A., Op. Cit, p. 84).

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Pl. 1 (a) Framed wooden panel depicting Heron (viewer’s right) and the god, Bruxelles E 7409, Bruxelles, Musee Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, prov. Fayoum with the double axe. Tallet, G and Zivie-Coche, C., Imported Cults, fig. 26.1

Pl.1 (b) Franz, C., in: Melanges Syriens, Pl.1

Pl. 2 Heron at Magdola
Rondot, V., Derniers Visages, p.51

Pl. 3 Stela from the temple of Heron at Theadelphia, 67 B.C, Cairo, JARCE (X), fig.35

Pl. 4 Heron at the temple of Pneferos and Petesouchos at Theadelphia; Franz, C., in: Melanges Syriens, figs.1,2; Rondot, V., Derniers Visages, pl.56, fig.21
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Pl. 9 Mural painting of Heron at Karanis, Rondot, V., Op. Cit, p.58, fig.23

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Pl. 11 Mural painting of Harpocrates with Tithoes at House Nr. C65, Rondot, V., Op. Cit, 28

Pl. 12 Mural painting of House Nr. 5046 at Karanis, Ibid, fig. 29

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Pl.20 (a) Terra-Cotta Louvre AF 1029; Rondot, V., Op. Cit, p.293, fig.48

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Pl.21 A wooden panel in the Hartford Atheneum Museum Nr. 1934.6 from the Fayoum- the gallery of Brummer- New York, Rondot, V., Op. Cit, pp.200-201

Pl.22a Heron and Lycurgus- private collection at Paris, Fayoum, 2nd -3rd B.C, Rondot, V., pp-154-155; id., RdE (52), figs. 3, 4
عرفت عبادة الأله هيرون في مصر منذ العصر البطلمي، حيث تعتبر الهضبة مركز عبادته الرئيسي. ارتبطت عبادته أساسا بالمرتزقة اليونانيين الذين حضروا إلى مصر بأعداد كبيرة منذ عصر بطليموس الأول. توجد نقوش ومناظر للإله هيرون على جدران معابد الفيوم في العصر اليوناني-رومان، مثل معابد ماجدولا، ثيادفالا، ونارموثيس، كما توجد أيضا مناظر لهيرون داخل المنازل في الفيوم في المدن اليونانية مثل كرانتس وسكتوبادوس نيسو (ديمة السباح) وديونيسوس قصر فاiron، بالإضافة إلى ظهور صور الآلهة على جدران اللوحات الجنائزية والتراكتونا. لم تقتصر عبادة هيرون داخل الفيوم فقط بل أيضا على جدران معبد دير المدينة ودير الحجر.

تم تصوير الآله كمحارب بزيه العسكر على ظهر الحصان أو واقفا بجوار الحصان ماسكا برمحه تجاه المشاهد للاله. يعتبر الثعبان الذي يظهر ملفوفا حول الشجرة أحد المختصات المرتبطه بالآله هيرون. ارتبطت عبادة هيرون بعبادة بعض الآله المصرية مثل حورس والهين التمساحين وحربوكراتيس واله الشمس، حيث تم تصويره في نفسه مثل هيرون، حيث يظهر المتوفي على سطح اللوحات والتراكتونا كمحارب على ظهر الحصان تحت حماية اله الشمس. ارتبط هيرون أيضاً ببعض الآله اليونانيين مثل هيراكليس، سيرابيس والديوسكورى.

الكلمات الدالة: ثعبان- ح☀- الخورا. الخادم الأسود- الفارس.