

## Denominations of the Egyptian God Ha

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### Abstarct

The desert-god Ha had theologically integrated the ancient Egyptian religious beliefs from a very early period as he was mentioned in the main funeral corpus of the Pyramid and Coffin Texts as well. This survey aims to shed more light on the different aspects of Ha and the roles he played throughout an analytical study of his formal and particular names and epithets from the Old Kingdom (2647-2150 BC) to the end of the Greco-Roman period (332 BC-642 AD). Named «*H3: HA, H3-Inn-Wn-nfr: HA-Amon-Wen-nofre, H3 ⲉ: Ha-the-Great, H3-m-Št3: Ha in Sheta, H3-Spd:Ha-Soped, H3-Skr:Ha-Soker and Hr-H3: Horus-HA*», the desert-god Ha was described as «*Nb Imntt: Lord of the West*», «*ꜥ phty: Great of might*», «*wr ḫpyt: Great of terror*», «*nb phty: Lord of might*», «*ntr mnḥ: Potent god*», «*shm dm pt: Puissance who touches the sky*» and «*k3-ꜥ: High of arm*», whose invincibility was thought to provide protection not only for Egypt especially the western deserts and their oases from enemies such as desert nomads, invading Libyan tribesmen, Asiatic people and Bedouin tribes, but also for the Underworld. For the most part, the different names and epithets applied to Ha determine definitely his dual nature of hostility and protection: he appeared as a punisher of the foreign Lands and, at the same time, as a powerful protector and a funerary god.

**Keywords:** Ha, Horus, West, Soped, Soker, Oases, Underworld

### Introduction\*

Being the tutelary god of the 7<sup>th</sup> nome of Lower Egypt located at the western point of the Delta, his association with the vast Libyan Desert, particularly the regions of the west including the oases, increased as time progressed and he became naturally their principal god. The «*Nb Imntt: Lord of the West*» was attested as early as the third dynasty where he was firstly mentioned in officials' title «*jmj-h3: Follower of Ha*». He was the son of the otherwise unknown god Iaaw<sup>†</sup>. The Egyptians had always preferred to represent Ha in a human form, wearing three hills of the hieroglyphic symbol for "desert" or "foreign lands" on his head. The headdress worn by the deity was specific to him; it is a key element for the identification of the god, especially when appearing without inscription

Firstly in 1972, Dieter Wildung wrote a short review about the god Ha entitled "Ha (*H3*)" in *LÄ II*, col. 923. In 2002, Christian Leitz<sup>‡</sup> also addressed the goddess Abaset in his valuable lexikon. Five years later and in his illustrated dictionary, *L'Egypte ancienne et ses dieux*, Jean-Pierre Corteggiani<sup>§</sup> wrote a short review on Ha. Finally in 2015, in his paper "Ha in Sheta" Andrzej Ćwiek<sup>\*\*</sup> gave more attention to one of Ha's name, namely *H3-m-Št3* and he concluded that the coronation cycle in the Portico of the Birth in the temple of Deir el-Bahari includes a scene of purification of Hatshepsut by a god Ha in Sheta *refers to the initiation of the female pharaoh into the secrets of the sun god, enabling her to fulfill her role as the provider of sustenance for humanity*.

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<sup>†</sup>See Foster (2001), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, p. 240.

<sup>‡</sup>See *LGG V*, p. 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub>.

<sup>§</sup>See Corteggiani (2007), *L'Égypte ancienne et ses dieux*, pp. 163-164.

<sup>\*\*</sup>See Ćwiek(2015), "Ha in Sheta", pp. 83-92.

The denominations of Ha define his different aspects as they reveal his nature and personality perceived by the ancient Egyptians. Having a radiant worship for about three thousand years, it seems that the names and qualifiers attributed to the desert-deity witnessed many changes during this long period. They were varied according to the roles played by the god in the Egyptian pantheon. This survey shows the formal and particular names for the god Ha, his titles and his honorary appellations from the Old Kingdom (2647-2150 BC) to the end of the Greco-Roman period (332 BC-642 AD) as well as their developments. Consequently, this study is an attempt to know whether the appellations of this divinity do vary according to the period? So we have studied the roles he played throughout his denominations.

The names and epithets are classified according to the alphabetical hieroglyphic order. The following abbreviations have been used in this study:

GF(s)	: Graphical Form(s)	MK	: Middle Kingdom
G.-R.	: Greco-Roman Period	NK	: New Kingdom
LP	: Late Period	OK	: Old Kingdom

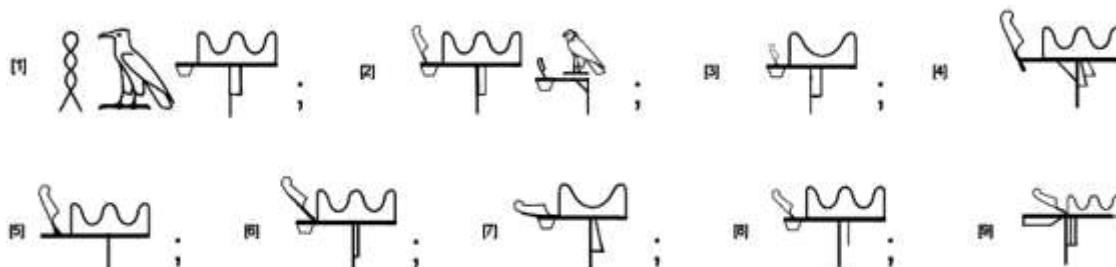
## II. Ha's Names:

Ha appears under several names according to the various aspects and the evolution of his cult.

### II.1- *H3*: HA

The name of Ha occurs with considerable frequency in the ancient Egyptian texts and the following scripts of his name are collected:

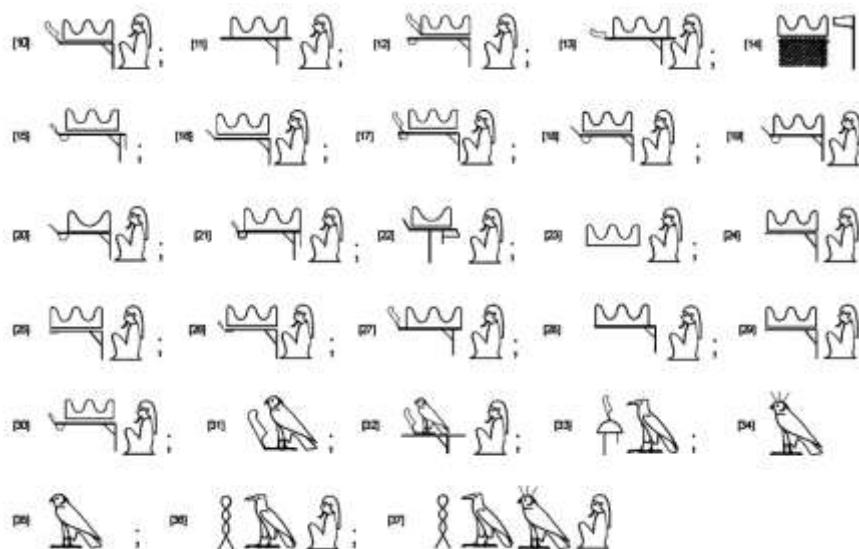
Ha's GFs in the OK<sup>\*</sup>:



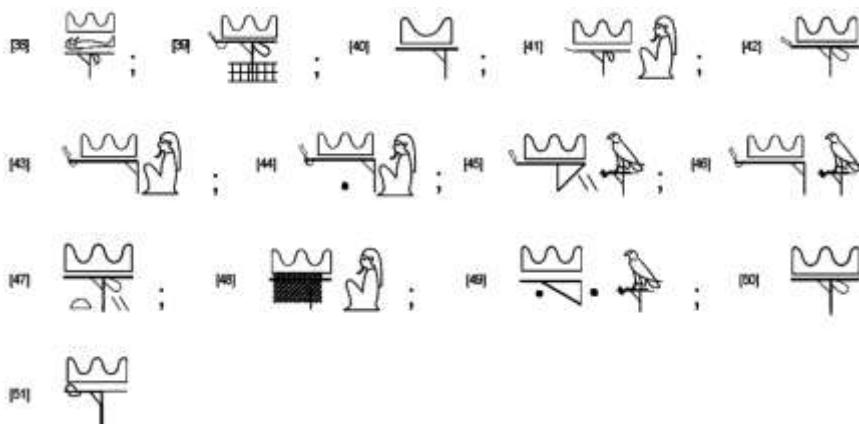
Ha's GFs in the MK<sup>†</sup>

\*For the scripts of Ha's name in the OK, see LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [9]; Faulkner (1969), *Pyramid Texts*, p. 253; Sethe (1960), *Pyramidentexte*, Utterance 610 (Pyr. § 1712b): [=GF n° 1-2]; Allen, (2005), *Pyramid Texts*, p. 29; Faulkner (1969), *Pyramid Texts*, p. 37; Sethe (1960), *Pyramidentexte*, Utterance 204 (Pyr. § 119b: [=GF n° 3]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [19]; Borchardt (1907), *Ne-user-re*', p. 113: [=GF n° 4]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [23]; Junker (1934), *Giza* II, p. 159 (n° 17): [=GF n° 5]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [24]; Lepsius (1849), *Denkmäler* II, pp. 27 and 29: [=GF n° 6]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [25]; Mariette (1889), *Les mastabas*, p. 228, 230 (D19) : [=GF n° 7]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [26]; Mariette (1889), *Les mastabas*, pp. 228, 230 and p. 400 (E8) [=GF n° 8]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [33]; Ziegler, (1999), *L'art égyptien*, p. 209 (n° 55); Reisner (1942), *Giza necropolis* I, pl. 17: [=GF n° 9]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [47]; Junker (1939), *ZÄS* 75, p. 70 (n° 34): [=GF n° 4].

† For the GFs of Ha's name in the MK, see LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>A</sub> [1]; Faulkner (1973), *Coffin Texts* I, p. 25; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts* I, spell 36 (139c) [=GF n° 10-14]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>A</sub> [2]; Faulkner (1973), *Coffin Texts* I, p. 140; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts* II, spell 162 (395c) [=GF n° 15-21]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>A</sub> [3]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts* II, p. 121; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts* VI, spell 479 (38aa) [=GF n° 22]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>A</sub> [4]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts* II, p. 207; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts* VI, spell 624 (240p) [=GF n° 23]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>A</sub> [5]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts* II, p. 288; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts* VI, spell 755 (384o) [=GF n° 24]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>A</sub> [6]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts* II, p. 289; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts* VI, spell 756 (386a) [=GF n° 25]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-



Ha's GFs in the NK\*

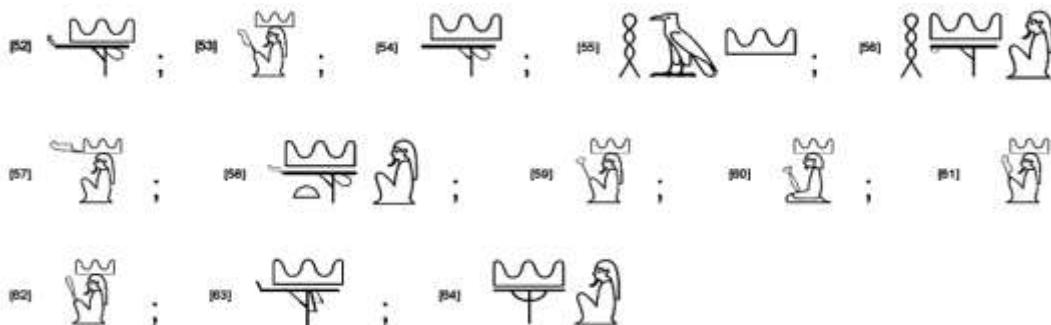


Ha's GFs in the LP†

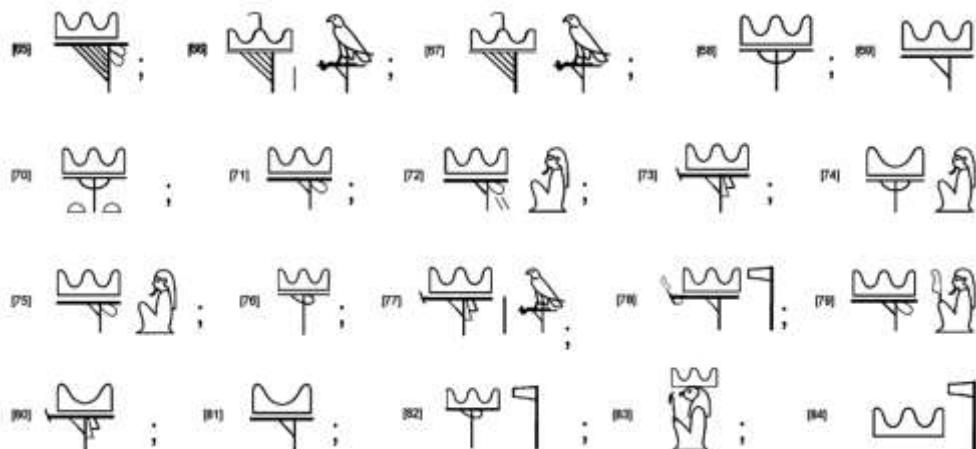
11<sub>A</sub> [13]; Faulkner (1973), *Coffin Texts I*, p. 234; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts IV*, spell 313 (90e) [=GF n° 26]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>A</sub> [14]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts II*, p. 34; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts V*, spell 398 (125a) [=GF n° 27-30]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [31]; Brunner-Traut and Brunner (1981), *Die Ägyptische Sammlung I*, p. 211 and II, pl. 40 [=GF n° 31]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [42]; Chassinat and Palanque (1911), *Une campagne de fouilles*, p. 16 [=GF n° 32-35]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [42]; Gauthier (1923), ASAE 23, p. 5 [=GF n° 36]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [45]; Chassinat and Palanque (1911), *Une campagne de fouilles*, p. 16 [=GF n° 18-21]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [48]; Kamal (1913-1914), ASAE 16, p. 71, 76. [=GF n° 36-37].

\*For the GFs of Ha's name in the NK, see LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>A</sub> [11]; Piankoff (1942), *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 27 [=GF n° 38]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>A</sub> [12]; Naville (1901), *Deir El Bahari IV*, pl. 110 [=GF n° 39]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [15]; Helck (1957), *Urkunden IV*, 1555, 16 [=GF n° 40]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [17]; Seele (1959), *The Tomb of Tjanefer*, pl. 31 [=GF n° 41]; Kitchen (2014), *Ramesside Inscriptions VII*, p. 17; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [27]; KRI VII, 23, 4 [=GF n° 42]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [28]; Monnet, (1951) *RdÉ* 8, 159-160 [=GF n° 43-46]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [29]; Koefoed-Petersen (1951), *Catalogue des sarcophages*, p. 17, pl. 25 [=GF n° 47]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [34]; Davies (1923), *Tomb of Puyemrê*, p. 5, pl. 47 [=GF n° 48]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [39]; Leitz (1994), *Tagewählerei*, pp. 434-435 [=GF n° 49]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [41]; Junge (1987), *Elephantine XI*, p. 19 (n° 3.1.6.1) [=GF n° 50]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [53]; Thiem (2000), *Gebel es-Silsileh*, p. 207, 334 [=GF n° 51].

†For the GFs of Ha's name in the LP, see LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [16]; Vercoutter (1962), *Sérapéum de Memphis*, p. 65, pl. 9 [=GF n° 52]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [18]; Bresciani (1983), *Saqqara I*, p. 57, pl. 11 [=GF n° 53]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [20];



Ha's GFs in the G.-R.<sup>\*</sup>:

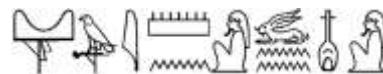


Fakhry (1942), *Bahria Oasis I*, p. 88, pl. 34B [=GF n° 54]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [21]; Fakhry (1942), *Bahria Oasis I*, p. 158, pl. 51A [=GF n° 55]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [30]; Davies (1953), *The Temple of Hibis*, p. 19, pl. 18 (west wall): [=GF n° 56]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [37]; Perdu (1994), *Musée de Picardie*, pp. 112-113 [=GF n° 57]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [40]; Naville (1892), *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II*, pl. 12, 7 [=GF n° 58]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [43]; Wildung (1969), *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, p. 79, 80, pl. 7, 8 (n°) [=GF n° 59-61]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [49]; Chassinat (1899), *RecTrav XXI*, p. 67 [=GF n° 62]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [49]; Chassinat (1900), *RecTrav XXII*, p. 179 [=GF n° 63]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [68]; Josephson (1999), *Statues of the XXV<sup>th</sup> and XXVI<sup>th</sup> Dynasties*, p. 75 [=GF n° 64].

\*For the GFs of Ha's name in the G.-R., see LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>A</sub> [7]; Beinlich (1991), *Das Buch vom Fayum*, pp. 481-483, pl. 17 [=GF 65-67]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [32]; Kamāl (1904-1905), *Stèles ptolémaïques*, p. 91, 92, 189, pl. 31 (n° CG 22104), pl. 32 (n° CG 22105), CG 22191, [=GF 68-71]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [44]; Goyon (1975), *BIFAO* 75, p. 388, 389 [=GF 72]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [50]; Spiegelberg (1906-1908), *Die demotischen Denkmälern*, p. 274 (n° 25) [=GF 73]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [51]; Rochemonteix (1984), *Le temple d'Edfou I*, 1, p. 53 (n° 52) [=GF 75]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [52]; Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philäa*, p. 16, pl. 8 [=GF 74]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [54]; Chassinat (1933), *Le temple d'Edfou VIII*, 77, 3; Kurth (1998), *Edfou VIII*, p. 138 [=GF 75]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [55]; Rochemonteix (1987), *Le temple d'Edfou I*, 3, p. 331, 16 [=GF 73]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [56]; Daumas (1959), *Les Mammisis de Dendara*, p. 141 (n° 24) [=GF 76]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [57]; Cauville (2004), *Dendara V-VI*, p. 112, 113; Chassinat (1947), *Le Temple de Dendara V*, p. 30, 9 [=GF 76]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [58]; Chassinat (1987), *Le temple d'Edfou II*, 1., p. 31, 15 [=GF 73]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [59]; Osing (1998), *Hieratische Papyri*, p. 241, pl. 24 [=GF 77]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [60]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 86, 5; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 48 (86) [=GF 78]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [61]; Morgan (1895), *Kom Ombos I*, 282, E [=GF 79]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [62]; Chassinat (1990), *Le Temple d'Edfou II*, 2, p. 289, 2 [=GF 80]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [63]; Chassinat (1928), *Le temple d'Edfou III*, p. 107, 5 [=GF 74]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [64]; Chassinat (1928), *Le temple d'Edfou III*, p. 226, 14, pl. 73 [=GF 81]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [65]; Chassinat (1928), *Le temple d'Edfou III*, p. 342, 7 [=GF 81]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [66]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 360, 11, pl. 197; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 195 [=GF 82]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [67]; Chassinat (1931), *Le temple d'Edfou VI*, 301, 14 [=GF 83]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [70]; Buhl (1959), *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, p. 43 [=GF 80]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [71]; Buhl (1959), *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, p. 103 [=GF 84].

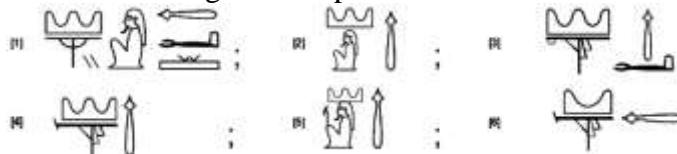
*H3* is the formal and most common name for the god Ha. Its earliest occurrence is being part of official's title «*jmj-h3* *H3*: Follower of the god Ha ». His name was written with the hieroglyphic sign representing a landscape feature of a triple mountain [N25], sometimes a mountain with two points [N26], placed on a standard [R12], to which can be added an ostrich feather [H6] that one finds in Imentet's name. The hieroglyph [N25] stands for *h3st*: "mountain", "desert", "foreign country". Ha's names end usually with the determinative of masculine divinities [A40], but very rarely they terminate with the determinative of cloth wound on a pole [R8] or without any determinative.

## II.2.*H3-Imn-Wn-nfr*: HA-Amon-Wen-nofre



This seemingly *hapaxname* is not identified by Leitz. It occurs only once in a written record in connection with Ha. It is written in the south wall of the burial chamber of the treasurer Sobk-mosé from Er Rizeikāt<sup>†</sup>: HA-Amon-Wen-nofre is entitled « *Hry-tp m3t*: Master of right ». Hayes<sup>‡</sup> translates this name as HA, Amon and Wen-nofre, but the singular suffix pronoun of the second person coming after deity's name refers to a singular composite divine form.

## II.3.*H3 ⲉ*: Ha-the-Great



Ha-the-Great is collected by Christian Leitz in his valuable lexikon<sup>§</sup>. This name wasn't known before the NK and more precisely in the inscriptions of the tomb n° 192 in the Theban necropolis<sup>\*\*</sup>. *H3 ⲉ*'s legend was unfortunately damaged and his epithets disappeared<sup>††</sup>. In the LP, his only known GF<sup>‡‡</sup> was followed by his standard title: « *Nb Imntt*: Lord of the West ».

In the G.-R., the GF<sup>§§</sup> of this compound name are much more inscribed on the walls of the temples. *H3 ⲉ* is described as: «*ntr ⲉ*: Great god», «*Hry-ib Twnt*: He who resides in Ioumet », «*Hw h3swt*: He who strikes the foreign Lands », «*Ppt Mntyw*: He who destroys the *Mntyw*-tribe », «*swd3 dt ntr n km3 sw ir s3=f mk h3=f*: He who takes care of the body of the one who created him, makes his protection and protects his body », «*ntr mnh*: Potent god», «*irnh t n it=f dr dw nb r=f*: He who makes protection for his father and repulses all evil from him », «*hk3 h3swt*: Ruler of the foreign Lands », «*hk3 Tmhw*: Ruler of the Libyans », «*nb M3nw*: Lord of *M3nw*-Western Mountain » and «*hk3 ⲉt wrt*: Ruler of Great necropolis ».

\* See Wildung, (1972), *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* I, pp. 157-159.

<sup>†</sup> See Hayes (1939), *The burial chamber of the treasurer Sobk-mosé*, p. 19 and pl. 5.

<sup>‡</sup> See Hayes (1939), *The burial chamber of the treasurer Sobk-mosé*, p. 19.

<sup>§</sup> See LGG V, 11c [1-7]

<sup>\*\*</sup>This tomb is the largest private tomb known from the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and was intended to be the final resting place for Kheruef, the royal scribe and steward to Amenhotep III's principal wife, Queen Tiye, but the tomb was abandoned before completion and Kheruef was apparently buried elsewhere.

<sup>††</sup>For the GFs of 1A aA in the OK see LGG V, 11c [3]; The Epigraphic survey (1980), *The tomb of Kheruef*, pl. 21, 4: [=GF 3].

<sup>‡‡</sup> See LGG V, 11c [1]; Schott (1929), *Urkunden VI*, 33, 4: [=GF 1].

<sup>§§</sup>For the GFs of 1A aA in the G.-R., see LGG V, 11c [2]; Brugsch (1891), *altägyptischer Denkmäler*, p. 1576: [=GF 2]; LGG V, 11c [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *le Temple de Dendara III*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172: [=GF 6]; LGG V, 11c [5]; Chassinat (1990), *Le Temple d'Edfou II*, 2, 289, 6, pl. 45c: [=GF 6].



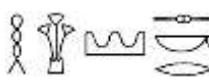
#### II.4. *H3-m-Št3*: Ha in Sheta

This *hapax* toponym is addressed by Christian Leitz in his valuable lexikon\*. *H3-m-Št3* is inscribed in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir-el-Bahari, precisely on the last but one scene on the west wall of the upper register of the walls of the Portico of the Birth. This name consists of three words: Ha's name, a preposition and a place name. Andrzej Ćwiek analyzed separately the three signs constructing the place name and he concluded that the general idea of secret, mystery, hiding is involved in this word. the determinative of town might suggest that it is the city of secrets. One might translate this name as: "Ha is in the palace of secrets". No epithet is attributed to Ha in Sheta.



#### II.5. *H3-Spd*: Ha-Soped

This composite name occurs only once in a written record in relation with the desert-deity. Ha-Soped was mentioned only in the MK†. *H3-Spd* can be followed by the standard title of Ha: « *nb Imn*tt: Lord of the West ».



#### II.6. *H3-Skr*: Ha-Soker

The only occurrence of this composite name is attested in the G-R.‡. This *hapax* name is entitled « *nb 3ht*: Lord of horizon ».



#### II.7. *Hr-H3*§: Horus-HA

The occurrence of this compound name was well known from a very early period as he was mentioned in the oldest known corpus of the Pyramid Texts dating to the OK. *Hr-H3*'s name was written in the religious texts which were found in each of the pyramids of Pepi I, Merenre I and Pepi II\*\*.

In the MK††, *Hr-H3* was called « *s3 nd it=f*: the son who protects his father »‡‡. In the LP, the only known drawing of this composite divine form was carved in the North Reveal of the entrance doorway of the Sanctuary (A)§§. Horus-Ha appears as a Male figure wearing his distinctive headdress of the foreign land sign. His right hand is gripping a knife, while his left one is holding a bow. He drags a captive in each hand (=Fig. 1)

\* See LGG V, 11C [1].

† This name is not identified by Leitz. For the GF of this name, see Gauthier (1923), ASAE 23, p. 19.

‡ See LGG V, 10B-11A [8]; Maspero (1908), *Sarcophages*, p. 55.

§ For the GFs of 1r-1A, see LGG V, 272C [2]; Faulkner (1969), *Pyramid Texts*, p. 170; Sethe (1960), *Pyramidentexte*, Utterance 483 (Pyr. § 1013d): [=GF n° 1-2]; LGG V, 272C [1]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts II*, p. 58; Buck (1961), *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VII*, 111d (Utterance 483): [=GF n° 3]; LGG V, 272C [3]; Davies (1953), *The Temple of Hibis*, p. 19, pl. 5, 4 (North Reveal): [=GF n° 4].

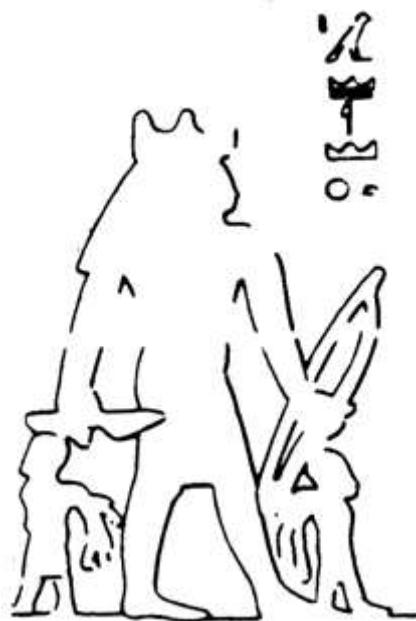
\*\* See LGG V, 272C [2]; Faulkner (1969), *Pyramid Texts*, p. 170; Sethe (1960), *Pyramidentexte*, Utterance 483 (Pyr. § 1013d): [=GF n° 1-2].

†† LGG V, 272C [1]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts II*, p. 58; Buck (1961), *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VII*, 111d (Utterance 483): [=GF n° 3].

‡‡ For this appellation see *infra*, epithet n° 36.

§§ See LGG V, 272C [3]; Davies (1953), *The Temple of Hibis*, p. 19, pl. 5, 4 (North Reveal): [=GF n° 4].

Figure 1: the god Horus-Ha



After: Davies, (1953), The Temple of Hibis, pl. 5, 4 (North Reveal).

#### II.8.*Sbsw-H3*: Sebsebu-Ha\*



In the late texts, Ha is occasionally called "*Sbsw-H3*: Sebsebu-Ha" in a magical context. Neither title nor honorific appellation followed this name of Ha.

#### III. God's Ha Epithets:

N°	Epithet	Grapgical form(s)	Dating
			Ha's name(s)
(1)	« <i>Imy dw3t</i> : He who is in the netherworld »†		NK
			<i>H3</i>
(2)	« <i>ir nht n it=f dr dw nb r=f</i> : He who makes protection for his father and repulses all evil from him »‡		<i>H3</i> ³
(3)	« <i>ir nhw n Sr-hdt</i> : He who makes effective protection for the Prince of the White Crown(= Osiris)»§		G.-R.
			<i>H3</i>
(4)	« <i>Iry ḥt* dsrt</i> : Guardian of the sacred		NK

\*See LGG II, 829<sub>A</sub>; Verhoeven(1993), *Das saitische TotenbuchI* (Text), p. 239 (Utterance 125, 56, 24) and II (Hieroglyphic Transcription), p. 84\* (Utterance 125, 56, 24).

†See Le Page Renouf and Naville (1904), *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, p. 91, pl. 14.

‡See LGG V, 11<sub>C</sub> [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *le Temple de DendaraIII*, p. 27, 10, pl. 172.

§See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [57]; Cauville (2004), *DendaraV-VI*, p. 112, 113; Chassinat (1947), *Le Temple de DendaraV*, p. 30, 9.

	necropolis » <sup>†</sup>		H3
(5)	« <sup>c</sup> phty: Great of might » <sup>‡</sup>		G.-R. H3
(6)	« <sup>c</sup> rk-ins: He who binds the red strip» <sup>§</sup>		LP H3
(7)	«wr ḫfyt : Great of terror» <sup>**</sup>		G.-R. H3
(8)	«wdl-r-s <sup>c</sup> rk m Fnhw <sup>††</sup> : He who puts an end to Asiatic people » <sup>‡‡</sup>		G.-R. H3
(9)	« Ptpt Mntyw <sup>§§</sup> : He who destroys the Mntyw-tribe » <sup>***</sup>		G.-R. H3 ♂
(10)	«Nb ȝht: Lord of Horizon » <sup>†††</sup>		G.-R. H3-Skr
(11)	«Nb Imntt: Lord of the West <sup>††††</sup> »		MK <sup>§§§</sup>  H3 H3-Spd

\* aHat is a euphemism frequently used to designate the tomb or the region of the tombs, the necropolis, see H. Gauthier (1925), *Dictionnaire des nomsgéographiques* I, p. 156.

<sup>†</sup> See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [17]; Seele (1959), *The Tomb of Tjanefer*, pl. 31.

<sup>‡</sup> See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [60]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 86, 5; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 48 (86).

<sup>§</sup> See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [18]; Bresciani (1983), *Saqqara I*, p. 57, pl. 11; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [49]; Chassinat (1900), *RecTrav* XXII, p. 179.

<sup>\*\*</sup> See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [60]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 86, 5; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 48 (86).

<sup>††</sup> Fnwx, which is a common name meaning "the attached, the captives", was applied in a general way to all foreign populations of ancient Asia, See Gauthier (1925), *Dictionnaire des nomsgéographiques* II, p. 161.

<sup>‡‡</sup> See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [52]; Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 16, pl. 8.

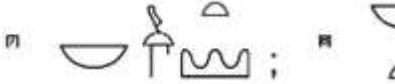
<sup>§§</sup> MnTyw is a tribe of the Libyan Desert, living on the Nile water in its eastern part and rainwater in its western part. Its permanent resident was located in the zone of the Libyan desert which extends to the west of the first cataract of the Nile, see Gauthier (1926), *Dictionnaire des nomsgéographiques* III, p. 43.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> See LGG V, 11<sub>C</sub> [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *le Temple de DendaraIII*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172.

<sup>†††</sup> See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>A</sub> [8]; Maspero (1908), *Sarcophages*, p. 55.

<sup>††††</sup> The Ancient Egyptians were exceedingly fond of puns, believing that homophony in language was no meaningless coincidence. They crop up frequently in both religious and informal contexts. in our case, the word Imntt stands not only for the western desert and its oases, but also the land of the hidden ones (underworld).

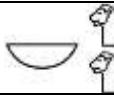
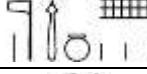
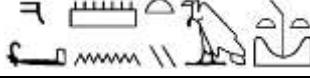
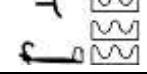
<sup>§§§</sup> For the GFs of this title in the MK, see LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>A</sub> [13]; Faulkner (1973), *Coffin Texts* I, p. 234; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts IV*, spell 313 (90e) [=GF n° 1]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>A</sub> [14]; Faulkner (1977), *Coffin Texts II*, p. 34; Buck (1935), *Coffin Texts V*, spell 398 (125a) [=GF n° 1-3]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [31]; Brunner-Traut and Brunner (1981), *Die Ägyptische Sammlung* I, p. 211 and II, pl. 40 [=GF n° 4]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [42]; Chassinat and Palanque (1911), *Une campagne de fouilles*, p. 16 [=GF n° 1, 3, 4, 5]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [45-46]; Gauthier (1923), *ASAE* 23, p. 5, 19 [=GF n° 1]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [48]; Kamal (1913-1914), *ASAE* 16, p. 71, 76 [=GF n° 6].

	NK*
	H3
	LP†
	H3
	G.-R.‡
	H3
	H3'
	H3'

\*For the GFs of this title in the NK, LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [15]; Helck (1957), *UrkundenIV*, 1555, 16 [=GF n° 7]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [29]; Koefoed-Petersen (1951), *Catalogue des sarcophages*, p. 17, pl. 25 [=GF n° 8]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [34]; Davies (1923), *Tomb of Puyemrê*, p. 5, pl. 47 [=GF n° 7]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [39]; Leitz (1994), *Tagewählerei*, pp. 434-435 [=GF n° 9]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [41]; Junge (1987), *Elephantine XI*, p. 19 (n° 3.1.6.1) [=GF n° 10]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [53]; Thiem (2000), *Gebel es-Silsileh*, p. 207, 334 [=GF n° 8].

†For the GFs of this title in the LP, see LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [20]; Fakhry (1942), Bahria Oasis I, p. 88, pl. 34B: [=GF n° 11]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [21]; Fakhry (1942), Bahria Oasis I, p. 158, pl. 51A: [=GF n° 12]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [30]; Davies (1953), *The Temple of Hibis*, p. 19, pl. 18 (west wall): [=GF n° 13]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [38]; Gasse (1996), *Les sarcophages*, p. 210, pl. 58: [=GF n° 14]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [40]; Naville (1892), *The festival-hall of OsorkonII*, pl. 12, 7: [=GF n° 1]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [68]; Josephson (1999), *Statues of the XXV<sup>th</sup> and XXVI<sup>th</sup> Dynasties*, p. 75 [=GF n° 15].

‡For the GFs of this title in the G.-R., see LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>A</sub> [7]; Beinlich (1991), *Das Buch vom Fayum*, 481-483, pl. 17: [=GF 16-17]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [32]; Kamāl (1904-1905), *Stèles ptolémaïques*, p. 91, 92, 189, pl. 31 (n° CG 22104), pl. 32 (n° CG 22105), CG 22191: [=GF 18-20]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [44]; GOYON (1975), *BIFAO 75*, p. 388, 389: [=GF 21]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [55]; Rochemonteix (1987), *Le temple d'Edfou I*, 3, p. 331, 16 [=GF 22]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [56]; Daumas (1959), *Les Mammisi de Dendara*, p. 141 (n° 24): [=GF 23]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [59]; Osing (1998), *HieratischePapyri*, p. 241, pl. 24: [=GF 16]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [60]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 86, 5; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 48 (86): [=GF 23]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [63]; Chassinat (1928), Émile, *Le temple d'EdfouIII*, p. 107, 5: [=GF 25]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [66]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 360, 11, pl. 197; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 195: [=GF 26]; LGG V, 11<sub>C</sub> [2]; Brugsch (1891), *altägyptischerDenkmäler*, p. 1576: [=GF 27]; LGG V, 11<sub>C</sub> [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *le Temple de DendaraIII*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172: [=GF 28]; LGG V, 11<sub>C</sub> [6]; Chassinat (1990), *Le Temple d'EdfouII*, 2, 289, 6, pl. 45c: [=GF 29].

(12)	« nb phty: Lord of might »*		LP H3
(13)	« nb M3nw†: Lord of M3nw-Western Mountain »‡		G.-R. H3 H3C3
(14)	« ntr C3: Great god »		LP§ G.-R.** H3 H3C3
(15)	« ntr C3 (m)3bdw: Great god in Abydos »††		LP H3
(16)	« ntr C3 m Imntt: Great god in the West»‡‡		G.-R. H3
(17)	« ntr C3 n sp3wt: Great god of nomes »§§		G.-R. H3
(18)	« ntr mn̄h: Potent god »***		G.-R. H3 C3
(19)	« Hw mntyw: He who strikes the Mntyw-tribe »†††		G.-R. H3
(20)	« Hw h3swt: He who strikes the foreign Lands »‡‡‡		G.-R. H3 C3
(21)	« Hry wpt: Master of judgment»§§§		LP H3

\*See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [18]; Bresciani (1983), *Saqqara I*, p. 57, pl. 11; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [43]; Wildung (1969), *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, p. 79, 80, pl. 7, 8 (n°).

†It is a mountainous and mysterious region of the Libyan desert, to the west of Egypt, where went down the sun and the moon and where lived the dead, see Gauthier (1926), *Dictionnaire des nomsgéographiques III*, p. 43.

‡See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [52]; Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 16, pl. 8: [=GF 1]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [54]; Chassinat (1933), Émile, *Le temple d'Edfou VIII*, 77, 3; Kurth (1998), *Edfou VIII*, p. 138: [=GF 2]; LGG V, 11<sub>C</sub> [6]; Chassinat (1990), *Le Temple d'Edfou II*, 2, 289, 6, pl. 45c: [=GF 3].

§See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [30]; Davies (1953), *The Temple of Hibis*, p. 19, pl. 18 (west wall): [=GF 1].

\*\*See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [60]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 86, 5; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 48 (86); LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [66]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 360, 11, pl. 197; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 195: [=GF 1]; LGG V, 11<sub>C</sub> [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *le Temple de Dendara III*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172: [=GF 2].

††See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [20]; Fakhry (1942), *Bahria Oasis I*, p. 88, pl. 34B

‡‡See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [52]; Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 16, pl. 8.

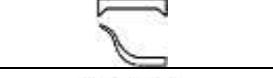
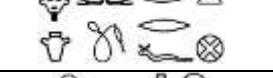
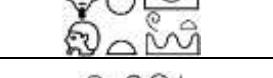
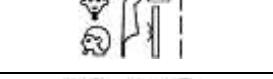
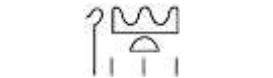
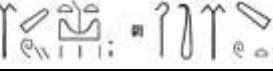
§§See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [57]; Cauville (2004), *Dendara V-VI*, p. 112, 113; Chassinat (1947), *Le Temple de Dendara V*, p. 30, 9.

\*\*\*See LGG V, 11<sub>C</sub> [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *le Temple de Dendara III*, p. 27, 10, pl. 172.

†††See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [60]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara X*, 1, p. 86, 5; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 48 (86).

‡‡‡See LGG V, 11<sub>C</sub> [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *le Temple de Dendara III*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172.

§§§See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [18]; Bresciani (1983), *Saqqara I*, p. 57, pl. 11.

(22)	« <i>Hryr<sup>3</sup>-st<sup>3</sup>w</i> : Master of the necropolis »*		LP <i>H3</i>
(23)	« <i>Hry cb.wy</i> : Master of Two Horns»†		LP <i>H3</i>
(24)	« <i>Hry-ib Twnt</i> ‡: He who resides in Iounet»§		G.-R. <i>H3 c3</i>
(25)	« <i>Hry-ib N<sup>3</sup>rrf</i> **: He who resides in Naârref »††		LP <i>H3</i>
(26)	« <i>Hry-ib Hbt</i> ‡‡: He who resides in Hibis »§§		LP <i>H3</i>
(27)	« <i>Hry-tp Mntiw</i> : Chief of <i>Mntyw</i> -tribe »***		G.-R. <i>H3-c3</i>
(28)	« <i>Hry-tp m<sup>3</sup>t</i> : Chief of right»†††		NK <i>H3-Imn-Wn-nfr</i>
(29)	« <i>hsktp</i> : He who cuts off the head»††††		LP <i>H3</i>
(30)	« <i>hk<sup>3</sup> ch<sup>3</sup>t</i> §§§ wrt: Ruler of Great necropolis »****		G.-R. <i>H3-c3</i>
(31)	« <i>hk<sup>3</sup> h3swt</i> : Ruler of the foreign Lands»††††		G.-R. <i>H3-c3</i>
(32)	« <i>hk<sup>3</sup> Tmhw</i> ‡‡‡‡: Ruler of the Libyans »§§§§		G.-R. <i>H3, H3-c3</i>

\*See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [43]; Wildung (1969), *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, p. 79, 80, pl. 7, 8 (n°).

†See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [43]; Wildung (1969), *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, p. 79, 80, pl. 7, 8 (n°).

‡Iwnt was the ancient Egyptian name of the capital of the VIth Nome of Upper Egypt, now Dendara (دندرا), see Gauthier. 1925, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* I, p. 56.

§See LGG V, 11<sub>C</sub> [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *le Temple de Dendara III*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172.

\*\*NAarrf is a Locality very often cited on religious texts as being in relation with Osiris, the god of the dead. There was the necropolis of the chief town of the 20<sup>th</sup> nome of Upper Egypt Heracleopolis Magna, today المدينة�انسيا (Al-Hanasa). The reading of this name has varied a lot and its meaning is unclear: it has generally been translated "the place where nothing grows", but it would be a strange name for a place where was precisely preserved the sacred tree of the nome, see H. Gauthier (1925), *Dictionnaires des noms géographiques* I, pp. 66-67.

††See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [37]; Perdu (1994), *Musée de Picardie*, pp. 112-113.

‡‡Obtwasthe Egyptianname of the capital of the great oasis of El-Kharga, nowHibis (هيبس), see Gauthier (1927), *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* IV, p. 4.

§§See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [30]; Davies (1953), *The Temple of Hibis*, p. 19, pl. 18 (west wall).

\*\*\*See LGG V, 11<sub>C</sub> [6]; Chassinat (1990), *Le Temple d'Edfou II*, 2, 289, 6, pl. 45c.

†††See Hayes (1939), *The burial chamber of the treasurer Sobk-mosé*, p. 19 and pl. 5.

††††See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [38];Gasse (1996), *Les sarcophages*, p. 210, pl. 58.

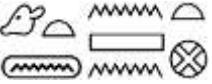
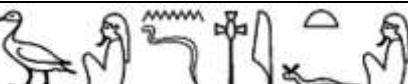
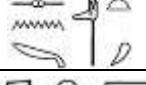
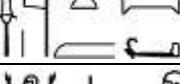
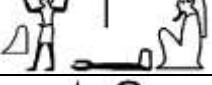
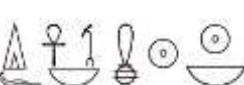
§§§For aHat, see *supra*, note 31.

\*\*\*\*See LGG V, 11<sub>C</sub> [6]; Chassinat (1990), *Le Temple d'Edfou II*, 2, 289, 6, pl. 45c.

††††See LGG V, 11<sub>C</sub> [2]; Brugsch (1891), *altägyptischer Denkmäler*, p. 1576.

†††††See Gauthier (1929), *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* VI, pp. 75-76.

§§§§See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [54]; Chassinat (1933), Émile, *Le temple d'Edfou VIII*, 77, 3; Kurth (1998), *Edfou VIII*,p. 138: [=GF 1]; LGG V, 11<sub>C</sub> [6]; Chassinat (1990), *Le Temple d'Edfou II*, 2, 289, 6, pl. 45c [=GF 2].

(33)	« <i>hbhb Ššsw</i> <sup>*</sup> : He who trample down the Bedouin tribes » <sup>†</sup>		G.-R. <i>H3</i>
(34)	« <i>hnty Tw-nšny</i> <sup>‡</sup> : He who presides over the Island of-fury» <sup>§</sup>		G.-R. <i>H3</i>
(35)	« <i>hnty pr Hr-it n=f hdt</i> : He who presides over the sanctuary of Horus who takes possession of the white crown =Dendara» <sup>**</sup>		G.-R. <i>H3</i>
(36)	« <i>s3 nd it=f</i> : the son who protects his father» <sup>††</sup>		MK <i>Hr-H3</i>
(37)	« <i>swdʒ dt ntr n kmʒ sw ir s3=f mk h=f</i> : He who takes care of the body of the one who created him, makes his protection and protects his body» <sup>†††</sup>		G.-R. <i>H3</i>
(38)	« <i>sniwsrt</i> : He who cuts off the neck » <sup>§§</sup>		LP <i>H3</i>
(39)	« <i>shm dmpt</i> : Puissance who touches the sky» <sup>***</sup>		G.-R. <i>H3</i>
(40)	« <i>k3-č</i> : High of arm » <sup>†††</sup>		G.-R. <i>H3</i>
(41)	« <i>di nh</i> : He who gives life » <sup>†††</sup>		LP <i>H3</i>
(42)	« <i>di nh w3s nb mi Rč dt</i> : He who gives life and prosperity like Ra every day » <sup>§§§</sup>		LP <i>H3</i>

\*ASw is a term used to refer generally to nomadic and plundering populations. The Bedouin tribes encamped in the tents and wandered on the edge of the deserts from the borders of Egypt to the north of Lebanon and around Aleppo. The Egyptians applied the name to all those barbarians who came from its northeast border, see Gauthier (1928), *Dictionnaire des nomsgéographiques* V, pp. 106-107.

<sup>†</sup>See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [52]; Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 16, pl. 8.

<sup>‡</sup>«Iw-nSny: the island of fury, or of misfortune »is a territory's name belonging to the temple of Horus at Edfu, see Gauthier (1925), *Dictionnaires des nomsgéographiques* I, p. 46.

<sup>§</sup>See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [54]; Chassinat (1933), Émile, *Le temple d'Edfou* VIII, 77, 3; Kurth (1998), *Edfou* VIII, p. 138.

<sup>\*\*</sup>See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [60]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara* X, 1, p. 86, 5; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 48 (86): [=GF 1]; LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [66]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara* X, 1, p. 360, 11, pl. 197; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 195 [=GF 2].

<sup>††</sup>See LGG V, 272<sub>C</sub> [2]; Faulkner (1969), *PyramidTexts*, p. 170; Sethe (1960), *Pyramidentexte*, Utterance 483 (Pyr. § 1013d).

<sup>†††</sup>See LGG V, 11<sub>C</sub> [5]; Cauville (2000), *Dendara* III: *Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *le Temple de Dendara* III, p. 27, 10, pl. 172.

<sup>§§</sup>See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [38]; Gasse (1996), *Les sarcophages*, p. 210, pl. 58.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup>See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>C</sub> [66]; Cauville (1997), *Dendara* X, 1, p. 360, 11, pl. 197; Cauville (1997), *Les chapelles osiriennes*, p. 195.

<sup>†††</sup>See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [54]; Chassinat (1933), *Le temple d'Edfou* VIII, 77, 3; Kurth (1998), *Edfou* VIII, p. 138.

<sup>†††</sup>See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [20]; Fakhry (1942), *Bahria Oasis* I, p. 88, pl. 34B.

<sup>§§§</sup>See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [40]; Naville (1892), *The festival-hall of OsorkonII*, pl. 12, 7.

(43)	«di ḏnh mi R <sup>c</sup> dt: He who gives life like Ra forever»*		LP H3
(44)	«di=f htpw nbwt n Wsir hnty-jmntyw: He who gives all the offerings to Osiris 'Foremost of the Westerners」†		G.-R. H3
(45)	«di msni=f m S <sup>t</sup> tyw‡hsy: He who point his knife in the miserable Asiatic people »§		G.-R. H3
(46)	«dgi hnty-imntyw: Gardian of Foremost of the Westerners (=Osiris) »**		NK H3

## Discussion and Results

After this enumeration of the different names and epithets applied to the god Ha, certain points are determined as follows. It is now evident that the study of Ha's denominations is still in its infancy because the documents coming from the VII<sup>th</sup> nome of Lower Egypt and the Western Desert of Egypt and their oases are very little or not published. Further excavations particularly in the area around Ha's principal cult centers and further studies of collections with Egyptian and Levantine objects would inevitably increase the list of Ha's names and titles proposed here.

The historical development of Ha's cult, starting from the OK, was characterized by such increasing associations with other deities, particularly Amon, Horus, Sopodand Soker. Due to such associations, Ha gained some diffusion, both in terms of geographical distribution and semantic contexts.

The occurrence and use of Ha's names and epithets don't seem to be geographically restricted. His traditional main cult centers in the VII<sup>th</sup> nome of Lower Egypt and the Western Desert of Egypt including their oases revealed through the time being discussed; merely a few number of his known denominations. The Upper Egyptian inscriptions contributed more than those of Lower Egypt to the list of Ha's names and epithets. It is significant to indicate that the epithets of Ha outside Egypt cannot be noted thus far.

Ha was the supervisor of the production of commodities in the desert regions††. This role is well explained by the OK officials' title: «jmj-h<sup>t</sup> H3: Follower of Ha » which probably referred to the god's function. His protection extended to practical help for the deceased in the underworld. Ha was therefore the god who protected against hunger and provided nourishment in the underworld. He is entitled « di=f htp nb<sup>t</sup> n Wsir hnty-imntyw: He who gives all the offerings to Osiris Khenti-Amentiu "Foremost of the Westerners" »‡‡. This role is well explained in the Pyramid of Unis; utterance PT 204 (Pyr. § 119b). The text says:

\*See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [30]; Davies (1953), *The Temple of Hibis*, p. 19, pl. 18 (west wall).

†See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [32]; Kamāl (1904-1905), *Stèles ptolémaïques*, p. 189, pl. 31 (n° CG 22191).

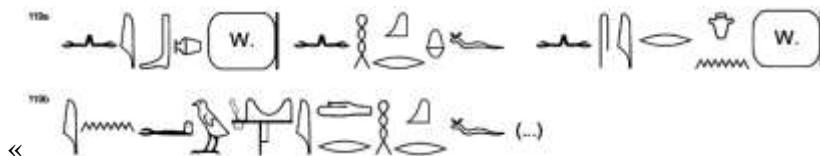
‡Ttyw is a toponym given, from the ancient historical ages, to the region located to the north-east and east of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria, See Gauthier (1928), *Dictionnaire des nomsgéographiques* V, pp. 95-96.

§See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [52]; Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 16, pl. 8.

\*\*See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [17]; Seele (1959), *The Tomb of Tjanefer*, pl. 31.

††See Altenmüller(2013). "ZuzweiTiteln des AltenReiches, einVorschlagzuihrerInterpretation. Die Titel des „Priesters der Heqet“ und des „Gefolgsmanns des Ha“, pp. 1-14.

‡‡See LGG V, 10<sub>B</sub>-11<sub>B</sub> [32]; Kamāl (1904-1905), *Stèles ptolémaïques*, p. 189, pl. 31 (n° CG 22191).



*nn ib (W.)|nn hkr=f nn sy r ib n*

(W.)*| in ՚w H3 idr hkr=f (...)* : Unis will not thirst, Unis will not hunger: it will not be against the heart of Unis. Ha's arms are what repel his hunger»\*.

In his familiar epithets «*ḥ phty*: Great of might », «*wr ṣfyt* : Great of terror», «*nb phty*: Lord of might », «*ntr mnḥ*: Potent god », «*Hry ՚b.wy*: Master of Two Horns », «*ḥsk tp*: He who cuts off the head », «*sni wsrt*: He who cuts off the neck », «*shm dm pt*: Puissance who touches the sky » and «*k3-ḥ*: High of arm »,Ha defended Egypt against its foes. This is expressed in his common epithets:«*hk3 h3swt*: Ruler of the foreign Lands»,«*Hwiḥ3swt*: He who strikes the foreign Lands ». Hence the desert deity's appellations «*wdi-r-srk m Fnhw*: He who puts an end to Asiatic people »,«*dī msni-f m Sṭyw hsy*: He who point his knife in the miserable Asiatic people »and «*hbhb Š3sw*: He who trample down the Bedouin tribes »,imply his protective role against the Bedouin tribes and Asiatic people.

In parallel, the «*ntr ՚3 m Imntr*: Great god in the West »provides protection for the western deserts and their oases from enemies such as desert nomads and invading Libyan tribesmen under his epithet «*Ppt Mntyw*: He who destroys the *Mntyw*-tribe »,«*nb M3nw*: Lord of *M3nw*-Western Mountain »,«*Hw mntyw*: He who strikes the *Mntyw*-tribe » and «*hk3 ḥt wrt*: Ruler of of the Libyans ».

Additionally, Ha was also associated with the underworld as he is called: «*Imy dw3t*: He who is in the netherworld », «*Iry ḥt dsrt*: Guardian of the sacred necropolis », «*Nb Imntr*: Lord of the West »«*Hryr3-st3w*: Master of the necropolis »,«*ntr ՚3 m Imntr*: Great god in the West » and «*hk3 ḥt wrt*: Ruler of Great necropolis ».

Ha was the defender of Osiris Khentamenti against Seth, who by the time of the Ptolemies had become the personification of evil. This role is well explained in the Papyrus of Imhotep, son of Psuentohe, New York MMA 35.9.21, which dates back to the Ptolemaic Period. The text says:



«*iw=k m Imntr shr.tw=k ntrw Imntr Nt W3dyt Shmt Inpw Ršp ntr ՚3 H3 nb Imntr ir=sn ntw=sn m=k(...)*: (...) If you come from the West, the gods of the West, Neith, Wadjet, Sachmet, Bastet, Anubis, Reshef the great god (and) Ha Lord of the West, will throw you down. They will fulfill their destination concerning you(...) ». In his epithets, Ha is entitled «*ir nhw n Sr-hdt*: He who makes effective protection for the Prince of the White Crown (= Osiris) » and «*dgi hnty-imntyw*: Gardian of Foremost of the Westerners (=Osiris) ».

\*See Allen (2005), *Pyramid Texts*, p. 29; Faulkner (1969), *Pyramid Texts*, p. 37; Sethe (1960), *Pyramidentexte*, Utterance 204 (Pyr. § 119a-b).

His protective role extended not only to the Creator god«



*swdʒ dt ntr nt kmʒ sw, ir sʒ=f.* »\*, but also to his father



«*sʒ nd it=f.* the son who protects his father» and «*ntr mnḥ ir nht nt it=f, dr dw nb r=f.* Potent god who makes protection for his father and repulses all evil from him »†.

Ha had strong links with the royal power because he helped the pharaoh to achieve his political



and religious mission by approaching him to his people: «*rdi=i mrwt=k m ib nb mi Hr hr mnty n ʒst.* I place your love in all heart like Horus on the knees of Isis »‡.

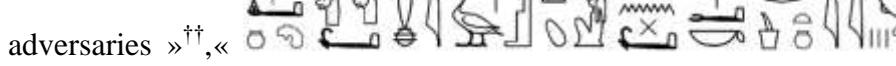
Ha also offers protection to the king. There are many occasions when the god had to be reminded of this protection for the pharaoh. Ha says to the king:«



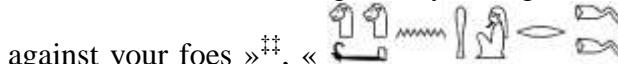
*rdi=i n=k phty r wʒwʒ dw nb r=k, irr dw r=k m nmt*§: I give to you the might against those who plot all evil against you and anyone does evil against you, (will go) to the place of judgment», «



*rdi=i n=k wsr r smʒ lftyw=k nht(=i) c=k rkww=k.* I give to you the power to smite your enemies. I strengthen your arm against your



adversaries »†, «*rdi=i n=k phty mi Sʒ-ʒst snht=i c=k r btnww=k.* I give to you might like Son of Isis (=Horus) and I make your arm strong



against your foes »‡, «*phty n hm=i r hpʒ.wy=k.* The might of my



Majesty is together with your arms »§§ and «*snht=i c.wy=k r lftyw m hʒw=k.* I make strong your arms against your enemies in your reign »\*\*\*.

Finally the aspect of Ha as a funerary god is especially prominent in the regions of the west where the necropolis was under his safekeeping. As «Lord of the west », Ha is invoked as the only god in an offering formula in the tomb n° (TT 39) of Puiemra, the second prophet of Amun under the reign of Hatshepsut†††. The text says: «

\*See Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *le Temple de DendaraIII*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172

†See Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *le Temple de DendaraIII*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172

‡See Cauville (2000), *Dendara III: Traduction*, pp. 70-71; Chassinat (1935), *le Temple de DendaraIII*, p. 27, 9, pl. 172.

§Nmt is a toponym where the blood-eating god, one of the forty-two infernal tribunal judges, sacrificed his victims, see Gauthier (1926), *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques III*, p. 93.

\*\*See Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 16, pl. 8

††See Chassinat, *Le temple d'EdfouVIII*, p. 77, 3; Kurth (1998), *EdfouVIII*, p. 138.

††See Chassinat, *Le temple d'EdfouVIII*, p. 77, 3; Kurth (1998), *EdfouVIII*, p. 138.

§§See Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 17, pl. 8.

\*\*\*See Junker (1958), *Tempels der Isis in Philä*, p. 17, pl. 8.

†††See Davies (1923), *Tomb of Puyemrê*, p. 5, pl. 47



*htp di n(y)-swt (n) H3 nb Imntt*

*di=f wnn hr=f n imy-hr m Imntt nfrt n k3 n (...): An offering given by the king to Ha Lord of the West, that he may grant residence at his court as one of his train in the kindly West, to the ka of (...) ». This part of the formula indicates that the offering is seen as being under the auspices of the god Ha who is the patron deity of the local funerary establishment that actually provided the offering.*

### Conclusion

Ha was an important deity who hold several names « *H3*: HA, *H3-Imn-Wn-nfr*: HA-Amon-Wennofre, *H3* 3: Ha-the-Great, *H3-m-Št3*: Ha in Sheta, *H3-Spd*: Ha-Soped, *H3-Skr*: Ha-Soker and *Hr-H3*: Horus-HA »and diverse epithets which obviously reflect the different aspects and roles that he played in the Egyptian pantheon. His aspect as a funerary god was especially prominent in the regions of the west where the necropolis was under his safekeeping. Ha was at the same time the god who protected against hunger and provided nourishment in the underworld.

In addition, the «*Nb Imntt*: Lord of the West » was thought to protect Egypt specially the western deserts and their oases from enemies such as desert nomads, invading Libyan tribesmen, Asiatic people and Bedouin tribes. Ha was a protector of the god Osiris, the Creator god, his father as well as the pharaoh.

In Brief, as a terrifying god, a war god, a god with strong links with the royal power, Ha has a wide and diverse field of activities; his identification allows the veil to be slight lifted on some elements of Egyptian religion.

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