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Kata Jasper

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The God Ha and his Iconography on the Horus Cippi and Healing Statues

Observations on a Newly Identified Corpus of Representations[*]

KATA JASPER[**]

In memory of Gábor Schreiber (1974–2020),
who first introduced me to the Horus cippi and healing statues during my undergraduate studies,
and who is deeply missed both as a colleague and as a person.

ABSTRACT

In this article, the iconography of the god Ha is presented and interpreted in the context of the Horus-on-the-crocodiles cippi and healing statues, two closely related object types, which have hitherto not been associated with the god in studies focusing on him and his nature. The iconography that Ha shared with the god Heka, and its symbolism, will also be interpreted in the context of the object types investigated, demonstrating that certain gods of similar nature could assume this iconography. It will be argued that even if the god Ha seemes to have borrowed his iconography from the god Heka, he appears within a largely identical canonical sequence of deities on certain Horus cippi and healing statues in his own right: as a desert god; as a god of protective nature; as a deity with not only chthonic but also of solar connotations, especially in the period investigated but also later; and as a deity that possibly enjoyed cultic veneration in Upper Egypt, at Herakleopolis and its surroundings; and finally, as a deity the graphical form of whose name was similar to the one of the god Heka.

Keywords: Horus-on-the-crocodiles cippi, healing statues, Ha, Heka, Atum, Herakleopolis, magic, protection, iconography, solar symbolism.

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RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article, l'iconographie du dieu Ha est présentée et interprétée dans le contexte des cippi d'Horus-sur-les-crocodiles et des statues guérisseuses, deux types d'objets étroitement liés, qui n'avaient pas été jusqu'ici associés au dieu dans les études portant sur lui et sur sa nature. L'iconographie que Ha partageait avec le dieu Heka, ainsi que son symbolisme, seront également interprétés dans le contexte des types d'objets étudiés, démontrant que certains dieux de nature similaire pouvaient assumer cette iconographie. On soutiendra que, même si le dieu Ha semble avoir emprunté son iconographie au dieu Heka, il apparaissait lui-même au sein d'une séquence canonique de divinités largement identique sur certains cippes d'Horus et des statues guérisseuses : comme dieu du désert ; comme dieu de nature protectrice ; comme divinité à connotations non seulement chtoniennes mais aussi solaires, en particulier à la période étudiée mais aussi plus tard ; comme divinité qui bénéficiait peut-être d'une vénération cultuelle en Haute Égypte, à Hérakléopolis et dans ses environs ; et enfin, comme une divinité dont le nom, par sa forme graphique, était semblable à celui du dieu Heka.

Mots-clés : Horus sur les crocodiles, statues guérisseuses, Ha, Heka, Atoum, Hérakleopolis, magie, protection, iconographie, symbolisme solaire.

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this contribution is to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the god Ha's representation in the context of the Horus-on-the-crocodiles cippi and healing statues. It discusses the challenges associated with his identification on these object types, the description of his iconography, and the possible reasons why this unusual representational form, which is restricted to the object types mentioned, was chosen to depict him. This contribution also attempts to contextualize the figure of Ha on each artefact, and to interpret his position in the sequence of deities. Its ultimate goal is to get closer to the question of how the figure of Ha fits into the context of the monuments investigated, and how the theological concepts behind these artworks, such as protection, healing, and the force *ḥkꜣw* 'magic, magical power'[1] are discernible in Ha's nature. As certain investigated monuments display considerable similarities in both style and decorative program, their broader context will also be looked into.

1 *Wb* III, 176.6–33; TLA lemma-no. 110660.

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2. THE HORUS-ON-THE-CROCODILES CIPPI AND HEALING STATUES IN CONTEXT

The objects under investigation—the Horus-on-the-crocodile cippi, depicting the child Horus trampling crocodiles and holding serpents, scorpions, a gazelle, and a lion in his hands, surmounted by the mask of the dwarf Bes, as well as the so-called healing statues, which portray a noble individual holding such a stela—constitute a well-defined group of magically functional artefacts. Most examples are known from the end of the pharaonic period and the early Ptolemaic era, although their first known examples extend back to the Ramesside period, and their use continued into the Late Antiquity. Rich in solar symbolism, and representing triumph over dangerous creatures, these monuments were inscribed with lengthy magical formulae—often accompanied by vignettes—intended to ensure healing from, and protection against, venomous bites and stings, while simultaneously promoting the regeneration of the sun god, and through this, that of the individual. They were employed in specific ritual contexts, during which their texts were recited aloud, and water was poured over the surface of the stela or statue, producing a magically potent liquid that was then used to treat the afflicted. Primarily the statues, but possibly the stelae as well, may have served to protect a specific individual named in the inscriptions, while their magical efficacy could simultaneously extend to a broader group.[2]

3. THE GOD HA AND HIS REPRESENTATION ON THE HORUS CIPPI AND HEALING STATUES

The god Ha, 'Lord of the West', was a god of the Western Desert who is often mentioned as the personification of the region in Egyptological literature.[3] In his figural representations, he is regularly depicted as a male deity with the logogram of his name on his head representing two or, more often, three mountain ridges on a standard  (Figs. 1–2).[4] This symbol makes the god's association with the desert unquestionable, considering that the desert around the Nile valley is mainly made up of arid hill ranges of various sizes divided by wadis. Furthermore, his epithet *nb ỉmnt* 'Lord of the West' reinforces this association, given that the word *ỉmnt* not only means 'West', but 'desert West' as well.[5]

2 See, for example: Kákosy 1982b; Ritner 1989; Kákosy 1999, pp. 9–34; Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999a–b. For a more recent study on the function of healing statues, see Price 2016. For a recent in-depth analysis of healing statues, see Chen 2020. I am grateful to my anonymous peer reviewers for having drawn my attention to the latter two works.

3 See for example: Gardiner 1917, p. 792; Sethe 1922, p. 212; Wildung 1977; Kees 1941 (ed. 1980), p. 26; Aufrère 1991, p. 4; Yoyotte 1991–1992, p. 628; 1993–1994, p. 670; Darnell 2007, p. 46; Darnell et al. 2013, p. 3; Abruña-Marti 2022, pp. 153, 154, 210, 212, 222, 223, 227, 379, 388.

4 The earliest known representation of Ha is found on a sandstone block probably from the doorway of a gate of Thutmose II situated at the upper end of the stairway leading from the Satet Temple to the Middle Kingdom temple of Khnum (Junge 1987, pp. 19–20, pl. 7a [3.1.6.1]; Seidlmayer et al. 2016, p. 216 and n. 62). For the god's representation with the sign on his head (fig. 1b), see the Treasury of the Horus temple at Edfu, fig. 1. on the western wall, at the base area (PM VI, p. 140 (142)–(145); *Edfou* II, 289, 1–3, 6–9, pl. 45c); for his depiction with the sign on his head (fig. 1a), see, for example, the western exterior wall of the Pronaos of the Isis temple at Philae: PM VI, p. 245 (371)–(373).

5 Aufrère 1991, p. 14. For the meaning of *ỉmnt* in the context of texts mentioning Ha, see Jasper 2023a, pp. 171–175.

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Photo by K. Jasper

a.


Photo by K. Jasper

b.

Figs. 1a–b. Representation of the god Ha on the western exterior wall of the pronaos of the Isis temple at Philae (left [**a**]) and in the treasury of the temple of Horus at Edfu (right [**b**]).

His strong association with the desert, as deduced from his logogram and his epithet, would make Ha an ideal candidate for a patron deity protecting against dangerous creatures of the desert, the geographical region he represented. However, this was hardly the case. In the context of the Horus cippi and healing statues, figural and textual attestations of the god Ha are extremely scarce: his iconographic representations amount to only about half a dozen examples, and his name appears in the textual program of these artefacts in just a single instance—a unique variant of one of the most common texts of the genre, the so-called *Text A*. This version is found on a Horus-on-the-crocodiles stela housed in the Pushkin Museum (I. 1. a. 4474 [1895]),[6] which otherwise lacks any figural representation of the god himself. Furthermore, beyond the context under investigation, the god Ha is never explicitly associated with the notion of *ḥkꜣw*.

In addition to the relatively low number of Ha's attestations in the context of the Horus cippi and healing statues, there is also a significant absence of references to these sources in the literature focusing on Ha, which fails to establish a connection between these object types and

6 Hodjash, Berlev 1982, pp. 255–258 (object no. 186). The textual program of this stela is exceptional and irregular in many respects. Its textual program consists of two variants of *Text A*: the first half of the "traditional" hymnic text to Horus known as *Text A* on the back of the stela written in 15 horizontal lines; and a variant lacking further parallels found on the front, the two sides and the bottom of the stela, addressing the gods Ha and Min, instead of Horus. Apart from the passages presenting the epithets of the gods, the text partly repeats the last verses of *Text A* found on the back of the stela, partly continues *Text A* with further verses (on this subject, see Jasper 2023b in Hungarian; an extended English version is in preparation).

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the god's name.[7] There is no reference in the slip archive of Jean Yoyotte,[8] and volume 5 of the *Lexikon der Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* listing the known sources of Ha does not cite them either.[9] At the same time, volume 8 of the same lexicon that specifies and groups the epithets of gods lists his epithet *nb ḥkꜣw* 'lord of magic'.[10] Although this volume does not indicate the references to the epithets tabulated, based on its reference list including the 1982 catalogue of the Pushkin Museum,[11] the source must be the Horus-on-the-crocodiles stela (I. 1. a. 4474 [1895]), referred to just above in the preceding paragraph and published in that catalogue.[12]

Regarding the god Ha, six objects are known to me that include his figural representation in the decorative program of the Horus cippi and healing statues. They are:

1. the cippus of Nesatum, also known as the Metternich stela (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 50.85);
2. an anonymous cippus kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MMA 20.2.23);
3. the healing statue of Horkhebe (Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, I. l. a. 5319 [4174]);
4. the healing statue of Hor (Museo Egizio, Turin, Cat. 3030);
5. the healing statue of Psammetikseneb (fragment kept in Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze [inv. no. 8708]);
6. the healing statue commissioned by Padimahes, Pasherimut, and Djedhor Pamai, three *ḥm-nṯr*-priests of Bastet (Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 10777).

These artefacts are presented in the Appendix of this article.

There could be several reasons why this object type and the objects listed are missing from the literature on Ha. Certain catalogues, like the one presenting the statue of Horkhebe or the anonymous cippus of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, were published after those important collections of sources such as the slip archive of Jean Yoyotte or the *Lexikon der Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* were made.[13] Furthermore, in many cases, the figures on the monuments are

7 Wildung 1972; Wildung 1977; Yoyotte 1991–1992; 1993–1994; Aufrère 1995; Altenmüller 2013; Turruziani 2014; Ćwiek 2015; Panaite 2016, pp. 305–319, 579–612; Abruña Marti 2018; Jasper 2023a.

8 The related slips form the Archives of Jean Yoyotte are found in cardboard box no. 226, titled 'Delta Ouest : confins libyques, Ha'. These notes were used for Yoyotte 1991–1992 and 1993–1994. I am indebted to Prof. Dr Laurent Coulon, former director of Centre Wladimir Golenischeff, for making it possible for me to access the archives in 2016. By this time, the slips became available online on the website of the PSL (Paris Sciences & Lettres) University: https://bibnum.explore.psl.eu/s/fonds-jean-yoyotte-2/ark:/18469/3tgcv.

9 *LGG* V, pp. 10b–11c.

10 *LGG* VIII, p. 342 [G1].

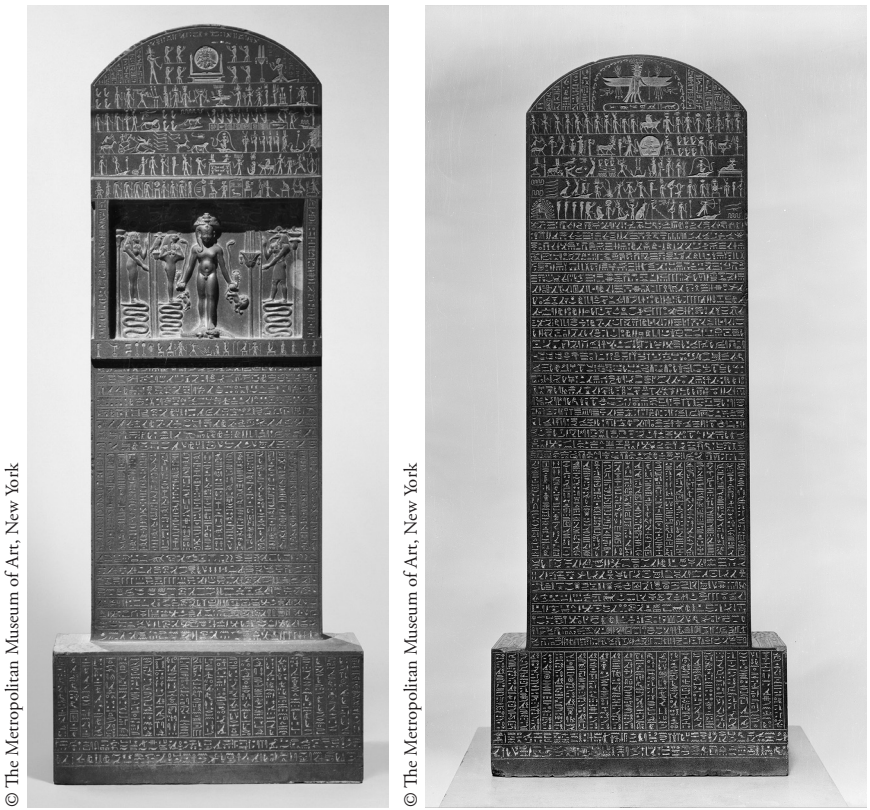
11 *LGG* I, p. XLI.

12 Hodjash, Berlev 1982, pp. 255–258 (object no. 186), also mentioned in note 6. This piece of information was also confirmed kindly by Christian Leitz (email sent on August 10, 2023).

13 The eight volumes of the *Lexikon der Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* were published in 2002–2003. The slip archive of Jean Yoyotte augmented until his passing in 2009, but his latest article on the god Ha and the Seventh Lower Egyptian nome was published in 1994, and the sources listen in his slips do not go beyond this year. The catalogue presenting the healing statue of Horkhebe (Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, I. 1. a. 5319 [4174]) was published in 2004 (Hodjash 2004, pp. 12–35; Berlev, Hodjash 2004, pp. 325–360). The anonymous cippus of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 20.2.23) was mentioned in Heike Sternberg el-Hotabi's monograph on the Horus cippi in 1999 (1999a, pp. 108, 110), but without photos. James P. Allen's publication was released after 2003 (Allen 2005b), and it only included an image of the front of the cippus on p. 63. However, the god Ha was represented on the back of the object, which is only accessible on the website of the museum (https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545766).

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not identified by name—neither in their explanatory captions specifying the names and sometimes also the epithets of the gods represented, nor in the description of the objects' publishers. The cippus of Nesatum (Figs. 2a–b) is a good example of this problem. It displays a veritable anthology of not only magical texts against dangerous animals but also of figural representations associated with this genre. The sometimes-enigmatic figures on the front of the cippus were investigated by Heike Sternberg el-Hotabi, but those on the back still await identification.[14] The figures of the anonymous cippus of the Metropolitan Museum of Art are similarly unidentified: their name is not indicated next to their representation, neither in the description of the object.[15]


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a. b.

Figs. 2a–b. The front (left [**a**]) and the back (right [**b**]) of the stela of Nesatum (Metternich stela; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 50.85).

14 The figures on the back side of the stela of Nesatum have not been identified so far, neither by Vladimir Golenischeff who first published the stela (Golenischeff 1877), nor by Nora E. Scott who noted in her overview of the stela with a special emphasis on the textual program: "It is probably impossible to identify with certainty all the divinities in the vignettes, as divine symbols had become confused by this late period, the greater gods having often assimilated the characteristics of the lesser. A certain number of the cippi have a label beside each figure, but sometimes these labels contradict each other and, in any case, they apply to only a small proportion of the divinities on the Metternich Stela" (Scott 1950–1951, p. 216); or by James P. Allen who concentrated on the translation of the texts of the stela in the Metropolitan Museum of Art catalogue titled *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*, rather than on the identification of its figures (Allen 2005a), similarly to Jacques Guiter (2024), who focused on the transliteration, translation, and commentary of the texts; or by Heike Sternberg el-Hotabi (1987) who identified the figures on the front side of the cippus.

15 Cf. Allen 2005b. The back of the stela representing Ha is accessible on the website of the museum: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545766.

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In other publications, like those of the statues of Hor and Psammetikseneb from 1999, the representation of the god Ha was misidentified as Heka,[16] even when his name was indicated in a caption.[17] The reasons for this misidentification are 1) iconography, as the figure of a male deity holding two long snakes in his hands crosswise at his chest was unusual for Ha beyond the context of these object types; and 2) the lion's tail, backside, and foreleg  (Gardiner's sign F 22)[18] as three prominent more or less vertical figures next to each other could have easily been confused with the three ridges of a mountain  (Gardiner's sign N 25)[19] in certain artistic executions.

Concerning the healing statue of Padimahes, Pasherimut, and Djedhor Pamai, to my knowledge, no relevant article identifies Ha, whose name and epithet is nevertheless written on the object.[20] It is only with the statue of Horkhebe that the god Ha was identified by name in a publication. The artefact was published by Oleg Berlev and Svetlana Hodjash in 2004, that is to say, after *LGG* was published in 2002–2003, and they translated the sign  as 'Ha'.[21]

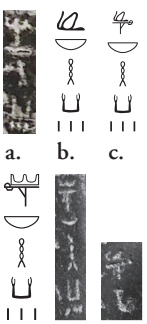
In this article I would like to argue that Ha, and even other gods, could take up the iconography of Heka, and this is supported by those Horus-on-the-crocodiles cippi and healing statues that depict both gods, Heka and Ha, with easily distinguishable headdresses.

4. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF HA AND HEKA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE HORUS CIPPI AND HEALING STATUES

The stela of Nesatum (Metternich stela) representing a remarkably high quality of carving is one of the artefacts depicting both Heka and Ha. In the first register of deities on the front of the cippus, an easily distinguishable form of a 'lion's-hind-part-on-a-standard' identifies

16 Kákosy 1977; *LGG* V, pp. 552c–556b.

17 When introducing the figures depicted on the healing statue of Hor, which presented its vignettes mostly without captions, László Kákosy (1999, p. 86) interpreted the sign on the head of the god  as "the *Ḥkꜣ* sign placed on a standard (i.e.  – *K.J.*)". Nevertheless, he noted that "the form of the sign permits a reading *Ḥꜣ* (i.e.  – *K.J.*)"; eventually, he rejected this reading on iconographical grounds, as "iconography speaks clearly for *Ḥkꜣ*" (Kákosy 1999, *loc. cit.*). In the case of the statue of Psammetikseneb featuring the name and epithet of Ha in a caption, Kákosy did not take the identification with the god Ha into consideration. He transcribed the written form (**a**) as (**b**) and transliterated it as *Ḥkꜣ nb ḥkꜣw* 'Heka, the Lord of magic' (Kákosy 1999, pp. 58–59). He obviously ruled the standard as unimportant. After emendation, the transcription would be (**c**), but it is still unlikely. As what the first sign may actually represent is the 'three-mountain-ridges-(Gardiner's sign N 25)-on-a-standard' sign (**d**) rather than the 'hind-quarters-of-a-lion-(Gardiner's sign F 22)-on-a-standard'. This latter transcription is to be read as *Ḥꜣ nb ḥkꜣw* 'Ha, Lord of magic'. This written form is identical to the one on the healing statue of Padimahes, Pasherimut, and Djedhor Pamai, *ḫm-nṯr*-priests of Bastet: (**e**). On this latter monument, the written form of Ha's name can be distinguished from that of Heka that clearly displays the 'hind-part-of-a-lion-(Gardiner's sign F 22)-on-a-standard' sign and a squatting god classifier: (**f**).



18 Gardiner 1957, p. 464 (identification of sign F 22).

19 Gardiner 1957, p. 488 (identification of sign N 25).

20 Cf. the bibliographic references listed on the website of the Musée du Louvre: https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010034902.

21 Hodjash 2004, p. 21; Berlev, Hodjash 2004, p. 347. For a more recent publication of the same statue, see Panov 2014, mentioning Ha on p. 40.

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the god Heka, while on the back of the stela, a clear representation of the 'three-mountain-ridges-on-a-standard' identifies Ha, also in the first register of gods. Both figures are shown as standing male deities wearing a short kilt and holding two long serpents crossed across their chests (Fig. 3).[22]

Stela of Nesatum (Metternich stela; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 50.85)
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Heka: front side, Reg. 1, Fig. k of Sternberg el-Hotabi 1987, p. 43.



Ha: back side, Reg. 1, Fig. 6

Fig. 3. The representations of Heka and Ha on the stela of Nestaum (Metternich stela) (assembled by the author).

This is further supported by objects representing the two deities on the same side of the statue, as part of the same composition. A good example of this is the right side of the healing statue belonging to Hor, the scribe of the army, that represents divine beings in nine registers on the cloak of the owner, at his legs. Only some of them are identified by name and most of the figures are to be identified by means of iconography. The third figure in the second register is a standing male god holding two long snakes crosswise at the chest with the 'three-mountain-ridge-on-a-standard' sign on his head, while the third figure in the sixth register looks the same, except for his headdress that is clearly the 'hind-part-of-a-lion-on-a-standard'.[23] Further instances are found on the healing statues of Psammetikseneb[24] and Padimahes and his brothers,[25] which even name the figures represented, making their distinction more unequivocal. All of them are represented in Fig. 4.

22 The location of the representation of Heka corresponds to reg. II of Golenischeff 1877, pl. 1, and that of Ha to reg. X (1877, pl. 3).
23 Kákosy 1999, p. 86, pl. 17, 21, 23.
24 Kákosy 1999, pl. 2, 9.
25 See the photos on the website of the Musée du Louvre: https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010034902.

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Healing statue of Hor (Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 3030)
© Museo Egizio, Torino



Ha: right side, cloak, Reg. 2. Fig. 3

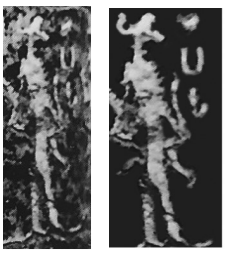


Heka: right side, cloak, Reg. 6, Fig. 3

Healing statue of Psammetikseneb (Florence frg., Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 8708)
© Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze



Ha: right side, cloak, Reg. 3, Fig. 2



Heka: right side, cloak, Reg. 4, Fig. 4
Photoshop manipulation of the figure of Heka on the right, by M. Petró.

Healing statue of Padimahes, Pasherimut, and Djedhor Pamai (Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 10777)
© Musée du Louvre, Dist. GrandPalaisRmn / Georges Poncet



Ha: back pillar, right side, Reg. 5, Fig. 2



Heka: back of the statue, Reg. 3, Fig. 1

Fig. 4. The representations of Ha and Heka on the healing statues of Hor, Psammetikseneb, and on the statue of Padimahes, Pasherimut, and Djedhor Pamai (assembled by the author).

In addition to the statues of Psammetikseneb and Padimahes' which indicate the name of Ha as a 'three-peaked-mountain-ridge' sign 𓉔 (Gardiner's sign N 25) on a standard, the statue of Horkhebe also shows the name of the god, but in this case, with the sign of 'two-mountain-ridges' 𓈎 (Gardiner's sign N 26) on a standard. This excludes the assumption that it is a corrupt lion's hind-part sign 𓂻 (Gardiner's sign F 22) and further confirms the reading 'Ha'.

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These examples allow us to assume that the representation of both figures with easily distinguishable headdresses is a result of a conscious decision. That is to say, the person responsible for the iconographic program intended to include both deities, Heka and Ha in the composition.

Nevertheless, the epithet of Ha on the statues of Psammetikseneb and Padimahes' raises certain questions, as the epithet *nb ḥkꜣw* 'lord of magic' is unusual when associated with Ha. However, since several deities besides Heka[26] held this epithet, such as Isis,[27] Horus,[28] Khonsu,[29] Selqet,[30] Thot,[31] or even the Fourth Lower Egyptian nome,[32] it could plausibly have been an epithet of Ha[33] as well. This is especially likely given that the anonymous Horus cippus previously mentioned (Moscow, Pushkin Museum, I. 1. a. 4474 [1895]) includes the name of Ha in its textual program, together with the epithet *nb ḥkꜣw* 'lord of magic'.[34] Similarly to the statue of Horkhebe, the name of Ha is written with the 'two-peaked-mountain-ridge-on-a-standard' sign , excluding the identification with Heka.

Following this line of thought, a sixth artefact may also be identified as representing the god Ha: an anonymous cippus kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MMA 20.2.23), which depicts a standing male deity of the same iconography. This figure bears a standard on his head with two little vertical strokes at the edges , most probably representing the two peaks of the mountain-ridge  (Gardiner's sign N 26) that make up the logogram of Ha. Once again, this appears to refer to Ha rather than Heka, as the two strokes can hardly be interpreted as the 'lion's-hind-part' sign  (Gardiner's sign F 22), which designates Heka. The latter might instead be the third figure in the lowermost register of gods standing to the left of Harpokrates on the front of the stela. In that representation, a small protuberance in the middle of the standard and another to its right may correspond to the hind-part and foreleg of the lion (Fig. 5). However, there are further reasons to support the identification of this figure on the back of the stela with Ha rather than Heka. These will be addressed in the following section, which introduces the sequence of deities of which Ha was also a part.

26 For the epithet in association with Heka, see *LGG* VIII, p. 569 [G1]. For its attestation on the Horus cippi, see, for example, the stela BM EA 36250 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA36250), front side, right side, reg. 3, fig. 1 written as: (**a**). 
a.

27 *LGG* VIII, p. 20 [G1].

28 *LGG* VIII, p. 425 [G1].

29 *LGG* VIII, p. 576 [G1].

30 The goddess Selqet was referred to as *ḥnwt ḥkꜣw* 'mistress of magic': *LGG* VIII, p. 653 [G1].

31 *LGG* VIII, p. 720 [G1].

32 *LGG* VIII, p. 780 [G1].

33 Naturally, in addition to the epithet *nb ḥkꜣw* there were other magic-related epithets held by other deities, as well, such as *wr ḥkꜣw* 'great of magic' in association with, e.g., Montu (*LGG* VIII, p. 247); Montu-Re: *LGG* VIII, p. 251; Re (*LGG* VIII, p. 312); Re-Harakhty (*LGG* VIII, p. 326); Seth (*LGG* VIII, p. 668); *ʿꜣt-ḥkꜣw* 'great of magic' in association with Thoeris (*LGG* VIII, p. 690).

34 Hodjash, Berlev 1982, pp. 256–258 with comment m; Jasper 2023b, pp. 8, 10–11.

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Anonymous cippus (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 20.2.23)
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Possibly Heka: front side, beneath the arms of Harpokrates, Reg. 3, Fig. 3



Ha: back side, Reg. 1, Fig. 5

Fig. 5. The representations of Ha and (possibly) Heka on the anonymous cippus of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (assembled by the author).

5. THE GOD HA IN A SEQUENCE OF DEITIES ON THE HORUS CIPPI AND HEALING STATUES

As has hitherto been demonstrated, the figural representation of the god Ha on the Horus cippi and healing statues can currently be linked with six individual objects including two stelae and four healing statues (cf. Appendix). They all originate from the same period of production of the Horus cippi, the 'early high period' (*frühe Hochphase*) that corresponds to the time between c. 380–280 BC, covering the Late Dynastic Period and the early Ptolemaic period, as established by Heike Sternberg el-Hotabi.[35] Naturally, the chronological distribution of these artefacts shows some variations within the one-century period in question: certain objects are dated more or less precisely to the reign of Nectanebo II, such as the stela of Nesatum and the statues of Horkhebe, Hor, and Psammetikseneb, while others, such as the anonymous stela in the MET, and the statue of Padimahes, Pasherimut, and Djedhor Pamai, rather share characteristics with early Ptolemaic cippi or statues.[36]

Those objects whose provenance can be determined or at least reasonably suggested, originate from the eastern half of the Delta region, such as Mendes (statue of Horkhebe), Leontopolis (statue of Padimahes, Pasherimut, and Djedhor Pamai), and Heliopolis (stela of Nesatum). The individuals associated with a healing statue or a Horus cippus depicting the god Ha form a more or less heterogenous group. Two of them were connected to the army: Horkhebe, who held multiple rank titles that placed him within the highest elite, also served as a supervisor of the army, while Hor was a scribe of the army. Psammetikseneb likewise belonged to the uppermost elite, serving as judge and vizier. In contrast, Padimahes, Pasherimut, and Djedhor Pamai were priests of Bastet at Leontopolis, while Nesatum held priestly titles in Heliopolis. In the absence of a more detailed analysis, which lies beyond the scope of this article, no direct connection can currently be established among these individuals, nor is there sufficient evidence

35 Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999a, p. 105.

36 For further information on the dating of these objects, see the Appendix. It is only the stela in the Pushkin Museum (I. l. a. 4474 [1895]) that originates from the middle of the Ptolemaic period, corresponding to the end of the 'early high period' and the beginning of the 'middle high period' (Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999b, p. 66). As mentioned earlier, the cippus includes textual references to Ha only, and no figural representation of the god is present.

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to conclude whether the appearance of the god Ha on these monuments was motivated by any shared personal, institutional, or regional factors.[37]

It can nevertheless be established that the placement of the god Ha on these objects follows a roughly consistent and clearly discernible logic: he appears regularly on the back side in the case of Horus cippi, and on the right side in the case of healing statues—a feature that will be discussed later in this contribution. In the present section, however, an even more striking commonality will be addressed, one that connects three specific healing statues: those of Psammetikseneb, Hor, and Horkhebe. All three date to the Late Dynastic Period; two of them (Psammetikseneb and Hor) share similar stylistic characteristics, although the notion of a shared workshop origin still lacks convincing support,[38] and all three represent the god Ha in a similar sequence of deities. Moreover, this sequence closely corresponds to that found on the back of the early Ptolemaic stela from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 20.2.23), which may further support the identification of the fifth figure with Ha. This sequence, as it appears on the previously mentioned three healing statues and the stela, is presented in Table 1. As the length of the entire sequence is varying, only the gods in the direct vicinity of Ha will be commented on below.

As can be seen in Table 1, the iconography of most of the gods on the Horus cippi and healing statues is quite homogenous, and on certain monuments (those of Psammetikseneb and Horkhebe), their names are indicated as well. This allows us to identify the figures on monuments that do not display the names of the gods (like the statue of Hor and The MET stela), and also on monuments on which the figures are in a fragmentary state.

37 For the provenance of these objects and the identity of their owners, see the Appendix.

38 The healing statues of Psammetikseneb (Turin Suppl. 9 + Florence 8707: Kákosy 1999, pl. 1–4) and Hor (Turin, Cat. 3030: Kákosy 1999, pl. 16–18) represent the owner with a relatively large cippus starting from a bit above their waist, and running along the entire length of the legs, until it reaches the base of the statue. Although the base and the feet of the statue of Psammetikseneb are missing, the proportions of the stela correspond to that of Hor. This is contrary to what we see on the statue of Padimahes, Pasherimut and Djedhor Pamai (Louvre, E 10777: https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010034902), which is slightly later: the cippus of that statue extends from below the waist to below the knees. Furthermore, the vignettes of deities covering the back of the statues of Psammetikseneb and Hor start at the hip of the owner and cover the entire lower half of the cloak at the back and partly at the sides in horizontal registers. At the same time, in the case of the Louvre statue, the vignettes cover the upper part of the statue and its entire back, from the shoulders until the area of the knees, except for the back pillar. Another feature that connects the statues of Psammetikseneb and Hor is the presence of horizontal lines of text at the chest, starting at the knot of the cloak, and running downwards until the lunette of the stela. On the Louvre statue, the texts on the same area are written in vertical columns. However, it is to be noted that the statues of Psammetikseneb and Hor show several differences as well, such as the shape of the stela's lunette, the curve of which is sharper on the statue of Hor than on that of Pasammetikseneb; the position of the hands on the cippus, resting not only on the sides of the stela but also on its front on the statue of Hor, while the fingers remain on the sides in the case of the statue of Psammetikseneb; an empty band dividing the vignettes from the magical texts on the back of the stela is present on the statue of Hor, but absent on the statue of Psammetikseneb. As even the stylistic features of the figures in the vignettes differ, the assumption that they originated from the same workshop appears unlikely. Nevertheless, the similarities may arise from their contemporaneousness, representing an official and/or regional style of the healing statues made for the highest elite of the epoch, representing the owner in a standing position.

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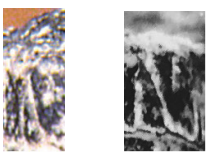
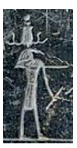
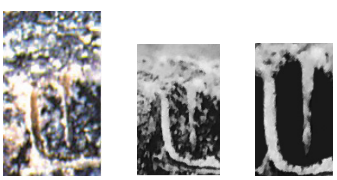
Healing statue of Horkhebe, cloak, right side; DStretch enhancement on the right with LBK_GS colorspace; Photoshop manipulation of the image of Ha by M. Petró. (Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, I.l.a. 5319 [4174]) © Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow	**Healing statue of Psammetikseneb, right side;** extracts after Kákosy 1999, pl. 2 on the right; Photoshop manipulation of the images of Khepry and Ptah by M. Petró. (Florence fragment, inv. no. 8707) © Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze	**Healing statue of Hor, right side** (Turin, Cat. 3030) © Museo Egizio, Torino	**Anonymous Horus cippus, back side** (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 20.2.23) © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Reg. 1, fig. 1  *Ḥrw m Ḥbnw* 'Horus in Hebenu'	Reg. 2, fig. 3  No inscr. visible / Horus of Hebenu	Reg. 1, fig. 4  Horus of Hebenu	Fig. 1  Horus of Hebenu
Reg. 1, fig. 2  *nb Ḥmnw* 'Lord of Hermopolis' (reference to Thot)	Reg. 2, fig. 4  No inscr. visible / Thot of Hermopolis	Reg. 1, fig. 5  Thot of Hermopolis	Fig. 2  Thot of Hermopolis
Reg. 1, fig. 3  No inscr. / Re-Harakhty	Reg. 2, fig. 5  No inscr. visible / Ptah?	Reg. 2, fig. 1  Ptah-Kheperdjesef / Ptah-Tatenen	Fig. 3  Re-Harakhty

Table 1. Sequence of gods on the healing statues of Horkhebe, Psammetikseneb, Hor, and the anonymous stela of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (assembled by the author).

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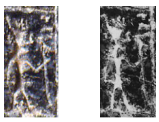
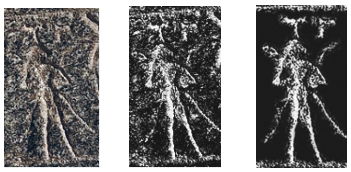
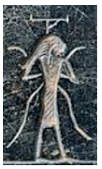
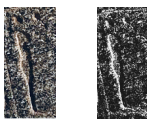
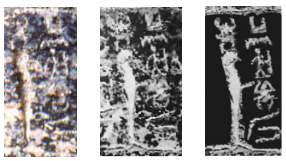
Reg. 1, fig. 4  No inscr. Herishef	Reg. 3, fig. 1  *Ḥry-š=f* ‘Herishef’	Reg. 2, fig. 2  Herishef	Fig. 4  Herishef
Reg. 1, fig. 5  *Ḥ3* ‘Ha’	Reg. 3, fig. 2  *Ḥ3 nb ḥk3w* ‘Ha, lord of magic’	Reg. 2, fig. 3  Ha	Fig. 5  Ha
Reg. 1, fig. 6  *ḫpr ḏs=f* ‘who brought about himself’ (ref. to Khepry)	Reg. 3, fig. 3  *k3 n(y) smsw(?) ḫpr ḏs=f ‘ka* of the elder, who brought about himself’ (ref. to Khepry)	Reg. 2, fig. 4  Khepry	Fig. 6  Khepry

Table 1 (continued and end). Sequence of gods on the healing statues of Horkhebe, Psammetikseneb, Hor, and the anonymous stela of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (assembled by the author).

On the statue of Horkhebe, the sequence of gods starts with a fully preserved figure identified by name, on the right side of the object, in the first register. It represents a falcon with the double crown on the head, standing on the back of a walking oryx and holding its horns. The caption identifies him as *Ḥrw m Ḥbnw* ‘Horus in Hebenu’,[39] capital of the Sixteenth

39 *LGG* V, p. 274a.

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Upper Egyptian (or Gazelle) nome. This god is represented as the fourth figure in the first register on the statue of Hor, and as the third figure in the second register on the statue of Psammetikseneb, although only the figure of the oryx is preserved in that case.

Horus of Hebenu is followed by a standing ibis-headed god with an *ꜣtf*-crown on his head, holding a scribal palette and a brush in his hands. He is referred to as *nb Ḫmnw* 'Lord of Hermopolis', capital of the Fifteenth Upper Egyptian (or Hare) nome, which is a reference to the god Thot.[40] He also appears right behind Horus of Hebenu on the healing statues of Hor and Psammetikseneb. In the latter case, the scribal palette reinforces his identification on the fragmentary part of the statue.

The third figure on the statue of Horkhebe is depicted as a (probably) falcon-headed ithyphallic deity with a sun disk and an uraeus on the head, holding one arm bent in front of his chest and the other one stretched along the trunk, holding a sceptre, probably a *nḫꜣḫꜣ*-fail. No caption accompanies his figure to designate his name on any of the statues investigated herein. However, the healing statue of Djedhor (Cairo, Egyptian Museum JdE 46341) identifies the falcon headed figure with a sun disk on the head (the first figure of the second register on the right side of the statue) as *Rʿ-Ḥrw-ꜣḫty nṯr ʿꜣ sḫr(w) sbỉ* 'Re-Harakhti, the great god, who casts down the rebel'.[41] At this point, the sequence of gods continues differently on the statues of Hor and Psammetikseneb, as Re-Harakhty stands in front of Horus of Hebenu, not after Thot of Hermopolis in both cases.[42]

The identification of the figures standing after Thot of Hermopolis on the statues of Hor and Psammetikseneb is based on iconographical analogies, as no texts identify them by name. The fifth figure in the second register on the statue of Psammetikseneb is a mummiform god standing on a *mꜣʿt*-sign with a long stick in front of him that he is probably holding in his hands. Based on parallels, this figure might be Ptah represented as a standing mummy in a naos, and holding an wAs-sceptre in his hands.[43] This is also confirmed by the corresponding figure on the statue of Hor, which is most probably another form of the creator god Ptah, represented by a human-headed ithyphallic scarab with an *ꜣtf*-crown on the head, standing on a *šn*-ring.[44] This might either be *Ptḥ-ḫpr-ḏs=f* 'Ptah, who brought about himself'[45] or less probably *Ptḥ-Tꜣ-tnn-wr-ỉt-nṯrw* 'Ptah-Tatenen, the great one, father

40 *LGG* VII, pp. 639c–650c.

41 Daressy 1919, p. 131; Jelínková-Reymond 1956, p. 37; *LGG* IV, pp. 630a–634c.

42 Regarding the statue of Psammetikseneb, the identification is based on iconography: the fragmentary figure is a standing male deity with a head broken off, holding an *ʿnḫ*-sign in his hand hanging along the trunk, while the other hand is bent in front of the chest. Probably he was also ithyphallic. This is identical with the iconography of the deity having the sun disk and an uraeus on the head on the statue of Hor.

43 This is the general iconography of Ptah, also attested on the back of the anonymous cippus from the Metropolitan Museum of Art investigated herein (figure no. 7). This iconography corresponds to type A.1.c of *LGG* III, p. 168c. For the god Ptah and his various epithets, see *LGG* III, pp. 168c–181a.

44 This iconography of Ptah corresponds to type D.a of *LGG* III, p. 169a.

45 For a figure of similar iconography (but without the representation of the *šn*-ring) identified by name in caption, see reg 1 on the front side of the anonymous cippus of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (I. 1. A. 4468 [1900]: Hodjash, Berlev 1982, p. 245, fig. 1 [object no. 181]); see also fig. 1 in reg. 7 on the back of the healing statue of Padimahes, Pasherimut, and Djedhor Pamai (Louvre, E 10777): https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010034902; and on a cippus fragment from the Bibliothèque humaniste et municipial de Sélestat, reg. x+2: Graefe 1998, p. 119, pl. 1.

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of gods'.[46] After this partial discrepancy in the order of gods in the sequence of deities, the following three deities appear in similar order on the healing statues under investigation.

The fourth figure is a ram-headed standing male deity holding an *wꜣs*-sceptre in one hand and a stick held horizontally in the other. On the statue of Hor, he is represented with the *ḥmḥm* -crown on the head, while on the statues of Horkhebe and Psammetikseneb, he is shown with a composite crown combining the *ḥmḥm*-crown and the red crown on the head. The inscription on the latter statue identifies the figure as *Ḥry-š=f* 'Herishef'.[47]

The god standing after Herishef on each statue is holding two long snakes crosswise at the chest with a sign representing three mountain ridges on a standard on the statue of Psammetikseneb and Hor, and two on the statue of Horkhebe. The inscription of Psammetikseneb identifies him as *Ḥꜣ nb ḥkꜣw* 'Ha, lord of magic', while that of Horkhebe simply as *Ḥꜣ* 'Ha'.

Finally, the god Ha is followed by an ithyphallic mummy with a scarab above his head. On the statue of Psammetikseneb, this figure is identified as *kꜣ n(y) smsw(?) ḫpr ḏs=f* '*ka* of the elder(?), who brought about himself'. This iconography designates Khepry, the morning form of the Sun god.[48] On the statue of Horkhebe, his caption is: *ḫpr ḏs=f* 'who brought about himself', also referring to Khepry.

The sequence of gods becomes considerably more heterogenous afterwards, and it is not the aim of this contribution to identify every single figure that is represented on the right side of the statues investigated. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the six mentioned figures correspond to the first six deities out of nine lined up on the back of the early Ptolemaic anonymous cippus of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 20.2.23) that reveals a remarkably high quality of craftsmanship. Regarding the statue of Horkhebe, this correspondence even applies to the succession of the figures. Although none of them are specified by name on The MET stela, they can be identified on iconographic grounds. They are Horus of Hebenu, Thot of Hermopolis, Re-Harakhty, Herishef, Ha, and Khepry, while the last three figures are Ptah, Sakhmet, and Nefertem, probably referring to a Memphite origin of the stela.
Furthermore, it is also important to note that the majority of the previously identified gods appear in a similar and relatively homogenous sequence, practically since the beginning of the production of the Horus cippi back in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. These monuments were integrating new figures, especially during the 'early high period' of the production of the cippi from which the hereby treated objects originate as well.[49]

The 'classic' sequence of deities, according to Sternberg el-Hotabi,[50] constituted the following gods: 1) Horus of Hebenu; 2) Thot of Hermopolis; 3) Herishef; 4) Heka; 5) Re-Harakhty; 6) a goddess, either Isis or Sakhmet; 7) Min; 8) Khepry; 9) Onuris or Onuris-Shu; 10) Ptah-Patek; 11) Heket.

What one can see in the sequence of gods on the monuments investigated, is that it is a somewhat modified variant of the 'classic' sequence. It keeps the order of the first four figures,

46 For a figure of similar iconography identified by name in caption, see fig. 1 in reg. x+4 on the right side of the healing statue Turin Cat. 3031 (Kákosy 1999, p. 102 and pl. 29).
47 *LGG* V, pp. 381b–383c.
48 This iconography of Khepry corresponds to type C.c of *LGG* V, p. 714a. For Khepry, see *LGG* V, pp. 713c–719c.
49 Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999a, pp. 51–57.
50 Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999a, p. 55.

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except that it inserts Re-Harakhty, the fifth figure in the 'classic' sequence, into the third place, between Thot and Herishef, on the statue of Horkhebe and The MET stela, and before Horus of Hebenu on the statues of Hor and Psammetikseneb. The goddess and Min are omitted, but Khepry is again present. The last—and from our point of view the most important—difference is in the headdress of the god represented with two serpents in his hands crosswise at his chest. Instead of Heka having a 'lion's-hind-part-on-a-standard'  sign on his head, it is Ha with a 'two- or three-peaked-mountain-sign-on-a-standard' /.

6. AN UNCONVENTIONAL REPRESENTATION OF ATUM ON THE PUSHKIN MUSEUM STELA I. 1. A. 4468 [1900]

Before interpreting this interesting iconographic similarity, I would like to bring attention to a third variant of the representation of a god with two long serpents in his hands crosswise at his chest in a similar iconographic context. It is found on the back of another anonymous early Ptolemaic stela from the Pushkin Museum (I. 1. a. 4468 [1900]), where the figure in question has the double crown on his head.[51] As no names identify the gods, on iconographic grounds, this headdress most probably designates Atum.[52] The sequence of gods on the back of the stela is as follows:[53] 1) [Horus of Hebenu?], whose presence is only assumed by the length of the lacuna; 2) Thot of Hermopolis, whose head is also missing, but whose identification is based on the scribal palette in his hand; 3) the ram-headed Herishef with *ꜣtf*-crown on his head; 4) the falcon-headed Re-Harakhty with a sun disk and uraeus on his head; 5) Atum with the above described iconography; 6) the ithyphallic Min[54] with his 'classical' iconography; 7) Khepry as an ithyphallic mummy with a scarab on the head; 8) Hathor or Mehet-Weret[55] as a cow-headed goddess with the sun disk and two plumes in-between the cow horns on the head; 9) Isis[56] with a sun disk between the cow horns on the head; 10) standing baboon.

To my knowledge, this iconography of Atum is without further parallels, as on other Horus cippi or healing statues, he is most often represented as a standing male deity with an wAs-sceptre in his hands.[57] At the same time, on the statue of Hor, he was depicted as a 'decan-serpent with sun disk' called *Ỉtm nṯr ʿꜣ nb pt* 'Atum, the great god, lord of the sky'.[58] Along with Heka, Ha, and Atum, the god Khonsu[59] could also be represented with two long

51 Hodjash, Berlev 1982, pp. 245–246 (object no. 181).

52 *LGG* VII, pp. 411c–424a.

53 The identification of the gods corresponds to Hodjash, Berlev 1982, 246, with further additions in association with figures nos. 1 and 2, not being listed by the publishers of the cippus, and no. 9, in which case a possible identification with Mehet-Weret was also proposed by the author of this contribution.

54 Gundlach 1982; *LGG* III, pp. 288a–295c.

55 Hathor: *LGG* V, pp. 75b–86b, Mehet-Weret: Kákosy 1982a.

56 *LGG* I, pp. 61b–79b.

57 CG 9430, back side, reg. 1, fig. 3 (Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999a, p. 241); healing statue of Psammetikseneb (Turin Suppl. 9), right side, reg. 1, fig. 2, with the inscription: *Rʿ-Ỉtm-nb-tꜣwy-Ỉwnw* 'Re-Atum, Lord of the Two Lands and of Heliopolis' (Kákosy 1999, pp. 56–57, fig. 10, pl. 2). For the epithet, see *LGG* VIII, p. 705 [B3].

58 Turin, Cat. 3030, left side, reg. 6, fig. 3 (Kákosy 1999, p. 89, pl. 18).

59 *LGG* V, pp. 761b–772c.

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serpents in his hands held crosswise along the chest, labelled as *Ḫnsw nb Smȝ-Bḥdt* 'Khonsu, Lord of Semabekhdet (Tell el-Balamun)',[60] but it was not his primary means of representation.[61] Furthermore, the same iconographic characteristics are also found with Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.[62]

Therefore, one may conclude that the representation of a male god in a protective gesture holding two long serpents in his hands crosswise at the chest cannot be necessarily reduced to a single deity. That is to say: even if it seems to be the standard iconography for both Heka and Ha in the context of the Horus cippi and healing statues, further gods could occasionally assume the same representation, like Atum, Khonsu, or Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris. However, in the latter cases, their holding two serpents crosswise at the chest remains a rare iconographic feature, contrary to the representations of Heka and Ha, which are consistently depicted that way on the monuments in question.

7. YET AGAIN ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF HA AND HEKA AND ITS SYMBOLISM IN THE CONTEXT OF THE HORUS CIPPI AND HEALING STATUES

As for Heka, this representation is not restricted to the Horus cippi and healing statues. It is also found on Twenty-first Dynasty mythological papyri and coffins.[63] In these sources, Heka is standing behind Osiris or Re-Harakhti in different scenes, such as, most prominently, the 'Resurrection of Osiris';[64] but also in representations of Re-Harakhti in the

60 Horus cippus of the British Museum (BM EA 36250), front side, reg. 4, to the right of Horus-on-the-crocodiles (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA36250). For the epithet, see *LGG* VIII, p. 574 [B2]. See also Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999a, p. 114.

61 For a selection of Khonsu's iconography in the context of the healing statues, including falcon-headed mummy, pantheistic ithyphallic god, crocodile, baboon etc., see Kákosy 1999, p. 182. For his representation as a standing falcon-headed mummy, see also the statue of Padimahes and his brothers (Louvre, E 10777), right side of the back pillar, reg. 3 (https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010034902).

62 Statue of Padimahes, Pasherimut, and Djedhor Pamai (Louvre, E 107777), right side of the statue at the back, reg. 5, fig. 1 (https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010034902). See also Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999a, p. 113.

63 On this subject, see Liptay 1991; 1992a; 1992b.

64 This resurrection scene occurred frequently on Twenty-first Dynasty inner coffins, most often at the shoulders, opposite to the scene of the 'Separation of Heaven and Earth' (Liptay 1992a, p. 11; 1992b, pp. 389, 390). In the centre of the composition, the resurrected Osiris is depicted seated on a throne that is resting on a double stairway with a huge serpent on it. This stepped platform could have represented a step pyramid as the resting place of Osiris who was sometimes depicted lying therin, or it may have represented the venue of his resurrection, or even the primeval mound. The *ỉmy-wt*-symbol regularly appears in front of the enthroned Osiris. Various deities, like Thot, Harsiese or Harendotes stand in front of the enthroned god in adoration or presenting him the *wḏȝt*-eye, while goddesses like Isis, Nephthys, Maat or Imentet stand behind him for his protection. Heka, holding the serpents crosswise is placed behind the goddess(es) in several attestations of this representation (on the symbolism of this scene, see Piankoff, Rambova 1957, pp. 58–60; Liptay 1992a, p. 6ff; Liptay 1992b). Out of several coffins and mythological papyri representing this scene, a good example is found on the papyrus of Khonsuenrenep (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.11501; pap. No. 11 of Piankoff, Rambova 1957, pp. 117–125; for a description of the scene, see pp. 59, 118–119) from Deir el-Bahari (Bab el-Gasus); for further data, see: https://www.ushabtis.com/papyrus-khonsuenrenep-cairo-123/ and the slip of A. Niwinski: https://www.ushabtis.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/0999-21-xnsw-n-rnp-C2-Niwinski-S.R.VII_.11501.jpg.

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sun bark;[65] and the 'Weighing of the Heart' scene.[66] In this position, the god Heka might have served as protector of the gods behind whom he was standing, in accordance with what he proclaimed in *Coffin Texts* spell 261 (*CT* III, 385b): *ỉw=ỉ m sꜣ wḏt nb wʿ* 'I am the protection of what the sole lord (i.e., Atum) commands'. This role is also supported by his iconography in which he expresses power over dangerous animals while holding them in his hands. As Éva Liptay, who thoroughly investigated this iconography of Heka, added, even the serpents themselves could convey the same concept of protection. Based on a note by Robert K. Ritner,[67] Liptay also linked the earliest known representations of an apotropaic figure with two snakes in the hand with the dwarf Aha, who later, together with other dwarf figures, got incorporated into the figure of Bes.[68] These representations are associated with Middle Kingdom magical wands expressing the power of the god over dangerous animals and his role as a protector against malevolent spirits during childbirth.[69] Furthermore, it is to be noted that these representations of a strong solar aspect[70] can also be linked with the Horus cippi and healing statues, in which the same solar concepts were manifested.

At this point, before interpreting the iconography of Ha in the context of the Horus cippi and healing statues, it seems necessary to make some brief general comments on the symbolism of these objects, inferred from the texts covering them as well as from their vignettes and further iconographic elements.

As Heike Sternberg el-Hotabi noted, the representations of gods in a long chain on the Horus cippi and healing statues are to be considered as vignettes that illustrate the textual program and the inherent theological concepts of these monuments.[71] In the first place, all the text appearing on the Horus cippi and healing statues serves as protection against dangerous animals and their bites, based on the analogy of their mythological antecedent: the healing

65 See, for example, the coffin of Pasebakhaienipet (New York, Brooklyn Museum, 08.480.1a–b): https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/fr-FR/objects/3230; Velde 1969–1970, pl. 27.

66 See, for example, the coffin of Lady Tahai (Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, III 129): Hunkeler 2018, p. 71 with fig. 1; p. 82 with fig. 10.

67 "A particularly appropriate counterpart for Horus is found in the guardian deity Bes, who regularly constrains serpents in his hands and whose earlier iconography was the inspiration for the posture of Horus" (Ritner 1989, p. 105).

68 Liptay 1991, 87–90. For the incorporation of various dwarf figures into Bes, see Dasen 1993, pp. 55–56, 68–70; and more recently Orosz 2023, pp. 10–11 with an extensive literature on this subject listed in n. 21. See also the doctoral dissertation of L. Bergerot titled *Bès, du prototype à l'archétype. Formes et fonctions d'un dieu*, defended at the Université Paul Valéry Montpellier III in 2024 (https://www.theses.fr/s228174).

69 See, for example, a magical wand from el-Lahun (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, SM 14207): Dasen 1993, p. 69, on which the protective role of Aha can be deduced not only by the iconography, but also by the accompanying caption: *ḏd-mdw in ʿḥꜣ ỉy.n(=ỉ) stp=ỉ sꜣ ḥr* N 'Words spoken by Aha: I have come to protect N'.

70 Dasen 1993, pp. 64–66, 68.

71 Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999a, p. 51. For the most extensive collection of magical texts written on the Horus cippi and healing statues, see the stela of Nesatum (Metternich stela, MMA 50.85) displaying 14 individual spells: Golenisheff 1877. For their German translation, see Sander-Hansen 1956; for more recent translations in English and French, see Allen 2005a; Guiter 2024.

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of the child god Horus from different snake bites and scorpion stings, while being hidden from Seth in the Delta marshes by his mother Isis. At the same time, another layer of their content is related to cosmology. This is particularly true of *Text B* which is associated with the rejuvenation of the Sun god who was revived as the triumphant Horus in the morning.[72] Its organic continuation in terms of content and theology was *Text A* which describes the victory of Horus over his enemies and the consolidation of his power.[73] Some of these vignettes are already known from the conceptual antecedents of the Horus cippi, the Horus-Shed stelae, such as the figure of Horus of Hebenu on the back of an oryx, or that of Onuris with a spear in his hands – both associated with the *Myth of the Eye*.[74]

One cannot be surprised, after all, that gods of strong solar connotation and/or ones in association with the concept of regeneration and revival as well as protection were lined up in the vignettes. The same applies for the gods treated in this contribution, and, as we shall see, even their geographical connotation is worthy of some comments. Horus of Hebenu represented the Sixteenth Upper Egyptian (or Gazelle) nome, where, according to the *Great Nome List of Edfu* and further related texts, Horus defeated Seth in its form of an oryx.[75] Thot of Hermopolis, the major god of the Fifteenth Upper Egyptian (Hare) nome, possessed numerous titles in association with knowledge, morality, and law.[76] He was the "ritualist *par excellence*" who also guaranteed the realization of the texts recited. Furthermore, he played an essential role in the *unio mystica* of Re and Osiris in *Book of the Dead* chapter 182, and therefore contributed to their rejuvenation.[77] Herishef, associated with the Twentieth Upper Egyptian (Herakleopolitan) nome, was the "manifestation of the united *ba* of Re and Osiris" according to chapter 175 of the *Book of the Dead*.[78] Heka represented the magical power essential for protection;[79] while Re-Harakhty was a manifestation of the cyclical course of the sun.[80] Khepry represented another aspect of the solar cycle as well as regeneration.[81] Finally, the god

72 On the stela of Nesatum, *Text B* is found on the back of the stela right beneath the registers of divine beings: Cf. Golenisheff 1877, pl. III, lines 38–48; for an English translation of the texts, see Allen 2005a, p. 60.

73 Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999a, pp. 38–55, esp. p. 40. On the stela of Nesatum, *Text A* is found on the left side of the stela right beneath the registers of divine beings: Cf. Golenisheff 1877, pl. V, lines 101–48; for an English translation of the texts, see Allen 2005a, p. 60.

74 Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999a, pp. 36–38. On the Horus-Shed stela, recently see, for example, Pietri 2022 with further literature.

75 Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999a, p. 37; The related passage is as follows: *Ḥbnw ḥr wḏ3t nḥm.tỉ m-ʿ ḫḥb* 'Hebenu is provided with the udjat eye, which is saved from the Raging One' (*Edfou* I, 341, 16–17; transliteration and translation after Leitz 2014, p. 125). For further references to the power of Horus over Seth in his form of an oryx antelope from Edfu, Kom Ombo, Tod, and the Opet temple, see Leitz 2017, pp. 295–296.

76 *LGG* VIII, pp. 720–721 [G1–2].

77 Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999a, pp. 39, 52 and n. 161. For BD 182, see for example, the Twenty-first Dynasty Theban papyrus of Muthotepet (London, British Museum, BM EA 10010; TM 134509): https://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134509 with bibliography.

78 Sternberg el-Hotabi 1987, pp. 42–43; 1999a, pp. 39, 52 and n. 163. For BD 175, see for example, the Nineteenth Dynasty Saqqara papyrus of Re (Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, T5; TM 134348): https://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134348 with bibliography.

79 Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999a, pp. 39, 53 and n. 168.

80 Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999a, pp. 39, 53.

81 *LGG* V, pp. 713c–719c.

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Min, well-known for his fertility which naturally gives him a role in regeneration as well, was equally venerated in the Fifth (Coptite) and the Ninth (Panopolite) Upper Egyptian nomes.[82]

As for the god Heka, besides personifying magical power, he also possessed a strong solar character. According to the Heka spell of the *Coffin Texts* (spell 261), he was the first creation of the Sun god Atum,[83] and a protective force in Atum's commands.[84] Later on, the solar character of Heka also manifested itself in his epithet *smsw kꜣw n(y) Rʿ* 'the eldest one of the *ka*s of Re'.[85] It is probably the same solar character of Heka and his close relationship with Atum that made it possible for the latter god to take up the iconography of Heka on the mentioned stela of the Pushkin Museum (I. 1. a. 4468 [1900]). Regarding the magical spells of the Horus cippi and healing statues, the name of Heka appears once in spell no. 5 of the Metternich stela. According to this text, Heka was responsible for blinding the eyes of dangerous animals in the waters.[86]

Returning to the god Ha and the interpretation of his iconography in the context of the Horus cippi and healing statues, unlike Heka's, his representation with the two serpents is very much restricted to the object types mentioned. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, apart from his single attestation in a unique variant of *Text A* on the cippus of the Pushkin Museum (I. 1. A. 4474 [1895]),[87] the name of Ha was not integrated in the known textual program of the Horus cippi and healing statues. The question therefore arises: how did Ha come to appear on these monuments, and why exactly with the iconography and epithet of Heka, practically borrowing them from the latter god, especially since, in most cases, Ha took Heka's traditional place in the sequence of deities. Further questions concern his relationship with the other mainly Upper Egyptian gods of the sequence, with protection over dangerous animals, and with the regeneration cycle of the Sun. These questions may be approached by examining the nature, the cult place, and the orthography of the name of Ha.

8. WHAT MADE THE GOD HA RELEVANT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE HORUS CIPPI AND HEALING STATUES?

To answer this question, it must be noted first and foremost that the presence of a desert god is certainly legitimate on an object type that serves to protect against and heal the bites and stings of animals living in the desert, such as serpents, scorpions, or lions, and through this, maybe against other sorts of disease.

82 *LGG* III, pp. 288a–295c.

83 *ỉnk ỉrỉ.n nb wʿ n ḥprt ỉšt snt m tꜣ pn* 'I am the one whom the Sole Lord (i.e., Atum) created before the two things came into being on this earth' (*CT* III, 382e–383a); *ỉnk wnnt zꜣ pw n(y) ms(w) tm* 'I am indeed the son of the one who bore everything' (*CT* III, 384d).

84 *ỉwỉ ỉ m sꜣ wḏwt nb ʿꜣ* 'I am the protector of what the Sole Lord (i.e., Atum) commanded' (*CT* III, 385b).

85 Tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9), Hall H, left wall, representation of the god Heka next to the texts of chapters 124 and 125 of the *Book of the Dead*: Piankoff 1954, pl. 110.

86 *ỉ ỉmyw mw ḫtm(w) rỉṯn ỉn Rʿ ḏbꜣ(w) ḫnggỉṯn ỉn Sḫmt sʿḏ(w) nsỉṯn ỉn Ḏḥwty šp(w) ỉrwtỉṯn ỉn Ḥkꜣ* 'Oh, those in the waters, may your mouth be sealed by Re, may your pharynx be blocked by Sakhmet, may your tongue be cut off by Thot, may your eyes be blind by Heka': S.Metternich (42)–43: Golenisheff 1877, pl. 3; Sander-Hansen 1956, p. 32. The text was written in horizontal lines on the back of the stela, found in lines 5 and 6 under the vignettes.

87 Cf. n. 34.

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As for the character of Ha related to magical power, there is not much related evidence left, and what there is, originates from a time well predating the first known Horus cippi and healing statues. It is a short passage of *Coffin Texts* spell 36 that refers to Ha as a god who uttered two spells to *Ỉmy-ỉꜣw* that the deceased had to know before entering the abode of Osiris.[88] This passage links Ha with the concept of (secret) knowledge that could also be related to magic.

When examining the placement of the god on the objects in question, it becomes clear that his position is fully consistent with his nature: on Horus cippi, Ha regularly appears on the back side, while on healing statues, he is consistently depicted on the right side of the figure. Since in Egyptian symbolism the right side corresponded to the West, and thus to the afterlife, Ha's presence on this side is entirely appropriate, as his figure represented the chthonic regeneration also conveyed by the so-called *Text B*, inscribed on the right side of the statues and back of the cippi.[89]

In the absence of any explicit indication, however, it is more difficult to determine why Ha appears at the thigh level on the statues of Horkhebe, Hor, and Psammetikseneb, while on the statue of Padimahes, Pasherimut, and Djedhor Pamai, he is depicted on the back, at the shoulder height.[90] This may indicate that his figure was associated less with a specific body part than with a particular side of the statue.

Furthermore, as the underlying concept of these objects also includes the fusion of solar and chthonic regeneration, it may also be argued that this conceptual unity also manifested itself in the nature of Ha himself. His solar aspect is already attested in the *Coffin Texts*, and becomes even more prominent towards the end of the dynastic period.

An important motive of *Coffin Texts* spell 313 is the repelling of the enemies of Osiris that come from the direction of the four cardinal points. According to this text, the god Ha was responsible for the western cardinal point, and he repelled dangerous beings coming from the West by the *ꜣt*-power that manifested itself when the evening and night form of the Sun god came forth from the horizon.[91]

This association with the power of Atum gives Ha an unequivocal solar connotation, which is well in accordance with the marked solar nature of the Horus cippi and healing statues, although, in a period considerably preceding the one investigated. However, there is evidence for the solar character of Ha from a period much closer to the appearance of Ha on the Horus cippi and healing statues than the *Coffin Texts*: three stelae from the Qubbet el-Hawa necropolis in the Aswan region, dated to the Saite Period, where Ha, *nb ỉmnt(y)t* 'Lord of the West' is depicted in the company of different aspects of the Sun god, such as Re-Harakhty, *nṯr ꜥꜣ ḥry nṯrw* 'the great god, chieftain of the gods' and Khepry, *ḫpr ḏz=f* 'who brought about himself'

88 *ỉw rḫ.n=f ṯzwy ỉpw ḏdw.n Ḥꜣ n Ỉmy-ỉꜣw* 'He has learnt these two utterances which Ha said to He-who-is-in- *ỉꜣw*' (*CT* I, 139c–140a).

89 Cf. Sethe 1922 for the association of the right side with the West in ancient Egyptian thought; Jasper 2019; 2023a on the chthonic aspects of the god Ha; Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999a, pp. 39–40 on *Texts A* and *B*; Chen 2020, pp. 204–226 on the traditional place of *Text B* on the right side of healing statues and *Text A* on the left.

90 On the relationship between the content and placement of certain texts on the healing statues, particularly their association with specific parts of the body, see Chen 2020, pp. 200–204.

91 *ỉw.tỉ=f(i) r=k n ỉmntỉw ỉw=f n Ḥꜣ nb Ỉmnt ḫsf=f sn n ꜣ.t Ỉtm m prỉw=f n(y)w ꜣḫt* 'He, who shall come against you from those of the West, he is for Ha, Lord of the West. He will repel them by the *ꜣt*-power of Atum in his ascendings from the Horizon' (*CT* IV, 90e–f).

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on the stela of a lady with the Greek name Taqer[92] (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 22104);[93] Re-Harakhty, *nṯr ꜥꜣ nb pt* 'the great god, lord of the sky', Khepry, *ḫpr ḏzꜥf* 'who brought about himself', and Atum, *nb ḫwtꜣꜥt* 'lord of the great enclosure' on the stela of lady Meribastetites[94] (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 22105);[95] Re-Harakhty, *nṯr ꜥꜣ ḥry nṯrw* 'the great god, chieftain of the gods' and Atum, *nb Ỉwnw* 'lord of Heliopolis' on the stela of lady Amenirdis[96] (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 22191).[97]

Another example of the same phenomenon comes from Kom Ombo about 45 km to the north of Qubbet el-Hawa, where another pairing of Atum, the evening form of the Sun god, as *nb Mꜣnw* 'Lord of the mountain of Manu' and Ha as *swḏꜣ tꜣ-ḏsr n(y) nṯrw* 'the one who protects the Sacred Land of the gods' is attested in a text on the westernmost column of the first row of columns in the pronaos of the Sobek and Haroeris temple,[98] emphasizing the role of Ha in the nightly regeneration of the Sun god, and clearly demonstrating the complementary nature of the solar and chthonic aspects of Egyptian religion, so markedly present after the Amarna period, referred to as the 'solar-Osirian cycle' by Mark Smith.[99]

With regard to the relationship of Ha with the gods he was represented with in the decorative program of the Horus cippi and healing statues, it is noteworthy that his figure was integrated into a context dominated by Upper Egyptian gods. Although in certain Ptolemaic and Roman nome lists, the name of Ha was already inseparable from the Seventh Lower Egyptian nome,[100] and according to the *Mytholigical Handbook of the Delta*, he was also venerated in the Third one,[101] there is also reference to Ha in the context of Herakleopolitan gods from the Saite period. This latter context makes him fit in the sequence of mostly Upper Egyptian gods of the Horus cippi and healing statues, as a representative of the Twentieth nome of Upper Egypt.

An inscription on the bust of Horemakhbit[102] probably from the temple of Sobek in Shedet at Crocodilopolis dated to the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty shortly after 664 BC

92 *Tꜣ-ḳr*: Greek name; *PN* I, 370.17.

93 Kamal 1904–1905, p. 91, pl. 31; Munro 1973, p. 77, pl. 25, fig. 90. The order of the gods depicted is as follows: Re-Harakhty, Khepry, Ha.

94 *Mrỉ-Bꜣst(y)t-ỉtꜣs*: *PN* I, 156.7.

95 Kamal 1904–1905, pp. 91–92, pl. 32; Munro 1973, p. 77. The order of the gods depicted is as follows: Re-Harakhty, Khepry, Atum, Ha.

96 *Ỉmn-ỉr-dỉ-s(y)*: *PN* I, 26.25.

97 Kamal 1904–1905, p. 198; Munro 1973, p. 77, n. 5. The order of the gods depicted is as follows: Re-Harakhty, Atum, Ha.

98 *ꜥnḫ nṯr nfr zꜣ Ỉtm nb Mꜣnw mỉ Ḥꜣ swḏꜣ tꜣ-ḏsr n nṯrw zꜣ-Rꜥ Ptwlmys-ꜥnḫ(.w)-ḏt mry-Ptḥ-ỉst nṯrwy mry ỉtꜣsn mry Sbk nb Nbyt dỉ(.w) ꜥnḫ* 'May the good god live, the son of Atum, lord of mountain of Manu (reference to the West, the western mountain, and the realm of the dead), like Ha, who protects the Sacred Land (i.e. the necropolis and the realm of the dead) of the gods, the son of Re, Ptolemy- may-he-live-eternally-beloved-of-Ptah-and-Isis (Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos), the two gods who love their father (Philopator), beloved of Sobek, lord of Ombos, given life!' (Morgan et al. 1895, p. 282, E). For the meaning of *Mꜣnw*, see *Wb* II, 29.11–16; TLA lemma no. 67160. For that of *tꜣ-ḏsr*, cf. *Wb* V, 228.6–14; 611.10; TLAlemma no. 169370.

99 Assmann 1983, p. xv; Assmann 2005 [2001], pp. 173–176; Darnell 2004; Smith 2017, pp. 271–355, esp. pp. 350–355.

100 *Edfou* I, 331.15–332.2, pl. 16; *Dendara* X, 86.5–10, pl. 41; pCarlsberg H (II, L 18, 14): Osing 1998, p. 241, pl. 24; Leitz 2014, pp. 243–251; 2017, pp. 441–450.

101 *pBrooklyn 47.218.84*, x+14,9–10: Meeks 2006, p. 31, § 38 (transcription and translation); pp. 140–142, §§ 483–488; (commentary); pl. 14 (hieratic) and pl. 14a (hieroglyphic transcription).

102 *Ḥrw-‹m›-ỉḫ-bỉt*: *PN* I, 247.15.

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refers to Ha as *ḥry-ỉb N-ꜣrr=f* 'who is in the midst of (dwelling in) Naref'.[103] His name appears in a *ḥtp-dỉ-nswt* offering formula mentioning *Ḥry-š=f nswt tꜣwy* 'Herishef, king of the two lands' and *Wsỉr-N-ꜣrr=f* 'Osiris-Naref',[104] both associated with Herakleopolis, while another offering formula lists gods of Fayum connotation. Another source, the squatting statue of Amenirdas,[105] son of Khuherishef from the Karnak *cachette* (K 644; Cairo, Egyptan Museum, CG 48632) dated to the reign of Psammetik I (664–610 BC), more precisely to c. 655–645, identifies its owner as, among others, *ḥm-nṯr Ḥꜣ nb ỉmnt psḏt=f* 'the *ḥm-nṯr*-priest of Ha, Lord of the West and his ennead' in the context of several other titles associated with the region of Herakleopolis.[106] This leads to the conclusion that Lucía Diaz-Iglesias Llanos also noted in her monograph on *Naref and Osiris-Naref*, when investigating the monuments mentioned, namely, that even if sacred geography links the cult place of Ha with the Nile Delta, Ha "could have been venerated in Herakleopolis Magna or its surroundings as well".[107]

As regards the title *ḥry-ỉb N-ꜣrr=f* 'who is in the midst of (dwelling in) Naref', it connects Ha with a "mythical toponym"[108] at Herakleopolis Magna that was considered not only a local resting place of Osiris, but also that of Atum, and an entrance to the Hereafter. In this respect, Naref was imagined as a place of transition similar to the mountain of Manu at the western horizon. In its role as the tomb of Atum, its parallel was Heliopolis, city of the tomb of Re.[109]

9. CONCLUSION

The parallels presented in the above discussion also clearly demonstrate that the god known as 'Lord of the West', and thus primarily associated with Osiris and the chthonic aspects of the afterlife, also played a role in the solar cycle by facilitating the transition and the nightly regeneration of the Sun god. This concept appears in texts written on the back of the Horus cippi, accompanied by illustrative vignettes. These vignettes were also found on the right (western) side of the healing statues, where the god Ha was represented in a sequence of mostly Upper Egyptian gods. Therefore, one can conclude that the presence of Ha on the aforementioned object types—which were intended to protect against the stings

103 Perdu, Rickal 1994, pp. 112–113.
104 *LGG* II, p. 548a–c.
105 *Ỉmn-ỉr-dỉ-s(w)*: *PN* I, 26.24.
106 Josephson, Eldamaty 1999, pp. 74–76; Azzam 2002; Azzam 2004. Titles cover the front and the sides of the statue. The title associated with Ha is found on the front of the statue in the following context: *ḥm-nṯr Ỉmn m Ỉpt-swt Sbk-Šdỉt Ḥrw ḥry-ỉb Ỉwnw* '*ḥm-nṯr*-priest of Amun in Karnak, of Sobek of Shedet, of Horus in the midst of (dwelling in) Heliopolis'; *ḥm-nṯr Ḥry-š=f nswt tꜣwy ḥry-st wrt* '*ḥm-nṯr*-priest of Herishef, king of the two lands, who is upon the great seat'; *ḥm-nṯr Wsỉr N-ꜣrr=f* '*ḥm-nṯr*-priest of Osiris-Naref'; *ḥm-nṯr Ḥwt-Ḥrw nbt Nn-nswt* '*ḥm-nṯr*-priest of Hathor, Lady of Herakleopolis'; *ḥm-nṯr Wꜣḏt nb(t) Nbỉt* '*ḥm-nṯr*-priest of Uadjet, Lady of Nebyt'; *(ỉmy)-r-ỉḫw n(y) prwy Ḥr(y)-š=f* 'overseer of the cattle of the two estates of Herishef'; *rḫt-nswt Wꜣḥ-ỉb-Rʿ* 'acquaintance of the king, Psammetik I'.
107 Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2017, p. 227, n. 618. On the god Ha in the monography mentioned, see pp. 123, 222, 227, and 315.
108 Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2017, p. 123.
109 Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2017, pp. 55–82.

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and bites of dangerous animals, many of them living in the desert, and which carried a strong solar connotation associated with regeneration—is well supported. This association is further reinforced by Ha's Upper Egyptian cult place and by various aspects of his nature that connect him to the concept of the desert, protection, secret knowledge, regeneration, and the solar cycle. In addition to these theological and symbolic reasons, there may also be a more practical factor behind Ha's appearance in the place of Heka: the visual similarity between the graphical forms of their names and headdresses. Both display a standard with hieroglyphic signs representing protuberances—whether the hind part of a lion with its tail and leg (Heka), or three mountains next to one another (Ha).

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APPENDIX

Healing statue of Horkhebe



Fig. 6. The front and right side of the healing statue of Horkhebe, Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, I. l. a. 5319 (4174); *DStretch* enhancement of the right side of the statue with LBK_GS colorspace. The extract of the figure of Ha (upper image) is cropped from the enhanced picture; a Photoshop manipulation of the same image by M. Petró is shown below. Image assembly by G. Vaszkun.

Material:	grey granite
Dimensions:	ht.: 55 cm; w.: 34 cm; th.: 37 cm
Provenance:	unknown, probably Mendes[110]
Inventory:	Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, I. l. a. 5319 (4174)
Date:	Late Dynastic Period; Nectanebo II (360–343 BC) or Philip Arrhidaios (323–317 BC), based on dated parallels (Berlev, Hodjash 2004, p. 327); early Ptolemaic period based on vocabulary and orthography (Panov 2014, pp. 11, 13–14)
Owner:	*ỉry-pʿt ḥɜty-ʿ smr-wʿty ḫtmty-bỉty wp-nṯrwy ḫry-mšʿ wḥmw-nswt ỉmy-ḫnt Ḥrw-ḫb zɜ Ḥnmw-ḥtp(.w)* ‘member of the elite, sole companion, sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, one who divides the two gods, supervisor of the army, king’s herald, *ỉmy-ḫnt*-priest [chamberlain; one who is in the forecourt], Horkhebe, son of Khnumhotep (Panov 2014, pp. 11, 16–18)
Publication:	Berlev, Hodjash 2004, pp. 325–360; Hodjash 2004, pp. 12–35; Panov 2014.

110 The statue was purchased by V.S. Golenischeff, most probably after 1877. The city of Mendes [*Ḏdt*]) is mentioned 11 times in the texts, and the figural representation of Mendesian gods indicate a Mendesian origin, where the statue could have been stood in the temple of Banebdjedet (Berlev, Hodjash 2004, pp. 325–327, 330).

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Healing statue of Hor



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Fig. 7. The front and right side of the healing statue of Hor, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 3030, and extracts of the figures of Ha (upper image) and Heka (lower image). Image assembly by G. Vaszkun.

Material:	grey granite
Dimensions:	ht.: 50 cm; w.: 15 cm; th.: 25 cm[111]
Provenance:	unknown; the statue belongs to the Drovetti collection (1824)
Inventory:	Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 3030
Date:	end of the Late Dynastic Period, 370–330 BC
Owner:	*zš-mš*ʿ *Ḥrw* 'scribe of the army, Hor'
Publication:	Kákosy 1999, pp. 69–90, pl. 16–26. The object can also be accessed online on the website of the Museo Egizio at https://collezioni.museoegizio.it/en-GB/material/Cat_3030/.

111 The dimensions of the healing statue of Hor are indicated after the website of Museo Egizio (https://collezioni.museoegizio.it/en-GB/material/Cat_3030/). The dimensions in Kákosy 1999, p. 69 are as follows: ht.: 50 cm; w.: 11.5 cm; th.: 24.8 cm.

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Healing statue of Psammetikseneb

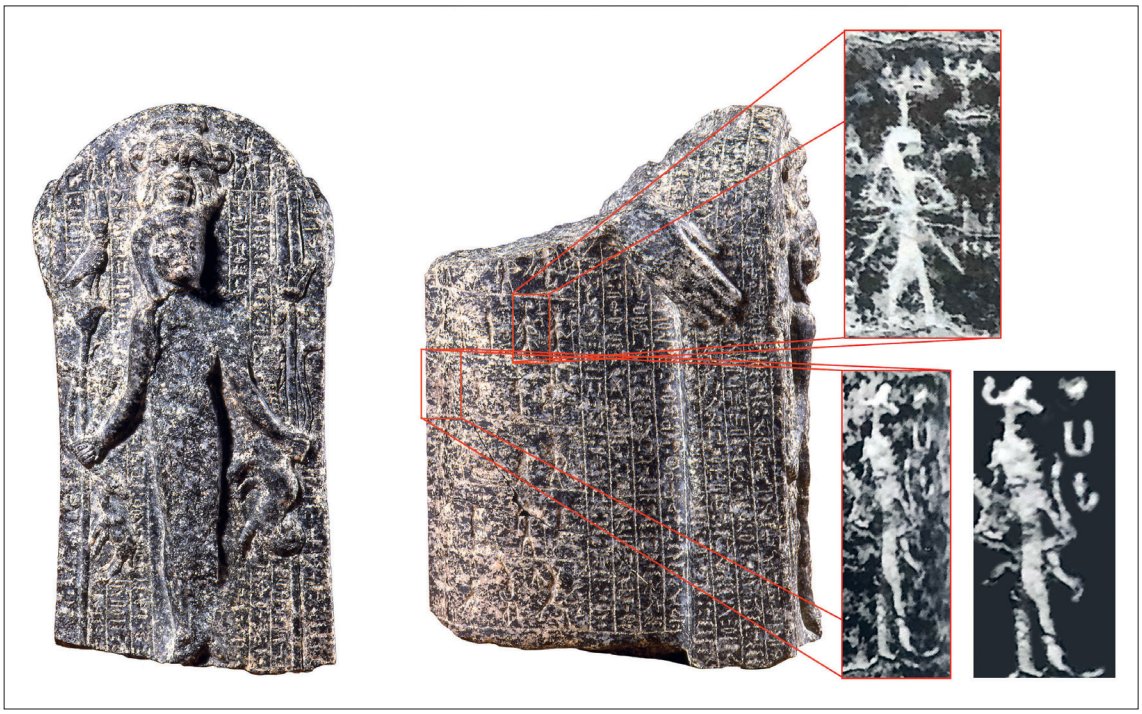

© Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze

Fig. 8. The front and right side of the Florence fragment of the healing statue of Psammetikseneb, Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze 8708; extracts of the figures of Ha (upper image) and Heka (lower image), after Kákosy 1999, pl. 2. Photoshop manipulation of the figure of Heka on the right, by M. Petró. Image assembly by G. Vaszkun.

Material:	dark granite
Dimensions:	ht.: 36 cm; w.: 12 cm; th.: 16 cm
Provenance:	unknown; the fragments were in Rome in the seventeenth century, when Athanasius Kircher investigated them and mentioned them in his work *Oedipus Aegyptiaca* (1654).
Inventory:	Turin, Museo Egizio, suppl. 9 + Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze 8708
Date:	first half of the 4th century BC
Owner:	*ỉry-pʿt ḥ3ty-ʿ zš ḥm-nṯr [] ỉt-nṯr ỉmy-r ḥwwt wrwt 6 t3ty-z3b-ṯ3ty Psmṯk-snb(.w)* ‘member of the elite, scribe, *ḥm-nṯr*-priest [of … god], god’s father, overseer of the 6 great palaces (*i.e.*, judge), vizier, Psammetikseneb’ (after Kákosy 1999, pp. 42–50; on Psammetikseneb, see also Perdu 2006)
Publication:	Kákosy 1999, pp. 37–67, pl. 1–15.

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Healing statue of Padimahes, Pasherimut, and Djehor Pamai



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Fig. 9. The front and right side of the healing statue of Padimahes, Pasherimut, and Djedhor Pamai, Paris, Musée du Louvre E 10777, and extracts of the figures of Heka (upper image) and Ha (lower image). Image assembly by G. Vaszkun.

Material: grauwacke
Dimensions: ht.: 67.7 cm; w.: 19.5 cm
Provenance: Leontopolis (Tell el-Moqdam), based on the titles listen on the statue, and the inscriptions mentioning the city; the fragment is part of the collection of count Michel Tyszkiewicz; date of acquisition May 31, 1898.
Inventory: Paris, Musée du Louvre E 10777
Date: Ptolemaic period, 4th century BC
Owner: The erection of the statue was commissioned by three brothers, all serving as the priests of Bastet:
ḥm-Bꜣst(y)t ʿrḫ-ỉnsw Pꜣ-dỉ-Mꜣỉ-ḥzꜣ 'servant of Bastet, wearer of the sash priest, Padimahes'
ḥm-Bꜣs.t(y)t ʿrḫ-ỉnsw Pꜣ-šrỉ-Mw.t 'servant of Bastet, wearer of the sash priest, Pasherimut'
ḥm-Bꜣst(y)t ʿrḫ-ỉnsw Ḏd-Ḥr Pꜣ-mꜣỉ 'servant of Bastet, wearer of the sash priest, Djedhor Pamai'

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z3 ḥm-B3st(y)t ʿrḳ-ỉnsw P3-šrỉ-B3st(y)t 'son of the servant of Bastet, wearer of the sash priest, Pasheribastet'
ỉry.n nb(t)-pr 3st-wrt 'engendered by the mistress of the house, Isetweret' (after Panov 2017, pp. 80–81).

Publication: Bissing 1914, p. 68A; The object can be accessed online on the website of the Musée du Louvre at https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010034902, with an extensive reference list; on the textual program of the statue, see Panov 2017.

Horus-on-the-crocodiles cippus of Nestaum (Metternich stela)



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Fig. 10. The front and the back of the cippus of Nestaum, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 50.85), and extracts of the figures of Heka (on the left) and Ha (on the right). Image assembly by G. Vaszkun.

Material: grauwacke
Dimensions: ht.: 83.5 cm; w.: 33.5 cm; th.: 7.2 cm
Provenance: Alexandria; its original provenance was likely the temple of the Mnevis bull at Heliopolis. The stela was the present of Mohamed Ali to the Chancellor of Austria Graf Klemens Wenzel Lothar von Metternich in 1828. Jean Lombard who purchased the object from the Metternich family, sold it to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1950.
Inventory: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 50.85
Date: Thirtieth Dynasty, Nectanebo II (360–343 BC)
Owner: [87] *ỉt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr Nb-wn N(y)-s(w)-Ỉtm z3 ỉt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr Nb-wn zš-ḥỉt Psmṭk-ʿnḫ(.w) ỉry.n nb(t)-pr Tỉ-n(y)t-Ḥwt-nbw* 'god's father, the *ḥm-nṯr*-priest of Nebwen (Lord of Existence),

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Nesatum, son of the god's father, the *ḥm-nṯr*-priest of Nebwen (Lord of Existence), the scribe of the inundation, Psammetikankh, engendered by the mistress of the house, Tenthatnub'

Publication: Golenischeff 1877; the object can also be accessed online on the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/546037, with an extensive reference list. For an overview of previous literature, most recently see Guiter 2024, p. 10.

Anonymous Horus-on-the-crocodiles cippus



© The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Fig. 11. The front and the back of the anonymous cippus of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 20.2.23), and an extract of the figure of Ha from the back of the cippus. Image assembly by G. Vaszkun.

Material: chlorite schist
Dimensions: ht.: 20.5 cm; w.: 12 cm; th.: 4.5 cm
Provenance: unknown; Elie Abermayor purchased the stela in Cairo in 1920.
Inventory: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 20.2.23
Date: Early Ptolemaic period, 332–280 BC
Owner: not indicated
Publication: Allen 2005b; photos and basic information on the stela are found on the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545766.

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