Pharaonic Survivals
in the Culture of Ptolemaic and Roman Fayyūm

Fayyūm (Arsinoites Nomos)¹ [fig. 1] is one of the richest regions of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt² (332 BC to 395 AD) in archaeological evidence, thanks to the sands of the Libyan Desert, which preserved the ancient towns and their necropolises. These finds illustrate both the public and private life of the inhabitants, giving back even the physical and psychological identity of individuals, through the mummy portraits and the private papyri.

This witness helps to understand that, in Fayyūm too, Pharaonic culture never disappeared together with the rule of the indigenous Pharaohs. On the contrary this culture, both in its “upper” or learned, and “lower” or popular traditions, survived after the Alexander the Great’s invasion of Egypt, adapting itself to the cultures of the Greek and of the Roman rulers, but even resisting it. All that is testified by the Pharaonic aspects of the temple architecture, by the Graeco-Egyptian hybridizations of the figurative arts, and by the traditional cult of local gods. Thanks to this lively metamorphosis a part of the Pharaonic culture survived until the end of the ancient world and contributed to the birth of the Coptic and Christian culture of Egypt.

As concerns Fayyūm, the reasons for this cultural continuity are in the solidity of the Egyptian society, living in the same way for thousands of years in this paradise, called t3-ḥ (p3-im) “the land of lake” by the ancient Egyptians, Moeris limne “the lake of Moeris” by the Greeks, and p-iōm “the lake” by the Copts. Really its lake, the to-day Birket Qārūn, is a salt lake, nevertheless the life of this oasis was always fed by the fresh water of the Bahr Jūsuf, leaving the Nile near Asyūṭ. In remote times this paradise was enjoyed by hunters and fishermen, but from the Neolithic Age even by farmers. From its charming
natural environment the Fayyûm people took not only his material well-being, but even his religion and his gods, like the crocodile and the cobra. Till the end of the Ancient Age, through religious and magic practices, the Fayyûmites asked these gods help to solve their everyday problems.

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The first important age of the Pharaonic Fayyûm was the Middle Kingdom, when the Twelfth Dynasty kings transferred their capital to Lisht. These strong-willing Pharaohs started works of draining of the marshes, obtaining new soils for the agriculture. In the popular tradition the merit was of the Pharaoh Amenemhat III (1842-1797 BC), who was worshipped as a beneficent god (Marres, Moeris etc.). In Ptolemaic and Roman Fayyûm still survived important buildings of this king, like the temples of Narmouthis (Medînet Ma'âdîn) and of Qasr es-Sâghah; and like his pyramid of Hawârah with the funerary temple, called by the Greeks Labyrinthus. Few cippi of columns are the to-day remains of the last one, an impressive building which once excited admiration in Greek travellers, such as Herodotus and Strabo. The Pharaonic chief town of Fayyûm was Shedet (âldt; Medînet el-Fayyûm), called by Herodotus Krokodeilon polis "the town of the crocodiles". About its origin Diodorus of Sicily refers that an ancient king, Menas (= Marres etc.), pursued by his dogs, was rescued by a crocodile of the Qarûn lake, which carried him to the other side; he gratefully built a town in that place in honour of the crocodile. The ancient temple of Sobek, rising in the to-day area of Kimân Fâris, was rebuilt in the Middle Kingdom and probably enlarged under Ramses II. Herodotus relates that domesticated crocodiles lived near the Moeris lake: adorned with pendants and gold bracelets, they were nourished by the priests with special foods and drinks, and after death they were embalmed and buried.

The Hellenic rule in Egypt began with Alexander's arrival, after his victory on the Persians (332 BC), and ended with Octavianus's victory on
Antonius and Cleopatra (30 BC). On the one hand the Greeks were more oppressive towards Egyptian people than the Persians, and they gave the best lands of the country to Greek owners. On the other hand they bettered the social and economical identity of Egypt. So in Fayyum, now the *Arsinoites Nomos*, thanks to new important works of drainage of Birket Qarun, Ptolemy I and II built many new towns, which became prosperous places of civil life. Moreover the Lagides encouraged the birth of an indigenous middle class, of bureaucratic and trading origin, that adopted many Hellenic customs, starting from the Greek language. From Ptolemy I times the king, as ruler of two different peoples, was both a *basileus* for the Greeks, and a Pharaoh for the Egyptians. In Alexandria the new Pharaohs encouraged a religious meeting between Egyptian and Greek gods, producing syncretistic divinities, such as Sarapis and Greek Isis, who became the protectors of the town respectively as Sha Sarapis-Agathodaimon and Renenutet/Thermuthis-Isis-Agathe Tyche, even having a snake aspect. Moreover the Lagides protected and helped the priests of the Egyptian sanctuaries, allowing in this way the survival of the Pharaonic learned tradition, preserved by temple workshops and libraries.

After the Roman conquest of Egypt the welfare of the country continued. Moreover the Egyptian *bourgeoisie* grew stronger, physically and culturally assimilating the most part of the Greek ruling class of Egypt. But from the 3rd century AD taxes and social troubles produced an increasing decline. In Fayyum the inhabitants of many towns fled, and their fields and houses were covered by the sands of Libyan Desert. As concerns the Pharaonic culture, the Roman rule had no need of complicity of the Egyptian priests, and therefore even the temples were heavily taxed. The impoverishment of these institutions culminated in 3rd-4th centuries AD, producing the extinction of the learned tradition. Nevertheless a part of the indigenous culture could survive until the beginning of Coptic Age, thanks to the vitality of the popular tradition.
As regards the Pharaonic survivals in Fayyūm, they are evident particularly in the fields of toponomy, philology, architecture, figurative arts, magic and religion.

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In Ptolemaic and Roman times the Fayyūm towns had Greek names, but their original identity was Pharaonic [fig. 1]. The ancient Shedet was named again Arsinoe\(^1\), receiving its new place-name from Arsinoe II, sister and wife of Ptolemy II. Nevertheless the names of Theadelphia “town of the brother-gods” (Baṭḥ Ihrit)\(^1\) and Philadelphia “town of her brother’s lover” (Darb Gerze)\(^1\), referring to Ptolemaios and Arsinoe, allude to Pharaonic concepts of the divinity of the king and of the marriage between the royal brothers. On the contrary Soknopaiou Nesos (Dimeh)\(^1\) includes the name of Sobek/Soknopaios, and Tebtynis (Umm el-Baraygāt)\(^2\) is a Greek interpretation of the eg. ḫp-dbn “round head”.

In the 1st century BC four Greek hymns\(^2\), composed by the Egyptian priest and poet Isidorus, were engraved on the pillars of the temple of Narmuthis. They are praises in honour of Isis-Ermuthis and celebrate this beneficent goddess in the same spirit of the Isaic hymns of ‘Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1380’ and of the Apuleius’s ‘Metamorphoses’ (XI.1 ff.). The fourth hymn\(^3\), beside Sobek and Horus/Harpocrates, also celebrates the local god Porramanres (= Amenemhat III), the founder of the temple, who is invoked as son of Sobek and grandson of Amun. Greek papyri also register other forms of this name, like Marres, Premarres, etc. “Marres” (and “Moeris”) derives from a popular corruption of Nemaf-rē\(^5\), the royal prenomen of Amenemhat III (ny-m3f-rē in-n-m-h3t). Porramanres/Premarres means “Pharaoh Marres”, deriving “Porra-” “Pre-” from the eg. pr-f “Great House” or “king” (hebr. par-šōh > gr. pharao)\(^6\). According to Strabo\(^8\) the center of this cult was in el-Ḥawārah, but papyri inform us that
Premarres also were worshipped in Soknopaiou Nesos, Euhemeria and Apollonias. Many Greek and Demotic papyri, which widely illustrate the everyday life of the inhabitants and their ancient religious customs, were found in Fayyūm towns. Very interesting are the oracle short petitions in Demotic from Tebtynis, that the worshippers presented to the crocodile god Sobek/Soknebtynis to solve their problems. Some of these small papyri, going back to the 2nd century BC, refer to practical questions, as marriage or divorce, and even thefts. In a Greek papyrus of the 1st century AD from Bakchias (Kōm el-Ṣalt) Sobek/Sokanobkoneus is invoked to answer the question whether the petitioner should remain or not at Bakchias.

In Ptolemaic and Roman Fayyūm the temple architecture reproduces Pharaonic structures and decorations. This is the case of the little temple of Theadelphia [fig. 2], built in the 2nd century BC and consecrated to Sobek/Pnepheros, where the succession of the pylons on the same axis creates a mystic atmosphere of increasing approach to the divinity. These pylons are under the protection of sacred and apotropaic animals, like crouched lions and sphinxes, which are the guardians of the god’s house against the attacks of the Evil. At the end of the axis there is the sacred room of the temple god, which is divided in three niches for the crocodile mummies. It is decorated with a frieze of sacred uraei and with Egyptian images (the symbol of sema-tawy; Sobek as crocodile-headed man; Sobek-crocodile).

The temple of Narmouthis, built by Amenemhat III for Renenutet and Sobek, in the early Ptolemaic Age was enlarged with new constructions, in front and in the back. In a big relief on a Ptolemaic wall the goddess Renenutet or Thermouthis, here called Ermouthis, appears like an Egyptian Isis suckling Harpocrates and having a Horus-hawk on her legs. In the front courtyard of Ptolemaic Age the processional way is flanked by lions and sphinxes. Inside the
Middle Kingdom temple the original papyriform columns survive with hieroglyphic inscriptions of Amenemhat III and IV; images and other inscriptions for Sobek and Renenutet are preserved on the walls. On the back of this temple a wall of a small Ptolemaic sanctuary preserves an Egyptian relief of Sobek as a crocodile-headed man.

Many Greek-Alexandrian artists were drawn by the Pharaonic art, that they tried to imitate in their works ("Egyptianizing style"), and many Greeks adopted Egyptian customs, like the mumification. But for the influence of the Hellenic aesthetics the impersonal mask of the deceased was replaced with naturalistic masks and portraits, like the "Fayyûm Portraits": some of them even reproduce African faces, testifying the social and political importance acquired by the Egyptian middle class in Roman Egypt. Moreover many paintings include Pharaonic religious images, like the Fayûm portrait of the Egyptian woman Ta-Sheret-wedja-Hor (195/196 AD) on a linen shroud, where also appear ancient Egyptian gods (Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Horus, Anubis) [fig. 3]. This indigenous new class appreciated the Greek art, that the Egyptian artists tried to imitate, without forgetting their own tradition ("Hellenizing" and "Romanizing" styles). Therefore many figurative works of these times testify a koine mixing both Pharaonic and Hellenic/Roman aesthetics. As concerns the figurative arts in Fayyûm, the vitality of the Pharaonic tradition still survive in the Roman Age. All that is testified by a basalt statue of AD 50-100, belonging to a prominent citizen of Karanis [fig. 4]: it reproduces the Pharaonic type of the seated king or dignitary, although the face reveals the influence of the Greek-Egyptian school.

In Ptolemaic and Roman times the superstitions of Pharaonic times were still present among the Egyptians, as testified by the Greek and Demotic magical papyri, and by the amulets. In the everyday life, indeed, not only the men but
even their animals and houses were constantly threatened both by visible (like crocodiles, snakes, scorpions), and by invisible dangers (evil spirits and forces). In a Demotic papyrus\textsuperscript{32} of 137 BC, from the archives of the temple of Soknebtynis at Tebtynis, the Egyptian woman Tanebtynis asks protection to the crocodile-god against male and female spirits, sleeping or dead men, monsters (see ar. \textit{afrīt}), pestilence and so on.

In Roman Fayyūm we also find Pharaonic-type amulets reproducing beneficent gods and demons. Among the most popular divinities there were the hippopotamus-goddess \textit{Thoeris} (eg. \textit{t3-wrt})\textsuperscript{33}, the protectress of the pregnant women against the dangers of delivery; and the pygmy-god \textit{Bes} (eg. \textit{bs})\textsuperscript{34}, the protector of the childbirth and of the sleep. The Bes figure was also coupled with the symbol of the Ugiatan (\textit{wdbt})\textsuperscript{35}, the Horus' Eye averting all dangers and particularly the “Evil Eye” (eg. \textit{irt bint}, gr. \textit{poneros omma}) [fig. 5]. A very rare amulet for this time was found in a late Ptolemaic house of Bakchias\textsuperscript{36}, it was a steatite \textit{Menkheperraa}-scarab of the XXII\textsuperscript{th} dinasty. The scarab-amulet, reproducing the Scarab-Beetle (eg. \textit{hpr}, gr. \textit{kantharos})\textsuperscript{37}, hypostasis of the fertility god Kheperra (\textit{hpr-r}), was used by women and children both in Egypt and in the Mediterranean area during all the Antiquity. This popular belief was also accepted by the Egyptian Christians, who invoked Jesus Christ as the “Great Scarab-Beetle”\textsuperscript{38}. As regards the Bakchias scarab-amulet, it was kepted and used for centuries by women and children probably of the same family.

In Ptolemaic and Roman Fayyūm the religion of the indigenous people was essentially a Pharaonic religion, even when these gods were invoked by Greek words and dressed Hellenic iconographies. In the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century BC Kerkeosiris (may be el-Gharaq)\textsuperscript{39} had thirteen Egyptian shrines, devoted to Isis, Thoth, Thoeris, Petouschos, Orsenouphis, Harpsenesis, Anubis, Bubastis and Amon. Moreover Fayyūm papyri register the names of important gods like Ammon, Apis. Bes, Hathor. Imhotep, Min, Ptah, Sekhmet, Premaries etc.\textsuperscript{40} Certainly
new divinities, coming both from Alexandria, like Sarapis and Greek Isis, and outside Egypt, took place beside the indigenous gods of Fayyum. Nevertheless as the Egyptian people absorbed his foreign rulers, so the local gods progressively assimilated these foreign gods.

The most ancient male divinity of Fayyum was the crocodile-god Sobek (eg. *sbd*)\(^4\), called *Souchos* by the Greeks, who was the god of the water and vegetation, and was assimilated to Ra. Osiris and Horus. Since Prehistoric times the fear of the crocodile always persisted among the Egyptians and this danger was averted by powerful Pharaonic amulets, like the “Cippi of Horus”, reproducing the young god Horus/Harpocrates who crushes crocodiles under his feet. A limestone cippus also was found in Karanis, as a surface find of the Roman Age\(^42\). Nevertheless the crocodile was considered as a beneficent divinity, because it lived in the sacred water of Nile. The Fayyum people imagined the Qarun lake like the Nun, the mythical Ocean, and considered the crocodile, which suddenly appears in the waters similar to the mound of the creation, as the symbol of the life emerging from the water\(^43\). Plutarch\(^44\) refers that the female crocodile announced Nile inundation, laying its eggs to the border of the waters. Moreover Diodorus of Sicily\(^45\) tells us that the Nile crocodiles protected Egypt against plunderers coming from Libya and Asia. Fayyum papyri and inscriptions register different names of Suchos (Petesuchos, Pnepheros, Soknopaios, Soknebtynis, and so on), which are his local forms probably having different cultural aspects\(^46\). A Tebtynis Greek papyrus\(^47\) of 112 BC concerns the visit to the sacred crocodiles of an eminent traveller, Lucius Memmius, a Roman senator. Even Strabo\(^48\) refers that in Arside the priests allowed the visitors of the temple to offer special foods and drinks to the crocodiles. In the festival days the sacred-crocodile was carried in procession by the priests for the benefit of its worshippers\(^49\).

The ancient cult of Osiris (eg. *wsir*)\(^50\), god of the vegetation and of the harvest, also survived in the popular religion of Fayyum. It is testified by two
terracotta statuettes of the Roman age, found in a house and in the South Temple of Karanis. The Alexandrian interpretation of Osiris, and of the bull-god Apis too, was Sarapis (eg. wsir-ḥpw). Sarapis was a fertility, funerary and healing god, who, together with his wife, the Alexandrian Isis, protected traders and seafarers. In Fayyūm he was represented like a bearded and authoritative man, as in a big wooden statue from Theadelphia; and even like a snake or a man-headed snake with the psheント-crown, for his assimilation to the ancient snake-god Shaf. Moreover the people worshipped him as a syncretistic Sarapis-Zeus Amun too, as testifies a bronze statuette of the late 2nd-early 3rd century AD from a house of Karanis [fig. 6]. As concerns An:mon (eg. imn), in the fourth Isidorus’ hymn of Narmouthis this god is appealed as “donor of life”.

In the rural Fayyūm a very ancient and popular god was Horos (eg. hr), symbol of the new life, both of the man and of the vegetation. In a Karanis house of 4th-mid 5th AD was found a bronze amulet, representing a Horus-falcon with the psheント, as a domestic genius protecting this house. In Roman times a Fayyūm factory of popular terracottas produced a big lot of Alexandrian-style statuettes of this god too, commonly appearing as a child-god, or Harpocrates (eg. ḫr-ḥp-ḥr “Horus the Child”). A terracotta surface find from Karanis, dated to the 3rd century AD, represents a seated Harpocrates like a fertility god, with a jug including the sacred water of the Nile. In the North Temple of this town a limestone statue [fig. 7] of Roman Age reproduces the syncretistic figure of Horus-Soknopaios, like a falcon-headed crocodile. In Soknopaiou Nesos he was worshipped in the same temple of Soknopaios.

The most ancient female divinity of Fayyūm was the cobra-goddess Renenutet (eg. rmmwt / rmmwt), called by the Greeks Thermouthis / Ermouthis, who had an own temple in the place of d3 / Narmouthis. Goddess of fertility, harvest and destiny, Renenutet was the mother of Nepri, Horus/Harpocrates and Sobek; moreover she was identified with Uto, Neith, Hathor and Isis. As regards
Isis (eg. 3rd) of 2nd century AD, found in the North Temple of Karanis, reproduces the type of the Alexandrian Isis, dressing the long chiton and the himation with the “Isiac knot”. Nevertheless, among the Fayyūm farmers of the Ptolemaic and Roman Ages, she was the Holy Mother who gives the life to men, animals and plants, and a syncretistic divinity who assimilated all the local goddesses. A limestone stela [fig. 8] from Fayyūm, of the early Roman Age, reproduces an Egyptianizing syncretistic figure: it is half woman (Isis) and half snake (Renenutet), moreover she suckles a crocodile (Neith). On the contrary, a Hellenic wall painting [fig. 9] of 3rd century AD, found in a Roman house of Karanis, shows a woman (Isis) suckling her child (Harpocrates). As regards this model, the so-called “Isis lactans”, the Christian artists will replace Isis with Maria, and Harpocrates with Jesus the Child, as suggests a Coptic funerary relief [fig. 10] of the 4th century AD from Arsinoe. So the Holy Mother and the Holy Child continued protecting the Egyptian common people, always pursued by the everyday mankind’s problems.
Notes


2. See H. IDRIS BELL, Cults & Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt (Chigago 1925); F. DUNAND, Religion populaire en Égypte romaine (Leiden 1979; EPRO 76); A.K. BOWMAN, Egypt after the Pharaohs (London 1986); N. LEWIS, La mémoire des sables (Paris 1988); Cleopatra’s Egypt. Age of Ptolemies, ed. by R. Bianchi (New York 1988); S.P. ELLIS, Graeco-Roman Egypt (Cambridge 1992); R.S. BAGNALL, Egypt in Late Antiquity (Princeton 1993); Egypte Romaine (Marseille 1997); D. FRANKFURTER, Religion in Roman Egypt (Princeton 1998); G. HOLBL, Altägypten im Römischen Reich (Mainz am Rhein 2000); Id., A History of Ptolemaic Empire (London-New York 2001).


11. II.148.1. See LLOYD, op. cit., 121.

12. I.89; 3; cf. 51.5. See A. BURTON, Diodorus Siculus, Book I, A Commentary (Leiden 1972; EPRO, 29), 260/89.3, 160 f./51.5; H. BRUNNER, LÄ IV, 46 ff., «Menês».


15. BOWMAN, op. cit., 36 ff.


23. VOGLIANO, *op. cit.*, 50 (J. Černý, Ch. Kuentz); STRABON, *op. cit.*, 142. n. 348.

24. XVII.37.

25. RÜBSAM, *op. cit.*, 239, Index.


34. DE SALVIA, *op. cit.*, 109 f./nos. C.1.1-4, fig. 5-6; H: 1.9, 1.5, 1.5 cm., fayence, Ptolemic, from Bakchias. See H. ALTEMÜLLER, *LÄ* I, 720 ff., «Bes»; RÜBSAM, *op. cit.*, 234, Index; V. TRAN TAM TINH in *Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae [= JIMC]*, III/1 (1986), 98 ff. Amulets representing Horus-falcon (infra, n. 60), Thot-ichneumon (GAZDA, *op. cit.*).
55/no. 51) and Nefertum (ibid., 56/no. 53) were found in Karanis.


36. DE SALVIA, op. cit., 108 f./no. B.1, fig. 4; 1.2 x 1 x 0.7 cm.


38. Ibid., 1022, n. 31; cf. 1048, n. 98, on modern Egyptian folklore.


40. RÜBSAM, op. cit., 232 ff., Index.


42. GAZDA, Guardians, 71/no. 25; Ead., The Temples and the Gods, in Karanis. An Egyptian Town in Roman Times etc., ed. by E. K. Gazda (Ann Arbor 1983), 39; H: 8.5 cm.

43. Ibid., 32 f.

44. De Is. et Os., 75. See PLINY THE ELDER, VIII.37.89.

45. 1.89.2.


47. BOWMAN, op. cit., 172; see CRAWFORD, op. cit., 95.

48. XVIII.38. See STRABON, op. cit., 139/348.

49. GAZDA, Temples, 37 f., fig. 64; copy of a wall painting in the temple of Pnepheros at Theadelphia.


51. GAZDA, Guardians, 74/no. 89.90; Ead., Temples, 40, fig. 70; H: 18.35, 22.3 cm.

52. L. VLAD BORRELLI, EAA VII, 204 ff., «Seraipide»; HÖBL, LÄ V, 870 ff., s.v.; CLERC-LECLANT, LIMC VII/1, 666 ff.

53. RÜBSAM, op. cit., 238, Index.

54. EMPEREUR, op. cit., 6, fig. 4.
55. On this type see Repertorio d'arte dell' Egitto Greco-Romano, a c. di A. Adriani, A/II (Palermo 1961), 50/no. 186, pl. 86/287.288, viola marble foot.

56. GAZDA, Guardians, 53/47, H: 14.6 cm.


58. IV. 25 f.


60. GAZDA, Guardians, 54 f./no. 50, H: 4 cm.

61. DUNAND, op. cit., 5 ff.


63. GAZDA, Guardians, 64 f./no. 64, H: 12.9 cm. On this type see DUNAND, op. cit., 74 ff., 211 ff.

64. GAZDA, Guardians, 39/no. 31, cf. no. 32; Ead., Temples, 39, fig. 67; H: 14.5, W: 10.2, L: 28.5 cm. See K.-Th. ZAUZICH, LÄ V, 1075 f., «Soknopaios»; RÜBSAM, op. cit., 241, Index.

65. RÜBSAM, op. cit., 157.


67. Supra, n. 29.


69. GAZDA, Guardians, 34/no. 24; Ead., Temples, 39, fig. 66; H: 60 cm. An unusual type is on the Cairo stela J.E. 47108: cf. G. GRIMM et al., Kunst der Ptolemaier- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo (Mainz 1975), 22/no. 33, pl. 67, from Theadelphia.

70. RÜBSAM, op. cit., 236 f., Index, Êisis, Êisis Dikaiosyne», etc.

71. GRIMM, op. cit., 22/no. 34, pl. 68; J.E. 52480, 40 x 33 cm. Cf. GAZDA, Guardians, 35/no. 25, from Karanis; Repertorio, op. cit., 63/no. 213, pl. 99/328.329, Isis-Thermuthis, Harpocrates, Premarxes, from Narmuthis. See BRESCHI, La dea-cobra che allatta il coccodrillo a Medinet Madi: Aegyptus, 55 (1975), 3 ff., pl. i; L. FANFONI BONGRANI, Un frammento di rilievo rappresentante una dea-cobra: Rivista degli Studi Orientali, 50/1-2 (1976), 67 ff.

72. GAZDA, Temples, 39, fig. 68; DONIADIS, op. cit., 43, fig. 15; TRAN TAM TINH, Isis lactans (Leiden 1973; EPRO 37), 33, 72/no. A-24, fig. 48.

List of illustrations


2. Temple of Theadelphia. EMPEREUR, op. cit., fig. 11.

3. Mummy-portrait from Fayyum Augenblicke, no. 137.

4. Seated Dignitary from Karanis. GAZDA, Guardians, Catalogue, no. 35.

5. Amulet (Bes 'Ugiat) from Kom Madi - Narmouthis. BRESCIANI, Kom Madi, pl. IX/c-d.


8. Isis-Ren釐et-Neith from Fayyum. GRIMM, op. cit., pl. 68.


10. Woman suckling her child from Arsinoe. Égypte Romaine, 203.