

## Pharaonic Survivals in the Culture of Ptolemaic and Roman Fayyūm

Fayyūm (*Arsinoites Nomos*)<sup>1</sup> [fig. 1] is one of the richest regions of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt<sup>2</sup> (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 *ἰ3-ḡ* (> *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 Baḥr Jūsuf, leaving the Nile near Asyūt. 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 Fayyūm 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 Fayyūmites asked these gods help to solve their everyday problems.

\* \* \* \* \*

The first important age of the Pharaonic Fayyūm 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)<sup>3</sup>, who was worshipped as a beneficent god (Marres, Moeris etc.). In Ptolemaic and Roman Fayyūm still survived important buildings of this king, like the temples of Narmouthis (Medīnet Ma<sup>c</sup>ādī)<sup>4</sup> and of Qaṣr es-Ṣāghah<sup>5</sup>; and like his pyramid of Ḥawārah<sup>6</sup> with the funerary temple, called by the Greeks *Labyrinthos*<sup>7</sup>. 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<sup>8</sup> and Strabo<sup>9</sup>. The Pharaonic chief town of Fayyūm was Shedet (šdt; Medīnet el-Fayyūm)<sup>10</sup>, called by Herodotus<sup>11</sup> *Krokodeilon polis* "the town of the crocodiles". About its origin Diodorus of Sicily<sup>12</sup> refers that an ancient king, Menas (= Marres etc.), pursued by his dogs, was rescued by a crocodile of the Qārūn 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 Kimān Fāris, was rebuilt in the Middle Kingdom and probably enlarged under Ramses II. Herodotus<sup>13</sup> 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<sup>14</sup> 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 Fayyūm, now the *Arsinoites Nomos*, thanks to new important works of drining of Birket Qārūn, 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 Shaī-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<sup>15</sup> of Egypt the welfare of the country continued. Moreover the Egyptian *bourgeoisie* grew stronger, phisically and culturally assimilating the most part of the Greek ruling class of Egypt. But from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD taxes and social troubles produced an increasing decline. In Fayyūm 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 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> 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 toponymy, philology, architecture, figurative arts, magic and religion.

\* \* \* \* \*

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*<sup>16</sup>, receiving its new place-name from Arsinoe II, sister and wife of Ptolemy II. Nevertheless the names of *Theadelphia* "town of the brother-gods" (Baṭn Ihrīṭ)<sup>17</sup> and *Philadelphia* "town of her brother's lover" (Darb Gerze)<sup>18</sup>, 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)<sup>19</sup> includes the name of Sobek/Soknopaios, and *Tebtynis* (Umm el-Baraygāt)<sup>20</sup> is a Greek interpretation of the eg. *tp-dbn* "round head".

In the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC four Greek hymns<sup>21</sup>, 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 Isiac hymns of 'Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1380' and of the Apuleius's 'Metamorphoses' (XI.1 ff.). The fourth hymn<sup>22</sup>, 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 *Nemaʿrē*, the royal prenomen of Amenemhat III (*ny-m3ʿt-rʿ inn-m-ḥ3t*). *Porramanres*/*Premarres* means "Pharaoh Marres", deriving "Porra-"/"Pre-" from the eg. *pr-ʿ3* "Great House" or "king" (hebr. *par-ʿōh* > gr. *pharao*)<sup>23</sup>. According to Strabo<sup>24</sup> the center of this cult was in el-Ḥawārah, but papyri inform us that

Premarres also was worshipped in Soknopaiou Nesos, Euhemeria and Apollonias<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup>, that the worshippers presented to the crocodile god Sobek/Soknebtynis to solve their problems. Some of these small papyri, going back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, refer to practical questions, as marriage or divorce, and even thefts. In a Greek papyrus of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD from Bakchias (Kōm el-ʿAtī)<sup>27</sup> 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<sup>28</sup> [fig. 2], built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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<sup>29</sup>, 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 mummification. But for the influence of the Hellenic aesthetics the impersonal mask of the deceased was replaced with naturalistic masks and portraits, like the "Fayyūm 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 Fayyūm portrait<sup>30</sup> 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 Fayyūm, the vitality of the Pharaonic tradition still survive in the Roman Age. All that is testified by a basalt statue<sup>31</sup>, 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<sup>32</sup> 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. *afrit*), 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 *Thoeris* (eg. *t3-wrt*)<sup>33</sup>, the protectress of the pregnant women against the dangers of delivery; and the pygmy-god *Bes* (eg. *bs*)<sup>34</sup>, the protector of the childbirth and of the sleep. The Bes figure was also coupled with the symbol of the Ugiat (*wḏ3t*)<sup>35</sup>, the Horus' Eye averting all dangers and particularly the "Evil Eye" (eg. *irt bint*, gr. *poneros omma*) [fig. 5]. A very rare amulet for this time was found in a late Ptolemaic house of Bakchias<sup>36</sup>: it was a steatite *Menkheperra*-scarab of the XXIIth dynasty. The scarab-amulet, reproducing the Scarab-Beetle (eg. *hpr-r*, gr. *kantharos*)<sup>37</sup>, hypostasis of the fertility god Kheperra (*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"<sup>38</sup>. As regards the Bakchias scarab-amulet, it was kept 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<sup>nd</sup> century BC Kerkeosiris (may be el-Gharaq)<sup>39</sup> had thirteen Egyptian shrines, devoted to Isis, Thoth, Thoeris, Petesouchos, Orsenouphis, Harpsenesis, Anubis, Bubastis and Amon. Moreover Fayyūm papyri register the names of important gods like Ammon, Apis, Bes, Hathor, Imhotep, Min, Ptah, Sekhmet, Premarres etc.<sup>40</sup> Certainly

new divinities, coming both from Alexandria, like Sarapis and Greek Isis, and outside Egypt, took place beside the indigenous gods of Fayyūm. Nevertheless as the Egyptian people absorbed his foreign rulers, so the local gods progressively assimilated these foreign gods.

The most ancient male divinity of Fayyūm was the crocodile-god Sobek (eg. *sbk*)<sup>41</sup>, 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<sup>42</sup>. Nevertheless the crocodile was considered as a beneficent divinity, because it lived in the sacred water of Nile. The Fayyūm people imagined the Qārūn 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<sup>43</sup>. Plutarch<sup>44</sup> refers that the female crocodile announced Nile inundation, laying its eggs to the border of the waters. Moreover Diodorus of Sicily<sup>45</sup> tells us that the Nile crocodiles protected Egypt against plunderers coming from Libya and Asia. Fayyūm 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<sup>46</sup>. A Tebtynis Greek papyrus<sup>47</sup> of 112 BC concerns the visit to the sacred crocodiles of an eminent traveller, Lucius Memmius, a Roman senator. Even Strabo<sup>48</sup> refers that in Arsinoe 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<sup>49</sup>.

The ancient cult of *Osiris* (eg. *wsir*)<sup>50</sup>, god of the vegetation and of the harvest, also survived in the popular religion of Fayyūm. It is testified by two



terracotta statuettes of the Roman age, found in a house and in the South Temple of Karanis<sup>51</sup>. The Alexandrian interpretation of Osiris, and of the bull-god Apis too, was *Sarapis* (eg. *wsir-hpw*)<sup>52</sup>. Sarapis was a fertility, funerary and healing god, who, together with his wife, the Alexandrian Isis, protected traders and seafarers. In Fayyūm<sup>53</sup> he was represented like a bearded and authoritative man, as in a big wooden statue from Theadelphia<sup>54</sup>; and even like a snake or a man-headed snake with the *pshent*-crown<sup>55</sup>, for his assimilation to the ancient snake-god Shaī. Moreover the people worshipped him as a syncretistic Sarapis-Zeus Amun too, as testifies a bronze statuette<sup>56</sup> of the late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD from a house of Karanis [fig. 6]. As concerns *Ar.mon* (eg. *imn*)<sup>57</sup>, in the fourth Isidorus' hymn<sup>58</sup> of Narmuthis this god is appealed as "donor of life".

In the rural Fayyūm a very ancient and popular god was *Horos* (eg. *hr*)<sup>59</sup>, symbol of the new life, both of the man and of the vegetation. In a Karanis house of 4<sup>th</sup>-mid 5<sup>th</sup> AD was found a bronze amulet<sup>60</sup>, representing a Horus-falcon with the *pshent*, as a domestic genius protecting this house. In Roman times a Fayyūm factory of popular terracottas<sup>61</sup> produced a big lot of Alexandrian-style statuettes of this god too, commonly appearing as a child-god, or *Harpocrates* (eg. *hr-p3-hrd* "Horus the Child")<sup>62</sup>. A terracotta surface find from Karanis<sup>63</sup>, dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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<sup>64</sup> [fig. 7] of Roman Age reproduces the syncretistic figure of Horus-Soknopaios, like a falcon-headed crocodile. In Soknopaiou Nesos<sup>65</sup> he was worshipped in the same temple of Soknopaios.

The most ancient female divinity of Fayyūm was the cobra-goddess Renenutet (eg. *rnnwt / rnnwt*)<sup>66</sup>, called by the Greeks *Thermouthis* / *Ermouthis*, who had an own temple in the place of *d3* / Narmouthis<sup>67</sup>. 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. *3st*)<sup>68</sup>, a marble statue<sup>69</sup> of 2<sup>nd</sup> 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<sup>70</sup>, 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<sup>71</sup>, 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<sup>72</sup> [fig. 9] of 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 4<sup>th</sup> century AD from *Arsinoe*<sup>73</sup>. So the Holy Mother and the Holy Child continued protecting the Egyptian common people, always pursued by the everyday mankind's problems.

## Notes

1. Cf. S. DONADONI - E. COCHE DE LA FERTÉ in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica ed Orientale* [= *EAA*] III (1960), 605 ff., «Fayyūm»; D. ARNOLD in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* [= *LÄ*], II (1977), 87-93, s.v. See B.P. GRENFELL - A.S. HUNT - D.G. HOGARTH, *Fayūm Towns and their Papyri* (London 1900); B. PORTER - R.L.B. MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography etc. IV. Lower and Middle Egypt* (Oxford 1934), 96 ff.; W.J.R. RÜBSAM, *Götter und Kulte in Fayjum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit* (Bonn 1974); É. BERNAND, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum*, I-III (Leiden 1975, Le Caire 1981); M.E. LANE, *Guide to the Antiquities of the Fayyum* (Cairo 1985); R.N. HEWISON, *The Fayoum*<sup>2</sup> (Cairo 1986); *Archeologia e Papiri nel Fayyum*, Atti Conv. Intern., Siracusa 24-25.5.1996, a c. di C. Basile - A. Di Natale (Siracusa 1997); P. DAVOLI, *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana* (Napoli 1998). *Infra*, n. 30.
2. See H. IDRIS BELL, *Cults & Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Chicago 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); *Égypte Romaine* (Marseille 1997); D. FRANKFURTER, *Religion in Roman Egypt* (Princeton 1998); G. HÖLBL, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich* (Mainz am Rhein 2000); *Id.*, *A History of Ptolemaic Empire* (London-New York 2001).
3. J.V. BECKERATH, *LÄ* I (1975), 190 f., «Amenemhet III». *Infra*, nn. 22-25.
4. DONADONI, *EAA* IV (1961), 959, «Medīnet Mādi»; E. BRESCIANI, *LÄ* III (1986), 1271 ff. See LANE, *op. cit.*, 87 ff. *Infra*, nn. 21, 23, 29.
5. DONADONI, *EAA* VI (1965), 585, «Qaṣr es-Sagha»; ARNOLD, *LÄ* V (1984), 45 f.
6. DONADONI, *EAA* III, 1122, «Hawārah»; L. HABACHI, *LÄ* II, 1072 ff. See LANE, *op. cit.*, 64 ff.
7. H. KEES in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* [= *RE*], 12/1 (1924), 323 ff., «Labyrinthos»; Arnold, *LÄ* III, 905 ff. See LANE, *op. cit.*, 64 f.
8. II.148.1. See A.B. LLOYD, *Herodotus, Book II, III (Comm.99-182)* (Leiden 1988; EPRO, 43), 120 ff.
9. XVII.37. See STRABON, *Le Voyage en Égypte*, ed. p. J. Yoyotte et Al. (Paris 1997), 146, n. 355 ff.
10. KEES, *RE* 11/2 (1922), 1944, «Krokodeilon Polis»; DONADONI, *EAA* II (1959), 952; F. GOMAA, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1254 f., «Medinet el-Fajjum». See LANE, *op. cit.*, 61 ff. *Infra*, n. 16.
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., «Menes».
13. II.69.1-2. See LLOYD, *op. cit.*, II, 307 ff. *Infra*, n. 41 ff.
14. BOWMAN, *op. cit.*, 22 ff.; HÖLBL, *History*, *op. cit.*
15. BOWMAN, *op. cit.*, 36 ff.
16. G. POETHKE, *LÄ* I, 450 f., «Arsinoë II». See E. KIESSLING, *Zum Kult der Arsinoë in Fayūm: Aegyptus*, 13 (1933), 542 ff.

17. KEES, *RE* 5/A2 (1934), 1340 f., «Theadelphia»; *EAA* VII (1966), 809; W. HELCK, *LÄ* III, 463. See LANE, *op. cit.*, 101 f. *Infra*, nn. 28, 49.
18. KEES, *RE* 19/2 (1938), 2096, «Philadelphieia». See LANE, *op. cit.*, 52 f.
19. KEES, *RE* 3/A (1927), 802 f., «Soknopaïou Nesos»; D. HAGEDORN, *LÄ* I, 1094, «Dimeh». See LANE, *op. cit.*, 57 ff.
20. KEES, *RE* 5/A1 (1934), 103, «Tebtynis»; HELCK, *LÄ* VI (1986), 245 f., s.v. See LANE, *op. cit.*, 79 ff.
21. A. VOGLIANO (ed.), *Primo rapporto degli scavi (...) nella zona di Madīnet Mādī etc.* (Milano 1936), 27 ff. See R.E. WITT, *Isis in the Ancient World* (Baltimore-London 1997), 105, 109.
22. IV.34. See KEES, *Labyrinthos*, *op. cit. Infra*, n. 71.
23. VOGLIANO, *op. cit.*, 50 (J. Černý, Ch. Kuentz); STRABON, *op. cit.*, 142, n. 348.
24. XVII.37.
25. RUBSAM, *op. cit.*, 239, Index.
26. G. BOTTI, *Biglietti per l'oracolo di Soknebtynis in caratteri demotici*, in *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini etc.*, II (Pisa 1956), 9 ff.
27. GRENFELL-HUNT-HOGARTH, *op. cit.*, 292 f./no. CXXXVII. See POETHKE, *LÄ* I, 605 f., «Bakchias»; LANE, *op. cit.*, 48 ff.
28. Now in the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria. H. RIAD *et Al.*, *Alexandrie. Guide archéologique de la ville et du Musée gréco-romain* (Alexandrie, s.d.), 79 ff., 173 f.; J.-Y. EMPEREUR, *A Short Guide to the Graeco-Roman Museum Alexandria* (Alexandria 1995), 9, fig. 11.
29. VOGLIANO, *op. cit.*, 1 ff. *Infra*, n. 66 ff.
30. *Augenblicke. Mumienporträts und ägyptische Grabkunst aus römischer Zeit*, hrsg. v. K. Parlasca - H. Seemann (München 1999), 228/no. 137, 190.5 x 47 cm. See K. PARLASCA - J.E. BERGER - R. PINTAUDI, *el-Fayyum* (Milano 1985); S. WALKER - M. BIERBRIER *et Al.*, *Fayum. Misteriosi volti dall'Egitto* (Roma 1997); E. DOXIADIS, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits* (Cairo 2000).
31. E.K. GAZDA *et Al.*, *Guardians of the Nile. Sculptures from Karanis in the Fayoum (c. 250 BC - AD 450)* (Ann Arbor 1978), 41 f./no. 35; H: 50 cm. Cf. EMPEREUR, *op. cit.*, 9, 11, fig. 13, from Dimeh. See KEES, *RE* 10/2 (1919), 1928, «Karanis»; DONADONI, *LÄ* III, 327 f., s.v.; LANE, *op. cit.*, 38 ff.
32. H. THOMPSON, *Two Demotic Self-Dedications: Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 26 (1940), 69 ff., tav. XII, B.M.Eg. 10622; BOWMAN, *op. cit.*, 182.
33. F. DE SALVIA, *Le statuine ed i pendenti*, in *Bakchias II etc.*, a c. di S. Pernigotti - M. Capasso (Pisa 1995), 110/no. C.I.5, fig. 7; H: 2.7 cm., fayence, Ptolemaic, from Bakchias. See R. GUNDLACH, *LÄ* VI, 494 ff., «Thoeris»; RUBSAM, *op. cit.*, 242, Index.
34. DE SALVIA, *op. cit.*, 109 f./nos. C.I.1-4, fig. 5-6; H: 1.9, 1.5, 1.5 cm., fayence, Ptolemaic, from Bakchias. See H. ALTENMÜLLER, *LÄ* I, 720 ff., «Bes»; RUBSAM, *op. cit.*, 234, Index; V. TRAN TAM TINH in *Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae [= LIMC]*, 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.
35. BRESCIANI, *Kom Madi 1977 e 1978* etc. (Pisa 1980), 23, pl. IX/c-d; fayence, Ptolemaic, from Kom Madi-Narmouthis; DE SALVIA, *op. cit.*, 110 f., fig. 8/no. C.II.1-2; D: 1.2 cm., fayence, Ptolemaic, from Bakchias. See E. OTTO, *LÄ* I, 559 f., «Auge»; W. WESTENDORF, *ibid.*, III, 48 ff., «Horusauge»; C. MÜLLER-WINKLER, *ibid.*, VI, 824 ff., «Udjatauge». *Infra*, n. 59.
36. DE SALVIA, *op. cit.*, 108 f./no. B.1, fig. 4; 1.2 x 1 x 0.7 cm.
37. J. ASSMANN, *LÄ* I, 934 ff., «Chepre»; R. GIVEON, *ibid.*, V, 968 ff., «Skarabäus»; DE SALVIA, *Un ruolo apotropaico dello scarabeo egizio* etc., in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, éd. p. Margret B. de Boer - T.A. Edridge, III (Leiden 1978; EPRO, 68), 1003 ff.
38. *Ibid.*, 1022, n. 31; cf. 1048, n. 98, on modern Egyptian folklore.
39. D.G. CRAWFORD, *Kerkeosiris. An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period* (Cambridge 1971), 86 ff.; BOWMAN, *op. cit.*, 171. See DONADONI, *LÄ* III, 409, «Kerkeosiris».
40. RÜBSAM, *op. cit.*, 232 ff., Index.
41. KEES, *RE* 4/A1 (1931), 542 ff., «Suchos»; E. BRUNNER-TRAUT, *LÄ* III, 791 ff., «Krokodil»; L. KÁKOSY, *ibid.*, 801 ff., «Krokodilskulte»; BRESCIANI, *ibid.*, V, 995 ff., «Sobek»; Z. KISS, *LIMC* VII/1 (1994), 801 ff., «Souchos». See Th. HOPFNER, *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter* etc., *Denk. Kais. Akad. Wiss. Wien, Ph.-H. Kl.*, 57/2 (Wien 1913), 125 ff.; C. DOLZANI, *Il dio Sobek*, *Mon. Ant. Lincei*, X.4 (Roma 1961).
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. I.89.2.
46. RÜBSAM, *op. cit.*, 13 ff., 26 ff., etc. See *LÄ*: «Nepheros», «Petesuchos», «Sokanobkoneus». *Infra*, n. 64.
47. BOWMAN, *op. cit.*, 172; see CRAWFORD, *op. cit.*, 95.
48. XVII.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.
50. J.G. GRIFFITHS, *LÄ* IV, 623 ff., «Osiris»; G. CLERC - J. LECLANT, *LIMC* VII/1, 107 ff., s.v.; RÜBSAM, *op. cit.*, 239, Index.
51. GAZDA, *Guardians*, 74/nos. 89.90; *Ead.*, *Temples*, 40, fig. 70; H: 18.35, 22.3 cm.
52. L. VLAD BORRELLI, *EAA* VII, 204 ff., «Serapide»; HÖLBL, *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, votive marble foot.
56. GAZDA, *Guardians*, 53/47; H: 14.6 cm.
57. E. OTTO. *L'Ä* I, 237 ff., «Amun»; LECLANT-CLERC. *LIMC* I/1 (1981), 666 ff. See RÜBSAM, *op. cit.*, 232, Index.
58. IV.25 f.
59. W. SCHENKEL. *L'Ä* III, 14 ff., «Horus»; M.-O. JENTEL. *LIMC* V/1 (1990), 538 ff. See RÜBSAM. *op. cit.*, 236, Index.
60. GAZDA, *Guardians*, 54 f./no. 50; H: 4 cm.
61. DUNAND. *op. cit.*, 5 ff.
62. D. MEEKS. *L'Ä* II, 1003 ff. «Harpokrates»; V. TRAN TAM TINH - B. JAEGER - S. POULIN, *LIMC* IV/1 (1988), 426 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, *L'Ä* V, 1075 f., «Soknopaios»; RÜBSAM, *op. cit.*, 241, Index.
65. RÜBSAM. *op. cit.*, 157.
66. KEES, *RE* 5/A2 (1934), 2444, «Thermuthis»; DONADONI, *EAA* III, 425, «Ermuti»; Ch. BEINLICH-SEEBER, *L'Ä* V, 232 ff., «Renenutet».
67. *Supra*, n. 29.
68. B.M. FELLETTI MAJ, *EAA* IV (1961), 235 ff., «Iside»; M.C. BETRÒ, *ibid.*, 2° Suppl., III (1995), 132 f., s.v.; J. BERGMAN, *L'Ä* III, 186 ff., s.v.; TRAN TAM TINH, *LIMC* V/1, 761 ff. See WITT, *op. cit.*
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 Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (Mainz 1975), 22/no. 33, pl. 67, from Theadelphia.
70. RÜBSAM. *op. cit.*, 236 f., Index, «Isis», «Isis 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, Premarres, from Narmuthis. See BRESCIANI, *La dea-cobra che allatta il cocodrillo 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.
73. *Égypte Romaine*, *op. cit.*, 203. See J. DORESSE. *Des hiéroglyphes a la Croix* etc. (Istanbul 1960), 19 f.; S. MORENZ, *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten* (Zürich-Stuttgart 1969), 89; WITT, *op. cit.*, 105, 269 ff.

## List of illustrations

1. Map of Fayyūm. V. SETON-WILLIAMS - P. STOCKS, *Blue Guide. Egypt*<sup>2</sup> (London-New York 1988), 471.
2. Temple of Theadelphia. EMPEREUR, *op. cit.*, fig. 11.
3. Mummy-portrait from Fayyūm *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.
6. Sarapis- Zeus Amun from Karanis. GAZDA, *Guardians*, Catalogue no. 47.
7. Horus-Soknopaios from Karanis. *Ibid.*, no. 31.
8. Isis-Renenutet-Neith from Fayyūm. GRIMM, *op. cit.*, pl. 68.
9. "Isis lactans" from Karanis. DOXIADIS, *op. cit.*, fig. 15.
10. Woman suckling her child from Arsinoe. *Égypte Romaine*, 203.





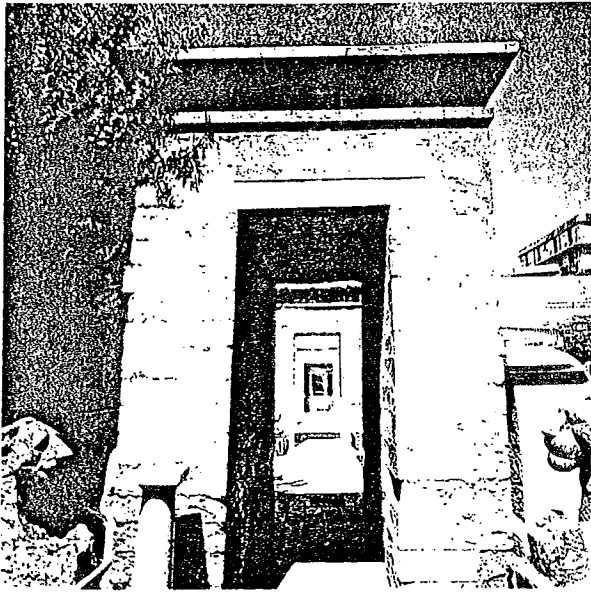


FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4

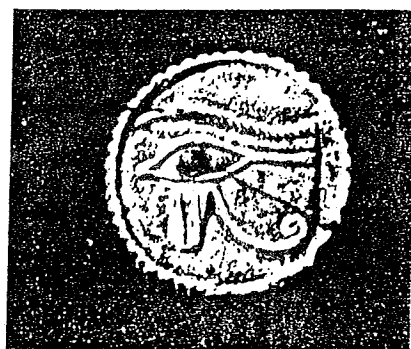


FIG. 5



FIG. 6

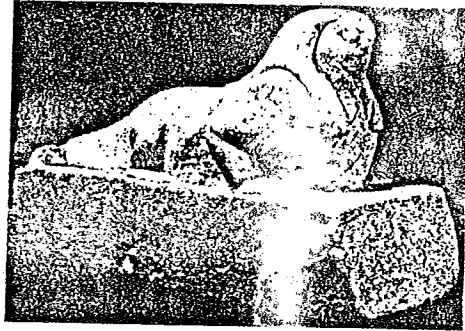


FIG. 7

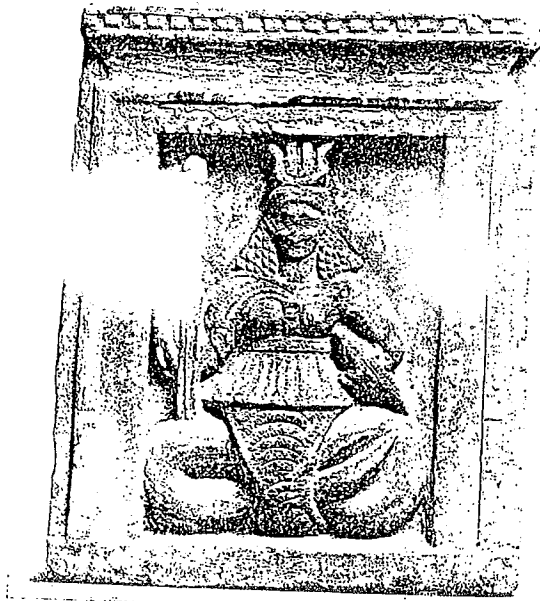


FIG. 8



FIG. 9



FIG. 10