

Names Allocated to the Fayoum Region in Ancient Egypt

الأسماء التي ارتبطت بإقليم الفيوم في مصر القديمة

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ملخص:

كان لإقليم الفيوم العديد من الأسماء؛ الأمر الذي جعله يتفرد بين أقرانه بتعددتها واستخدامها معاً في نفس الفترة الزمنية، وحتى الآن لم تُعالج تلك الأسماء لُغويًا، وزمانيًا، ومكانيًا في دراسة شاملة لتسد تلك الفجوة بالنسبة لدارسي وعلماء الآثار والمصريين. وتهدف تلك الورقة البحثية إلى دراسة الأسماء التي ارتبطت بإقليم الفيوم في عصور مصر القديمة، وعمل قائمة إحصائية لتلك الأسماء، وبداية ظهور كل اسم وامتداده التاريخي، وطرح المشاكل المتعلقة بالامتداد الزمني والمكاني لتلك الأسماء. وتضم القائمة الإحصائية للأسماء التي ارتبطت بإقليم الفيوم أسماء مؤكدة ارتبطت بالإقليم؛ مثل: شي رسي (البحيرة الجنوبية)، وشي (البحيرة)، وتا شي (أرض البحيرة)، ومر ور (البحيرة العظيمة)، واچ ور (الأخضر العظيم)، وبايم (البحر أو البحيرة). ومن جهة أخرى تشير أيضًا القائمة إلى بعض الأسماء غير المؤكدة ارتباطها بإقليم الفيوم؛ مثل: بنت واو سوبك (جزيرة سوبك). ومن خلال الدراسة اتضح أن كل تلك الأسماء ارتبطت بالمياه مثل بحيرة قارون، ومن ثم اتخذ بعضها مخصصات دالة على المياه. كما اتضح أن تلك الأسماء - مع الأخذ في الاعتبار استبعاد الأسماء غير المؤكدة - لم يحل إحداها محل الآخر بل استعمل بعضها جنبًا إلى جنب. وانتهت الدراسة إلى أن 'شي رسي' قد استمرت منذ الدولة القديمة وطوال عصري الأسرتين الحادية عشرة والثانية عشرة تمثل إقليم الفيوم بأكمله. وفي نهاية الأسرة الثانية عشرة أصبحت كل من 'شي رسي' و'شي محتي' بمثابة قسمين إداريين يكوّنان معًا إقليم 'تا شي'. كما أوضحت الدراسة أن تا شي خلال العصر البطلمي - كما جاء في كتاب الفيوم - كانت تمثل الجزء الجنوبي من 'واچ ور' بينما كانت تمثل 'مر ور' الجزء الشمالي من 'واچ ور'.

A variety of names were allocated to the Fayoum region throughout ancient Egyptian history. These names bore profound significances mostly connected with Lake Qarun existence. The name 'Fayoum' itself, which is derived from the ancient Egyptian word 'P3-ym' meaning 'the Lake', is a clear example. This paper aims to investigate the names of the Fayoum region during the Pharaonic Period in terms of their etymologies, determinative significance, and historical extension of each name. The research also finds out whether there is any link between these names and Lake Qarun.

This paper presents an inventory of the Pharaonic names of Fayoum region known from monuments and texts. It studies the texts in which these names occurred, their historical extension, their determinatives and finally discusses the outcomes. The emerged inventory of the Fayoum region names included seven names: Š-rsy, T3-š, Mr-wr, W3d-wr, P3-ym, Iw-sbk, and Bnt.

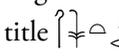
1. Introduction

The Fayoum region is basically below sea level. It is a depression bounded by scarps and plateaus in most parts. Lake Qarun occupies the north-western section of the Fayoum Depression. It is 43 meters below sea level, while the remaining of the Depression slopes towards the Lake from south-east to north-west.¹

A variety of names were allocated to the Fayoum region throughout ancient Egyptian history. Most of them bore profound significances, mostly connected with Lake Qarun existence. During the Old Kingdom, the region was named Š-rsy 'the Southern Lake'. In the Middle Kingdom, it was known as T3-š 'Land of the Lake' and T3-š sbk 'Land of the Lake of Sobek'. During the New Kingdom, the names P3-ym 'the Sea' and Mr-wr 'the Great Lake' appeared. From the sixth to the second centuries BCE, the Fayoum region was named p3 tš n p3-ym in Demotic texts. During the Fifth Century CE, Fayoumi residents

probably continued to call the region P3-ym – Peiom (Sahidic), Phiom (Bohairic), and Piam (Fayumic) from which the modern name Fayoum derived. The previously-mentioned names are all linked to water.² Furthermore, other names doubtly refer to the Fayoum region, but are also linked to water existence, and will be tackled in this paper, such as š 'the Lake', š sbk 'the Lake of Sobek', iw sbk 'the Island of Sobek' and Bnt? (unknown).³

2. Š-rsy

Š-rsy, meaning 'the Southern Lake', was referred to, for the first time, in the autobiographical inscriptions of Meten who was entitled  hḳ3 nw.wt ḥw.t ʿ3.t n(y).t Š-rsy 'Overseer of towns (settlements) of the great state of Š-rsy'.⁴ Another title of Meten, included the emblem of a crocodile on a stand as a sign, reads: imy-r wp.t sbk i3bty.⁵ This title, according to Cwiek, was possibly connected to the Fayoum region.⁶ Among the blocks from Royal Funerary Temples re-used in the Pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht, was a fragmentary architrave⁷ from a private tomb with a title  hḳ3- nsw.t ḥry-mdw imy-r šnd nb n Š-rsy of an '(estate) manager of the king,⁸ Holder of the staff bearer(?),⁹ overseer of all the acacia trees of š-rsy'. This fragment has been dated by H. Goedicke to the Third/early Fourth Dynasties and probably came from Saqqara,¹⁰ if not from Meidum or Dahshur as Cwiek suggested.¹¹

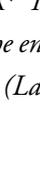
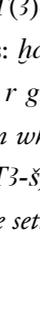
Through the profound analysis of Š-rsy determinatives, an important question arose: Was Š-rsy a province or a town? As indicated by the absence of the 'town'  determinative in writing Š-rsy, it was used as a designation of the entire Fayoum region¹² during the end of the Third, Fourth and probably Fifth Dynasties.¹³ Another example that supports the result of the designation of Š-rsy as a province appeared in a brief list of nomes in an Old Kingdom

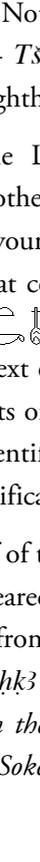
example, titles of Osiris in *hṭp di nsw* formula on a set of canopic jars belonged to two sons of a man named *Hor-Udia* from Hawara and dates back to the Thirteenth Dynasty;⁴⁵ titles of Osiris in *hṭp di nsw* formulae too on some coffins from Hawara,⁴⁶ date back to the Late and Ptolemaic Periods. Although, in the Late Period Hieroglyphs orthography, the appearance of more than one determinative is quite common, this odd representation of *T3-š* determinatives is hard to be interpreted as it is difficult to accept the idea that *T3-š* was a town and a district at the same time. However, it raises an important question about whether the name means the entire region including its towns and desert areas(?).⁴⁷

Among the titles of Osiris in *hṭp di nsw* formula written on a wooden coffin from Hawara, dating back to the Late-Ptolemaic Periods, *T3-š* mentioned three times; one of them with  and  determinatives together. The second time is written with  determinative and probably also with  determinative, but unfortunately it is completely damaged. The third time is written with  determinative.⁴⁸ As far as we know, it is the first time that *T3-š* was written with  determinative. The reason for the existence of three different determinatives of *T3-š* in one text remains a controversial issue that needs much more research. However, the two  and  determinatives may refer to the region and its (temple/towns) at the same time, while  determinative used to emphasize the meaning of the word 'Lake Land'(?). Moreover, *T3-š* is written, in the same period, with  determinative.⁴⁹

Neither  nor  determinatives of *T(3)-š* were written in the text of *Biankhy* which reads: *hd pw ir n hm.f r wp.t š* (another reading *wp T3-š*) *r gs r-hnt gm.n.f pr Shm hpr R^c* 'It is sail downstream which his majesty has made to the entrance of the lake (*T3-š*) beside the mouth of the lake (*Lahun*). He found the settlement

of *Sekhemkheperre*'.⁵⁰ *T3-š* was written here with the determinative  which represents the irrigation canal.⁵¹ On the other side, the text implies that *T3-š* refers to the entire Fayoum region with *Lahun* gap as its entrance as clear in the phrase *wp T3-š* which is equivalent to the phrase *r gs r-hnt* as the entrance to the Fayoum region.⁵²

In the New Kingdom, the statement  'iw.w hry-ib *T3-š*' 'Islands in the middle of *T3-š*'⁵³ indicates that *T3-š* refers to the entire Fayoum region including the Lake with its islands. Furthermore, the title of Sobek, appeared in the Middle Kingdom, '*Sbk šdty nb T3-š*' 'Sobek who belongs to Shedet, Lord of *T3-š*'⁵⁴ emphasizes this idea. Further evidences from the Late Period confirmed that *T3-š* refers to the entire Fayoum region; the statement  '*š wr m T3-š*' 'the great lake in *T3-š*'⁵⁵ appears. It is clear that *š- wr* refers to Lake Qarun while *T3-š* refers to the entire Fayoum. This statement copes with the description of *T3-š* in the *Book of the Faiyum* mentioned above. Notably, both (*š - šy*) and (*T3-š - p3 T3-š(y) - Tš - Tše*) are mentioned in Demotic literature of the eighth century BCE onwards.⁵⁶

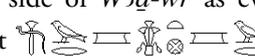
Finally, in the Late Period onwards, *T3-š* is identified with another name of the *Fayoum W3d-wr*. In his study on Fayoum localities, Yoyotte⁵⁷ addressed some examples that confirm this conclusion such as  *gnw.t m T3-š st.k nfr m Km-wr*. This text emphasized, on one hand, that *T3-š* region consists of towns such as *Gnw.t*; and on another hand is identified with *Km-wr* which in turn, confirms the identification of *T3-š* with *W3d-wr*.

Another proof of this identification between *T3-š* and *W3d-wr* appeared in the Ptolemaic Period, as attested in a text from Ghurab stated that: *Wsir ity hry-ib T3-š ntr-š3 hk3 W3d-wr Skr m T3-š* 'Osiris, the sovereign who is in the middle of *T3-š*, the great god, ruler of *W3d-wr*, *Soker* in *T3-š*'.⁵⁸ Moreover, in the

Greco-Roman period, Š was regarded as part of T3-š as clear in a title of Hathor *nb.t im3w m š wr m T3-š*. Obviously, the Lake in this title named Š wr ‘the great lake’ in T3-š. Another title of Sobek Shedit *ḥnh.f m š ḥtp.f m T3-š*⁵⁹ confirmed the previous conclusion. Finally, T3-š personifies the Fayoum region which is divided into two administrative parts; Š-rsy and Š-mḥty. The region itself had towns and cult centers, while the Lake Š or the Great Lake Š wr with its islands was part of this region.

4. *Mr-wr, W3d-wr, P3-ym*

4.1 *Mr-wr*

Berlin Dictionary translated *Mr-wr* as ‘Lake Moeris of the Fayoum’, He sometimes added variations to it without determinatives or with the ‘town’ determinative.⁶⁰ Moreover, *Mr-wr* is sometimes written with  determinative, and in other examples with  and  determinatives. Since T3-š is identified with *W3d-wr* and *Km-wr* as discussed above, *Mr-wr* is also identified with the northern side of *W3d-wr* as evident in the following text  *W3d-wr mḥt Mr-wr pw*.⁶¹ However, we should not neglect that *Mr-wr* refers to the town of Madinet Ghurab too.⁶²

According to Gauthier, *Mr-wr* refers to the twenty-first nome of Upper Egypt.⁶³ Moreover, in the geographical texts of Edfu Temple which date back to the reign of Ptolemy IV *Philopator*, *Mr-wr* was referred to as the *nome Arsinoeite* followed by the twenty-second *nome*.⁶⁴ It is difficult to state whether *Mr-wr* refers to Lake Moeris, Kom Medinet Ghurab or the entire Fayoum region as attested in the Demotic texts (*Š-wr, Mr-wr, Mw-wr, M-wr, M3-wr*).⁶⁵

In the *Book of the Faiyum*, Lake Moeris was hand-dug following the theory of the Ogdood as

Lake Qarun emerged from the Primeval Water, *Nun*. This idea was also highlighted by Herodotus who mentioned that Lake Moeris was hand-dug artificially too.⁶⁶

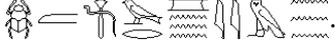
4.2 *W3d-wr*

The literal meaning of *W3d-wr* is the ‘Great Green’⁶⁷. It is a mootpoint among scholars; some of them believe that it indicated any large body of water such as the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea.⁶⁸ However, the idea that the word means ‘the sea’ has been completely rejected by others.⁶⁹ While other scholars assume that the term has never had such significance and it means instead ‘a fertile, lush and wet by water river’ which concurs with the nature of the Fayoum region.⁷⁰ Other meanings of *W3d-wr* have been launched by other scholars, including Lower Egypt.⁷¹

The oldest link between the Fayoum region and *W3d-wr* was through the name of a person *W3d-wr* probably lived during the Twelfth Dynasty whose name was written in a title *ḥ3ty-ʿ3 Š-rsy* on a fragment of offering stela from Kahun.⁷² In the New Kingdom, a stela, belongs to the Prince *Khaemwaset* the son of *Ramesses* II, was dedicated to the god *W3d-wr*, which in this context cannot be more than a personification of the Fayoum region, and Osiris ‘the ruler who resides in T3-š’.⁷³ Most of our sources of *W3d-wr* as a name of Fayoum region date to the Late and Ptolemaic Periods.⁷⁴ All these sources are methodological but lack information about the administration and geography of *W3d-wr* as the Fayoum region. The echo of the Osirian Myth is clear in most of these sources as Osiris was connected to the Lake of *W3d-wr* in which he drowned. These sources stated that the primeval ocean *Nun* was part of *W3d-wr* where the Ogdood came into existence⁷⁵ and some essential gods and goddesses such as

R^c, *Mh.t Wr.t*, and *Šd.t* also came into existence in *W3d-wr ym*.⁷⁶ Likewise, *R^c Hr 3hty*, the elder son of goddess *Mh.t Wr.* emerged from *W3d-wr* which is described as ‘*hm š* ‘the divine lake’.⁷⁷ The god *Skr* of Illahun, the soul of Osiris, passes *W3d-wr* to see the god Osiris in his lake (*š.f*).⁷⁸ This text differentiates between *W3d-wr* which personifies the Fayoum region and its lake *š*. The previous text rooted in the hymns honoring Sobek Shedy⁷⁹ in pRamesseum VI of Twelfth/Thirteenth Dynasties, in which Sobek, who will be replaced later by Sokar, goes on the road in the lake *š*, passing (*hns*) the *W3d-wr* in order to find the body of his father Osiris.⁸⁰ However, the former text located the lake of Osiris, *š.f*, to the (*r gs rsy n hn.t*) southern side of *hn.t* of the lake; while, god Sokar rests (*htp.f m nn-nsw.t*) in Hierakleopolis, modern Ehnasia El Medina. This conclusion is also evident in another text;⁸¹ Sokar of Illahun as mentioned above passes *W3d-wr* to see Osiris in his lake, which is in the side of *hn.t* while he rests in Hierakleopolis. Therefore, *gs rsy n hn.t* personifies the site of Illahun.

In the autobiographical text on the coffin of Ankhuty of the Thirteenth Dynasty or the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period, he was entitled ‘*Wsir h3ty-^c nhrwty t3-š... imnty W3d-wr*’ ‘Osiris, the mayor, Ankhuty of *T3-š* in the west of *W3d-wr*’.⁸² In spite of the above-mentioned evidences of the identification between *T3-š* and *W3d-wr*, Ankhuty text located *T3-š* in the west of *W3d-wr*. Ankhuty was also entitled ‘*Wsir h3ty-^c T3-š imy-r 3 W3d-wr imy-r iw wp š*’.⁸³ Obviously, *3 W3d-wr* ‘portal of *W3d-wr*’ equals *wp š* ‘the beginning of the lake’ and at the same time, we could assume that *r gs rsy n hn.t* identifies both *3 W3d-wr* and *wp š*. Furthermore, *W3d-wr* is also associated with *ym*. Some gods and goddesses, as mentioned above, came into existence from

W3d-wr ym .⁸⁴ In the Demotic text from the Eighth Century BCE onwards, Lake Moeris is known as *šy W3d-wr n N3 nfr ir šty.t- šy wt wr*.⁸⁵ Notably, the Demotic texts differentiate between *W3d-wr* as the name of the Fayoum region and *š- W3d-wr* as the name of the Lake.

Finally, all *W3d-wr* determinatives including , ,  refer to ‘water’. As far as we know, *W3d-wr* was not written, contrary to *Š*, *Š-rsy*, *T3-š*, and *Mr-wr* – with  determinative.

4.3 *P3-ym*

‘*ym*’⁸⁶ is originally a Semitic word adopted in Egypt from the New Kingdom, especially the Eighteenth Dynasty,⁸⁷ to indicate ‘the sea’.⁸⁸ Gauthier⁸⁹ proposed different meanings of this word such as ‘sea, river, canal, lake, pool, swamp, or a body of water in general’. Gardiner gave only the ‘sea’ meaning to the word.⁹⁰ Both Meeks⁹¹ and Wilson⁹² in their Dictionaries translated the word *ym* ‘the sea’ although Meeks translated Ramesseid statement ‘*P3-im n š Sbk*’ as ‘the Lake of the Fayoum’.⁹³ Wilson agreed with Gauthier that the word *ym* bears the meaning of a large body of water such as a lake, a sea or a basin/depression full of water.⁹⁴ In Demotic and Coptic literature, the word probably means a basin or a depression full of a liquid.⁹⁵

Furthermore, *P3-ym* was sometimes used as a name for the entire Fayoum region.⁹⁶ Apparently, the name was used by the inhabitants of the Fayoum region as a name for their province. However, notably, it seems that neither Sobek nor any other deity worshipped in the Fayoum region are associated with *P3-ym*.⁹⁷

During the reign of *Ramesses III* of the Twentieth Dynasty, *P3-ym* was mentioned

among the areas conquered by this king, and it was inhabited by the *Sherden* tribes. Moreover, inscriptions in Medinet Habu asserted that these tribes settled in the Fayoum region and took the title  *Šrdn P3-ym*.⁹⁸

In Demotic texts, the Fayoum region is known as *p3 tš n P3-ym* 'the name of *P3-ym*' (pHermupolis 1, 2 [b]; 2, 2 [b]; 3, 3 [a]; pLille Dem. 1, 32, 13; pCairo 2, 30623, 2 [b]; pOxf. Griffith 1, 28, 2),⁹⁹ *P3-ym*¹⁰⁰ or *ym*.¹⁰¹

In the *Book of the Faiyum*, *ym* appears in the myth of the heavenly cow, in which the goddess is said to come into existence in *W3d-wr of ym*¹⁰². It appears also in another text from the *Book of the Faiyum* that reads *p3 snty šmꜥ n P3-ym n ntr ir smi n P3-ym n ntr* which means 'the foundation of the southern bank of the sea of god and making the strip of land of the sea of the god'.¹⁰³

5. Uncertain Names of the Fayoum Region

5.1 *Tw-Sbk*

Tw-Sbk may represent a name of the Fayoum region as Cwiek¹⁰⁴ suggested, or of a place that might be located in the region. On the other hand, a suggested opinion proposed that the significance of the name as the island of Sobek cannot definitely state that it is located in the Fayoum region.¹⁰⁵  *Tw-Sbk* appeared during the Old Kingdom, on a stela of *ntr ḥpr.f*, the owner of the *mastaba* III/1 in Dahshur from the Fourth Dynasty which was found in the so-called Valley Temple at the Bent Pyramid.¹⁰⁶ It was also found in a Fifth Dynasty *mastaba* of *Kai-em-re* at Saqqara .¹⁰⁷ In two previous cases, *Tw-Sbk* was written with the 'town'  determinative; thus, it is uncertain to state it was the name of the entire Fayoum region.

5.2 *Bnt*

Although the location of *Bnt* is unknown, some scholars have associated it with the Fayoum region.¹⁰⁸ It may signify a name of the Fayoum region, or a name of a place that might exist in the region. Friedrich von Bissing and Edward Brovarski suggested that *Bnt* was a locality or an island in, or in the vicinity of, the Fayoum region.¹⁰⁹ However, Jean Vandier suggested that *Bnt* was an island in the vicinity of *Shedet*,¹¹⁰ while Elmar Edel proposes that it was a place of ramification of Bahr Yusuf connecting the Nile.¹¹¹

A scene in the solar temple of *Niuserre* at Abu Ghurab (Relief Berlin 20039), represents a crocodile, probably a reptile's mummy lying on the ground, with its head emerging from the mummy wrappings. It is located in a temple or an island known as *Bnt* and surrounded by water.¹¹²

Conclusion

This paper discussed the Fayoum region ancient names, and the texts in which these names occurred, their historical development, and their determinatives. As an outcome, an inventory including seven of the Fayoum region names *Š-rsy*, *T3-š*, *Mr-wr*, *W3d-wr*, *P3-ym*, *Tw-Sbk*, *Bnt* was reached.

All the Fayoum region names are linked to water existence; however, only three names - *Mr-wr*, *W3d-wr*, *P3-ym* - were written with , ,  water determinatives. Other names were written with either , , , or  determinatives of which the last four determinatives were assigned for *T3-š* and the first two were often used for *Š* and *Š-rsy*.

In terms of Fayoum region names historical development, it is noted that, except the uncertain names, no one name replaced the other; for instance, *Š-rsy* continued during the Middle Kingdom despite the appearance of *T3-š*. Also, they continued into the

New Kingdom onwards side by side with *Mr-wr*, *W3d-wr* and *ym*.

Discussions also revealed that *Š-rsy* and *Š-mhty* are two administrative parts of *T3-š* at least during the Middle and New Kingdoms. In the text of Ankhruyt and in the *Book of the Faiyum* of the Late and Ptolemaic periods, *T3-š* was identified with the southern part of *W3d-wr*; while, *Mr-wr* was also identified with the northern part of *W3d-wr ym*. Moreover, *W3d-wr* and *ym* are in some texts written as identical geographical sites.

More importantly, it is clear from the historical development of the Fayoum region names that the most debating name is *Š-rsy*. This paper offered a concrete understanding to the development of this particular name. It is now obvious that from the Old Kingdom to the Eleventh/Twelfth Dynasties, it referred to the entire Fayoum region. However, at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and during the Thirteenth Dynasty, it probably composed, together with *Š-mhty*, a half-part of *T3-š*. Furthermore, in the New Kingdom, *š* is identified with *Mr-wr* (Kom Madinet Ghurab) or a town in the vicinity of *Mr-wr*, and that *š* referred to the water-part of the region. Undoubtedly, the Fayoum region names are chaotic and overlapped, especially the names and titles associated with gods and goddesses. The issue that led to the study of these names is a real dilemma. For instance, Osiris is entitled '*Wsir hry-ib T3-š*', '*Wsir ity hry-ib T3-š*' or '*Wsir ntr ʿ3 hry-ib T3-š*'¹¹³, '*hnty T3-š*'¹¹⁴, '*m T3-š*', '*ity m T3-š*', '*ity m W3d-wr*'¹¹⁵, '*hk3 W3d-wr*', '*hnty Š*'¹¹⁶, '*nb š.f*'¹¹⁷.

Notes

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1 H. Fekri, *et al.*, 'Holocene Geoarchaeology and Water History of the Fayoum', in: R. Pirelli (ed.), *Natural and*

Cultural Landscapes in the Fayoum, UNESCO (Cairo, 2011), 117.

2 D. Arnold, 'Fajjum', *LÄ* II (1977), cl. 87-88; M. Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet. The Crocodile God in the Fayoum in the Dynastic Period* (Todi, 2010), 10; Fekri, in Pirelli (ed.), *Natural and Cultural Landscapes in the Fayoum*, 116f.

3 W.M.F. Petrie, *Medum*, (London, 1892), 20, 38-39, pl. 16; Cwiek, 'Fayoum in the Old Kingdom', *GM* 160 (1997), 19, no.16; Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet*, 13f.

4 *Urk.* I, 3, 10; Cwiek, *GM* 160, 19; O. Ibrahim, I. Abd El-Sattar, 'Major Historical, Archaeological, and Religious Features of the Fayoum Region during the Old Kingdom', in: R. Pirelli (ed.), *Natural and Cultural Landscapes in the Fayoum*, UNESCO – (Cairo, 2011) 140. For the meaning of this title, see: D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of The Old Kingdom*, II (Oxford, 2000), 668.

5 *Urk.* I, 2, 6; cf. also *ibt sbk* with the determinative of 'town'. *Urk.* I, 5, 4.

6 Cwiek, *GM* 160, 19, no.18; see also: H.G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (New York, 1968), 3-5

7 This architrave fragment is preserved in Ontario Royal Museum in Toronto (958.49.I). It belongs to unknown person.

8 Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, II, 669.

9 Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, II, 780; *Wb.* III, 39, 8.

10 M.G. Fraser, 'The Early Tombs at Tehneh', in: H. Goedicke (ed.), *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht* (New York, 1971), 149-150.

11 Cwiek, *GM* 160, 19.

12 A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. II (Oxford, 1947), 115.

13 Cf. K. Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 232. Uncertainly  *š-rsy* was mentioned between the twenty first and the twenty second nomes of Upper Egypt Fraser, *ASAE* 3, 76; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 389 in this list of nomes. Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches*, 232; Cwiek, *GM* 160, 19. The reason of uncertainty is that the sign  *šm'w* mistakenly written instead of  *rsy*.

14 M.G. Fraser, 'The Early Tombs at Tehna', *ASAE* 3 (1903), 76; see also: A. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, *Commentary*, (Oxford, 1948), 44; F. Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches: Oberägypten und das Fayyūm*, (Wiesbaden, 1986), 389.

15 A.H. Gardiner, 'The Name of Lake Moeris', *JEA* 29 (1943), 39f.

- 16 Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, 44.
- 17 A. Fakhry, 'A Forty Nights Digging at Madinet Qûta (Fayoum)', *ASAE* 40 (1940), 904; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 389.
- 18 R.P. Charles, 'La statue-cube de Sobek-hotep gouverneur du Fayoum', *RdÉ* 12 (1960), 1ff; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 114*f; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 46; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 389.
- 19 Charles, *RdÉ* 12 (1960), 24; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 46.
- 20 G. Daressy, 'Rapport sur El-Yaouta (Fayoum)', *ASAE* 1 (1900), 44ff; cf. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 45f.
- 21 Brugsch, 'Der Möris-See', *ZÄS* 31 (1893), 18; Fakhry, *ASAE* 40, 904; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 389.
- 22 Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 46, Anm. 2; Yoyotte, 'Processions géographiques mentionnant le Fayoum et ses localités', *BIFAO* 61 (1962), 104, Anm. 3; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 389.
- 23 Gauthier, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, V, 127.
- 24 S. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, I (London, 1897), 53.
- 25 Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 44.
- 26 Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 44f.
- 27 Gauthier, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, VI, 33; Fakhry, *ASAE* 40, 903; Gardiner, *JEA* 29 (1943), 39f; *Onomastica*, II, 177*f; P. Montet, *Géographie de L'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1957), 206; Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 61 (1962), 104; Arnold, *LÄ* II, cl.87; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 388; M. Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum* (Imola, 2001), 236.
- 28 Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 236.
- 29 H. Wild, 'Quatre statuettes du Moyen Empire dans une collection privée de suisse', *BIFAO* 69 (1971), 107; Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 236-238; Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Fayoum, II, 83-87; M. Zecchi, 'Osiris in the Fayum', *Fayyum Studies* 2 (2006), 120-123.
- 30 L. Habachi, 'Vaste sale d'Amenemhat III à Kiman Farès (Fayoum)', *ASAE* 37 (1937), 95, fig.10; Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 236-238.
- 31 Wild, *BIFAO* 69 (1971), 92; Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 236-238.
- 32 Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 237-238.
- 33 *Wb.* V, 226.
- 34 Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London, 1973), 593.
- 35 S. Farag, 'Une inscription memphite de la XII^e dynastie', *RdÉ* 32 (1980), 80.
- 36 Habachi, *ASAE* 37, 95, fig.10.
- 37 S. Donadoni, 'Testi geroglifici di Medinet Madi', *Orientalia* 16 (1947), 512, 521; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 387.
- 38 Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara* (London, 1890), 18, pl.11, Nr.9.
- 39 Wild, *BIFAO* 69, 106ff, fig. 5, 107, pl. 20.
- 40 L. Habachi, 'Khatà'na- Qantîr: Importance', *ASAE* 52 (1954), 463; M. Valloggia, 'Remarques sur les noms de la reine Sébek-Ka-Ré Néferou-Sébek', *RdÉ* 16 (1964), 46.
- 41 A.S. Griffith, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities of the XII and XVIII dynasties from Kahun, Illahun and Gurob* (Manchester-London, 1910), 32; M. Zecchi, 'The statue base Manchester 285 from Hawara', *Fayyum Studies* I (2004), 17-19; M. Zecchi, *Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Fayoum*, II (Bologna, 2006), 58.
- 42 For more Third Intermediate Period and Late Period texts mentioned T3-š, see: Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet*, 135-152.
- 43 On an offering table preserved in Cairo Museum CG.23240 discovered in Hawara from the Ptolemaic Period, t3-š was written with  determinative in a title of Sekhment (*šhm.t m T3-š*) A. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes* (Cairo, 1909), 157; PM IV, 101; Zecchi, *Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Fayoum*, II, 96.
- 44 *Wb.* V, 226.
- 45 Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe* (London, 1889), pl. IV; P.R.S. Moorey, *Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1992), 56, pl. 35; Zecchi, *Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Fayoum*, II, 70-71.
- 46 Petrie, *Hawara*, pl. V.2-V.6; 23, pl. V, 10; Zecchi, *Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Fayoum*, II, 83-87.
- 47 According to texts of the Book of the Fayoum, the Fayoum region encompasses a canal which flows into t3-š. Both the canal and the lake are surrounded by cult-centers. Zecchi, *Fayyum Studies* 2 (2006), 128.
- 48 Petrie, *Hawara*, pl. V.5; Zecchi, *Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Fayoum*, II, 85.
- 49 Petrie, *Hawara*, 21, pl. II.
- 50 H. Brugsch, 'Der Möris-See', *ZÄS* 30 (1892), 70; N. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire: je 48862-47089*, *MIFAO* 105 (Cairo, 1981), 80 [25], 25*, 15=10 76-79.
- 51 A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Sign List N.23, 488.
- 52 Moreover in the same text, *Biankhy* mentioned that on his way to T3-š, he found *pr Šhm hpr R^c*, a military

- settlement most probably not far away from Lahun and Gurob and a part of the territory of Hierakleopolis and dates back to *Osorkon I* of the twenty-second dynasty. Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet*, 135.
- 53 *Wb.* V, 226, 6-7.
- 54 *Wb.* V, 226, 8.
- 55 *Wb.* V, 226, 9-10.
- 56 H. Vereth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period*, Trismegistos Online Publications (Köln/Leuven, 2008), 56; Vereth, *Toponyms in Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic Texts from the 8th Century BC till the 5th Century AD*, Trismegistos Online Publications (Köln/Leuven, 2011), 379-80; G. Vittmann, 'Ein Entwurf zur Dekoration eines Heiligtums in Soknopaiu Nesos (pWien D 10100)', *Enchoria* 28 (2002-2003), 109-112
- 57 Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 61, 116.
- 58 Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pl. XXI; Brugsch, *ZÄS* 30, 70.
- 59 Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 237-238.
- 60 *Wb.* II, 97.
- 61 Brugsch, *ZÄS* 30, 72.
- 62 Arnold, *LÄ* II, cl.87-88; Gardiner, *JEA* 29, 37; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 30.
- 63 Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographiques III* (le caire, 1925), 46
- 64 A. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. I (Oxford, 1947), 62.
- 65 Vereth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 56, 59.
- 66 H. Beinlich, 'Der Moeris See nach Herodotus', *GM* 100 (1987), 15.
- 67 *Wb.* I, 269.
- 68 *Wb.* I, 269, 13-14; Montet, *Géographie de L'Égypte ancienne*, 206; Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 239; Zecchi, *Fayyum Studies* 2 (2006), 127.
- 69 A. Nibbi, 'A note on the Lexicon Entry: Meer', *GM* 58 (1982), 53-58; J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures. Egyptian personifications and Iconology of a Genre* (Waminster, 1985), 181-187; C. Vandersleyen, 'Oudj our nesignifie pas 'mer' : que on se le dise!', *GM* 103 (1988), 75-80; C. Favard-Meeks, 'Le Delta égyptien et la mer jusqu' à la fondation d'Alexandrie', *SAK* 16 (1989), 50-58; C. Vandersleyen, 'Le sens de Oudj-our (*W3d-wr*)', *BSAK* 4 (1990), 345-352; C. Vandersleyen, *Oudj our W3d-wr. Un autre aspect de la Vallée du Nil* (Brussels, 1999); Zecchi, *Fayyum Studies* 2, 127, no. 51.
- 70 Cf. Vandersleyen, *Oudj our W3d-wr. Un autre aspect de la Vallée du Nil*, 75; Zecchi, *Fayyum Studies* 2, 127.
- 71 Favard-Meeks, *SAK* 16, 50-58; Zecchi, *Fayyum Studies* 2, 127.
- 72 Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pl. 11, Nr.14; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 390; Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 239.
- 73 Zecchi, *Fayyum Studies* 2, 127.
- 74 Papyrus of Moeris Lake. R. Lanzone, *Les papyrus du Lac Moeris* (Turin, 1896); Papyrus Tebtunis. G. Botti, La glorificazione di Sobk e del Fayyum in un papiro ieratico da Tebtynis. *Analecta Aegyptiaca* 8 (Copenhagen, 1959); The Book of the Fayoum. H. Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, *ÄA* 51 (Wiesbaden, 1991); H. Beinlich, Hieratische Fragmente des 'Buches vom Fayum' und ein Nachtrag zu BF Carlsberg, *ZÄS* 124 (1997), 1-22.
- 75 Lanzone, *Les papyrus du Lac Moeris*, 3, 9, 13; H. Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh* (Leipzig 1878), 36-37; Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, 148 line 107; Vandersleyen, *Oudj our W3d-wr*, 242.
- 76 Lanzone, *Les papyrus du Lac Moeris*, 3, 9, 22; Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh*, 23; Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, 152, line 141-142; Vandersleyen, *Oudj our W3d-wr*, 242.
- 77 Lanzone, *Les papyrus du Lac Moeris*, 6, 17; Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, 154, line 178; Vandersleyen, *Oudj our W3d-wr*, 243.
- 78 Lanzone, *Les papyrus du Lac Moeris*, 8, 3; Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, 140, line 30; Vandersleyen, *Oudj our W3d-wr*, 244.
- 79 Sobek Shedity mentioned here was identified with Horus the son of Osiris in the Osirian Myth.
- 80 A.H. Gardiner, 'Hymns to Sobk in A Ramesseum Papyrus', *RdÉ* 11 (1957), 48-49, pl. 2, 51.
- 81 Lanzone, *Les papyrus du Lac Moeris*, 2, 5, 1-3; Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, 140 line 129; Vandersleyen, *Oudj our W3d-wr*, 241
- 82 Petrie, *Hawara*, 21, pl. II; Vandersleyen, *Oudj our W3d-wr*, 65.
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- 86 For more information, discussions and opinions about ym see. Vandersleyen, *Oudj our W3d-wr*, ch.6 ff.

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- 100 M.A. Stadler, *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung, neue religiöse Texte aus dem Fayoum nach dem Papyrus Wien D.12006 Recto* (Wien, 2004), 47-84, col. 3, 12; 28; 29; 47-84, col. 4, 26, 30, 47-84, col. 7, 16; Vereth, *Toponyms in Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic Texts*, 379; Vereth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 56.
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- 102 Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, 150ff, 285.
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- 106 Petrie, *Medum*, 20, 38-39. Pl.16; Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches*, 30; R. Stadelmann, *et al.*, 'Pyramiden und Nekropole des Snofru in Dahschur', *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 281, fig.14; Cwiek, *GM* 160, 19.
- 107 Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches*, 30.
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- 115 Pap. Berlin 6750. G. Widmer, 'Un papyrus démotique religieux du Fayoum: P. Berlin 6750', *BSEG* 22 (1998), 86.
- 116 Pap. Berlin 6750. Widmer, *BSEG* 22, 86.
- 117 Beinlich, *Buch von Fayum*, 368.