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Olaf E. Kaper

Egyptian Toponyms of Dakhla Oasis.

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Olaf E. KAPER

EGYPTIAN TOPONYMS OF DAKHLA OASIS[1]

1. DESIGNATIONS FOR DAKHLA AS A WHOLE.

Various suggestions have been made concerning the name which Dakhla Oasis held in Egyptian. In 1877, Dümichen proposed the name *Ḏsḏs* for that purpose, followed by both Brugsch and Gauthier in their geographical dictionaries.[2] In 1936 Winlock expressed a preference for the name *Knm·t*, recently again proposed by Osing.[3] Elsewhere, the name *S3-wḥ3·t* has bee applied to Dakhla as a whole.[4] New hieroglyphic texts from the oasis of Dakhla itself now permit us to re-examine this question, partly on the basis of material excavated by the Dakhleh Oasis Project, of which the writer is a member.

On the interior of the girdle wall of the temple of Edfu a procession of fecundity figures appears which personify seven of the oases of the western desert.[5] They are

1. I wish to thank Arno Egberts of Leiden University, and Anthony J. Mills and Colin A. Hope of the Dakhleh Oasis Project for their comments on earlier versions of this article.

2. J. Dümichen, *Die Oasen der Lybischen Wüste...*, Strassburg, 1877, p. 22, hereafter Dümichen, *Oasen*; H. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique...*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 1001; H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, Le Caire, 1925-1931, I, p. 50 (*Jw-ḏsḏs*); VI, p. 134 (*Ḏsḏs*), hereafter Gauthier, *DG*.

3. H. Winlock, *Ed Dakhleh Oasis*, New York, 1936, p. 58; J. Osing, " Die ägyptischen Namen für Charga und Dachla ", *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* II = *BdE* 97, 1985, p. 179-193, hereafter Osing, *Mélanges Mokhtar*. Following Osing, *Knm·t* was also accepted as the ancient name for Dakhla by K.P. Kuhlmann, *Das Ammoneion: Archäologie, Geschichte und Kutlpraxis des Orakels von Siwa* = *ArchVer* 75, 1988, p. 88, n. 622, hereafter Kuhlmann, *Das Ammoneion*.

4. J. Černý, *Studi in Memoria di I. Rosellini* II, Pisa, 1955, p. 129, hereafter Černý, *Studi Rosellini*, based upon P. Turin 2074, as before him already W. Spiegelberg, " Eine Stele aus der Oase Dachel ", *RecTrav* XXI, 1899, p. 19. L.L. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases: Bahariya, Dakhla, Farafra and Kharga during Pharaonic Times*, Warminster, 1987, hereafter Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 210, argues that the name *Wḥ3·t* was a specific name for Dakhla during the late Old Kingdom, to which cf. the comment by A.J. Mills in *BiOr* XLVIII, 1991, col. 135.

5. *Edfou* VI, 20, 4. The first complete copy of the texts was published by Dümichen, *Oasen*, pl. 3-10. The sixth and seventh oasis were independently published by Brugsch in his *Reise nach der grossen Oase el-Khargeh...*, Leipzig, 1878, p. 64, 74, 76 sq. and pl. 23-24. The standart edition of this part of the temple of Edfu by É. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou* VI = *MIFAO* 23, (hereafter *E*), 19-25, appeared in 1931. A comprehensive commentary was written by K. Sethe, " Die ägyptischen Bezeichnungen für die Oasen und ihre Bewohner ", *ZÄS* 56, 1920, p. 49-52. The most recent commentary by Osing appeared in *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, p. 182-188. This part of the temple received its decoration under Ptolemy IX, around 107 B.C.; cf. A. Egberts, " A note on the building history of the temple of Edfu ", *RdE* 38, 1987, p. 60.

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designated as " the seven oases of this country ", and are listed under the following names, insofar as these have been preserved. The modern identifications of the names are added in parentheses.

1. *P-q*^{3} (cf. the comments below)
2. no name preserved
3. *T*^{3}*-jḥw* (Farafra)
4. *Sḫ·t-j*^{3}*mw* (the ʿAreg Group?)
5. *Wḥ*^{3}*·t mḥt·t* or " *Ḏsḏs* according to the liturgical books " (Bahriya)
6. *Sḫ·t-ḥm*^{3}*·t* or *Šrp* or *Sḫ·t* or *Pr-t*^{3}*-jn·t* or *St-jr·t-Ḥr* (the Wadi al-Natrun)
7. *T*^{3}... (Siwa)

The list is the most extensive of its kind, and it has formed the basis for all discussions concerning the names of the individual oases. Each of the names has been assigned to one of the oases in the western desert of Egypt with the exception of the first two, the names of which have only been partly preserved. The obvious candidates for the first two names in the list would be the two large oases of Kharga and Dakhla, but the relative order in which they appeared has never been satisfactorily established. The name *P-q*^{3} which is mentioned with the first oasis is not helpful, since it is not known from other texts.

All commentators on the Edfu list seem to agree that the first position should be assigned to Kharga. Most recently, Osing has put forth arguments to this effect. [6] His reconstruction is principally based upon the assumed order in which the oases appear on the wall at Edfu. Osing, as did Sethe and Fakhry before him, assumed that the oases are presented in the order of their respective distance from the temple of Edfu. [7] In this case, the oasis of Kharga would obviously come first. However, it has since been argued by Kuhlmann that the fourth oasis in the Edfu-list is possibly to be identified with the four oases of the ʿAreg-Group, which lie on the caravan-route between Bahriya and Siwa, but closer to Siwa than to Bahriya. [8] As long as there remain doubts over the identity of this member of the group, as well as over that of the initial two, the sequence of the oases cannot form the basis for identifying the individual fecundity figures.

The seven oases are visually divided on the wall into three parts; the first group of three figures we may assume to include Dakhla (uncertain), Kharga (uncertain) and Farafra, the second group of three includes the ʿAreg-group (uncertain), Bahriya and the Wadi al-Natrun; Siwa separately formed the third part. Perhaps we are supposed to take each

6. Osing, *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, p. 185.

7. Sethe, *ZÄS* 56, 1920, p. 50; A. Fakhry, " Bahria and Farafra oases... ", *ASAE* 39, 1939, p. 640 sq.; *id.*, *Bahria Oasis* II, Le Caire, 1950, p. 50-52; *id.*, " Oase ", *LÄ* IV, col. 541; Osing, *Mélanges Mohktar* II, p. 185. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 42 identifies a " succession from south to north ", which is not necessarily the same.

8. Kuhlmann, *Das Ammoneion*, p. 88, n. 622. The oases of the ʿAreg group comprise Al-ʿAreg, Al-Bahrayn, Al-Nuwaymisa and Al-Sitra. This identification already in Dümichen, *Oasen*, p. 28 sq., 33. On the problems connected with the identification of the name *sḫ·t i*^{3}*mw* as a toponym in the pharaonic period, cf. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 48-50.

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of these groups as a unit, since as such their order would, whatever their individual composition, be in accordance with a progressive distance from Edfu. There is namely a case to be made for the first oasis in the list to be Dakhla rather than Kharga.

The position of the first oasis is described in relation to the nome of This, [9] with which both Kharga and Dakhla were connected by the same caravan-route. [10] Presumably, the oasis, because it is the first in the line, was provided with an anchoring-point along the Nile to clarify its location in relation to the rest of Egypt. The legends with the other oases contain no reference to the Nile Valley, but they have their position indicated in relation to the neighbouring oases.

According to the list, the third oasis, Farafra, is situated to the north-west of *Knm·t*, which led Winlock and after him Osing to assume that *Knm·t* refers specifically to Dakhla, reasoning that the traditional caravan-routes link Farafra only to Dakhla. [11] However, it is also possible to take *Knm·t* to refer to both Dakhla and Kharga together, as I will propose below, in which case the location of Farafra has also been aptly expressed. [12]

The toponym *Knm·t* [13] is regularly associated with the name *Ḏsḏs* in Ptolemaic temple inscriptions. *Ḏsḏs* is identified with Bahriya in the Edfu oases-text, [14] which specifies that the name is found in " the liturgical books " (*ḥb*). [15] Like *Ḏsḏs*, the name *Knm·t* seems to occur almost solely in a religious context. Moreover, *Knm·t* and *Ḏsḏs* appear almost to the exclusion of two other terms used for the oases, *Wḥ3·t mḥt·t* and *Wḥ3·t rsy·t*, the " northern oasis " and the " southern oasis ", which are likewise often named together but in more secular contexts. [16] The two sets of names may be profitably compared;

9. As was established by Osing, *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, p. 185 sq.

10. This route, the so-called " Girga-road ", ran from Abydos to Hibis in Kharga and from there on to Dakhla, cf. G. Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Égypte à l'époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d'après les documents grecs* = *BdE* 100, 1987, p. 143, hereafter Wagner, *Oasis d'Égypte*, M. Valloggia, " This sur la Route des Oasis ", *Bulletin du Centenaire* = Supplément au *BIFAO* 81, 1981, p. 187-190. It may have been chosen here instead of other routes because it is the shortest and " best " connection with the Nile Valley, Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 7, n. 66, although qualifications of such kind were perhaps not of much relevance to the users of the routes; cf. the remarks by Mills, *BiOr* XLVIII, 1991, col. 133.

11. Winlock, *Ed Dakhleh Oasis*, p. 58; Osing, *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, p. 185, 187.

12. As was already put forward by Brugsch as a possible alternative interpretation; *Reise nach der grossen Oase el-Khargeh...*, p. 69.

13. Osing has listed the spellings of *Knm·t* with its variants *Gnm·t, Qnm·t, Km·t* or *t3 (n) Knm·t, Mélanges Mokhtar* II, p. 179, n. 7-11.

14. For this identification in general cf. the discussion in Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 42-44 for the sources from the Pharaonic period. The inscriptions in the temples from the time of Apries and Amasis in Bahriya testify eloquently to the correctness of this identification; cf. A. Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis* I, Cairo, 1942, 154 (h). (j); 158 (f); II, Cairo, 1950, p. 3, 31.

15. For *ḥb*, " Festritual ", cf. S. Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten*, Wiesbaden, 1990, p. 310 sq., n. 1427 a.

16. Examples of both sets of names conveniently listed in Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 146-151, tables II-V; supplemented by Osing, *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, p. 180, n. 12. On their distinct usage cf. *ibid.*, n. 13. As a consequence of their mainly administrative use, the names *Wḥ3·t mḥt·t* and *Wḥ3·t rsy·t* would in the Ptolemaic period be replaced by their Greek counterparts. The use of religious as well as secular names is especially known of temples, cf. W. Helck, " Tempelbenennungen ", *LÄ* VI, col. 363-365.

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Wḥ3·t mḥt·t is known to refer to Bahriya, [17] while *Wḥ3·t rsy·t* is now likely to be identified with both Dakhla and Kharga together. [18]

The names *Knm·t* and *Ḏsḏs* appear to function as the religious counterparts of *Wḥ3·t rsy·t* and *Wḥ3·t mḥt·t*, which is indicated in Egyptian by the expression *mj nty r ḥb*. [19] To support this interpretation of the name *Knm·t*, we may adduce the following points.

The two oases Kharga and Dakhla formed an administrative unit already around 800 B.C., at the time of the larger Dakhla stela. [20] In the first century A.D., the two oases were commonly known together in Greek as " the oasis of the Thebaid " or simply " the oasis ", [21] and it is therefore to be expected to find an Egyptian equivalent toponym denoting the two oases together. There are no texts which link the name *Knm·t* explicitly to either Kharga or to both Kharga and Dakhla together, but the name is attested in the Dakhla oasis in the first century A.D., in the tomb of Kitines in Ezbet Bashendi. The toponym occurs in a title held by Kitines, which is unfortunately all but lost as a whole. [22] The name *Knm·t* in the title, rather than the administrative *Wḥ3·t rsy·t*, suggests that the title in question was presumably of a religious nature. [23]

Also in the field of religion, the oases of Dakhla and Kharga were closely associated. This is shown by their mutual exchange of deities. The god Seth presumably had his principal shrine at Mut in Dakhla (cf. below), but he is also found represented in the temple of Hibis in Kharga. In reverse, the god Amun of Hibis (Kharga) was depicted on the walls of the temples at Deir al-Haggar and Ein Birbiya in Dakhla.

In the temple inscriptions in the Nile valley, the oases of *Knm·t* and *Ḏsḏs* were proverbial for their wine, and were often listed together with other wine-producing regions. [24] The principal areas boasting a viniculture industry in the western desert were Bahriya,

17. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 40 sq.

18. Osing, *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, p. 181 sq.; already proposed by Spiegelberg, *RecTrav* 21, 1899, p. 18.

19. In the case of *Ḏsḏs*, the origin of the term may be secular, as is indicated by its occurrence in an administrative title in Dynasty XIII; cf. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 63 sq.

20. Where they are called " the two lands of the oasis " (*p3 t3 snnw n wḥ3·t*), A.H. Gardiner, " The Dakhleh Stela ", *JEA* 19, 1933, l. 3; but perhaps also *t3 wḥ3·t* alone; *ibid.*, p. 29; Osing, *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, p. 181, n. 20, 189. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 41 sq. considers the term a possible reference to Dakhla alone. Already in Dynasty XIX, the " southern oasis " was governed by a single official, as is shown by the shabtis of Neb-Mehyt; cf. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 81 sq. (17), n. 265, to which may be added that one of the limestone shabtis is now in the Manchester Museum.

21. Wagner, *Oasis d'Égypte*, p. 124-126.

22. Osing *et al.*, *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla : Aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Fakhry* = *ArchVer* 28, 1982, p. 68, n. 320, pl. 67, hereafter Fakhry, *Denkmäler Dachla*; Osing, *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, p. 182. From the reign of Augustus dates a second mention of *Knm·t*, in the temple of Ein Birbiya, the publication of which is being prepared by the Dakhleh Oasis Project.

23. There is some indication that the area of Kitines' activities included Kharga as well; there is a graffito in the temple of Hibis left by Kitines, a name which is unique in Egypt, Wagner, *Oasis d'Égypte*, p. 195; Osing finds reason to assume that Kitines met his death in Kharga and was embalmed there, Fakhry, *Denkmäler Dachla*, p. 66-69, l. 8-9.

24. E. g. É. Naville, *Bubastis* = EEF Memoir 8, London, 1891, pl. 51, G1; *E* V, 51,17-52,1; VIII, 55,2; *D* I, 135,1-2; III, 120,12-14; VII, 76,11; *Opet*, p. 203.

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Kharga and Dakhla, as is well known from various Egyptian administrative texts, [25] but also from material found in the oases themselves. [26] Since there are in the temples in this context no toponyms mentioned from the western desert other than *Knm·t* and *Ḏsḏs*, it may be assumed that *Knm·t* is used in this context refering to the " southern oasis " as a whole. A similar reasoning can be applied in the case of another characteristic of *Knm·t* and *Ḏsḏs* mentioned in the religious inscriptions, namely their veneration of the god Seth. Seth is known to be connected with Bahriya, [27] as well as with both Kharga and Dakhla, [28] which again leads to the conclusion that the toponym *Knm·t* groups both the southern oases together.

Although any explicit identification remains forthcoming, it may be considered likely that the toponyms *Knm·t* and *Wḥꜣ·t rsy·t* were synonymous and formed the Egyptian equivalents of the Greek " oasis of the Thebaid " indicating both Kharga and Dakhla together. This view has already been expressed by Fakhry. [29] Individual names for the two oases seem not to have been in wide use before the fourth century A.D. [30] The separate mentioning of the two in the Edfu list must be regarded as exceptional.

Within the remaining part of the legend with the first fecundity figure in Edfu, Osing has read the name of the principal god of the oasis as *Jmn-n-nḫt*. [31] He supposes that the oasis in question is Kharga, but the main deity of Kharga oasis was the god Amun

25. I single out here the P. Harris I (7,10), referring to the vineyards of the southern and northern oases: *kꜣm·w n jrp m Wḥꜣ·t rsy·t Wḥꜣ·t mḥt·t m mjt·t*. The Greek references to viniculture have been collected by Wagner, *Oasis d'Égypte*, p. 299 sq. Several texts refer specifically to the region *Sꜣ-wḥꜣ·t* in Dakhla as a wine-producing region, cf. the references to this toponym below.

26. For Dakhla, the tomb of Pady-Osiris in Muzzawaka, as well as the recently excavated murals in the temple of Ismant al-Kharab, provide iconographical support for the viniculture in this oasis in the Roman period. Archaeological evidence for earlier periods remains, however, scarce; cf. A.J. Mills, " The Dakhleh Oasis Project ", *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* II = *BdE* 97, 1985, p. 133, and *id.*, *BiOr* XLVIII, 1991, col. 134. For Bahriya, conclusive New Kingdom evidence is provided by the tomb of Amenhotep, cf. Ch.C. Van Siclen III, *Wall Scenes from the Tomb of Amenhotep (Huy) Governor of Bahria Oasis*, San Antonio, 1981, p. 8, pl. I.

27. As in P. Chester Beatty IX v° B9, 4, discussed in Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 83 sq.; P. Louvre 3129, C24 and P. BM 10252.25 in S. Schott, *Urk.* VI, 15, 19-20; P. Salt 825, 5.2 in Ph. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825* (*BM* 10051)... = *VAB* 58, 1965, I, 138; II, V. 2.

28. Osing, " Seth in Dachla und Charga ", *MDAIK* 41, 1985, p. 229-233, pl. 36-37.

29. Fakhry, " Charga Oase ", *LÄ* I, 1975, col. 907: " *Knm·t*... designates in all probability both Ch. and Dachla "; *id.*, " Dachla Oase ", *LÄ* I, 1975, col. 976.

30. In the papyrus documents from the fourth century found in Ismant al-Kharab (Dakhla), mention is made of the district called the " Mothite Nome ", which seems to be restricted to the oasis of Dakhla only; C.A. Hope, " Three Seasons of Excavation at Ismant el-Gharab in Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt ", *MeditArch* I, 1988, p. 168 sq.

31. Osing, *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, p. 187. I do not accept Kuhlmann's reading of this passage (*Das Ammoneion*, p. 91, n. 662), since it has a clear parallel in the text accompanying the third oasis (*Wsjr n nṯr jmy = f*). Moreover, the reading *jmy* for the sign disputed by him is well attested (e.g. *E* IV, 11, 8), in contrast to the *pars pro toto* he suggests in its stead. The sign Osing reads *Jmn*, Kuhlmann prefers to read *jw*, although I can see no parallels in Egyptian for the term " island " with reference to an oasis.

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of Hibis, who is never given the attribute *nḫt*, " the mighty one. " The newly discovered temple of Ein Birbiya in Dakhla has now solved this mystery, since its main deity carries the name Amun-nakht. [32] There is even an indication that Amun-nakht had been the main god of Dakhla in the time of Ptolemy IX, the time the Edfu oasis text was composed. The construction of the temple of Ein Birbiya can be dated back to the Ptolemaic period, on the basis of the decoration of its gateway which was undertaken in the early years of the reign of Augustus. After the Edfu passage was written and the temple at Ein Birbiya had been completed, Amun-nakht's supremacy must have waned, since no depictions of him occur in the temple of Deir al-Haggar in the same oasis which received its decoration in the second half of the first century A.D.

We conclude that Dakhla occupied the first position in the procession of the seven oases in Edfu. The name of Amun-nakht adequately excludes Kharga as a possibility, or even the " southern oasis " as a whole. The otherwise unfamiliar toponym *P-q*^{3} which is mentioned in the legend with the first figure, is thereby assigned to Dakhla. As for the meaning of this name, we tentatively suggest " the high ground(?) ". [33] The second fecundity figure is as a consequence to be assigned to the oasis of Kharga.

2. TOPONYMS IN THE EASTERN PART OF DAKHLA.

The texts on the above-mentioned temple of Ein Birbiya have provided a new toponym of the oasis from the Roman period. On the parts of the building which have so far been exposed, notably the gateway and part of the sanctuary, the site of Ein Birbiya is designated as *Jmr·t*. In addition, during the initial excavations by the Dakhleh Oasis Project in 1991 at the temple in Ismant al-Kharab, the first occurrence of the toponym outside of Ein Birbiya itself was attested (no. 6). In Ismant, as in Ein Birbiya, the name occurs solely in the titles of the two main gods of Ein Birbiya : Amun-nakht and Hathor, who are variously designated as " Lord of " (*nb*) or " residing in " (*ḥry-jb*) *Jmr·t*.

In total, no less than twelve variant spellings of *Jmr·t* have so far been recorded, only two of which (nos. 1 and 7) occur more than once. In fig. 1 the different spellings of the name have been collected. Of these, the nos. 5, 7 (four times) and 12 are found in the sanctuary of the temple at Ein Birbiya, the remainder have been copied from the

32. Kuhlmann, *Das Ammoneion*, p. 92, n. 665 does express his knowledge of this new deity, but he prefers to read the Edfu passage differently. On the excavation of the temple of Ein Birbiya, cf. initial reports by A.J. Mills from *JSSEA* XIII, 1983 onwards. Osing's reading *Jmn-n-nḫt* is doubtless to be corrected in *Jmn-nḫt*, the unusual spelling may possibly be explained by the occasional spelling of the name of Amun in Dakhla as , which is found several times in the inscriptions at Deir al-Haggar, cf. Winlock, *Ed Dakhleh Oasis*, pl. 25; M.P. Cesaretti, " Sir John Gardner Wilkinson a Deir el-Hagar ", *DiscEg* 14, 1989, p. 28.

33. The common term *q*^{3}*y·t* (Coptic ⲕⲟⲓⲉ) for raised agricultural land (*Wb* V, 6; W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 532) is not of the right gender. Perhaps the word is *q*^{3}*y*, " hill " (*Wb* V, 5); cf. Osing, *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, p. 186, n. 37.

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gateway of the building, except for no. 6, which is from Ismant al-Kharab. Since all the relevant inscriptions have been uncovered only recently, they remain as yet unpublished.



Fig. 1. — Different spellings of the name *Jmr·t* (Ein Birbiya).

The toponym may be broken up into two parts. The initial *j-* is unclear; it possibly represents a relic of an older *j3·t*, as some of the spellings suggest. The interpretation of the second part seems more certain; it presents spellings of the word *mrw* or *mr·t*, " desert ". [34] The original meaning of the toponym might thus be: " the mound of the desert ". This interpretation of the name ranges it among two other topographical terms associated with the oases of the western desert, which describe them rather surprisingly as hills or heights; these are *ḏw*, basically meaning " mountain ", but which also plays a role in the geography of the oases, [35] as well as *P-q3* " the high ground (?) ", which was discussed above.

The name *Jmr·t* brings to mind similar toponyms in Egypt which contain the word *mrw* / *mr·t*, " desert ", such as *Pr-mrw* the modern Komir near Esna, and Sepermeru in the Oxyrhynchite (19th) nome. Aufrère has concluded that the word *mrw* in these toponyms points to a sandy stretch of desert which is situated close to a cultivated area. [36]

34. *Wb* II, 109, 5-8.

35. The specific association of the term *ḏw* with the oases is not discussed in S. Aufrère, *L'Univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne* I, *BdE* 105, 1991, except in the *Addenda et Corrigenda ad* p. 18, where the translation " escarpment " is suggested. In my " How the god Amun-nakht came to Dakhleh oasis ", *JSSEA* XVII/4, 1987, p. 153, two more attestations of the term from the " southern oasis " are mentioned, both found in temple inscriptions. The translation " escarpment " is here problematic, because the " southern oasis " is itself clearly not a mountainous region. Herodotus, Book IV, 181-185, however, may provide a solution when he describes the oases as hills of salt with springs in their midst. It is possible that this was an imagery current in the oases themselves, and reflected in their toponymy, the hills being the often enormous " spring-mounds " found regularly in the oases. Kuhlmann, *Das Ammoneion*, p. 92, n. 664, prefers to suppose a relation with the concept of the primaeval hill (*j3·t*).

36. Aufrère, *op. cit.*, p. 16-19, who also cites *Jmr·t* as an example (n. 249: A. Smith should read A.J. Mills), as well as a locality *P3-mr·t* in Bahriya in his *Addenda et Corrigenda ad* p. 16 sq.

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From the material available at present, it is not possible to define the geographical extent of *Jmr·t*, whether it denoted merely the ancient town at Ein Birbiya or the entire region of present-day Balat. In the latter case, we would perhaps be justified in identifying the " sandy stretch of desert " (*mrw* / *mr·t*) with the sandy corridor separating the eastern end of Dakhla from the main part of the oasis (for which cf. n. 64 below).

Situated nearby in the same part of the oasis, the site of ʿAin Aseel has now been identified with the toponym *wꜣb·n-mn-m-wḥꜣ·t* on the basis of a New Kingdom inscription. [37]

3. TOPONYMS IN THE WESTERN PART OF DAKHLA.

Before the Graeco-Roman period there are a few occurrences of a toponym *Sꜣ-wḥꜣ·t*, indicating a site in Dakhla. The name consists of the word for " oasis ", *wḥꜣ·t*, preceded by the element *sꜣ* the meaning of which is unclear. [38]

The oldest reference to the place was found at Amarna contained in a wine-docket which mentions the " vineyard (*kꜣm·w*) of *Sꜣ-wḥꜣ·t* ". The next known occurrence is in P. Turin 2074 found at Deir al-Medîna, dating from the 20th Dynasty, which contains on its verso a list of persons four of whom are said to come from *Sꜣ-wḥꜣ·t*. The identification of the name with a place in the " southern oasis " is likely, since also nine people are listed from the town of Hibis in Kharga Oasis. [39] The third and last occurrence of the name before the Graeco-Roman period originates from Dakhla itself. It is inscribed on the larger of two stelae found near the town of Mut, which are now in the Ashmolean Museum. [40] The text on this stela describes a conflict which erupted during an official survey of the area of *Sꜣ-wḥꜣ·t*, [41] and which was solved two weeks later by an oracle of the god Seth. The stela had probably been erected in the temple of Seth following the happy result of the oracle. The toponym indicates an area rather than a town, because a " town of *Sꜣ-wḥꜣ·t* " is mentioned as well (*dmj Sꜣ-wḥꜣ·t*, l. 3). In this area a number of deep wells (*ḫnm·t*, arabic : *bir*) and flowing artesian springs (*wbn*, arabic : *ʿayn*) were surveyed, and a part of this land is referred to as " the west of *Sꜣ-wḥꜣ·t* " (*jmnt·t Sꜣ-wḥꜣ·t*,

37. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 171 sq.; the city and its cemetery Kila al-Dabba have been under excavation by the IFAO since 1977.

38. On the part *Sꜣ* in toponyms, cf. *ibid.*, p. 130, n. 6.

39. Cf. the remarks by Osing on this papyrus based upon the transcription in Černý's Notebooks; *MDAIK* 41, 1985, p. 229, n. 6. According to Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 129, following Černý's remarks in *Studi Rosellini* II, p. 129, only four people are said to come from Hibis.

40. The *editio princeps* of this stela (Ashmolean Museum no. 1894.107a) by Spiegelberg, *RecTrav* 21, 1899, p. 12-21; Gardiner republished the text in " The Dakhleh Stela ", *JEA* 19, 1933, p. 19-30. Its date was suggested as Shoshonk III or IV by D.B. Redford, " The Oases in Egyptian History to Classical Times ", *JSSEA* VII/4, 1977, p. 7 and again by H. Jacquet-Gordon, " Deux Graffiti de l'époque Libyenne... ". *Hommages Sauneron* I = *BdE* 81, 1979, p. 180-182.

41. A survey which is not unlike that recorded in the fourth century A.D. in the area around the town of Hibis, P.J. Parsons, " The wells of Hibis ", *JEA* 57, 1971, p. 165-180; Wagner, *Oasis d'Égypte*, p. 157-165.

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l. 12). The stela moreover speaks of " vineyards " (*k3m·w*, l. 11) in this area, confirming the information already gained from the wine-docket from Amarna.

Following the erection of the larger Dakhla stela, the toponym, in accordance with the general lack of written documents in Egyptian from the oasis in the ensuing period, is only encountered again in the first century A.D. It then appears that there has been a change in the pronunciation of the toponym *S3-wḥ3·t*. Judging from the Roman orthography, the toponym was now known as *S·t-w3ḥ*.

The sources are more abundant in this period, although most of the spellings listed in fig. 2 are taken from the texts on the temple of Deir al-Haggar, where it designates the area of the temple itself in the western end of the oasis. [42] For the present study, all texts from the Roman period have been collated with the original inscriptions. Among the remaining sources is a private stela (no. 13) found close to the same temple and which is now in the Cairo Museum. [43] Another (no. 16) is found on a re-used block in the town of Al-Qasr al-Dakhil, one of a small group of remaining blocks from a decorated temple of Thoth from the Roman period. The toponym is also found in the tomb of Petubastis at Muzzawaka in the same part of the oasis (no. 18). There are no occurrences of the name from outside Dakhla at this time.

It appears that the ancient spelling *S3-wḥ3·t* had lost its validity in the intervening eight centuries since the last known mention of the toponym. However, we may assume that the name still denoted the same region as before; changes in the pronunciation and spelling of a toponym occur also in other cases, as may be observed in the case of the above-mentioned Sepermeru, which could be spelled as Sepatmeru in later times. [44] Still, the changing orthography of the Dakhla toponym has led to confusion in recent egyptological literature on the subject, where it may be found broken up into three different identities, spelled *S3-wḥ3·t*, *S·t-wḥ'* and *S·t-w3ḥ(·t)*. [45]

42. The reliefs of this temple have only been published in part, by L. Bull in: Winlock, *Ed Dakhleh oasis*, p. 65-67; pl. 17-25.

43. This is stela JE 51943, published by G. Lefebvre, " Petits Monuments du Musée du Caire ", *ASAE* 28, 1928, p. 29-34, dated to the reign of Vespasian. The reading of the toponym has been corrected and collated from the original monument, which will form the subject of a separate study in preparation by the author.

44. F. Gomaà, " Sepermeru ", *LÄ* V, col. 863-864, n. 1.

45. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 128 on *S3-wḥ3·t* as the ancient name of the town of Mut; Osing, " Zum Namen des Temples von Deir el-Hagar ", *GM* 30, 1978, p. 57-59, supplemented in *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, p. 179, n. 5 on *S·t-wḥ'* as the ancient name of the temple of Deir al-Haggar; *id.*, in: Fakhry, *Denkmäler Dachla*, p. 40 and 80 sq. on *S·t-w3ḥ(·t)* as the ancient name of the town of Al-Qasr. In the history of its transliteration, there have always been two differents interpretations. One associated the name with the word for " oasis ", first proposed by Dümichen (*Oasen*, p. 26), followed by Spiegelberg (" Eine Urkunde über die Eröffnung eines Steinbruchs... ", *ZÄS* 51, 1913, p. 71) and Gauthier (*DG* V, p. 72), neither of whom made any connection with the earlier version of the toponym. The other opinion read the word for " moon " (*j'ḥ*) instead, e.g. Lepsius (" Hierogl. Inschr. in den Oasen... ", *ZÄS* 12, 1874, p. 79 sq.), Brugsch (*Dictionnaire géographique...*, p. 11, 1075), Winlock (*Ed Dakhleh Oasis*, p. 29) and Guksch (" Deir el-Hagar ", *LÄ* I, col. 1028).

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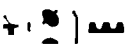
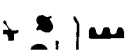
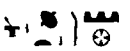
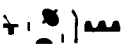
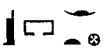
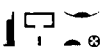
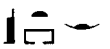
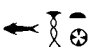
DATE	SPELLING	NR. OF OCCURR.	EDITION
1. Akhenaten..		1	Hieratic jar-label from Amarna; Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III/2, pl. 86, 51
2. Ramesses IX		1	P. Turin 2074, v° (Deir al-Medîna); Černý, *Studi Rosellini* II, p. 29
3. Shoshonk III		4	Larger Dakhla stela; Gardiner, *JEA* 19, 1933, p. 19-33, l. 3, 5, 9, 12
4. *Id.*		1	*Ibid.*, l. 10
5. Nero.		2	Temple of Deir al-Haggar; Winlock, *Ed Dakhleh Oasis*, pl. 22 (collated), no. 22 (rest not published)
6. *Id.*		1	*Ibid.*, no. 26
7. *Id.*		1	*Ibid.*, no. 28
8. *Id.*		1	Sanctuary of Deir al-Haggar (not publ.)
9. *Id.*		1	*Ibid.*
10. Vespasian..		14	Winlock, *Ed. Dakhleh Oasis*, pl. 22 (coll.) nos. 1, 5, 9, 13; Osing, *GM* 30, 1978, p. 57 (rest not publ.)
11. *Id.*..		2	*Ibid.*, n. 7, 12
12. *Id.*..		1	Sanctuary of Deir al-Haggar (not publ.)
13. *Id.*..		1	Stela JE 51943; Lefebvre, *ASAE* XXVIII, 1928, p. 29-34 (coll.)
14. Titus		1	Temple of Deir al-Haggar, pronaos, west wall; Osing, *GM* 30, 1978, p. 57 (coll.)
15. Domitian ..		1	Temple of Deir al-Haggar, doorway to sanctuary; Winlock, *Ed Dakhleh Oasis*, pl. 24 (coll.)
16. Ist cent. ..		1	Re-used block in Al-Qasr; Fakhry, *Denkmäler Dachla*, p. 40, pl. 9 (49)
17. Ist cent. ..		1	Re-used block in Deir al-Molouk; Mills, *JSSEA* XI, 1981, p. 185, pl. XII *a*
18. IInd cent. .		1	Tomb of Petubastis in Muzzawaka; Fakhry, *Denkmäler Dachla*, p. 80, pl. 70

Fig. 2. — Occurrences and spelling of the name *S³-wḥ³·t/S·t-w³ḥ*.

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The phonetic transformation over time of *S3-wḥ3·t* into *S·t-w3ḥ* reflects a process which it is possible to follow. The ancient word for " oasis ", *wḥ3·t* is spelled *whj* in demotic [46] and it will be pronounced *waḥe* in Sahidic Coptic, the word from which the arabic *waḥ(a)* is derived. [47] The Roman spelling of *w3ḥ* in *S.t-w3ḥ* reflects a stage in this development, already corresponding closely to the Coptic pronunciation of the word. [48] The hieroglyphs  and  which are used in its spelling were in this period both pronounced *w3ḥ*, [49] which accounts for their appearance in the Roman orthography. With the change in vocalization, however, the original meaning of the toponym had been lost to the Roman scribes. The word for " oasis " now has its own, distinct appearance. [50]

The toponym was now written with a large number of different spellings in what seems to us a rather arbitrary fashion, for which the case of *Jmr·t* mentioned above provides a remarkable parallel in the oasis. The initial part of the name, the ancient *S3*, was still occasionally written as such (in fig. 2, nos. 6, 12, 17) with its appropriate sign, but it had been almost entirely superceded by the new interpretation *s·t* written with the throne-hieroglyph, or else with the fish-hieroglyph (nos. 13 and 15).

In the sanctuary of the temple of Deir al-Haggar, an inscription along the west and south walls contains a mythological explanation of the new meaning which had grown to be attached to the toponym. Apparently, *S·t-w3ḥ* was now translated as " the place of resting " which was explained in the following way :



" ... Amon-Re the lord of the thrones of the two lands, the great god, the lord [51] of *S·t-w3ḥ*. It is Horus, after he crossed all the countries in search of the divine limbs of his father [Osiris ? [52]], he rested [53] in this place, and " the place of resting " (*S·t-w3ḥ*) came into being ".

46. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 98. The usual spelling of this word in Ptolemaic hieroglyphs with the sign  has led to the attribution of the value *whj* to this sign, cf. A.M. Blackman and H.W. Fairman, " The significance of the ceremony *ḥwt bḥsw*... ", *JEA* 36, 1950, p. 66, n. 17.

47. An overview of the history of the word for " oasis " in Egyptian is given by Giddy, " A note on the word  ", *Bulletin du Centenaire* = Supplément au *BIFAO* 81, 1981, p. 19-28; its later development on p. 20 sq., n. 6.

48. K. Sethe, " Der Name Sesostris ", *ZÄS* 41, 1904, p. 48, deduced this etymology *w3ḥ* to be the form underlying the Coptic word.

49. Cf. A. Volten, " Der Ursprung des demotischen Plusquamperfektums ", *ZÄS* 74, 1938, esp. p. 144.

50. Cf. the examples in Osing, *MDAIK* 41, 1985, p. 230 sq.

51. The text has been discussed by Osing, *GM* 30, 1978, p. 57-59. He reads here *ḥry-jb*, but the reading *nb* is well attested for this group in Deir al-Haggar, cf. *id.*, *MDAIK* 41, 1985, p. 231 (c).

52. It seems to me more likely that the father of Horus should be named in the lacuna, rather than the word *jw*, as was reconstructed by Osing, *GM* 30, 1978, p. 57 sq. There are not sufficient traces on the wall to support either reconstruction. The reference is to the search of Horus for the body of Osiris; cf. Kaper, *JSSEA* XVII/4, 1987, p. 154, n. 23-24.

53. Cf. Volten, *ZÄS* 74, 1938, p. 142-146 on this verb in demotic.

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Many of the spellings collected in fig. 2 affirm that this meaning of the name was now generally accepted. [54]

It remains to establish the location of the area with the name *S·t-wꜣḥ*. For the oldest periods, the only occurrence from inside the oasis itself is the larger Dakhla stela. The current opinion on the name *Sꜣ-wḥꜣ·t* mentioned therein, is that it refers to the town of Mut. [55] However, the town of Mut was known in Greek as *Mothis* already around 155 B.C., [56] and this toponym is likely to reflect some Egyptian original other than *Sꜣ-wḥꜣ·t*. [57] Moreover, in the Dakhla stela the word is used merely as a reference to a region containing wells and vineyards as well as the " town of *Sꜣ-wḥꜣ·t* ". This area might very well have been in another part of the oasis different from where the stela was found, as was already suggested by Winlock; [58] the only reason for erecting the stela in Mut was the presence there of the oracle of Seth, the Lord of the Oasis, one of the priests of whom was involved in the dispute described in the stela. Even if the original location of the stela in Mut would be questioned, there is no compulsory association of the findspot with the region of *Sꜣ-wḥꜣ·t*.

From the Roman period we possess more evidence on the location of *S·t-wꜣḥ*. Firstly, the name occurs as the location of the temple of Deir al-Haggar. The name is also found in the tomb of a priest of Thoth, the Lord of *S·t-wꜣḥ*, in Muzzawaka, which leads to the supposition that Muzzawaka functioned as one of the cemeteries of *S·t-wꜣḥ*. The third site where the toponym is mentioned is Al-Qasr, but we do not know for certain where the re-used blocks in this town originated. It is possible that they stem from Al-Qasr itself, because the history of the town can be traced back to the Roman period, and even further. [59] However, it is perhaps more plausible that the blocks were brought to Al-Qasr from elsewhere at the time of the construction of the houses, in the Ottoman period. The ruins of ancient Al-Qasr itself were at the time probably buried beneath the town, while the desired building material would have been easily obtainable from the deserted Roman ruins of Amheida, which lie only a few kilometres to the south.

Amheida is one of the largest Roman towns in the oasis, [60] where the remains of a stone temple have indeed been attested. The blocks which are visible in the walls of the

54. It is an intriguing question what the Greek rendering of the name would have been. Wagner, *Oasis d'Égypte*, p. 193, reconstructs *siouasis*, but on basis of the interpretation given here, the name will rather have sounded like *sioua* (*sic*) or *siouô*. The final *-ḥ* of the name was weak; cf. Volten, *ZÄS* 74, 1938, p. 142 sq., n. 7.

55. E.g. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 128; Osing, *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, p. 179; and *id.*, *MDAIK* 41, 1985, p. 232 (a), (b).

56. Wagner, *Oasis d'Égypte*, p. 189, n. 7.

57. Proposed etymology *mwt* in Winlock, *Ed Dakhleh Oasis*, p. 38, n. 41. Another suggestion is made below.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 40, n. 45.

59. A.J. Mills, " The Dakhleh Oasis Project: Report on the second season of survey, Sept-Dec., 1979 ", *JSSEA* X, 1980, p. 277.

60. For Amheida (site no. 33/390-L9-1), cf. *ibid.*, p. 271 sq. Its cemetery was located at the southern edge of the town (site no. 33/390-K9-4), cf. *ibid.*, p. 269-271. On its importance in the later Roman Period, Wagner, *Oasis d'Égypte*, p. 190-192. Archaeologically, no traces have come to light of the " town of *Sꜣ-wḥꜣ·t* " mentioned in the larger Dakhla stela; perhaps its remains have disappeared beneath the later Roman occupation at Amheida; cf. Mills, *op. cit.*,

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houses in Al-Qasr preserve only a fraction of the original temple, if indeed they have a common origin, because the blocks show decoration in at least three different styles of cutting. [61] Among the blocks are two intact stone decorated doorjambs which were built into a house in the seventeeth century A.D. [62] These doorjambs show the interior hieroglyphic inscriptions of an ancient temple-doorway, which have been re-used in the facade of an outer gate. It is interesting that the jambs were re-used integrally, doubtless out of practical considerations but certainly also for decorative purposes. [63]

It is clear that the region of *S·t-wꜣḥ* housed two major stone temples; one dedicated to Amun in Deir al-Haggar and one to Thoth which possibly stood in Amheida. On the map in fig. 3, the relevant sites have been indicated. The toponym *S·t-wꜣḥ* may cover all of the area in the western end of Dakhla, possibly only its north-western section. How far the region of *S·t-wꜣḥ* extended south and eastward is impossible to tell. The importance of the region, as indicated by the New Kingdom sources from outside the oasis suggests a possible extension of the area as far as Mut, or perhaps even as far as the natural division of the Dakhla oasis between Balat and Ismant which must have existed already in antiquity. [64] In this connection the attestation of *S·t-wꜣḥ* in fig. 2, no. 17 is of some interest, since it was found not far from Ismant, at the site called Deir al-Molouk. [65]

p. 254 about the scarcity of New Kingdom and Late Period remains in this part of the oasis.

61. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 260.

62. Photographs of this doorway (of the recently restored house no. 16, of Abu Nafri), appeared *ibid.*, pl. 12; the upper half in Chr. Décobert and D. Gril, *Linteaux à épigraphes de l'oasis de Dakhla* = *AnnIsl-Suppl.* 1, 1981, p. 10, pl. 5. The jamb-inscriptions were partly given by Fakhry, " The search for texts in the western desert ", *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique* = *BdE* 64, 1972, II, p. 219; and one of the inscriptions again in: *id.*, *Denkmäler Dachla*, p. 40.

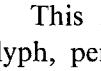
63. The remarks *loc. cit.*, and Mills, *JSSEA* X, 1980, p. 260, assuming that the jambs must still be standing *in situ* are only based on the circumstance that ancient decorated blocks have nowhere else ever been found re-used integrally. However, it must seem most improbable that two isolated doorjambs of an ancient temple would have remained standing in the centre of Al-Qasr into the seventeenth century A.D., when the house of Abu Nafri was supposedly built around them.

64. Cf. Mills, " The Dakhleh Oasis Project: report on the fifth season of survey, Oct. 1982-Jan., 1983 ", *JSSEA* XIII/3, 1983, p. 122, who remarks that this dividing stretch of desert has always been an uninhabited area within the oasis.

65. The block was anciently re-used in restoration works at the church of Deir al-Molouk; Mills, " The Dakhleh Oasis Project: Report on the third season of survey, Sept-Dec., 1980 ", *JSSEA* XI, 1981, p. 185, pl. XII a. When Wilkinson visited Ismant in the early XIXth century, he noticed in the town a stray Hathor capital with possibly the same origin, cf. J.G. Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes...*, London, 1843, II, p. 364. Possibly these stones originate from Ismant el-Kharab, on the temples of which cf. C.A. Hope, " The 1991 excavations at Ismant el-Kharab in the Dakhleh Oasis ", *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 2, 1991, p. 43-50.

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4. THE ANCIENT NAME FOR MUT?

In the town of Al-Qasr, on one of the above-mentioned doorjambs which stem from the ancient temple of Thoth in *S·t-wꜣḥ*, the inscription reads: " Thoth, the Lord of Life, who dwells in *Mt*... (etc.) ". The parallel doorjamb has: " Thoth, the twice-great, « who is in » Hermopolis... (etc.) ". This last form of the god Thoth, the twice-great, is known already from three other locations in the vicinity: the temple of Deir al-Haggar, on a re-used block elsewhere in Al-Qasr and from a tomb at Muzzawaka. He is identified there as the god Thoth of *S·t-wꜣḥ*.[66] We may assume, therefore, that the temple from which the jambs originate was dedicated primarily to this form of the god. The parallel doorjamb provides the name of another form of the god, with the title " Lord of Life ", which may be an associated deity belonging to another temple in Dakhla or even elsewhere.[67] The name of the town where this form of Thoth was venerated is given as  *Mt*.[68] Until more definite examples have come to light, we may suggest that this name reflects the ancient name of the town of Mut, the origin of the Greek *Mothis*,[69] as was recently also proposed by H. Jacquet-Gordon in an article on a statue of uncertain date, said to originate from Mut.[70] The inscription on this statue contains a precious additional reference to the cult of Seth in the oasis, and it adds yet another toponym of Dakhla to our corpus. This is the name  *ʿnḫ·t*, written with two small signs following the *ʿnḫ*-hieroglyph, perhaps both of which are *t*. Unfortunately, the uncertain origin of the piece prevents an attribution of this toponym to a known locality in Dakhla. All we know is that the place presumably had a temple dedicated

66. In Deir al-Haggar in the sanctuary; Winlock, *Ed Dakhleh Oasis*, p. 73, pl. 20 (left); on the stela mentioned in fig. 2, no. 13; in Al-Qasr on the re-used block *ibid.*, no. 16; and in Muzzawaka in the tomb of Petubastis, *ibid.*, no. 17.

67. Likewise, in the temple of Deir al-Haggar figure representations of the temple's main deities Amun of *S·t-wꜣḥ* and Amun of Karnak, but also of Amun of Hibis and Min of Akhmîm.

68. In Fakhry, *Textes et langages* II, p. 219, and Osing in: *id.*, *Denkmäler Dachla*, p. 40, the hieroglyphs suggest yet another toponym *ʿnḫ*, which is in fact known from Dakhla (cf. below). However, I believe this word has been misread. The supposed city-sign is markedly different from other occurrences of this sign in the inscription, and should rather be read as , the phonetic complement with the *ʿnḫ*-sign. The vertical stroke may replace . The title " Lord of Life " is rare, but not unattested for Thoth; e.g. *E* I, 401, 1; G. Roeder, *Naos*, Leipzig, 1914, p. 33, § 170 b; J.D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor*, London, 1976, text 23, v° 15. The toponym of the inscription is given by Fakhry and by Osing as *mp(t)*, but a re-investigation on the spot has indicated that the supposed *p* is a recent addition, perhaps modelled from an ancient stroke-hieroglyph, but carved without skill by clearly a different hand.

69. On the archaeological remains of Mut (site 31/405-G10-1), which attest to its extensive history of occupation, cf. Mills, *JSSEA* XI, 1981, p. 187 sq.

70. H. Jacquet-Gordon, " A Statue from Dakhla Oasis ", *MDAIK* 47, 1991, p. 173-178, pl. 15, reads the *p* in the toponym, but transcribes the name as *P-mt*, " because of the obvious similarity between the phoneme *mt* and the Greek Môthis ".

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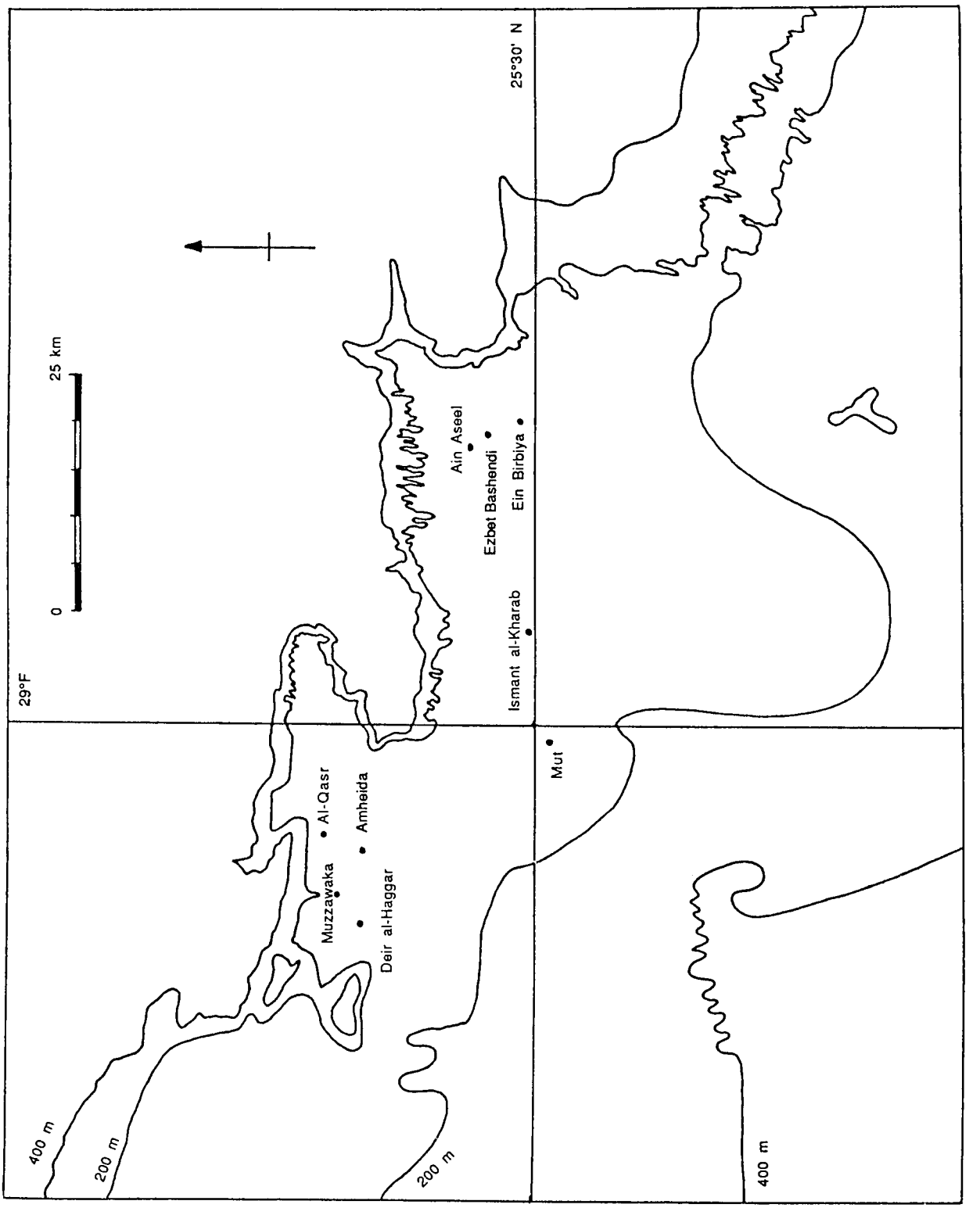


Fig. 3. Dakhla Oasis.

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to Seth, whose cult flourished throughout the oasis into the Roman period.[71] As Jacquet-Gordon concluded, the place called *ʿnḫ·t* is perhaps to be found not far from Mut, where the statue appeared on the market.

5. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.

In the preceding paragraphs the following toponyms have been discussed:

1. *Knm·t* and *Wḥ3·t rsy·t* as the Egyptian equivalents of the Greek "oasis of the Thebaid", indicating both Kharga and Dakhla together. Each of the names appears in a restricted context, respectively religious and administrative.
2. *Ḏsḏs* and *Wḥ3·t mḥt·t*, both already known to indicate the oasis of Bahriya, also divided into a religious and a secular toponym.
3. *P-q3* as a name for Dakhla according to the list of the seven oases in Edfu.
4. *Jmr·t* as the name for the site of the newly discovered temple of Ein Birbiya in the eastern end of Dakhla.
5. *S3-wḥ3·t* and the later *S·t-w3ḥ* both referring to the same area in the western end of the oasis, including the sites of Deir al-Haggar, Muzzawaka and possibly also Amheida.
6. *Mt* as an unidentified toponym, but a likely candidate for the name of ancient Mut.
7. *ʿnḫ·t* as an unidentified toponym, possibly in the central area of the oasis.

71. H. Jacquet-Gordon, "A Statut from Dakhla Oasis", *MDAIK* 47, 1991, p. 176-178, attempts to reconcile the inscriptions upon the doorjambs in Al-Qasr with this toponym, but even if in these inscriptions the reading of *ʿnḫ* as a toponym is accepted, the resulting contradiction of both Thoth and Seth being called "the Lord of *ʿnḫ*" is not to be dimissed that easily. There is no evidence that Seth was ever supplanted by Thoth in the oasis, as was the case in the Nile valley; cf. Osing, *MDAIK* 41, 1985. Recently, an additional figure of Seth was found in the temple at Ismant al-Kharab, visible upon the photograph in: Hope, *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 2, 1991, pl. 11 (centre).

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