The Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab from 2000 to 2002

Colin A. Hope

with contributions by Olaf E. Kaper and Helen Whitehouse, and an appendix by Olaf E. Kaper

At The Third International Dakhleh Oasis Project Conference I presented a discussion of the results of the excavations at Ismant el-Kharab, ancient Kellis of the Mothite Nome, during the 2000 season. Subsequently, two further excavation seasons have been conducted and I take the opportunity here to incorporate the results of those two seasons into this report, thus completing the preliminary reporting on the excavations at the site. Preliminary reports on all three seasons have been published elsewhere (Hope 2000, 2001a; Hope et al. 2002), and the current report represents an amalgam of and an elaboration upon those discussions, with a more extensive range of illustrative material.

The three seasons of excavations described here were conducted between 9 January and 17 February 2000; 21 January and 10 February 2001; and 19 January and 28 January 2002. In each season work was undertaken in different parts of the site, however, the discussion that follows will present the data according to excavation area, sub-grouped according to season; all of these excavation areas are indicated on Figure 1. An exception to this is the reporting of the work in the Small East Church, which is described elsewhere by Gillian Bowen (Bowen this volume a). In addition to the excavation, significant progress was made in recording the backlog of ceramics, glass, textiles and other artefacts, throughout these seasons; this aspect of the work is not discussed here. Whilst much of the work formed a continuation of that which had been commenced in earlier seasons, such as within the Temple of Tutu and its associated structures, the residential complex immediately to its north-west, the East Church Complex and Area C, new work was commenced in the cemeteries located adjacent to the site.

Excavations within the Settlement

I Within the Temenos of the Temple of Tutu

Excavations within the Inner Temenos of the temple (Figure 2) were conducted in its north-western corner where a complex of magazines associated with a well are located, within the three rooms of Shrine I, two rooms of Shrine IV and in the south-eastern corner of the temple forecourt. Some clearance of surface sand from the eastern end of the forecourt also took place, though floor deposits were not reached.

I.1 North-Western Corner of the Inner Temenos: Area D/1

Previous excavation conducted within the north-western corner of the Inner Temenos, Area D/1 Zones XVIII–XX (Hope and Bowen 1997, 54–6; Hope 2002, 182–6), revealed the existence of three possible architectural phases of development:

1. an original barrel-vaulted, mud-brick room that appeared to have occupied most of the excavated area,
2. this room was then cut into for the building of a rectangular stone structure that may have been a well; its revealed dimensions were 5.65 x 3.50 m east-west by north-south and it abutted the walls of the earlier room, and finally,
3. the construction of storage chambers over the stone structure, surrounding an oval mud-brick well, which abutted the western and northern sections of the temenos wall. These chambers are below the floor of the rear court of the temple and access was provided by two stairways; some flimsy brick structures were erected at floor level. Red clay dredged out from the earlier well was found below the floors of the lower chambers.

1 The contributions to this report by Kaper and Whitehouse comprise the description of the excavations in Room 2 of Shrine I in 2002, for which see also Hope et al. 2002, while the descriptions of the decorative scheme of Room 1 of that shrine are based upon information provided by Kaper.
Figure 1  Plan of Ismant el-Kharab showing main excavation areas (original drawing by J. E. Knudstad)
supplemented by J. Dobrowolski and B. Rowney and compiled by B. Parr). Scale 1:4000.
Figure 2 Plan of the Main Temple Complex and associated structures (original drawing by J. E. Knudstad supplemented by J. Dobrowolski and B. Rowney).
Figure 3  Pottery vessels from the fill of Room 1 in Area D/1, Zone XX: a–b, roof collapse; c, various locations in fill; d–i, low fill near floor (drawings by B. Parr and C. Marchini). Scale 1:5; object registration numbers provided.
Figure 4 Pottery vessels set in the floor of Room 1 in Area D/1, Zone XX: a large decorated jar of south-east group; b lid of a; c bowl found in b (drawings by C. Marchini). Scale 1:5; object registration numbers provided.
Figure 5  Pottery vessels set into floor of Room 1, Area D/1, Zone XX: a–b jar and lid, north-eastern group; c lid from north-western group; d shape of lid from south-western group; e lid of group west of the bench; f–j jars found below Tutu Stela, east of pottery vessels (drawings by B. Parr). Scale 1:4; object registration numbers provided.
Plate 1  North-west corner of Inner Temenos showing pottery vessels in the floor of Room 1 of Area D/1, Zone XX; looking north.

Plate 2  Remains of mud-brick wall built atop stone wall revealed beneath floor of Room 1 of Area D/1, Zone XX, and rectangular bin in which pottery vessels were set; looking south.
Mud seals with impressions of Nemesis (Hope 2002, 187, plate 9), found at the entrance to one of the lower rooms, showed that these rooms were contemporary with the use of the temple in the celebration of the cult of Tutu, currently believed to have lasted until the second quarter of the fourth century CE, whilst pottery from the rooms could be ascribed to the late third or early fourth century (Dunsmore 2002, 129–31). As the depth of the oval well had not been determined and parts of the lower chambers awaited examination, and the sequence outlined above needed further confirmation, it was decided to excavate in this area. In the 2000 season it was not possible to determine the depth of the well and work focused upon the excavation of the remaining lower chamber. It may be noted that the mud-brick oval structure was identified as a well rather than some other feature, such as a grain silo, because of its depth and the apparent inaccessibility of the lower part, and the emplacement for a cross beam in its upper wall. Further, the reason for locating a silo within the Inner Temenos of the Main Temple might be questioned, whereas a facility for the provision of water for ablutions and offerings in such a location is understandable. That water was accessible in this part of the site is shown by the discovery of the edge of a probable well in Area D/8 immediately to the north (Hope 2002, 202, Plate 22). If the identification of the oval mud-brick structure as a well is correct then it is assumed that its lowest courses will be of stone.

The lower chamber that was explored, numbered 1, is located within the north-western corner of the area; it measures 2.18 m east-west by 1.05 m north-south. Its roof had fallen into the chamber and pottery vessels that were once on the roof had been tipped into the chamber; others were found on the floor level (Figure 3). All of these appear to be of fourth-century date. In addition, there was a quantity of sherds from formed, but unfired, vessels and also a piece of a glass ingot. The floor of the eastern end of the room, and against the western temenos wall; its mouth had originally been closed with a bowl (Plate 1, Figure 5e). Four other large jars were also set into the floor of the western end of the room, and again their mouths had been closed with bowls (Plate 1, Figure 5a-e). Two of these jars are of the same decorated type as that found at the western end of the bench, and the most elaborate one is illustrated here (Figure 4a); another example was found in the fill of the room (Figure 3c). The other two are undecorated and of similar shape (Figure 5b). The lower parts of these jars were located within a pit, the walls of which were formed by the northern and western temenos walls, a narrow wall on the south, 46 cm long formed from bricks laid on their edges, and an eastern wall 61 cm from the western temenos wall (Plate 2). This pit had a plastered floor at 71 cm below the floor of the room; together with its pots and the vessel at the western end of the bench, it was put in place before the bench.

This installation may be ascribed to the late third to fourth century on the basis of the morphology and decoration of the ceramic vessels, the use of the area in general while the temple functioned for the veneration of Tutu and the architecture of the installation itself (see below). The large decorated jars are especially diagnostic. They are made in a low-fired fabric containing numerous limestone inclusions that is very porous; the decoration is on a cream surface and executed in red paint before firing. Such vessels are a regular feature of the ceramic assemblage across the site, and on present evidence, principally context and association with coins and dated texts, appear to be restricted to the late third to fourth century. Whilst the format of the decoration on such jars is similar, no two have the same decorative scheme (Dunsmore 2002, 137–9).

Unfortunately, there is no evidence for the function of the installation. All of the buried jars were empty on discovery; the fabric of the jars, as noted above, is porous and thus, presumably, they were not used for the storage of liquids for any length of time. There are no deposits on the interiors that might indicate original contents. It does seem, however, that we are dealing with some storage and distribution facility that is contemporary with the final phase of use of this part of the temple. It is of interest to note that large decorated jars of the type found buried in...
Plate 3  Room 1 of Area D/1, Zone XX, after removal of floor, showing mud-brick wall atop stone wall (foreground), and south wall of Room 1 (left) with part of roofing of the area to its south still in place; looking west.

Plate 4  Two parts of the Tutu stela set into the floor at the eastern end of Room 1, Area D/1, Zone XX; looking south.
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The floor of Room 1 have been found elsewhere on the site also set into floors, and it is apparent that the decoration does not relate to this function and, therefore, that we are encountering a secondary usage of these vessels. Whilst this is not the place to undertake a detailed analysis of the decorative motifs on such vessels, it is worth noting that in addition to linear and abstract motifs, what may be identified as palm fronds (Figure 3c; Dunsmore 2002, Figures 7b, 7d) and items of cult paraphernalia (Figure 4a) do feature. This may imply that certain vessels were produced originally for ritual use.8

The floor of Room 1 and those to its east were removed. Under the compacted earth of the floor of Room 1 and the gypsum on compacted earth of the floors of the others, earlier features were immediately encountered. These show that the suggested phase 1 vaulted structure mentioned above was contemporary with the stone structure defined as phase 2, which served as a foundation or support for it (Plate 3). Thus the stone structure may not, as originally postulated, have been a well. Further, it would seem that the walls of this vaulted room probably abut both the western and northern temenos walls. The east wall of the pit with the pottery jars is a part of this early structure. When the storage chambers were constructed the early vaulted room was cut through so that some of their walls could be set on the underlying stone structure. It was then necessary to refill the areas between the vault and the temenos walls to form a secure base for the floors of the new rooms. This was done with clay dredged from the sinking of the oval well. When this was done not only were the pit and bench constructed, but two other jars (Figures 5f–g) were completely buried in the north-eastern corner of Room 1, and their mouths sealed with the two halves of a small limestone stela depicting Tutu (Plate 4). Over the stela was placed a mud brick and then the floor was laid. Like all of the vessels from within the floor of Room 1, these two contained no indication of their original contents.

The stela (Plate 5; Registration Number 31/420-D6-1/D1/294), despite being broken, is in very good condition; it measures 31.0 x 22.0 x 3.7 cm. Tutu is shown in the form of a sphinx facing right with a lion’s head attached at the rear of its human head. He wears a nemes-headcloth and a crown was once attached separately by a dowel into the upper edge of the piece. A crocodile’s head emerges from his chest, his tail ends with a rearing cobra wearing the white crown and he is accompanied by a serpent. The lappets of the nemes are painted and there are two cross-bands painted on the body; the eyes of the cobra, serpent, crocodile, lion and Tutu were all originally inlaid, as was the body of the cobra. The inlays that survive are of blue, red and white glass. Tentatively, the piece is ascribed to

7 The same motif occurs on other contemporary ceramic forms (Dunsmore 2002, Figures 1a–b, 6k).

8 On the ritual usage of the palm rib in various religious ceremonies and as a symbol of fertility see Kaper 1997, 167–80, and Venit 2002, 155–6, Figures 132–3, 135. In addition to this, the occurrence of depictions of palm fronds within a funerary context in Dakhleh on coffins (for example Figure 24) and tomb walls should be noted. It occurs also on a variety of ceramic vessels and objects from the Old Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.
the first or second century CE; it is uncertain whether it had outlived its original function and was being used simply as a lid, or whether it may have been buried as a votive object despite, or because of, its broken state. It was certainly buried while the cult of Tutu still functioned within the temple.\textsuperscript{9}

\textbf{I.2 Shrine 1, Area D/2: the Mammisi}

\textbf{I.2.1 Room 1}

In 2000 the excavation and study of Shrine I concentrated upon the lifting of the remaining roofing blocks from the central part of the eastern half of the Room 1 and the clearance to floor level of the north-eastern quarter.\textsuperscript{10} Only the lifting of the lower blocks in the south-eastern quarter remains to complete the clearance of the inner room of this important structure. The most significant additions to our knowledge of the decoration of the room will be reviewed.

Centrally located within the northern wall of the shrine is a door communicating with the West Court of the Main Temple (Figure 2). Most of the decoration of its jambs has now been recovered, though the lower parts are blackened from the pouring of oil during ritual practice and from exposure to burning. They were decorated with scenes of divinities who receive offerings: on one side are three goddesses including Tapshay, and on the other are three gods including Amon-Ra and Amon-nakht. The lintel carried a large depiction of a bird (unidentified) with outstretched wings and the reveals were inscribed with hymns to Tutu and Neith. Upon the cornice was a painting of a scarab with four wings and the cartouches of Tutu and Neith on the right and Tutu and Tapshay on the left.

Amongst the procession of the gods of Lower Egyptian nomes that adorned the northern upper register upon the vault in this part of the room, Sobek-Ra and Horus have been identified receiving offerings from Amon and Hathor. In the register below, which contains a long row of gods worshiping Tutu, the following have been recognized: Horus of the East, Amon of Balamun and the desert god Ha. Little of the original decoration of the eastern wall survives. There was a sm.t\textsubscript{3}-t\textsubscript{3w} scene above the doorway flanked by 12 deities probably representing the hours of the day. Seth and Nephthys of Dakhleh were depicted in the upper register.

The excavations also revealed the classical decoration upon the eastern part of the northern wall and the northern part of the eastern wall, and sections of the decorated vault from the eastern part of the room (Plate 6). Above the dado representing masonry blocks, the walls are painted with panels with central squares, topped by birds, that

\textsuperscript{9} The piece is discussed by Kaper elsewhere in this volume.

\textsuperscript{10} The previous work in this section of the shrine is described in Hope and Bowen 1997, 56–8; Kaper 2002 presents an overview and interpretation of the decorative scheme prior to the work described here.
Plate 7  South-eastern corner of Room 1 of the mammisi, Area D/2, showing money boxes as found; looking east.

Plate 8  Detail of money boxes (D/2/43 and 42), see Plate 7; looking south-east.
Figure 6  a and b The two wooden money boxes from the south-eastern corner of Room 1 of the mammisi, Area D/2 (drawings by B. Parr); c Decorated wooden cover from a codex from Context 3 in Room 3 of the mammisi, Area D/2 (drawing by C. Marchini). Scale 1:5; object registration numbers provided.
contain female heads and are alternately coloured red and orange, and are separated and topped by vines. The same design is encountered around the walls of the room. The execution of these squares may well have proceeded from west to east as there is only half of a square adjacent to the northern jamb of the eastern door into the room, and the next panel on the eastern wall extends onto the northern wall, all indicating a rather casual approach to the layout of the classical decorative scheme. The vault decoration recalls that of mosaics:  

... fragments of painted vault plaster ... confirmed that the design of the eastern half of the ceiling was a complex geometric one based on squares and 8-point stars, a pattern more commonly found in mosaic floors. This fits with the rest of the vault scheme, which uses mosaic-type patterns to create a simulated coffered ceiling centred on a portrait tondo within an imbricated shield supported by kneeling figures within a square frame. The scheme has parallels in the ‘zodiac ceilings’ of Egyptian temples and tombs of the Roman period, and also Roman temples elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean; of closer significance, the portrait-in-a-shield can be paralleled in Alexandrian mosaics, including new examples retrieved in the current French and Polish excavations (Whitehouse in Hope et al. 2002, 104).

From the deposits excavated this season it is possible to confirm the sequence of collapse and reuse of the room. The eastern half of the vault fell first, together with the cornice and jams of the northern door. Following this the room was used as a stable for donkeys and graffiti were drawn upon the walls of the western half; animal manure overlies the fallen sections of the northern door. It is probable that the damage to the pharaonic figures in the decoration of the western half of the room was done at this stage, sometime within the mid- to late-fourth century.

During the 2001 season the final sections of collapse and fill within the south-eastern corner were removed, the decorated plaster and artefacts collected and the wall paintings recorded. This enabled us to undertake excavation below the floor of the shrine to the basal clay upon which the site is built, bringing to an end the study of this part of the monument.

Amongst the collapse within the south-eastern corner sections of decoration belonging to the southern and eastern walls were retrieved. This enabled the completion of the restoration in separate sections, but eventually in full on paper, of the eastern end of the uppermost register on the southern wall that depicts a procession of the nome-gods of Upper Egypt. Figures of Antaios (Antaiopolis), Wepwawet (Assiut), Neferhotep (Diospolis Parva), Hathor (Dendera), Amon-Re (Thebes) and Nekhbet (el-Kab) were recovered. No trace was found of the initial gods of this procession nor of the gods worshipping them. The names and crowns of the gods in the register below this procession are also lacking due to the very fragile nature of the plaster from this section of the wall.

Fragments from the decoration of the eastern wall of the room, and those sections surviving upon the wall, show that the principal scene represented Tutu as a striding sphinx upon the sm3t3wy symbol with Nile gods on either side uniting the two heraldic plants that form this depiction of the unification of the two lands of Egypt. These figures are each followed by six goddesses who represent the 12 hours of the night. The inner face of the centrally-located doorway in the eastern wall appears to have been decorated entirely with pharaonic scenes, though only fragments survive. Upon the lower part of the southern jamb (Plate 7) is preserved the only figure of a king within the entire room; unfortunately, he is not named! The king extends his hand, reciting the offering formula for Tutu; above him is a short inscription containing the offering formula. Above this only the yellow legs of a god remain. The cornice is decorated on the south with the cartouches of Tutu and Neith topped by their respective crowns, while the door lintel carried figures of a variety of deities, including a winged serpent, Heh and Tutu as a striding sphinx with a crocodile’s head projecting from his chest.

Underlying the wall collapse, the stable deposit found across the majority of the room was encountered here also. Within this material, lying upon a broken section of the earth floor in the south-eastern corner of the room, were two, almost intact, wooden money boxes (Plates 7–8 and Figure 6a–b). They are both square, 20.2 ± 0.2 cm and 21.5 cm, in the form of shrines with cavetto cornices, standing 23.2 cm and 25.5 cm high upon four short feet. Set into their tops are metal-framed slots through which coins could be inserted into the box. Sliding wooden panels adjacent to these would have enabled the boxes to be emptied with ease, while lead seals prevented them from being opened at will. The seal upon one box was broken before discovery but that upon the other remained intact; unfortunately both boxes contained only sand. A single bronze coin of Constantine the Great was found on the floor against the southern wall. The only other find of significance in this part of the room was seven fragments of gilded plaster sculpture; similar fragments were also found at floor level against the western wall of the room many seasons ago.

A cut to basal clay was then made through the earth floor adjacent to the eastern wall of the room; it was one metre wide and extended from the southern wall 2.43 m to the north, terminating at a mid-point through the eastern

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11 This is illustrated in Hope 2002, Plate 12.
12 This is a regular feature of the god’s iconography and occurs on the image on the western wall of the room, see O. E. Kaper, ‘The God Tutu (Tithoes) and his Temple in the Dakhleh Oasis’, Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology 2 (1991), Figure 4.
13 For a discussion and illustration of similar plaster sculptures from elsewhere in the temple see Hope 1998, 821–5.
doorway. An area of the earth floor immediately west of the door, 80 x 87 cm in area, formed a slight mound with three approximately circular depressions in it, and was harder than the surrounding floor material. The mound appears to have been exposed to oil, possibly from the pouring of libations; the jambs of the eastern door also have traces of such material. Amongst the artefacts lying upon the floor in this part of the room was a fragment from the upper edge of a sandstone altar upon which such offerings may have been made. Removal of the oily material revealed the earth floor that extends across the entire section of the room up to the walls and door sill; patches of gypsum occurred intermittently, either indicating that the floor had once been coated with this material or that some spillage had occurred when the walls and vault were coated with gypsum plaster. The wall plaster terminated at the upper surface of this flooring.

Beneath the earth floor the upper surface of what resembled a mud-brick wall emerged on the north (Plate 9, upper left). It extends from the northern edge of the trench to a point 15 cm from the southern edge of the southern doorjamb; the remainder of the trench was filled with mud-brick rubble. Removal of the rubble fill showed that the wall was only three courses, 25 cm, high and sits upon hard red clay. This basal clay has been cut into to form a pit, the northern edge of which was cut vertically, with which the southern face of the brick wall was aligned.

As the brick rubble was removed, it was found to extend under the northern section of the eastern wall and also under the southern wall, which terminate one course below floor level. The southern 65 cm of the eastern wall, however, continues down (Plate 9, upper right). It extends a further five and a half courses, 47 cm, lower than the northern section and stands upon what may be the south-eastern edge of the same pit, which the three-course northern walls is set upon. A distinct crack was noted extending vertically from the northern edge of this lower section of the eastern wall, indicating that the upper section is probably part of the same construction phase. The brick fill, with some variations in compactness and composition, continued down a further 36 cm below the base of the southern section of the eastern wall, at which point the base of the pit was revealed (Plate 9). Only the northern edge of this pit, standing 58 cm high, and the south-eastern edge, 36 cm high above the floor of the pit, were revealed. Close examination of the north-eastern corner of the cut showed that some brick rubble occurs below the southern door jamb but east of the three-course brick wall, indicating that it might terminate there rather than extending under the jamb and doorway.

This excavation has shown that the southern part of the eastern wall of Room 1 is part of a structure that predates the mammisi, and the southern walls of the latter abut this earlier wall.\(^4\) In places, traces of a pale-green-painted

\(^{14}\) The architectural study of this room by J. Dobrowalski has shown that the walls of the mammisi were inserted into a pre-existing structure, see Dobrowalski 2002,125–6.
plaster are visible on the eastern face of this wall within Room 2, most of which now carries a panel decoration upon a red ground that is painted upon plaster overlying the original green-painted plaster. A similar situation pertains upon that part of the eastern wall north of the doorway: its eastern face has panel decoration upon a red ground, but within the reveal of the doorway original green-painted plaster is covered by outer plaster, in this case added to form the northern, inner jamb of the door. This would imply that the northern part of the eastern wall is contemporary with the earlier section on the south. The northern part of the eastern wall abuts the southern wall of the court west of the Main Temple, which in turn aligns with the southern edge of the inner door of the West Gateway through the two temenos walls surrounding the temple. This southern wall of the court, may, therefore, also be a part of the earlier structure, as would be the western wall of the shrine as this is part of the inner, earlier, temenos wall.

Decorated plaster with a pale-green basal colour has been found at various other places within the Inner Temenos (Figure 2): on remains of the original temple façade south of the main axial doorway (1A), on the screen walls of the Portico, on the inner face of the southern wall of the Inner Temenos west of the South Gateway, on the northern and eastern walls of Room 1 of Shrine III, upon the inner face of the northern wall of Temenos 1 concealed behind the eastern wall of Room 6 of Shrine II, upon the southern wall due west of Shrine II, upon the exterior of the northern wall of Shrine IV and in Room 2 of Shrine I. Thus, the original structure located on the site of the mammisi is part of a decorative/structural phase of the entire complex. It cannot be dated with precision, but is early in the overall evolution of the Inner Temenos complex, and may be ascribed to the late first to mid-second centuries CE. The mammisi was formed by extending the southern section of the eastern wall, and building its northern and southern walls directly against the walls of an existing room. The three-course mud-brick wall found below the floor of the mammisi may be a part of the earlier structure but further excavation is necessary to clarify its function.

I.2.2 Room 2

In 2001 a two-metre section adjacent to the doorway into Room 1 was selected for investigation to determine whether Room 2, like its neighbour, was decorated and to locate its southern wall, which was not visible at surface level. A deposit of wind-blown sand 0.9–1.2 m deep overlay

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15 For a discussion of the West Court and West Gateway see Hope 2002, 178–82; further comments can be found in Dobrowolski 2002, 121–6.

16 For a discussion of the criteria available for dating the various phases of the evolution of the Main Temple (written in 1996/7) see Hope 2001b, 44–51.
mud-brick collapse, the majority from walls. Only one section of vaulting bricks was found, due south of the southern door jamb, and this preserved painted plaster with a motif known from the eastern and western extremities of the ceiling of Room 1 (see above). This may indicate that Room 2 originally possessed a decorated vaulted ceiling also with classical motifs. A few fragments of plaster decorated in pharaonic style were found that apparently derive from the upper part of the door jambs. Available time precluded the removal of the brick deposit, so that only the upper sections of the walls were revealed. This was sufficient to show that the western walls are decorated with a classical panel motif upon a red ground; at the centres of the panels are squares from the corners of which extend stylised floral sprays. The decoration is preserved most clearly on the south.

The southern wall of Room 2 was located at a distance of 2.0 m from the southern door jamb; the northern wall is 1.8 m from the northern door jamb. This makes the room just over a metre wider than Room 1, being 6.13 m in width. Its northern wall aligns with the original northern wall of Room 1, whilst its southern wall aligns with neither of the southern walls of Room 1. At the western end of the southern wall an original doorway 87.5 cm wide has been bricked up; its reveals preserve a green-painted plaster enabling this feature to be identified as part of the earlier decorative phase within the Inner Temenos mentioned above. A doorway of similar size, 0.88 m in width, also bricked in, is located in the northern wall 1.35 m east of the western wall; this originally communicated with the area south of the Main Temple.

The aims of the 2002 excavations in the antechamber of the mammisi, Room 2, were twofold: to determine the nature of the painted plaster decoration of the outer room and the method of covering of this room, which measures more than 6 m in width. Two trenches were excavated, one at each end of the room.

The western end of Room 2 was first excavated, after the area cleared during the 2001 season had been exposed again. In the previous season, only the upper layer of wind-blown sand had been removed and the upper layer of mud-brick collapse revealed. This season, the trench was laid out against the length of the western wall with a width of two metres along its northern half and one metre along the southern half. This area was fully excavated to floor level in its northern half, as was a smaller section along the southern end of the western wall (Plate 10).

The rubble collapse consisted of standard-size mud bricks; no vaulting bricks were found or other kinds of roofing material. It was concluded from this that the room had been open to the sky in the manner of a court, contra to the implication of the discovery of vaulting bricks in this area during the previous season. The rubble collapse contained a few dressed-sandstone blocks, which must have been introduced during the dismantling of the Main Temple. Two fragments of the same block were found in different parts of this collapse. Also among the collapse in the south-western corner of the room were various fragments of a plaster bust of a goddess, similar to earlier
Plate 12  Images of four of the Seven Demons associated with Tutu within a pedestal upon which a figure of that god stands, from above the door in the west wall of Room 2 of the mammisi, Area D/2.

Plate 13  Figures in classical dress from the west wall of Room 2 of the mammisi, Area D/2.
finds around the Main Temple (see footnote 13). This sculpture had originally been gilded. In the same context another fragmentary plaster sculpture was found, preserving a pair of legs in classical style with an enveloping garment. Numerous fragments of plaster wall decoration were among the collapse. Beneath the collapse, at approximately 1.75 m depth, several layers of earth floors could be distinguished, the uppermost of which contained much stable material. Within this, a group of Greek papyrus documents was found along with two miniature wooden codices, one of four leaves and one of three leaves with their string binding in situ, and one single wooden board, all inscribed in Greek (Plate 11; see below). These were found together against the northern part of the western wall.

Classical decoration remains upon the walls (see below). Amongst the bricks from the collapsed walls, large segments of decoration could be retrieved, which had originally been present above the main wall zone. North of the doorway upon the western wall, the classical decoration was surmounted by a painting of a series of personages, above which was a painting of a horse, probably with a horseman, but not much of this element has survived. To the left of the doorway were figures of Egyptian gods in pharaonic style, but the excavations have not exposed all of the relevant fragments from this side of the wall.

The doorway itself, the entrance into the *mammisi*, was again decorated with the same classical panels and the decoration continued above with pharaonic imagery. Several scenes of gods in pharaonic style may be reconstructed here, covering the upper jambs and lintel. The cavetto cornice above the door was painted with a winged solar disc. Above the cornice was a painting of the principal god of the temple, Tutu, in the form of a sphinx set upon a pedestal facing right. Inside the pedestal were images of the seven demons who were associated with the god (Plate 12). To the left of this central image was a large human figure dressed in military boots, who seems to represent a deity, but not many fragments could be retrieved from this figure. To the right of Tutu was the aforementioned horseman.

A trench at the eastern end of Room 2 with a width of two metres was commenced across the entrance into the shrine. Time constraints did not allow this to be completed, but the results confirmed the conclusions drawn from the work at the western end of the room, as the depth of deposit at this end of the room is much less, *circa* 90 cm. There is again no roofing material to be found among the collapse, which consists of mud bricks from the walls only. The painted plaster here is much more weathered; the decoration upon the walls and doorways has lost nearly all of its painted detail, and only small fragments of floral decoration could be retrieved from amongst the fill. The floor level was only reached inside the northernmost part of the triple doorway, and no finds were recorded.

Initial clearance at the western end of Room 2 revealed a classical-style panel scheme on a red ground, partly observed last season and fully recorded this year. This overlies an earlier layer of painted plaster on the eastern and southern walls and is related to structural modifications observable in the mud-brick walls. The decoration is comparable to the panel-design on the *mammisi* walls (Room 1), but this season’s work showed that it was topped by an acanthus scroll which also relates it to a scroll and panel design, on a green ground, painted all round the inner surface of the Inner Temenos of the temple (Hope 2002, 192–3, 199). The similarity suggests a uniform redecoration of the temple, perhaps related to one of the major renovations of the late first to second centuries CE attested in inscriptions.

As clearance progressed downwards, substantial amounts of painted plaster from a higher part of the wall were retrieved from the fill: many of these fragments required on-site conservation before they could be lifted. Luckily, it was possible to consolidate and move large pieces of the painted decoration in this way, which will help us to understand and piece together the rest that is very fragmentary and also visually very complex. The upper part of the western wall seems to have been painted at a later date than the panel scheme below with possibly two registers of figures centring on Tutu, above a winged-disk cornice over the doorway into the *mammisi*. The flanking figures include both pharaonic-style deities and others painted in Roman style: Isis-like goddesses, a hero-god in military dress and a horse-rider. These paintings are crude in execution, but vivid and colourful, and they are unique in content, not only within the range of motifs so far discovered in this temple, but also in the corpus of Graeco-Roman temple décors in Egypt. Most surprisingly they also include the full-length portrayal of a man and woman (Plate 13), evidently private citizens of Kellis, depicted in the manner of contemporary funerary portraiture (compare Whitehouse 1998) but apparently here associated with deities as donors to the temple, or commemorated dead. Parallels for some of the other elements in this décor can be drawn from wall paintings excavated at Karanis and Theadelphia in the Fayum, and the rare panel-paintings of individual deities (Whitehouse 1999), tentatively dated second–third century. But the ensemble here, and the mélange of pharaonic and Roman motifs painted by the same hand, are unparalleled.

A more limited clearance at the eastern end of Room 2 confirmed that the red-ground scheme with additional white details had been used in the decoration of the entrance system and walls here, too, and presumably extended throughout the interior of the room. In parts this decor clearly overlay an earlier green scheme; small fragments of other coloured painting retrieved at the eastern end await further examination and assessment. Concerning the cache of inscribed wooden boards found at the western end of Room 2, Klaas Worp writes:

On the basis of photographs supplied to me I have been able to make the following identifications:

Object 31/420-D6-1/D/2/44: a single wooden board inscribed with eight lines of Greek text. Each line
Figure 7. Plan of Shrine IV, Area D/5, and adjacent sections of the East Gateways, Area D/9, Room Gate South 1 and the south-eastern corner of the Forecourt, Area D/1F (drawing by J Dobrowolski and B. Rowney). Scale 1:150.

Plate 14. Large Stela, registration number D/1F/5, as found against exterior wall of Gate South 1 at the eastern end of Area D/1F; looking east.
contains, in theory, a Greek verb in the first person singular active, but the forms in lines 3 and 7 do not correspond with any known verb.

Object 31/420-D6-1/D/2/45: three faces of the two wooden boards contain calculations made by a schoolboy supposed to calculate a series of fractions of a given number.

Object 31/420-D6-1/D/2/46: five faces of three of the wooden boards preserve 12 lines presenting part of a parody of Homer’s Iliad. While the genre itself is not unknown (Olson and Sens 1999), the new text is apparently not found elsewhere.

1.2.3 Room 3

When the Outer Temenos was constructed around the inner one (Figure 2), and the stone section of the West Gateway was added, a narrow room, 1 m by wide, was created at the rear of Room 1, extending the full width of the latter. The excavation of this unusual feature was commenced during the 2000 season and completed in 2001, when a trench two metres reducing to one metre wide was opened to basal clay level.

In the 2000 season the room was cleared of its fill, comprising first wind-blown sand and then sand with brick rubble, straw, branches and much palm frond, to the earth floor. A maximum preserved height of 2.82 m at the southwestern corner was recorded for the room; it is considerably less on the north. The room was originally roofed with a vault. Within the fill were several ceramic vessels and the outer cover from a wooden codex decorated with three cruciform motifs comprising four circles attached to short lines (Figure 6c).

The cut to basal clay enabled the building and depositional sequences to be determined. The basal clay slopes considerably from west to east, and north to south, and is lower here than under the eastern part of Room 1. Over it are deposits of earth containing charcoal and predominantly small potsherds, below a narrow lens of sand with stones, and then a deposit of compact earth fill containing some mud-brick fragments and pieces of sandstone. They occupy a depth of 68 cm on the west within the southern section of the trench to 1.16 m on the east. The western wall of Shrine I, which is part of the Inner Temenos wall, was built atop the compact earth deposit apparently without any foundation trench, and the surface of this deposit formed the contemporary ground level outside the temple complex. Over this, and against the wall, straw, sand, miscellaneous flora and some ash gradually accumulated. The exterior face of the shrine wall was mud-plastered and contained several features. The main one is a semicircular niche, 63 cm wide, 39.5 cm deep and preserved to 97 cm in height, located approximately 2.4 m above ground level\(^{17}\) and situated south of the centre of the wall. There may also have been a square niche, 50 cm wide, at a similar height above ground and 1.98m north of the larger one. Between the two, a vertical groove 36 cm wide implies the existence of another, presently unidentifiable, feature. These elements may indicate cultic activity at the rear of Room 1; when revealed they were found to have been either bricked in or plastered over.

The stone section of the West Gateway was then constructed\(^{18}\) with a mud-brick wall facing to its southern exterior. This wall, which forms the northern wall of Room 3, was set into the straw and sand deposits, again without any real foundation trench. Its southern face preserves patches of mud plaster, which may indicate that at some stage it was a visible external face of the complex. The western, and probably also southern, wall was then constructed in a much sturdier manner than the earlier walls: a foundation trench was cut through the straw and sand deposit, and the compact earth to the sand and stone lens, and the wall was constructed within this trench. A deposit of earth was then laid and a new earth floor created at 92.5 cm above the original ground level. Two sets of foot-holes cut into the eastern and western walls at their northern end indicate that access to this narrow chamber was required, though if the entire room was roofed then how access was gained to these is uncertain. No evidence was forthcoming on the actual function of this room.

1.3 Shrine IV, Area D/5, adjacent Area D/1F and Gate South 1, Area D/GS1

Shrine IV (D/5) is located in the south-eastern corner of the Inner Temenos of the Temple of Tutu (Figure 2) and comprises three mud-brick rooms, two abutting the eastern temenos wall that are of equal size (Rooms 2–3) and a third, much larger room (Room 1), to the west of these (Figure 7). Work conducted within the structure during previous seasons showed that Room 1 is decorated with a classical design on its southern wall comprising octagons with bowls of fruit on an aubergine-coloured base. Further, Room 3 preserves three layers of plaster with dipinti of Tutu, Seth, Bes and a vulture deity upon the lowest, and an elaborate classical design with birds, flowers and octagons on the uppermost (Hope 2002, 198–9; Kaper 2002; Whitehouse 2002). Three doorways provide access into the shrine on the west and its northern wall is integral with the eastern end of the southern colonnade that frames the approach to the temple itself. To permit the depth of preservation to be ascertained and the structure of the decorative design in Room 1 to be determined, a section of the western end of the southern wall was exposed in 2000 and work was also undertaken in Room 2 and an

\(^{17}\) Whilst this may appear extremely high above ground level, a similarly-located niche was found in the north wall of Room 1 of Shrine III (Hope 2002, 193).

\(^{18}\) See Dobrowolski 2002 for further details.
Plate 15 Stela of Septimius Severus worshipping Neith and Tutu, registration number D/1F/5, from Area D/1F.

Plate 16 Room Gate South I and the eastern end of the entrance system into Shrine IV, Area D/5, from Forecourt, Area D/1F; looking east.
Plate 17  Door closing the crypt in Room Gate South 1; looking south.

Plate 18  The crypt in Room Gate South 1 and two ceramic jars buried in the floor.
area within the Forecourt immediately to the north of Shrine IV. Unfortunately, the decoration upon the southern wall of Room 1 is not well preserved and it is in a fragile condition so that work had to be stopped. Some removal of surface sand from around the doorways on the west revealed that yellow geometric designs upon an aubergine-coloured background adorn the entrance system and the corners of the room.

Clearance of upper collapse in Room 2 showed that there are several layers of plaster on its northern and eastern walls, but there is no evidence for the elaborate classical design found in the Room 3. The southern and western walls of the room each contain niches and only have one layer of white plaster. The original layout of this part of the Inner Temenos was quite different from that which now exists and Shrine IV once consisted of a single very large room. It was only after it had been subdivided that the elaborate decoration of Room 3 was added.

Immediately north of Room 1 an area of the Forecourt of the temple was excavated; it is designated D/1F. Wind-blown sand overlay considerable collapse from the shrine’s northern wall. Three doorways were found to provide access into Room 1 of Shrine IV through this wall. All of these were once fitted with pivoted wooden doors that opened into the shrine, and from which there is a single step down into the Forecourt of the temple. The doorways are set between short sections of screen walls and were topped by cavetto cornices supported upon wooden lintels. Half columns, fashioned in mud brick, are attached to the walls on either side of the central doorway and on the east of the eastern doorway, while to the west of the western doorway the walls are attached to a full column. The shafts of the columns and the screen walls are now white-plastered but were once plastered and painted green; the capitals were papyriform and painted in typical pharaonic fashion to represent the open umbel and calyx of this plant. The details of the latter are painted alternately red and yellow on the capitals of outer columns, but red and pale green on the capitals of the inner columns. Large sections of shaft and pieces from the capitals were found fallen to the north. Here were also numerous fragments from plaster sculptures, all apparently representing the goddesses Isis, which appear to have been attached to the screen walls (compare Hope 1998, 821–5). A fragment of a limestone sandalled-foot from a statue possibly of this goddess was found here also, similar to others found within the East Gateways and at the western end of the Forecourt (Hope 1998, 814–5). Thus the architecture and decoration of the exterior of the northern wall of Shrine IV is traditionally pharaonic in contrast to the decoration within. Amongst the collapse in this area the shaft and attached papyriform capital from a small column were found made from mud plaster around a palm-rib frame, the pieces of which are tied together with rope. Details of the capital are painted to resemble the open calyx of the papyrus. Fragments of such small columns have been found during previous seasons as have small, elaborately-modelled plaster capitals, raising the possibility that there was once a second colonnade atop the larger one.

Between Room 2 of Shrine IV and the innermost of the East Gateways through the Inner Temenos (Figure 7) there is a single small room, termed Gate South 1 (D/GS1). This was also excavated in 2000. Within the brick collapse abutting the exterior of its western wall an intact sandstone stela was found (registration number 31/420-D6-1/D/1F/5, Plates 14 and 15; Kaper this volume a). It measures 80.0 x 59.0 x 8.6 cm and carries representations of a king making offering to seated figures of Neith and Tutu below the sign for heaven, while in the lunette there is a winged sun’s disc with two dependent uraei. The figures are carved in relief and painted; at some stage areas of the background have been carelessly painted red. The figure of Neith has been altered in antiquity and is covered with a stain that has resulted from the pouring of oil libations. Two short columns of hieroglyphic text are written in front of the gods and a double cartouche in front of the king enables him to be identified Septimius Severus (193–211). To the south of this stela an inverted pedestal was found which might once have supported a statue. The original location of both of these items is uncertain, but it may be suggested that they were positioned along the processional route through the Forecourt.

Gate South 1 (Plate 16) was filled with collapse from its roof and the walls of a probable second level room. Approximately in the centre of the room, a well-preserved wooden trap door was found abutting four wooden beams on its north (Plate 17). The door and beams covered a rectangular pit 82–88 x 88–91 cm in size, which is contained by brick walls extending to the edges of the room. At a depth of 65.5–67.5 cm the pit becomes circular with a diameter of 91 cm; at a total depth of 1.3–1.5 m there is a smoothed mud floor 98 cm in diameter (Plate 18). This structure may have functioned as a crypt for the storage of temple possessions; when excavated it contained the remains of several late-third to fourth-century ceramic vessels, including pieces from a large decorated jar of the type buried at the rear of the temple in the area of the well (see above). From the sand fill came three fourth-century bronze coins and a further two were found on the floor, one of which dates to the reign of Constantine I. Numerous pieces of green crystalline stone were found in its fill and on its floor, which have been identified as beryl (low-grade emerald).19 This is not native to Dakhleh and may have come from the mines in the Eastern Desert between Myos Hormos and Berenice (Shaw et al. 1999). Set into the floor of the room against its western wall were two large ceramic vessels, originally covered with ceramic lids (Plate 18); each was found to be filled only with earth.

To determine whether the construction of Gate South 1 and the south colonnade/northern wall of Shrine IV were

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19 I am grateful to Maxine Kleindienst for this identification.
Plate 19 South-eastern corner of the Main Temple Forecourt, Area D/1F, with entrances into Room Gate South 1 and Room 1 of Shrine IV, Area D/5; looking south-east.

Plate 20 Excavation to basal clay in the south-eastern corner of the Main Temple Forecourt, Area D/1F, showing foundation wall for the south colonnade and its intersection with the wall of Gate South 1; looking south.
Plate 21 Sub-floor walls in Room 3 of the Large East Church, Area A/7; looking west.

Plate 22 Earlier wall used as the foundation for the northern wall of the southern rooms of the Large East Church, Area A/7; looking south-east.
contemporary, a trench 2.0 m wide was excavated adjacent to the exterior of the western wall of Gate South 1. This extended on the north to the edge of the southern jamb of the Inner Gate of the East Gateways and on the south to the colonnade (Plate 19). This showed that the step into the eastern door of Shrine IV was actually the upper part of a foundation wall to support the colonnade; this extends to the west under all of the columns. Underlying a series of floor deposits and construction surfaces was hard red clay of the Mut Formation. This had been dug into for a foundation trench into which the stone gate was set and filled with yellow sand; other similar trenches may have been cut for the walls of Gate South 1 and the colonnade but they could not be detected. That Gate South 1 and the colonnade were constructed at the same time is shown by the bonding of the lowest two courses of the former’s western wall with the fifth and sixth courses of the support wall for the colonnade (Plate 20). Above this the wall of Gate South 1 abuts that of the colonnade, which continues to the east to form the wall common to Gate South 1 and Room 2 of Shrine IV (Plate 19). This test shows that the original stage of Shrine IV as a single room is contemporary with the construction of the colonnade, Gate South 1 and the Inner Gate of the Eastern Gateways. The alterations to the internal arrangement of Shrine IV caused considerable damage to the dividing wall between its eastern end and Gate South 1, which necessitated repairs to the wall that can now be seen as an original mud-plastered surface has fallen away (Plate 19).

II Domestic Structure north of the rear of Main Temple, Area D/8

Immediately to the north of the north-western corner of the Inner Temenos, between its wall and that of Enclosure 1 containing the entire Temple of Tutu and its administrative/storage facilities, lies a domestic structure of 13 spaces, Area D/8 (Figure 2). This occupies the area where the northern part of the second or Outer Temenos wall around the temple, set some five metres away from the first one, would have extended to join its western wall. Between the two temenos walls and Enclosure 1 elsewhere there are various well-defined chambers; D/8 interrupts the general pattern of their layout. Work in the area during previous seasons (Hope 2002,199–204) has indicated a fourth-century date for this complex, has shown that its Room 1 is built over a well and that a northern extension of the western wall of the Inner Temenos was cut down to its lowest courses when D/8 was built. The area also yielded quantities of papyrus inscribed in Greek and the latest dated document from Ismant el-Kharab: a horoscope drawn up in Greek for the year 392 CE (de Jong and Worp 2001, 203–6).

During the 2000 season clearance of two chambers in the eastern part of D/8 was commenced. These are a north/south corridor, Room 4, which provides access to a small kitchen, Room 5, at its southern end abutting the exterior of the Inner Temenos (Figure 2). The eastern wall of Room 4 is much thicker than all others in the structure and comprises the western wall of a structure or series of rooms between the Inner and Outer Temenos walls due north of Shrine II. More small fragments of papyrus inscribed in Greek were found amongst the collapse of the roof of the corridor, along with quantities of domestic garbage above the earth floor. Removal of this floor showed that the lower sections of both the walls of the corridor are wider than the upper parts, that of the western wall considerably so. In addition, study of the western extant end of the Outer Temenos wall shows that it has been cut back to form the eastern jamb of the door into Room 4. These features confirm that the original layout of this area was quite different from what existed in the fourth century.

III Area A

III.1 The East Church Complex, Area A/7

During the seasons covered by this report the major focus of excavation within the East Church Complex (Figure 1) was the clearance of the Small East Church; this is discussed elsewhere in this volume by G. E. Bowen. Two test trenches were, however, opened in the previously-excavated Large East Church (Bowen 2002, 67–75) in order to determine whether there were earlier structures beneath the floors. The areas selected for examination were in the south aisle, immediately outside the doorway to Room 3, one of a sequence of four rooms that opens off that aisle on the south, and all of Room 3 (Bowen this volume, Figure 1).

In 2000 excavation was carried out beneath the floor of Room 3; it revealed a substructure within that room and also a substantial wall upon which the northern wall of the room were built. The substructure, within the western half of the room only, comprises part of an east-west wall abutting a section of north-south wall at its eastern end (Plate 21). The northern end of the north-south wall is built over a hardened earth feature that runs for the entire width of Room 3 at a slight angle to the lower section of wall beneath its northern wall; this feature has a concave surface. The northern edge of this feature and the end of the north-south wall appear to have been cut away when the northern wall of Room 3 wall built. The western wall of Room 3 was built over the extant top of the western end of the east-west wall and over the hardened earth feature; the eastern wall of Room 3 is also built over the latter. All of the lower features are built upon a layer of compact earth.

During the 2001 season the trench in the south aisle was excavated from the centre of the doorway (Plate 22) and continued in an easterly direction for 2.5 m; it spanned the width of the south aisle (1.8 m). The section of wall revealed beneath the northern wall of Room 3 in 2000 could be studied further as a result of this. It is preserved 40 cm in height and extends a further 56 cm into the south aisle than does the wall built on top of it. Other sections of the same wall have been revealed both to the east and...
Figure 8 Plan and section of House 5, Area A/9 (drawings by B. Rowney).

Plate 23 Northern end of Room 5 of House 5, Area A/9, with Room 1; looking north.
Plate 24 The eastern wall of Room 5 of House 5, Area A/9, with doors into Rooms 3 and 4; looking east.

Plate 25 Drawing of head in ink upon a potsherd, registration number A/10/22, from Context 11 in the Rubbish Dumps, Area A/10.
Figure 9 Objects from House 5, Area A/9: a Imported spouted jug from fill of vault against west wall of Room 5; b Imported Nile silt jar from the fill of Room 1; c–e Oasis Red Ware vessels from the floor in Room 5; f–g Fragments of an imported Fish Plate from the floor of Room 5; h Arm and shoulder from a human figure in slate from fill in Room 5 (drawings by C. Marchini, A. Dunsmore and B. Parr).

Scale a–g 1:4, h 1:2; object registration numbers provided.
west (Bowen 2002, Figure 1), and it is clear that it represents an earlier wall that has been used as foundation for the northern wall of all of the southern rooms. It extends beyond the church to the east; it was laid directly onto a compact earth layer that may well be contiguous with that found below the early features in Room 3. The hardened earth layer is 70 cm below the floor of the aisle. A purposely-built foundation wall for the southern colonnade of the nave was revealed, and it also was built upon the earth layer. The fill between this layer and the floor of the aisle comprised mud-brick rubble, ash, bones and potsherds. The ceramic assemblage was identified as fourth-century. The earth layer was sterile and no features were detected below it; it clearly extends under the entire building as it has been found at various other locations (Bowen 2002, 73).

III.2 House 5, Area A/9

House 5 is located immediately north-east of the East Church Complex (Figure 1). Excavation of the building was commenced in 1997 (Hope 2002, 170) and completed in 2000. Only two rooms (1 and 5) could be cleared to floor level because of the instability of the walls of the house resulting from removal of wooden fittings. The structure is preserved on two levels. The upper level with storage bins is extant on the east and because of this and the weakness of the structure, the exact layout has not been determined (Figure 8). The core comprises three rooms (1, 5 and 6) on a north-south axis on the west and four rooms similarly arranged on the east (2, 3, 4 and 7). All rooms except the stairway (Room 4) were roofed with fourth-century. The earth layer was sterile and no features were detected below it; it clearly extends under the entire building as it has been found at various other locations (Bowen 2002, 73). would be related to pottery, glass and faience manufacture, and the

IH Ceramics throughout all of the deposits proved it to be fourth century. Figure 9a is extremely well-made in a light-fired fabric and the only complete example of the form from the site; it was found in the vault fill of Room 5 and is an import. Figure 9b illustrates a vessel from the fill of Room 1, manufactured in the Nile Valley in Nile silt fabric B2. Fragments of two bowls found at floor level in Room 5 (Figure 9f–g) were also imported from the Nile Valley, one is a piece from a ‘Fish Plate’ (Figure 9f). The three red-painted handled vessels (Figure 9c–e) are in Oasis Red Ware, a hallmark of fourth- and fifth-century pottery manufactured in Dakhleh and Kharga (Hope 1999, 235–6);20 they were found at floor level in Room 5. A fragment from a figurine and a lamp in the same ware were also found in the same location. Other figurines from the house have been published elsewhere (Stevens 2002, numbers 5, 8, 24 and 31). An extremely interesting discovery was the left arm and shoulder from a human figure in light-grey slate (Figure 9h).

III.3 Rubbish Dumps, Area A/10

Areas to the north-east of the East Church Complex and House 5 (Figure 1) have been shown to be possible locations for pottery kilns from the amount of vitrified clay on the surface and as a result of an archaeomagnetometer survey. Testing during the 2000 season in several areas revealed the existence of numerous rubbish dumps but little in the way of structures. The dumped material includes domestic material within ash, though some pieces of metal slag were found. In one test some 40 ostraka inscribed in Greek with documentary texts were found, amongst which were numerous receipts for payment of the poll tax dating to the first half of the third century, from 212 to circa 250 (Worp forthcoming, O. Kell. 27, 35–51). The large quantities of potsherds included material of the first-fourth centuries CE, and an interesting figured ostrakon (Plate 25).

IV Area C

Upon the most easterly of the two mounds that comprise Area C (C/2; Figure 1) a magnetometer survey conducted in 1998 (Smekalova 2002, 35–9) revealed the presence of various anomalies that could be circular in shape and possibly pottery kilns. Two such anomalies were particularly intense but they had been buried by dumps from our earlier work on the mound in units C/2/2 and C/2/5. As a part of the study of technology practiced at the site we are attempting to locate any activity that might be related to pottery, glass and faience manufacture, and the

20 This term is preferable to that previously used, namely Oasis Red Slip, as the surface is polished or burnished rather than slipped; the much older term Kharga Red Slip is inaccurate.
Plate 26 Room 1 of Area C/2/7; looking north-west.

Plate 27 Room 3 in Area C/2/7, looking south, showing the area of floor through which excavations were conducted against the eastern wall.
working of metals. Mound C/2 has already yielded pottery- and metalworking kilns; its surface is littered with iron slag (Hope 2002, 176–8; Eccleston 2002). The excavation of the two intense anomalies was undertaken in 2000.

Earlier dump material was cleared and three contiguous rooms in the corner of a mud-brick domestic structure were revealed (C/2/7), but no material to account for the strength of the magnetometer reading. The rooms are arranged within an L-shape: in the corner is Room 1 with Room 2 to its south and Room 3 to its west. Room 1 connects with the others through doorways in its south and west walls. To the west of Room 2 and south of Room 3 is another area accessed from Room 2; from Room 3 another space is accessed to the west. The full distribution of rooms was not determined. It is assumed that the structure had a flat roof and a stairway in the south-west corner of Room 3 may have led to roof level; the floors are of trampled earth throughout and the walls are unplastered.

Room 1 is 4.40–4.75 m east-west and 3.10–3.62 north-south; it has a depression in the floor against the western end of the south wall and what may be the remains of a hearth against the centre of the same wall (Plate 26). Other than the stairway in Room 3 (Plate 27), there is a free-standing buttress against the south wall; the room is 3.65–4.11 m north-south by 3.83–4.00 m east-west. Room 2 is the largest of the three, being 3.50–3.55 m north-south by 5.85–6.30 m east-west. Flimsy mud-brick structures in the western end of the room showed that it had been used for the stabling of animals, at which time the door from Room 2 to the space on the west was blocked. The maximum preserved height of the structure is 0.84 m.

In case the magnetic anomalies were produced by earlier features it was decided to excavate through the floor against the eastern wall of Room 3 where an intense anomaly appeared during the geophysical survey. Several superimposed earth floors were found, some of which contained concentrations of iron filings and small pieces of corroded iron that may have resulted from smithing. No structures were revealed and it can be assumed that the concentration of filings accounts for the high magnetic

Figure 10 Objects from Area C/2/7: a–b Fragments from wooden writing boards, a from Room 1 and b from Room 2; c–d Fragments from painted wooden boxes from Room 1; e Terracotta figurine from Room 3 (drawings by C. Marchini). Scale 1:2; object registration numbers provided.
Figure 11  Plan of the eastern part of Enclosure 4 showing location of the West Tombs and Graves 1–9, Area D/7, and the West Church, Area D/6, with Graves 1 and 2 (drawing by J. E. Knudstad supplemented by B. Rowney and D. Tuck; compiled by B. Parr).  Scale of detail of graves 1:50.
Plate 28 Grave 5 adjacent to the northern side of the steps of West Tomb 1, Area D/7, looking west.

Plate 29 Burials in the south-eastern corner of Enclosure 4, Area D/7, Graves 6–9 with North Tomb 1 in the upper left, looking east.
Plate 30  Grave 9 at the eastern end of Enclosure 4, Area D/7; looking north.

Plate 31  Grave 6 against the southern wall at the eastern end of Enclosure 4, Area D/7; looking north.
reading, the circular shape on the magnetic map indicating the area of their distribution rather than the shape of a specific built feature. It is clear that within the area in general future excavation will reveal substantial evidence of metalworking activity.

As with other structures on C/2 those found in C/2/7 would appear to date to the first and second centuries CE, as indicated by the discovery of fragments of papyrus inscribed in Demotic, ostraka in Greek and ceramics. Two of the ostraka are poll-tax receipts, one datable to between 116–7 and 179–80, and the other to either 168–9 or 200–1 CE (Worp forthcoming, O. Kell. 29 and 31). The latter was drawn up for Exones, son of Tithoes. A wide variety of domestic objects were found amongst the wall and roof collapse that filled each roof to floor level. Of note are four fragments from wooden writing boards of the type intended to be inscribed upon a wax base (Figure 10a–b), unfortunately no text was preserved. Those illustrated are 12.4 cm and 12.2 cm respectively in height but the widths are uncertain; the type is distinct from those frequently encountered in Area A and less commonly in Areas B and D (Hope 1997, 9–11). There are fragments from two small, turned wooden receptacles (Figure 10c–d) painted with bands of colour, both from Room 1; the colours comprise yellowish-orange, turquoise, red, black and brown. The body from a terracotta female figurine (Figure 10e) is of a type rare at the site. Other objects include wooden spindle whorls, mud loom weights, wooden toggles, fibre shoes and mud jar sealings.

The excavations indicated that this structure had been used as a blacksmith’s workshop and, because of the rarity of such, it was decided to conduct further work here in 2001. This concentrated on the floor deposits in Room 1. A three by two metre grid was set up in the south-western corner of the room and this was subdivided into 50 x 50 cm units. The deposits were excavated separately within each sub-unit and the entire matrix was kept; the magnetic component of each was isolated and the weight of magnetic and non-magnetic fractions determined. This showed that the upper deposits may derive from use of the room by animals, while the main phase of activity definitely relates to the smithing of iron, with large quantities of micro slag being present. In some units the matrix comprised between 15–30% micro and macro slag. This is supported by the discovery of fragments from smithing-hearth bottoms, vitrified linings and fuel as slag, some found in situ.

Pottery associated with the deposits from which the slag derived can be assigned to the first to second centuries CE, and appears to attest a domestic assemblage, suggesting that we have a household workshop.22

Cemeteries Adjacent to or in the Settlement

1 Cemetery within Enclosure 4, Areas D/6 and D/7

Enclosure 4 is the last of a series of additions on the north of Enclosure 1, which contains the Main Temple (Knudstad and Frey 1999, 193–202); it forms the extreme north-west of the site (Figure 1). Before the enclosure was constructed there were two classical-style monumental tombs in the area, termed West Tombs 1 and 2, probably constructed during the first centuries of Roman rule (Hope and McKenzie 1999). Interments found within one indicate that it was reused for the burials of eleven adults and sub-adults probably at the end of the third century CE, and that they may have derived from a wealthy sector of the community. In the mid-fourth century a two-roomed church, termed the West Church, with a seven-roomed domestic annex was built west of these tombs (Bowen 2002, 75–81, 83); its western and northern walls form part of the walls of Enclosure 4. Two single-interment graves with mud-brick superstructures, oriented east/west, were found built against the northern end of the exterior of the eastern wall of the church (Hope 1995, 57–8; Bowen, 2002, 78; Molto et al. this volume); these are numbered D/7 graves 1 and 2. In 1999 another grave was discovered against the steps leading to the southernmost of the two monumental tombs, West Tomb 1. It was decided, therefore, that the interior of Enclosure 4 should be investigated systematically for further graves; this was undertaken in the 2000 season.

A further seven single-interment pit graves were located within the area east of the monumental tombs (Figure 11): three beside West Tomb 1, numbered D/7 Graves 3–5 (Plate 28), and four in the south-eastern corner of the enclosure, numbered D/7 Graves 6–9 (Plate 29). They are all oriented east/west and contained skeletonized, human remains with the heads placed on the west (Plate 30; Molto et al. this volume). Traces of linen or impressions from such indicate that the bodies were wrapped in some way; however, the only substantive remains of wrapping were found upon a sub-adult (Plate 31). No grave goods were found. At the head end of Grave 9, however, a small bowl was set into the ground and within it was another bowl, while the emplacement for a bowl was found at the head end of Grave 7. The bowls are of fourth century types. All of the graves were sealed with mud bricks.

Two similar burials were found within the nave of the West Church, Area D/6. Their location had been noted some years ago when the church was excavated, but their


22 This work forms part of the study of high temperature industries at Kellis being undertaken for a PhD thesis at Monash University by Mark Eccleston.
Plate 32  Grave 1 in the West Church, Area D/6; looking east.

Plate 33  Grave 2 in the West Church, Area D/6; looking north-east.
Plate 34 Burial of a child in Grave 2 in the West Church, Area D/6; looking south.

Plate 35 Two-roomed, mud-brick structure (?chapel) in the centre of Area D/7; looking north.
Figure 12  Plan of North Tomb 1 showing location of rooms (and spaces) and Christian graves (drawing by B. Rowney, adapted by B. Parr).
Figure 13  Sections through North Tomb 1, for location see Figure 12 (drawings by B. Rowney).
Plate 36  Portico, east and north walls of North Tomb 1 photographed by Winlock in 1908 (reproduced courtesy of the Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); looking south-west.

Plate 37  West and south walls of North Tomb 1 photographed by Winlock in 1908 (reproduced courtesy of the Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); looking north-east.
Plate 38  The west wall of North Tomb 1 photographed by Winlock in 1908 (reproduced courtesy of the Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); looking east.

Plate 39  The southern end of Room 1 of North Tomb 1 with the eastern wall of Room 3 photographed by Winlock in 1908 (reproduced courtesy of the Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); looking south.
Plate 40  The northern wall of Room 3 of North Tomb 1 photographed by Winlock in 1908 (reproduced courtesy of the Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); looking north-west.

Plate 41  Portico and north-eastern corner of North Tomb 1 after excavation; looking south-west.
exact identity had not been determined. One, D/6 Grave 1, is located due north of the bema to the west of the attached column on the northern side of the apse (Plate 32), and the other, D/6 Grave 2, is immediately to the south of the bema (Plate 33). The former was covered with mud bricks and contained the burial of an adult, while the latter contained the burial of a child and was not covered with bricks (Plate 34). They both appear to have been positioned specifically in relation to the apse and therefore to post-date the construction of the church (contra Hope 2000, 58), ascribed to the second half of the fourth century on numismatic evidence (Bowen 2002, 83). Thus, D/7 Graves 1 and 2 can also be given a similar date, and it is assumed that the others in this area are contemporary, and that all are the burials of Christians (Bowen this volume b).

A two-roomed mud-brick building on a north-south alignment is situated within Enclosure 4 east of the monumental tombs, almost abutting its northern wall (Plate 35). The outer room (1) contained a hearth in the south-eastern corner and ash deposits on the floor; against its western wall were traces of a low bench. The contents of the structure, mostly ceramics, were domestic in nature and certainly fourth century in date. Four coins were found in contexts immediately above the floor: three were struck by sons of Constantine I, two while Caesar (318–24) and one while Augustus (336–40), and one by Constantine I between 324–30.21 The area to its south appears to have been delineated with narrow walls and a channel enters this area from the north-west. A brick-lined channel enters from the south through the wall of the enclosure. These features again present a domestic aspect. Whilst the purpose of the structure has not been determined, a connection with the burials of D/7 is difficult to avoid (see Bowen this volume b). The building was constructed after the superstructure of the West Tombs had begun to erode, as a deposit of sand and small pieces of sandstone undoubtedly from those tombs underlies both rooms.

During the removal of salt-compacted brick collapse and sand against the northern wall of the enclosure, due east of the two-roomed structure, two deposits of glass vessels were found. These were, unfortunately, in a fragmentary state and await conservation and cleaning; they comprise five and two vessels respectively, and were found 20–30 cm below the surface. It is uncertain whether any of these vessels are to be associated with the brick structure or whether they were simply dropped here. Two of the items are of particular note. One is a mould-blown vessel in the form of a child’s head and the other a unique jug painted with scenes of combatant gladiators. All of these vessels may be dated to the fourth century; they are discussed elsewhere in this volume with a focus upon the gladiator vase (Hope et al. this volume).

II The North Tomb Group

A series of mud-brick mausolea located on the north-western edge of the site have been termed the North Tomb Group and another group on the south is termed the South Tomb Group (Figure 1; Knudstad and Frey 1999, 208–13).22 The examination of the two largest structures in the northern group was commenced in 2000 and completed in 2001, whilst work on one of the South Tombs was undertaken in 2001. During the 2002 field season examination of the surface of the site to the south-west and north-west of the North Tomb Group revealed the remains of further mud-brick tombs, preserved only to the lower courses of their walls. Another structure, probably a tomb, was discovered approximately 15 m north of the West Tombs that preserves the vault of a subterranean chamber. Thus, it is conceivable that rather than being isolated structures, the West Tombs form the southern limit of a second row of mausolea that lined the north-western side of the site, paralleling the distribution of the South Tomb Group.

II.1 North Tomb 1

This structure is the largest of any occurring in either of the two groups (Figures 12 and 13) and is located at the southern end of the eastern row of the northern group, isolated from the remainder. Before excavation commenced in 2000 it was known that the central chamber was sandstone-lined and decorated with mortuary scenes of pharaonic type painted upon gypsum plaster. These scenes were photographed by H. E. Winlock when he visited Dakhleh in 1908 and a single view was included in the publication of that trip along with other general views of the monument (Winlock 1936, 20–1, plates XI–XIII). The room had been cleared by B. Moritz during a brief trip to Dakhleh in 1900 but only a preliminary account of the work was ever published (Moritz 1900, 466–71).

Since Winlock’s recording of the monument considerable deterioration has occurred, the majority of the stone from the central chamber having either been removed or destroyed. For this reason it seemed advantageous to reproduce here all of Winlock’s photographs of the tomb to enable a better appreciation of the significance of this structure (Plates 36–40).23 A discussion of the pharaonic-style painted decoration in the central chamber is presented elsewhere in this volume by Olaf Kaper, who assigns a date in the early second century CE to the paintings.

North Tomb 1 consists of a free-standing entrance porch (Room 10; Plate 41) on the east that leads into a transverse

21 I am grateful to Gillian Bowen for providing identifications of all coins referred to in this article.

22 The discussion of the architecture of these tombs in that study is based on surface reconnaissance and therefore differs from that presented here.

23 I am most grateful to Dr Dorothea Arnold of the Egyptian Department of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for providing copies of these photographs and permission to reproduce them in this report.
Plate 42 South wall of North Tomb 1; looking north.

Plate 43 West wall of North Tomb 1; looking east.
Plate 44 Entrance into Room 1 of North Tomb 1 from the Portico; looking west.

Plate 45 Part of the Greek inscription from Room 1 of North Tomb 1.
Plate 46  Southern section of the floor of Room 1 of North Tomb 1; looking south-west.

Figure 14  Facsimile copies of fragments of the Greek inscription from Room 1 of North Tomb 1; the upper eight are in reddish stone and the lower six in yellowish stone (drawings by O. Kaper).
Plate 47 Fragments from the corner of the painted ceiling at the northern end of Room 1 of North Tomb 1.

Plate 48 Detail of the painted ceiling from the northern end of Room 1 in North Tomb 1.
hall (Room 1) off which open three similarly-sized chambers to the west (Rooms 2–4); the core of the tomb is about 12 m square and stood about five metres in height (Plate 42). 26 Around the tomb is an inner corridor comprising three spaces (Rooms 6, 11 and 14) that could originally have been accessed only from a small room (5) at the east end of northern corridor (6). This room also provides a point of entry to the tomb through a door in the northern wall of Room 1, while another small room (8) at the north-eastern exterior corner of the tomb is reached via Room 5 also. None of these side rooms communicates with the corridor (9) separating the porch from the tomb. The whole complex appears to be set within a wall some five metres from the tomb (Figure 12; Plate 41, bottom right). This wall can be traced on the north and extends for a considerable distance to the east of the actual tomb, approximately 37 m, at which point it appears to turn through 90 degrees to the south, but its full length on the east could not be determined and there is no clear trace of it on the south or west of the tomb. There is a semblance of a dromos leading to the porch that again awaits definition. The area between the porch and exterior enclosure wall is subdivided into at least two spaces (15–16) that block access to the northern entrance system into the tomb, via space 7, from this direction.

In the exterior faces of the northern, southern and western walls there are pilasters with papyriform capitals framing central false doors with cavetto cornices supporting small niches; at each corner there is another pilaster (Plates 37, 41–3). The rear, western, wall is badly damaged at the centre (Plate 38) but the lower parts of the pilasters and the false door remain (Plate 43). The façade of the building had pilasters flanking the central door and corner pilasters. Around the top of all walls there is a plain architrave and cavetto cornice. All of these features and the walls were once coated with gypsum plaster; the walls are battered.

The porch is entered from the east via a door on the same axial alignment as those from the porch into the tomb and then into the tomb’s central stone chamber. It has screen walls set between 10 columns, with attached vertical torus mouldings that may once have supported cavetto cornices; the walls are painted alternately in monochrome red or yellow both inside and out. The corner columns are double-engaged and have piers at the exterior to form the corners; those columns flanking the doors have attached piers to form the doorjams. The porch is separated from the mausoleum proper by a sandstone-paved corridor (Room 9), closed by short walls from the corridor surrounding the exterior on the north, south and west (Rooms 6, 11 and 14). There is a sandstone door-sill from the porch into this corridor (Plate 44).

Entry into the transverse hall was through a doorway with sandstone jambs (Plate 44), originally closed by double doors. Twenty-four fragments of sandstone inscribed in Greek were discovered in Room 1; the stone of eight is reddish in colour while that of the remainder, which partly join, is yellowish (Figure 14; Plate 45). It is uncertain whether the colour variation should be used to identify two original inscriptions given the range found within single blocks employed elsewhere on the site. Two further pieces were found by Moritz (1900, 467) during his clearance of the central stone room. He identified them as from a lintel from a door into that room. It is possible, however, that these pieces and those found in 2000 are from a lintel over the outer door into the tomb. It has not proved possible to translate the inscription because of its fragmentary nature, but it appears to have commemorated the construction of the tomb and those for whom it was built. 27 Fragments of painted sandstone, one with a uraeus, were found in the fill of the transverse hall, indicating that either the outer or inner stone door may have supported a cornice decorated with a winged disc flanked by uraei. A short flight of stone steps descends into the hall, which has the remains of a floor of irregularly-shaped sandstone blocks (Plate 46); on either side of the door half-columns are attached to the wall. These are aligned with others that are located at the junction of the walls of the central chamber and those flanking it. There is the remains of a niche centrally-located in the southern wall. It is possible that the central section of this hall in front of the Room 3 was not roofed, while those parts to the north and south in front of the other chambers were certainly barrel-vaulted (Plate 39).

The northern vaulted section was originally decorated with a classical coffert motif. This comprises a foliate scroll border (Plate 47) around interconnecting, horizontal and vertical hexagons, some of which contain birds within foliage and others a stylized floral design (Plate 48). The background is salmon pink. The horizontal hexagons are outlined in light green and red, and coloured orange; they contain white flowers or birds. The vertical hexagons are similar but lack the red outline; the intervening squares are coloured blue-black with what are probably grapes in maroon. The walls in the northern section are yellow. The southern section of vault may have had a similar design but only small sections were recovered decorated with a maroon vine motif on a white ground, with purple grapes. The walls there are originally red with yellow squares on the lower part, but this was over-painted in purple with an unidentified yellow design. The attached columns on either side of the door into the central stone room are also

26 The numbering of the rooms reflects the sequence of their identification and excavation, and whilst not entirely logical, will be retained here as the find spots of a considerable number of burials and artefacts were recorded at the time of excavation in relation to contexts within the rooms so numbered.

27 I am grateful to Klaas Worp for information on this inscription, the contents of which he identifies on the basis of the occurrence twice of a verb characteristically found in such building inscriptions and for which he refers the reader to M. C. Hellmann, Les signatures d’architectes en langue grecque, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 104 (1994), 151–78.
Figure 15 Facsimile copy of painting on the wall south of the entrance into Room 1 of North Tomb 1 (drawing by O. Kaper).

Plate 49 Painting on the wall south of the entrance into Room 1 of North Tomb 1; looking east.
Plate 50  Room 3 of North Tomb 1; looking west.

Plate 51  Room 1 of North Tomb 1; looking west.
Plate 52  Room 4 of North Tomb 1; looking west.

Plate 53  Graves 4–6 in Room 3 of North Tomb 1; looking west.
Figure 16 Plan of Room 3 of North Tomb 1
(drawing by B. Rowney and D. Tuck, compiled by B. Parr). Scale 1:50.
decorated. The northern one is yellow with purple vertical stripes, rounded at the bases, above a horizontal purple band; the decoration imitates fluting. The southern one has traces of a similar decoration, but an earlier design on a red base is visible.

Decorating the interior of the wall on either side of the entrance into the transverse hall are the remains of figures. Only that on the south wall is clear and only its lower part survives. A male figure faces towards the door, wearing a kilt and standing beside a large amphora in a tripod support all upon a baseline (Figure 15; Plate 49). The skin colour is red, as is the amphora and support, while the kilt was originally white with a pale green, decorative frontal section, flanked by stripes and a green tassel suspended from its belt. The features of the kilt enable the figure to be identified as divine, and it is suggested by Olaf Kaper (personal communication, 2003) that along with the northern counterpart, he may be represent either Horus or Thoth, possibly pouring a libation. Details of execution distinguish the painting from those in the central chamber described elsewhere in this volume by Kaper.

The central chamber on the west, Room 1, now preserves only the lower parts of its stone walls and part of its stone floor (Plate 50); only a few traces of the original pharaonic decoration were recovered amongst the stone and brick rubble filling the room. A flight of two or three stone steps with a low balustrade provides access into this room. What appears to be a central niche in its western wall (Winlock 1936, plate XIII) is the result of missing wall blocks. From Winlock’s photographs (Plates 38–40) and the information provided by Moritz (Kaper this volume), the height of the stone walls in this chamber at the time of discovery can be determined as 2.70 m. The room was probably stone vaulted. The chambers flanking it, Rooms 2 and 4, are paved with irregularly-shaped blocks of sandstone, but the walls and roofs are of mud-brick, the latter being barrel-vaulted (Plates 51 and 52). The northern room is painted red and the southern room yellow to heights of 1.41 and 1.38 m respectively. It is probable that all doors throughout the tomb were of wood, the timbers being secured to a frame with large iron nails, numerous examples of which were found.

In addition to the evidence of alterations yielded by the painting of the southern part of the transverse hall, features of other rooms indicate at least two architectural phases. The steps leading into Room 3 are built against and obscure the original jambs of the door into the room, while the stone floor of Room 1 is at a higher level than the bases of the attached brick columns against its western wall. Another lower floor in Room 1 is revealed by cuts through the upper floor. Three fragments from a well-carved sandstone offering table were found built into the jamb of the door through the northern wall of Room 1 into Room 5 (Figure 18a–b). Two distinct floors were noted in Rooms

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28 The dimensions provided by Moritz for the chamber, 5.40 by 2.94 m, are incorrect, and represent that part of the room where the floor is missing. The chamber is actually 6.45 by 4.50 m.
Figure 18  Objects from North Tomb 1: a–b Fragments of offering tables from Room 1; c–j Ceramics from various locations; k Ceramic headrest (?) from Room 8; l–m Copper-alloy pins from Space 12; n Wooden spindle whorl from Space 12; o Gypsum sealing with crux ansata from Grave 3 (drawings by B. Parr, C. Marchini and A. Dunsmore). Scale a–j 1:4 and l–o 1:2; object registration numbers provided.
2 and 4; the doors into Room 5 from space 7 and into Room 6 from 5 were blocked with mud bricks.

Little evidence survives to indicate the location of the original burials. The floors of the three western rooms are pitted and later burials, mostly all disturbed, were found in graves cut through the stone floors in Rooms 2 and 3 (Figures 12, 16 and 17, Graves 1–6; Dupras and Tocheri this volume a). In Room 2 Graves 1 and 3 contained remains (Figure 17), while 2 was empty; in Room 3 (Figure 16) Grave 4 contained remains from two individuals, while bones from the individual interred in Grave 6 were found mixed with those in Grave 5. All were oriented east-west with heads on the west and little in the way of grave goods that could be associated directly with the burials was found; they may well be the burials of Christians. Grave 3 in Room 2 yielded part of a gypsum sealing in the upper fill bearing the impression from a seal carved with a crux ansata (Figure 18o), which lends support to this interpretation. Skeletal material was found in highly disturbed circumstances in all rooms of the tomb. Ceramic from the tomb is mostly fourth century in date (Figure 18c–j); the two copper-alloy pins (Figures 18l–m) could also be of this date or earlier. Items that predate the suggested Christian usage are the fragments from the finely-worked offering table and what resembles a ceramic headrest (Figure 18k).

During the 2001 season the focus of the excavation within this monument was the locating and recording of all intrusive burials and, hopefully, evidence for the location of the original burials. Eighteen further graves, numbered 7–24, were investigated that contained burials in various states of preservation (Dupras and Tocheri this volume a). Of these complete or near-complete bodies were preserved in Graves 10, 12 and 16 in Room 3 (Figure 16, Plate 53), Grave 13 in Room 4, Grave 17 in Room 6, Grave 18 in Room 8 and Graves 19–24 in Room 14 (Figures 12 and 17). All other cuts contained disarticulated and disturbed human remains with the exception of one, Grave 15 in Room 2, which was completely empty. Graves 14 and 17–24 are located within the corridor and rooms surrounding the main part of the tomb, and all contained the remains of small children. None of the burials was accompanied by artefacts.

Work within Rooms 1–4, which form the core of the tomb, concentrated on floor level and sub-floor activity, and it could be demonstrated clearly that the original gypsum-plastered floor in Rooms 1, 2 and 4 had been replaced by stone floors comprising randomly-cut sandstone blocks. The floor in Room 3 was originally of stone, but this had been removed almost completely, either before or at the time the burials in that room (4–6, 10, 12 and 16) were made.

The majority of the graves post-date the original use of the tomb. Those cuts within the tomb that were obviously graves were all dug through the stone floors or made when the latter had been partially removed. Again, they are oriented east-west; where the body remained its head was always positioned on the west. Those who cut the graves and those who were buried in them may, therefore, be identified as Christians, and a date in the second half of the fourth century suggested. Most of the bodies of adults had been disturbed to some degree. In some cases it appeared as though the body had been dug up, the wrappings carelessly pulled away and the body then thrown back into the grave. Where this had not happened (Graves 7 and 10) it seems as though the western end of the grave was dug into, as though the head was targeted specifically. This feature has also been observed in the contemporary cemetery immediately to the east of the settlement (31/405-C5-2, Kellis 2).

A careful search was made for the location of original burials, including under the stone paving in the transverse hall (Room 1) and below floors in rooms within and outside of the tomb. No subterranean chambers were located. Room 1 did contain two pits in its south-western corner (Figure 12): an earlier north-south pit extending from the centre of the southern wall is cut by another that is east-west against the southern wall. Unfortunately it could not be determined whether either predate the laying of the floor of the room, and neither contained remains of interments of any type, though their fill, context 45, did contain human skeletal material. If the earlier pit was dug for a burial then, because of its orientation, it is distinct from the majority of those found in the tomb; furthermore, whilst the pit against the southern wall is east-west, such a location for a non-Christian burial is paralleled by the finds in North Tomb 2, there within pottery coffins. It must be concluded that the original burials were probably placed within the three rear rooms of the tomb, either in coffins or upon funerary beds, though no trace of these was found.

The total minimum number of burials represented by the skeletal material is estimated at 35, 20 adults and 15 juveniles (Dupras and Tocheri this volume a), a number that exceeds that of the graves. Unless there were more multiple burials than the two noted (4 and 24), then if all of the material originates from burials made within the tomb we must conclude that these interments were not always within graves, and some may represent the people for whom the tomb was erected or those buried within it before its substantial reuse by Christians.

During the course of this study substantial evidence was accumulated on the building techniques of the tomb, and the main phases of construction. The tomb is built onto the basal clay of the site with foundations set into trenches; the floors of the portico and external rooms rest upon a foundation of red clay and crushed sandstone. Only the central stone-lined room has substantial foundation courses of stone blocks.

### II.2 North Tomb 2

The examination of this tomb commenced in 2000; it is situated 25 m to the north of Tomb 1 (Figure 1). It was...
Plate 54 The western end of North Tomb 2 photographed by Winlock in 1908 (reproduced courtesy of the Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); looking south-east.

Plate 55 The entrance into North Tomb 2 and remains of its portico; looking north-west.
Figure 19  Plan of North Tomb 2
(drawn by B. Rowney, supplemented by D. Tuck, compiled by B. Parr). Scale 1:100.
Plate 56  Eastern end of North Tomb 2 showing Room 4 and with Rooms 2–3 on the right; looking south-east.

Plate 57  Rooms 2 and 3 of North Tomb 2; looking east.
Plate 58 Room 4 of North Tomb 2; looking south.

Plate 59 Burials in the floor of Room 2 in North Tomb 2; looking south.
Figure 20 Ceramics from North Tomb 2: a–d from Room 2; e from Rooms 2 and 3 (drawings by A. Dunsmore and B. Parr). Scale 1:4; object registration numbers provided.

Plate 60 Sandstone offering table, object registration number NT2/5, found on the floor of Room 2 in North Tomb 2.
Figure 21 Offering tables from North Tomb 2: a from Room 2; b from Room 3; c Fragments from Rooms 2–4; d Fragments from Rooms 1 and 4 (drawings by B. Parr and O. Kaper). Scale 1:5; object registration numbers provided.
Plate 61  Fragments from a painted cartonnage coffin or coffins from North Tomb 2; face from Room 2 found near Body 2 and the hand from Room 3.

Plate 62  Fragmentary green glass heart scarab and one polychrome glass wing from Room 3 in North Tomb 2.
also photographed by Winlock during his visit to the site (Plate 54). The architecture (Figure 19) basically represents a simplified version of that of North Tomb 1. It has three chambers on the west, Rooms 1–3, which all open off a transverse hall, Room 4, entered through the centre of its eastern wall; a small poorly-preserved porch, Room 5, fronts this entrance (Plate 55). As in North Tomb 1, the doors into North Tomb 2 were probably of wood and numerous iron nails from their construction were found. Surviving door pivots indicate that double-doors opened into Room 2, and all others were single. The core of the tomb is about 10 m square, it stands to just less than five metres in height and is set upon a platform. Its exterior walls are battered and adorned only with a cavetto cornice above a torus moulding on all but the eastern wall, and corner mouldings. The exterior walls were originally white-plastered. The lower parts of pilasters survive framing the entrance into the tomb in the centre of the eastern wall, and it is likely that this door supported a cavetto cornice (Knudstad and Frey 1999, Figure 13.37). Unlike North Tomb 1, the central and northern chambers, Rooms 2 and 3, are both of sandstone, with stone-paved floors and possibly once stone vaults; only the lower parts of the walls survive (Plates 56 and 57). Fragments from a sandstone cavetto cornice were found in Room 4, as were five fragments of painted sandstone, several of which join to preserve part of an image of a solar disc flanked by uraei. These undoubtedly derive from over the doors into Rooms 2 and 3. Pieces of plaster decorated in red and blue and red, that preserves a representation of a crouching jackal and a dependant uraeus; another preserves part of a solar disc, and numerous iron nails from their construction were found. Surviving door pivots indicate that double-doors opened into Room 2, and all others were single. The core of the tomb is about 10 m square, it stands to just less than five metres in height and is set upon a platform. Its exterior walls are battered and adorned only with a cavetto cornice above a torus moulding on all but the eastern wall, and corner mouldings. The exterior walls were originally white-plastered. The lower parts of pilasters survive framing the entrance into the tomb in the centre of the eastern wall, and it is likely that this door supported a cavetto cornice (Knudstad and Frey 1999, Figure 13.37). Unlike North Tomb 1, the central and northern chambers, Rooms 2 and 3, are both of sandstone, with stone-paved floors and possibly once stone vaults; only the lower parts of the walls survive (Plates 56 and 57). Fragments from a sandstone cavetto cornice were found in Room 4, as were five fragments of painted sandstone, several of which join to preserve part of an image of a solar disc flanked by uraei. These undoubtedly derive from over the doors into Rooms 2 and 3. Pieces of plaster decorated in red and black were also found in Room 4. The southern chamber, Room 1, is of mud brick and its barrel-vaulted roof is well preserved (Plate 54). The transverse hall, Room 4, is also of mud brick, with a barrel-vault, but it has a sandstone-paved floor (Plates 56 and 58); as with all of the stone floors in the tomb, this one was coated with a layer of plaster eye socket with glass inlay, and a moulded, dark-green glass, heart scarab with wings of red glass and details in yellow and white (Plate 62). More fragments of cartonnage were found adjacent to the exterior wall of Room 3. Amongst the cartonnage is one piece, coloured blue and red, that preserves a representation of a crouching jackal and a dependant uraeus; another preserves part of a hieroglyphic text in black on a blue ground. Room 3 also yielded pieces from three offering tables, one of which could be restored (Figure 21b, Plate 63); fragments from one of the others (Figure 21c) were also found in Rooms 2 and 4.

The fire seems to have been restricted to Rooms 2 and 3, although the floor of the transverse hall was covered with a blackened oily material that may have been burnt

29. The room numbering reflects the sequence in which they were identified during the excavations. Again, the description of this monument and the drawings published in Knudstad and Frey 1999, 211 and Figure 13.37, need revising in the light of the excavations.
Plate 63  Sandstone offering table, object registration number NT2/38, from Room 3 in North Tomb 2.

Plate 64  Fragments from one of the short ends of a funerary bed, object registration number NT2/35, from Room 4 of North Tomb 2.
Figure 22  Fragments from one of the short ends of a funerary bed, object registration number NT2/35, from Room 4 of North Tomb 2 (drawings by B. Parr and O. Kaper). Scale 1:4.
Figure 23 Fragments from burial equipment from North Tomb 2: a–h from Room 4 near floor; i from fill of grave in the northern end of Room 4; j from fill of grave in the southern end of Room 4; k from Room 2 (drawings by B. Parr and O. Kaper). Scale: 1:4; object registration numbers provided.
Plate 65  Open-work barque from the sides of a funerary bed(?) from Room 4 of North Tomb 2.

Plate 66  Remains of a burial in a pit through the floor of Room 1 in North Tomb 2; looking west.
(Plate 59). Amongst the low fill in this room were found fragments from at least one polychrome-decorated, inscribed wooden funerary bed and a box. The fragments from the bed include parts from one of the short ends with lower panels carrying representations of a falcon-headed and a jackal-headed deity, Horus and Anubis, pouring libations, and an upper panel with another jackal-headed deity, Duamutef, presenting offerings of linen and oil/ointment (Figure 22, Plate 64). The figures of Anubis and Duamutef are on the right and Horus on the left. Above the figures are rows of stars and a cavetto cornice with a scale or feather pattern. Dowels in the top of the upper panel indicate that another element was affixed here. The figures are drawn in black outlines and have internal details in black also, in which colour the offerings and libations are shown. They are set upon a background that is divided vertically into two colours, with green behind the figure and red in front. The stars are on a black ground above Horus and a turquoise ground above Anubis and Duamutef; the feather (or scale) pattern on the cornices are green and red. The vertical corner post preserves sections of text in hieroglyphic writing coloured pale green. This has been studied by Olaf Kaper, whose comments are reproduced in Appendix 1.

Other polychrome wooden fragments from various places within the same room include part of a funerary boat with winged uraei, flanked by kneeling figures who probably represent the Souls of Pe and Nekhen (Figure 23a, Plate 65). The boat is coloured red on a green base; the figures and uraei are yellow with black details. Various other fragments may come from a similar composition and the same object, possibly a funerary bed (Figure 23b–g). The fragment from a box (Figure 23h) was also found; it is also polychrome-painted and carries a figure of Imsety in yellow, standing upon an area coloured red, with pale green in front of him and pale red behind. A row of white stars on a black ground is above the figure and above this is a part of a hieroglyphic text in black on a yellow ground and then a red area. Dowels on the left and right edges of the piece indicate that it was attached to further panels. Whether the burnt and carbonised fragments of funerary furniture found in Rooms 2 and 3 come from the same items as the fragments from Room 4 cannot be determined. It is also uncertain how many items are represented by this assemblage. The fragments from the end of the funerary bed have interior faces coated with gesso and painted red as do the fragments from the boat, while some of the figures have the same treatment inside and others are plain. This latter may be the result of errosion.

Human remains from several other bodies (Dupras and Tocheri this volume a) were found in Room 4, some preserving tissue and elaborate bandaging. The upper part of a well-preserved mummified male, discovered at floor level in the south central part of the room, may originally have been interred in one of the damaged ceramic coffins buried below the floor of the room (see below). Distributed throughout the tomb were pieces from several carved, sandstone offering tables, one of which was of extremely high-quality workmanship (Figure 21d). Provisional study of the objects would indicate dates for the burials within the first or second centuries CE.

Following the 2000 season the excavation of the floor deposits in the transverse hall, Room 4, and portico, Room 5, remained to be completed, as did the examination of any sub-floor deposits. This work was completed in 2001.

It appears that the construction of the tomb was undertaken in a single phase; unlike in Tomb 1, there is no evidence of changes to floor level. The stone chambers of tomb sit upon foundations with a specially-dug pit while the other rooms are built directly upon the basal clay. No subterranean chambers were located, though, unlike in Tomb 1, the stone flooring was not lifted as it was extremely-well preserved except in the southern rear room. Here a deep pit was found in the south-western corner that appears to have been executed by robbers in an effort to locate subterranean burials; it is 2.7 m deep and irregularly shaped. Several sandstone paving slabs were found in it at a depth of 1.65 m and 1.8 m; below the former were the remains of the burial of a child placed in a crouched position within sand (Plate 66). Only the torso and lower limbs survived; associated with it was a large quantity of linen. Several fragments from an elaborately-carved, sandstone offering table were found at a similar depth but they do not appear to have been associated with this burial, which seems to be late in date. Other fragments from the same table were found in sand deposits elsewhere within the same room (Figure 21d).

In the transverse outer room three graves were located: one each against the northern and southern walls, and one against the western wall between the doors into the central and southern rear rooms. None of these was original in that they were cut into the foundation trenches for the neighbouring walls and they disturbed the original distribution of paving slabs (Plate 67). Each grave originally contained a single burial within a ceramic coffin. The paving stones of the floor had been removed completely for the northern and southern graves, while they had been replaced, somewhat randomly, over the western one (Plate 67, right). The burial in the northern grave was represented only by fragments of bone and linen, and the coffin had been completely broken. From the fill, which consisted of sand containing some pieces of mud brick, sandstone and charcoal, came further painted wooden fragments representing divine figures, including the ancestral spirits (Figure 23i). The southern burial was again poorly preserved though the coffin was almost intact. The fill of the grave comprised material similar to that within the northern grave, with large quantities of human bone and linen, and a small number of fragmentary objects including pieces of painted wood, one showing a figure on a funerary bed (Figure 23j). The coffin contained the same material as the pit but with little bone. It is possible that the torso of a mummified male found on the floor of Room 4 was originally interred in this coffin.

The third burial, on the west, was in a better state of preservation. The well-wrapped remains of a female were found within a ceramic coffin, the lid of which had been broken through in antiquity and then repaired with gypsum plaster. The fill above the burial comprised sand with
Plate 67  Floor at the southern end of Room 4 in North Tomb 2 showing relaid paving stones over the burial of Senpsais; looking south-east.

Plate 68  The mummy of Senpsais in her ceramic coffin in Room 4 of North Tomb 2; looking west.
Plate 69  Mummy label in situ in the wrappings of Senpsais.

Plate 70  Woven sandals and mummy label of Senpsais.
Figure 24. The mummy label, one of the sandals and reconstructed lid of the coffin of Senpsais (drawings by B. Parr).

Scales: a 1:2, b 1:3 and c 1:10; object registration numbers provided.
Plate 71  The northern wall, entrance and remains of the portico of South Tomb 4 with niche in the southern wall of Room 3; looking south.

Plate 72  South Tomb 4 showing poorly-preserved eastern wall; looking south-west.
some sandstone rubble; in it were a loop-shaped handle from a metal vessel, two fragments from a burnt sandstone offering table and a small piece of gilded plaster. The head was found disarticulated and partly unwrapped (Plate 68). The remainder of the body was intact; it was wrapped first with wide bandages and then narrow bandages in a lozenge design over this, and then string also in a lozenge pattern (Plates 68 and 9). Well-preserved basketry sandals were attached to the exterior at the foot end, and a wooden ‘mummy label’ was secured to the body by the outer bandages (Plates 69 and 70; Figure 24). The label provides the identity of the deceased, reading on the one side ᾳΑΤΡΗΤΟΣ and on the other ΚΕΝΝΑΙΚ ΟΥΤΑΤΠΙ ‘Senpsais, daughter of Thatres’.30 This is the first discovery of such a label at the site. It is interesting to note that the side upon which the father’s name is written was placed uppermost within the wrappings, thus identifying the person to whom the mummy was to be delivered. Furthermore, as no destination for delivery is indicated, it is possible that the mummification took place at Kellis, on which see most recently Aufderheide et al. (this volume). The lack of the element Aurelios in the father’s name may indicate a date for the burial prior to the early third century. The style of all of these burials is similar and implies a degree of contemporaneity; the only preserved body was oriented north-south with the head on the north. The other two graves are oriented east-west. It would, therefore, appear that orientation was not a major concern for those making the interments, which are in all probability not those of Christians.

Again, it would seem that the original burials, which may be represented by finds from the previous season, were placed in the rear chambers and at least one was laid upon a funerary bed, and they were accompanied by ceramics and offering tables. At least one of these burials was within a painted cartonnage coffin, from which the winged heart scarab may also originate. The burials in the ceramic coffins represent a second phase of burial within North Tomb 2; the single burial in Room 1 is undated and may be comparatively recent. Whether there were burials of the fourth century as in North Tomb 1 is uncertain; if there were, none was placed within a grave cut through the floor of the tomb. The estimate for the minimum number of individuals attested by the skeletal remains is 32, 22 adults and 10 juveniles (Dupras and Tocheri this volume a). The original placement of all of the interments cannot be determined.

It is possible to present a tentative reconstruction of the main phases in the desecration and destruction of the tomb. Following the secondary phase of use of the tomb for the burials in the ceramic coffins by an unknown length of time, the destruction and burning of the original interments occurred. From the distribution of burnt bone and wooden objects, it would seem that this took place simultaneously in Rooms 2 and 3, but during this process some skeletal material was thrown into Room 4 along with fragments of broken wooden furniture before the burning. At this time the secondary burials in the northern and southern ends of the floor of Room 4 were broken into and despoiled, during which process some fragments from the painted wooden objects were deposited in the graves after they had been robbed. There followed an episode of sand accumulation during which further disturbance of the skeletal material and broken objects occurred. Another phase of vandalism then followed; pits were dug through the sand at certain points to floor level, paving stones in the western ends of Rooms 2 and 3 were removed and pits dug into basal clay below, presumably in the search for subterranean burials. The paving stones and clay material were deposited on top of the sand accumulation in Room 4. There was then another phase of sand fill before the brick structure of the tomb began to collapse. When the bulk of the stonework from Rooms 2 and 3 was removed is uncertain, but at that time further distribution of skeletal and other material will have resulted.

III South Tomb 4

The South Tombs are located immediately to the south-west of the settlement, beyond the remains of an ancient canal that provided irrigation for the field network around this part of the site (Figure 1; Knudstad and Frey 1999, 211–3). The exact number of mausolea within this group is uncertain as many are poorly preserved; on the west is a group of five comparatively well-preserved examples. The

30 Despite grammatical inaccuracies, this seems to be the preferred reading; I am grateful to Klaas Worp for his comments upon this piece. For a recent discussions of these objects see J. Quaegebeur, Mummy Labels: An Orientation, in E. Boswinkel and P. W. Pestman, Textes Grecs, Démotiques et Bilingues (P. L. Bat. 19), E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1978, 232–59; W. Scheidel, The meaning of dates on mummy labels: seasonal mortality and mortuary practice in Roman Egypt, Journal of Roman Archaeology 11 (1998), 285–92.
most elaborate of these, number 4, was selected for excavation (Figure 25; Plates 71 and 72).\textsuperscript{31}

A T-shaped entrance porch (Room 4), poorly preserved and measuring approximately 3.00 x 3.65 m, fronts the structure on the north. Only its side walls and the western end of the northern wall can be traced, and then only at the level of the foundation or lower course. It is assumed that there was a centrally-located doorway in the northern wall. This porch leads into what was originally a single transverse chamber, measuring 10.5 x 3.5 m, now Rooms 1 and 2, via a poorly-preserved doorway in the centre of the common wall. Another room, Room 3, of approximately equal size is accessed through a central door in the southern wall. This doorway may have had a stone frame; the door itself was single-leafed and opened to the west into Room 3. A partition wall, erected immediately east of the door into the outer room, subdivides this room into areas of unequal size, now termed Room 1 on the west, which is the larger space, and Room 2 on the east; it is a secondary alteration to the layout and clearly abuts the original wall plaster. The floors of Rooms 1 and 2 are of compact earth; that in Room 2 is at a slightly higher level and there is a step up into the room. The floor of this room was relaid when the room was created. The door into Room 2 was single-leafed and opened to the north into the room.

In the rear (southern) wall of Room 3, which is 10.16 x 3.43 m, there is a central niche, 58 cm above the floor level, measuring 61 cm wide, 28 cm deep and preserved to a height of 70 cm. There appears to have been another niche in the eastern wall that had a stone base and an arched top, possibly with some sort of frame at the sides, but it is now poorly preserved. The floor of the inner room is of mud bricks laid obliquely from north-west to south-east, covered by a layer of mud plaster. In the centre of this floor is a deposit of what appears to be oil-rich mud.

Externally, the tomb is provided with two half-columns on the eastern and western sides, and two half-columns on either side of the entrance. At the north-eastern and north-western corners there were double half-columns, while at south edge of the eastern and western sides there was a further half column. The columns support papyriform capitals; whether there was a cavetto cornice above cannot be determined. The roofs throughout were barrel-vaulted and walls mud-plastered; there is no evidence for the use of white plaster on the walls.

Within the tomb brick collapse overlay sand fill to almost floor level. On and near the floors throughout there

\textsuperscript{31} As in the case of the North Tombs 1 and 2, excavation of South Tomb 4 necessitates a revision of the plan and description of this monument provided in Knudstad and Frey 1999.
were the very disturbed remains of the interments, some, though not all, burnt (Dupras and Tocheri this volume b). In Room 1 some human remains, linen and broken objects were piled up and burnt; in Room 3 the walls and floor had been exposed to severe burning while the human remains and linen were not. The burials have clearly been exposed to wanton destruction. Associated with the human remains was a variety of incomplete artefacts. These included fragments from a gilded sandstone statue probably of Isis, fragments from a terracotta figurine of a female, pieces of plastered and painted wood that may come from funerary furniture (Figure 26h), pieces from glass and ceramic vessels (Figure 26a–f); the latter are of types that may be ascribed to the second to third centuries CE. Iron nails (Figure 26g) indicate that doors of similar construction to those in the North Tomb 1 and 2 were fitted in this tomb also. A study of the skeletal material (Dupras and Tocheri this volume b) indicates that six adults, two juveniles and one infant were buried in the tomb; whether these were all relatively contemporary cannot be determined because of the extent of disturbance.

During the 2002 field season a study of the floors of the tomb was undertaken to determine whether there were any burial chambers below. This took the form of examination of damaged sections of the floor especially in the Room 3, none of which provided evidence that can be regarded as conclusive but which does not seem to indicate their presence. In one such damaged area, south of the door into the room, fragments from a gilded limestone statue of a male with a moustache were found.

Concluding Remarks

The excavations described above continue to show that there is much still to be learned about the ancient village of Kellis. We have now excavated in situ material in Area C and possibly in the North Tombs of the early Roman Period that can be related to the material of similar date discovered in the cemetery on the north-west of the site (31/420-C5-1, Kellis 1; Birrell 1999), and small amounts of which have been found elsewhere in Areas A, B and D (Patten 1999, 87–8). This will enable us to gain a far clearer picture of life at Kellis during its formative period, though yet earlier material can be expected as there is growing evidence that the site was first settled in the Ptolemaic Period.32

The excavations have seen the completion of both long-term and short-term projects. We are now able to proceed with the preparation of final conservation and recording of the decoration of the pharaonic-style decoration from Room 1 of the mammisi of the Temple of Tutu and to define its constructional phases with greater certainty. This, together with the two stelae found in 2000, will elucidate many aspects of the cult of Tutu.33 The work in the East Churches themselves is complete, though a clear understanding of the functioning and evolution of the complex within which they stand requires further study. As they are amongst the oldest surviving in Egypt, their significance for the study of church architecture and liturgy cannot be underestimated. Further, the discovery of another cemetery of the fourth century in Areas D/6–7 containing single burials that are oriented east/west and that lack grave goods, and which may be proposed as Christian, emphasises the significant contribution the site and its associated cemeteries are making to our understanding of early Christian traditions.

The examination of both North Tombs 1 and 2 has been completed and their use from the late first or second centuries into the fourth century can be documented. That no burial crypts were discovered, raising the probability that the primary interments were located within the rear chambers at ground level, is problematic for the seeming lack of security that such arrangements provide the burials. A similar situation may be observed in South Tomb 4, though no excavation below floor level was conducted there.

Other Roman Period mud-brick mausolea within Dakhleh confirm this practice, for example those at Beyout el-Qureysh (Mills 1982, 98) to the south of Ismant el-Kharab, whilst yet others attest the use of crypts, for example some of those near Mut el-Kharab at Bir Shugalah.34 Subterranean burials were found in some of the tombs at el-Bagawat in Kharga Oasis (Hauser 1932), and other features of their architecture resemble, in general terms, those of the Ismant el-Kharab tombs. The stone-built mausolea of similar date to the latter at Ezbet el-Bashendi (Moursi and Osing 1982; Yemani 2001) show that sarcophagi containing the deceased could be placed below the stone floors, while at Ismant el-Kharab itself, the stone and brick structures designated West Tombs 1 and 2 were both provided with subterranean vaulted burial apartments. Nothing is yet known of the burial style within the mud-brick tombs at Amheida (ancient Trimitthi; Mills 1980, 269–71), but they will undoubtedly yield valuable comparable data as the superstructures have numerous features in common with the tombs at Ismant el-Kharab. From within the Nile Valley parallels to several of the features of the Ismant el-Kharab tombs can be found in

32 This is based upon assessments of the date of some of the painted cartonnage from the cemetery to the north-west of the settlement (Schweitzer 2002), some of the Demotic texts and isolated finds of ceramics.

33 For a study of this god that incorporates much of the Kellis material see O. E. Kaper, The Egyptian God Tutu. A Study of the Sphinx-God and Master of Demons with a Corpus of Monuments, Peeters, Leuven, in press.

34 A preliminary examination of this group of tombs, first examined during the course of the survey, was undertaken in conjunction with our work at Mut el-Kharab in 2001. The site has subsequently been selected for excavation by the inspectors of the Dakhleh and Farafra Inspectorate, which has shown the tombs to be more elaborate that any others of similar date in Dakhleh.
the stone tombs at Tuna el-Gebel, though of course many of the latter are more elaborate, as are the tombs at el-Bagawat, which the Ismant el-Kharab tombs predate.

Aspects of the architecture of the Tuna el-Gebel tombs have recently been suggested to derive from the tomb chapels of the XXVth Dynasty (Arnold 1999, 49). In examining features of the Ismant el-Kharab tombs, especially those within the North Tomb Group, connections with temple architecture become apparent. The three burial chambers fronted by a longitudinal chamber, as seen in North Tomb 1 and 2,\(^\text{35}\) occur from at least the XVIIIth Dynasty, for example at the Temple of Ptah at Karnak and Nekhbet at el-Kab (Arnold 1999, Plans VIII and XII), and consistently thereafter throughout Egypt into the Roman Period (Arnold 1999, Plans XII and XV, Figures 45, 91, 115, 119, 123, 124, 161 and 225). These include the Late Period temple at Qasr Gheitwa in Kharga Oasis and the Roman temple at Deir el-Hagar in Dakhleh itself, and possibly the Ptolemaic temple at ‘Ain Birbiyeh (Mills 1999, Figure 1). There is a striking similarity at the so-called chapel dedicated to Alexander the Great at Kom Madi (Bresciani 1980), which rather interestingly contains what the excavator identified as a *kline*. The façades of many of the tombs, with their cavetto cornices and torus mouldings, resemble those of what Arnold (1999, 356–7) has termed the temple house (Arnold 1999, Figures 96, 97, 160 and 220). Furthermore, the entrances to many of the tombs at Ismant el-Kharab are fronted by either an attached portico or porch, or, in the case of North Tomb 1, by a free-standing porch with columns and screen walls. These resemble the porches or kiosks erected in temples from the XXVth Dynasty onwards (Arnold 1999, 44–5, 282–5). The connection between temple and tomb is also reflected in the decorative schemes, though not in North Tomb 1 (see comments by Kaper this volume b). The architecture of these tombs and others at Ismant el-Kharab, namely the West Tombs (Hope and Mckenzie 1999), indicates the degree of elaboration that occurred in the oases during the early Roman Period.

The discovery of fragments from what were probably funerary beds in North Tomb 2 is of significance in light of the small corpus of examples that survives.\(^\text{36}\) These objects appear within the repertoire of funerary furniture during the Roman Period; they also display distinctive elements derived from temple architecture. Whether their appearance is all associated with the inclusion of *kline* in the Ptolemaic tombs at Alexandria is possibly worth exploring. While this is not the place to undertake a detailed typological or iconographic study of such items, a few comments are necessary to confirm the identification of the North Tomb 2 fragments. The shape of the larger pieces from the short end of the bed, representing a portal with broken lintel, and the decoration of the panels, are paralleled by several other examples. From Tomb 66 at el-Bagawat in Kharga Oasis (Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.8.1: Hauser 1932, 48, Figures 7 and 19; Parlasca 1995, 203, note 27, Plate XXIV.1)\(^\text{37}\) comes a bed upon which the sides of the imitation portal are painted with crowned serpents that wind around a vertical sceptre. Panels flanking this element are decorated with images of gods making offerings, here Horus and Thoth, below rows of stars; it was originally supported on short legs, those at the same end as the portal originally being decorated with lions’ heads. The sides are open-work and preserve panels with a checker-board motif that alternate with papiriform columns. Also from Kharga, Dush Tomb 20 (Dunand et al. 1992, 55, Figure 4, Plate 61.1–3), comes a fragmentary example with the portal decorated in a similar manner to that from Bagawat Tomb 66, the lion legs preserved, and with painted representations of the barque of Sokar carrying a mumified human figure. If the open-work figures and the boat found in North Tomb 2 at Ismant el-Kharab do derive from such an item, then this bed provides a parallel for the use of a boat motif. Another example preserved in Berlin (West Berlin 1683: Kurth 1990, 17, Plates 8.2 and 9.1–3; Parlasca 1991, Figures 10–11) has a pseudo-portal with panels decorated with images of Osiris, Qebesemuef and Anubis, flanked by representations of crowned serpents. This example does not have lion-headed decoration on the legs.

This feature seems to be one of the most important in the iconography of the funerary beds. In addition to those just mentioned, it occurs upon the late Ptolemaic or early Roman period example from Akhmim belonging to Nedjemib in the Egyptian Museum Cairo (CG 3263: Grimm 1975a, number 40, Plates 76–7),\(^\text{38}\) another from Akhmim in Berlin (East Berlin 12708: Grimm 1974, 117, Plate 137.1; Kanawati 1987, 55),\(^\text{39}\) the possible Theban example in the Royal Ontario Museum (910.27: Needler 1963), another from Thebes in Berlin (East Berlin 12442:

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\[^{35}\] A variation on this layout can be seen in the tomb of Kythinos at Ezbat Bashendi (Osing et al. 1982, 57).

\[^{36}\] I wish to acknowledge the kind assistance of Olaf Kaper in assembling references to these items and providing me with copies of studies not available in Australia, also to Roberta Shaw for providing me with photographs of the bed in the Roman Period temple at Qasr Gheitwa in Kharga Oasis and the Roman temple at Deir el-Hagar in Dakhleh itself, and possibly the Ptolemaic temple at ‘Ain Birbiyeh (Mills 1999, Figure 1). There is a striking similarity at the so-called chapel dedicated to Alexander the Great at Kom Madi (Bresciani 1980), which rather interestingly contains what the excavator identified as a *kline*. The façades of many of the tombs, with their cavetto cornices and torus mouldings, resemble those of what Arnold (1999, 356–7) has termed the temple house (Arnold 1999, Figures 96, 97, 160 and 220). Furthermore, the entrances to many of the tombs at Ismant el-Kharab are fronted by either an attached portico or porch, or, in the case of North Tomb 1, by a free-standing porch with columns and screen walls. These resemble the porches or kiosks erected in temples from the XXVth Dynasty onwards (Arnold 1999, 44–5, 282–5). The connection between temple and tomb is also reflected in the decorative schemes, though not in North Tomb 1 (see comments by Kaper this volume b). The architecture of these tombs and others at Ismant el-Kharab, namely the West Tombs (Hope and Mckenzie 1999), indicates the degree of elaboration that occurred in the oases during the early Roman Period.

The discovery of fragments from what were probably funerary beds in North Tomb 2 is of significance in light of the small corpus of examples that survives.\(^\text{36}\) These objects appear within the repertoire of funerary furniture during the Roman Period; they also display distinctive elements derived from temple architecture. Whether their appearance is all associated with the inclusion of *kline* in the Ptolemaic tombs at Alexandria is possibly worth exploring. While this is not the place to undertake a detailed typological or iconographic study of such items, a few comments are necessary to confirm the identification of the North Tomb 2 fragments. The shape of the larger pieces from the short end of the bed, representing a portal with broken lintel, and the decoration of the panels, are paralleled by several other examples. From Tomb 66 at el-Bagawat in Kharga Oasis (Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.8.1: Hauser 1932, 48, Figures 7 and 19; Parlasca 1995, 203, note 27, Plate XXIV.1)\(^\text{37}\) comes a bed upon which the sides of the imitation portal are painted with crowned serpents that wind around a vertical sceptre. Panels flanking this element are decorated with images of gods making offerings, here Horus and Thoth, below rows of stars; it was originally supported on short legs, those at the same end as the portal originally being decorated with lions’ heads. The sides are open-work and preserve panels with a checker-board motif that alternate with papiriform columns. Also from Kharga, Dush Tomb 20 (Dunand et al. 1992, 55, Figure 4, Plate 61.1–3), comes a fragmentary example with the portal decorated in a similar manner to that from Bagawat Tomb 66, the lion legs preserved, and with painted representations of the barque of Sokar carrying a mumified human figure. If the open-work figures and the boat found in North Tomb 2 at Ismant el-Kharab do derive from such an item, then this bed provides a parallel for the use of a boat motif. Another example preserved in Berlin (West Berlin 1683: Kurth 1990, 17, Plates 8.2 and 9.1–3; Parlasca 1991, Figures 10–11) has a pseudo-portal with panels decorated with images of Osiris, Qebesemuef and Anubis, flanked by representations of crowned serpents. This example does not have lion-headed decoration on the legs.

This feature seems to be one of the most important in the iconography of the funerary beds. In addition to those just mentioned, it occurs upon the late Ptolemaic or early Roman period example from Akhmim belonging to Nedjemib in the Egyptian Museum Cairo (CG 3263: Grimm 1975a, number 40, Plates 76–7),\(^\text{38}\) another from Akhmim in Berlin (East Berlin 12708: Grimm 1974, 117, Plate 137.1; Kanawati 1987, 55),\(^\text{39}\) the possible Theban example in the Royal Ontario Museum (910.27: Needler 1963), another from Thebes in Berlin (East Berlin 12442:

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\[^{37}\] I am grateful to Dr Dorothea Arnold for providing me with photographs of this and other items found at Bagawat by the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition.

\[^{38}\] This example is particularly important in documenting the full appearance of the beds: an open-work canopy set upon a separate base with lion-headed legs; it enables other so-called canopies or shrines to be identified as the upper section from such objects.

\[^{39}\] This item has been described as an offering chest; Needler (1963, 7, footnote 42) assigns this to the Ptolemaic–Roman Period, whilst Olaf Kaper and Harco Willems (personal communication 2003) and Kanawati (1987, 55) accept a date within the First Intermediate Period or early Middle Kingdom.
they may be on an axial alignment, as some at Alexandria such as those in the earlier Moustapha Pasha and Anfushy cemeteries (Venit 2002, 44–5, 73–7, 189–90, Figures 28, 56) and at el-Bagawat (Fakhry 1951, Plate II), this is not always the case (for example, Tuna el-Gebel: Grimm 1975b, 227). Streets of tombs as found at Ismant el-Khabur are a regular feature of Roman cemeteries in Italy (Toynbee 1971, 73–4, 79–91, 120–1) and elsewhere. In addition, in the use of pilasters and even false doors, further parallels can be found amongst classical tomb architecture (Toynbee 1971, chapter 5, especially 132–42; Venit 2002, 166). The use of torus mouldings and cavetto cornices is, of course, quintessentially Egyptian, but the final ensemble presents a mixed appearance, and highlights the process of assimilation of various cultural traditions attested throughout the site of Ismant el-Kharab, typical of Egypt under Roman rule.

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40 Dunand has estimated that fragments from 16 tombs at Dush, excluding the examples from Tombs 6 and 20, derive from funerary beds (Dunand et al. 1992, 225), and there may have been other examples at Bagawat as Hauser (1932, 48) mentions an unspecified number of fragmentary biers with legs. These could, of course, attest actual beds such as have been found in tombs at Dush, again in Tomb 6 for example, and also at Ismant el-Kharab (Hope and McKenzie 1999, Plate 3).

41 I think that it is advisable to distinguish specially-made funerary beds from the undecorated domestic examples that may also be used as supports for the body in tombs.
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Appendix: Note on the Inscriptions upon a Funerary Bed from North Tomb 2

The two inscriptions on the end of a funerary bed from North Tomb 2 are situated on the same corner post, one on the head end (1) and one on its right lateral face (2). The inscriptions are rendered here in lines of standardized hieroglyphs, not all of them certain, with the direction of some signs reversed for greater clarity.

1.  

2.  

The two inscriptions do not yield a running translation, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is a frequent confusion in the direction and order of the signs, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is no transliteration can therefore be presented. The two inscriptions do not yield a running translation, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is a frequent confusion in the direction and order of the signs, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is no transliteration can therefore be presented. The two inscriptions do not yield a running translation, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is a frequent confusion in the direction and order of the signs, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is no transliteration can therefore be presented. The two inscriptions do not yield a running translation, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is a frequent confusion in the direction and order of the signs, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is no transliteration can therefore be presented. The two inscriptions do not yield a running translation, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is a frequent confusion in the direction and order of the signs, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is no transliteration can therefore be presented. The two inscriptions do not yield a running translation, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is a frequent confusion in the direction and order of the signs, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is no transliteration can therefore be presented. The two inscriptions do not yield a running translation, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is a frequent confusion in the direction and order of the signs, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is no transliteration can therefore be presented. The two inscriptions do not yield a running translation, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is a frequent confusion in the direction and order of the signs, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is no transliteration can therefore be presented. The two inscriptions do not yield a running translation, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is a frequent confusion in the direction and order of the signs, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is no transliteration can therefore be presented. The two inscriptions do not yield a running translation, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is a frequent confusion in the direction and order of the signs, and no transliteration can therefore be presented. There is no transliteration can therefore be presented.

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