The Pharaonic and Classical Religious Complexes and the Cult of Tutu

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9 The Pharaonic and Classical Religious Complexes and the Cult of Tutu

COLIN A. HOPE, GILLIAN E. BOWEN and OLAF E. KAPER

The temples of Egypt throughout the dynastic and Ptolemaic periods played a significant role within the community on all levels. While control over them was tightened during the Roman period, they were still a major component of life throughout the country, whether in the urban centres or the rural villages. When Kellis was established in the first century it needed a major deity or deities to protect it and bring prosperity to the village. Tutu/Tithoes had been revered in the Nile valley since the Late Period (Kaper 2003a), and as a protector from malign forces he was seen as a suitable divine force to preside over Kellis. The temples may well, therefore, have been amongst the first formal structures erected in the village. They appear to have been in use for the worship of the village's gods until the early fourth century, by which time the vast majority of Egypt's temples had also been closed.

The religious complexes identified at Kellis comprise two in which the indigenous religious beliefs were celebrated, namely the Main Temple and West Temple, and one of classical inspiration, the *Nymphaeum*. The Main Temple is set within Enclosure 1, the largest walled space on the site. Whether other religious structures are located elsewhere is currently uncertain, though this is indicated by the suggestion that the large domestic building B/3/1 (Chapters 2 and 3) was the location of activity by a guild dedicated to Isis. The cult in the Main Temple focused upon Tutu, associated with his mother Neith, one of Egypt's most ancient deities, and consort Tapsais, along with other co-templar deities, while the West Temple appears to have been dedicated to Neith and Tapsais. The veneration of Tapsais is only encountered at Kellis. The Main Temple complex is exceptional as it is the only known temple dedicated to Tutu, also for its remarkable pharaonic and classical decorative programme, and the survival of an extensive array of cult objects, albeit in fragmentary form. This chapter describes the architecture and pharaonic decoration of the religious structures, their date and evolution, the objects recovered from them and provides a discussion of Tutu; the classical decoration is discussed elsewhere (Chapter 10). The picture that emerges is significant for

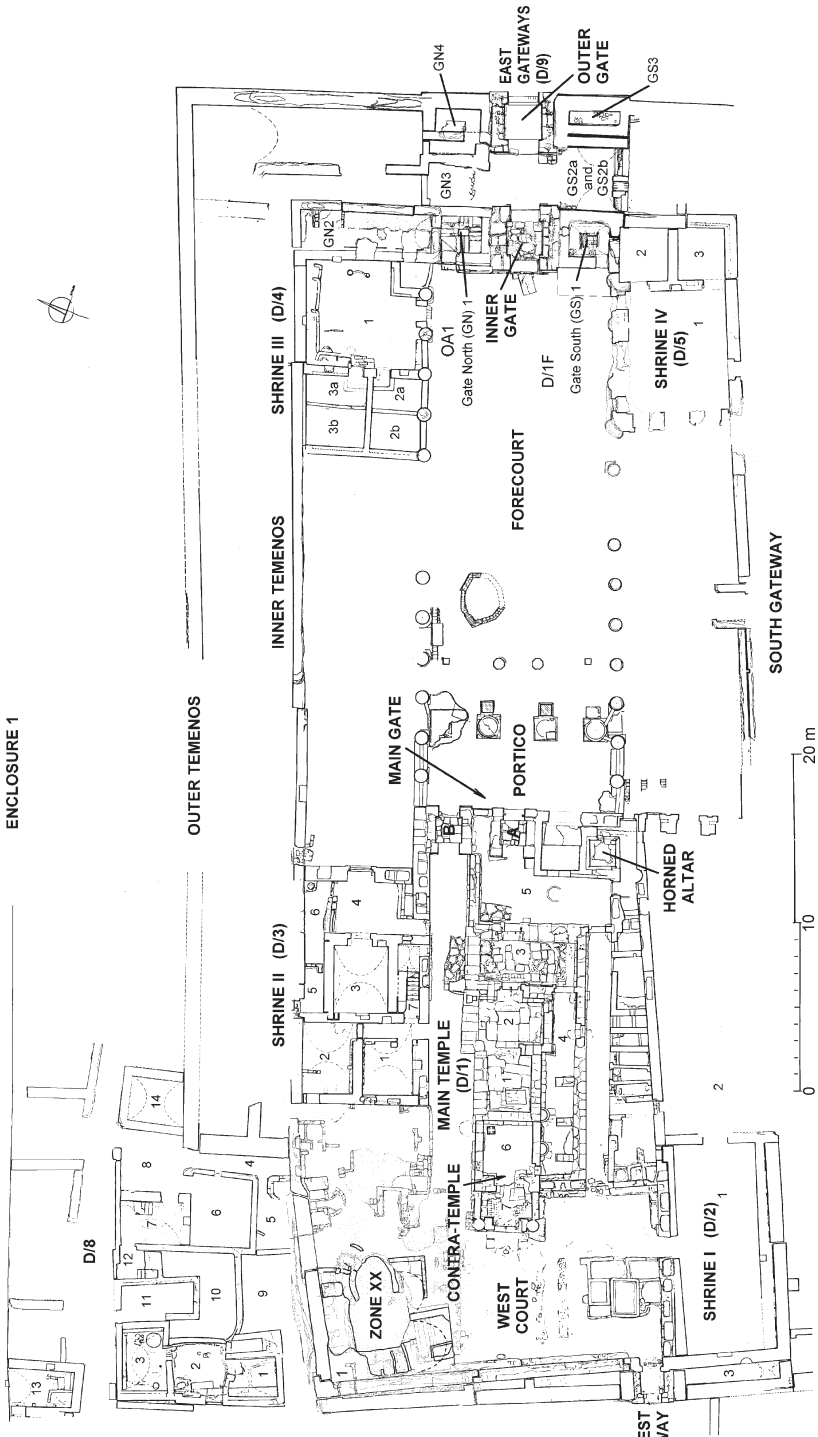

Figure 9.1. Main Temple complex.

understanding religious practice in a village during the final centuries before Christianity became the dominant belief system.

The Main Temple Complex COLIN A. HOPE

Excavations within this complex commenced in 1991 and have been conducted over many subsequent seasons (Hope *et alii* 1989; Hope 2001a, 44–51; 2002, 179–99; 2003, 207–34). The complex is best described as it was in its final stage, in the third and first part of the fourth centuries; this is followed by a discussion of its evolution and cult assemblage. Uncertainty remains over the contemporaneity of some features of the developmental sequence as a result of three centuries of use and modification. While the date of the demise of cult practices within the temple is uncertain, the latest reference to a priest of Tutu, one Stonios, occurs in a document of 335 from House 2 (*P.Kellis Gr.* 13 (**6**)); other texts mentioning him are dated between 298–300 and 311 (Worp 2002, nos. 1, 4 and 8, plus an unpublished document from House 1). Especially relevant is a document (Worp 2002, no. 10 (**13**)) containing a declaration of the number of circumcised priests and lector priests in service in the temple at the beginning of the early fourth century; this mentions circumcised minors and eligible infants yet to be circumcised, thus a new generation of priests in waiting, but numbers are not preserved. In all, some 20 priests are known from the late third to fourth century, including ordinary priests, lector priests, prophets and a temple scribe, clearly showing the economic viability of the institution at that time (Hope 2004a, 12; Worp 2002). In the early second century, the number of priests was likely to have been higher, as indicated by the depiction of 37 priests in Shrine I. The Main Temple complex witnessed activity of a non-cultic, probably domestic, nature until the site was abandoned at the end of the fourth century.

Description

The Main Temple

The Main Temple occupies more than half of the irregularly shaped, mud-brick Enclosure 1 (Figure 1.1), itself some 175 x 92 m in size, with walls 1–1.5 m thick standing in places to 8 m in height. A towered gateway into Enclosure 1 on the east leads to a *dromos* approximately 5 m wide flanked

by mud-brick structures, aligned with the east gateways into the temple enclosures proper. The latter are approximately 80 m E/W by 40 m N/S, and the area between them and Enclosure 1 is also filled with mud-brick structures; the only excavated one (D/8; Chapter 2) is domestic in nature.

The Main Temple (Figure 9.1) is oriented towards the east, as is common for all temples in Dakhleh, except Mut al-Kharab (Hope 2016). In Kharga, the orientation is more diverse (Ikram 2018a, 467–71), as also in the Fayyum (Davoli 1998, 359–70 figure 166), but the reasons for this are unclear. It stands within two temenos walls that are approximately 4.5–5.5 m apart on the north, south and east, but are adjacent on the west. The main entrance system is located on the east through the outer and inner stone gateways from which a colonnaded processional route leads to the Portico fronting the stone-built temple. The columns have painted papyriform capitals, and there may have been a small second colonnade atop this larger one, as is indicated by architectural fragments found throughout the forecourt and Portico. Within the Inner Temenos there are also four mud-brick structures which, because of their location, are identified as having had a religious function and are termed Shrines I–IV. Due west of Shrine II, in the north-west corner of the Inner Temenos, is a complex of small mud-brick rooms on two levels around what may have been a well.

The East Gateway comprises two stone gates of similar size each flanked by a single mud-brick room (Figure 16.2). Both are constructed of sandstone but have limestone paving, and the area between them is paved in these two materials. The use of limestone at Kellis is otherwise restricted to sculpture. Both stones are locally available, the limestone from the escarpment and the sandstone from a quarry approximately 7 km south-west of the site. Neither gate preserves any trace of decoration; however, it is highly likely that they supported cavetto cornices possibly ornamented with winged solar discs. They were closed with a single wooden door. At a distance of 4 m on either side of the outer gate the exterior face of the temenos is set back slightly, and this may have been intended to create the impression of a traditional pylon. It is possible that the same effect existed in the Inner Temenos. The area between the two temenos walls contains mud-brick chambers that could be accessed from doors opening between the two gates and others at various places through the Inner Temenos wall. Few of these chambers have been examined, but they are preserved to two storeys in height in the area between the two stone gates. The arrangement of rooms adjacent to each gate is similar: those immediately to the north each contain stairways leading to storage chambers. Of the rooms on the south, that adjacent to the inner gate

Figure 9.2. Main Temple: column bases and pedestals of the Portico, looking west.

contains a crypt located approximately in the centre of the room, closed with a wooden trapdoor over a rectangular pit; also set into the floor of the room were two large ceramic vessels covered with ceramic lids. Secondary entrances to the courtyard area are located through the Inner Temenos on the south, the South Gateway, and less formally through the same on the north. Access to the West Temple complex from the Main Temple was originally via a double gateway termed the West Gateway.

The Portico extends across the front of the temple (Figure 9.2). It is delineated by four baked-brick columns on the east and screen walls connected to the colonnade. This had the effect of producing three entrances into the Portico, the central one of which lies on the main axis of the temple. A monumental aspect was given to the Portico by the size of the baked-brick columns. They are 1.06 m in diameter and stood at least 5 m in height supporting a Doric entablature, and their bases were ornamented with plaster acanthus leaves above an elaborate moulding and square pedestal (McGregor 2002, figure 9). Sandstone plinths abut their eastern side; of these two were inscribed with dedicatory inscriptions in Greek commemorating the public service of one Aurelius Ophellianos (Worp and Hope 2002). The inscription on the northern plinth is almost complete and reads:

> To Isis-Demeter, the greatest goddess, has dedicated (this stela/statue), Aurelius Ophellianus ex-magistrate, (cult-)leader, together with his wife and children, on account of gratitude. For the best.

Figure 9.3. Main Temple: reconstructed lintel from door 1B.

Part of the top of only one plinth survives, and it preserves two depressions in the upper surface. One of these resembles the shape of a human foot, which implies that it, and the others, may have supported life-size statues. Fragments from several stone statues were recovered in the Portico and the Main Temple. In light of the reference to Isis-Demeter it is conceivable that one of the statues was of this goddess. East of the Portico stood sandstone pedestals or altars aligned with the baked-brick columns.

The northern half of the temple façade contains the main double doorway into the temple, which, like the temple itself, is built of sandstone. Decoration of the temple walls was sparse and restricted to the façade of the doorways and probably also the rear wall of the sanctuary (Room 1); the lintels also supported winged solar discs and cavetto cornices in traditional format on their eastern face. The jambs of the main doorway (1A), on the main axis of the temple, were decorated in raised relief, and the lower parts of two offering scenes with fecundity figures survive *in situ*, while two detached blocks were found, one with the figure of a falcon-headed god and another with a pharaoh. Its lintel is also fragmentary, but sufficient survives to show that it was also carved in raised relief and painted with two identical, addorsed scenes depicting a seated Tutu accompanied by a standing goddess and facing three male figures (Kaper 2003a, R-48). In the northern scene the goddess appears to have been Neith, so presumably Tapsais was represented in the southern scene; the male figures are distinguished on the basis of their crowns, and one is tentatively identified as the emperor Hadrian by a fragmentary set of cartouches (Kaper 2012b, 142). Only the lintel of the northern doorway 1B was decorated, and this can be reconstructed almost in its entirety (Figure 9.3). It is decorated in incised relief with scenes based upon those on the lintel of doorway 1A (Kaper 2003a, R-49), save that the gods are all seated, the position of the goddesses is reversed, and there are only two male figures. The second figure, the king, wears the White Crown in the southern scene and presumably wore the Red Crown in the northern

one, but this is now missing The date of this lintel can be determined only on the basis of style of carving and colours used, which correspond closely to a relief from the Contra-Temple, from the reign of the emperor Pertinax (193 CE; Figure *9.1).

The main entrances were closed with double wooden doors, as were the other doors on the main axis of the temple. The stone gate is set into the walls of adjacent mud-brick structures. The northern doorway leads via a corridor to the area west of the temple and the two-roomed Contra-Temple. Due south of the main entrance is a large niche, originally closed by double doors and approached by a short flight of steps. Its function is, as yet, uncertain, but its prominence in the façade and its alignment on the axis of the southern entrance from the Portico imply a cultic significance. Adjacent to it on the south, and accessed from the temple's open court (Room 5), is an enclosed, stone horned altar used for burning offerings.

Tall sandstone pedestals flanked the doorway from the open court into Room 3. Its jambs and lintel were decorated in raised relief with scenes similar to those on the outer doorways. Fragments from the lowest register of the northern jamb depict a male deity, possibly Thoth, pouring a libation with the hieroglyphs for life, stability and dominion (Kaper 1995, 108, 114). Room 1 of the temple is the sanctuary and Room 2 the offering room. They are the only rooms in the temple to have stone floors. A life-size cult relief probably adorned the rear, western, wall of the sanctuary. Surviving fragments attest a seated male figure wearing the *atef* crown and a standing goddess facing him; they are carved in high raised relief and preserve traces of both painting and gilding. Together with these the remains of a Demotic graffito were found, naming a woman and her two sons (Tait 2002), which probably records who financed the addition of the cult relief to the temple. The sanctuary is furnished with a single, stone-lined crypt set into its floor. Crypts were intended for the storage of precious statues or cultic equipment not required on a daily basis. A few times a year the crypt would be opened and the items removed for special occasions in the festive calendar.

The sanctuary of the Contra-Temple (Room 6; Figure 9.4) appears not to have been decorated, while the walls of its vestibule (Room 7) carried painted plaster with scenes of gods in pharaonic style, only fragments of which survive (Kaper 1997b, 31–3). The exterior corners of this room are provided with baked-brick columns coated in fluted plaster and with modelled bases. A section possibly from the shaft of one of these columns preserves ribs/fluting between which are three-pronged leaves, both elements modelled in plaster and of classical inspiration. The jambs of

Figure 9.4. Main Temple: the Contra-Temple, looking south-east.

the door into Room 6 were originally decorated with incised and painted relief. A single block preserves parts of the image of Tapsais, preceded by two columns of hieroglyphic text, facing a king wearing an elaborate crown and holding sacred objects, identified as the emperor Pertinax (Kaper and Worp 1995, 112–13; Kaper 2012b, 143, 160 and 162); the figure of the goddess is coated with oil deposits (Figure *9.1). The mention of this emperor is remarkable, because there are no other monuments in Egypt on which his name appears in hieroglyphs. Pertinax ruled only for three months, and the relief demonstrates how essential the role of the king was in the temple cult, even when it was clear that he would never perform the cult in person. In this remote region at the border of the Roman Empire, the identity of the emperor was still vital for the proper form of decoration on the walls of a village temple.

Throughout the temple numerous fragments of stucco decoration have been found, the original placement of which is uncertain. Amongst these are small flowers attached to multiple intertwined stems that may have been attached to columns, and several small heads in classical style probably of divinities that were placed at the centre of tondos (Figure 9.5), which may have been attached to a door frame or capitals.

The temple is small in size when compared to the scale of Enclosure 1, and even the area defined by the Inner Temenos: the latter is 68–71 x 17.5–29 m, while the five rooms of the Main Temple (1–3, 6–7) are 18.4 x 5.6 m; including the inner court (Room 5) and the main gate, the total length is 24.8 m. The lower parts of the walls of the main rooms within the temple are liberally coated with oily crusts formed as a result of the

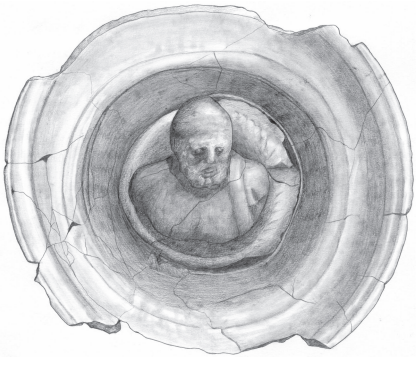

Figure 9.5. Main Temple: plaster bust of bearded male in a tondo.

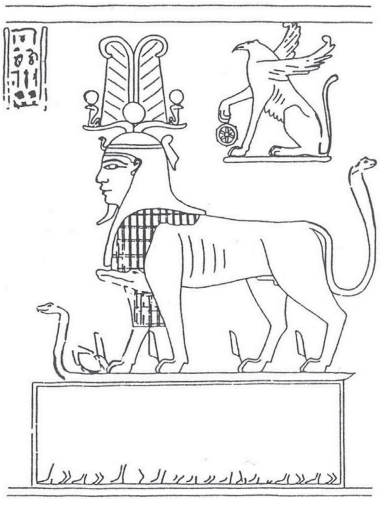

Figure 9.6. Shrine I: reconstruction of Tutu with Nemesis.

ritual pouring of oil libations. One sample of such material has been identified as a vegetable oil, possibly olive oil, Moringa oil, tiger-nut/chufa oil or almond oil (Ross and Stern 2003). Bagnall (Chapter 6.1) has proposed that olive cultivation was a major agricultural resource in Dakhleh. Oil libations seem to have been most frequent within the sanctuary of the Contra-Temple, where a deposit 50 cm in depth formed in its north-eastern corner, and to a lesser extent over the entire room. This almost buried a sandstone pedestal and a bronze figure of Tapsais (Figure *9.2). The decorated jambs of the outer room of the Contra-Temple also preserve oily crusts, and there is a deposit against the exterior wall. Three other oil-encrusted pedestals were found at the junction of Rooms 1 and 2, and the fragment of one stone, squatting male statue from the temple was also covered in oil.

Shrine I

The most imposing of the four shrines is undoubtedly Shrine I (Figure 9.7), which also has one of the most unusual decorative schemes known from Roman Egypt. It occupies an area on the south of the Main Temple extending from its outer doors to the Outer Temenos on the west, and is thus considerably larger than the Main Temple. This three-roomed, mud-brick structure has been identified as a *mammisi*, or birth house, the function of which was to commemorate and celebrate the birth and

Figure 9.7. Shrine I, Room 1: western half, looking west.

rejuvenation of the god (Kaper 1997b, 38–40). It consists of two large axially arranged, interconnecting rectangular rooms and a narrow western inaccessible space. The inner room of the shrine, Room 1, had a vaulted roof that originally must have reached 5 m in height; it measures 12.4 x 4.8 m. The entire vault and the walls below are plastered and painted in a combination of pharaonic and classical styles. The outer room appears to have been open; its walls were also painted predominantly in classical style but with some pharaonic elements on the western wall; as it is largely unexcavated the overall scheme is uncertain (Chapter 10).

The focal point of the structure is undoubtedly the inner room, which has the most complex decorative scheme. In the centre of the west wall is a niche topped by a modelled shell motif and with a cavetto cornice abutting its lower edge. This undoubtedly originally held an image of Tutu, perhaps also one of Neith. Another smaller niche is located in the southern wall opposite the northern door into the room; unlike the niche in the west wall it was originally covered by plaster and decorated as an integral part of the cult imagery. It functioned as a small crypt and may have also held an image of Tutu or some image of magical protection.

The pharaonic decoration is arranged in registers, with four on the east and west walls, and one on the north and south walls below three on the vault, above which is a bandeau inscription. The lowest register is 55 cm in height and the others are 76 cm; traces of the grid lines employed in

Figure 9.8. Shrine I: part of the reconstruction of the scene of the Seven Hathors.

executing the paintings remain in many places. While some of the decoration remains *in situ* on the walls, much was found in pieces within the room as a result of the collapse of the vault and required considerable conservation and reconstruction. Extracts are presented of a published summary of the scheme (Kaper 2003a, 143–8) with some additional references inserted. It not only indicates the complexity of the decorative scheme but shows clearly the role played by the god; a discussion of the distribution of the specific scenes by register can be found elsewhere (Kaper 2002b).

> The decoration of the *mammisi* is singular in several ways. Firstly, it combines classical decoration with pharaonic style decoration in equal measures. Secondly, the Egyptian style decoration consists mainly of gods. Only one scene in the room depicts a king (Kaper 2003a, R-72), and there are scenes with priests and with rows of human prisoners … More than 400 gods filled the remaining registers, grouped into small offering scenes or in larger processions in which the great gods are approached by lesser deities instead of by the king ...
>
> The *mammisi* was dedicated to the cult of Tutu and Neith, and at least 18 of the more than 30 scenes in the decoration of the shrine contain Tutu as the principal god. These are by preference located in the southern half of the room. At least

five scenes have Neith as the principal deity, all of which are located in the northern half of the room. There was a division of the gods over the southern and northern sides, which did, however, not prevent images of Tutu to appear in the northern half as well.

Even though there is no doubt that the room functioned as a *mammisi*, there is no scene depicting the birth of the god, such as [is] found in many other *mammisis*. Distinctive scenes in the shrine include the procession of the Seven Hathors (Kaper n.d., 7–21; Figure 9.8) and the four Meshkenet goddesses in front of Neith, and the gods Ptah and Khnum on their potters' wheels facing Tutu (Bettles and Kaper 2011) …. The protection of the god during the hours of the night … is a theme known exclusively from *mammisis* (Pries 2009), whereas the offering of crowns … is known from *mammisis*, but it has been found in other contexts as well.

A large number of scenes is concerned with the measuring of time. The scenes depict the personified hours of the night …, the hours of the day …, as well as the days of the months … and the months of the year. These are themes that are usually reserved for astronomical ceilings, because they illustrate the god's relation to the heavenly bodies, and especially the sun and the moon as dividers of time. In this context it is significant that scene R-58 portrays Tutu as the solar creator god, being worshipped by the Hermopolitan Ogdoad.

Other themes in the *mammisi*'s decoration include the presentation of the temple furniture by priests …, attributes of kingship…, and of the submission of foreign countries in the form of Libyan captives….One scene depicts the personified extremities of the country paying homage to the god…, and the full lists of the Egyptian nomes as well as the oases have been included in the shrine as a reflection of the extent of Tutu's earthly kingdom. The god is often depicted wearing the Double Crown, which reflects the royal aspects of the god at Ismant el-Kharab.

The various aspects of Tutu, as these have emerged from the present study, are each reflected in the *mammisi* decoration at Ismant el-Kharab. He is linked to the demons ..., in particular to *ꜣ pḥty*, whose name is sometimes added to that of Tutu instead of the title *ꜣ pḥty*. The god's iconography also links

him to the decans…, and one scene refers to the concept of fate (Tutu as Agathos Daimon), and another scene depicts him together with the griffin of Petbe/Nemesis ... (Figure 9.6).

At Ismant el-Kharab, the Seven Demons are mentioned ... and depicted ... They are identified as the danger against which Tutu protects the world. The demons are referred to with the customary terms: *ḫ3tyw*, *šm3yw* and *sšrw*. In the scene R-57, Tutu is presented with the following gifts: 'Dispelling the arrows (*rwi sšrw*)', and 'Causing the arrow demon to assault the enemies (*rdi bs sšr r ḫftyw*)'. These gifts emphasise Tutu's ability to constrain the demons.

A remarkable local feature of the cult at Ismant el-Kharab is the association of Tutu with Shesmu, the god of ointments and the wine press in scene Kaper 2003a, R-51. This is probably to be explained as a reference to the offering of local produce to the god within the register beneath it, and which includes grapes and wine (R-50). Viticulture was one of the major agricultural activities in the oasis, for which there is pictorial evidence from the Roman period. The theme of fecundity and food provision was also present elsewhere in the cult at Kellis in the form of the aforementioned series of plaster statues set up around the Main Temple, some of which depicted Isis in her fecundity aspect as Isis-Demeter.

And concerning the defiles of priests represented:

In two different scenes, 37 and 27 priests are depicted in a realistic rendering of cultic activities. On the southern wall, 37 priests offer items of cultic equipment and food to Tutu and Neith …, and the parallel scene on the northern wall depicts 27 priests offering to Neith and Tapsais. The two scenes show different costumes for various groups among the priests and shaven heads for the principal categories. About one-third of the men are depicted as minors, corresponding to the circumcised minors mentioned in the papyri from Kellis. The initial priests in the northern group wear two feathers on their heads, as pterophorous priests or temple scholars, and these are singular in having been provided with hieroglyphic legends. Unfortunately, the titles mentioned are fragmentary and difficult to interpret. They include a title *nsw*, 'royal priest', *hry-sšt3*, 'stolist', and perhaps *imy-r3 ḏ3t*, 'overseer of the storeroom'.

The realism of the two scenes allows an hypothesis on the numbers of priests engaged in the temple of Tutu in the early

second century. The Main Temple and the *mammisi* may have been served by the 37 priests depicted in the southern scene, including nine *wab*-priests, and the two goddesses in the West Temple may have been served by a group of 27 priests, as in the northern scene, which included seven *wab*-priests. A full discussion of these important scenes has been given elsewhere [Kaper 1997b, chapter 4].

Room 1 communicates with Room 2 on the east by a door centrally positioned in the shared wall. The main entrance into this outer room is on the east, where three doors separated by two mud-brick piers are located, aligned with those into the outer room of Shrine IV. This arrangement indicates an architectural, if not functional, connection between the two structures. The lower parts of all of the walls are decorated with classical motifs, predominantly panel design, while the upper part of the west wall was ornamented with a variety of figurative motifs. The lintel of the door into Room 1 was decorated with a painted scene copying that on the lintel of the main axial doorway in the Main Temple. The figurative decoration in this room has been dated to the third century (Chapter 10). It is possible that cult activity also took place outside Shrine I, indicated by several features in the exterior face of its western wall, but when Room 3 on the west of Room 1 was created this ceased.

Shrine II

This structure (Figure 9.9) is located on the north side of the Main Temple, separated from it by the north corridor, and abutting the Inner Temenos wall. In its final form it comprised four main rooms. The two on the east, Rooms 3–4, are on the same axis and interconnecting, with doors in the centres of their east walls. Room 3 has a niche located approximately in the centre of its rear wall. This has been re-cut on at least one occasion; a second niche in the same wall to the north is partly blocked by the north wall of the room. The walls of the south-eastern corner of Room 4 are fitted with open cupboards. On the north are two spaces, Rooms 5 and 6; a door in the western end of the north wall here originally provided access to structures between the Inner and Outer Temenos walls, and preserves a small section of plaster painted with parts of a green panel design below a foliate-scroll motif identical to the decoration in Shrine III. This may indicate that the entire inner face of the Inner Temenos wall from the east wall north of the gateway, along the north wall of Shrine III to Shrine II, originally carried this design.

Figure 9.9. Shrine II (background) and Shrine III (foreground) looking west.

The other two rooms, 1 and 2, are located to the west and are side by side. They were both originally accessed from a corridor on their east, which was entered via a door opening off the north corridor of the Main Temple into Room 1. There was no direct communication between these two rooms and those on the east in the last phase of the use of this building. All rooms were barrel-vaulted. The other main architectural elements of Shrine II are a staircase (Room 7) leading to the roof of Room 3, and a large cupboard (Room 8) under these stairs opening off the temple's north corridor.

Shrine III

This three-roomed structure in the north-eastern corner of the Inner Temenos (Figure 9.9) was, like Shrine IV, built after the construction of the colonnade and the rooms adjacent to the inner east gateway. It comprises a large rectangular room, Room 1, entered from the south between the first and second columns of the colonnade, off which open two smaller rectangular rooms, 2 and 3, on the west. The latter are adjacent and have been divided into two equal sections by low, narrow brick walls. These rooms were originally white-plastered. Room 1 preserves much of its white plaster on the northern wall and patches on the eastern one. This is decorated with the remains of classical panel motifs in green topped by a large foliate-scroll border that depicts acanthus leaves in an interlocking

S-spiral motif. There is no evidence that the southern or western walls were ever decorated, and the L-shaped section of wall in the south-eastern corner of Room 1 where it abuts the east wall is actually built against a painted section of wall. Set high in the north wall is a plastered niche, the base of which only survives. Given the height of the niche above floor level, it is likely that it once contained a cult image. Room 1 was probably unroofed; floors throughout are of compacted earth, but originally Room 1 possessed floors with a gypsum coating.

Shrine IV

Shrine IV is located in the south-eastern corner of the Inner Temenos and comprises three mud-brick rooms: Room 1 is the largest on the west and 2–3 abut the eastern temenos wall and are of equal size. Three doorways provide access into Room 1 through its northern wall from the east end of the forecourt, and another three likewise through the west wall; the latter, as noted above, are aligned with the entrances into Room 2 of Shrine I. There is a small niche in the east wall of the room aligned axially with the central western door. All of the northern entrances were once fitted with pivoted wooden doors that opened into the shrine set between short sections of screen walls 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 were once painted green but later overpainted in white; the capitals are papyriform and painted in typical pharaonic fashion to represent the open umbel and calyx of this plant. Numerous fragments from plaster sculptures, all apparently representing the goddesses Isis, were probably attached to the screen walls (compare Hope 1998, 821–5).

Access into the eastern rooms is via Room 1 only, and the details of their architecture are unknown, as they remain largely unexcavated. Room 1 is decorated with a classical design on its southern wall comprising octagons with bowls of fruit on an aubergine-coloured base (Figure 10.13). Room 3 preserves three layers of plaster with *dipinti* of Tutu, Seth, Bes and the vulture of Neith upon the lowest (Figure *9.3; Kaper 2002a), confirming a cultic connection with Shrine I, and an elaborate classical design with birds, flowers and octagons on the uppermost (Figure 10.12). 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

Figure 9.10. Main Temple, West Court: well and sub-floor structures, looking south-east.

found in Room 3. The southern and western walls of the room each contain niches and only have one layer of white plaster.

The West Court and North-Western Corner of the Inner Temenos

The area to the west of the Main Temple comprises an open court with flimsy mud-brick structures on the north extending to the rear of Shrine II and two sandstone basins and three brick chambers on the south. The sandstone basins are each cut from a single block, and both have a single perforation that opens into a mud-plastered, rectangular depression in the earth floor of the court. They were probably used to contain water for use in temple rituals. It is likely that the small brick chambers surrounding the lustral basins are fourth-century additions and may postdate the use of the temple as a place of worship. A low, white-plastered bench (mastaba) lines the western side of the court and occurs also in the south-eastern corner, and may have provided seating for those allowed to gather here during cult activities. The entire south wall contains a series of small open cupboards. At the southern end of the temenos walls on the west is the double West Gateway, mentioned above. It is the smallest of the three main gateways into the Inner Temenos. The inner gate has mud-brick jambs, while the outer part is of sandstone, standing to a maximum height of 2.06 m on the south. The sandstone gateway is completely undecorated

but supported a cavetto cornice; deposits of oily material coat parts of its exterior. It originally provided access from the Main Temple complex to the West Temple, but this was changed when Enclosure 1 was erected.

The north-west corner of the Inner Temenos is devoted to mud-brick storage facilities, on the west surrounding an oval structure tentatively identified as a well (Figure 9.10). The uncertainty in the identification results from its construction in mud brick, not a material usually associated with the construction of wells. This feature descends at least 4 m, and a wooden beam was originally inserted across it, presumably to enable the filling of vessels containing water. The rooms are on two levels. The details of the upper level are not clear because of poor preservation, but they are of small size and some lacked roofs, and their floors are at the same level as the West Court and Main Temple. The lower level, revealed only in the west of the area, comprises two barrel-vaulted chambers on the south and a series of smaller rectangular rooms against the west and north walls of the temenos. They are of varying size but stand to only about one metre in height. The roofs of the rooms on the north and west were supported on wooden beams set into the temenos walls, and they supported the floors of the upper level. These rooms are below the level of the West Court and Main Temple.

Two stairways provide access to the lower level from the upper; a possible third stairway is located east of the well. The barrel-vaulted chamber in the south-west is subdivided by storage basins, and the room in the north-west corner has a series of seven pottery jars set into its floor, five of which were covered with bowls, while the other two, actually completely concealed by the earth floor of the room, were closed by the two parts of a broken stela depicting Tutu as a sphinx (Figure *9.4). Given the porous nature of their material these vessels could only have been used for dry storage. These lower-level rooms appear all to have been closed by wooden doors. Small mud seals were regularly attached to the door into the barrel-vaulted chamber in the south-west, and many were found discarded where they had been dropped on opening the door. They preserve images of Nemesis shown as a seated griffin, the tail of which ends in a crowned serpent's head (Hope 2002, 187, plate 9). Nemesis is often associated with Tutu (Figure 9.6), and the discovery of these fragile items confirms that the room was used for property that came under the protection of the deity. The lower level of rooms is built on the remains of a rectangular stone structure, 5.65 x 3.5 m that originally supported a barrel-vaulted chamber, which was dismantled for their construction. It is assumed that the centre of this area was completely covered to facilitate access to the rooms and movement between them.

Excavation in this area has not been completed, and so the depth of the well and the function of the rectangular stone structure are unknown. Intriguingly, behind the walls of the south-eastern lower room several stone ashlar blocks could be seen, well below the Main Temple, raising the possibility of some earlier major structure here.

Evolution and Dating of the Main Temple Complex

While it is not possible yet to determine when each part of the Main Temple complex was constructed, a general summary of the development can be proposed based upon the architectural study by Jaroslaw Dobrowolski (2002). Especially significant has been the analysis of the mortars used, particularly the distribution of a coarse-grained mortar with a significant ash content. Epigraphic and other dating evidence (Hope 2001a) has been correlated with this to assign tentative dates to the phases. In general the temple seems to have been planned along traditional lines, namely with a semblance of a pylon, a colonnaded approach with papyriform capitals, stone doorways leading to an axially arranged stone building with pharaonic decoration. In its evolution classical elements were added to the core structure, such as the Portico with Corinthian-order capitals and Doric entablature, classical-style images of Isis and Serapis on pedestals, Greek dedicatory inscriptions, other sculpture and decorative elements in stucco. The two traditions were integrated probably from the outset with the walls of the Inner Temenos painted along classical lines.

The Main Temple evolved in three main stages and is erected directly over the remains of a stone structure with a different orientation to the temple. It may attest the existence of an earlier temple or a monumental tomb structure, comparable to the West Tombs nearby, to judge by the material used in its construction. The sanctuary, Room 1, fronted only by the main axial door, 1A, was the first part to be constructed, followed by the offering room, Room 2, east of the sanctuary. The sanctuary of the Contra-Temple, Room 6, was then added and probably the northern entrance, door 1B, of the main gate set within an original temenos enclosure, little of which survives, but which possibly carried painted decoration. The room containing the horned altar south of door 1A was built at this time, accessible only from Room 5, although the horned altar itself must have been standing when this occurred. Finally, the vestibule, Room 3, was added and its north wall extended east to abut the main doorway, resulting in the creation of the small open court, Room 5; Room

Figure 9.11. Main Temple: southern part of the façade showing niche and remodelling, looking west.

4 was also added. The outer room of the Contra-Temple, Room 7, was erected, incorporating columns at its exterior corners that predate the room. Blocks incorporated into this final development derive from a different building, possibly the stone structure underlying the temple; they comprise mainly sections of columns, but one block was found with part of an attached column from a doorway. The columns of the Portico east of the temple may have been erected in this final phase. If this was the case then the colonnade in the forecourt was in existence by this time, and thus the Inner Temenos wall also, with the inner East Gateway and inner West Gateway. Many minor changes took place after this, including cutting a door through the temple façade to access chambers to the south of the temple, possibly built at this time, and the creation of the large niche in the façade. This involved cutting through walls that carried the green panel décor of the Inner Temenos (Chapter 10), and replastering the walls with white plaster, which extends on to the side walls of the Portico (Figure 9.11).

The development of Shrine I took place in two stages. South of the Main Temple was a large rectangular space that was possibly created during phase 2 of the Main Temple development. Subsequently, the south, north and east walls that now define Room 1 were inserted into the pre-existing structure, the vault was constructed, and the northern door into Room 1 was opened. This space received elaborate painted decoration

that has been assigned to the early to mid-second century primarily on iconographic grounds (Kaper 2002b, 221–2; Moormann 2011, 117).

The first stage in the evolution of Shrine II was the construction of Rooms 1 and 2 between the Inner Temenos wall and the evolving Main Temple, thus possibly as part of the temple's phase 2 development. This receives slight confirmation from two coins of Trajan found embedded within the floor of Room 2 and one in the floor of Room 1. Room 1 was entered by a door in the south wall and Room 2 entered from Room 1. There were two niches in the eastern face of the east wall. The remaining rooms of the complex were then constructed. These rooms form an eastern block that does not communicate directly with the original rooms to their west. Rooms 3 and 4 have doors on the same alignment in their eastern walls, and on this same axis a niche in the west wall of Room 3 was created. Finally, after the primary function of the structure had changed, numerous modifications were made of a seemingly domestic nature that may relate to the activity in the north-west corner of the Inner Temenos around the well.

Shrines III and IV originally both comprised a single room that was subdivided to create a further two rooms in each, those in III on the west and in IV on the east. Shrine III was constructed after the colonnade in the forecourt, the Inner Temenos and the inner East Gateway had all been erected, while Shrine IV is contemporary with the southern colonnade, the inner East Gateway and the room immediately to its south. The layout of Shrine IV in its final form recalls the original plan of Shrine II and the second phase of Shrine III, i.e., a large exterior room with two smaller inner rooms. This could well indicate that in this form they were contemporary and indicates a degree of architectural uniformity in their development.

Much of the datable material from the complex relates to its actual use rather than directly to its architectural evolution. The majority of the reliable evidence all relates to the Main Temple and is inscriptional. The earliest piece of evidence is a sandstone pedestal recovered from the Portico (Bagnall *et alii* 2002) that carries an inscription in Greek with the remains of the titulary of Nero (54–68) and a single line of Demotic with a reference to Tutu (Chapter 8.3). The latter indicates that the pedestal derives from the site and implies the existence at that time of a temple to the god. It is not possible to relate this with confidence to a specific phase in the evolution of the temple, but given other data it is possible to suggest that it relates to one of the oldest phases, even that attested by the structure beneath the existing building.

The remains of the shattered lintel from the main axial gateway of the temple, door 1A, were also found within the area of the Portico, whence

derive fragments of a double cartouche possibly of Hadrian (117–38). The erection of the gate is assigned to the first construction phase of the temple, so this phase is either contemporary with or predates this emperor if it stood undecorated for any length of time. What little survives of the decoration of the lintel and jambs of the door into Room 3 and of the rear wall of Room 1 is also executed in raised relief. The latter is part of the same phase as door 1A, while the former is part of the final major development. If use of relief technique is regarded as significant, then it can be suggested that the major development of the temple should all be assigned to the reign of Hadrian. A fragmentary Greek dedicatory inscription of his successor Antoninus Pius (138–61) was discovered at the site by Ahmed Fahkry (Wagner 1973; Kaper 2003a S-63).

From the north jamb of the door into the sanctuary of the Contra-Temple, Room 7, comes a single block decorated in painted incised relief preserving the cartouches of Pertinax, whose brief reign extended from 1 January to 28 March in 193. This room is also a part of the final architectural development, indicating that if this phase is assigned to Hadrian, the doorway of Room 7 remained undecorated for some 55 years. The style of the Pertinax block closely resembles that of the decoration on the lintel of door 1B, assigned to the second building phase of the temple. If that lintel was only decorated during this extremely short reign then it had also stood undecorated for over half a century. A stela with the name of Pertinax's longer-reigning successor, Septimius Severus (193–211), has been found in the temple complex (Figure *9.5; Kaper 2003b, 313–4). The additions under Pertinax are amongst the latest attested to any temple in Egypt. Finally, it is worth noting that the erection of the pedestals in front of the columns of the Portico, assigned to the final building phase, should postdate 212. As they stand upon floors that had accumulated against the columns, they confirm the erection of the columns well before the early third century.

Objects from the Main Temple Complex

The discovery of fragments from a wide selection of cult objects used within the temple rituals (Hope 1998) was unexpected given the poor state of preservation of the building itself, and they add important information about the temple's appearance and the deities venerated therein. Fragments of such items were found scattered throughout and especially within Rooms 3 and 4 and the Portico. Only the most important categories are reviewed here. Three other items deserve mention: a

multiple-stringed, glass bead necklace, some of the beads in which contained gold (Figure 4.3.6), found between the temenos walls at the rear of the Main Temple; and two square wooden boxes, their lids closed with lead seals, each lid having a slot for insertions (Hope 2003, 221, plates 7–8, figures 6a–b). They recall collection boxes. They were retrieved from the south-east corner of Shrine I below collapse at floor level on the edge of a cut through the floor. Their place of discovery may not coincide with where they were used. As with the use of the temple for the celebration of the cults of its deities, the objects date from the late first to early fourth centuries.

Sculpture

The most frequently attested deity amongst the objects is Isis in her various forms related to fertility and motherhood. Fragments from statues in limestone preserve sections of the head with Isis locks, hands that originally clenched objects and sandalled feet. It is evident that these pieces derive from composite, life-size statues. The existence of statues of Isis entirely in limestone is possibly indicated by the discovery of fragments of limbs in that material. The goddess was possibly represented holding a sistrum, cornucopia or other cult object. No fragments from the limbs or torsos from composite figures have been found in the Main Temple, but during the excavation of the West Temple a fragment from the arm of a life-size wooden figure, wearing a long garment with deep folds, painted and partially gilded, was found. This might indicate the material in which the bodies of such figures were executed. The position of these life-size figures within the temple may be suggested as fronting the Portico, as mentioned above, with two set atop the sandstone pedestals; one of the pedestals preserves a reference to the veneration of Isis-Demeter, and so the statue fragments may attest this syncretistic form.

A considerable number of fragments of sculpture in plaster have been found in almost every area. It would seem to have been the most common medium for sculpture but, at the same time, the inherent nature of the material makes reconstruction very difficult. The majority of the figures appears to represent forms of Isis. Fragments from a life-size bust of Isis-Demeter were found in Room 4 of the Main Temple (Figure *9.6); unfortunately most of the face is missing. The head is crowned with a tall *polos* with a solar disc, supporting a veil which flows down on to the shoulders framing the hair; she wears a *himation*. The garments are painted green and the hair is black. Fragments that may derive from another bust

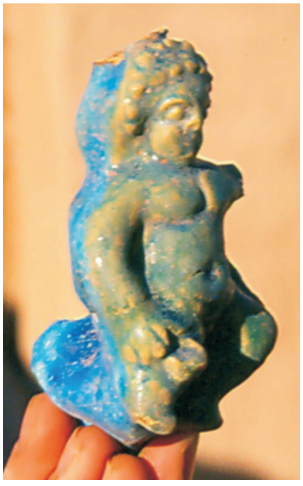

Figure 9.12. Main Temple: faience Harpokrates.

Figure 9.13. Main Temple: painted panel depicting Isis.

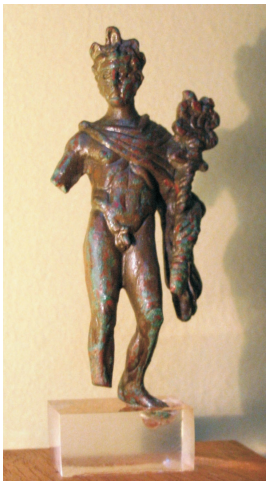

Figure 9.14. Main Temple: bronze figure of Hermes.

of similar scale were found amongst debris to the east of Shrine II, and a small complete *polos* supporting part of a veil attests the existence of a further image. Isis suckling Harpokrates (Isis Lactans) is attested by an incomplete figure (Figure *9.7), found immediately east of Shrine I, that obviously once depicted a full, seated image. Harpokrates himself is attested in the form of small figurines in other materials, one in faience (Figure 9.12). Finally, a range of small heads of Isis may be noted, all with Isis locks and crowned with diadems.

While not sculptural in form, it is appropriate to mention one other depiction of Isis from the temple. This is a small, painted wooden panel depicting a youthful goddess (Figure 9.13) that was found in the north-west corner of Room 3 of the Main Temple, buried in earth floor accumulations over the original damaged stone floor. She is shown wearing the solar disc, horns and uraeus (*basileion*) with ears of corn at the base, above a diadem; she has long tresses and a garment with a shawl knotted over her right breast. This fine painting has been discussed elsewhere in detail (Whitehouse and Hope 1999; Rondot 2013, 213–14). It has been suggested that it may have been accompanied by a second panel with a depiction of Serapis and have been a votive gift to the temple following a period of domestic use.

Representations of the Roman-period consort of Isis, Serapis, occur more rarely, again in both limestone and plaster. A large-scale figure in limestone is attested by the pieces from a *kalathos*, the typical headgear

of the god, adorned with an olive branch in raised relief, with traces of red paint serving as the base for gold foil, and curls of hair, some from the forehead and probably from a beard, carved in high relief. The exact nature of this figure cannot be determined from the surviving pieces. It may have been a bust or a complete figure. Amongst the other fragmentary stone objects are several pieces from an over life-size limestone foot represented wearing a boot; this might represent a foot offering of the type known in association with the cult of Serapis (Castiglione 1971). Amongst the ubiquitous plaster sculptures are fragments that may derive from images of this god, including the syncretic form Serapis-Ammon.

The major deities of the temple, Tutu and Tapsais, are rarely attested amongst the sculpture. Fragments from a small limestone figure were found in the sanctuary of the temple (Room 1), and several derive from its crypt. Only the head and part of the shoulders survive (Hope 1998, 817, plate 1). The image wears a lappeted head-cloth without indication of a uraeus; the forehead supports a row of short curls. The shoulders are narrow and rather flat at the front, indicating that the head is from a sphinx rather than an anthropomorphic portrayal. The facial features have been worn smooth, and almost the entire surface has a coating of oily mud. It may be suggested that the worn state of the figure is a result of the deliberate application of oil. Several surviving three-dimensional representations of Tutu depict him as a sphinx (Kaper 2003a, 363–77), but the Kellis fragments cannot be definitely identified as from such a figure (Kaper 2003a, 381, X-10) rather than a sphinx once placed in the forecourt of the temple, comparable to those found at Dayr al-Hagar temple, which were likewise covered in oil deposits.

There is only one small sculpture of Tutu's consort, Tapsais: a remarkably well-preserved, votive bronze figure (Figure *9.2; Kaper and Worp 1995), showing the goddess in traditional style. The amount of detail and Egyptian appearance make the piece exceptional, because bronze statues from Roman Egypt were generally made in the Hellenistic or Roman style. It is incised in Greek with the following dedication:

> (Of?) Talaeous, daughter
> (of?) Thaesis
> To Tapsais all-victorious (?) <and>
> To Tithoes, the god of Kellis

Three other bronze figures have been discovered in the temple area: an unidentifiable female figure in Egyptian style, another in classical style and a well-preserved one of Hermes, again in full classical style (Figure 9.14). A portion of the lower part of a marble statue group representing a

standing male figure in classical style wearing sandals, with a tree trunk and a ram on his right, was found in Room 5 and may also represent this god.

Amongst the non-votive items are fragments from several male heads with tightly curled hair and shown clean-shaved, one wearing a fillet, and others from torsos and limbs wearing deeply folded garments. Many of these were once gilded. Only one partial reconstruction of such a figure has been possible (Figure *9.8). He is shown barefoot, wearing a long robe; his left arm is extended by the side and the right arm folded low across the chest. His identity is not certain, though it is presumably an emperor. That he is shown barefoot indicates a deified figure and clean-shaved that the emperor represented either predates Hadrian or is to be ascribed to the reigns of Constantine and his sons, from which time the emperors did not wear beards. From the reign of Hadrian onwards the emperors are regularly shown bearded.

Numerous fragments derive from a range of plaster heads, presumably divine, once set within bowls/tondos, in plaster. In Room 6, three well-preserved small busts were found amongst the rubble. One of these is of a female, one wears a floral crown and possibly represents Dionysos, and the other is a mature bearded male, possibly to be identified as Herakles (Figure 9.5). The elaborately modelled tondos were attached by plaster to what were probably larger architectural elements, such as door frames or column capitals. These items are similar to others that once adorned the capitals of West Tomb 1 and depict winged Medusa heads (Figure 13.4).

Stelae

Representations of any of the main deities to whom the temple was dedicated are at a premium outside Shrine I, therefore the discovery of two stelae with such is a welcome addition (Kaper 2003b). An intact sandstone stela was found against the inner south face of the inner gateway; it carries representations of a king making offering to seated figures of Neith and Tutu (Figure *9.5). The figures are carved in relief and painted; at some stage areas of the background were carelessly painted red. The figure of Neith has been altered in antiquity and is covered with a stain 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 identifies him as Septimius Severus. An inverted pedestal was found to the south of this stela that may once have supported a statue. The

original location of both of these items is uncertain, but they could have been positioned along the processional route through the Forecourt.

The second stela (Figure *9.4) was found reused to cover the mouths of two ceramic vessels in the complex of rooms in the north-west corner of the Inner Temenos, due west of Shrine II. Despite being broken, it is in very good condition; it is carved in limestone. 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 divine tripartite wig, 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 mane of the sphinx is 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 hood of the cobra. The inlays that survive are of blue, red and white glass. Tentatively, the piece is ascribed to 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.

Shrines

Fragments recovered from the temple attest the existence of two box shrines, at least five shrines with open-work sides, three of which along with other fragments derive from portable barque shrines. While such items are well known from temple reliefs (Figure 9.15), finds of actual examples are extremely rare, even in fragmentary form (Traunecker *et alii* 1981; Insley Green 1987, nos. 8–9, 28–31; Vassilika 1995, no. 58). The box shrines would have housed images of the deities worshipped at Kellis, while the barque shrines were used in the ritual processions that were an important aspect of the cult.

The fragments from the best-preserved box shrine (Figure *9.9) were found within a cupboard in the south wall of the outer room (Room 4) of Shrine II, where they had been placed deliberately, presumably to be retrieved at a later date. They are made of gilded wood and carved in high relief. The largest section is from the side of the shrine and comprises a central Hathor-headed column to which three panels attach. They depict a standing Isis, seated Nephthys and seated Isis. Two further panels depict a standing ruler, simply labelled pharaoh, making an offering of incense, and a standing figure of Onuris-Shu. Hieroglyphic text identifies the figures

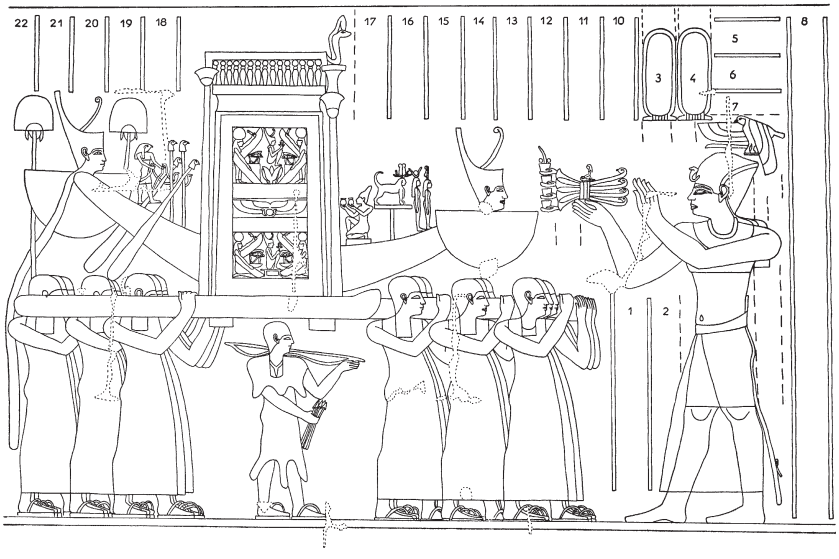

Figure 9.15. Temple of Esna: portable barque shrine of Neith.

on each panel with various epithets. A single section from the corner of another shrine in gilded wood preserves the near-complete, incised figure of a ruler in the act of making an offering.

Pieces from outer *naoi* from barque shrines were found in all rooms of the Main Temple except the sanctuary. Two types have been distinguished: thin-walled, gilded shrines and thick-walled, painted and gilded shrines, the surfaces of which are covered with an oily residue. The decorative elements preserved show that each had a similar scheme, and this is identical to that found in representations of the outer *naos* of portable barque shrines in temple reliefs from the early 19th Dynasty intermittently until the early second century CE (Sauneron 1975; Traunecker 1981; Karlshausen 2009). They accord accurately with the details of the outer *naos* recorded in reliefs from the mid-Ptolemaic period onwards.

This decoration may be summarised as follows (Figure 9.15). There are two horizontal registers on the sides, separated by a vulture with outstretched wings or a winged disc. The upper register contains two standing goddesses with outstretched wings facing inwards to flank a squatting god atop an open blue lotus flower; the goddesses are crowned with solar discs, and between their wings are either the figures of kneeling kings upon shrines, or a hieroglyphic group upon a shrine. In the lower panel are two kneeling goddesses with outstretched wings facing inwards to flank a squatting god. The goddesses are again crowned with solar

discs, and between their wings are hieroglyphic groups that may be on low shrines. The majority of the surviving dynastic representations of portable shrines shows that of Amun, and the central figures in each register depict that god, in the upper register with a ram's head and in the lower with a falcon's head. Traunecker (1981, 78) has indicated that the motif of the ram-headed god emerging from or seated upon a lotus flower became the principal feature of the decoration of the outer *naos* or cabin of all portable barque shrines (Karlshausen 2009, 68f.). He estimated that the barques were approximately two metres high and one metre wide; the Kellis examples must have been smaller than this.

The surviving fragments from thin-walled, gilded shrines from Kellis may all derive from one such shrine (Figure *9.10). Seven figures of winged goddesses are partially preserved with either figures of kneeling kings or groups of hieroglyphs upon shrines between their wings. Only one central figure remains, and this is a right-facing, ram-headed deity crowned with an *atef*, to be identified as Amun. The existence of two thick-walled examples is suggested; the decorative scheme closely resembles that of the thin-walled shrines. Again, fragments of winged goddesses have figures of kneeling kings or groups of hieroglyphs between their wings. Three central figures depict a ram-headed Amun squatting upon an open blue lotus flower; a squatting, human-headed Amun-Re, King of the Gods, crowned with two plumes; and a god holding a *was*-sceptre, identified as Amun-nakht, a deity venerated throughout Dakhleh, especially at 'Ain Birbiyya, and whose presence here lends a distinctly local flavour to the shrine from which it derived.

The identification of fragments from a portable barque and inner *naoi* is again based upon parallels provided by the reliefs, which show figures of the goddesses Hathor and Maat, and a standing sphinx upon a standard, on the prow. From Kellis there are fragments of wooden figures of a goddess and a sphinx that may have occupied such a position. There is also a painted wooden shaft supporting a falcon head that may be part of a falcon-headed standard or an oar, both of which are shown as occurring on the stern. What was originally identified as a ram-headed, ceramic *aegis* from the front of such a barque is now thought to be part of a mask worn by a priest in temple ceremonies. The existence of two inner *naoi* is suggested by four complete supports found together in Room 4 and three other fragmentary examples; these would have been placed at the corners of the *naoi*. Their scale precludes them from having been set at the corners of outer *naoi*. It is possible that a few fragments from the decoration of the rear of such *naoi* also survive.

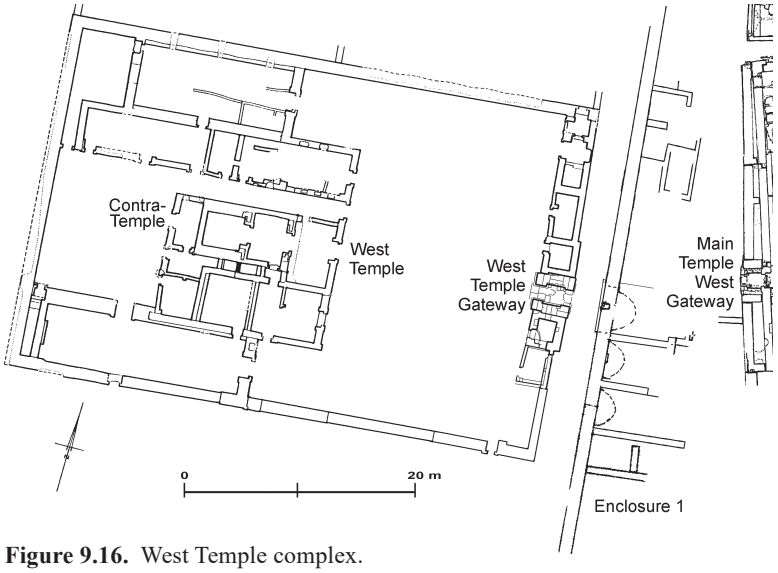

Figure 9.16. West Temple complex.

The West Temple Complex COLIN A. HOPE

This complex (Figure 9.16), dedicated primarily to Neith and Tapsis, lies due west of the Main Temple complex. It was planned in 1981 during the survey of the site (Knudstad and Frey 1999) and its stone chambers excavated; subsequently only the entrance system has been investigated (Hope 2002, 204–5). While various construction phases have been identified (Knudstad and Frey 1999, 202–4 suggest three), the description here outlines the features during its final stage of ritual use as far as can be determined from the limited investigations undertaken so far.

As with the Main Temple, the West Temple comprises three roofed chambers on an east–west axis; however, here only the inner two are of stone, and the third, easternmost, room is of mud brick. The two stone rooms occupy an area 8.2 x 5.1 m, but with the outer brick room the temple acquires the same length as the Main Temple, that is 12 m. As in the Main Temple, walls and floors are covered with deposits of oily mud from libations. To the south of the stone rooms is a corridor that provides access to a single-chambered Contra-Temple abutting the structure on the west and an open court. On the south of the corridor are several mud-brick rooms, the east wall of which is aligned with the east wall of the outer room of the temple, as is the east wall of a two-roomed structure north of the temple separated from it by another corridor. This produces a continuous façade; there are three entrances on the east into the three sets

Figure 9.17. The West Temple: the two stone rooms looking west.

of rooms and one into the northern corridor. Set some 6 m back from this are a further two large rectangular rooms occupying the remaining area on the north and south to abut the temenos wall. These rooms are accessed both from the east and from the west court.

The main entrance into the complex is on the east aligned with the axis of the temple; it is constructed of sandstone blocks and flanked by mud-brick chambers against the inner face of the temenos wall. The gateway is slightly smaller than the eastern gateways into the Main Temple but larger than its West Gate. The exterior faces of the two rooms adjacent to the gate are set back from the face of the gateway, as are those of the adjacent rooms, and the walls slope inwards, producing a pylon-like effect in the same manner as on the exterior of the East Gateways into the Main Temple. The exterior of the doors into the rooms flanking the gateway have raised jambs modelled in plaster, as do the entrances into the other two rooms on the north. The doors into the northern rooms are aligned with the entrances into the temple's north corridor and the rooms on its north, and this may imply that they had some cultic significance. This idea is strengthened by the architectural elaboration of the northernmost of the three rooms, which has a large niche in its eastern wall. A horned altar was also associated with the West Temple, the top of which was discovered several metres to the east of its main entrance.

The enclosure covers an area 46.8 x 30.8 m, and its walls appear to have been covered extensively with painted decoration. In the eastern section there are several areas with green paint, and one section of green panelling was noted. Decoration of the temple itself was restricted to the

outer door jambs of both stone rooms (Figure 9.17) and the lintel on the east face of the door into the sanctuary. The jambs of this door carry raised painted relief, but incised relief occurs on those of the outer room. Here the king, simply called pharaoh, is shown in the act of consecration, while on the former there are figures of a Meret goddess before Neith on the north jamb and Tapsais on the south jamb. They are shown with arms upraised in the act of singing to the goddesses, and also provided protection (Kaper 1995, 107). The lintel was adorned with a winged scarab in the centre with the divinities of the temple, Tutu, Neith and Tapsais, receiving offerings from an anonymous king on either side. The winged scarab serves as a symbol of regeneration of the divine powers. No fragments were recovered of the other decoration of the doorways. Unfortunately, robbers removed the decorated faces of the northern jambs of the doors into the inner rooms.

The date of the construction and development of the complex is uncertain, but the extreme similarity to that of the Main Temple would indicate a probable similar time frame within the second century (Hope 2001a, 51–2). Amongst the similarities we can note: the arrangement of the three main rooms flanked by corridors with mud-brick structures on either side; a Contra-Temple at the rear accessed directly by a southern corridor and a west court that provides additional access to the Contra-Temple and structures on the north and south; access to the complex from the east via a stone gate or gates flanked by mud-brick rooms; classical decoration in the forecourts with green panelling and the use of raised relief. In addition, one feature of the West Temple complex may illustrate part of the original plan of Shrine II on the north of the Main Temple, namely the large east room of the structure due north of the temple with a series of recesses in its southern wall. It has been proposed on other grounds that this was the layout of the eastern part of Shrine II before its eastern block of rooms (3–8) was constructed. Excavations connecting the gateway into the complex with Enclosure 1 showed that the latter is of a later date than the enclosure of the West Temple.

The *Nymphaeum* GILLIAN E. BOWEN

The structure (Area A/11; Bowen *et alii* 2007, 29–33) is located about 25 m south-east of North Tomb 1 and around 200 m west of the fourth-century Houses 1–3. It comprises a colonnaded room with associated structures to the east and west, built in mud brick and plastered, and a

Figure 9.18. The *Nymphaeum*, looking north-east.

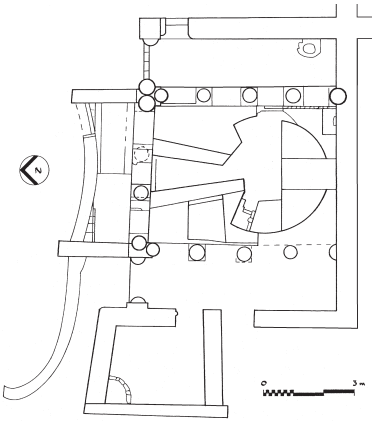

Figure 9.19. The *Nymphaeum*: plan.

garden to the north (Figures 9.18 and 9.19). The colonnaded room is oriented north–south. In its original plan the internal dimensions were 9 x 6.8 m. It would appear that the north colonnade originally functioned as the façade of the building, and the central section may have been open. This is divided roughly into two sections north and south. A baked-brick, almost circular basin occupies the south of the room; it is 3.7 m in diameter. The depth of the basin could not be determined, but it was preserved to approximately one metre deep. The basin was designed to hold water via two baked-brick water channels that run diagonally from the base of the columns in the north colonnade, and were designed to meet at the entrance to the basin. The source of the water was not determined. An extensive ceramic deposit under the baked-brick foundation wall of the north colonnade, the earliest in the structure, indicates that it was built in the late third or early fourth century. The remains of a row of date palms are preserved outside the entrance to the building; when they were planted, however, is uncertain.

The exact function of the structure is unclear. The central section in its entirety is given over to the water feature. It is too elaborate to have functioned as part of an irrigation system. The possibility that it formed part of a bath house has been dismissed as there is insufficient room for bathers to enter the basin with ease; moreover, the village bath house has been identified to the south-east of Enclosure 1 (Figures 1.1 and *1.4; Knudstad and Frey 1999, 205). Nor is it likely to have been a bath associated with a private residence, as no such structure is identifiable within the vicinity. The focus upon the water feature, together with its

classical façade, indicates a probable ritual function. A baptismal pool is unlikely both on architectural considerations, including the confined space, and the distance from any of the three churches at the site (Figure 1.1).

One possible suggestion is that it was a *Nymphaeum*, a shrine to the nymphs; such features are known throughout the Roman world. In the imperial period they took the form of fountains and were associated with sources of water; they were also incorporated into the landscape design of villas, usually in an apsidal form with water cascading into a basin. Two *nymphaea* are attested at el-Ashmunein, ancient Hermopolis Magna; these are recorded in a papyrus document that lists repairs to such in around 267 CE (*P.Vindob. Gr.* 12565, line 185). The structures themselves have not been found, but Bailey (1991, 55) suggests that they were probably placed each side of the *dromos* of Hermes. Two *nymphaea* are also located at the Temple of Hathor, Dendera (Castel *et alii* 1984); Bailey (1990) suggests that the *nymphaea* at both sites are contemporary and date to the second century CE. Furthermore, he (Bailey 1991, 133) notes that such structures have not survived well in Egypt. No pipes were found in association with the Kellis structure; these would have been essential for the functioning of a fountain. Their absence is presumably due to the dismantling of the basin and the poor state of preservation of the south wall, which may well have been the location of cascading water. This would be an appropriate location for a fountain, as the south wall is the focus of the room.

It should also be noted that water rituals were associated with the worship of Isis, whose cult is attested at Kellis. A structure containing basins, although not in the same form as that at Kellis, was excavated by the Polish–Egyptian archaeological team at Tell Atrib; artefactual evidence indicates that it was part of the Isiac cult (Myśliwiec 2004, 62). The possibility that the structure served the Manichaean residents living in nearby Houses 1–3 cannot be ruled out, as water formed an important aspect of Manichaean practice. The form that this took, however, is unknown and consequently, any attempt to associate the structure with the Manichaeans is merely speculative.

Comments on the Cult of Tutu OLAF E. KAPER

The most exceptional feature of the Main Temple complex is Shrine I, the *mammisi*. First, because it focuses upon the divine world, including only one anonymous pharaoh on its walls amidst more than 400 deities. It is

the only Egyptian temple in which the role of the pharaoh has been suppressed. This stands in marked contrast to both of the stone temples, where the role of the pharaoh was deemed so important that even the short-reigning emperor Pertinax was included in its decoration. The virtual absence of the ruler in the *mammisi* is probably not a political statement, however, but a religious one, because it served to focus attention on the kingship of the god Tutu. It reflects a shift in attitude in the Graeco-Roman period, with the gods adopting more of the role of the anointed pharaoh (Hölbl 2005, 88 and 93). The Kellis building shows the ultimate outcome of this development, which is appropriately expressed in a *mammisi*, the place where the kingship of the local god was celebrated and renewed. At the same time, the omission of the king was a common feature in Egyptian temples outside of Egypt (Hölbl 2005, 93). There are many references to kingship in the titles and iconography of Tutu in the *mammisi*. The god's name may be preceded by King of Upper and Lower Egypt, and two scenes designate him as '*nsw*-king of Upper Egypt and *bity*-king of Lower Egypt'. The title 'King of the Gods' he shares with Amun-Re. In his iconography, Tutu may wear the royal Double Crown, and he may be depicted subjugating the enemies of Egypt in the form of the Nine Bows. One unparalleled scene shows Tutu and Neith receiving an offering of incense from the god Horus-Iunmutef (Kaper 2003a, R-62). This is originally a specifically royal ancestor ritual carried out in front of the king or his ancestors, but it is otherwise only known with Osiris (Rummel 2010, 169). The second reason lies in the painted plaster decoration as a whole, which was divided equally between ancient Egyptian paintings with religious content and Roman wall paintings of a kind also used in private residences (Chapter 10). This unconventional twofold scheme must be ascribed to the greater freedom from decorum enjoyed in the oases (Kaper 2012a, 724). The major development in the cult of Tutu is his increasing association over time with the god Amun-Re, which first appeared in the Ptolemaic period, when a ram's head could be added to the neck of the sphinx image of the god to express this association. In the Roman period, Tutu is once called 'the god of Amon' (Kaper 2003a, S-1) and his iconography expanded further, and a series of small animal heads could be added around Tutu's head, as a depiction of the powers of Amun-Re that were personified in Tutu. Seen in this light, the cult of Tutu can be considered as derived from the cult of Amun-Re.

The inscriptions and images from the Kellis temple provide much specific information about the god that illustrates his general traits. Tutu's name is always followed by the title 'great-of-strength' (*ꜣ phty*), which

indicates his protective powers. This title is commonly associated with powerful deities such as Horus of Edfu, or the local gods Seth of Mut al-Kharab and Amun-nakht of 'Ain Birbiyya. In addition, the title developed into the name of a demon 'Great of Strength', who was the first of the group of seven demons over whom Tutu held sway, and whose principal manifestation was the crocodile. The crocodile was often combined with the image of Tutu (Figure *9.4) as an expression of the close relationship between the god and the demon Great-of-Strength, who could take the place of the full group of seven. At Kellis, we find the god's title 'Master of Demons', in inscriptions from the entrance gate of the Main Temple (Kaper 2003a, R-48) and upon a votive stela from the time of Septimius Severus (Figure *9.5; Kaper 2003a, S-57). In addition, Tutu was depicted together with the Seven Demons over the doorway into the inner room of the *mammisi* (Kaper 2003a, R-73).

Tutu was effectively considered a manifestation of Amun-Re, which was especially visible in Kellis in the portable barque shrine in which the image of Tutu was transported in and out of his temple. It displayed images of Amun on its sides rather than of Tutu himself. Conversely, the great god Amun-Re of Hibis, the principal god of the Great Oasis, was deliberately left out in the *mammisi* decoration. This omission is all the more remarkable because every other god of the Dakhleh Oasis was represented on its walls (Kaper 2002b), while the other temples of Dakhleh, notably Dayr al-Hagar and 'Ain Birbiyya, contain images of Amun-Re of Hibis in various prominent positions. It seems that Amun-Re was represented by Tutu in Kellis.

Some of Tutu's titles in the *mammisi* designate him as a god controlling human destiny. The title 'Agathos Daimon in his town' (Kaper 2003a, R-61) indicates that Tutu was responsible for the good fortune of Kellis' inhabitants. The griffin or the wheel of the Greek goddess Nemesis could be added to the image of Tutu with similar significance (Figure 9.6). This aspect of the god as controller of fate is also known from sources from elsewhere in Egypt (Kaper 2003a, 118–20), and it reflects the zeitgeist of Roman Egypt.

Tapsais was the principal goddess of the Main Temple. An alternative name for her was Tnaphersais, and both versions contain the Egyptian term *Shay*, destiny. The Egyptian versions of the names, as Tapashay and Tanefershay, are used in the *mammisi* and on a block from the Contra-Temple, but the sources for her name are more abundant in Greek. Tapsais was a purely local divinity, who is not mentioned anywhere outside of Kellis. Her name indicates that she was originally a private person, probably from Kellis itself, who was divinised after death. There is no historical

documentation available for her life, but the phenomenon of divinised persons is well known in Egypt and the oases (Von Lieven 2010, 2). The most famous example was Imhotep of the 3rd Dynasty, who became of national significance as a god of healing (Quack 2014). In Kharga, a local 'saint' called Piyris (Pahor) was venerated at 'Ain el-Labakha, in a temple that included a tomb (Hussein 2000, 107–8). It is tempting to speculate that the stone structure upon which the stone temple of Kellis was built was originally a tomb, and perhaps the tomb of Tapsais herself, although we have no other arguments than the context of the structure and its material.

In the temple the Egyptian names Tutu and Tapashay are employed, while in the Greek texts these are rendered in the Graecised forms Tithoes and Tapsais. This is worth remarking on, because most Egyptian gods were equated with a Greek god or hero (known as *interpretatio graeca*), and for example Neith would be commonly designated as Athena in the Greek texts. The Kellis divine couple thus belongs to a small group of deities who retained their Egyptian identity in Greek, like Sobek and Khnum (Von Lieven 2016, 78).

In addition to the triad of Tutu, Neith and Tapsais, one of the Greek papyrus fragments mentions cults of Horus and Isis in Kellis (Worp 2002, 338 no. 6). The goddess Isis is indeed found depicted often in the temple of Kellis in her various identities as a national goddess, but also as the goddess venerated in other local temples of the oasis (Kaper 2010b, 165). In addition, the *mammisi* included images of the gods of all the provinces of Egypt. These are depicted in two long rows, to which the local gods of Dakhleh and Kharga have been added at the end. The priests of Kellis had an awareness of the pantheon that transcended their local situation, and they attempted to situate their local deities within a larger whole.

The forecourt of the temple was the stage for processions and displays of piety. This part of the temple was accessible to the public, and as is known from other temples, stelae and statues were erected here of the gods of the temple and of other popular cults. In most temples, this included Isis and Serapis. Also, participation by the state authorities would be on display in this area, exemplified in Kellis by the large stela of Septimius Severus. In spite of the unequivocal evidence for a processional cult, with the remains of the wooden barques that were carried along the *dromos* by the priests, there are no texts attesting questions addressed to the gods. Therefore, it is difficult to prove the practice of oracular consultation in Kellis. Perhaps the large niche next to the principal door into the temple served for housing an oracular image, but this remains speculative. A comparable niche next to a temple gate is preserved in the temple of

Dabashiya in Kharga (Ikram 2018a, 386), but its purpose is likewise unknown. In other temples of the Graeco-Roman period, the temples often had cultic societies (de Cenival 1972; Fitzenreiter 2011), in which citizens organised themselves and their service to the temple, but the Kellis excavations have brought to light only one inscription relating to such groups in structure B/3/1. It is an aspect that we should assume to have been present in the public parts of the temple enclosure.

In the cult at Kellis, oil libations were a standard part of ritual activities. A significant mass of oily material was found against the outer north wall of the Contra-Temple (Figure 9.4). It looked as if the libations were poured against the wall in order to address the deity hidden inside it, by people who were not allowed access inside. It is also possible that there was a significant image situated upon this outer wall that was particularly venerated in this way. The large stela of the time of Septimius Severus was covered in oil in its central part, where the image of Neith was depicted. The emperor and the image of Tutu were not affected by these libations. It is interesting to observe that oil was also not employed on the thin-walled wooden shrines of the processional barques, but it was present on the ceramic image of the head of the ram of Amun that either adorned the front of one of these barques or was a priest's mask. No oil was present on the large pedestals in front of the Portico, which carry the name of Aurelius Ophellianos, and several fragments of statues were found without the remains of oil. None of the plaster sculpture fragments had been affected. By contrast, the squatting figures were covered possibly because they had been used as door stoppers and sat on the temple floor (Rondot 2011). Comparable remains of oil libations were found at the temple of Dayr al-Hagar, where the floor, the door jambs and some statues were found caked in mud mixed with oil. More analysis is needed to identify the practice and its ritual significance. It seems that the same practice may be observed in Kharga, but there is no comparable evidence from the Nile valley, so that we may be facing a local religious practice. One of the priests depicted in the *mammisi* is shown emptying a *situla* (ritual bucket) of a green liquid on to the floor, which seems to relate to the practice observed in the archaeology.

Conclusions COLIN A. HOPE and OLAF E. KAPER

It is apparent from this discussion that the religious life of the community during the first to early fourth centuries, when the structures focused upon here where in use, was quintessentially traditional Egyptian. Despite the

centrality of two locally significant deities, Tutu/Tithoes and Tapsais, and the occurrence of two other regional cults, those of Seth, Lord of Oasis at Mut/Mothis and Amun-nakht of *'Imrt* at 'Ain Birbiyya/Mesobe, a full pantheon was acknowledged at Kellis, the same as that found in the Nile valley. This is illustrated clearly in the decoration of Shrine I, the *mammisi*. The cult of Isis was especially significant, as it was throughout the country, and her consort, Serapis, was also revered. It is possible that the cult of the Roman emperors was acknowledged. Typical for the period, syncretism with cults of classical origin is evident, and the *Nymphaeum* shows further that purely classical religious practice did occur at the site. The vibrancy of pharaonic religion in the Roman period is shown clearly through the development of the cults of Tithoes and Tapsais. Whether these deities and others were venerated within the domestic context is uncertain, as contemporary houses in Areas B and C are not well preserved, and few have been investigated (Chapter 2). Certainly, the name of Tithoes was used regularly for males in recognition of his centrality within the Kellis triad of gods throughout the village's history. The discovery of a terracotta figurine of Isis-Demeter in House 4 and part of a figure of Harpokrates in House 5 (Chapter 4.2) is of interest. These houses are of the fourth century, and the figurines indicate the continuation of traditional beliefs within what was otherwise a Christian milieu. This is also attested by the evocation of traditional deities, namely Zeus, Earth and Sun, within a document recording the freeing of a slave (*P.Kellis Gr.* 48 (**2**)) in 355 because of the owner's Christian zeal (Chapter 12). Such is of course known from the Nile valley.

The Kellis Main Temple is fully traditional, following pharaonic architectural forms, but it is smaller than many others, and the number of rooms is reduced to the essential elements. There is no columned hall, no separate barque chapel, there are no side chapels for other deities; the temple is reduced to a small sanctuary with an Offering Hall, and the Hall of Appearance comprises a simple transverse room. Comparison is possible with some village temples in the Fayyum, as for example at Theadelphia (Davoli 1998, 292 figure 138), Philadelphia (Davoli 1998, 148 figure 65), and Medinet Madi without the pronaos added in the Roman period (Davoli 1998, 245 figure 109). By contrast, the temple has a large forecourt and an elaborate processional way in front of the building, which shows a marked emphasis on public aspects of the cult, as opposed to the daily ritual activities inside the building. These are further indicated by the Contra-Temple, a feature of most oasis temples of the period. Guglielmi (1994) has speculated that they were places of personal devotional

activities, whereas Traunecker (1980) stressed their role in a processional cult. The discovery of the fragments of shrines, especially those from the barques in which images of the gods were carried in processions from the temple, highlights this aspect of the cult. This focus may account for the location of the niche within the temple façade south of its main entrance, especially if it contained some oracular image or images of the villages' deities. In the Main Temple at Kellis, the public access to the rear courtyard seems to have been restricted because of the small space available and means of access, and only priests and possibly privileged individuals would have been permitted here. The small size of the stone temple may imply scarcity of local funds and an inability to procure large amounts of stonework from the quarries. The financing of temple buildings in villages such as Kellis may not have involved the government at all (Kockelmann and Pfeiffer 2009, 102). Many of these observations also relate to the West Temple complex.

The Main Temple complex is characterised by the inclusion of four mud-brick shrines. Three of these display similarity of layout in early stages of their evolution, which indicates the existence of an architecturally unified concept behind the development, despite later divergences. Shrine I is the exception, but it was tied into the unity of concept by its entrance system, which mirrors that of Shrine IV to its east. While the layout of the West Temple complex varies in details from the Main Temple, the similarities are such that intentional unity of design can be proposed. The twofold decorative scheme found only in Shrine I raises the question of who was responsible for the decoration of the religious structures. It has been shown that the format of the probable doorway decoration of the Main Temple reflects a Theban pattern (Kaper 1995), as does the sequence of presentation of the gods in the Osirian group within the *mammisi* (Kaper 1997b), and that this is true also of temples in the other oases. Whitehouse (Chapter 10) proposes that the classical decoration at the site was executed by artists from the Nile valley, while the actual incorporation of four Egyptian goddesses supporting the central circular design of the *mammisi* ceiling demonstrates a close collaboration between artists expert in both traditions and religious systems (Kaper 2009, 7). The representation of the religious system of Dakhleh within the *mammisi* indicates that it was produced under the supervision of priests fully conversant with local belief systems. Likewise, the decoration of the wooden shrines employed within the Main Temple also shows sound knowledge of the iconography appropriate for such objects in accordance with Nile valley tradition but displays recognition of local cults.