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Olaf E. Kaper, Klaas A. Worp

Dipinti on the temenos wall at Deir el-Haggar (Dakhla Oasis).

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Dipinti on the temenos wall at Deir el-Haggar (Dakhla Oasis)

Olaf E. KAPER, Klaas A. WORP

THE TEMPLE of Deir el-Haggar lies at the western end of the Dakhla Oasis. It was probably built during the reign of Nero, as evidenced by its earliest relief decoration, and remained in use at least into the third century CE.[1] It was partially excavated in 1874 by the expedition of Gerhard Rohlfs, and its relief decoration was first published by H.E. Winlock who visited the temple in 1908.[2] Ahmed Fakhry excavated in front of the pronaos of the temple in 1972 and 1973, and in 1978 the Dakhleh Oasis Project surveyed the area around the temple.[3] Between 1992 and 1995, a programme of clearance and conservation was undertaken at the temple by the Dakhleh Oasis Project together with the Supreme Council of Antiquities.[4] The aims of this conservation programme were to increase the safety of the monument and to make it better accessible to visitors. For this purpose, the temple was cleared of debris and sand and measures were taken to ensure its long-term survival.

The clearance works brought to light a hitherto unknown secondary doorway immediately south of the main gateway through the mudbrick temenos wall [fig. 1]. The reveals of this doorway [fig. 7-8] still preserved their original layer of lime plaster, on which a large number of dipinti had been drawn. These dipinti are the subject of the present study. They consist of Greek inscriptions and figurative depictions of gods and sacred animals. The doorway was intensively used – the lower parts of the walls are greatly darkened from touching and the surface is damaged by many scratch marks. Fortunately, most of the dipinti are situated above this damaged zone.

The authors are grateful to Anthony J. Mills, Roger S. Bagnall, Colin A. Hope and Julia Harvey for their help and advice.

1 The latest inscription found in the temple has been dated to the third century, cf. note 8 below.

2 H.E. WINLOCK, *Ed Dakhleh Oasis, Journal of a Camel Trip Made in 1908*, New York, 1936, p. 29-33, 65-77.

3 Fakhry's work remains unrecorded. The D.O.P. survey at the site is mentioned in A.J. MILLS, *JSSEA* 9, 1979, p. 178. The site received the site designation number 33/390-F9-1 of the Dakhleh Oasis Project.

4 On the conservation programme, see the preliminary report by A.J. MILLS, in *JSSEA* 20, 1990, p. 20-23, pls. 4-5.

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Early in 1998, the paintings were treated with paraloid B72 by the conservation department of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, which has livened the colours and caused several details of the paintings to appear more distinctly. During excavations carried out by the S.C.A. within the temple enclosure in 1998 no more additional dipinti were found, even though large segments of the temenos wall were uncovered still with their original plaster layer.

The texts and images published here were recorded in 1993 by Kaper immediately after their exposure. The Greek dipinti were then collated during a visit by Worp and R.S. Bagnall in 1996, and we gratefully acknowledge the latter's contribution to the present study. A selection of the texts and the pictorial dipinti was traced and inked in the form of outline drawings. Unfortunately, in the spring of 1998 the southern reveal of the passage of the doorway suffered damage and the texts and inscriptions from this side of the door (nos. **8**-**13**, **20**, **22**-**26**) are now lost. Subsequent attempts to collect and restore the fallen fragments of plaster proved unsuccessful. Also, the dipinti visible on the western face of the temenos wall on either side of the southern doorway (nos. **14**-**16**, **21**), which were already extremely faint, have now been lost as a result of their exposure to the wind and sun. As a result, we were unable to verify the dimensions of the latter.

I. The inscriptions [nos. 1-16]

We publish here the remains of sixteen textual dipinti. We were unable to record all traces of letters on the walls because a large number of inscriptions were too damaged or too faint to be read.

Most of the dipinti were painted with red paint (**1**-**3**, **5**, **6**, **9**-**14**), some are written in charcoal (**7**, **8**), some with black ink (**4**, **15**, **16**) with a pen, and one text is in fact an incised graffito (**13**). It is noticeable that as many as five dipinti have been provided with a painted *tabula ansata* around the text, and that several variant forms of these occur. The *tabula ansata* of **1** even has the placement for a nail or a hole indicated at the center of the round projection. The projections of the *tabulae* are either rectangular (**2**), triangular (**6**, **16**), or round (**1**); and they are set at the top and bottom of the frame (**1**, **2**, **6**), or on the sides (**16**). The *tabula ansata* of **6** even has a third projection remaining on the left,[5] while **11** is marked by a total absence of projections.

5 This *tabula* probably once possessed four projections like the Greek graffito no. 457 at Abydos; P. PERDRIZET, G. LEFEBVRE, *Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos*, Nancy, Paris, Strasbourg, 1919. Note that only a small percentage of the abundant Abydos textual graffiti are enclosed by a *tabula ansata*.

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The contents of the inscriptions

The dipinti of Deir el-Haggar are private devotional acts. The majority of the inscriptions belong to the category of proskynema texts, for which cf. G. Geraci, "Ricerche sul proskynema", *Aegyptus* 51, 1971, p. 3-210.[6] This type of text was intended to leave a lasting presence of the author at a sacred site. The private names mentioned in the dipinti are the following: Sarapammon the flute-player (**1**); Zma<ra>gdos the piper (**2**); Kolanthes son of Psenamounis (**4**); Agathemeros and Stephanos (**5**); Philosarapis (**7** and **8**); Neilos (**10**); Pisekhthis, also named Apollos (**11**); Psenamounis, son of Patou(-), pastophoros of Isis (**12**); Ailios (**13**); and Ka- (? **16**).

Until recently, no proskynemata were known from the Dakhla Oasis. To date, only a few Greek epigraphic finds from Dakhla have been published, and we think it useful to provide here a list of all Greek epigraphic material known from the Oasis at present.

Prior to the present publication, two Greek inscriptions have been published from the temple of Deir el-Haggar. One is a votive stela in the Cairo Museum with both Greek and Egyptian inscriptions (JE 51943), which was allegedly found at the back of the temple[7] and which dates to the reign of Vespasian. The second is a fragmentary Greek dedication from the third century which was found by Ahmed Fakhry.[8] During the recent clearance work in the vicinity of the stone gateway through the temenos wall, a series of eight further fragments of the same inscription were found [fig. 2]. Unfortunately, the stela was badly smashed and the new fragments are too small to improve significantly upon the reading of the text.[9] The find does, however, make clear that the inscription was originally located along the temple *dromos* inside the main temenos gateway.

Elsewhere in Dakhla, Fakhry recovered a Greek building inscription at Ismant el-Kharab (Kellis), which is dated by G. Wagner to the reign of Antoninus Pius.[10] Again, recent excavations at this site have uncovered a further fragment of the same inscription which, however, is again too small to add to the interpretation of the text. Nevertheless, the fragment provides a welcome confirmation of the text's original location in the main temple enclosure at Kellis.[11] G. Wagner has also published another fragment of a Greek stela from Ismant el-Kharab, as well as a votive inscription on stone which must hail from the same

6 Summarized and complemented by J. Bingen, "Normalité et spécificité de l'épigraphie grecque et romaine d'Égypte", in *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba*, Bologna, 1989, 20; and É. Bernand, "Réflexions sur les procynèmes", in D. Conso, N. Fick, B. Poulle (eds.), *Mélanges François Kerlouégan*, Paris, 1994, p. 43-60.

7 Published by G. Lefebvre, "Petits monuments du Musée du Caire", *ASAE* 28, 1928, p. 29-34 = SEG VIII, 1937, no. 796 = SB IV 7424.

8 G. Wagner, "Inscriptions grecques des Oasis de Dakhleh et de Baharieh", *BIFAO* 73, 1973, p. 180-183, pl. 14B.

9 The dimensions and individual shapes of the letters correspond. Unfortunately, only fragment no. 2 can be joined to the main portion of the text, as far as can be judged from the published photograph. This addition yields evidence of a line preceding the twenty-line inscription, beginning with the letter T.

10 G. Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 177-180, pl. 14A; only partly repeated in *id.*, *Les oasis d'Égypte à l'époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d'après les documents grecs*, *BiEtud* C, 1987, p. 342. The full text is the following, according to Wagner's reconstruction:
Ἀγαθῆι Τύχ[ηι
Θεῷ Μεγίστῳ Τιθοῆ[ει και τοῖς συννάο]ις
Θεοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰ̣ς̣ αἰ̣[ῶνα διαμονῆς
Αὐτοκράτο[ρος Καίσαρος θεοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ
υἱοῦ θε̣[οῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱωνός.

11 The fragment is from the upper right corner and preserves only the two letters ις in the second line, which confirms Wagner's reconstruction of the end of the second line as συννάοις. The fragment was found among the debris covering the area of the double entrance gateway of the main temple (gates I.A and I.B) at Ismant el-Kharab, and it will be published together with the other finds from the same location.

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site.[12] Three Greek inscriptions on pedestals are still at Ismant el-Kharab, two of which are dated to the third century CE,[13] and one to the reign of Nero.[14] Other Greek epigraphic material from Dakhla came to light during excavations at the site of Amheida in the form of brief legends to mythological figures in wall paintings from the reign of Constantine.[15] The same site also yielded a few Greek dipinti, and a Greek graffito was found in the nearby cemetery of El-Muzawwaqa, all dating to the third century CE.[16] A monumental inscription of Christian content was found at Mut el-Kharab.[17]

For proskynemata, we can only refer to the temples of the neighboring Kharga Oasis. At least twelve proskynemata were found inside the rock-cut temple at Ayn Labakha, the earliest of which are dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius.[18] Other contemporary proskynemata are known from Dush (Kysis) dating to the second to fourth centuries CE,[19] and from the temple of Hibis which has only one preserved proskynema dipinto from the second or third century CE.[20] No dipinti seem to be known from the temple of Qasr ez-Zayân, even though several building inscriptions (dedications) are published from this site.[21] The temple of Qasr el-Ghuweita has some proskynemata of Ptolemaic date.[22]

Dating of the dipinti

Only two of the Deir el-Haggar dipinti are dated, viz. to the Egyptian month of Tybi (**14**: Tybi 3 [= 29/30.xii], **15**: Tybi 1 [= 27/28.xii]). Moreover, one text (**14**) bears a date in year 5 or 6, or possibly 15 or 16, of Antoninus Pius (138-161 CE). It is interesting to note that the votive stela from Deir el-Haggar dated to the reign of Vespasian (cf. above) also bears the date of Tybi 1. It seems reasonable to suggest that one of the principal festivals of Amon-Re at Deir el-Haggar fell at the beginning of the month of Tybi. This would have been an occasion for many visitors to crowd into the temple and when many of the drawings, proskynemata and signatures could have been added to the walls. The likely nature of this festival, which does not occur in the known papyrological sources, has been discussed elsewhere.[23]

The only text with a firm date (**14**) associates the dipinti with the time of Antoninus Pius. However, the votive stela from the reign of Vespasian demonstrates that the same festival

12 G. WAGNER, *Les oasis d'Égypte*, p. 81 = SEG XXXVIII, 1988, no. 1688; A. HUSSEIN, G. WAGNER, "Une dédicace grecque du grand temple d'Esment el-Kharab", *ZPE* 101, 1994, p. 109-112 = SEG XLIV, 1994, no. 1489.

13 These are two of a series of pedestals erected in front of the main temple at Ismant el-Kharab, cf. the photo in *BACE* 2, 1991, pl. 9. They have been prepared by K.A. Worp for publication in a Dakhleh Oasis Project monograph.

14 The inscription is mentioned in *BACE* 6, 1995, p. 56-57. It will be published by R.S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp and C.A. Hope in *ChronEg*.

15 L. MONTAGNO LEAHY, "The Dakhleh Oasis Project, The Roman Wall-paintings from Amheida", *JSSEA* 10, 1980, p. 331-378.

16 G. WAGNER, *Les oasis d'Égypte*, p. 77-81; cf. SEG XXVI, 1976-77, no. 1723; SEG XXXVIII, nos. 1685 and 1687.

17 *Ibid*., p. 80; cf. SEG XXVI, 1976-77, no. 1724.

18 G. WAGNER, "Les inscriptions grecques d'Aïn Labakha (stèles - graffites - depinti)", *ZPE* 111, 1996, p. 97-114.

19 G. WAGNER, *Les oasis d'Égypte*, p. 51-61.

20 H.G. EVELYN WHITE, J.H. OLIVER, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis II, Greek Inscriptions*, New York, 1938, p. 60 [fn. 42]. The dipinti nos. 35-39 are likewise Roman in date, but they are not proskynemata.

21 SEG XL, 1990, no. 1565 and SEG XLIII, 1993, no. 1116.

22 G. WAGNER, *Les oasis d'Égypte*, p. 21-26.

23 The only reference in Greek sources to a festival on 1 Tybi is in SPP XXII 183 and refers to a festival of Isis in Dimeh; cf. F. PERPILLOU-THOMAS, *Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque*, *StudHell* 31, 1993, p. 43. Evidence for a festival on this date from both Deir el-Haggar and Kellis is discussed in O.E. KAPER, *Temples and Gods in Roman Dakhleh*, PhD thesis, Groningen University, 1997, especially chapters 2 and 4.

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was celebrated at the temple from year 78 onwards. The history of the temple cults in the Great Oasis confirms the impression that the second century CE as a whole may be considered as its heyday.[24] Finally, we note that none of the personal names in these texts contain the element Aurelius, which would point to a date after the promulgation of the Constitutio Antoniana in 212 CE. We conclude that most of these dipinti were added during the second century CE, probably on the occasion of a major religious festival.

1. Proskynema [fig. 3]

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, northern reveal, top of the left half.

Dimensions : H. 35 × W. 34 cm Height of letters : 3 - 3.5 cm

The text is painted in red, set in a *tabula ansata* with round projections of which only the lower one is preserved. The center of the projection is indicated with a dot. The top of the frame is missing, but probably no lines of inscription are lost. The inscription is flanked by the pictorial dipinti **17** and **18**.

1 [Τὸ π]ρο̣[σ]κύ̣νημ̣[α]
2 Σαραπάμμων
3 αὐλητὴς
4 παρὰ τῷ̣{ν} κυρί᾽ου᾽
5 [ω] Ἄμμωνι
6 ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ̣ [υ̣].

2 Σαραπάμμωνος 3 αὐλητοῦ (-της corrected from -τνς) 4 κυρίῳ

G. Wagner, *Les oasis d'Égypte*, *BiEtud* C, 1987, p. 74 labeled the name Sarapammon as "bizarrement rare dans les Oasis". In his commentary to Stela Bagawat no. 1 he mentioned only two attestations, viz. O.Douch 108.2 and 330.2. Now, however, we can add at least the following publications to the dossier : O.Waqfa 4.2 and 24.1, P.Kell. I Gr. 13.16 and 24.12-13, and the still unpublished Kellis Ostr. registr. no. D/6/47, 1. 3.

4-5 Apparently, the scribe first wrote παρα των κυρι | ω, which he subsequently corrected into παρα των κυριου | [ω].

For the god Ammon in the documentation from Greco-Roman Egypt, cf. G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon Rerumque Sacrarum et Divinarum ad Aegyptum pertinentium*, I, Milan, 1974, p. 109-115. Proskynemata to Ammon are rare in the Nile Valley ; Geraci

24 O.E. KAPER, in *id.* (ed.), *Life on the Fringe : Living in the Egyptian Deserts during the Roman and Early-Byzantine Periods*, Leiden, 1998, p. 151-152.

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(*loc. cit.*, p. 187) knew of only one reference in a papyrus letter (SB VI 9249.2 ; Syene ?). For another Ammon-proskynema from the Kharga Oasis, cf. G. Wagner, *Les oasis d'Égypte*, p. 22, no. 5 (Qasr el-Ghuweita).

The flautist (αὐλητής) in this text is complemented by a flautist (συριστής) in **2.3** (written on the same wall). This is not a profession known from the temple hierarchy, although musicians were often hired for popular celebrations of religious festivals.[25]

2. Proskynema [fig. 4]

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, northern reveal, top of the right half.

Dimensions : H. 74 × W. 57 cm Height of letters : 3 - 8 cm

The text is painted in red, set in a *tabula ansata* with rectangular projections on top and bottom. The text is set next to the pictorial dipinto **17**.

1 τὸ προσκύνημα [
2 Ζμαγδος
3 ὁ συριστὴ⟨ς⟩ ἐπ' ἀγα[θῷ]
4 παρὰ τῷ κυρίου
5 Ἄμμωνι
6 σαντι εξε..φτητ[
7 περὶ χόλου σεαυτοῦ
8 [Ἄ]μμωνι ε[ὐ]τυχῶς
9 [τ]ῷ γράψαντ[ο]ς.

2 Ζμαγδος : probably emend this name to Ζμά⟨ρα⟩γδος : cf. F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, p. 118.
4 κυρίῳ

Comment : we are baffled by ll. 6 ff., and wonder whether these are indeed to be connected with the preceding lines. The first unread letter in l. 6 after ἐξε is either λ or χ, and a noun possibly to be restored might be ἐξαλείπτη (spelled ἐξελίφτη) = "plasterer", cf. LSJ s.v. ἐξαλείπτης, κονιάτης [from Gal. 19.98]). Even so, it is not clear what is meant here. Is Ammon really mentioned twice in the same proskynema (cf. ll. 5, 8) ?

At first sight it is unclear whether we should emend τῷ γράψαντος into τοῦ γράψαντος or into τῷ γράψαντι ; cf. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51, 1971, p. 48, 100, 142, and Bernand, *art. cit.*, p. 48-49 [fn. 7] ; but in view of the text from the Great Oasis published by Wagner, *Les oasis d'Égypte*, p. 65, no. 6, we have a slight preference for the dative.

25 F. PERPILLOU-THOMAS, *op. cit.*, p. 234-238.

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3. Fragment of a proskynema?

Location: east temenos wall, southern doorway, northern reveal.

Dimensions: H. 16 × W. 36 cm Height of letters: 2 - 3 cm.

The text is painted in red, directly below the painting of Sarapis-Ammon (**17**) with which it seems to be connected. The words are written on either side of the pillar on which the bust of Sarapammon is set, cf. fig. 10 in which part of the present text appears.

1 παν τομα.
2 τος εὐτυχῶς
3 τῷ γράψ̣[αν-]
4 τος.

2-4 read: τῷ γράψαντι; compare no. **2.**8-9 and Wagner, *Les oasis d'Égypte*, p. 65 no. 6. Or τοῦ γράψαντος, cf. Bernand, *art. cit.* [fn. 7], p. 48-49.

The interpretation of this text presents unusual problems. For instance, it is not clear whether the lines of the text were originally longer, either on the right or on the left, owing to the deteriorated state of the wall at these points. The vocabulary indicates the text's affinity with the proskynemata.

4. Proskynema

Location: east temenos wall, southern doorway, northern reveal.

Dimensions: H. 3 × W. 14 cm Height of letters: 0.5 cm

Fine writing with a pen in black ink across the figure of the baboon of **19**. The letter α has an angular shape.

1 Τὸ προσκύνημα Κολάνθ̣[ου]
2 Ψ̣εναμούνιος̣ ὧδε παρὰ τ[ῷ]
3 [κυρίῳ] Ἄ̣μμωνι ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ.

5. Proskynema [fig. 5]

Location: east temenos wall, southern doorway, northern reveal.

Dimensions: H. 30 × W. 64 cm Height of letters: 4 - 5 cm

The text is painted in red across the body of the baboon of **19**. Below the text is a horizontal line. The handwriting shows some distinct features, such as the angular shape of the alpha.

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1 Τὸ προσκύνημα
2 Ἀγαθημ̣[έ]ρου καὶ Στεφά-
3 νου ἀδ[ε]λφοῦ ὧδε πᾶν
4 τὸ ἀεὶ [π]αρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ
5 Ἄμμωνι.

6. Magical alphabet [fig. 6]

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, northern reveal.

Dimensions : H. 13 × W. 17 cm Height of letters : 1.5 - 2 cm

The text is written with red paint in front of the chest of the ram of **19**. It is set in rectangular *tabula ansata* with triangular projections on top and bottom.

1 αβγδεζηθ[ι]
2 κλμνξοπρ
3 στυφχψω.

This alphabet was written on the wall for magico-religious reasons, cf. F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* [2], ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ 7, 1925.

7. Signature

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, northern reveal.

Dimensions : H. 16 × W. 20 cm Height of letters : 5 cm

Written in charcoal, behind the figure of the ram of **19**.

1]Φιλοσα-
2 ρ⟨ᾶ⟩πις.

8. Signature

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, southern reveal, right half.

Dimensions : H. 3.5 × W. 36 cm The dipinto is now lost

Written in charcoal.

Φιλοσαρᾶπις.

BIFAO 99 (2000), p. 233-258 Olaf E. Kaper, Klaas A. Worp
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9. Signature ? [fig. 8]

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, southern reveal, top of the wall.

Dimensions : H. 4 × W. 9 cm The dipinto is now lost.

Painted in red.

T

Should this single letter be taken as an abbreviation ? If so, a signature is possible, but it could also be an aborted T⟨ὸ προσκύνημα⟩.

10. Proskynema

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, southern reveal.

Dimensions : H. 9 × W. 24 cm The dipinto is now lost.

The text is painted in red, the η in line 1 has been corrected from α.

1 Τὸ προσκύνημα
2 Νεῖλος.

11. Proskynema

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, southern reveal.

Dimensions : H. 28 × W. 39 cm The dipinto is now lost

The text is painted in red, set in a *tabula ansata*.

1 Πισήχθιος τοῦ καὶ
2 ʼΑπολλῶτος τὸ προσ-
3 [κύ]νημα καὶ τῶν
4 ἐα[υ]τοῦ πάντω[ν]
5 ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ.

For the name Πισῆχθις, cf. R.S. Bagnall in P.Kell. IV Gr., p. 69 (where a reference to the as yet unpublished Kellis ostracon reg. no. D/6/66.4 may be added) ; through the Duke Data Bank on Documentary Papyri (Packard Humanities Institute CD-ROM no. 7) we found another attestation in P.Sel.Warga. 8.3 (154 CE ; ed. : "prov. unknown", but a connection with the Dakhla Oasis certainly seems possible) ; cf. also the name Σῆχθις occurring in the as yet unpublished Kellis ostracon reg. no. D/6/45.

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12. Proskynema

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, southern reveal.

Dimensions : H. 16 × W. 56 cm — The dipinto is now lost

The text is painted in red, underlying a painting of a god on horseback (**20**).

1 Τό προσκ̣ύνημ̣α Ψεναμούνιος
2 Πατου.[. . .]υ παστοφόρου Ἴσιδ̣ος
3 [±8 παρὰ τ]ῷ̣ κυρίῳ Ἄμμων̣ι
4 [±12] πάντων ἐπ̣ὶ ἀγαθ̣ῶ̣ι.

2 There does not seem to be sufficient space for a restoration as Πατοῦτ[ος το]ῦ παστοφόρου, but the alternative Πατοῦ τ̣[ο]ῦ παστοφόρου seems too short. Perhaps we should emend the line with an additional patronym such as Horos : Πατοῦ Ὡ̣[ρο]υ παστοφόρου. The name Πατοῦς which we read here (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s.n.) is rendered as a 'short genitive', for which cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 64, 1986, p. 119-120.

For the *pastophoroi* officiating in the Egyptian temples, cf. H. Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter*, Meisenheim/Glan, 1976.

2-3 Some epithet possibly followed the name of Isis. For various possibilities cf. G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon Rerumque Sacrarum et Divinarum ad Aegyptum pertinentium*, III, Milan, 1975, p. 531-562.

4 Restore [καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ](cf. **11**.3-4) at the beginning ?

13. Signature

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, southern reveal.

Dimensions : H. 6 × W. 17 cm — The graffito is now lost

The text is incised into the plaster.

Αἴλιος.

14. Proskynema ?

Location : east temenos wall, west face, between the gateway and the southern doorway.

Dimensions : not recorded — The dipinto is now lost

The text is painted in red.

1]ος τοῦ ʼΑμμω[
2]κ
3]ε̣ ʼΑντω̣[ν]ε̣ίνου Καίσαρος
4 [τοῦ κυρίου]· Τῦβι γ̄.

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Dipinti on the temenos wall at Deir el-Haggar (Dakhla Oasis).
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1 A reading]οστου is also conceivable.
3 In the lacuna restore either ἔτους or (ἔτους). The following]ε̣ should perhaps be read as]ϛ̣ ("year 6"), yielding a reading of either year 5 or 6, or 15 or 16 of Antoninus Pius, corresponding to the years 141/42, 142/43, 151/52, or 152/53 CE.

15. Proskynema

Location : east temenos wall, west face, southern end.

Dimensions : not recorded. The dipinto is now lost

Written in black ink.

1 [Τὸ π]ροσκύνημα
2 [.....]
3 ἐπ' αγαθῶι · Τῦβι ᾱ.

16. Proskynema

Location : east temenos wall, west face, southern end.

Dimensions : not recorded. The dipinto is now lost

The text is written in black ink, set in a *tabula ansata* with triangular projections on the left and right.

1 Τὸ προσκύνημα
2 Κα[. .]ν[
3 ...]ω[.
4 [ἔγ]ραψα̣[.
5 α[
6 κα̣[.

II. Pictorial dipinti [nos. 17-26]

The series of painted figures of deities which complement the inscriptions are the only larger group of such images on plaster to survive in an Egyptian temple of the Roman period. They provide an interesting glimpse of popular religious feeling in Dakhla during the second century CE.

Among the pictorial dipinti, as with the inscriptions, some items are more elaborate in design and execution than others. The photographs in figures 7 and 8 give a good impression of the random nature and distribution of this material. As with the inscriptions above, not every drawing in charcoal or red ochre could be copied.

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17. Bust of Sarapammon-Hermes [figs. 9-10]

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, top of the northern reveal.

Dimensions : H. 70 × W. 75 cm Colour : red

This dipinto to the left of proskynema **2** depicts the bust of a divine figure set upon a pedestal composed of a circle and a rectangle. The figure has a beard and long hair with locks falling over the forehead, identifying him as Sarapis. Curving horns emerge from the head at the temples, referring to the god's additional identity as Ammon. On the head is the *atef* crown of Osiris, composed of horizontal horns and a slender vertical shape, the top of which is now missing. The crown may have had a uraeus set in front of it but this is unclear. The god is dressed in a wide garment or cloak with vertical folds and a row of horizontal and oblique strokes down the center which may indicate the folds of an undergarment. At the god's proper left shoulder is a *kerykeion*, the staff of Hermes, which has a set of wings and a pair of curving serpents as characterizing elements.

18. Bust of Sarapammon-Asklepios [fig. 11]

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, top of the northern reveal.

Dimensions : H. 53 × W. 42 cm Colour : red

The figure to the left of proskynema **1** presents a simplified version of the iconography of **17**. The plaster has partly gone, so it is not clear whether the god also wore the *atef* crown as in **17**. There may have been curving horns at the temples, but the possible traces of these are faint and ambiguous. The pedestal below the bust is reduced to a simple square, which seems to have a circle set inside it. The folds of the garment are indicated by a series of parallel curving lines. There is no *kerykeion* in this case, but rather a staff with a serpent wound around it, which is emblematic for the god Asklepios.

The two images of **17** and **18** were painted close together at the top of the wall. The proskynemata **1** and **2** may conceivably have been painted at the same time as these two images because their paint and brushwork seems identical and the texts and images do not overlap.

The god depicted here is composed of the iconographic elements of three distinct deities. The face, horns and crown identify the god as Sarapammon, to which have been added the staffs of Hermes and Asklepios, respectively. The god Sarapammon is known from Roman Egypt but depictions of this composite deity are rare. A bronze statuette from Karanis compares well with the present depiction of Sarapammon because the god is shown wearing the *atef* crown.[26] Other sculptures in stone which depict Sarapammon have been

26 Statue Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, inv. 10881 ; cf. V. TRAN TAM TINH, *Sérapis debout : corpus des monuments de Sérapis debout et étude iconographique*, *EPRO* 94, 1983, p. 118, fig. 51 (no. IB 37).

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found at Hermopolis Magna and at Elephantine.[27] Inscriptional evidence often associates the cult of this particular deity with members of the army.[28] During the reign of Hadrian, Greek style sanctuaries were built for the cult of "Zeus-Helios, great Sarapis" in front of the Luxor temple and at the quarry sites of Mons Claudianus and Mons Porphyrites,[29] and J. Quaegebeur has suggested that a large cultic relief found in Luxor (Cairo Museum CG 27572) represents Zeus-Ammon-Helios-Sarapis,[30] all of which are essentially designations of the same god Sarapammon. Even though the god was not frequently represented, Sarapammon was more common as a personal name, also in the Great Oasis, as noted in the commentary to **1**, above. Note that the author of **1**, who incidentally is called Sarapammon, was a flautist and therefore certainly not a soldier.

The pedestals of the two busts contain a circle, which expresses the aspect of world dominion (*kosmokrator*) ascribed to the god. It is an iconographic device especially known from depictions of Sarapis.[31]

At Deir el-Haggar, the image of Sarapammon was enriched by the addition of symbols referring to Hermes and Asklepios, respectively. This accumulation of divine elements reflects the contemporary leaning towards pantheism. In **17**, the two principal gods of Deir el-Haggar, Amon-Re and Thoth, are merged into one image as manifestations of a pantheistic Sarapis. Dipinto **18** has Sarapammon combined with the staff of Asklepios. Sarapis had become a significant healing god by Roman times, and the association of the god with Asklepios stems from this shared role of the two deities.

19. A divine baboon and a divine ram [fig. 12]

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, northern reveal.

Dimensions : H. 115 × W. 145 cm Colours : red with black inner details

This large dipinto depicts two sacred animals facing each other. On the right, facing left, is a ram with a lunar crescent and disc on its head with a uraeus inside, standing in front of an offering table. It is not clear what significance the lines under the animal's chin have, they may be the remains of an earlier drawing. The ram is shown standing on a pedestal shaped like the hieroglyph for "canal" (). The ram was sacred to Amon-Re, the principal deity at Deir el-Haggar. Several species of ram have been found buried in the cemetery of El-Muzawwaqa to the east of Deir el-Haggar,[32] but it is not known whether the animals were actually housed at or near the Deir el-Haggar temple. The lunar crescent on the head of the

27 G. Grimm, "Ein Kopf des Ammon-Sarapis aus Elephantine", *MDAIK* 28, 1972, p. 141-144.

28 G. Wagner, *BIFAO* 81, 1981, p. 131 ; J. Leclant, in Y. Bonnefoy (ed.), *Dictionnaire des mythologies*, Paris, 1981, p. 592.

29 G. Wagner, *BIFAO* 81, 1981, p. 129-131. (Luxor) ; A. Bernand, *Pan du désert*, Leiden, 1977, p. 60, no. 42 (Mons Claudianus), and p. 99, no. 21 (Mons Porphyrites).

30 J. Quaegebeur, in C. Berger, G. Clerc, N. Grimal (eds.), *Hommages à J. Leclant*, *BiEtud* 106/2, 1994, vol. 2, p. 341-344. A photograph of this relief appears in W. Golenischeff, "Eine neue Darstellung des Gottes Antaeus", *ZÄS* 32, 1894, p. 1-2, pl. I.

31 W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis*, *EPRO* 32, 1973, p. 260-274. The only known statue of the god which shows this element (*op. cit.*, fig. 248) in now kept in Hamburg, in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Inv. no. 1974.81. It is dated to the Severan Dynasty.

32 Five cartonnage heads from ram's mummies are published in J. Osing *et al.*, *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla : aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Fakhry*, Mainz, 1982, p. 94-95.

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ram is unconventional in the iconography of the god. In front of the ram is a table laden with offerings with a bunch of grapes lying on top. On the left, facing right, is a squatting baboon with a lunar crescent and disc on its head with a uraeus inside. The triangular extension at the back of the head may represent some kind of fillet or headband, although such a headband is unusual on a baboon. The animal is depicted sitting on a rectangular pedestal which is decorated with hatched lines resembling the hieroglyph for "irrigated land" or "province" (𓏏). The male baboon was sacred to the god Thoth who was worshiped at Deir el-Haggar, even though the god's principal temple was located elsewhere in the region.[33] Above both deities are depictions of floral wreaths with loops attached to one end and cords to the other.[34] Two such wreaths are depicted in a vertical position behind the backs of the animals, with the looped ends pointing downwards. The wreaths convey a festive appearance to the scene.

20. Dioskouros [figs. 13-14]

Location: east temenos wall, southern doorway, southern reveal.

Dimensions: H. 80 × W. 53 cm The dipinto is now lost

Colours: dark and light red with black inner details.

The face and body of the image were vandalized in antiquity.

The divine image of **20** is surmounted by a single floral wreath identical in appearance to the double wreaths over the figures in dipinto **19**. The scale and elaborate scope of the divine figures of **19** and **20** could indicate a common artist for both. However, the painter of dipinto **20** used two shades of red whereas only one shade was employed for dipinto **19**.

The dipinto depicts a soldier on horseback, facing left. He is dressed in a short-sleeved tunic with a heavy cloak hanging down from his proper left shoulder. The hair of the god hangs down in curls on either side of his head, and a pointed cap is added on the right. On top of his head is a star. The proper right arm holds the reins of the horse, while his left arm is raised and holding a long lance. The horse is depicted walking.

The identity of this figure is not easy to establish because his iconography does not conform to the most commonly encountered military gods. Several gods were depicted on horseback in Roman Egypt, perhaps the most widespread of which was the Thracian god Heron. Heron was depicted in military dress on horseback or standing beside his horse, with a shallow dish in his hand which he presents to a serpent. The serpent is usually shown coiled around a tree. Moreover, the solar rays which often surround the god's head

33 On the deities worshiped at Deir el-Haggar, cf. O.E. KAPER, "A painting of the gods of Dakhla in the temple of Ismant el-Kharab", in S. QUIRKE (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt: New Discoveries and Recent Research*, London, 1997, p. 204-215.

34 Similar wreaths may decorate architectural frames on funerary stelas; A. ABD EL-AL, J.-C. GRENIER, G. WAGNER, *Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou*, Paris, 1985, p. 78-79, n. 22 (stelas nos. 21, 138, 162, 165), cf. commentary on p. 63; and G. WAGNER, *BIFAO* 78, 1978, pl. 75 (nos. 22, 24).

BIFAO 99 (2000), p. 233-258 Olaf E. Kaper, Klaas A. Worp
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show that he was a solar god. This iconography, which does not conform with that of dipinto **20**, is confirmed by numerous depictions on stelas, temple walls and coins, most of which date to the second century CE.[35] Another deity who can appear on horseback wielding a double axe was closely associated with Heron.[36] The double axe is the distinctive attribute of this god, which is not present in dipinto **20**. In addition, there were depictions in both reliefs and terracottas of the god Horus in military dress seated upon a horse.[37] In these, Horus is always identified by his falcon's head or by the double crown, neither of which are present in dipinto **20**.

The only positive identification of the Deir el-Haggar horseman which accounts for the combination of the felt hat (*pilos*), the lance and the star on the god's head is as one of the twin brothers known as the Dioskouroi. The soldier must be either Kastor or Polydeukes (Castor or Pollux), who were very popular in Roman Egypt.[38] A stela in Turin depicts the pair on horseback wielding lances and with stars on their heads, exactly as in the Deir el-Haggar painting [39]. Notable other depictions of the Dioskouroi from the Egyptian *khora* have been found in a wall painting at Theadelphia,[40] a large relief cut in the cliffs at Akoris,[41] and limestone sculptures of *piloi* (hats) from the Mithraeum at Memphis.[42] No depiction or mention of the Dioskouroi is as yet known from Dakhla.

It is remarkable that only one of the twin sons of Zeus should be depicted, but a few parallels for this may be cited. A wall painting in a house at Karanis depicts a comparable god on horseback holding a lance and presumably with a star on his head.[43] This painting is dated by the excavators to the period between 50 BCE and 50 CE. In addition, we may refer to two bronze figures, now in the Louvre and the Cairo Museum, which depict only one of the Dioskouroi.[44] The Romans had a special veneration for Castor over Pollux, because Castor was a military god.[45] At Akoris, Kastor and Polydeukes were associated with Ammon as sons of Zeus,[46] and it is possible that a similar relationship between Kastor and Ammon was established at Deir el-Haggar, but nothing is known of this. We have observed above that the occurrence of the god Sarapammon is often associated with a Roman military background, and the same may also account for the single occurrence of Kastor in this case.

35 Z. KISS, "Harpocrate-Héron : À propos d'une figurine en terre cuite du Musée National de Varsovie", in D.M. BAILEY (ed.), *Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt*, Ann Arbor, 1996, p. 214-222.

36 This unidentified deity is shown riding a horse on a painted wooden panel in Hartford ; K. PARLASCA, "Pseudokoptische 'Reiterheilige'", in G. KOCH (ed.), *Studien zur spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst und Kultur des Orients*, Wiesbaden, 1982, pl. 15.

37 Cf. K. PARLASCA, *op. cit.*, p. 19-27 ; J. YOYOTTE, "Horus et le cheval", *BSER* 36, 1986-1987, p. 37-40. A Cairo stela with the god is depicted in *Le monde copte* 18, 1990, p. 22, fig. 2.

38 On the Dioskouroi in Roman Egypt, cf. A. HERMARY, "Dioskouroi", *LIMC* III, 1981, p. 567-593 ; F.W. VON BISSING, "I culti dei Dioscuri in Egitto", *Aegyptus* 33, 1953, p. 347-357 ; *id.*, *Der Kult der Dioskuren im Alten Ägypten*, Munich, 1954 ; J. QUAEGEBEUR, in E. VAN 'T DACK, P. VAN DESSEL, W. VAN GUCHT (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World, StudHel* 27, 1983, p. 312-316.

39 Stela Turin inv. N 1321 ; Cf. *Aegyptus* 33, 1953, pl. between p. 352 and 353 ; *LIMC* III, 1981, Dioskouroi no. 17 ; A.M. DONADONI ROVERI (ed.), *Egyptian Civilization, Religious Beliefs*, Milan, Turin, 1988, p. 242, fig. 338.

40 This painting was taken to the Museum of Alexandria ; E. BRECCIA, *Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* I, 1926, p. 124-126 = *LIMC* III, 1981, Dioskouroi no. 133.

41 *LIMC* III, 1981, Dioskouroi no. 137.

42 *LIMC* III, 1981, Dioskouroi no. 249. Stela Louvre AF 11687 also depicts the Dioskouroi in the form of their *piloi*, in *L'Égypte romaine l'autre Égypte*, Marseille, 1997, no. 207.

43 Photo in A.K. BOWMAN, *Egypt after the Pharaohs*, London, 1986, fig. 107.

44 The Louvre bronze was identified to "most likely" depict one of the Dioskouroi by G. GRIMM, *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*, Mainz, 1978, p. 104, n. 16. The bronze Cairo JE 28123 is published in C.C. EDGAR, *Greek Bronzes*, *CGC*, 1904, no. 27646.

45 As noted by A. HERMARY, "Dioskouroi", *LIMC* III, 1981, p. 567.

46 SB I 987.

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21. Heron ? [fig. 15]

Location : temenos wall, south of the stone gateway, western face.

Dimensions : H. 36 × W. 16.5 cm The dipinto is now lost

Colour : black.

This extremely faint image was recorded soon after its exposure in 1993. The faint traces show a standing male resting his weight on the proper right leg, with the left leg bent slightly outward. The figure is dressed in a cloak which hangs from the proper left shoulder. His proper right arm holds a long lance and his left arm is extended downwards towards an undulating item, which we interpret as a serpent. There appears to be a crown on the figure's head, but the traces are too faint to allow identification.

The Greek style of this divine image, with its Greek garment and distinctive posture, precludes any of the indigenous Egyptian gods. The presence of the lance identifies the figure as a military deity, which the (tentatively identified) serpent held in the other hand specifies to be Heron [47]. There are, however, no images of Heron known in which the god wears a tall crown. Other depictions of Heron have been found in the Fayum, in the temple of Pnepheros in Theadelphia, which date from the second century CE [48]. The god was depicted on coins of the Diospolite Nome in the time of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius [49], which has been explained by the presence of Thracian soldiers in the province in the second century CE.

22. Unidentified deity [fig. 16]

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, southern reveal, upper right corner.

Dimensions : H. 25 × W. 53 cm The dipinto is now lost

Colour : red.

The dipinto shows the legs and feet of a male deity standing upon a pedestal next to an altar. The figure is depicted in Greek style, resting on his proper right leg. The altar is of an elegant type made of bronze,[50] and the deity in question is apparently shown throwing incense or a pine cone or the like into the fire. The deity is likely to be identical to a figure depicted in the temple of Pnepheros at Theadelphia. The Theadelphia painting depicts an unidentified deity next to the god Heron and on a smaller scale, with a fire altar next to him.[51]

47 On the iconography of Heron : Z. KISS, *op. cit.* [note 35].

48 É. BERNAND, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum II : La "méris" de Themistos*, *BiEtud* 79, 1981, nos. 126-128. These paintings were taken to the Museum of Alexandria (inv. nos. 202223-25).

49 G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 21, 1921, p. 7-16.

50 A similar altar is preserved in the Cairo Museum (CGC 27813), cf. G. SOUKIASSIAN, *BIFAO* 83, 1983, p. 327, no. 18.

51 É. BERNAND, *op. cit.* [note 48], nos. 126-128.

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23. Sacred ibis [fig. 17]

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, southern reveal, left half.

Dimensions : H. 65 × W. 45 cm. The dipinto is now lost.

Colours : red with black inner details.

The dipinto depicts a sacred ibis, facing left, crowned with a lunar crescent and disc. The animal was sacred to the lunar god Thoth, and actual specimens of mummified birds, perhaps ibis, have been found at the nearby cemetery of El-Muzawwaqa.[52] The temple of Thoth presumably stood in the nearby town of Trimithis (Amheida), building blocks of which have been found reused in the village of El-Qasr.[53]

24. A ram [fig. 18]

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, southern reveal.

Dimensions : H. 15 × W. 18 cm The dipinto is now lost

Colour : red.

This dipinto shows a walking ram, facing right, set upon a narrow baseline. It is crowned with a sundisc. The horns of the animal are not compatible with those of any known species, and they should be seen together with the solar disc as part of the crown. The wool of the animal has been indicated by a series of vertical curving lines across the body. The ram was sacred to the god Amon ; see the comments on the larger ram figure above.

25. A ram [fig. 19]

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, southern reveal.

Dimensions : H. 19 × W. 21 cm The dipinto is now lost

Colour : red.

Another ram of slightly larger dimensions was drawn to the left of **24**. It is less carefully executed than its neighbour, being merely drawn with a piece of red ochre instead of red paint. It is remarkable for its heavy fur indicated by thick red curving lines. The animal is crowned with a solar disc set on two horns which curve steeply upwards.

52 One bird mummy, allegedly a goose, is mentioned in J. OSING *et al.*, *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla*, Mainz, 1982, p. 95, pl. 35.i. The cartonnage covering of this mummy is, however, modeled with a beak like that of an ibis.

53 It is most likely that these blocks originate from the site of Amheida, ancient Trimithis, cf. O.E. KAPER, *BIFAO* 92, 1992, p. 128-129. On the place-name, cf. P.Kell. V Copt 50.19, note.

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26. Squatting baboon [fig. 8]

Location : east temenos wall, southern doorway, southern reveal, right half.

Dimensions : not recorded The dipinto is now lost

Colour : red.

The sacred animal of the god Thoth is depicted facing left. It is squatting on a narrow baseline and there is a lunar disc indicated on its head. The muzzle of the baboon is peculiarly elongated, as that of a dog, which may have been inspired by the Greek κυνοκέφαλος (baboon). The thick fur of the mantle has been rendered with irregular curving lines.

III. The relationship between the texts and the images

By studying the way the paintings and inscriptions relate to each other, a relative chronology of some of the material on the northern side of the doorway could be established. The first elements to be painted on the plaster were the two large Sarapammon busts **17** and **18** and the large proskynemata **1** and **2** beside them. The next dipinti to be added were nos. **5** and **6**, which were later overpainted by the two large figures of a baboon and a ram, no. **19**. Subsequently, text **4** was written over the body of the baboon of **19**.

We have already remarked above that the dipinti were probably done on the occasion of the festival of 1 Tybi, which is mentioned in several inscriptions. Most of the textual and pictorial dipinti were quick sketches or hasty inscriptions made with a piece of charcoal or red ochre, and these have now largely disappeared. The remaining traces on and around the doorway suggest that large numbers of visitors once crowded the temenos during the festivals. It is difficult to be more specific about the authors of the dipinti. One of the textual dipinti identifies its author as a pastophoros priest of Isis (**12**), and two others were written by musicians (flautists, **1** and **2**).

It is interesting that several of the larger dipinti were painted with care, some using several colours (reds and black), and these obviously took longer to design and execute. They may be compared to a series of dipinti found in the temenos at Ismant el-Kharab (Kellis), in one of the shrines belonging to the main temple complex, Shrine IV. Here, a series of dipinti were painted in black ink which are of such complexity that they must have been produced by a member of the local priesthood as a deliberate decoration of the shrine walls.[54] It is possible that the larger dipinti at Deir el-Haggar, especially those which are surmounted by floral wreaths (**19** and **20**), were such "official" dipinti, designed as a focus for popular devotion.

54 The publication of these four dipinti has been prepared by O. Kaper for a forthcoming volume of preliminary reports on the work of the Dakhleh Oasis Project, edited by C.A. Hope and A.J. Mills.

BIFAO 99 (2000), p. 233-258 Olaf E. Kaper, Klaas A. Worp
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The dipinti, specifically the pictorial dipinti, suggest the presence in second century Dakhla of a minority foreign population. The single appearance of Kastor could point to Roman religious practice, as could the veneration of Sarapammon, which has elsewhere been linked to the army. There is no evidence for the presence of Roman army units in Dakhla during the second century, but this is largely due to a lack of source material from this time.[55] It is known that during the early fourth century there was an army unit stationed at or near the town of Trimithis (Amheida), which is only a few kilometers away from Deir el-Haggar.[56] Whether Roman soldiers were already present in Dakhla during the second century is a matter which cannot be resolved by the Deir el-Haggar dipinti alone.

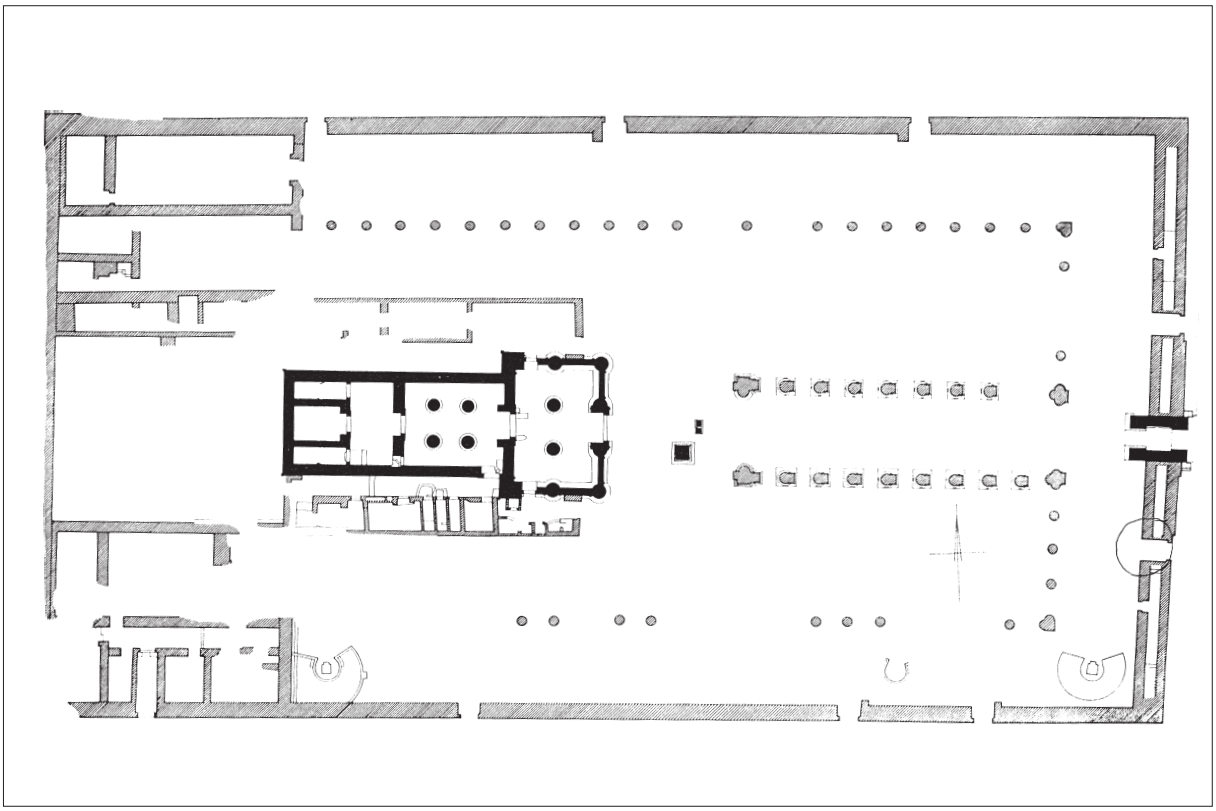


Fig. 1. Plan of the temple of Deir el-Haggar (Drawing by J.E. Knudstad).

55 Cf. M. REDDÉ, "A l'ouest du Nil : une frontière sans soldats, des soldats sans frontière", in V.A. MAXFIELD, M.J. DOBSON (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1989,* Exeter, 1991, p. 485-493.

56 In the fourth century, Trimithis was the station of the Ala I *Quadorum* according to the Not.Dig., Or. XXXI.56. Cf also P.Kell. I Gr., p. 145 no. 49.1-2n.

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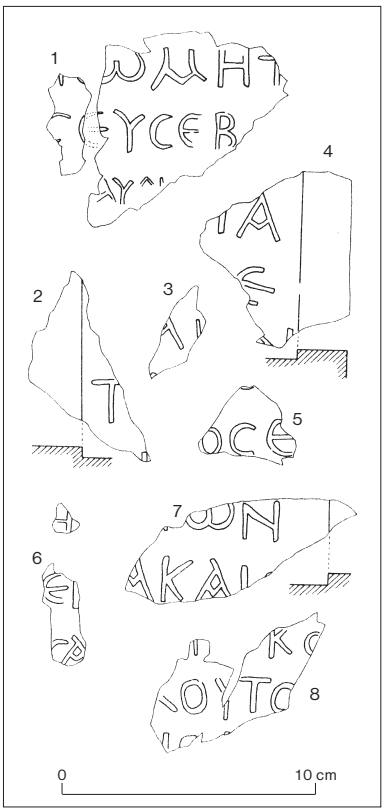


Fig. 2. The eight fragments of a commemorative inscription found during the recent clearance work at the temenos gateway.

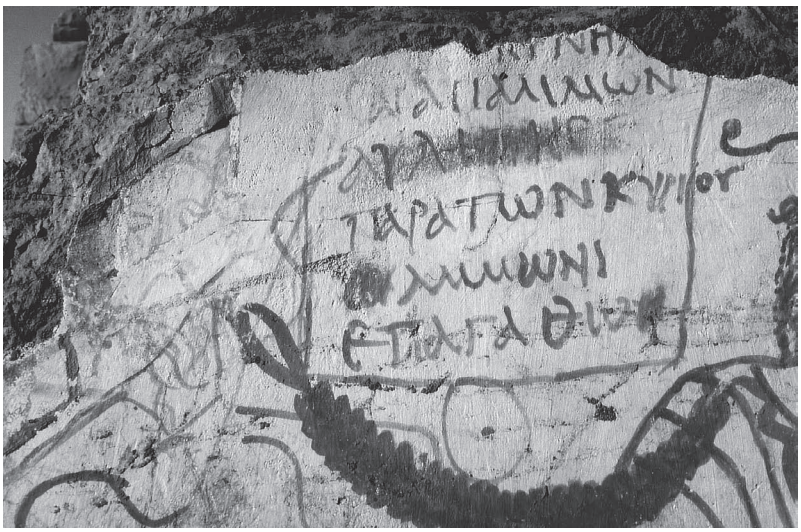


Fig.3. Dipinto no. **1**, proskynema.

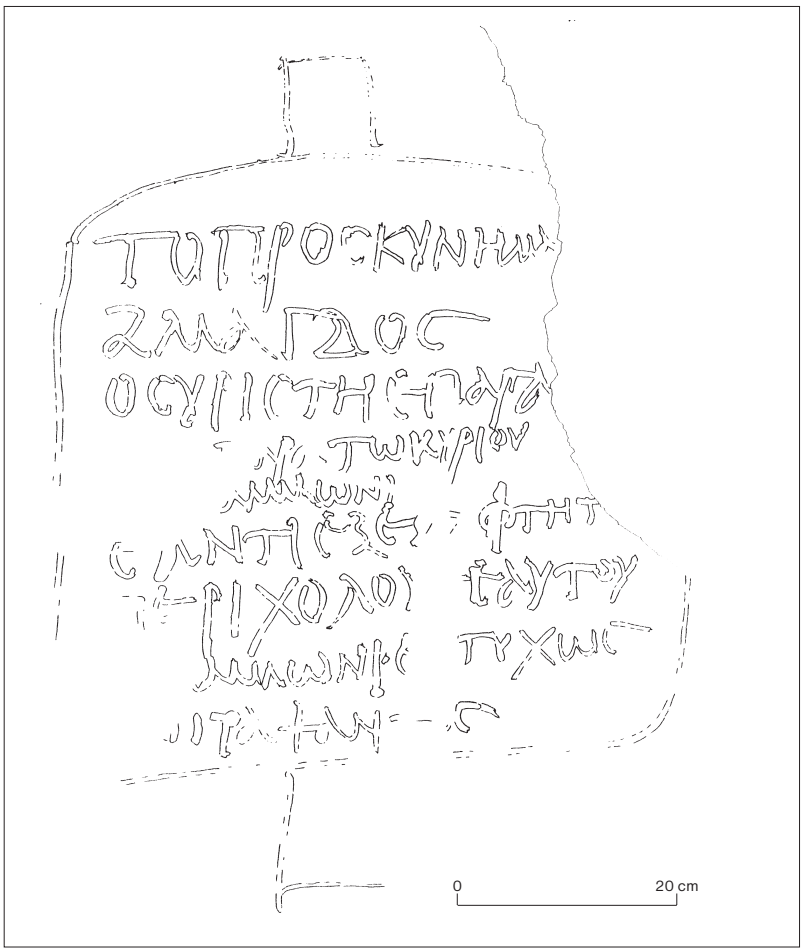


Fig. 4.
Dipinto no. **2**, proskynema.

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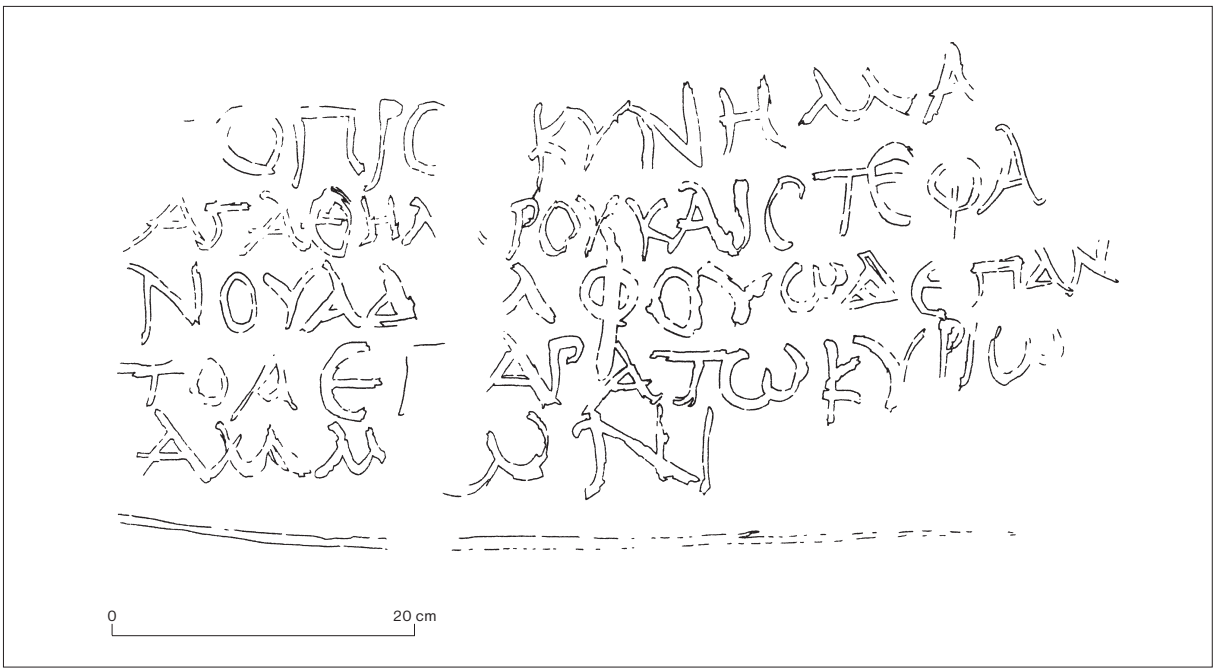


Fig. 5. Dipinto no. **5**, proskynema.

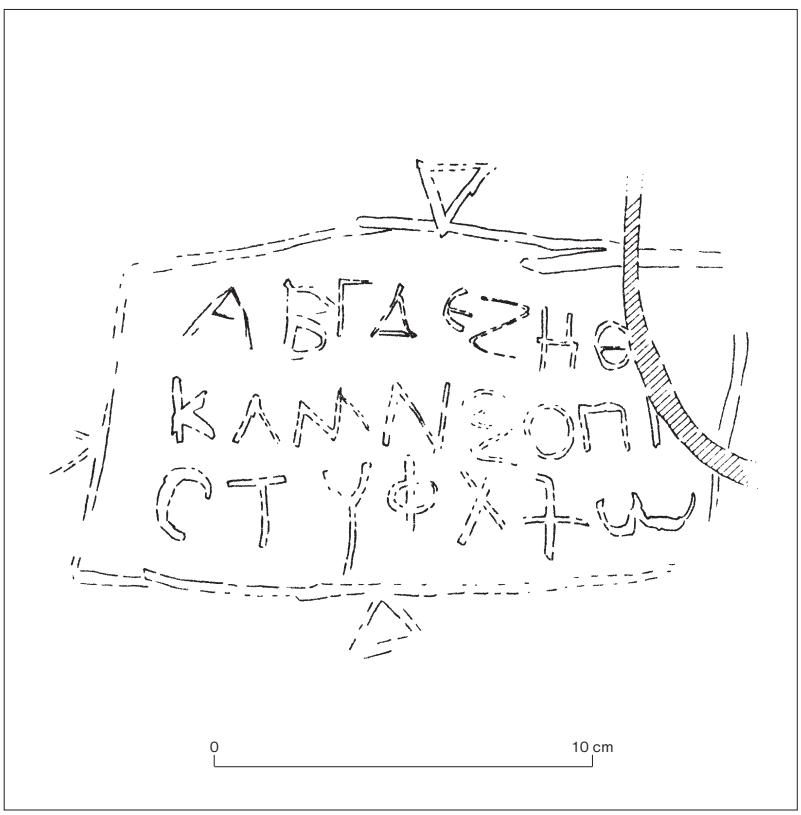


Fig. 6.
Dipinto no. **6**, magical alphabet.

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Fig. 7. View of the northern reveal of the doorway.



Fig. 8. View of the southern reveal of the doorway.

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Fig. 9.
Dipinto no. **17**, bust of Sarapammon-Hermes.

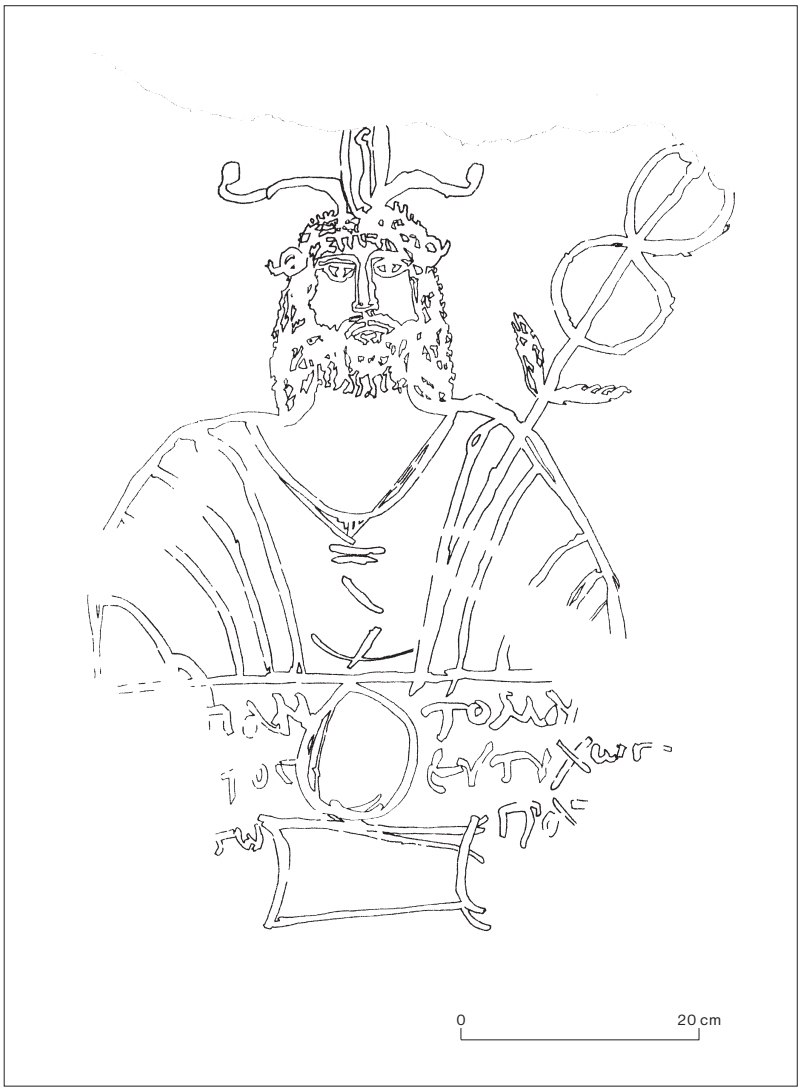


Fig. 10.
Dipinto no. **17**, bust of Sarapammon-Hermes.

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Fig. 11.
Dipinto no. **18**,
bust of Sarapammon-Asklepios.

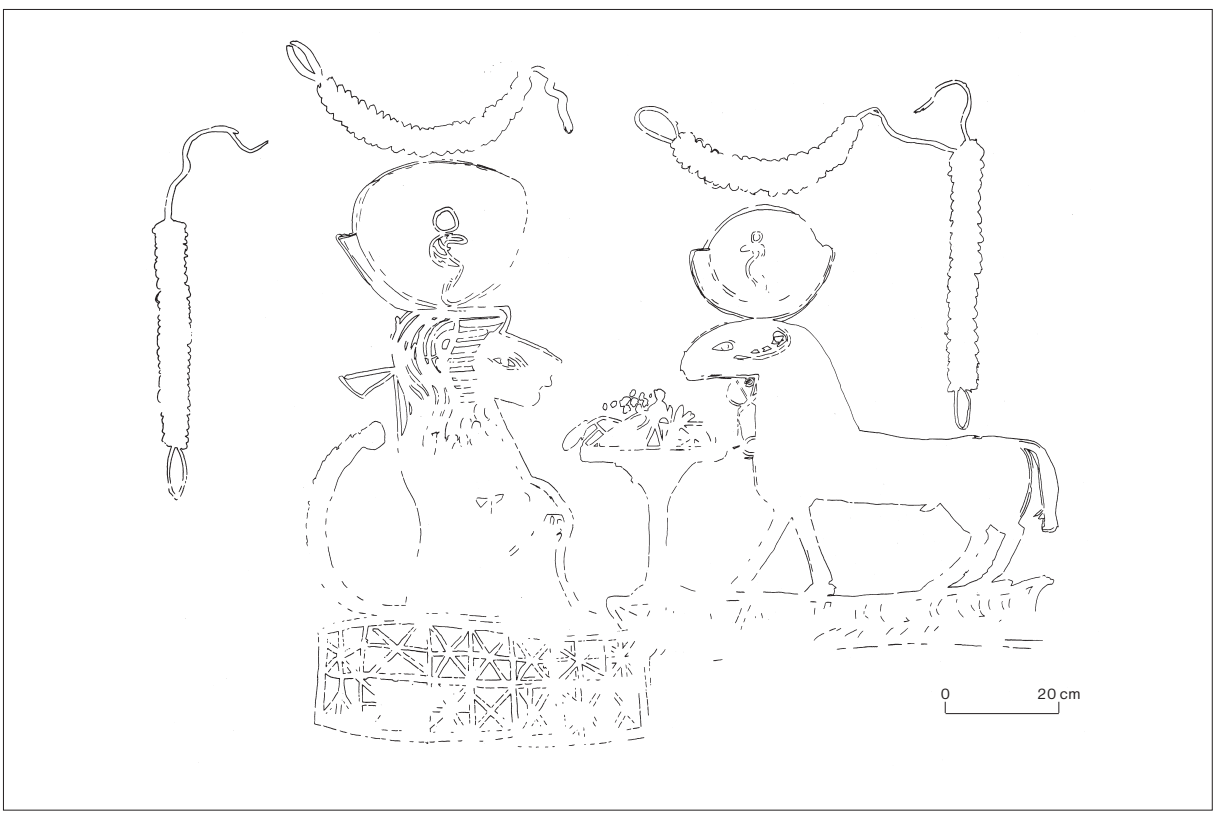


Fig. 12. Dipinto no. **19**, a baboon and a ram (Thoth and Amon-Re).

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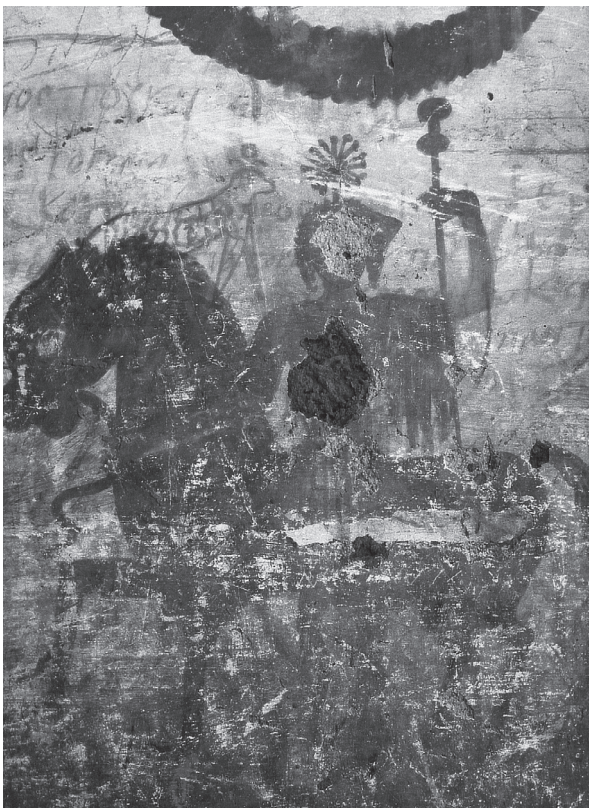


Fig. 13. Dipinto no. **20**, Dioskouros.

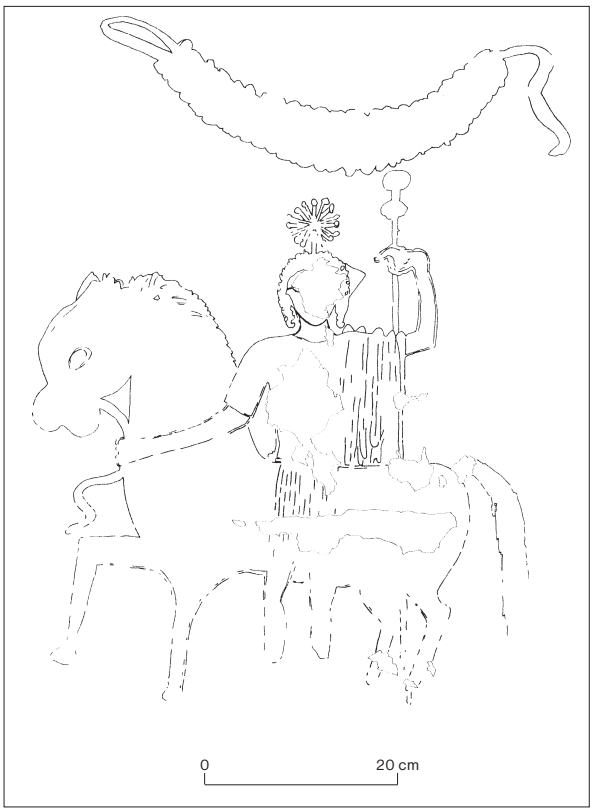


Fig. 14. Dipinto no. **20**, Dioskouros.

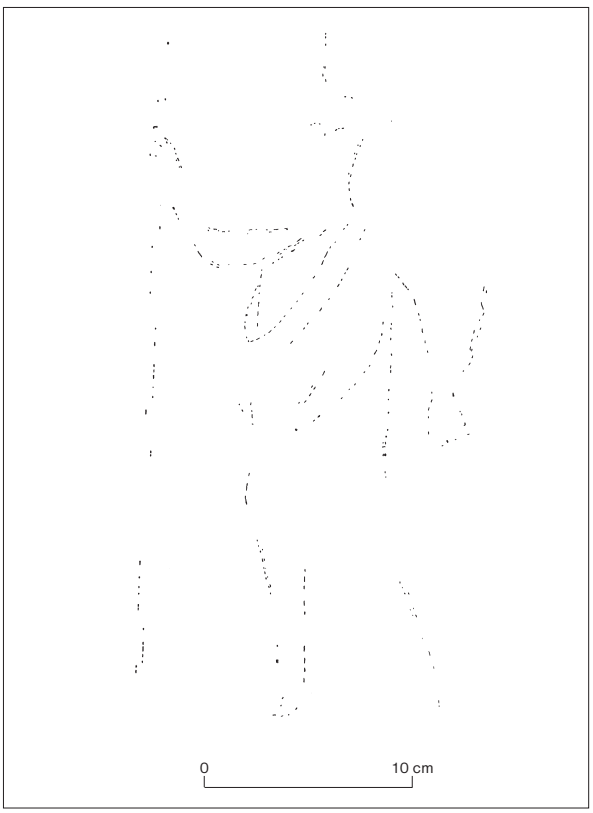


Fig. 15. Dipinto no. **21**, Heron?

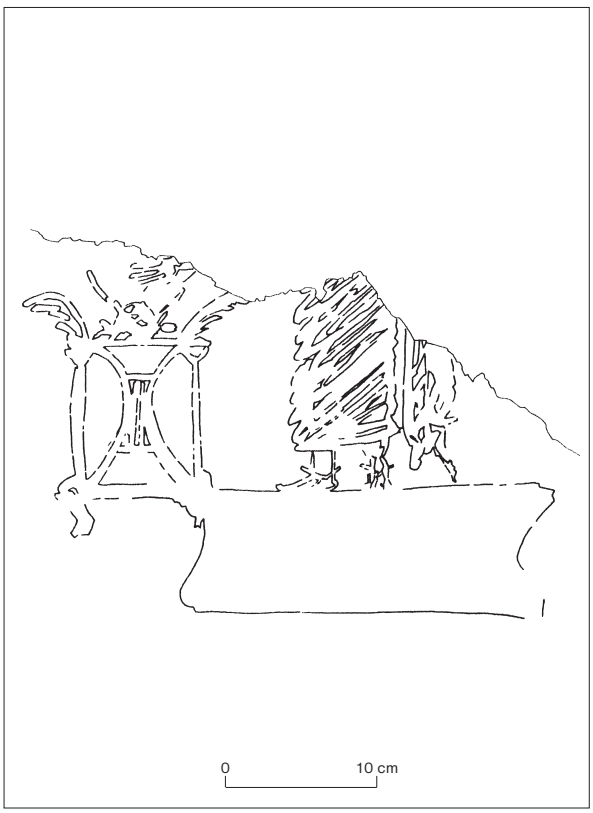


Fig. 16. Dipinto no. **22**, unidentified deity.

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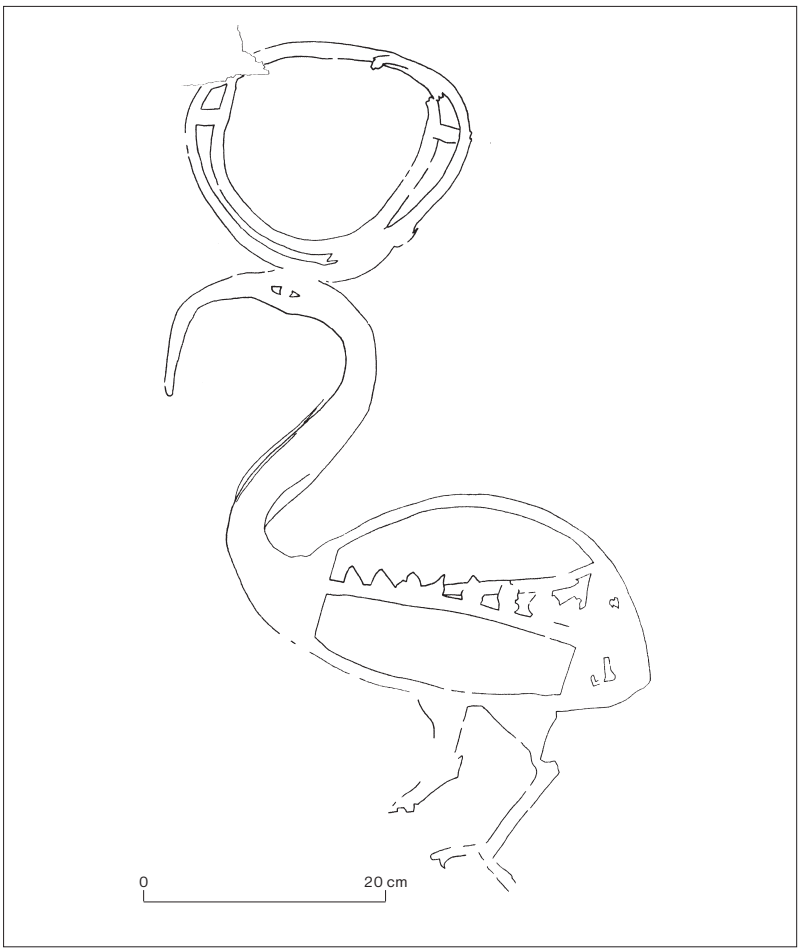


Fig. 17.
Dipinto no. **23**, sacred ibis of Thoth.

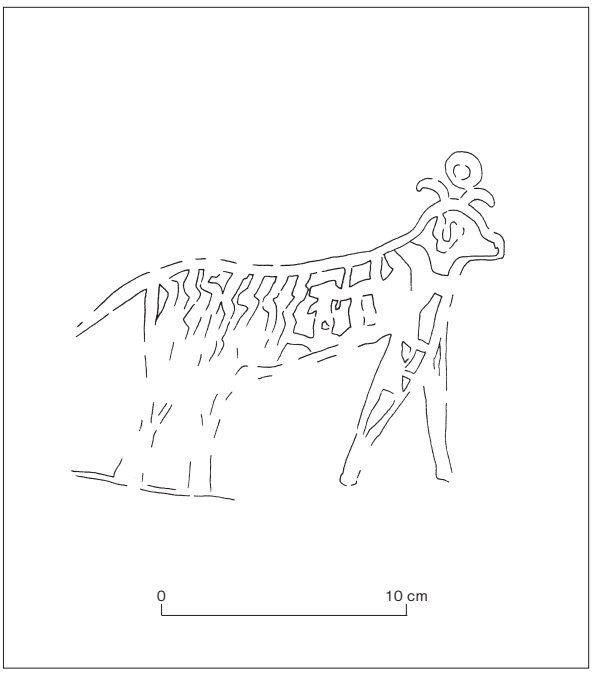


Fig. 18. Dipinto no. **24**, the ram of Amon.

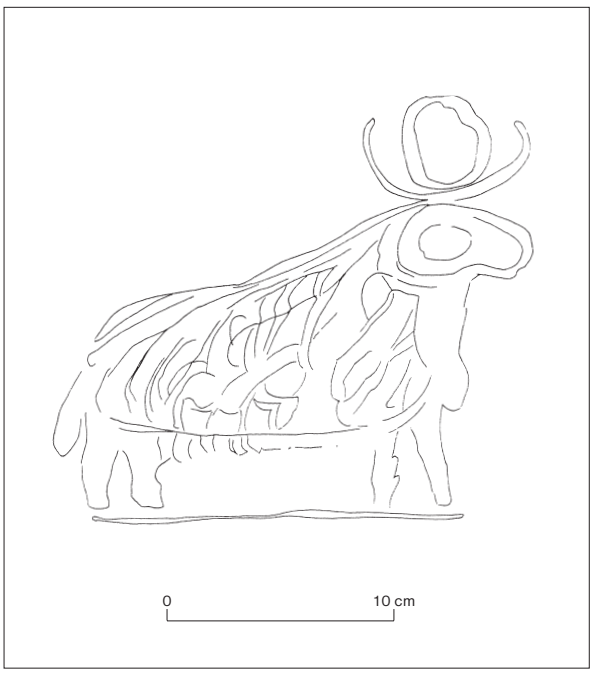


Fig. 19. Dipinto no. **25**, the ram of Amon.

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