

# ROMAN PORTRAITS AND MEMPHIS IV

## INTRODUCTION

1. THE work of the past season, 1910-11, lay in four different sites, all within about ten to fifty miles south of Cairo. Opposite to the village of Mazghuneh Mr. Mackay found two pyramids, hitherto unpublished. At Gerzeh, north of Meydum, Mr. Wainwright found and cleared a prehistoric cemetery. At Hawara I succeeded in finding sculptures of the Labyrinth, and opened many tombs of the xiith dynasty. All of these results will appear in the second volume of this year. Here we are concerned with my work on the Roman cemetery of Hawara, or Howareh as it should be more correctly called from the wide-spread Arab tribe. The excavations which I made there in 1888 were this year renewed and completed. The natives in their ceaseless search for nitrous earth—or *sebakh*—had removed much of the soil which formerly covered the cemetery; and so the graves that remained were far more accessible. As portraits were being found here by casual digging, Sir Gaston Maspero desired me to clear the site. This work was done entirely by well-trained men from Quft, who camped on the spot. The new difficulty in Egypt now is that the boys do not care to be troubled to work; in the Fayum they appear to be their own masters, and it is not until they have to shift for themselves that they find the need of hard work. Actually the men had to do much of their own basket-work, carrying the stuff out after cutting it, which was a great waste of trained labour, and hindered our progress. Our other work described in this volume was at Memphis, where sculptures were again found; fortunately boys are eager and work well there.

2. This season I had the advantage, during most of the time, of the companionship of Mr. James Stopford, who assisted with his engineering experience in the work and specially in the packing. Also Mr. Angelo Hayter gave much useful work in the drawings, while I was fully occupied with the direction of men, accounts, photographing, and cleaning the portraits.

The discoveries of this year have led to a fresh arrangement of publication. When I worked at Hawara twenty-three years ago, it was only possible with difficulty to get some collotype reproductions issued. Now colour-work has advanced so much, that the portraits can be efficiently published. Accordingly this volume contains four coloured plates besides photographs of thirty-two other portraits. To issue the whole of the colour plates in the usual volumes would be impracticable, as these already here cost nearly as much as an ordinary volume. The bulk of them are therefore issued separately in a Portfolio, and those who wish for the whole text and reproductions of the portraits will find them in this volume and the Portfolio taken together. This forms the only issue of facsimiles of classical portraiture on an extensive scale; it is much to be hoped that the other examples preserved in museums will be published similarly both in method and cost, so as to be available for study and comparison.

## CHAPTER I

### THE BURIALS

3. THE portraits discovered upon the mummies at Hawara this year are in direct continuation with those which I unearthed in that cemetery in 1888. A few have been found there in the interval between the first and second part of my work: but even in that cemetery the portraits are so rare that they do not reward work on a small scale. Our work was restricted to regions where portraits might probably be found, but on the average each digger only obtained one in six weeks, excluding those examples whose condition made them worthless. Out of about a hundred mummies of the same age, found buried in the same way, there is only one portrait preserved, and perhaps one more decayed or destroyed portrait.

For purposes of reference it is needful to keep to

the original register marks in the order of discovery, as too much confusion would be caused by a complete re-numbering. The marks on those of 1888 follow the alphabet A-Z, then AA-ZZ, and AB-AZ, BA-BG, 81 in all. The marks of 1911 follow numbers from 1 to 65. Of the 1888 portraits 33 were published in photograph; in *Hawara* there are 27 that were distributed, of which Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 12 in Frontispiece and pl. x are in the National Gallery, where also are 4 others not published then; in *Kahun* are 6 of those that were kept at the Cairo Museum. Of these portraits 10 are published in colour this year, and 9 republished in photograph. As the *Hawara* volume has been long out of print and rare, I regret that the scattering of that collection makes it impossible now to trace them all, or to collect a complete republication. Most of the best of them, however, will be found in our issues of this year.

Of the 1911 portraits, 4 are given in colour here, pls. i-iv; 23 are given here, with one of 1888, in photograph, pls. v-vii a; and 14 are in colour, together with 10 of 1888, in the separate Portfolio, see page viii. Thus 41 of this year's are published, leaving 24 unpublished, which are in various stages of decay; many of these were so completely rotten that nothing could even be moved from the ground, but only a note made of the direction, sex, and method of wrapping, where such details were still visible. The totals now published are therefore

Of 1888 . . .	10 coloured	9 plain	= 19
Of 1911 . . .	18 "	23 "	= 41
	—	—	—
Totals . . .	28 "	32 "	60

a total of 60 in this volume and the Portfolio. In references the plate number will be given after each portrait number, so as to enable it to be readily found, and P will be put after each number in the Portfolio. For the table of register marks, plate numbers, and museums, see pl. xxvi. For the general appearance of the mummies with gilt heads see pls. x, xii, xiii, xiv; for the portrait mummies see pl. xi.

4. The mode of burial of these portrait mummies differs from that of earlier times. In place of being buried singly, and in chambers, these portraits were usually buried in groups and always in open graves filled with earth. In place of having a chapel, monument, or tablet over them, they were in every case, but one, buried in plain ground without even a brick top over the grave. Several large groups of brick graves in tomb enclosures were uncovered, as shown

in pls. xvii, xviii, xxii, but not a single portrait was ever found with such burials. Only in one case was there a stone chamber, surrounding a pit which contained portraits. These were Nos. 2, 3, 4, with one gilt and one plain mummy, five in all, packed in a pit 79 × 55 inches, as shown in pl. xxiii. The chamber round the pit was 117 × 87 out, 89 × 62 inside; only one course of stone remained, and the upper part of the enclosure may have been of brick. In all of the other burials of portraits, about fifty, there was no monument or mark visible above them, and they could only be found by searching the whole ground.

5. The explanation of the richest mummies being thus buried without mark, is seen in the condition of them. Many of them had been much injured by exposure during a long period before burial. The gilt-bust mummies had often been knocked about, the stucco chipped off, sometimes the nose bashed in by a fall, the gilding dirtied, fly-marked, caked with dust which was bound on by rain. The portraits show the same exposure. The paint has flaked off in many cases, as 9, va; 42, vi; 27, vii; and also many which are in too bad a state to reproduce. Others were caked with dirt, and required long cleaning to remove it; on 25, vi some fluid had run down which preserved the paint from change, and has kept it permanently lighter, even after cleaning. The state of the foot-cases shows the same exposure. Most of them were broken in by blows as in xi, 3, sometimes almost destroyed, often dirty. On the feet of one mummy the wrapping had been used by children, who scribbled caricatures upon it, pl. xiii. 1. Others have had the portrait chopped or broken in, as 54 P, 53, v, 34, v.

Thus every sign shows that the mummies, both with and without portraits, had stood exposed for a long time before burial. The conclusion we may draw is that they were kept around the *atrium* of the house, where children were taught their writing lessons, where the dust settled and occasional rain beat in upon the figures, and where in the cleaning of the house the footcases were gradually knocked to pieces.

This explains the contradiction that the mummies prepared with the greatest cost were buried in the roughest manner. They were kept in the house so long as there was any interest felt in them, perhaps for a generation or two. Then, when the persons had passed out of memory, and when the mummies had become soiled and broken, they were sent off to

the cemetery, often as many as half a dozen at once. A plain pit was dug, as small as might possibly hold them; they were shoved in roughly, often two head to foot, another jammed in hard at the side, and a second layer like this repeated, in one case head up and feet up in an old tomb well. No one cared for them by that time, and there was no interest in placing a stele or even a grave mound over them. The brick graves and cenotaphs were only put over those plain mummies which were buried at once, while the survivors still had an interest in them.

These customs explain the old story about drawing a mummy round the hall at a feast. Such a practice would not agree with what we know of earlier customs; but were the mummies kept in the house, it would be quite likely that they would be brought forward to appear in the great religious feasts, and have offerings placed before them, instead of the descendants going out to the cemetery to make offerings on such occasions at the tombs.

6. The different types of mummies in the Greek and Roman period evidently succeeded in the following order of introduction, as I pointed out in *Hawara*, though each type probably continued in use over some later stages.

1. Thin head and foot-cases of papyrus or cloth, covered with dark blue over the wig, revived in Ptolemaic times from a xiith dynasty type.
2. Stout cases of cartonnage covered with painted figures, as in pl. x, 4, 5.
3. Stout cases of cartonnage with thick plaster masks and modelling.
4. Such cases enlarged with broad chests, arms, and drapery, as pl. x, 1.
5. Such bust pieces with a red wreath in the hands, x, 2.
6. Thinner and poorer imitations, as pl. xii.
7. Canvas painting of a face inserted in a stucco bust piece.
8. Canvas painting of whole bust, with red wreath in hand, as YY in Portfolio.
9. Canvas portraits without arms, as I2, I3 in Portfolio.
10. Portraits on wooden panels, as most of those here.

The linking of these various types together precludes our taking them in a different order of derivation, and the general indications of period agree with this.

7. Thus recognising the various types, we may proceed to note the grouping of these in the burial

pits, remembering that there is no evidence that these mummies buried thus together were prepared at the same time. On the contrary, where half a dozen mummies of adults were buried together it is probable that at least two generations are represented, perhaps three. Hence these groups contain examples prepared fifty years or more apart. There were not in Egypt, as in England now, many persons without children; hence the mummies were probably nearly all in direct ancestry of the householder.

We will first note the earlier burial groups without portraits. A large square building of brickwork was divided into four compartments by cross-walls, see plan, pl. xxiii, 7. The whole building has been cased with limestone slabs, since removed by Roman lime-burners, and the corners of it were formed by blocks of masonry still in position. Each compartment was filled up with brick filling, evenly laid in loose courses, and undisturbed in the lower parts when we opened it. In the south-east corner were three mummies, all with heads to south; the eastern, A, a woman with gilt face, then a child, C, and another adult, B, in plain wrappings. Beneath these were D, gilt face, head N, under A; E, similar under C; F, plain mummy, head N, under B. Beneath those were G, infant, head N, under D; H, head south under F, both plain. In the south-west corner were three mummies, J, K, L, plain with bandaging and wreaths. In the north-east were twelve plain burials, of which four lay partly under the walls, and were therefore earlier than the building. In the north-west corner was a much earlier cartonnage burial of about the xxiiiird dynasty, with the legs only of another body over it. Being beneath undisturbed filling, this broken burial must be older than the building. It is strange that some pieces of bright glazed bowls, of yellow black and green run roughly together, were also beneath the brick filling and must therefore be Roman, though hitherto they would have been considered Arabic.

Another large group is shown pl. xxiii, 6. These all lay in a chamber on the surface of the ground and had not been intentionally buried, but only placed in the chamber, which had a parabolic roof fallen in. A and B had plainly-wrapped heads with six layers of rhombic bandage with gilt buttons (as x, 3; xi, 3) over the bodies. These were placed in what had been the passage leading to the chamber. C had a painted foot-case, but the body was irregularly tied round and the head plainly wrapped. D was a unique example, unfortunately too rotten to

remove whole; the footcase is shown in pl. xi, 7, evidently a cast from the feet of a living girl, coloured pinkish yellow with black sandal straps. Large gilt twisted anklets with lions' heads are on the ankles; and the rhombic bandaging of four layers had very large gilt buttons in the hollows, with others across the chest, and ten rows on the ankles as seen in the photograph. (Univ. Coll. Lond.) The head cartonnage was knocked to pieces and decayed. E had a gilt head-piece but no foot-case; rhombic bandage of four layers, but no buttons. The layer of bandage under the top was green. F was a unique burial with cartonnage head-piece unusually large, having a wreath of loose leaves of gilt canvas and green berries between them, in the hands a red wreath and a candle. The rhombic bandage was in five layers with gilt buttons, and two rows of buttons on the chest. The foot-case was gilt. (Cambridge.) G had a usual gilt head-piece with scenes of the gods on it, and a rhombic bandage.

Another group was of three wedge-faced mummies, type xiii, 4, bandaged to a sharp straight edge down the face; heads, two to south, one north. Beneath these were two others, heads north, and a gilt bust mummy holding a candle, with rhombic bandages five layers deep, buttons, and a gilt foot-case with four captives on soles. All the lower with heads to north.

In another pit similarly there were two gilt-faced mummies, of fine work, one having a painted cloth with figures over the body. With these were two wedge-faced mummies with rhombic bandages in six layers.

8. We turn now to the group of mummies found with the portraits. xxiii, 2; Nos. 2, 3, 4 were with one fine gilt mummy, head N., and one plain, head S. xxiii, 3; Nos. 5, 6, were with three gilt heads all N., and two wedge-faces N. and S. xxiii, 5; Nos. 14 to 17 (all decayed) were with a gilt face, head W., and a wedge-face, W. No. 24 was with a gilt face, head W. No. 36 was with a gilt face. No. 46 was with two gilt faces, heads N. and S.

xxiii, 4; wedge-faces were found with Nos. 7, 8, 9, a wedge-face, head S., and a plain wrapped mummy head S. No. 10 had two wedge-faces. Nos. 12, 13 were with four wedge-faces, all heads to W. No. 27 had a wedge-face, head E. No. 28 was with one, head W. Nos. 49, 50 were with a wedge-face, head E.

In a few cases only plainly-wrapped mummies were with the portraits. No. 1 had immediately over it a plainly-wrapped body of a woman, head to E., of which not a single joint remained articulated, and

most of the bones were out of place; this must have been wrapped up as bare bones, even the pelvis and vertebrae being all dissevered. There were three inches of sand between the bodies, which shows that they were buried separately. No. 30 had a plain mummy with it, head S.; No. 38 likewise; and No. 52 had a plain mummy with head W.

These associated plain mummies had their heads to

N., 6; E., 3; S., 6; W., 4

while the portrait mummies with them lay

N., 6; E., 3; S., 10; W., 10

The conclusion seems to be that the men who buried them thought more of laying the portrait mummies to S. or W. than the plain mummies, which might lie any way.

9. We now come to the general question of the direction of burial of the portrait mummies. On first examining the matter, there seemed to be an improbable result that men and women were buried usually in different directions. On further taking the style of the portraits into account, the explanation of this appeared to be due to a difference in period. As it is generally agreed that these portraits belong to the Roman age, and that that was a time of continuous decline in art, it follows that—apart from individual variations—the finer portraits will be earlier than the poorer. No doubt different artists varied greatly, and there might be some poor ones early and superior ones later, just as there was a fine engraver at the Alexandria mint even in the reign of Gallienus; but, on the average of all, the better portraits were the earlier. I therefore classed the portraits as good (22), medium (11), and poor (12). On dividing these according to the direction of the head there was no great difference of good or poor except in the south.

	Men.				Women.			
	N.	E.	S.	W.	N.	E.	S.	W.
Good . . .	3	—	4	6	2	2	4	1
Medium . . .	—	—	2	1	1	2	5	—
Poor . . .	2	1	—	5	2	1	—	1

The result is much the same with men and women, and in all directions except south. Putting then the other three directions together, we find

	Head to south.	Otherwise.
Good . . .	8	15
Medium . . .	7	4
Poor . . .	—	12



## QUALITY OF PORTRAITS

5

Here it is clear that all the portraits with head to south are good or medium, and not a single poor portrait lay in that direction; whereas in other directions there were nearly as many poor as good. We must then conclude that *all southerly burials are in the earlier part* of the period of portraits.

The direction of the burials and the sex could be distinguished when the portraits were often too much injured to consider their quality. Hence the amount of material is larger on these two points than when including the portraits. We find the direction of the heads to be

	N.	E.	S.	W.
Men . . .	7	1	6	14
Women . . .	6	5	11	3

This shows a large preponderance of women to the south, nearly a half, and similarly half of the men to the west. We can hardly suppose that the sex was considered at these rough burials. The conclusion must be that, as the southerly burials are the earlier, *women were more often painted in the earlier part of the period* when southern burial was the rule, and men mostly in the later period when western and other positions were common.

10. Another comparison is in the quality of the portraits found singly and those found in groups.

	Good.	Medium.	Poor.
Portraits singly . . .	10	6	8
Portraits in groups . . .	17	7	6

Here the group portraits are much better in quality. This is due probably to two causes; the groups are likely to belong to richer families who could afford many portraits, and such riches were diminishing during the period through the impoverishment of the country, and so groups would be mainly earlier; also the richer families could afford better artists for their portraits.

Looking now at the relation of the portrait to the preparation of the mummy, we see that the foot-case is related to the quality of the portrait.

	Good.	Medium.	Bad.
Plain feet . . .	19	9	4
Gilt feet . . .	4	2	6

Here the mummies with plain feet have far better portraits than those with gilt feet.

The same is seen regarding the use of gilt buttons on the bandaging.

	Good.	Medium.	Bad.
Without buttons . . .	13	7	4
With buttons . . .	12	2	5

Here those with buttons seem rather worse.

11. Let us now compare the southern burials, which we have seen to be all early, with the use of buttons:

	Heads S.	Otherwise.
Without buttons . . .	13	15
With buttons . . .	4	16

Here the earlier class with heads south seldom have buttons; those in other directions have buttons oftener than not. Hence the *earlier mummies have plain feet and no buttons*; the introduction of gilt footcases and buttons were later additions to the portrait system.

The number of layers of the rhombic wrappings shows a slight decrease; those with good and medium portraits average 6.2 layers, with poor portraits 5.3 layers.

As we have seen that women were more often painted in the earlier and men in the later period, we can check this against the conclusions about the fittings of the mummy.

	Women.		Men.	
	+	-	+	-
Foot-case gilt . . .	6	24	9	15
Buttons gilt . . .	10	20	10	13

These results agree that the earlier stage was mainly of women's portraits, with few foot-cases and not usually with buttons: while men's portraits have foot-cases and buttons more often.

The red-painted cloth covers, without rhombic bandaging, are all with portraits of good quality, two found in 1888 and two in 1911. Also two resined cloth covers Nos. 59 and 60 both have good portraits, and demotic inscriptions. Hence the whole of the cloth covers seem to belong to the earliest stage of the portraits.

The general conclusions are that the earlier stage of portrait mummies is that of the covers of red cloth, or resined cloth, or else rhombic bandaging: that women were more often painted in the earlier than the later stage: that the burial with head to the south was usual in early times but not later: that in later times gilt foot-cases and buttons were introduced on the portrait mummies from the Egyptian system already existing. The historical conclusion is that the Graeco-Roman population adopted mummification, with the portrait attached, and gradually added the ordinary Egyptian foot-cases and button ornaments at a later time.

## CHAPTER II

## THE PORTRAITS.

12. THESE portraits are mostly painted with coloured wax, laid on as a solid body of the same tint, and not washed over with additions of different colour. The details and method of painting will be dealt with in sect. 20, here we consider the changes which the portraits have undergone.

The most perfectly preserved were buried in thoroughly dry ground with fine sand upon the face. Sometimes a cloth was laid over the face; but such material was generally injurious, owing to its readily carrying moisture and to the amount of air space in its texture. Fine dry sand is the most preservative of all materials.

A frequent cause of injury to the portrait was from the oil used in preserving the mummy. In one which I opened the whole body was saturated with oil, and the wrappings likewise. This oil soaked through the wood panel and darkened a part of the colours; this may be seen in the coloured plate iii and in the photographs 59, v, 46, v a, 21 and 4, vi a, and 18, vii a. Some have been rendered almost invisible by the brown stain of the oil. On the whole, the 1888 portraits were less injured by oil. As they were found farther out from the pyramid of Hawara it seems likely that they were later as a whole than the 1911 portraits; the experience of the damage to the earlier portraits, or a cheapening of the process, may have led to less oil being used in later times.

During the keeping of the portrait in the house, it suffered much in some instances from flaking, as in 9, v a, or 27, vii, due to exposure to weather. The mere accumulation of dirt upon it is easily cleaned off. Both water and spirit can be used freely for rubbing these wax surfaces without any injury. Ether or benzine would be the only solvents for the wax paint. Heavy blows and cuts with a chopper are found upon some of the portraits; these may partly have been due to accidental falls in the house, or careless handling in putting in a cart to go to the cemetery, or throwing out at the grave. No. 54 P has had violent blows cracking the wood, and 53, v, found with it, has been chopped with a sharp edge. It is possible that this was done to prevent the theft of the portraits when sent out of the house. No. 34, V has also had part of it knocked in.

Sometimes a coat of varnish was put over the portrait, as on No. 5, v a, when it turned dark red

and was difficult to remove with spirit. In other cases a cloth was put over the face with melted resin, which required long softening and scraping to remove it, as on H viii.

13. The changes after burial were the more serious. About a third of the portraits buried have been mainly or entirely lost by decay. This was specially the case in the lower ground N.W. of the pyramid, where the rains ran down from the higher mounds. Ground which is perceptibly damp has in no case preserved a portrait. Sometimes white ants have destroyed portraits, or eaten a part as in No. I, vii.

The lesser changes are the flaking loose of the paint from the wood, due to slight decay and shrinkage of the wood. In such cases it is sometimes impossible to tilt the panel without the paint falling off. There is no preservative so satisfactory as flooding over with melted paraffin wax; this must be hot enough to penetrate the cracks freely, but not so hot as to melt up the ancient wax paint. All surplus can be removed by scraping down and gentle melting. If the flakes of paint become shifted out of place, the waxed face can be slowly melted by hanging a hot iron just clear of it, and then the paint can be pressed down in position by a wet finger, and the surplus paraffin squeezed out. Any dirt on the face, which cannot be removed safely before paraffining, can be scraped away with the surplus paraffin, without any risk of shifting the film of ancient paint. This rewaxing with paraffin has been objected to by those who have not seen it, as changing the texture of the surface. But such is not the case; the details of brush marks or modelled lines are as distinct after as before rewaxing, unless the surface has been overheated and melted; and the paraffin wax is the only preservative which will not alter in course of time, which is colourless, which retains the brittle paint by a tough coat, and which makes the whole damp-proof. If there be an excess it can be removed at any time by gentle warmth.

Where the changes have been less, and the colour is only brittle and liable to slight crumbling, then a thin coat of paraffin has been added, by spreading over the face and rubbing into the cracks a soft butter of paraffin and benzine, about half and half. As the benzine evaporates, the paraffin can be gently melted into the cracks, and any surplus removed. This is equivalent to varnishing, for removing dullness and porosity of the surface due to decomposition, and rendering the colours clear and bright. No

colour has in any instance been added to any of the portraits, not even in parts where it could not cause any error.

The only change after burial, in some cases, has been a decomposition of the surface of the wax, while the lower parts of the colour are in good unchanged condition; this was probably due to damp. In such cases no solvent would remove the decomposed surface, as it is less soluble than the unaltered wax below. The only way to clean it is by scraping off the brittle coat with a sharp knife, while watching the action with a strong magnifier. Thus a dark brown coat was removed from 58, P, and a white coat from 8 P, without any erasure of the minute ridges of the paint; the surface structure constitutes the essential finish of the work in 8. None of the processes of preserving or cleaning the portraits has effaced any details of the colour or structure.

14. A much debated question has been whether these portraits were painted during life or after death. The opinion of Sir Cecil Smith from the artistic impression was that many of them had been painted from memory solely for the purpose of putting on the mummy (*Hawara*, 41).

A point of view which has not been fully examined before, is that of the condition of the portraits before they were put upon the mummies. In many instances it was obvious that they had been very roughly cut down. See the notch left in cutting the round top of 40, vi, or the false cut across the paint on the top of 38, P, or 11, vii. Unfortunately those reproduced from the National Gallery portraits of 1888 only shew the limit of the card mount, as the authorities would not allow those portraits to be taken out of the frames and bared for reproduction; those portraits (lettered in the Portfolio) are therefore not in evidence, but others of the 1888 portraits on pls. viii, ix, all shew the tops roughly cut down, except one (C, ix), where a gilt frame made the embalmers keep it whole. After carefully examining all the panels of the present portraits I can say that in every case they have been reduced at the top and sides since being painted; not a single painting was made on a panel adapted for placing on the mummy.

The explanatory example is No. 27, vii, where the side pieces (and the scraps cut off from the corners not here shown), were found beneath the portrait in the wrappings of the mummy. This mummy has altogether a strange history, as stated

further on in sect. 17, but the essential facts here are the following. A square panel, not cut down, was painted with a good portrait, 27, P. This portrait was afterwards discarded. The panel was reversed, and a portrait of a different man painted upon it, 27, vii. Later, the sides were split off as shown in the photograph, and the corners cut down; and in this state—similar to all the other mummy panels—it was fixed upon the mummy. Here we see the original state of all the panels; they were almost square, this one being 14'92 and 15'20 high, and 13'05 inches wide (the splay shown is due to distortion in photographing); and then it was cut down to 9'9 and 9'4 wide, only two-thirds of the original size, and the corners cut away to fit the rounded top of the mummy.

15. Why should these panels have been thus roughly trimmed, instead of being made of the right size at first? It would have been much easier for the embalmer to have had panels made with evenly rounded tops, instead of always needing to hack them down without proper tools. The explanation is in the framed portrait which I found in 1888. In one tomb the portrait was not attached to the mummy, but was put by its side, in an Oxford frame with crossed corners, having a cord still attached to hang it up, and a groove for glass over the picture (*Hawara*, pl. xii). The frame is of the square proportions which we have seen to belong to the original size of these portraits.

This is positive proof that square portraits were hung up in the house. Such moveable portraits are indicated by an Athenian epitaph, saying that "her painted portrait we have dedicated in the shrine of Pallas whose servant she was; but to her body we have given an earthly tomb"; and a decree at Patmos honours a man by a "painted likeness" (Smith in *Hawara*, 41). The account of the portrait of Christ at Edessa is given in the Syriac and Armenian versions of the *Doctrina Addai*, claiming to be directly extracted from the library of Edessa. This at least shows that portable likenesses were familiar, and that copies of such were usual. Further, the Carpocratians had pictures painted in various colours, even gold and silver, which represented Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and Christ from a picture said to be painted under Pontius Pilate; this is stated by Epiphanius of Cyprus in his *Refutation of Heresies*. I owe these references to Miss Eckenstein.

As all of these Hawara portraits have been cut down from a square form, we are bound to regard

them as having been originally painted to be hung in the house. After the death of a man his portrait would be sent along with the body to the embalmer, and was then cut down to the size and form required to fit the mummy. Hence these were all life portraits, and not painted from memory after death. On one found at Gharaq (Edgar *Catalogue* xvi) there were memoranda of the features written on the back; but that does not at all imply that it was painted after death, but only that after the first sketch in black outline the colours were blocked in elsewhere before the final sitting to complete the portrait. Of course it is possible to say that because square panels were used for life portraits therefore as a matter of habit they were used for death portraits; but as there is no trace of evidence of that, we are bound to conclude that the death portrait was at least very unusual, as the embalmer never cut his panel to the required shape before it was painted.

Further, the interest of keeping the portrait in the house was so strong, that in some cases the portraits were removed from the mummies before they were buried. In a group burial of Nos. 33, 34, 35, of which 34 is on pl. v, there were also two mummies of which the portraits had been removed before burial, leaving an empty space amid the wrappings. Much attention had been given to one of these, as when its wrappings had become ragged from long exposure, a second cloth had been added over the whole with an oval opening to shew the portrait, and two demotic inscriptions were written upon it. These, given on pl. xxiv, 3 and 4, record two different persons. No. 3 is along the body, and is read by Sir Herbert Thompson as "Arsinoe daughter of Herakleitos the woman of Hawara"; while No. 4 is across the ankles, reading "Premiom (the lake man) son of Huy, Hawara." The place across the ankles is that of inscriptions on two other mummies, and that inscription is therefore probably the original, while Arsinoe may have been the widow, whose name was added as owning the mummy. See sect. 48.

In another instance a mummy had a gilt stucco bust and border round the face. Within this a portrait had been inserted and fastened in with resin: but it had been removed before burial, only leaving a resined surface. The mummy lay with head to west, and was much rotted.

16. The portraiture of these paintings will be put in a clearer light when we can compare them with the actual heads of the persons. Most of the

mummies which were not kept entire with the portraits had the heads removed and sent to Prof. Macalister at Cambridge, marked C in the table pl. xxvi. Of these 7 are reproduced in colour, and 10 in photograph. When the heads have been cleaned, and restored to their natural fullness by Prof. Macalister's process, it will be possible to compare the portrait with the actual person, and to estimate the relation between them, and the defects of each mode of presentation.

17. The history of mummy 27 is strange. It was first bandaged in the usual rhombic bandaging, and had portrait 37, P upon it. This is peculiar, as being one of the rare cross-grained portraits, of which there is only one other instance this year, 46, Va, and one in 1888 marked OO, pl. viii. Later, this portrait was removed, and split to pieces. The pieces were pushed into the wrappings, and so put out of sight. Then the whole mummy was rewrapped with a fresh rhombic bandaging. Portrait 27, P had been reversed before it was trimmed down, and another portrait painted on the back, 27, vii. This portrait was then cut down, and inserted over the head of the mummy in the second bandaging, and the pieces which were trimmed off it were stuck into the wrappings. As the portrait 27, vii had been painted while the panel of 27, P was full square, it is probable that it was done during life and hung up. The reversal of the panel has then no connection with the rewinding of the mummy to which the first portrait 37, P belonged. It seems as if the embalmer took a complete portrait mummy, which he had either stolen when sent to be buried, or which remained on his hands unpaid for, and he had then broken up and hidden the portrait, and rewrapped the mummy with the third portrait 27, vii turned outwards.

18. In a few cases the names of the persons have been preserved. The most important of these is that of Hermione the Grammatikē, or teacher of the classics, whose name and title are painted in white on the ground of the portrait pl. ii. This is the only instance known of a mummy or portrait of a woman teacher; it now appropriately rests in the library of Girton College.

Another name, written in ink on the bandages, is shown on pl. x, 3. It is of "Herōn son of Ammonios, . . . losophoros"; the last word should be the title or profession, and it is tempting to see in it the Philosophoros or bearer of Philosophia; much as Apollonios at the toll-gate on the Euphrates



said that he was accompanied by Sophrosyne, Dikaiosyne, and other virtues (*Philostratos, Life of Apollonios* i, xx).

It is noteworthy that two out of four names preserved to us are of teachers. It seems as if they were retainers of the families, whose names it was thought needful to add because they might be forgotten sooner than those of ancestors.

Another name, also without a portrait, is that of Demetria, who died aged 30. This has no connection with the painted mummy which is on the same plate, pl. xii.

The most striking figure of all is that named as Demetris aged 89; the portrait is 5I, P, and the cover is of red-painted cloth with gilt figures, drawn on plate, pl. xxi.

A finely modelled stucco head, gilt, with a chest robed like that of the figure pl. x, 1, (but with bare arms and serpent bracelets,) had inscribed on the head band "Arsous years 25 . . . sei kyria." The body was covered with an elaborately painted cloth with figures of gods. (Manchester.)

### CHAPTER III

#### METHODS OF PAINTING.

19. THE discussions in the past on the method of painting in wax have not led to a general agreement; this may be partly due to an endeavour to accommodate the description given by Pliny of the methods followed in Italy, so as to explain the work found in the very different climate of Egypt. In Egypt coloured wax can readily be melted in the sun during most of the year, and would often be near melting point in the shade; in Italy such conditions would be so rare as not to influence the method of using it. Hence it seemed well on this opportunity to examine the question afresh with the present collection. I have carefully searched each picture with a magnifier to observe all traces of the method of work. This proves to be so far uniform that we may describe the type as a whole, and then state what examples depart from it. Such is always the best way of dealing with a mass of details, as it clears the ground for students and enables the results and exceptions to be grasped at once, without each reader having to try to reduce a mass of notes to order. The conclusions are closely the same as those of Sir Cecil Smith and myself previously (*Hawara*, 18, 19, 38).

20. The type of the method of painting may be stated as follows. A panel of wood, of smooth straight grain, free from knots, was cut to about 13 or 14 inches wide and 15 inches high, with the grain upright. This was the size kept for framing; and later on it was reduced by splitting off about a third of the width, and truncating the top corners, when the picture was trimmed to be placed on the mummy.

On this panel the subject was outlined in thin black wash, the eyes and mouth being shown. This is most clearly seen where the paint has weathered away, as on 27, vi; and traces of the outline can often be found on bare wood left between the background and figure, or at the edges of the hair.

The grey background was then brushed on, always quite liquid, with a free brush, sometime so thinly as to leave small resist-bubbles on the wood which has not taken the paint. The background does not run over the outline, but keeps outside of it; the brush always ran round the outline, though the wider parts were usually brushed over with horizontal strokes, or sloping. The ground is never stubbed on with stiff colour.

The drapery was put on with liquid colour and a free brush, like the background. The brush was wide enough to expand over about  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch when pressed; colour was never rubbed on the wood, but flowed freely from a moderately full brush, leaving hair strokes all over it.

The flesh was treated differently, and never shows free brush marks. It was laid on in a creamy state by a tool about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch diameter with a soft rounded end. The most obvious tool for this would be a small brush solidified with wax, and dipped into melted wax to take up some clinging round it. Such a tool would account for every form of the surface that I have observed, and there is no trace of a flat tool with hard edge such as a palette knife, or other metal instrument. There can be no question that the capacities of work with a stiffened brush must have been very familiar to anyone painting with melted wax; the stiff brush would be only too often a trouble, and how to make use of it would be the first thing to learn in such a process. We may reasonably conclude that as the common use of the free brush is proved by the drapery, so the capabilities of the solid brush would be tried fully before adopting some entirely different tool. One of the most important examples is No. 37, P. On the flesh below the neck may be seen three different layings

of colour ; there is the broad wavy stroke, zigzagging down, a free adaptation of the parallel strokes one below the other ; there is the patting by a broad wet surface, such as the side of a brush, to leave more paint sticking on the surface, broken up by the clinging contact of the creamy paint ; and there are rarely some strokes which just resolve into hair streaks, as from a solid brush which had slightly melted at the end. We do not need to suppose that the brush was quite hard throughout, but only that it was solid in the main, so as to prevent the hairs spreading out, while the hair marks of the tips would be hidden by the full flow of the creamy paint. Were the brush used quite free, trusting only to the full colour hiding the lines, we should often find thinner parts showing hair marks, and the quantity of flowing colour would make the separate strokes run together. On the contrary each touch of the tool is quite distinct, though they may be parallels only  $\frac{1}{8}$  or  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an inch apart, showing that the colour was in a stiffish cream, and that the laying point was quite narrow. The idea that it leaves is that of a brush about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch diameter, barely solid with wax, the end melting as dipped into creamy wax, which clung over it and drained down to the point.

The hair of the portrait is usually curly, and put on by a small brush with free liquid colour, in narrow lines of  $\frac{1}{8}$  to  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an inch. It sometimes does not cover the wood, which can be seen between the lines, proving that no ground colour was laid first.

In parts there is seen the use of a hard point, to break up outlines, and render them less hard, by a zigzag scratching through the colour. Probably this would be done by a pointed end to the brush handle ; to lay down the brush and pick up a separate tool would not be handy when working in a material which stiffened while in use.

21. Now that the type is defined the small variations from it may be noticed.

1. vii. Drapery in long creamy strokes, not showing brush hairs.

2, P. Hair laid on creamy, as the flesh.

3, P. Cross hatching on flesh.

4, vi A. Drapery laid on creamy with solid brush.

5, v A. Grey ground laid on after flesh and hair. Hair laid creamy.

6, pl. iii. Thin smooth colour, no brush strokes visible in drapery on ground : on flesh, fine hatching with very thin colour, red, light flesh tint, and grey.

8, P. Flesh thickly laid with uniform wax, a

dark brown dry priming coat below it. The most remarkable example of detail in the modelling of the mouth and chin.

10. Thin colour laid smooth.

12, P. Outlines in broad black lines on the canvas, left showing for shadows. Blue-grey background laid after the flesh. Flesh smooth, canvas hidden by colour.

13, ii. Canvas showing through colour. Hair lightened with brown-grey touches on black.

19, vii A. Ground thin, rather creamy, no brush lines. Elaborate hatching of thin colour, light red, yellow and white, on the flesh, to give texture. All parts thin and smooth.

21, vi A. Ground worked creamy zigzag down the outline.

23, v. Thick pine panel, square, not cut down. Gilt lips, wreath, earrings and necklace, cut out of gold foil. Ground colour laid up to half an inch from the edges of the panel, bare wood beyond. Hair laid thin with brown lights on it.

28, vii A. Drab background brushed down below shoulder drapery, and not close enough to outline of face, but patched later than flesh. Hair laid with half-solid brush, often showing bristles.

31. See below.

34, v. Flesh painted thin with brush lines curving in different directions ; hardly any creamy colour or solid brush used.

37, P. Cross-grained panel. Eyes, etc., have flaked off owing to splitting up the panel ; traces of black outlining on wood beneath.

40, vi. Dark grounding under flesh. Hair laid over flesh. Gold leaves of wreath outlined by point through wax, a brittle (stucco?) body put on and gilt. Hard point used for eyebrows and joggling down edge of shoulder.

42, vi. Flesh thin and smooth, no traces of thick cream or of brush-work. Brush-marks on neck and drapery.

43, vi. Flesh thin except on high lights. Drapery smooth without brush-strokes. Very thin red bands upon it.

45, P. Sides somewhat cut down, but still  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. Background patched round outline with lighter tint.

46, v A. Cross-grained panel. Sides very roughly chipped away to reduce width. Background laid with solid brush and creamy paint, exactly like the flesh ; the only instance of this. Red robe swept by the brush over the background and flesh. Upper