THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

MUMMY PORTRAITS

MUMMY PORTRAITS IN THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

By David L. Thompson

Cat. no. 1. ***Portrait of a lady***
81.AP.42
Encaustic on wood
H: 33.6 cm.; W: 17.2 cm.
H (of cartonnage): 46.4 cm.; W (of cartonnage): On top: 21.6 cm., On bottom: 36.8 cm.
(See pp. 32-33)

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The introduction of this book is, in part, a revision of The Artists of the Mummy Portraits *by David L. Thompson, published in 1976 by the J. Paul Getty Museum.*

Unless otherwise stated, the figures are reproduced from photographs supplied by the museums that own the objects.

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PREFACE

J. Paul Getty liked "Fayum portraits." They presented him with a direct connection between Greek and Roman portraits and later portrait art, especially of the Renaissance. Thus, carefully avoiding the word "mummy" because of his avowed intention not to buy Egyptian art, six pieces were assembled during his lifetime, one of which is a uniquely important document (catalogue no. 8). Then, thanks to the farsightedness of the trustees, first five more were added and then, last year, two more that are masterpieces (catalogue nos. 1 and 9).

Already in 1975 the Getty Museum called on David L. Thompson, whose Ph.D. work was directed at the artists of the portraits and who had lectured very successfully about our Fayum portraits and later also about associated monuments, to prepare the first edition of this book, called *The Artists of the Mummy Portraits.* It sold extremely well and soon went out of print. A second edition was a clear necessity, and it was decided to include in it a catalogue of all thirteen pieces. The result is the third volume of a series of studies on ancient portraiture based on the works in the Getty Museum collections. It was particularly difficult for the author to add all the necessary detail about the newest pieces; thus, Sandra Knudsen Morgan revised his basic text for the catalogue and added a fourteenth entry about a recently acquired fine stucco Roman mummy mask. We were also very fortunate that Andreas Rothe, whose conservation enhanced the spectacular latest acquisition, most generously revised the condition and technical reports for all the panel portraits.

J.F.

Fig. A.

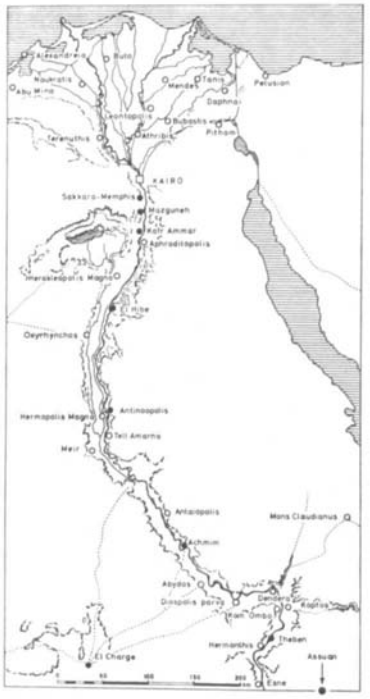


fig. 1

Figure A. *Map of Egypt with find spots of portraits outside the Fayum indicated in black. After K. Parlasca,* Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler *(Wiesbaden 1966) 38 Karte B. Courtesy Franz Steiner Verlag.*

1. *During the Roman period in Egypt, portraits on wood panels regularly were wrapped in mummies over the head of the deceased, with the part of the painting showing the subject's head and neck left exposed to view. This complete mummy, recovered at Hawara by Sir W.M. Flinders Petrie, dates from the late second century A.D. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 11.2891.*

INTRODUCTION

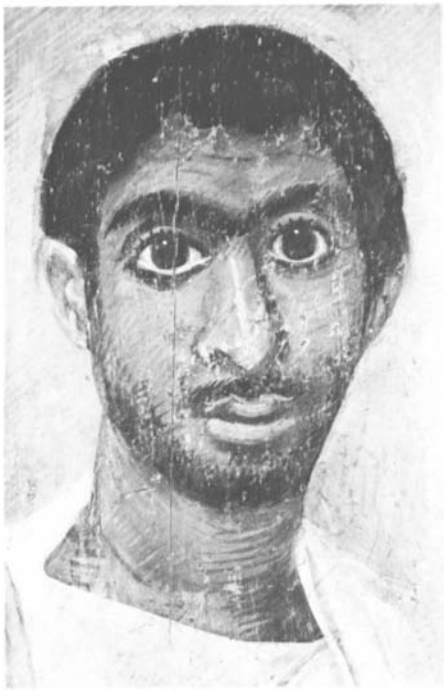
In Book 35 of his *Naturalis Historia,* written in the first century A.D. during the reign of the emperor Vespasian, the elder Pliny laments the decadence of wall painting at Rome and goes on to say: "Even the painting of portraits, by which the closest possible likenesses of deceased persons were handed down from age to age, has died out completely."[1] The explanation for this, he continues, is very simple: "They display throughout their bedrooms, and carry around with them, portraits of Epicurus."[2] In other words, Pliny is saying that no one cares any longer about honor or fame, or, therefore, about being remembered by future generations in painted portraits.

Pliny speaks mainly about the artistic situation at Rome itself. While his statement is far too simplistic to be taken very seriously, or as a complete explanation, it does seem that painted portraiture may not have been especially popular in early Imperial Rome, at least in comparison with sculptured portraiture. But the art of the Empire obviously was more than that of the capital city alone, and elsewhere—across some 1200 miles of the Mediterranean and then some 200 miles up the Nile, in the oasis region of Egypt called the Fayum—painted portraiture was flourishing, beginning in Pliny's own lifetime and continuing for more than three centuries (fig. A).

Less than a century after Egypt had fallen into Roman hands as a result of the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C., there appeared the first examples of what was to be a long series of panel portraits that were inserted in the wrappings of mummies over the head (fig. 1). The native Egyptians previously had preserved their dead, enclosing the mummies in wood or plaster coffins that generally terminated in sculptured portrait masks. The ancient Egyptian aim was to create a physical duplicate of the deceased, one not subject to the normal forces of bodily decay, and therefore a suitable abode *in perpetuum* for the soul. This idea, however, was essentially alien to the Graeco-Roman metaphysic; and while the Graeco-Romans in Egypt adopted the concept of the funerary portrait, they may have had at first only a limited understanding of its native religious basis. Sculptured portrait masks continued to be produced in some areas throughout the Roman period and into the Coptic era (fig. 2), but panel portraits came to be preferred, especially in the Fayum.

fig. 2

fig. 3



RECOVERY AND PROVENIENCE

Museums and collectors throughout the world today possess more than 700 "Fayum portraits." There are some 130 examples in North America, including large and noteworthy collections at Berkeley, New York, Toronto, and Boston, as well as a group of important portraits acquired in recent years by the J. Paul Getty Museum.

Less than two dozen portraits had been recovered before 1887,[3] and these few had attracted little attention, being deemed more noteworthy as archaeological curiosities than as significant works of art. The first known group had been collected in 1615 at Sakkara by Pietro della Valle, who brought several complete mummies back to Europe in that year. A large group was gathered in the early 1800's by Henry Salt, the British vice-consul in Egypt; these portraits are today mostly in the Louvre (fig. 3). Various other pieces found their way into European museums over the years, usually as souvenirs or curiosities purchased by travelers to Egypt; one such portrait, for example, now at Florence (fig. 4), had been bought in Egypt by an Italian tourist in 1829. But these early recoveries totaled only a handful of "Fayum portraits."

2. *Also during the Roman period, but less commonly, sculptured stucco masks covered the heads of mummies (see also catalogue no. 14). Although as an art form the mummy mask originated in native Egyptian art of very ancient times and continued to be produced through the Ptolemaic period, examples from the Roman era were the first to approximate naturalistic representation. Late first century A.D. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 19.2.6, Rogers Fund, 1919.*

3. *One of the earliest "Fayum portraits" to have been recovered, this painting was bought in Egypt by a British diplomat in the early nineteenth century. Encaustic on wood. Third century A.D. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, inv. P 209. Phot. Chuzeville.*

Fig. B.

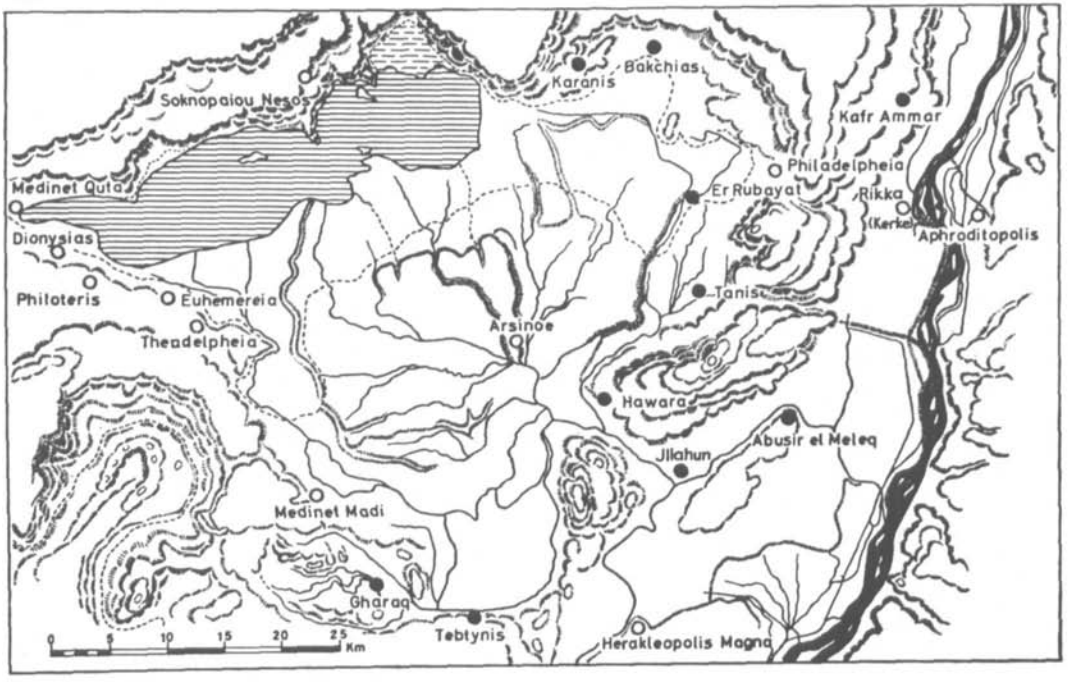


fig. 4

Figure B. *Map of the Fayum with find spots of portraits indicated in black. After K. Parlasca,* Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler *(Wiesbaden 1966) 35 Karte A. Courtesy Franz Steiner Verlag.*

4. *In 1829 an Italian traveler brought back from Egypt this fine portrait of a lady painted around A.D. 300. Until Theodor Graf's spectacular acquisition of hundreds of these paintings many years later, "Fayum portraits" attracted little scholarly attention. Tempera on wood. Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 2411. Phot. Alinari/Editorial Photocolor Archives.*

Then in 1887 the Viennese antiquities dealer Theodor Graf purchased through an agent at Cairo and brought back to Europe a very large number of panel portraits that had been recovered by Bedouin salt miners working at Er-Rubayat in the northeastern Fayum, a site that seems to have served as a burial ground for the inhabitants of the ancient city of Philadelpheia (fig. B). A year or two later about ninety of these panels were put on traveling exhibition, for sale, in both Europe and America, whence a number of portraits passed into North American collections (fig. 5). The remainder of Theodor Graf's collection, including at least 200 more portraits, was sold at auction during the 1930's after his death. One of this latter group is in the Getty collection (catalogue no. 12).

The sudden appearance in 1887 of hundreds of these painted panels aroused some suspicion. Were the portraits authentic? Or was Graf perhaps a clever swindler, a master of fakery? But early in 1888, a few months after Graf's acquisition, the great British Egyptologist Sir W.M. Flinders Petrie began excavations at the site of Hawara, also in the Fayum, which seems to have been the cemetery used by the important ancient town of Arsinoë. This excavation yielded about ninety complete mummies, with portraits, thereby supporting the authenticity of the Graf collection. In a second season, during 1910 and 1911, Petrie recovered some sixty-five more. Today these are mostly in British museums, although there are several Petrie portraits in American collections, including the one at Boston of a man still wrapped in its mummy (fig. 1).

fig. 5

fig. 6

That the term "Fayum portraits" is not completely accurate, however, is indicated by the discovery of mummy portraits outside the Fayum region, at several other sites in Egypt as far up the Nile as Thebes. By far the most rewarding find spot outside the Fayum has been Antinoöpolis, where French excavators between 1896 and 1912 discovered at least thirty mummy portraits, perhaps including among others a magnificent piece now in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University (fig. 6).[4]

The number of portraits of known provenience, however—that is, those whose precise origins are documented in archaeological reports—falls far short of the extant total. This fact emphasizes the primary difficulty confronted by anyone who studies these portraits: a general lack of excavation data. A British scholar has summarized the problem aptly: "Neglect and negligence permeate the history of excavation of Roman Egyptian sites."[5] Graf's portraits, for example, were simply ripped from their mummies and collected, not excavated, while the work of the French at Antinoöpolis has been called grave-robbing more often than archaeology. The exception to this unfortunate rule was the work of Petrie at Hawara and elsewhere, which was very well-documented, but which, as mentioned, yielded only a small percentage of the extant portraits.

5. *Hundreds of painted portraits from the Roman cemetery at the Fayum site of Er-Rubayat were acquired by the Viennese antiquities dealer Theodor Graf in 1887. This painting, dating from the late second century A.D., was among the many examples sold by Graf to museums and collectors during the years that followed. Encaustic on wood. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 93.1450.*

6. *Antinoöpolis, in Middle Egypt, is a site outside the Fayum where many "Fayum portraits" were discovered. This magnificent painting, probably dating from A.D. 130–150, shows the panel shape peculiar to many portraits known to originate at that site. Encaustic on wood. Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, inv. 1923.60, gift of Dr. Denman W. Ross.*

Fig. C.

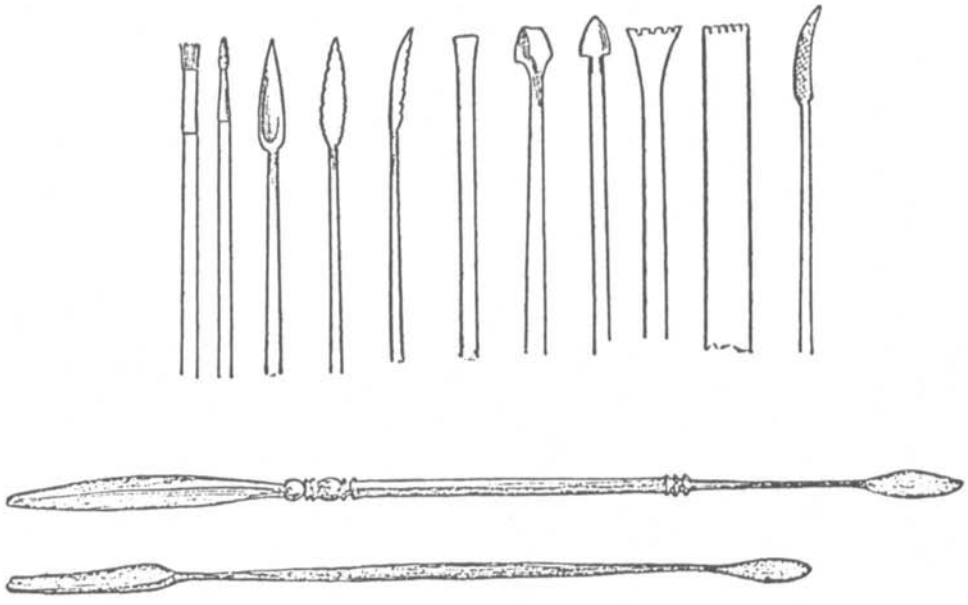


Figure C. *Line drawing of varieties of tools possibly used by encaustic painters. After E. Berger,* Die Wachsmalerei des Apelles und seiner Zeit *(*Sammlung maltechnischer Schriften *5; Munich 1917) 134-35 figs. 10 and 11.*

fig. 7

7. *The bright highlights in the face and neck of the subject of this portrait dating from the early third century A.D. were enhanced by a white undercoat applied to the panel as a primer. Tempera on wood. Toledo Museum of Art, inv. 71.130.*

TECHNICAL ASPECTS

When one thinks of a "Fayum portrait," an approximately rectangular wood panel usually comes to mind, and this is in fact the typical form. The artist started with a quadrangular plank of cypress, cedar, linden, lime, or fig—hard woods being better than soft, to prevent absorption of the primer and pigments. The surface was first primed, usually with gesso, a mixture of gypsum and glue. The main purpose of this was to seal the pores of the wood and thereby to keep the paint from being absorbed. It seems likely, however, that sometimes there was also an aesthetic purpose: the primer often was white, and this can give colors skillfully applied over it a marvelous luminosity (fig. 7), which must have been sought consciously by the better artists. Once the primer had set, the paint was applied. Paint, of course, is a twofold proposition. On the one hand there are the pigments—the actual colors themselves, usually in powder form. Roman Egyptian painters obtained their basic colors from natural sources—animal, vegetable, and mineral—sources that sometimes are explained by Pliny in the *Naturalis Historia.*[6] But to make the actual paint used by the artist, the pigments were mixed in a liquid, the nature of which determined the precise painting technique and tools used.

The earliest and best mummy portraits were done in the encaustic technique. That is, the paint was a mixture of pigment and wax—beeswax, specifically—which was kept gently heated (as was the panel) for ease of application. The basic tools were at least two: a brush, perhaps of camel hair but possibly of cat or squirrel fur (human hair also is very good for brushes of this sort), and the *cestrum* to which Pliny refers, a metal

fig. 8

fig. 9

instrument probably on the order of a modern palette knife (fig. C).[7] In most cases, examination of an encaustic portrait reveals which areas were worked with which instrument. The background and broad areas of color generally were brushed in—traces of individual brush strands frequently are visible—while the *cestrum* was regularly used for greater detail within the face and especially the hair. A panel painted in encaustic, thanks to the wax medium, could be heated and reworked over a period of time, permitting the subtle touches seen in the best early portraits and explaining the remarkable thickness of the paint. Some of these examples may have been worked on intermittently for several days.

When the general economic disaster of the late Roman Empire ultimately reached the Fayum, however, a decline in artistic production is evident in less skilled portrait painting and in a widespread and nearly total shift to the faster, cheaper medium of tempera (fig. 8). For tempera portraits, the same pigments were used but were instead mixed in an egg base, and the brush was used exclusively. In contrast to encaustic paint, tempera dries quickly and permanently. Tempera strokes once applied cannot be altered, only painted over, and this explains the cartoon-like appearance of the general run of late "Fayum portraits" and also accounts for at least one visual monstrosity: a tempera portrait last known in a private collection (fig. 9). The artist, having begun his work and considering it unsatisfactory, could not take back his brush strokes nor even change them, so rather than waste a perfectly good chunk of wood, he executed his second attempt directly over the abortive first try. With time the original sketch has shown through, producing a grotesque four-eyed monster.

8. *Beginning in the third century A.D., tempera came to replace encaustic as the medium favored by the painters of mummy portraits. This portrait of a boy, dating from the early fourth century A.D., illustrates the strikingly different visual effects obtained in the quick-drying tempera medium. Saint Louis Art Museum, inv. 63:1959, gift of Mr. and Mrs. John Simon.*

9. *The paint of this tempera portrait from the fourth century A.D. has worn away, revealing that the artist had been dissatisfied with a previous effort. Unlike the flexible wax-based encaustic medium of the earliest mummy portraits, strokes in tempera paint cannot be changed; thus the artist of this portrait simply painted over his first attempt. Formerly in a private collection; present whereabouts unknown.*

Fig. D.

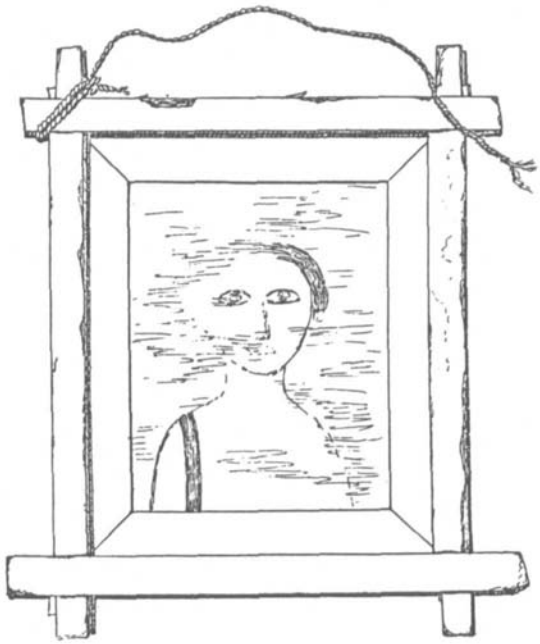


fig. 10

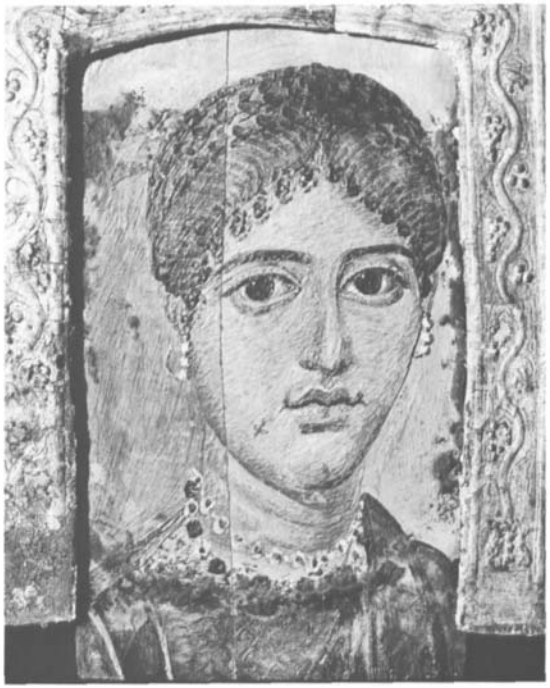


Figure D. *Line drawing of framed "Fayum portrait." London, British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, inv. 85. After W.M. Flinders Petrie,* Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoë *(London 1889) pl. 12.*

10. *"Fayum portraits" may have been commissioned during the subject's lifetime and hung in the house until death. This elegant depiction of a lady, painted in encaustic and dating from the early second century A.D., comes from Hawara. It is shown in a type of gilt stucco frame that often was wrapped in the mummy with the portrait. Although the frame was not discovered with this painting, it is displayed with it to illustrate the typical appearance of a framed "Fayum portrait." Philadelphia, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, inv. E 16214 (formerly E 462). Shown with frame (not belonging), inv. E 16215.*

USE OF THE PORTRAITS

The portrait panels seem often, at least in the early Empire, to have been commissioned during one's lifetime and to have hung, framed, in the house until death. The frame regularly was of the so-called "Oxford" variety, as illustrated by Petrie (fig. D). This particular portrait, now in the British Museum, was found still in its frame, which even had a beveled groove for insertion of a glass plate or sliding shutter and a cord for hanging still attached. Another type of frame, less common, was of gilt stucco (fig. E), an example of which is displayed holding a portrait in the University Museum, Philadelphia (fig. 10).

After death, the framed portrait was taken down from the wall and, in the case of an "Oxford" frame, the panel was removed and cut down at the upper corners for a better fit within the mummy wrappings. In the case of a gilt stucco frame, it normally was wrapped in the mummy along with the portrait. Then, it seems, the completed mummy may have been kept around the house for a while as part of a family mummy collection, either until Uncle Claudius became totally ignored or until his mummy became too battered to be respectable. In either case, oblivion or damage, the mummy ultimately would be accorded burial. This represents the view of Petrie, who discovered several mummies that had been beaten up and defaced around the feet, apparently by Roman Egyptian children crawling around the house. As bizarre as the whole theory sounds, there is possibly at least some truth in it.[8]

Fig. E.

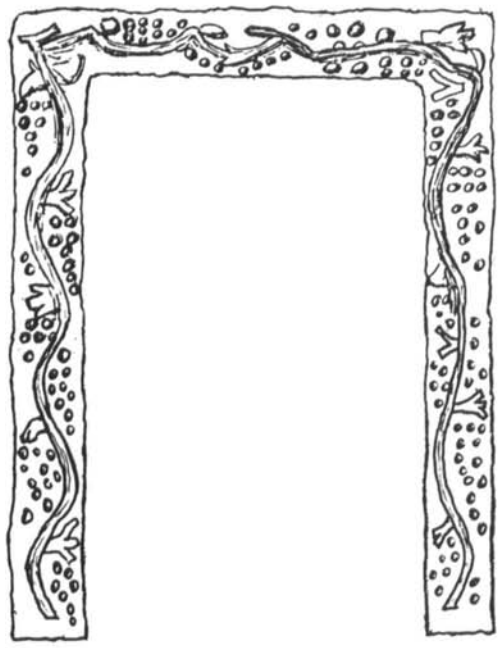


fig. 11

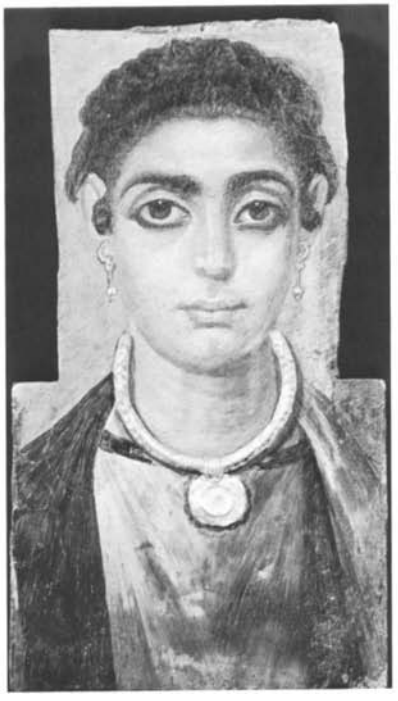


fig. 12

Figure E. *Line drawing of stucco frame. After W.M. Flinders Petrie,* Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoë *(London 1889) pl. 12.*

11. *The thick necklace of gilded stucco worn by the subject of this painting is an example of jewelry that was added to a portrait at the time of its insertion in the mummy just prior to burial. The pendant encloses a coin. Encaustic on wood. From Antinoöpolis; A.D. 130–160. The Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. 25.2.*

12. *Not only was painted gold jewelry added to this portrait when it was wrapped in the mummy, but the subject's lips also were gilded. Encaustic on wood. Late first or early second century A.D. The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. 71.137, John L. Severance Fund.*

Occasionally a portrait was enriched before being inserted in the mummy. The gold-leaf pectoral decoration of a well-known portrait in the Louvre (fig. 26) has been found through X-ray analysis to have been a later addition to an otherwise fairly plain portrait without the gilding.[9] Similar last-minute additions are the gilt collars found on many portraits, such as one in Detroit (fig. 11), and miscellaneous details such as the gilded lips on a recently acquired example in Cleveland (fig. 12). Even more noteworthy is the newest Getty Museum portrait (catalogue no. 1) where all the jewelry was freshly gilded and a gold-leaf funerary wreath added on insertion into the wrappings.

fig. 13

fig. 14

13. *Some Roman-Egyptian mummies had as their final wrapping a linen shroud on which was painted a portrait of the deceased. Often the subject was shown to bust-length, as here—seemingly in imitation of contemporary (and more common) portraits on wood panels—but the subject sometimes was shown at full length. This shroud, recovered at Antinoöpolis, dates from the mid-third century A.D. and shows the typical combination of a Graeco-Roman-style portrait flanked by pictorial vignettes painted in native Egyptian style. Encaustic on linen. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, inv. AF 6490.*

14. *Cloth fragments clinging to this portrait of a man have been dated by radiocarbon analysis to A.D. 175 ± 60, providing a firm index of its date. Few such points of absolute chronology have been obtained for mummy portraits. Encaustic on wood. Pretoria, National Cultural History and Open-Air Museum, inv. 68/68.*

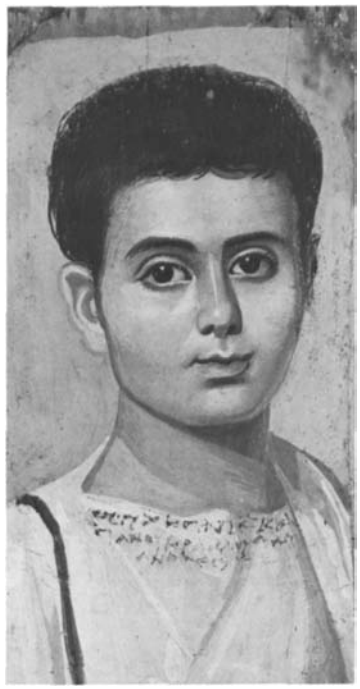
It should be noted, first, that not all mummy portraits were framed and, second, that the creation of a funerary portrait during one's lifetime does not always seem to have been the case. The latter especially cannot have occurred in the cases of the portraits of infants or children, who could not usually have lived long enough to have acquired a portrait during life. In these instances at least, the portraits must have been painted *post mortem*.

An alternate type of burial portrait, which was contemporary with, but much less popular than, the wood panel was the linen shroud. This could be painted in either encaustic or tempera and, especially at Antinoöpolis (fig. 13), was wrapped around the mummy for burial.[10] The mixed origins of funerary portraiture in Roman Egypt are most evident on the many shrouds that show a striking combination of Egyptian decorative elements with a naturalistic Graeco-Roman portrait. Occasionally, too, as a combination of types, portraits were painted on canvas that then was affixed to wood.

CHRONOLOGY

When first discovered, the portraits were thought by some to be pre-Roman, that is, Ptolemaic, in date; but it is now believed that their chronological range extends from Julio-Claudian days, perhaps the 30's A.D., through the time of Constantine. Local spurts of activity, at least in the Fayum proper, extended into the mid-fourth century but not much beyond. Theodosius seems to have prohibited the embalming of bodies in A.D. 392, thus also ending the custom of painted mummy portraits.

fig. 15



Within the more than three centuries thus defined, sharper chronological distinctions are possible on two bases. Absolute chronology is the weaker method, although some exact points in time can be determined. First and foremost among these dates is the foundation of Antinoöpolis in A.D. 130. Obviously, no portraits were painted there before that year. Moreover, in those few cases of portraits whose circumstances of recovery are documented, precisely datable items such as papyri occasionally have turned up in the same archaeological context. Finally, and most recently, radiocarbon analysis has dated to A.D. 175 ± 60 cloth samples from the mummy of a poorly preserved portrait in South Africa (fig. 14).[11]

The second method of dating mummy portraits, however, is the more important of the two. This is a relative scheme based on two general assumptions:

1. That the jewelry and particularly the hairstyles of the various Imperial families at Rome were copied by Romans in the hinterlands—Egypt, Asia Minor, or wherever; and

2. That the painting arts as a whole, at least in the Fayum, evolved generally throughout the period concerned, from the subtle naturalism of the best early portraits to the linear and cartoon-like abstractions seen in many of the latest productions.

This relative method of dating has flaws that warrant caution in its use. For example, the portrayed were in many cases Egyptian Greeks, as we surmise from inscriptions that occasionally appear on the portraits (fig. 15).[12] The enthusiasm of these Egyptian Greeks for mimicking the fashion trends of Roman Italy may have been small. At Antinoöpolis, for example, at some 500 miles up the Nile the most distant site at which a significant number of portraits has been recovered and one of the most Hellenized of settlements in Egypt throughout the Roman period, the most popular women's hairstyle has no exact parallel in official portrait sculpture at Rome.

Still, the relative or comparative method of dating is extremely valuable. After examining hundreds of official portrait busts from Rome and hundreds of painted portraits from Roman Egypt, one can with some confidence place virtually any mummy portrait within a half- or even quarter-century.

15. *The boy in this portrait is identified by the inscription as Eutyches, freedman of Cassianus Heracleides. Eutyches may have taken this Greek name on manumission and so was himself not necessarily of Greek heritage. His former master certainly was Greek, however, as were—to judge from their names—nearly all subjects of mummy portraits who are identified in accompanying inscriptions. Although Egypt was owned by Rome, its aristocracy seems to have remained mainly Greek, thanks to nearly three centuries of rule by the Ptolemies just before the Roman period. Encaustic on wood. Probably from Antinoöpolis; A.D. 150–200. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 18.9.2, gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1918.*

fig. 16

16. *Modern forgeries of "Fayum portraits" are not often so blatant as this bizarre example, which appears to have been painted very recently. Many fakes produced by more sophisticated painters earlier in this century are difficult of detection. Formerly offered in the European art market.*

THE ART MARKET

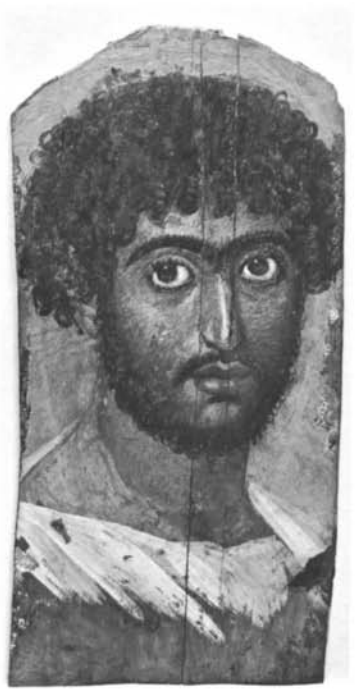
In terms of the antiquities trade, these panel portraits—like Roman sculptured portraits—always seem to be available for acquisition. At any given moment, at least a half-dozen usually are for sale. If one is going to collect mummy portraits, however, the question of forgeries enters the picture. While most available pieces are authentic, this has not been the case with all the portraits offered for sale. A popular trick is to get a 1900-year-old chunk of wood, such as is still to be had quite easily in Egypt, and paint a bogus "Fayum portrait" on it. While I cannot agree with alarmists who would have us believe that a large percentage of the examples now in North American museums are modern productions, yet the problem of fakes certainly exists. Some artists of the mummy portraits are alive and well and working in major cities.

Several years ago a peculiar piece was being offered by a European dealer (fig. 16). This is one of the most blatant "Fayum portrait" forgeries ever to appear on the art market. It does not take an expert to feel—even from a photograph—that all is not well with this painting, that its style is more twentieth century than second or third. But since "style" is so intangible, one is on firmer ground convicting the piece for technical reasons. One major detail missed by its creator is the primer. Almost without exception ancient pieces have it, but this one does not. More condemning still is the apparently modern wood; were it ancient, the grain lines would have faded and become virtually invisible. The garment scheme is quite wrong, and the list of such details goes on, only adding to an impression of modern origin and calling to mind the excellent advice *caveat emptor*.

fig. 17

fig. 18

fig. 19



PRESERVATION AND CONSERVATION

The dry climate of Egypt, of course, is responsible for the fine state of preservation of many of the mummy portraits. The colors often are bright and fresh and give the impression that they could have been painted yesterday rather than centuries ago. While a few of them may indeed have been painted yesterday, as mentioned, the authentic portraits owe their physical integrity to the hot, dry sands of Egypt. While I do not claim any firsthand experience with the restoration and conservation of "Fayum portraits," I might mention one frequent problem: the heavy coats of varnish or additional wax sometimes applied by well-intentioned excavators or collectors. The original brightness of a fine portrait in Toronto (fig. 17), for example, today is obscured by a thick "protective" coat of varnish or (probably) wax,[13] that over the years has turned from transparent to a clouded mud-brown. Another problem is that most portraits when first recovered are encrusted with the dirt of the ages, which somehow must be removed. A portrait of a man (fig. 18) hung for thirty-five years in the Walters Art Gallery looking very humble indeed, until in 1969 all five of the gallery's portraits were skillfully cleaned. The same portrait now is simply dazzling (fig. 19). The agent? The key to this remarkable cleaning process? Not any elaborate chemical preparation, nor a set of special brushes. The cleaning was done very gently with "Q-Tips" and ordinary human saliva.[14] The portrait has been spit-shined, so to speak.

17. *This elegant portrait of a lady, dating from the early second century A.D., was recovered by Sir W.M. Flinders Petrie at Hawara. A modern coat of wax, probably applied by the excavator to protect the painted surface, has discolored and today obscures the portrait's original brightness. Encaustic on wood. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, inv. 918.20.1.*

18. *An encaustic portrait of a man, dating from the mid-second century A.D., is shown heavily encrusted with sand and dirt. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, inv. 32.6.*

19. *The same portrait as in fig. 18, after careful cleaning by a conservator. The original appearance of this fine portrait has been skillfully restored.*

fig. 20

fig. 21

20. *Some portraits present convincing evidence that they were painted from life. This depiction of a young man, found at Antinoöpolis and dating from the late second century A.D., seems related to a sketch on the panel's reverse. Encaustic on wood. Paris, Museé du Louvre, Départment des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, inv. P 213. Phot. Chuzeville.*

21. *This sketch, on the reverse of the preceding panel, may have been made by the artist in the presence of the subject. Although the drawing shows the full figure, it may have been an aid to the painter in creating the bust-length depiction on the obverse. After W. de Grüneisen,* Le portrait: Traditions hellénistiques et influences orientales *(Rome 1911) pl. 1.*

PORTRAITS?

A natural question at this point is: "Are these paintings actually portraits?" The answer is mixed. There are a number of examples that seem certainly to have been painted from life. A portrait of a young man now in the Louvre (fig. 20) has on its reverse a full-length outline drawing (fig. 21) that may be a preliminary sketch made by the artist in the presence of the sitter. A fascinating panel in Berkeley has, on one side, the faded remains of what must be an unfinished portrait and, on the reverse, a hasty sketch (fig. 22) with color notes scrawled in. Gayet, the excavator of Antinoöpolis, said that whenever he found a mummy portrait he always took care to unwrap the mummy and to compare the painted likeness on the outside with the actual features of the deceased within, and he concluded that they were indeed true portraits.[15] Even if one takes this overenthusiastic statement with some reservations, the evidence seems to indicate at least sometimes an attempt to capture the actual likeness of the subject.

But there is conflicting evidence as well. For example, although the portrait in South Africa dated by radiocarbon (fig. 14) plainly shows a bearded and moustachioed man, its mummy has been shown through X-ray to be that of a woman.[16] Rather than suggest that the deceased woman had had major problems of sexual identity,

fig. 22

fig. 23

fig. 24

or that her parents always had wished she were a son, we must instead admit that this may be a clear-cut case where the portrait and its mummy are unrelated. At the major Fayum site of Er-Rubayat, moreover, the art form seems to have evolved by the late third century into series production. One artist, for example, painted not only a portrait formerly in an Austrian private collection (fig. 23) but also a near-duplicate now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (fig. 24). There naturally are exceptions to this practice, but most "Fayum portraits" dating from the late third century and afterward seem to be variations on a few simplified types. Clearly they bear little relation to the true appearance of the deceased and thus are not actual likenesses. Just as a sculptor of mummy masks might have had on hand only four or five moulds on which he would have based all his mummy masks, it would seem that a late portraitist working in the Fayum might have had on hand several partially prepainted panels to which he would have added only specific details required by a customer. One might even go one step further and suggest that at least some late portraits were ready-made, wholly prepainted when displayed for sale. Thus a customer might simply have strolled into a portrait shop and picked out a finished piece for eventual use in his own mummy. It might have looked vaguely like him, or as he wanted to be remembered. Perhaps the selection of a portrait was made after death by the surviving family. Whatever the case, the latest "Fayum portraits" were far different from the actual likenesses of earlier centuries. Most are portraits in only a symbolic sense.

22. *The reverse of an unfinished panel portrait from Tebtunis shows an artist's sketch, including notations of color, that plainly indicates depiction from life. Third century A.D. Berkeley, Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, inv. 6–21378A.*

23. *In contrast to examples dating from the early Empire, which seem mainly to have been intended as literal likenesses reproducing the actual and detailed appearance of specific individuals, many late "Fayum portraits" were based on general facial types. Tempera on wood. From Er-Rubayat; A.D. 250–275. Formerly in a private collection; present whereabouts unknown.*

24. *Nearly a duplicate of the preceding example, this depiction was painted by the same artist in a series of "portraits" based on a general facial type. Tempera on wood. From Er-Rubayat; A.D. 250–275. Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. 63–181–263, Louis E. Stern Collection.*

fig. 25

fig. 26

25. *This likeness probably was among the first portraits painted at Antinoöpolis after its foundation in A.D. 130. The depiction is idiosyncratic among portraits from that site for the placement of the subject's eyes at different levels and for the distinctive pattern of the lips. Encaustic on wood. Painter A. Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, inv. GA 1.*

26. *Representational pecularities, for example, in the eyes and lips of this portrait also from Antinoöpolis, suggest that it was created by the same artist, Painter A. The elaborate gold pectoral has been shown to be decoration added to the portrait at a later date, presumably at the time of burial. Encaustic on wood. A.D. 130–160. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, inv. P 217. Phot. Chuzeville.*

THE PAINTERS

In considering the artists who produced these fascinating portraits, the problems are much the same as for the wall painters of Campania, as summarized by L. Richardson, jr : "The museums and standard books on the subject bear no attributions. It is almost as if the question of who painted these pictures were not of interest to scholars."[17]

There is, in fact, little physical evidence from which to work. While in Campania there is at least one artist's signature, the mummy portraits all are anonymous creations. While at Pompeii it is possible to point specifically to a painter's trade, with pots of pigment still lying as they were in August of A.D. 79, no such evidence survives from Roman Egypt. And while the elder Pliny talks a little about wall painting, if mainly to lament the gaudy decadence of the Pompeian Fourth Style, no literary reference to mummy portraits or to their artists has survived. Pliny himself leads us off the scent when he says that the painting of portraits had died out completely.

Yet much still can be observed about the artists, working solely from the paintings themselves. During the past half-century or so, the work of Richardson and others at Pompeii, and of Beazley with Greek vases, has demonstrated that the lack of signatures need not be discouraging. Using the same technique, that is, by studying representational idiosyncracy, it is possible to group painted portraits into schools and even sometimes to specify individual hands.

fig. 27

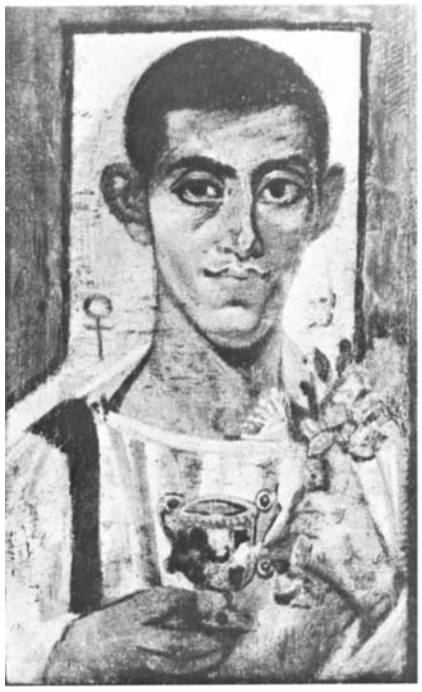


fig. 28

In seeking out the identity of the painters as a group, we are also limited to conclusions derived from the works themselves, but by examining the techniques of portrait production the answer may come more clearly into focus. The earliest mummy paintings are in the wax-based encaustic medium, and the elder Pliny talks at some length about this technique.[18] Augustus, we are told, inserted into a wall of the Curia at Rome an encaustic panel by Nicias, a Greek master of the 330's B.C. Pliny also considers the uncertain origin of encaustic: perhaps in the fourth century B.C., he says, although Polygnotus seems to have used it before then. He goes on to talk about several prominent masters of the encaustic medium, all Greeks, all working in the fourth century B.C. Beyond Pliny's discussion, the preserved fifth-century B.C. building accounts for the Erechtheum at Athens list several expenditures for the painters in wax.[19] In short, we find evidence of an extensive though randomly recorded tradition of encaustic painting among the Greek artists of earlier centuries. Because of this, and because Egypt remained very thoroughly Hellenized into the Roman period, the first painters of encaustic mummy portraits must have been Greeks. Although the details escape us, permitting only conjecture, it might be supposed that these painters were carrying on an established tradition of encaustic painting brought from mainland Greece to Egypt in Ptolemaic times. As Romanization of the province progressed, however, and as the national distinctions among Greek, Roman and Egyptian became less clear, portrait production may gradually have changed hands. The widespread shift to tempera painting in the Fayum, for example, recalls ancient Egyptian technique, while the gradual transformation of the art into a craft may represent the ultimate Romanization of the genre. But on to personalities.

27. *The subject of this portrait from Antinoöpolis, painted in encaustic on linen, holds a bouquet and chalice evidently of funerary connotation. Although the portrait has been restored extensively (cf. fig. 28), several distinctive features of the artist's style can be identified. The subject's lips are large and fleshy, his ears are especially prominent, and a heavy shadow underlies the right eye. His big fingers, moreover, seem to bend unnaturally at the joints. The artist's keen sense for framing is apparent in the architectonic treatment of the background. Painter L; A.D. 225–250. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, inv. P 215. Phot. Chuzeville.*

28. *The same portrait, before restoration. While some original details were altered by repainting, most features of the artist's style were reproduced accurately. Phot. Chuzeville.*

fig. 29

fig. 30

29. *Details within the face, the peculiar thick and curving fingers, and the strongly architectonic framing of the subject combine to identify this portrait as another work by the artist of the preceding depiction, Painter L. Encaustic on linen. From Antinoöpolis; A.D. 225–250. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, inv. AF 6482.*

30. *The hands of the subject shown in this fragmentary portrait are missing. Because of details in the facial representation, however, and a similar emphasis on framing, the portrait can be attributed to the artist of the preceding two examples, Painter L. Encaustic on linen. From Antinoöpolis; A.D. 225–250. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. 6878.*

Antinoöpolis affords a good opportunity to examine the evolution of a distinct local portrait tradition. The city was founded late in A.D. 130 by Hadrian on his second great tour, near the spot where Antinous, the emperor's companion, drowned in the Nile. The ruins of Antinoöpolis were admirably described, measured, and mapped by a Frenchman, Jomard, at the turn of the nineteenth century,[20] but within fifty years the locals had carried off the remains completely. By the time of Gayet's first visit in 1895, all that was left of this elaborate memorial to the boy from Bithynia was below ground: cemeteries to the north and east of the city, ranging in date through Byzantine times.

Nearly fifty mummy portraits can be traced to Antinoöpolis. Of this number, thirty are known to have been recovered by Gayet between 1896 and 1912; the additional examples can be assigned to the site because of other evidence. First, portrait panels from Antinoöpolis usually exhibit a characteristic laterally stepped shape (fig. 25), having been cut away at the tops of the sides for the closest possible fit within the mummy wrappings. Second, the earliest portrait shrouds from the site (fig. 13) perpetuate the unusual panel shape in the strongly architectonic framing of the portrait segment. Finally, on both panels and shrouds there is a predilection for added ornament in gilt stucco, frequently as a thick necklace (fig. 11).

The deliberate foundation of Antinoöpolis in 130 gives us a lower limit for artistic production, while portraits do not seem to have been painted there much if at all beyond the year 300. Within the interval thus defined, three general phases may be distinguished. First is a period of panel portraits showing only head and shoulders, extending from the date of foundation or shortly thereafter until about the end of the second century. Next is a transitional period of either panels or shrouds, with the figures painted to bust-length and

fig. 31

fig. 32

usually with hands shown, encompassing approximately the first half of the third century. A third and final phase, when full-figure shroud portrayals were the rule, extended nearly to that century's end.

Among the Antinoöpolitan portraits it has been possible thus far to distinguish at least fourteen separate hands. Attribution has been based on stylistic comparison of the examples, that is, of the conception and treatment of anatomical features that are idiosyncratic and, in that sense, an unintentional artist's signature. While it is not possible to present all the painters here, three may be considered—one from each chronological phase.

Among the earliest portraits from Antinoöpolis are the two extant productions of Painter A: a portrait of a man in Dijon (fig. 25) and that of a woman in the Louvre (fig. 26) already mentioned. Beyond the overall physical resemblance of the subjects, the artist's treatment of two areas—the eyes and mouth—is precisely the same in each portrait. The placement of the eyes at different levels, evident in both examples, is unparalleled in other portraits from the site. Also identical is the cartoon-like pattern of the lips, where in each case the line of the mouth is noticeably longer at the ends than either lip. Placement in time of Painter A is a complex matter. The crew-cut of the man is the unofficial style worn by very young men at all stages of the Roman Empire and therefore is not specifically datable. Nor can the coiffure of the woman be paralleled exactly in official portrait sculpture. But the simplicity of her hairstyle recalls in spirit the styles preferred by the empress Sabina, while the barely visible second tier, apparently a coiled braid, has Antonine parallels. It therefore is suggested that this hairstyle falls in an area encompassing the late Hadrianic and early Antonine periods and that the *floruit* of Painter A should be placed in the 130's or 140's.

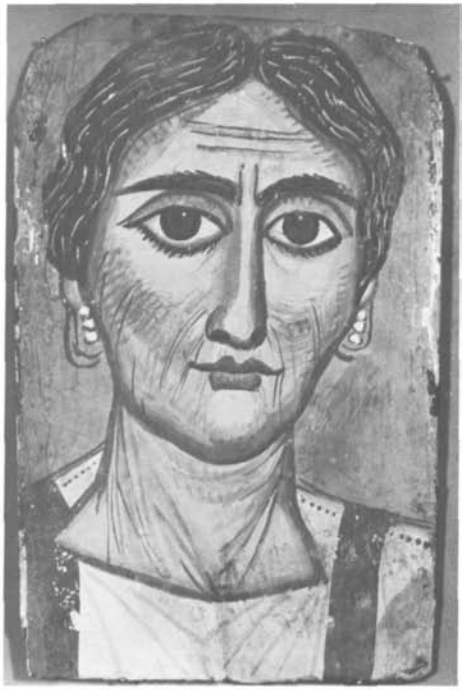
31. *In this painting, one of the latest examples from Antinoöpolis, the portrait area has been expanded to waist-length. The peculiar hawk's-beak index finger of the subject's left hand is a stylistic idiosyncracy of the artist, Painter P, as are the very heavy lines of shading between the eyes and brows. Encaustic on linen. A.D. 250–300. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, inv. AF 6484.*

32. *This shroud, here shown still wrapped as a final covering around the mummy, is painted with a portrait that reveals precisely the stylistic characteristics seen in the preceding example and is thus another work by Painter P. Encaustic on linen. From Antinoöpolis; A.D. 250-300. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, inv. AF 6489.*

fig. 33

fig. 34

fig. 35



33. *The Malibu Painter's treatment of certain anatomical details, especially in the nose and mouth, is distinctive. According to the evidence of the hairstyle, he must have been active at Hawara around A.D. 100. Encaustic on wood. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 73.AP.91. (see catalogue no. 3)*

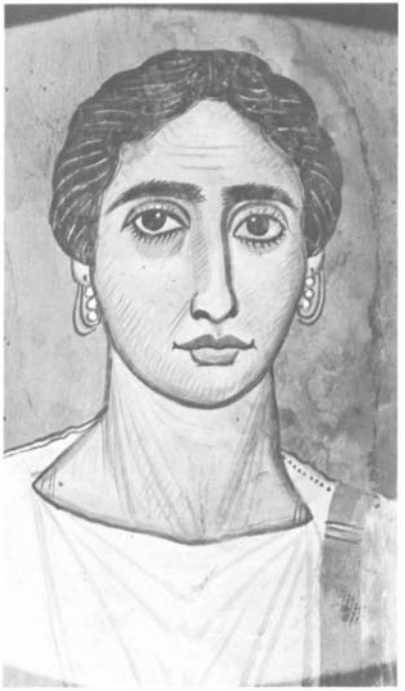
34. *According to an accompanying inscription, this lady was named Demos and she died at age 34. The portrait was found at Hawara by Petrie. According to representational details, it was created by the artist of the preceding example, the Malibu Painter. Encaustic on wood. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. C. G. 33237.*

35. *This expressive tempera portrait by the St. Louis Painter is distinctive especially for the artist's unusual handling of facial shading, for the cartoon-like pattern of the lips, and for the subject's extremely long and slightly askew nose. From Er-Rubayat; ca. A.D. 300. Saint Louis Art Museum, inv. 128:1951, gift of Mrs. Max A. Goldstein.*

The best-represented artist of the transitional phase is a shroud portraitist, Painter L, at least three of whose works survive. The fragmentary portrait of Ammonius, so-called, in the Louvre (fig. 27) originally was part of a larger painted scheme such as is better preserved on other Antinoöpolitan shrouds also in the Louvre (e.g. figs. 13 and 29). While "Ammonius" has been much restored and repainted (cf. his original condition in fig. 28), and in spite of the misplacement of the right hand that originally grasped the bowl of the cup rather than the base, one notes the thick, unnatural fingers, correctly restored, that seem to curve rather than to bend at the joints. Additionally, the face has large fleshy lips, sharply protruding ears, and a pronounced bag under the right eye. An exceptionally well-defined frame surrounds the portrait area. These same features—the lips, the fingers, the ears, the bag under the right eye, and the frame—appear on the better-preserved shroud in the Louvre (fig. 29) already mentioned. A fragmentary portrait in Athens (fig. 30) lacks only the hands that would clinch attribution to this artist. Whether they formerly were present on a portion of the shroud no longer preserved or whether Painter L simply had given up even trying to paint hands, we do not know. But the same fleshy lips are present, as is the familiar shadow under the right eye, and the strongly architectonic framing. Painter L probably worked during the second quarter of the third century, since the short hairstyles of all three subjects fall within the crew-cut era of official portraiture first evident among sculptured portraits of adults during the time of Severus Alexander.

fig. 36

fig. 37



The beginning of the final period of mummy portraiture at Antinoöpolis seems to have coincided with an influx of garment styles, materials, and decorative motifs emanating from the east, which has been dated convincingly to around A.D. 250.[21] The portrait now has been expanded from the reserved zone at the top of the transitional shroud to full-length.

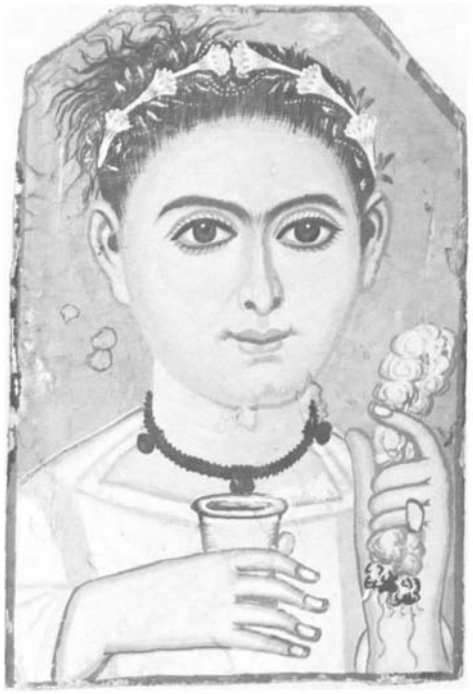
On a portrait of a woman in the Louvre (fig. 31) one notes especially the prominent dark lines indicating the juncture of the upper eyelids with the areas below the brows, these lines virtually paralleling the brows and placed well below them, and the thick-fingered hands with a strange hawk's-beak index finger. The same curious finger also appears on a Louvre shroud that carries the portrait of a man (fig. 32), as do the dark lines below the brows. Together these shroud portraits define Painter P, who probably worked during the last half of the third century.

In contrast to Antinoöpolis, where quality production appears to have been maintained through the end of the third century and where the encaustic medium was used throughout, series production and tempera paint were to become the rule in the Fayum. Though the painters working at Fayum sites are far more numerous and stylistically diverse than at Antinoöpolis and have been little studied, several of them may be considered in passing.

36. *Both in general style and individual detail, this painting corresponds exactly to the preceding example and was executed by the same artist. The lines of hatching that emphasize the cheekbones and the structure of the neck particularly distinguish the graphic, almost diagrammatic style of the St. Louis Painter. Tempera on wood. Ca. A.D. 300. Moscow, Pushkin Fine Arts Museum, inv. 5783.*

37. *While showing a number of obvious similarities to the preceding portraits, this depiction differs somewhat in the more restrained shading that conveys a softer feel for the flesh. The eyes, too, are not so starkly emphasized. A number of other portraits are related to those by the St. Louis Painter and some to each other by these differences, suggesting a school of portrait artists active at Er-Rubayat around A.D. 300. Tempera on wood. Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, inv. 1939.111, gift of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*

fig. 38



38. *Another school of portrait painters working at Er-Rubayat, though slightly later, included the Brooklyn Painter, whose namepiece is illustrated here. His subjects usually have somewhat round, smiling faces and often hold a wreath and chalice evidently of funerary connotation. A certain naïvete of anatomical structure in the non-facial areas actually seems to heighten the exuberant freshness of the Brooklyn Painter's productions. Tempera on wood. From Er-Rubayat; A.D. 325–375. Brooklyn Museum, inv. 41.848, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund.*

At Hawara (or at Arsinoë, the town which Hawara seems to have served as a cemetery), there was an extensive school of portrait painters during the first and second centuries. One of them, the Malibu Painter, executed not only his namepiece (fig. 33 and catalogue no. 3) but also, among others, the very similar portrait of Demos in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (fig. 34). The hairstyles of these pudgy ladies are nearly identical, late Flavian in character. The Malibu Painter must have lived and worked around A.D. 100.

The most striking feature of the style of the St. Louis Painter (fig. 35), who worked at Er-Rubayat (or at Philadelpheia) probably within a decade of A.D. 300, is his distinctive use of lines of hatching. These are a graphic shorthand to suggest shading and are applied freely over an initial treatment of more broadly painted strokes. The same hallmark is especially evident on another late portrait of a woman, in Moscow (fig. 36), and when one adds a list of anatomical similarities (such as the inordinately long nose that the artist really does not know how to end), the artist of the St. Louis panel is plainly recognizable. Another quaint portrait, in the Fogg Art Museum (fig. 37), was also executed by the St. Louis Painter, or at least within what may have been an extensive school related to him.

fig. 39

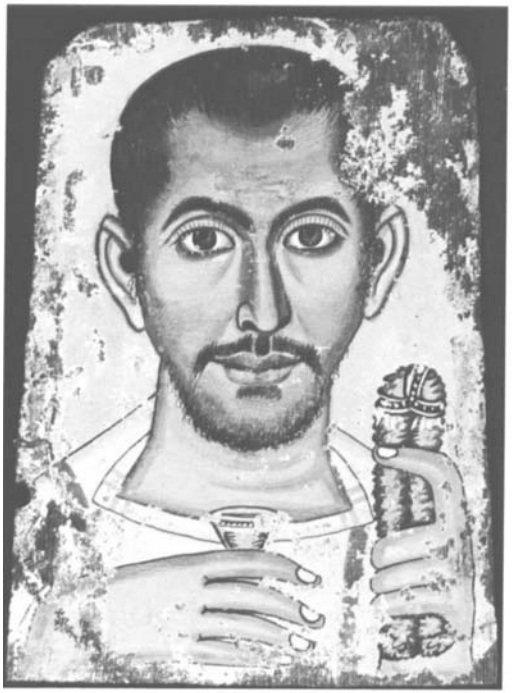


fig. 40a

fig. 40b

Still in the Fayum, we might mention the naïve but quite charming portraits by the Brooklyn Painter[22] (fig. 38), who seems to have worked at Er-Rubayat near the middle of the fourth century. His style is particularly idiosyncratic and can be identified in several paintings, including one in the Getty Museum (fig. 39 and catalogue no. 11).

Perhaps a fitting conclusion for a survey of the artists is the work of the Amphora Painter, who was responsible for painting two grotesque examples now in Toronto (fig. 40). His work, probably from near the end of the fourth century, more properly is described as "folk art," hovering between the realms of art and craft. Probably more native Egyptian than Greek or Roman, and definitely lacking much formal training, the Amphora Painter (whose subjects, incidentally, actually appear to be holding *canthari*) had evidently seen a mummy portrait or two and had decided that he, too, could successfully paint some. Well, if the Amphora Painter's work were an accurate index of the state of the art at that time, one might say it was just as well that Theodosius prohibited mummification, effectively ending the production of "Fayum portraits." But in fact the Amphora Painter seems to have been an isolated phenomenon and, fortunately for the history of art, he spawned no school and can be placed in a class by himself.

39. *Except for the difference in age, the man in this portrait might be a twin to the subject of the preceding example. As was the case with the St. Louis Painter, a large number of extant portraits bear overall similarities to works by the Brooklyn Painter and suggest a school of portrait artists. This painting, however, unquestionably was executed by the Brooklyn Painter himself. Tempera on wood. A.D. 325–375. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 79.AP.142 (see catalogue no. 11).*

40. *The Amphora Painter created these hasty depictions late in the fourth century A.D. Though it is uncertain whether they actually were wrapped in mummies, in the manner of true "Fayum portraits," they evidently were imitations of such paintings. The subjects probably hold not amphorae but* canthari; *drinking cups often are held by subjects of late "Fayum portraits." Tempera on wood. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, inv. 918.20.3 and 918.20.4.*

fig. 41

fig. 42

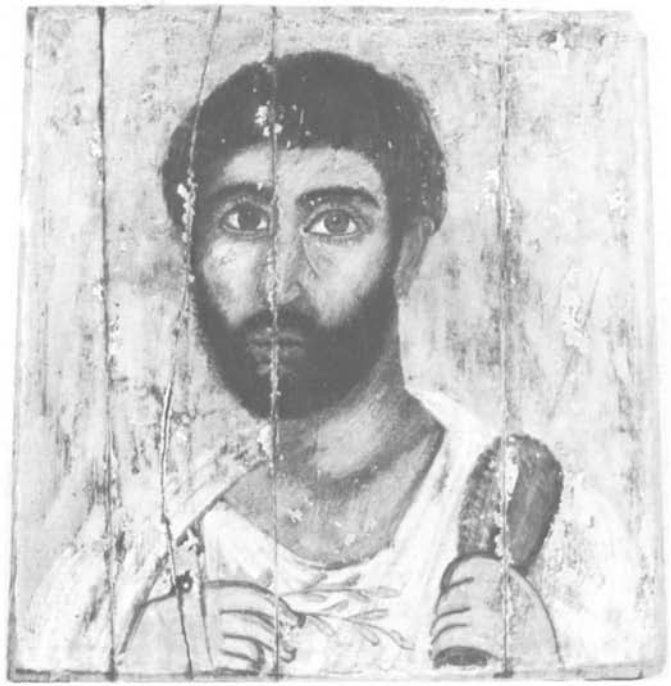


fig. 43

41–43. *Together these three panels formed a triptych intended for display in the home, evidently commemorating a departed ancestor or family member. The subject of the central panel can be compared stylistically to mummy portraits executed in the early third century A.D. The depictions of Isis and Serapis on the side panels probably copy well-known paintings of the time, perhaps on display at an important cult center of Roman Egypt. Tempera on wood. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 74.AP.21 (Isis), 74.AP.20 (central panel), 74.AP.22 (Serapis) (see catalogue no. 8).*

OTHER PAINTINGS

While the vast majority of panel paintings that survive from Roman Egypt are true mummy portraits, a surprising number were meant for purposes not primarily connected with burial. Many of these non-funerary paintings were executed by artists whose usual stock-in-trade was the standard "Fayum portrait." Thus they provide valuable evidence for understanding more fully the artistic activity of these painters.

Nearly all such paintings thus far recovered fall in two categories: some were framed and hung on the walls of private houses, while others utilized an architectural framework, often an *aedicula* arrangement with the painting itself in tondo shape, and must have been free-standing. Divinities appear in paintings meant for domestic worship, mortals in those associated with the custom of ancestor veneration. Although some of these panels were excavated in private houses, the superb preservation of the many others whose provenience is not documented suggests that they were recovered from tombs and that they may have been converted from domestic to funerary purpose.

A set of three paintings acquired in 1974 by the Getty Museum (figs. 41–43 and catalogue no. 8) reveals a unique and especially interesting combination of the mortal and divine elements of cult practice in Roman Egypt. The central panel looks very much like a standard "Fayum portrait," but if it ever had been inserted in mummy wrappings the top corners probably would have been lopped off or otherwise modified to insure a satisfactory fit within the cartonnage. The portrait seems to have been painted during the early third century A.D. The flanking panels depict not mortals but the divinities Isis and Serapis. In spite of their idealized

fig. 44

fig. 45

aspects—normal for representation of deities—details of the facial portrayals make it seem most likely that they were painted by an artist who normally produced mummy panels. In fact, they were painted by the artist of the triptych's central panel, who may have been copying well-known masterpieces of the time.

An equestrian painting of Fayum provenience is in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford (fig. 44).[23] It, too, looks at first like a kind of mummy portrait, but for two reasons it is not. First, as with the central panel of the Malibu triptych, the top corners are preserved. Second, the full-figure equestrian motif is unparalleled among mummy paintings. Funerary shrouds may show the deceased at full length but always simply standing, while the panels all are head-and-shoulders or bust-length representations. This painting never was meant for funerary use but rather was a framed votive panel. The portrayal definitely is that of a divinity. Specifically, we see here the amalgamation of two gods who appear together frequently in the art of Roman Egypt: one is the Thracian cavalier-god Heron, while the other cannot be precisely identified. Instead of the very general and idealized faces that one expects in paintings of deities, however, and which in fact appear on the side panels of the Malibu triptych, the facial features of the Hartford horseman (fig. 45) reveal a highly personalized depiction, that is, a portrait of a specific individual. Roman emperors often assumed divine identities in sculptured portraits, and, one suspects, in paintings as well, and it is unthinkable that anyone other than an emperor would have been thus portrayed. The naïve style and exclusive use of tempera paint point to the third century, so that if the subject is indeed an emperor, he must have ruled during the 200's. According to the visual clues within the painting, he must be Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, nicknamed Caracalla, who ruled as emperor from 211 to 217. An examination of the sculptured portraits of the emperor, many of which survive, confirms the identification.

44. *Also not a true "Fayum portrait" but instead an object of veneration or commemoration displayed in the home, this equestrian painting is unusual in showing the subject as a deity. He probably is the Roman emperor Caracalla. Tempera on wood. Ca. A.D. 215. Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, inv. 1934.6, Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection.*

45. *The facial features of the man in the preceding panel, seen here in detail, compare closely to those in sculptured portraits of Caracalla. Since the emperor is shown with the attributes of a soldier-god, it seems possible that the painting was displayed in the home of one of the many veterans who were settled by Rome in the Fayum region upon their completion of military service.*

fig. 46

46. *This roundel, or tondo portrait, also from Roman Egypt, shows the emperor Septimius Severus, his wife Julia Domna, his son Caracalla, and an erasure in place of his other son Geta. The painting, probably executed by an artist whose normal commissions were standard mummy portraits, may have commemorated the visit to Egypt by the Imperial family in A.D. 199. Tempera on wood. Ca. A.D. 200. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikenmuseum, inv. 31329.*

Looking more closely at this panel, one is struck by a strange gap in ability within the artist's execution. His representation of the horse and rider is clumsy, ill-proportioned, and naïve (if quaintly charming), but the subject's face is a serious attempt at a naturalistic portrait. This leaves little doubt that its painter was an artist whose ordinary stock-in-trade was the standard "Fayum portrait." The first mummy portraits to include depiction of a subject's hands, painted at about this time, show that the training of a portrait painter concentrated almost exclusively on head-and-shoulders portrayal. It is abundantly clear that the painter of the Hartford panel was just such an artist. He was mostly at a loss when he had finished the subject's face, for this was the limit of his formal training.

The artistic shortcomings of the Hartford equestrian painting, however, are offset by its great documentary value. Not only is it a firmly dated painting to which mummy portraits can be compared, but also, like the side panels of the Malibu triptych, it shows us what some Fayum portraitists were doing when not painting mummy portraits.

The Hartford panel is the second painted portrait of an emperor to have survived. The first, coincidentally, is also of Severan date, also painted in tempera, also from the Fayum, and includes Caracalla, though as a youth. This is the well-known tondo portrait in Berlin (fig. 46) showing the family of Septimius Severus. Unlike the Hartford panel, the Berlin tondo is of high artistic quality and was executed by a painter of considerable skill. It can hardly have been for funerary purpose or intended for domestic display, but must have adorned a public building in a Fayum town. The best guess is that the tondo was painted to celebrate the Egyptian visit by the emperor and his family in A.D. 199. Because it can be dated so closely, it is another rare and valuable point of chronological reference for "Fayum portraits." The skill of individual portrayal evident in the painting leaves little doubt that its artist, too, was also, or perhaps primarily, a painter of mummy portraits.

CONCLUSION

Possibly none of the portrait painters of the Fayum will come to be counted among the greatest artists of antiquity. But the main importance of these portraitists does not lie in a consistently high level of artistic production. Rather, while only a few of the surviving examples can lay claim to great aesthetic merit, these curious and fascinating documents together comprise almost our only evidence for Roman painted portraiture and, more generally, for ancient panel painting as a whole.

Any study of the mummy portraits from Roman Egypt necessarily raises more questions than it can answer and ends where one really would prefer to begin. The examples considered here are typical of this situation. In most cases all we have is the bare object, the portrait itself, and in every case this is all we are likely ever to have. But in spite of that, it often is possible to group the portraits—by date, by type, even by artistic hand—and to point to some related objects, and thereby to start solving the puzzle and come to know somewhat better those anonymous painters, the artists of the mummy portraits.

NOTES

1. *N.H.* 35.2.4: *Imaginum quidem pictura, qua maxime similes in aevum propagabantur figurae, in totum exolevit.*

2. *Ibid.* 35.2.5: *Epicuri voltus per cubicula gestant ac circumferunt secum.*

3. For these, as well as for the most complete discussion of the recovery of portraits after 1887, see K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden 1966; hereafter, *Mumienporträts*) Ch. 1, 18-58.

4. The portraits from Antinoöpolis and their recovery are considered in the writer's unpublished dissertation, *The Classes and Hands of Painted Funerary Portraits from Antinoöpolis* (Chapel Hill 1972).

5. A.F. Shore, Review of Parlasca, *Mumienporträts, JEA* 56 (1970) 232.

6. See, for example, *N.H.* 35.12.30ff.

7. Shore suggests palm fibre for the brush (*Portrait Painting from Roman Egypt* [Rev. ed.; London 1972; hereafter, *Portrait Painting*^{2}] 23) and prefers *cauterium* (used by later Latin authors, e.g. Tertullian) to *cestrum* (q.v. *N.H.* 35.40.147).

8. Petrie suggests (*Roman Portraits and Memphis (IV)* [London 1911] 2) that the mummies were kept in the atrium, where children would have taken their writing lessons. As Shore points out, however (*Portrait Painting*^{2} 27), there is "no literary evidence for the keeping of mummies in the house" (which evidence we might expect, given the unusual nature of this custom) nor any archaeological evidence for the Italic style atrium-house in Roman Egypt.

9. E. Coche de la Ferté, "La peinture de portraits romano-égyptiens au Musée du Louvre," *Bulletin (trimestriel) de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 13 (1953) 73-76.

10. For a complete discussion of the shrouds, see Parlasca, *Mumienporträts* Ch. 5, 152-92.

11. J.C. Vogel and M. Marais, "Pretoria Radiocarbon Dates I," *Radiocarbon* 13 (1971) 390-91.

12. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts* 78-84.

13. The portrait was excavated by Petrie and one recalls his remarks, for example, in *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (London n.d.) 84: "...by putting a coat of fresh beeswax over [the portraits], the old colour was revived and safely fixed.... In later years, paraffin wax was used for this purpose."

14. T. Drayman, "Cleaning Reveals Quality: Mummy Portraits," *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery* 22 No. 8 (May 1970) 3-4.

15. "Les portraits d'Antinoë," *GBA* 3rd ser. 39 (1908) 130.

16. It must be observed, however, that radiologists often have been inaccurate in determining the gender of an unwrapped mummy. For a recent example, see E. Cockburn, "Autopsy Team Seeks a Mummy's Medical Secrets...," *Smithsonian* 4 No. 8 (November 1973) 82.

17. *Pompeii: The Casa dei Dioscuri and its Painters* (*MAAR* 23; Rome 1955) 111.

18. For the following: *N.H.* 35.10.27, 35.39.122ff.

19. *I.G.* I² 374; cf. J.J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece: 1400–31 B.C.* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1965) 120.

20. "Description d'Antinoé," Vol. 4 Ch. 15 of *Description de l'Égypte* (2nd ed.; Paris 1820–1830).

21. E. Pfister, "Les débuts du vêtement copte," *Études d'orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier* 2 (Paris 1932) 433-59.

22. Parlasca's designation: *Mumienporträts* 25.

23. For a more complete discussion of this panel and the identification of Caracalla, see "An Equestrian Panel Painting from Roman Egypt," *Bulletin of the Wadsworth Atheneum* 8 No. 2 (1972) 50-59.

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CATALOGUE: MUMMY PORTRAITS IN THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

Among some 130 painted mummy portraits from Roman Egypt now in North American collections, large and important groups are to be found in such long-established major museums as the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Each of these groups was collected primarily in the decades that followed the first major finds of "Fayum portraits" in the late nineteenth century—by Theodor Graf at Er-Rubayat, and by Sir W.M. Flinders Petrie at Hawara—at a time when such pieces were readily available for acquisition. But mummy portraits were not discovered in quantity at any site after about 1911–1912, when Petrie undertook his final campaign at Hawara and when Albert Gayet concluded his excavations at Antinoöpolis. Since the 1930's, when the remainder of Graf's vast collection was auctioned following his death, quality examples of this art form have become available only sporadically.

It is thus all the more remarkable that during the past ten years the J. Paul Getty Museum has succeeded in gathering a large collection of paintings that rank in aesthetic merit with the finest mummy portraits now surviving. The ensemble at Malibu is today unparalleled in North America for the variety, the quality, and the archaeological interest of its examples.

At the time the original version of the preceding Introduction was prepared, in 1976, five portraits plus the triptych already had entered the Getty collection. Since then, however, several very interesting portraits have been added. Some of the observations that follow appeared previously, in preliminary studies of the earlier accessions. It now seems best to add to those observations some comments on the extraordinary "new" portraits not previously examined in detail.

Fig. F.

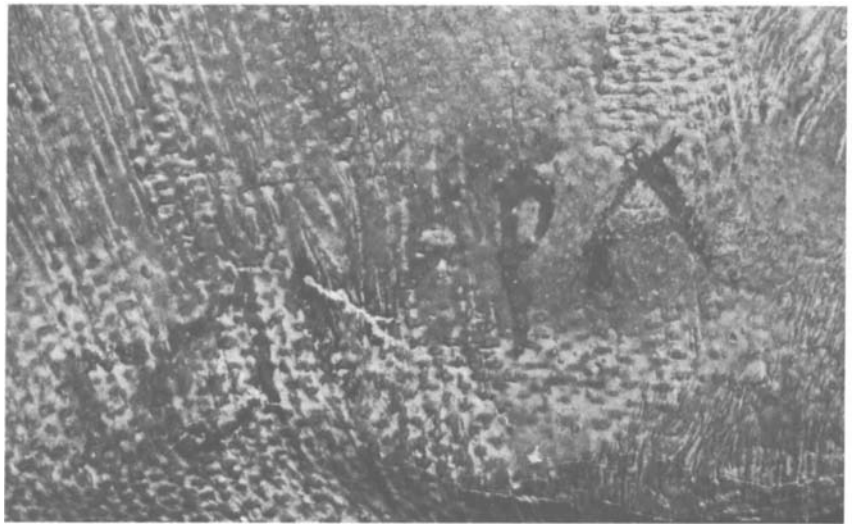


Figure F. *Inscription on the side of the cartonnage of 81.AP.42.*

1. **Portrait of a lady,** ***encaustic on wood.*** Perhaps the earliest and artistically surely the best "Fayum portrait" in the Getty Museum is also the most recently acquired. From a qualitative standpoint, this is a magnificent portrait, superbly preserved, which compares favorably with any example that has survived. The preservation of a good portion of the mummy case, or cartonnage, heightens the portrait's visual interest, for it shows plainly how a classic early "Fayum portrait" on wood actually looked when wrapped in the mummy. A short inscription, apparently of one word (fig. F), appears on the cartonnage to the subject's right; it may identify the subject by name—Isidora—according to Jean-Yves Emmanuel.

The subject is a woman of middle age whose refined features suggest the Mediterranean aristocracy that came to control Egypt in Graeco-Roman times. Her elegant hairstyle features a large coiled braid toward the back of the head, held in place by a large gold pin, and curled locks hanging before the ears. This precise type of coiffure achieved great currency in the late first and, especially, early second century. Her jewelry includes a set of earrings of a well-known and evidently popular type—four pearls suspended on four gold bands from a horizontal bar set in the earlobe with a pearl fastener. She wears three necklaces that are, in total, an orgy of gold and emeralds, the lowest one of which also supports a large gem in a heavy gold setting. The original gold was regilded with gold leaf, along with the wreath in the hair and ornamentation around the edge of the cartonnage, at the time of insertion or burial. This wreath features a curious motif that finds precise parallel on an early portrait from Hawara, now in Baltimore, but the precise meaning, if any, of this symbol remains mysterious.

The flesh textures, as well as the effects of light and shadow, are rendered with all the convincing naturalism that is possible in the very flexible encaustic medium. It is evident that the painter was a skilled master of the wax-based paint.

Particularly interesting here is the decoration on the surviving portion of the mummy case, painted around the exposed section of the portrait panel. Gilt decoration often was added to the portraits themselves at the time of burial, as a wreath or diadem or neck jewelry. Here we have an example where the cartonnage of the mummy also was given rich decoration. The exposed portrait is framed by gold painted diamonds. Also, presumably reproducing the part of the subject's garment shown on sections of the panel hidden beneath the mummy wrappings, the violet tunic, with gilt-edged black *clavi*, is painted out onto the cartonnage. This practice seems not to have been particularly uncommon, but it is most unusual to find an example today that illustrates these decorative procedures so well.

Features in the pose and garment scheme find precise parallels with those in portraits recovered at Hawara, the cemetery of Arsinoë. J. Frel plausibly attributes to the Isidora Master a fragmentary portrait of a young man in Cairo (inv. C.G. 33232) that shares a number of stylistic features—in the lips, eyes, and nose—and a similar palette.

2. Portrait of a man, ***encaustic on wood.*** This was the first "Fayum portrait" acquired by the Getty Museum.

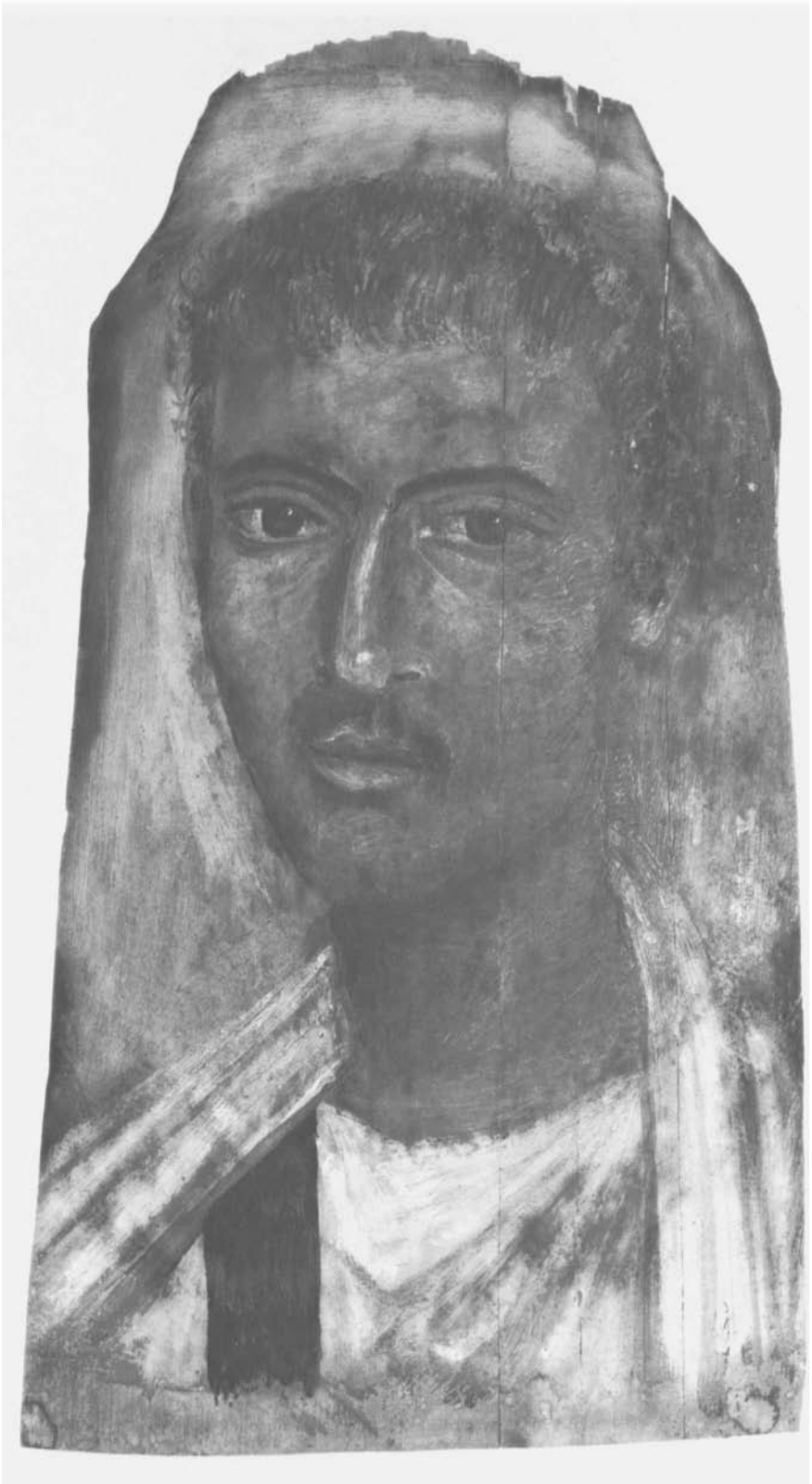
The texture of the paint reveals the two methods of application typical of "Fayum portraits": the brush was used for broad areas of color—i.e. background and garment—while the *cestrum,* or *cauterium,* a metal instrument similar to a modern palette knife, was used for greater detail and thicker paint within the face, neck, and hair.

The color scheme is dominated by the swarthy skin tones of the subject. The background is gray; the garment is white with shades of brown and gray and a maroon *clavus,* but the remainder of the palette is based on the man's dark complexion. His skin is dark brown, with brick-red highlights; the eyes are brown, the brows, black. The prominent crease of the upper eyelid is richly modeled in dark brown, and the lashes are a light chocolate tone. The lips and inner corners of the eyes are ruby-red; flesh tones appear as highlighting on the ridge of the nose and within the eyes.

As is noted in the museum catalogue by C.C. Vermeule and N. Neuerburg, the portrait is fairly plain, containing no symbols of rank or profession. The aquiline nose, dark skin, and long, narrow eyes of the subject suggest a racial mixture. Intermarriage of native Egyptians with first their Greek and then their Roman masters, and blood additions from African and Near Eastern neighbors, produced the racially complicated types seen in many "Fayum portraits."

Although the artist of this portrait cannot be identified with complete certainty in other surviving pieces, it is evident that he worked at Hawara or at Arsinoë, the town Hawara seems to have served as a cemetery. The subject's turn toward the viewer, the manner in which the garment is draped over the left shoulder and yet is partially visible behind his right, the width and position of the *clavus*—all these features find precise parallels in a large number of portraits of documented Hawaran origin. Although it is by no means a certain index of provenience, moreover, the nearly rounded top of the panel also suggests the shape of many panel portraits recovered at Hawara.

Although the moustache first became an accepted element of fashion under Hadrian, the short cut of the subject's hair suggests the styles made popular by Trajan. This, combined with the intensity of portrayal, suggests a date early in the first quarter of the second century A.D.



3. Portrait of a Flavian matron, ***encaustic on wood.*** The portrait of a woman acquired in 1973 is one of the most colorful Getty paintings.

The overall appearance of the portrait is very bright, enhanced by the artist's lively sense of color. The flesh and salmon tones of the subject's face stand out sharply against the medium gray background and against the rich purples and reds of the garments and the black of the *clavi.* Highlight and shadow are achieved within the face in tones of maroon and beige, within the garment in gray and black. A triple necklace is painted with an inner strand of white beads to suggest pearls, a middle strand of gold beads, and an outer strand of green beads to represent the favored emeralds or semiprecious stones, the green laid over white impasto for greater brilliance. Yellow paint represents the settings for two hoop earrings with the same "emeralds."

The rounded shape of the panel at the top hints at an Hawaran origin, which is confirmed by comparison with examples of documented provenience. The artist can be identified further as the painter of at least two other panels, a poorly preserved portrait of a boy and a panel recovered with it depicting a young woman (fig. 34), both excavated at Hawara by Petrie and now in Cairo. The Getty portrait is the finest of the three examples, and we might therefore call this artist the Malibu Painter. Moreover, this precise pose and hairstyle, as well as an overall "family resemblance" appear on at least a dozen or so other portraits of similar provenience but different artistic hands, suggesting a school or circle of artists to which the Malibu Painter belonged. The hairstyles of all the women portrayed are extremely similar, late Flavian in style, so this school of portraitists must have worked at Hawara (or at Arsinoë) late in the first and early in the second century A.D.

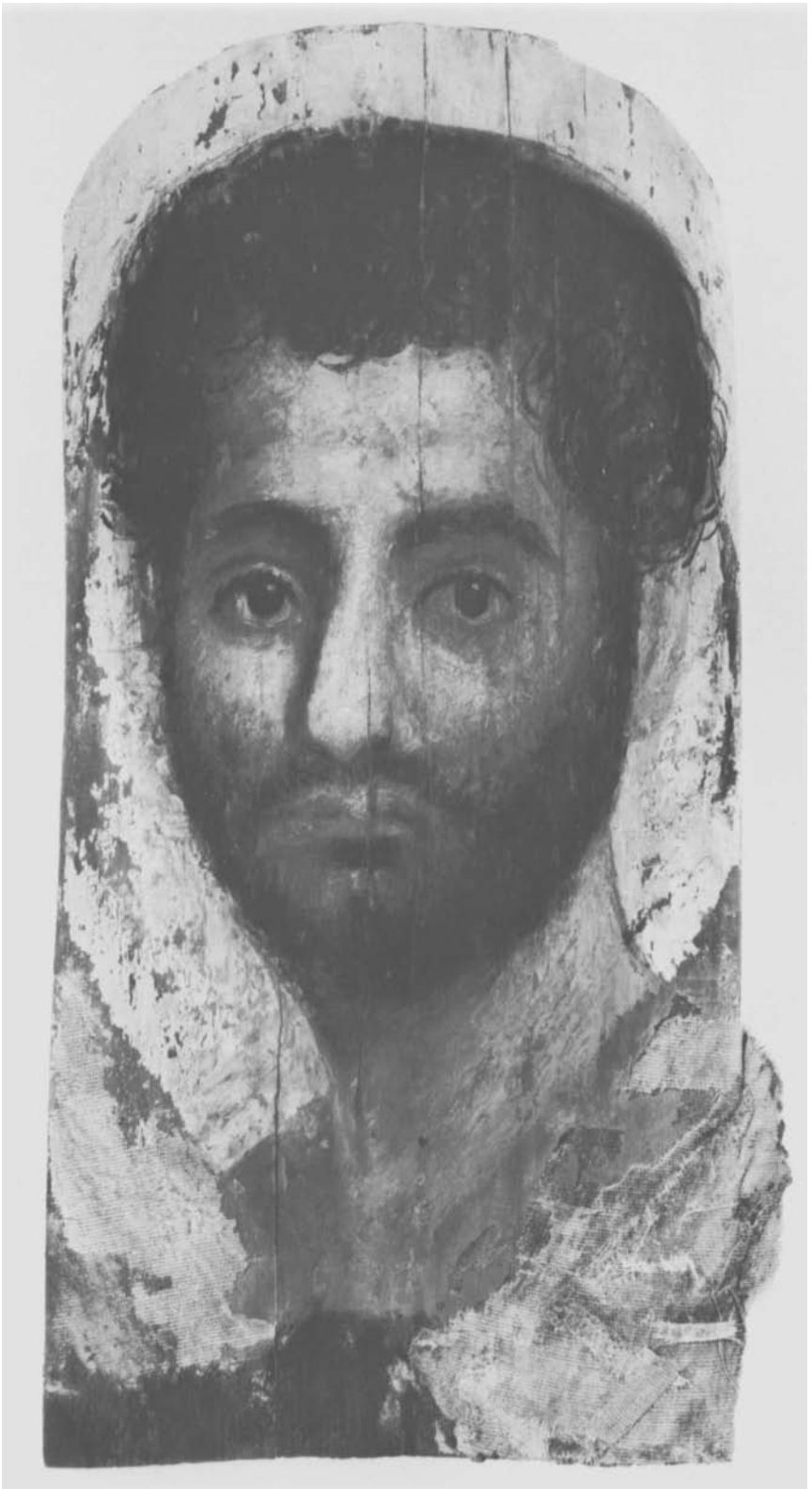
That this example seems to come from Hawara raises an interesting point. Though most extant "Fayum portraits" of documented provenience originate at Er-Rubayat, many of those that have appeared on the art market in recent years have been from Hawara. Theodor Graf was a clever businessman, and he seems to have exploited the necropolis at Er-Rubayat rather fully and in a relatively short time. He, his agents, and his workmen cleaned the site of portraits quickly and efficiently (albeit with no regard for matters archaeological), and most Er-Rubayat portraits come to us through the Graf collection. Petrie, however, was driven by scientific rather than by profit motives and excavated Hawara with some deliberation. In addition, his work there was interrupted by excavation commitments at several other sites. During Petrie's absences, as he himself relates, a large number of portraits slipped away from Hawara in the hands of others. The examples documented in Petrie's reports may represent only a small percentage of the extant portraits from the site. Thus it is no surprise to find "new" (previously unknown) Hawaran portraits in some abundance.

4. **Portrait of a bearded man,** ***encaustic on wood.*** This hirsute gentleman was acquired during 1973.

The color scheme is simple, straightforward, and very striking. The subject's complexion is somewhat pale and chalky, rendered in combinations of beige, flesh tones, and white; the background also is white. In sharp contrast, the lips are rich red with salmon highlights, while the hair, beard, and eyes are black, occasionally enriched with beige and light brown. Though subjects of "Fayum portraits" regularly are shown clothed, no garment is visible here; it appears likely that none was painted.

In its extreme simplicity, the portrayal contains only hints of the artist's identity, but it is likely that he also painted a well-known portrait of a woman from Er-Rubayat, now in West Berlin (inv. 31161/7).

The subject's luxuriant hair and beard and the expression of brooding intensity are characteristic of Antonine sculptured portraits, so a date in the mid-second century is most likely.



5. **Portrait of a boy,** ***encaustic on wood.*** A "Fayum portrait" on a wood panel, at least in the first and second centuries A.D., seems normally to have been painted during a person's lifetime and adapted to funerary purpose after death. Early portraits of children must fall in a different category from those of adults, for presumably they were not painted in advance but rather at the time of premature death. They are less common than portraits of adults, and so this example recently added to the Getty collection is of special interest.

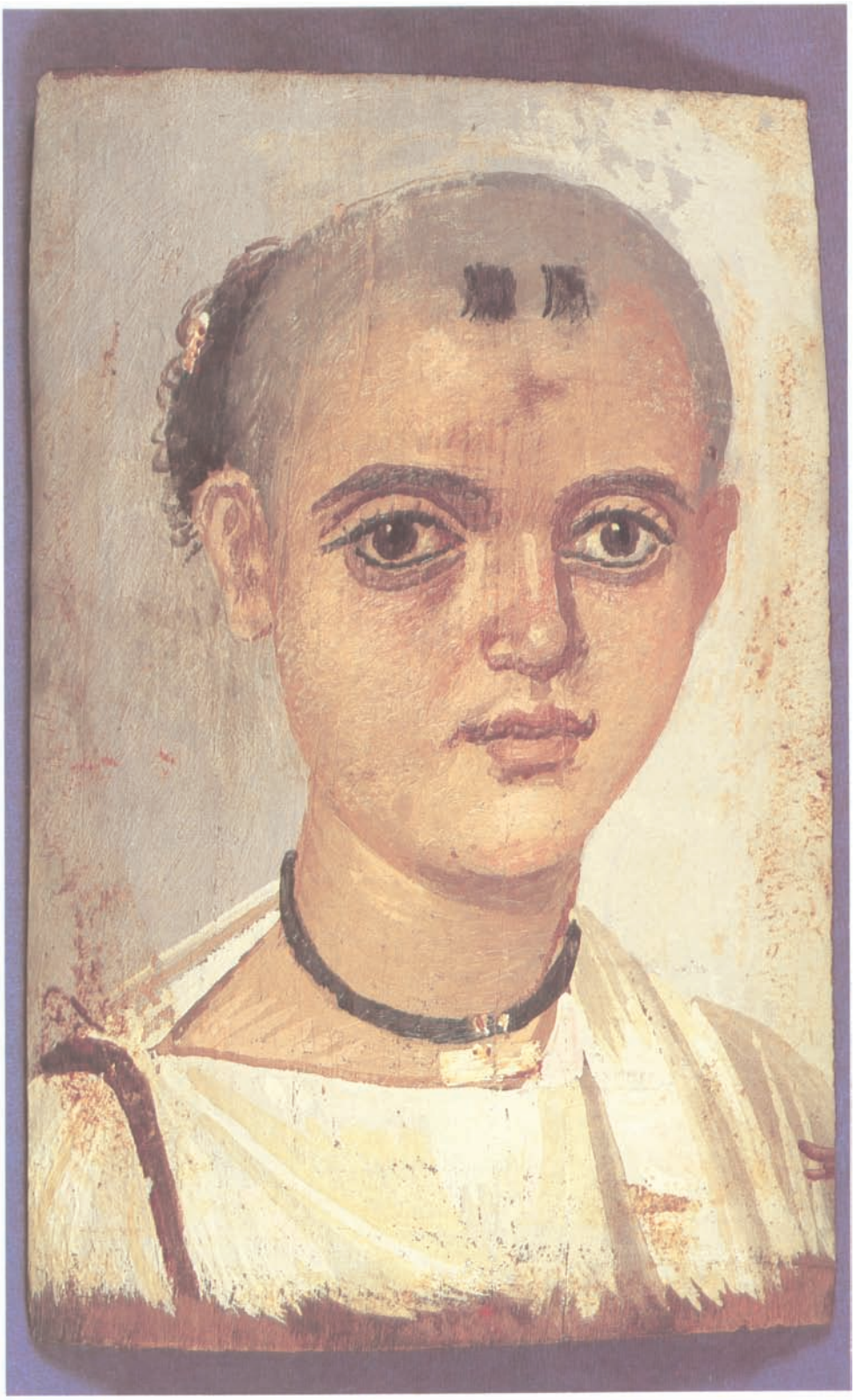
As is usual, the area of the portrait that originally was left exposed to view in the cartonnage is outlined by traces of bitumen. Minor restoration of the surface is apparent as inpainting where the panel developed several longitudinal cracks—none of them major—but the painting is mainly original and intact.

The subject of the portrait is a youth whose head has been shaved except for two small locks above the forehead and a braid, fastened with a gold pin, on the right side of his head. This hairstyle, at least the braid, was considered a good-luck charm for Egyptian youngsters. A similar braid appears in several other paintings that depict youths, but the shaved head of the Getty youngster makes him unique among subjects of "Fayum portraits."

The boy wears a plain black necklace, of uncertain material, from which apparently is suspended a gold or gilt container for amulets. He wears a standard white tunic with narrow purple *clavi,* only one of which is visible because a cloak, or *pallium,* covers his left shoulder. At the right edge of the panel there appears a curious forked motif that is seen to better advantage on Getty portrait no. 6 below, and which appears on several other "Fayum portraits" as well. While this feature is difficult to explain, it possibly represents decoration on the *pallium* that is draped over the subject and carried on his left arm.

The boy's youthful features are well-rendered by the portrait painter: the unformed nose and mouth, especially, are those of a child, as is the smooth, matte tone of the flesh. The eyes contrast remarkably, however, for in their heavy dark shading they appear more like the eyes of an adult. This serves to recall that portrait painters in the Fayum were accustomed, and no doubt trained, to paint adults. These eyes, moreover, are given particular emphasis in an otherwise simple portrayal, a feature that might be said above all to characterize mummy portraits in general. Eyes were considered not only a crucial feature in judgments upon beauty in the ancient Near East but also as windows on the soul. Thus it is no surprise to find them emphasized, and even exaggerated, in "Fayum portraits," since in ancient Egyptian belief the mummy was thought to be a permanent abode for the soul.

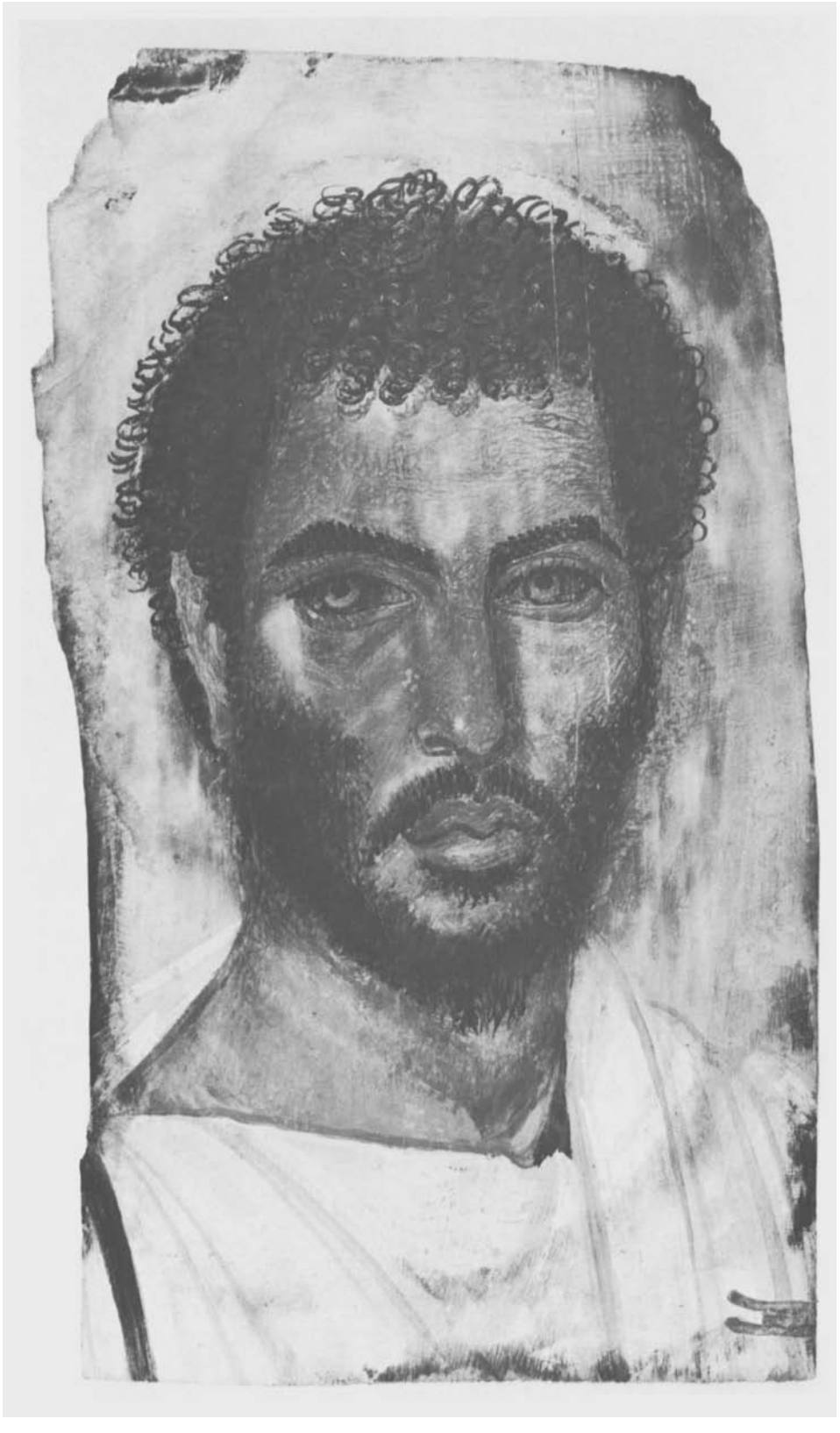
In several artistic details this portrait resembles no. 6 below, but a number of elements—the shape of the head and its relation to the neck, the texture of the garment and the nature of its folds, etc.—identify its artist as distinct from, and somewhat less sophisticated than, his near-contemporary, the so-called Montreal Painter. Still, there are enough close similarities to suggest that both painters shared a common artistic tradition. The portrait must have been painted during the later second century A.D.



6. **Portrait of a bearded man,** ***encaustic on wood.*** This portrait, acquired in 1974, is perhaps the most vivid portrayal of an individual among the examples in the Getty Museum. The painted surface and the panel as a whole are in excellent condition.

The subject is racially striking. His sharp and piercing almond-shaped eyes, almost negroid lips, wiry curled hair, and dark skin all suggest a mixed heritage. The background is neutral grayish white over a dark primer. Browns dominate the ruddy complexion. The subject's lips are deep brown-red, and his eyes are an unusual olive-brown, delicately outlined in black. The garment is the usual white, with an extremely narrow *clavus* painted in raspberry-red. The artist's mastery of the encaustic medium is evident in the vigor and care accorded the face, while the thick black curls of the hair also reveal especially skillful use of the *cestrum.*

The narrow *clavus* is a feature that commonly appears on portraits from the Graf collection, suggesting an origin at Er-Rubayat for our example. Precisely identical garment schemes, and the same shading at the neckline, appear on at least two other portraits: that of a boy now in the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, and one of a bearded male, heavily restored, in Montreal. When we add a list of anatomical similarities (lips, nose, eye shading and lashes, the moustache and beard patterns of the two bearded subjects), it becomes evident that the three portraits are the work of the same hand. We might call him the Montreal Painter, although the Getty portrait is the finest and most careful of the three. Since the Montreal portrait is known to have come from the Graf collection, it is clear that the Montreal Painter worked at Er-Rubayat (or at Philadelpheia). While the beard and hairstyle recall Antonine court fashion, the style of painting also could allow for an early Severan date.

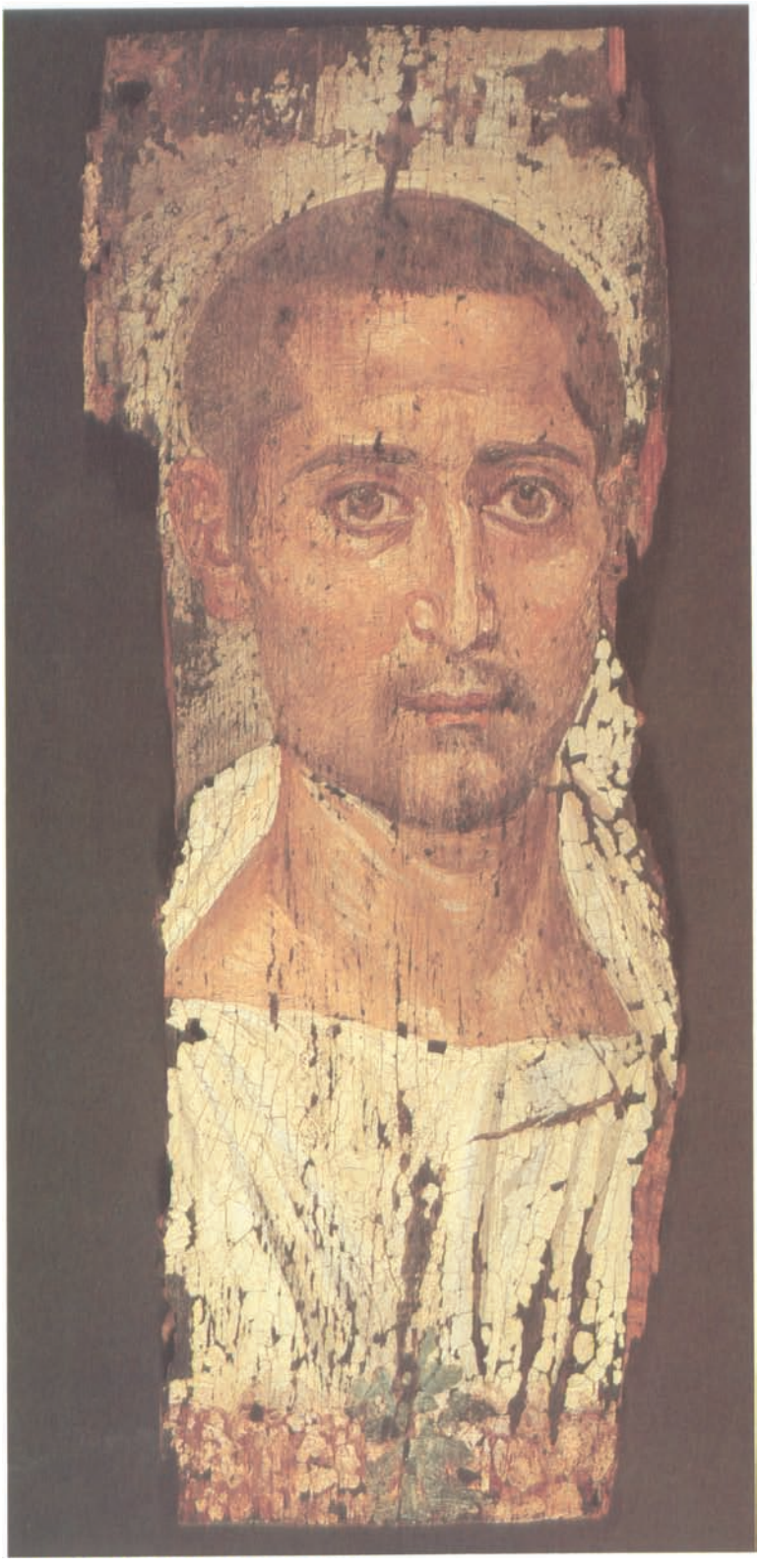


7. Portrait of a man, *encaustic on wood.* Though its state of preservation is not excellent, this portrait is of very high quality and demonstrates that talented encaustic painters were working well into the third century A.D.

The painting evidently is preserved to its full original height. This is most unusual, since portraits on wood that were wrapped in mummies normally were cut down, often considerably, before insertion. Although the panel has been broken away roughly at the sides, its height still gives a sense of the original size of a "Fayum portrait" before reduction.

The portrayal is uncomplicated. The subject is posed against a medium-gray background, clothed in a white tunic. Thus there is little distraction from the most evident talent of the painter, his handling of shadow and texture. The artist's discreet blending of warm pink and beige flesh tones in the head and neck and his subtle feel for highlighting emphasize the man's sharp features. A shadow of close-cropped beard and moustache further enhance the strong bone structure. The portrait is a minor masterpiece of encaustic painting.

The subject's hairstyle was fashionable in later Severan times, and this portrait must have been painted in the early decades of the 200's A.D. At the base of the portrait a wreath of pink flowers and a sprig of green leaves have been included, perhaps added later as a funerary ornament.

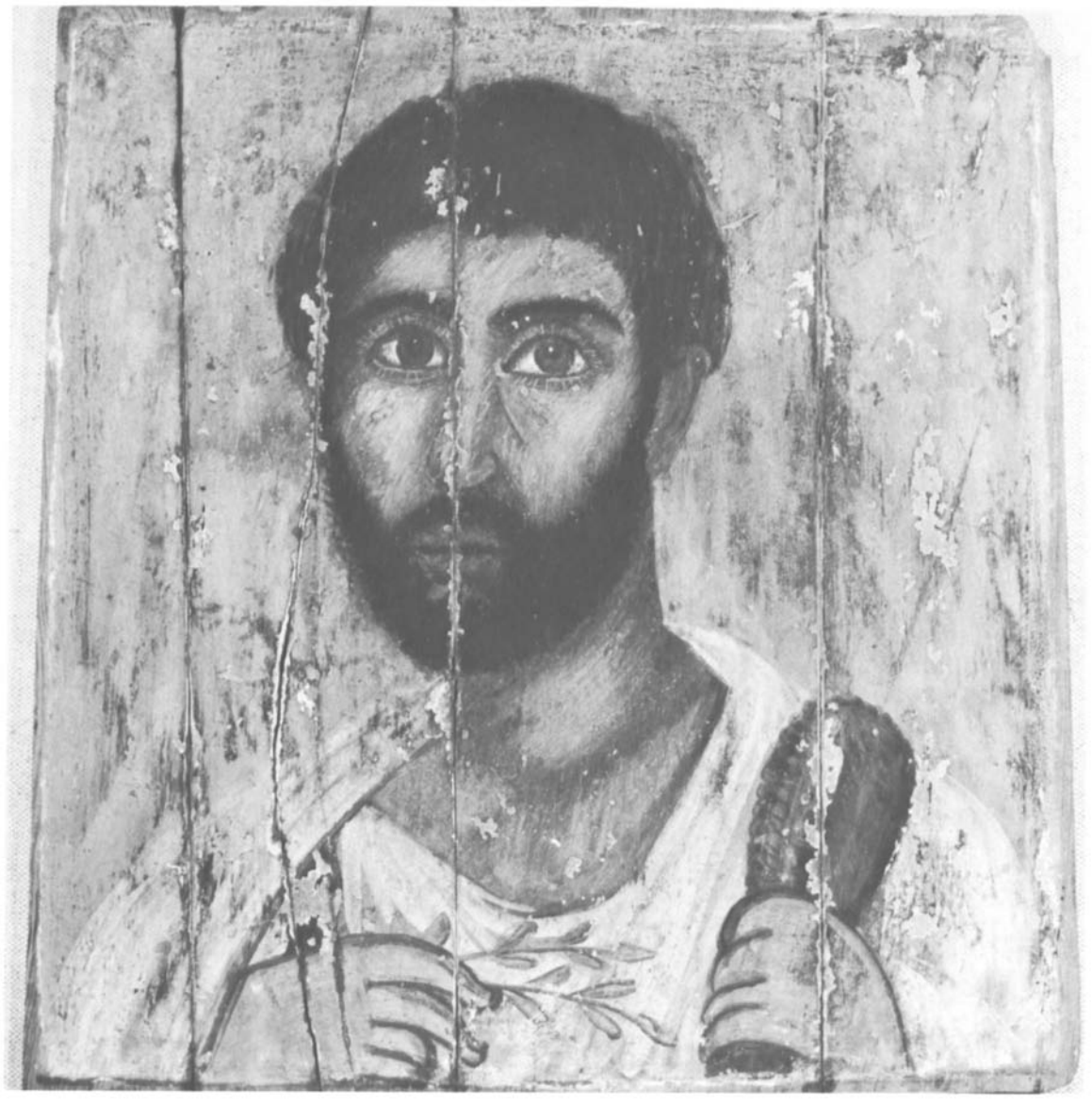


8. Triptych, ***tempera on wood.*** The three paintings together form a folding shrine, *Klappbild,* or triptych. Each is painted in tempera and is remarkably well preserved. Although the exact provenience is not known, the fine state of preservation certainly means that they come from the Fayum region. The side panels depict the deities Serapis and Isis, while the central panel is a portrait of a bearded man.

The central painting bears a striking visual resemblance to "Fayum portraits," but because composite panels were extremely susceptible to splitting at the joins, they were not employed for paintings intended to be wrapped in mummy cartonnages. The subject is shown against a light gray background. His face is dominated by a healthy abundance of black hair—heavy brows, the short but thick cut on the head, a closely cropped beard and moustache. This hair was quite thickly and carefully painted by the artist and thus reveals considerable detail. The remainder of the facial features reveals a varied palette, especially around the eyes: the pupils are fawn, set off by darker brown shading at the lids and beige lashes. Flashes of the same beige highlight the cheeks, and the red lips add a striking note of color to the facial depiction. He carries a sprig of light green leaves in his right hand and holds a maroon wreath in his left. These evidently are funerary symbols, suggesting that the subject is deceased and that this painting is a commemorative portrait.

This central panel can be dated with some precision, based on comparison with other panel portraits. The man in the Getty triptych is very similar in every respect (style of hair and beard, length to which the subject is portrayed, presence of the funerary wreath and laurel sprig, medium, overall artistic style) to a large number of mummy portraits from the middle of the third century A.D.

The Serapis and Isis appear at first glance to be very skillful renderings, more so than the central portrait. The panel on the right shows Isis in three-quarter view. The goddess has a pale beige complexion, much lighter than that of Serapis or of the central portrait. Touches of pink and maroon model her cheeks, chin, and lips. Her eyes are such a dark brown that they almost appear black and are deeply rimmed with dark brown and long, thick eyelashes. Her long black hair flows in tightly crimped waves over her shoulders, adorned with a wreath of dark and light gray-green leaves and pink flowers. On top of her head is a flower-like headdress depicted in rust and gray with, in the center, a cone-like uraeus (?). A transparent veil seems to be depicted overall, falling to the sides. Isis wears a blue tunic with a fringed bronze-colored mantle tied with the Isiac knot. A thick wreath of pink flowers trails over her left shoulder. She wears two necklaces, one of black beads, the other of red pendants on a wire. Gold dolphin earrings hang from her ears. A black wood staff with gold inlaid designs leans against her right shoulder.



Serapis is shown in three-quarter view with a ruddy complexion enhanced by touches of beige and red. The eyes, like those of Isis, are modeled with dark circles of brown, the upper lids and eyebrows drawn strongly in black. The luxuriant hair falling about his shoulders is black, though his beard and moustache are medium brown. On his head is a gold *modius*, modeled with dark red, above a twisted cloth diadem with gold highlights and a wreath of brown leaves. The garment is red-brown.

Because of the apparent discrepancy in artistic quality, one might wonder at first whether the leaves and central panel of the Getty triptych were painted not by one artist but by two of very disparate skill. Closer inspection, however, reveals that painterly details such as the brushwork and the palette employed are identical in all three panels. The distinctive use of a rich maroon for facial shading is particularly noteworthy. Moreover, on close examination the apparent quality of the side panels is no more than superficial; a degree of technical competence is achieved, but the overall effect is lifeless and formal when compared with the exuberant originality of the central portrait.

Although the central panel excels in spirit and the side leaves in execution, details thus confirm that all three were done by the same artist. The portrait must have been painted from life, the Serapis and Isis copied from existing sources. Jiří Frel has suggested that the side leaves reproduce well-known masterpieces, which seems likely. The originals must have been very striking, and it is tempting to see these copies as reflections of one or a pair of important cult paintings installed in a major shrine of Roman Egypt, possibly even at Alexandria.

Although the superb condition of the panels suggests that they were recovered from a tomb, it is probable that the original function of the triptych was domestic. We know that ancestor veneration was common in Roman Egypt and that, at least sometimes, painted ancestor portraits were displayed in private homes. Rather than being hung on the wall, however, the Getty triptych must have been freestanding, set up on or near a domestic altar or placed in a wall-niche. *Klappbilder* of similar form are known in Roman and Campanian wall painting, especially of the Second Style. It should be noted, however, that while most Roman and Campanian examples are displayed open, none of them shows anything on the leaves beyond decorative motifs, and their central paintings almost invariably are genre scenes devoid of religious or commemorative implications. Thus the triptych seems to have been employed in Roman Italy purely as an ornamental feature of interior design rather than, as here, to have been associated with the domestic cult.

Fig. G.

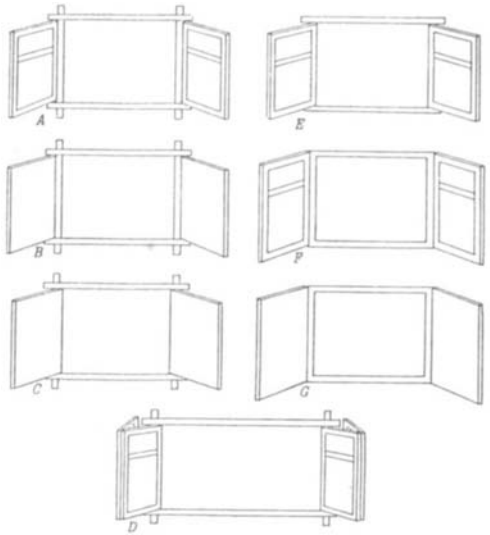
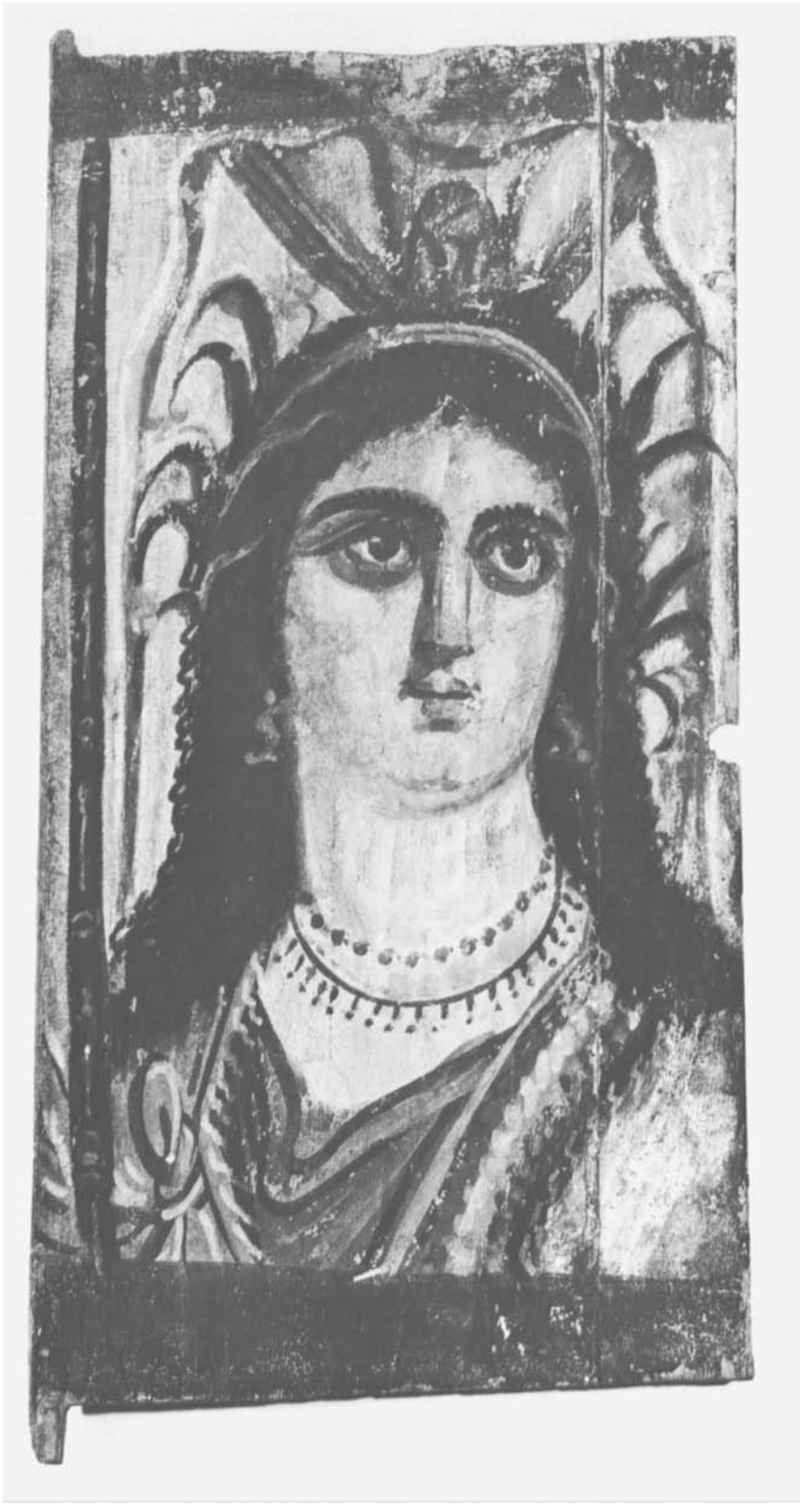


Figure G. *Typical arrangement of Roman* Klappbilder. *After W. Ehlich,* Bild und Rahmen im Altertum: Die Geschichte des Bilderrahmens *(Munich 1954) 177 fig. 49.*

The precise physical placement or use of the Getty triptych is uncertain because of the absence of the frame in which the panels originally were mounted. There are several framing possibilities for such *Klappbilder,* according to the examples in the Roman and Campanian wall paintings (fig. G). Type B or type C could equally well have been the framework of the Getty triptych, for while the central panel is bordered by a narrow unpainted strip originally covered by its frame, the side panels evidently were unframed and were set with pintle hinges, one of which survives on each leaf, into sockets in the central frame. On the basis of the panels' dimensions, type C is most likely.

There also could be some initial uncertainty about just how the panels were set up. The painted sides of the leaves might have been visible with the triptych open—Serapis to the left of the central portrait, Isis to the right—or the divinities might have been visible only when the triptych was closed—Isis on the left door, Serapis on the right—as a portable, folding shrine. But the nature of ancestor veneration in Roman Egypt argues against taking the Getty *Klappbild* as an object meant to be carried from place to place. Most of the time, at least, the triptych must have been displayed open in the home. To have had Serapis and Isis on the fronts of the doors would have been pointless, for under normal circumstances they would have been hidden from view. Also, if these leaves are folded out perhaps thirty degrees, as the doors of Roman and Campanian *Klappbilder* usually are depicted, Serapis and Isis appear to gaze directly at the observer.



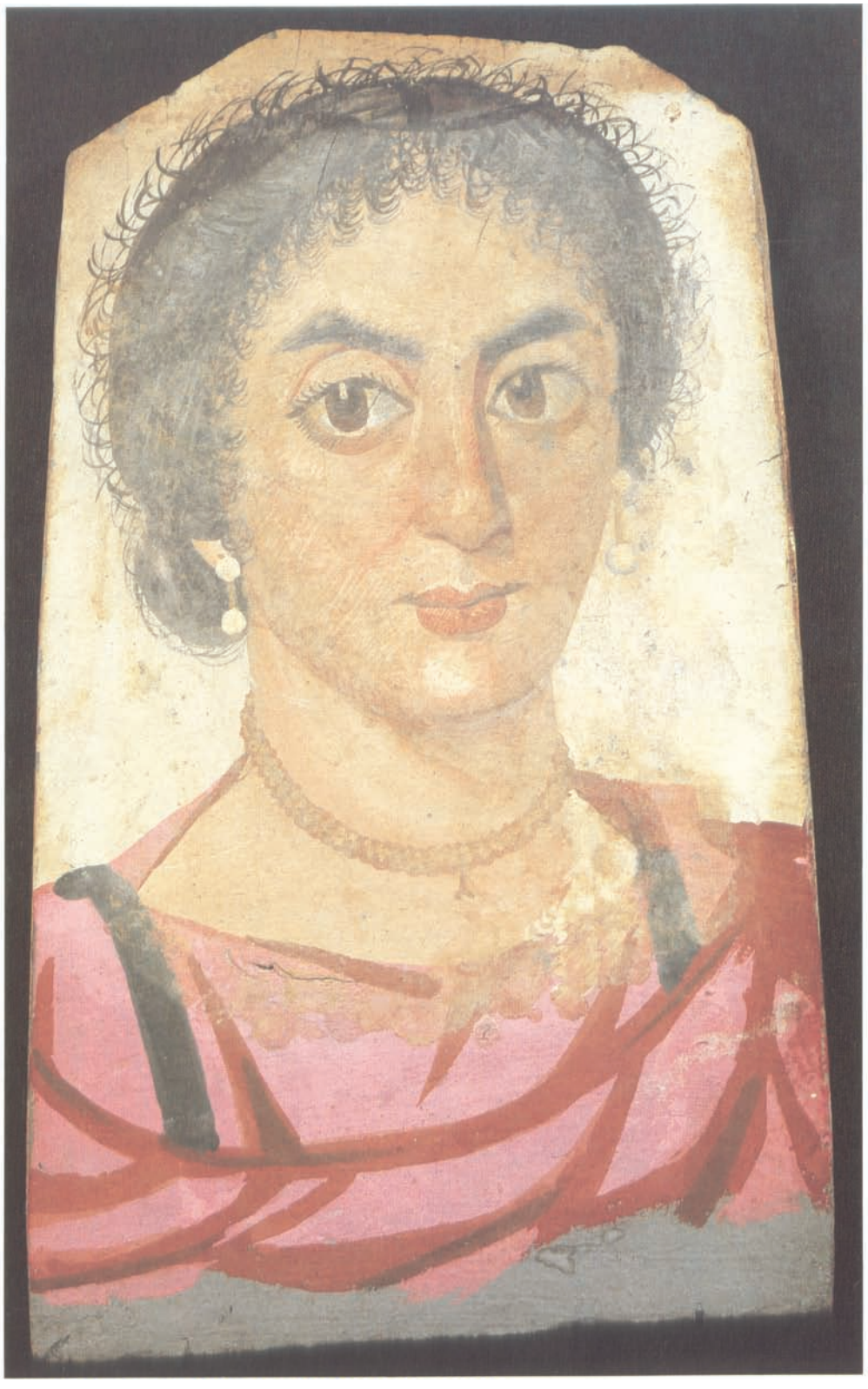
9. Portrait of a woman, ***tempera on wood.*** Another Getty portrait that can be traced to the group of examples recovered at Er-Rubayat by Theodor Graf in the 1880's is this magnificent depiction, one of the finest "Fayum portraits" painted in the somewhat intractable tempera medium.

The subject is a bright-eyed young lady shown against a beige background and clothed in a hot-pink tunic with black *clavi.* Her jewelry consists of a fairly plain spiral-braided necklace, from the center of which is suspended a miniature lunette, and a pair of earrings, each consisting of two pearls, one at the fastening, the other hanging from it on a simple gold band. Her curly hair is arranged quite simply and is drawn into a bun at the back.

The face shows the most subtle nuances that could be achieved in the tempera medium. It is evident that the painter was very well-trained and that he was an extremely competent artist, with a special talent for drawing an astounding three-dimensionality out of the ungenerous tempera paint. The care lavished on shading and highlighting—by delicate, translucent lines of hatching—even recalls the fine early portraits in encaustic. The new medium, however, combined with the extraordinarily expressive schemata of eyes and mouth, points to a later date. This painting is—like only a few other tempera portraits—a minor masterpiece.

It is interesting to note the almost incredible discrepancy between the painterly attention devoted to the face and that to the garment. The latter is only roughly daubed with sweeping strokes of red over the pink ground. It curiously combines an evident understanding of the nature of drapery folds with a slapdash depiction of these folds in broad unsophisticated swaths. The non-facial portion of this painting may possibly have been completed by the master's assistant, but the style seen here is most peculiar and cannot be paralleled elsewhere among surviving mummy portraits.

Although the painter's style is highly distinctive, it cannot be identified with certainty on any other "Fayum portrait" that survives. He must have worked at Er-Rubayat or at Philadelpheia in the late third or early fourth century A.D.

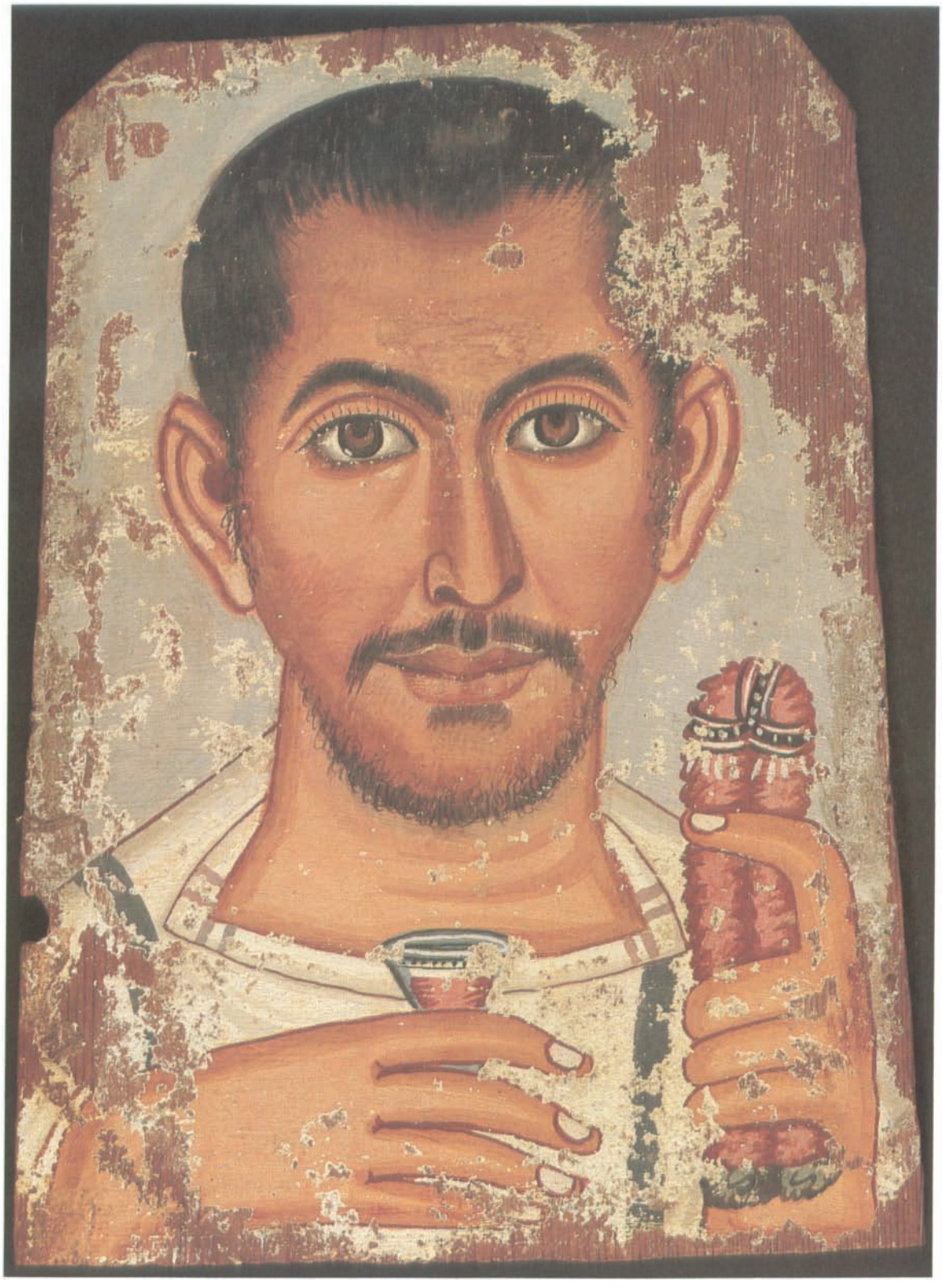


10. Portrait of a young man, ***tempera on linen.*** The first "Fayum portrait" on cloth to enter the Getty Museum is painted on the fragment of a linen burial shroud that would have covered the head and face of the deceased. Full-length portraits sometimes were painted on shrouds used as the final wrapping of the mummy before it was interred. In other instances, a bust-length portrait was painted on a cloth that was wrapped in a regular cartonnage much like the wood panels, with face, or head and neck, left exposed to view. This shroud fragment is an example of the latter type, and the portrait area is approximately the same size as contemporary, and more common, wood panels.

Unlike wood panels, on which the background normally is neutral gray, the subject of this portrait appears against a grayish black. Thus the bright colors of the portrayal stand out sharply and strikingly. The subject's flesh is a peculiar salmon color, with features delineated in gray and shading rendered in reddish brown. The lips are brick-red. The hair is black, with olive-brown highlights, the same olive-brown as the subject's eyes. The young man wears a white tunic with narrow gray-blue *clavi* and is crowned by a wreath of green leaves with gold stems and berries. On his shoulder sits a salmon-and-beige colored falcon, a feature that appears on both panels and shrouds of late date, usually those from the fourth century. The bird symbolizes the ancient Egyptian god Horus, or Harpocrates.

As is most often the case, there are no visual clues in this portrait that provide factual information about the subject. That he may be represented at a fairly young age is suggested both by the smooth and youthful skin and, especially, by the sideburns, moustache, and short beard which looks very much like a first growth. Unlike the panel portraits, the shroud portraits must have been *ad hoc* creations at the time of death. Thus, if this is a faithful depiction of him, the man in this portrait may have died quite young.

The artist cannot be identified as the painter of other portraits that survive. His style is highly idiosyncratic, a curious combination of skill in facial rendering with naïvete of pose and of garment scheme. The style of the portrait and its absolute frontality suggest that it was painted in the early decades of the fourth century A.D.



11. Portrait of a man, *tempera on wood.* Perhaps the most visually arresting mummy portrait in the Getty Museum is this straightforward portrayal in tempera, painted by a distinctive and perhaps very prolific artist of the mid-fourth century A.D.

The subject is shown in the frontal pose that came to be the general rule in the fourth century. Held objects, too, become frequent in portraits of such late date. The Getty man grasps in his right hand what appears to be a cone-shaped glass with a beaded rim half-filled with a red liquid (wine?) and, in his left, a rose-colored wreath. These objects evidently had funerary connotations, for the same or similar items appear in several other portraits. The subject wears a white tunic with blue *clavi* and lavender decoration on the edge of the neck opening.

Round-faced smiling subjects were the stock-in-trade of an artist whose style is readily identifiable in several other portraits and who has come to be called the Brooklyn Painter. A comparison of the Getty panel to the artist's namepiece (fig. 38) leaves little doubt that both are by the same painter. The similar shape and relation of head and neck, the same garment scheme, smooth shading around the eyes, nose, and mouth, precisely identical ears, and closely similar hands all form only the beginning of a long list of features that correspond in these two portraits.

Among the many other portraits that have been associated with the Brooklyn Painter, there are a number of minor variations that suggest we may be dealing not so much with a single artist as with a school. But there can be no equivocation about the Getty and Brooklyn portraits: they are the work of one and the same painter.

The Brooklyn Painter worked at Er-Rubayat, or at Philadelpheia, in the middle of the fourth century A.D.

12. Portrait of a woman, ***tempera on wood.*** This painting is a marvelous example illustrating general features of the portrait painter's art near the end of mummy portrait production in the late fourth century A.D. It is interesting, too, for its origin, since it is known to have been among the hundreds of paintings recovered by Theodor Graf at Er-Rubayat, the cemetery of Philadelpheia, in the 1880's.

The bizarre visual aspect of this portrait, when compared to the panels considered previously, is due mostly to the particular properties of the tempera medium in which it was painted, as well as to an overall change in artistic taste observable in mummy portraits that appears to have begun during the third century. The tempera medium, in which powdered pigments are mixed in an egg base, dries quickly and thus demands rapid execution. Faster and cheaper than encaustic paint, but neither encouraging nor indeed allowing much painterly subtlety, tempera came to be used for nearly all "Fayum portraits" painted late in the third and all through the fourth centuries. What paintings like that of the Getty lady lack in aesthetic sophistication, however, they make up for in directness and spontaneity. They are, to put it simply, quaint and charming.

The subject is shown nearly full-front—a regular feature of the latest mummy portraits—dressed in a rich pink tunic with black *clavi.* She is nicely coiffed, the severe rows of hair softened by tendrils waving around the hairline. The hairstyle is highlighted by an ornament with two beads (?) and a single pearl suspended from the central parting. She wears large gold hoop earrings and two necklaces, one of which consists of alternating pearls and lozenge-shaped stones, the other of a woven blue (silver?) band with central gold pendant.

In spite of the limitations imposed by the medium, the painter had a good anatomical sense and a distinct confidence of stroke. Though it would be easy to dismiss this example hastily as a simple cartoon or the work of a hack painter, closer inspection reveals that such is not at all the case. The pursed pink lips, wide open brown eyes, and strongly arched black eyebrows all capture a feeling of immediacy and individuality. The painter was a product of his age and, within the artistic context of Late Antiquity, a quite talented artist at that.

The painter cannot now be identified as the creator of other "Fayum portraits" that survive. He will have worked at Er-Rubayat, or Philadelpheia, near the end of the fourth century A.D.

13. Portrait of a man, ***tempera on linen.*** The second Getty mummy portrait on cloth is, like no. 10 above, not a full-length representation of the deceased but rather a partial depiction roughly the same size as contemporary panel portraits. In this example the subject is shown almost to the waist, holding an object in either hand. A bunch of grapes is shown in the right hand, a wreath in the left—as became frequent in portraits painted in the fourth century. He is garbed in a white tunic with pink *clavi,* and appears against a gray background.

The shroud is in fairly good condition, considering the delicacy of the material, although a number of details are partly obscured by some staining and loss of paint. This is particularly true of the background, which apparently was richly decorated with symbols from ancient Egyptian religion. Two such symbols still plainly visible to the subject's right are the falcon that may represent Horus or Harpocrates and a mummified figure with outstretched wings, one of a pair of such figures (Isis and Osiris?) according to traces of a similar depiction to the subject's left. We are reminded here that to many inhabitants of the Fayum region, even those who may have emigrated from Italy itself, the ancient native beliefs were extremely attractive, far more so than the cold and impersonal Roman state religion. Especially on late shrouds, such as this example, we find a wide repertory of signs and symbols that derive from Egyptian, rather than Graeco-Roman, religion.

The painter of this portrait evidently was much removed from the artistic mainstream in Roman Egypt. Instead, he worked in a purely local style that owes little, beyond the basic idea of a painted funerary image, to the traditions so eloquently reflected in the best early "Fayum portraits." The painting appears almost wholly two-dimensional and reflects at most a minimum of formal training in anatomical representation.

Neither the artist nor the provenience of the portrait can be identified. The painting is one of many unpretentious local products that survive from the late fourth century A.D.

14. **Stucco mummy mask of a woman.** All through the Roman period in Egypt, the custom of placing sculptured plaster masks over the mummy wrappings existed parallel to the tradition of painted panel portraits. Ptolemaic Greeks seem to have adopted the custom from the Egyptians, continuing the local system of mass-producing types (young man, old man, bearded man, etc.) with little or no attempt at characterization. With the advent of a sizable Roman community after the Battle of Actium, the craft of portraiture seems to have influenced sculptured as well as painted mummy portraits. Elaborate hairstyles were copied, perhaps as part of an attempt at actual likeness. Here the hair is drawn back from a center part into a tight chignon, secured by a clip against the back of the head. A narrow flat braid extends about one inch inside the hairline around the hair. A corkscrew curl dangles in front of each ear. The eyes, made of sheets of mica set over bitumen pupils, contribute largely to the lifelike effect; the original rich coloring—pink cheeks, red lips, black hair—must have been startling. The sharp curve of the eyebrows, contrasting with the fluid modeling of the lips, the coiffure, and the overall style place the portrait in the second half of the second century A.D.

The Getty Museum also owns a ruin of a polychromed limestone head of a young man (acc. no. 71.AA.275) and a painted stucco cartonnage mask of a youth in the Egyptian tradition (acc. no. 71.AA.365).

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

*1. **Portrait of a lady***
81.AP.42
Encaustic on wood
H: 33.6 cm.; W: 17.2 cm.
H (of cartonnage): 46.4 cm.; W (of cartonnage): On top: 21.6 cm., On bottom: 36.8 cm.

A. Rothe, "Portrait of a Lady. Conservation Report," Getty *MJ* 10 (1982) forthcoming.

The panel is in excellent condition, even though the wood is extremely thin, due to the fact that the old cartonnage is still preserved. The cartonnage is composed of seven layers of cloth, two of which have been soaked in some resinous substance and are in direct contact with the back of the panel. The bituminous substance that defaced and discolored the portrait was removed, and a perfectly preserved paint layer was uncovered.

*2. **Portrait of a Man***
71.AP.72
From Hawara.
Encaustic on wood
H: 47.5 cm.; W: 24.1 cm.

Apollo 91 (n.s. no. 96: February 1970) xxxv, pl. (col.); *Burlington Magazine* 112 (no. 813: December 1970) suppl. pl. 4; R. Symes, *Ancient Art* (sale catalogue; London 1971) no. 25, pl. (col.); *Objets* 3 (n.d. = 1971) fig.; C.C. Vermeule and N. Neuerburg, *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu 1973) 41 no. 91, fig. 91; H. Lattimore in B.B. Fredericksen, *The J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu 1975) 53, fig. a (col.); Thompson, "Four 'Fayum Portraits' in the Getty Museum," Getty *MJ* 2 (1975) 85-86, 88 no. 1, fig. 1 (hereafter, "Four 'Fayum Portraits' "); id., *The Artists of the Mummy Portraits* (Malibu 1976; hereafter, *Artists*) 8, fig. 11; K. Parlasca, *Repertorio d'arte dell'egitto greco-romano*, ser. B: *Ritratti di mummie* (3 vols. to date; Palermo 1969 and Rome 1977, 1980; hereafter, *Ritratti*) II, 34 no. 267, pl. 64.4 (Trajanic).

The preservation is good. The thin panel shows the warping that normally results from forced conformity to the physical shape of the mummy. Four cracks along grain lines of the wood, one of which extends the panel's entire length, do not seriously detract from the portrait's integrity. The panel was roughly cut away at the top before being inserted into the mummy. The surface is intact and shows no signs of either repainting or restoration. There is some minor encrustation (sand or dirt) evident in the hair, while fragments of the mummy cartonnage remain in the area of the subject's left ear. There is some discoloration and darkening due to the bitumen used to prepare the mummy.

*3. **Portrait of a Flavian Matron***
73.AP.91
From Hawara.
Encaustic on wood
H; 40 cm.; W: 20 cm.

Thompson, "Four 'Fayum Portraits' " 87-88 no. 2, fig. 2; id., *Artists* 15, fig. 41; Parlasca, *Ritratti* II, 30, no. 251, pl. 61.4 (Flavian).

The panel is in fine condition. The wood is extremely thin, so extensive warping has occurred, resulting in a major longitudinal crack. Three other less significant cracks are present. Some old flaking of paint is evident in the upper right portion of the panel, and some repainting seems to have been effected prior to its acquisition, especially around the brows and in the hair.

4. Portrait of a bearded man
73.AP.94
Probably from Er-Rubayat.
Encaustic on wood
H: 43 cm.; W: 22.5 cm.

Apollo 93 (n.s. no. 112: June 1971) 149, ill.; Thompson, "Four 'Fayum Portraits'" 88-90 no. 3, fig. 4; id., *Artists* 10, fig. 21; Parlasca, *Ritratti* II, 64 no. 387, pl. 94.2 (A.D. 175–180).

The wood, which appears to be cedar, is partially warped but unusually sound; none of six longitudinal cracks extends the panel's entire length. Large fragments of the mummy cartonnage, both blue and white linen, remain on the lower portion of the panel as well as on its reverse. Fairly extensive flaking of color in the neck area appears to have resulted when the portrait was removed from the mummy. The hair has been retouched slightly, but no other restoration is apparent.

5. Portrait of a boy
78.AP.262
Said to be from Oxyrhynchus.
Encaustic on wood
H: 20.3 cm.; W: 13 cm.

Weltkunst 47 no. 21 (November 1977) 2004; Parlasca, *Ritratti* III, 67 no. 674, pl. F (col.) (A.D. 150–200).

The painting is unusually small. The panel possibly was cut down from a more standard size, as Parlasca suggests; but in view of the correspondingly small scale of the subject portrayal, it seems more likely that the current dimensions of the panel are original. Evidently because of this small size, it was not deemed necessary to cut away the panel's upper corners before it was inserted in the mummy cartonnage.

The condition is very good. One large crack through the center of the panel has been inpainted and some filling and painting are on the right side of the head.

6. Portrait of a bearded man
74.AP.11
From Er-Rubayat.
Encaustic on wood
H: 37 cm.; W: 21 cm.

Apollo 98 (n.s. no. 142: December 1973) 95, pl. (col.); J. Frel, *Recent Acquisitions. Ancient Art. The J. Paul Getty Museum.* (exhibition catalogue; Malibu 1974; hereafter, *Recent Acquisitions*) no. 26, fig.; Thompson, "Four 'Fayum Portraits'" 89–90 no. 4, fig. 5; id., *Artists* 4, cover ill. (col.); Parlasca, *Ritratti* II, 57 no. 357, pl. 86.2 (mid-Antonine); J.-E. Berger, *L'oeil et l'éternité: Portraits romains d'Égypte* (Paudex 1977; hereafter, *L'oeil et l'éternité*) 170 (ill.), 215.

The painted surface and the panel as a whole are in excellent condition. Two hairline cracks, some discoloration from the mummification materials, and a small fragment of cartonnage clinging at the top do not detract from the portrait's superb state. The panel was broken roughly but only slightly at the top corners before being inserted in the cartonnage.

7. Portrait of a man
79.AP.141
Provenience unknown.
Encaustic on wood
H: 47.5 cm.; W: 19 cm.

Unpublished

The painting evidently is preserved to its full original height. This is most unusual, since portraits on wood that were wrapped in mummies normally were cut down considerably before insertion. Although the panel has been broken away roughly at the sides, one still can gain from the height a sense of the original size of a "Fayum portrait" before reduction.

The paint has crazed along grain lines of the wood, presumably because of alternate shrinking and swelling of the panel over the centuries. Considerable paint loss has occurred, especially in the background and in the subject's garment, exposing a dark primer beneath, but the facial area is in relatively good condition. No restoration appears to have been effected, except a small amount in the right ear.

8. Triptych
74.AP.20 (portrait)
74.AP.21 (Serapis)
74.AP.22 (Isis)
Provenience unknown.
Tempera on wood
H (portrait): 36 cm.; W: 37.5 cm.
H (Serapis): 39 cm.; W: 19 cm.
H (Isis): 40 cm.; W: 19 cm.

Frel, *Recent Acquisitions* nos. 23-25, figs.; Thompson, *Artists* 16, figs. 50-52; id., "A Painted Triptych from Roman Egypt," Getty *MJ* 6-7 (1978–1979) 185-92, figs. 1-3; Parlasca, *Ritratti* III, 69 no. 405, pl. 100.1-3 (late Antonine); Berger, *L'oeil et l'éternité* 117 (ill.), 215.

The condition is good. There are four prominent cracks in the center panel and one each in the side panels. Center: some inpainting in the hair along the crack of the face; some discoloration from glue in the crack. Isis: heavily inpainted, especially the hair, cheek, chin, and throat. Serapis: heavily inpainted. The tempera has been waxed to regain the transparency.

9. Portrait of a woman
81.AP.29
From Er-Rubayat; formerly in the collections of Theodor Graf and Otto Benesch, Vienna.
Tempera on wood.
H: 34.9 cm.; W: 21.3 cm.

D. Carrit, Ltd., *The Classical Ideal* (sale catalogue; London 1979) 10 no. 4, fig. and cover ill. (col.); Parlasca, *Ritratti* III, 59-60 no. 643, pl. 152.2 (A.D. 375–400).

Both the panel and the painted surface are in an excellent state of preservation, with the exception of some staining. There is some discoloration and blanching due to water stains. A dark gray primer is visible at the unpainted bottom of the panel. The painting bears, on the reverse, the stamp of the Viennese collector and antiquarian Theodor Graf.

10. Portrait of a Young Man
75.AP.87
Presented by Lenore Barozzi
Provenience unknown.
Tempera on linen
H: 37 cm.; W: 26.5 cm. (portrait area only)
H: 58 cm.; W: 52.3 cm. (total)

Thompson, *Artists* 4, frontispiece (col.); Parlasca, *Ritratti* III, 46 no. 592, pl. 141.5 (A.D. 325–350).

Some loss of paint has occurred, but on the whole the portrait is in fine condition, considering the fragility of the ancient cloth. The bright red on the throat and lower part of the background is modern inpainting. Minor restorations are evident.

11. Portrait of a man
79.AP.142
Provenience unknown.
Tempera on wood
H: 34 cm.; W: 25 cm.

Unpublished

The wood panel is in excellent shape; the paint is slightly less so, having fallen away around the edges, especially at top right. Where this paint loss has occurred, the white primer beneath is plainly visible. Portions of the hair and a large patch of the center of the forehead have been restored or repainted as well as the moustache, right ear lobe, around both lips, and the lower beard. The center of the face, however, is well-preserved and the portrait's overall condition is very fine. The colors are very fresh.

12. Portrait of a woman
79.AP.129
From Er-Rubayat; formerly in the collections of Theodor Graf and ? Flinker, Vienna, and Joseph and Ernest Brummer, New York.
Tempera on wood
H: 28.2 cm.; W: 14.5 cm.

417. Kunstauktion, Dorotheum, Vienna (November 24, 1932) no. 33; H. Drerup, *Die Datierung der Mumienporträts. (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums* 19:1; Paderborn 1933) 47-48, 66 no. 34, pl. 20b; Major M.K. Lee et al. sale, Kende Galleries, New York (September 26, 1942) no. 167; L. Hahl, *BonnJbb* 160 (1960) 20 no. 55; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts* 75 n. 96; id., *Ritratti* III, 60 no. 644, pl. 152.3 (A.D. 350–400); *The Ernest Brummer Collection, I: Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque Art,* Zürich, Galerie Koller (October 19, 1979) 21 no. 4, fig.

The thick panel has one prominent transverse crack but is otherwise in good condition. The primer and paint were both applied in thin coats, and the horizontal grain lines of the wood thus show through over much of the panel. Two dowel holes near the panel's lower edge are of uncertain function, but it may be that the painting once was installed in some kind of framework. Indeed, wide unpainted strips at both top and bottom make this seem very likely. The painting is not a large one, and so, like no. 5 above, it was not thought necessary to cut away its upper corners when it was wrapped in the mummy.

13. Portrait of a man
79.AP.219
Presented by G.L. Richards
Provenience unknown.
Tempera on linen
H: 49.5 cm.; W: 35.5 cm.

Unpublished

The shroud is in fairly good condition, considering the delicacy of the material, though a number of background details are partly obscured by some staining and loss of paint.

14. Portrait mask of a woman
81.AI.51
Anonymous donation
Provenience unknown.
Stucco
H: 23.7 cm. (max.)

Unpublished

Worn but unbroken. Practically all the rich polychromy has disappeared. The left side is slightly more worn than the right.

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Getty *MJ* — *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal.*

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MAAR — *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.*

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