A MAN FROM WHERE?:
CREATING A COMPREHENSIVE RECORD OF A MUMMY PORTRAIT IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE'S COLLECTION

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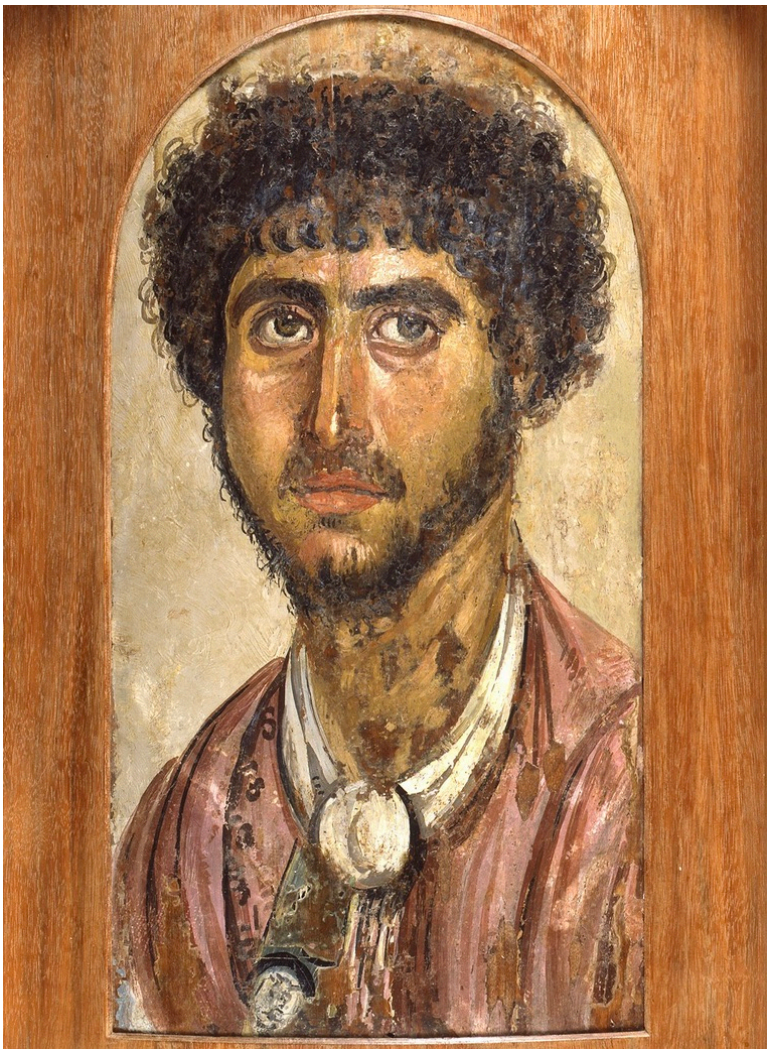

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Introduction

This thesis aims to provide a comprehensive record of the male mummy portrait in the Oriental Institute. There are near 1,000 extant portraits of the mummy portrait genre, though only the most exceptional have been intensively researched and extensively published.[1] The portrait in question has been published as part of a corpus and in relation the archaeology of Fag el-Gamous, but it has not been examined through art historical or scientific means. This thesis aims to provide the Classical and art historical background for those involved in scientific analysis of the portrait and data analysis of the genre at the Art Institute of Chicago and the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu. Through the sitter's clothing, it is possible to identify him as a soldier and place him in the multicultural and militaristic milieu of the 2nd century Egyptian Fayum. This paper will begin with a brief history of the portrait's discovery and the importance of place, followed by art historical analysis and argument, and close with an overview of the anticipated scientific testing and what can be learned through those methods.

Part I: Discovery

Find site, finder, year, records

There are four relevant sources for the portrait's find site, finder, and year of excavation; all of the sources conflict. These sources are the Oriental Institute's file card, accession card, and accession file, as well as Morris Bierbrier's essay in *Portraits and Masks*.[2] Due to the fact that the names of these sources are similar, a chart is included below for easy visual reference.

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[1] APPEAR (Project), Marie Svoboda, Caroline Cartwright, and J. Paul Getty Museum, *Mummy Portraits of Roman Egypt: Emerging Research From the APPEAR Project* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2020), vii.

[2] M. L. Bierbrier, "Fayum Cemeteries and their Portraits," in *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt,* ed. M.L. Bierbrier (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1997), 16-18.

According to the Oriental Institute's sources, the portrait was discovered by W. M. Flinders Petrie at Hawara during the 1896-7 season – an erroneous attribution. It was discovered by Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt at Fag el-Gamous during the 1901-2 season.

Table 1: Sources on Provenience

Source	**Find Site**	**Finder**	**Year**	**Notes**
File card, object 2053 (figure 1)	Hawara	Egypt Exploration Fund[3]	1896-7	Card is marked with "Oriental Institute"
Accession No. 32 card (figure 2)	Deshasheh	W.M.F. Petrie	1896-7	
Accession No. 32 file (figure 3)	Deshasheh	W.M.F. Petrie	1896-7	Marked with "Haskell Oriental Museum," which was a precursor to the Oriental Institute
Bierbrier entry, *Portraits and Masks*	Fag el-Gamous	Grenfell and Hunt	1901-2	

The file card displays an incorrect find site, finder, and year.[4] The accession card and accession file are consistent internally, also display incorrect find site, finder, and year,

[3] EEF is sometimes taken to be shorthand for Petrie, its most famous archaeologist. However, many fids were discovered by the local people hired for the dig. For more information, consult Stephen Quirke, *Hidden Hands: Egyptian Workforces in Petrie Excavation Archives 1880-1924* (London: Duckworth, 2010).

[4] File Card for Object 2053, "Wood painting, portrait of a Greek in distemper." Museum Registration, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, IL.

disagreeing with the catalog card.[5, 6] However, the first page of the accession file provides a ready explanation for these inaccuracies. The file is labeled "Haskell Oriental Museum," which was the precursor to the modern-day Oriental Institute. The Haskell Oriental Museum was founded in 1896 as a home for the study of the ancient Middle East at the University of Chicago. Due to rising interest in the ancient Middle East at the University of Chicago, Professor James Breasted and University President, Harry Pratt Judson, realized the need for further funding. They won a grant sponsored by John D. Rockefeller, an early patron of the University of Chicago, allowing the founding of the Oriental Institute in 1919.[7] Because the portrait was excavated prior to the founding of the Oriental Institute, it is possible that during the process of creating the Oriental Institute from the Haskell Oriental Museum, the portrait's records could have been integrated with items in accession 32, the Coffin of Mery and associated grave goods, which were in fact found by Petrie at Hawara in the 1896-7 season.[8, 9]

Bierbrier was able to prove that the portrait in question was excavated by Grenfell and Hunt at Fag el-Gamous during the 1901-2 season by relying on the Egypt Exploration Society's

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[5] File Card for Accession No. 32. Museum Registration, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, IL. 1897.

[6] Folder for Accession No. 32. Museum Registration, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, IL.

[7] "The Creation of the OI," Discovery, Collection, Memory: The Oriental Institute at 100, The University of Chicago Library, accessed April 11, 2021, https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/collex/exhibits/discovery-collection-memory-oriental-institute-100/creation-oi/.

[8] Ibid., 2.

[9] There is also the distinct, though odd, possibility of label tampering. As accounted in William Copley Winslow's *The Truth About the Egypt Exploration Fund: The Singular Reorganization of the American Branch*, he outlines various schemes and plots against his authority in the American Branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Winslow alleges that Mr. A. M. Lythgoe removed all object cards containing Winslow's name and put new labels on all the recent arrivals from the EEF in Boston. If the Oriental Institute portrait had a stopover in Boston between London and Chicago, it is possible that its' find site, finder, and year of excavation could have been obscured by Lythgoe, if Winslow's allegations are true.

photo archive and exhibition papers.[10] Hunt negative No. 127 depicts two mummy portraits: on the left, Museum of Fine Arts Boston 02.825, on the right, Oriental Institute, Chicago, 2053 (figure 4). This negative is in sequence as part of the 1901-2 excavations, and Grenfell and Hunt attest in their papers that portraits were found in the cemetery at Fag el-Gamous. The Oriental Institute's portrait cannot be from the 1896-7 season at Hawara because the photo demonstrates that it was found at the same time as the Boston portrait. Furthermore, a transcription of the EEF's distribution list to Chicago (Haskell Institute) lists "Fayum portrait" under "Grenfell, 1901-2, sent 1902."[11] Finally, three portraits from Sela were shown at the EEF's annual exhibition in July 1902.[12]

It is at this point that it makes the most sense to discuss the geography of the Egyptian Fayum. For the following discussion, please refer to figure 5, a satellite view of the Nile with an inset map of the Fayum.[13] The best overview of the confusing Fayum landscape is provided in a book recently published about Brigham Young University's excavations at the Seila pyramid and Fag el-Gamous cemetery.[14] The enormous cemetery was likely shared between several nearby towns, the closest of which is Tanis, sometimes referred to as Manashinshana or Tel Shinshana

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[10] The Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF) changed its name to become the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) in 1919, more information at this link: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bloomsbury-project/institutions/egypt_exploration.htm. They are "the only UK charity to combine archaeological fieldwork in Egypt with a busy publications programme and a unique archive and research library," as stated in "Our history" at https://www.ees.ac.uk/our-history.

[11] Chicago (Haskell Institute) EEF Distribution List Transcription. "Chicago, IL, Haskell Oriental Museum, University of Chicago" Artefacts of Excavation, British Excavations in Egypt 1880-1980, https://egyptartefacts.griffith.ox.ac.uk/destinations/chicago-il-haskell-oriental-museum-university-chicago, accessed April 11, 2021.

[12] Egypt Exploration Fund, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities Found by … Drs. Grenfell and Hunt in the Fayum … 1902 Exhibited… July 1st to 26th*… (London, 1902), 8.

[13] Lorelei Hilda Corcoran, Marie Svoboda, and Marc Sebastian Walton. *Herakleides: A Portrait Mummy From Roman Egypt* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 6.

[14] Spelled Fag el-Gamus in by Bierbrier and Fagg el Gamûs by Grenfell and Hunt.

(or Kom 2 by Petrie). Seila (sometimes spelled Sela or Sila) is also nearby. Philadelphia lies to the north of the Fag el-Gamous cemetery, with Hawara and Rubayyat (also Er- or Al-Rubayat) farther afield, to the south and north-west, respectively.[15]

The Fayum is described by the same volume as multi-ethnic, with a large proportion of Roman citizens and a high number of veterans. Indeed, many mummy portraits depict soldiers, people wearing *clavi*, and a wide variety of skin tones and hair textures.[16] There also is evidence of, "intermarriage, both between racial backgrounds and between varying social classes," as well as a high degree of religious diversity, attested by the number of temples.[17]

The Oriental Institute's mummy portrait is mentioned in Chapter 6. The chapter outlines all known mummy portraits found at Fag el-Gamous and seconds Bierbrier's assertion that the find site in the Oriental Institute's records is incorrect. Part of the argument relies upon the fact that the Boston portrait appears in the same negative as the Chicago portrait; the other part asserts that there were no excavations in Hawara in 1897. The most recent excavations at Hawara (at that point) were in 1892, although none of the portraits found that year match the descriptions of the set of portraits in question.

The portrait's provenience is hardly a sidenote. With every portrait's origin identified, the web of data we have about mummy portraits becomes richer, and the identification of more portraits leads to a more detailed understanding of life in the Fayum during the Roman Empire. Upon close examination of the Oriental Institute's mummy portrait, we may gather that he is a

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[15] Kerry Muhlestein, Krystal V.L. Pierce and Bethany Jensen, *Excavations At the Seila Pyramid and Fag El-Gamous Cemetery* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 20-1.

[16] *Clavi* were "purple stripe[s] (purplish-red) woven into tunics worn by Roman men and boys: two ran vertically parallel, from shoulder to hem, front and back," according to p. 35 of *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*, though there are many examples of women wearing *clavi* in mummy portraits, e.g. Isidora in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, CA, United States of America.

[17] Muhlestein, *Excavations At the… Fag El-Gamous Cemetery*, 28-9.

soldier. This visual evidence attests military presence in the Fayum, and links the nearby towns of Tanis, Seila, and Philadelphia more closely with the world of Roman veterans.

Part II: Identification and Analysis

Clothing: cloak, scarf, phalerae; hair

The man's accoutrement – cloak, scarf, and *phalerae* – present clear evidence that he is a soldier. In order to explore this, we will examine both the contemporary image of the portrait (figure 6), and also images taken of it in 1902 (figure 7) and 1966 (figure 8). The color image taken recently shows reconstructive work undertaken by Louis Pomerantz in 1966, when the painting was in disrepair, with flakes of paint detached from the wooden base. The 1902 photograph shows the man before reconstruction – the major difference between the 1902 photo and later ones is that in the 1902 photo, three round adornments can be seen in the middle of the man's chest.

Cloak

The item that most clearly determines the sitter to be a soldier is his cloak, the pinkish-purple mass of folds heaped upon his shoulders. Civilian inhabitants of the Fayum did not wear this garment, choosing instead a tunic with *clavi* or to be portrayed bare-chested. The standard soldier's cloak was the *sagum*, with the *paludamentum* reserved for emperors, generals and their staff, and other officers at or above the rank of centurion. The two cloaks were so tied to the idea of the military and war that "putting on the *sagum*" became a shorthand for declaring war and the *paludamentum* was forbidden to be worn in the city of Rome outside of special rituals or military

triumphs.[18, 19] The main differences between the two items are quality of fabric, color, cut, and decoration.

The *sagum* was likely a yellowish brown, in contrast to the white, scarlet, or purple *paludamentum*. While the *sagum* had a straight edge, the *paludamentum* had a curved edge and far more folds, falling to mid-calf, a more refined garment that was also more expensive, due to the cost of extra fabric.[20] While the *sagum* was probably plain, the *paludamentum* could be fringed, embroidered with dark purple threads, or shot through with gold for a dramatic and eye-catching statement of rank. The *paludamentum* is the Roman garment that is most similar to the Greek *chlamys*, and while Greek authors could call any Roman cloak fastened with a fibula or brooch a *chlamys*, Latin authors liken the *chlamys* to the *paludamentum*.[21] The lack of fibula or brooch in the Oriental Institute portrait is curious, though is not unprecedented. In some representational sources, the *paludamentum* is loosely draped around the body or folded over the left arm, existing not as a functional piece of clothing, but as a pure sign of rank and status.[22]

Beyond the identification of the cloak as a *paludamentum*, one of the most intriguing aspects of the item is the vertical series of dark eggplant-purple marks on the proper right of the man's chest. This could be a crude attempt at showing a fringe, though it is more likely a patterned woven or embroidered edge. This is an area of recent expansion in the field: an essay in a 2014 anthology stated that "Roman finds from Egypt reveal few embroidered textiles…

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[18] Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones. *Greek and Roman Dress From A to Z* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007), 125.

[19] Kelly Olson, *Masculinity and Dress in Roman Antiquity* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017), 77.

[20] Alexandra Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*. 1st pbk. ed. (Charleston, SC: Tempus, 2002), 52.

[21] Olson, *Masculinity*, 77.

[22] Fischer, *Army of the Roman Emperors*, 98.

some of them show embroidered hems with blue dyed twined cotton yarns, carried out in chain and short stitch, depicting human faces, a scorpion, and flower-motifs of the daisy or sunflower-type reflecting Meroitic influence."[23] However, more recent excavations of the Fag el-Gamous cemetery reveal a wealth of unique textile fragments featuring purple threads of various hues.[24]

Purple was a status symbol, as the highest quality and longest-lasting purple dye was incredibly labor- and time-intensive to obtain and was therefore incredibly expensive, the color of emperors and the wealthy. Murex sea snails contain tiny amounts of purple dye within their shells and thousands must be crushed to acquire a non-insignificant amount of dye.[25] However, the expense served only to inspire ingenious new ways of making knockoff shades of purple from blends of blues and reds, to slake the unending thirst for purple garments. Plants like indigo and madder, and insects like cochineal, were utilized to fulfill the demands of the market for purple. Desire for the color began in the 3rd century BC for the Romans and *purpurae insania* (purple mania) reached its height during the empire, in the 2nd century AD.[26] Sumptuary laws were imposed upon the people so that only the emperor could wear certain shades and the amount of purple that one could wear at one time was also regulated.

There are many examples of purple embroidery adorning the edges of garments within the mummy portrait corpus. In a high-quality, elaborate example, a woman in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, has a distinctive dot-and-triangle purple stitch across her

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[23] Kerstin Droß-Krüpe and Annette Paetz gen. Schieck, "Unravelling the Tangled Threads of Ancient Embroidery: a compilation of written sources and archaeologically preserved textiles" in *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress*: an interdisciplinary anthology, ed. Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 221.

[24] Bethany Jensen, R. Paul Evans, Giovanni Tata, and Kerry Muhlestein, "They'll Never Be Royals: The 'Purple' Textiles of Fag el-Gamous," in *Excavations At the Seila Pyramid and Fag El-Gamous Cemetery* ed. Kerry Muhlestein, Krystal V. L. Pierce, and Bethany Jensen (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 207.

[25] Ibid., 207.

[26] Ibid., 209.

white undertunic (figure 9). The closest example to the Oriental Institute's mummy portrait is the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston's "Funerary portrait of a young man" with dark purple stitching on the proper left shoulder of a purple cloak (figure 10), though the most sumptuous example is the "Young woman with jewelry" in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, whose seemingly endless layers of purple fabric display thorough embroidery on every visible edge (figure 11).

Scarf

The next item of clothing that identifies the portrait as a Roman soldier is the swath of white around his neck, a *focale*. This scarf, also known as a *sudarium* (inelegantly translated 'sweat cloth') was "Regularly worn around the necks of Roman soldiers presumably to prevent armor rubbing, or with *paenula*. Representations show the scarf tucked in, so its shape – square, triangular, or rectangular – is uncertain."[27, 28] However, the *focale* is rare in mummy portraits. The "Portrait of a young soldier" in the Antikensammlung Berlin (figure 12) displays a similar white circle to the knot of the *focale*, though the knot rests lower on his chest, between his *balteus*[29] and cape, showing no clear connection to any sort of scarf. Likewise, the "Portrait of a bearded soldier," also in the Antikensammlung, shows a faint outline of a circle lower than the collarbone on the proper left of his chest. Similarly, the "Mummy Portrait" in the Manchester Museum displays a white circle mid-chest though on the proper right. However, none of these white knots (or baubles) are connected with a scarf, sweat cloth, or neckerchief of any sort.

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[27] Cleland, Davies, Llewellyn-Jones, *A to Z*, 166.

[28] The portrait is tentatively identified as a soldier in Graham Sumner, *Roman Military Clothing* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2003) 40, though the only evidence the author cites is the scarf, while misidentifying a phalera as the pommel of a sword (the image shown is the modern photograph, not the 1902 version that shows 3 phalerae.)

[29] A *balteus* is defined as "Roman belts of various kinds, but especially a diagonal sword-belt, possibly of Etruscan origin, Also used for military belts work on the waist/hips in the early empire…" Cleland, Davies, Llewellyn-Jones, *A to Z*, 15.

An alternative explanation for the white swath of fabric and knot could be the Isis knot. For women, symbols of the cult include the Isis lock (a hairstyle), the lotus flower, the *sistrum* (musical instrument), and the white tunic with a knot between the breasts.[30] However, the Oriental Institute mummy portrait does not display any of those symbols. Upon further exploration, the possible identification of the Isis knot in a male portrait becomes untenable, because male members in the mystery cult of Isis are memorialized in their portraits as nude, just as they were on the day of their initiation into the cult.[31] With the possibility of identification as an Isis knot removed, the case that the white swath is a *focale* and the man is a soldier becomes stronger.

Though an exhaustive search of the APPEAR Database and most published books on mummy portraits turned up no true visual comparanda in other mummy portraits for the *focale*, analogs can be seen on Trajan's column. The *focale* can be seen in Scene 72, worn by the upper soldier (figure 13).[32] Another scene from Trajan's column, XXIV.50, shows the *focale* not just joined as in the earlier example, but tied in a neat knot (figure 14).[33] With this near-perfect match between carved stone and wax painting, the *focale* can be confirmed as the correct identification for the item. Looking closely at both, a small line can be seen separating the knot gently – a dimple in stone and an articulate brushstroke on the painting. The existence of *focale* is also well-attested in military sources and was an extremely practical item across all reaches of

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[30] Cleland, Davies, Llewellyn-Jones, *A to Z*, 97.

[31] Euphrosyne Doxiadis, Dorothy J. Thompson, and Barbara Borg, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces From Ancient Egypt* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1995) 43.

[32] "Trajan's Column: A Glossary of Terms," Trajan's Column in Rome, Roger B. Ulrich, last modified January 4, 2018, accessed April 11, 2021, http://www.trajans-column.org/?page_id=276.

[33] "Trajan's Column: The Human Figure Types: Deity, figure XXIV.50," Trajan's Column, University of St. Andrews, accessed April 11, 2021, https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/trajans-column/the-project/the-human-figure-types/.

the empire: "The scarf (*focale*) was equally good against heat and cold, helping against sunlight and sweat, but also protecting against wind and cold. Furthermore, it also offered some protection for the neck region of soldiers in action."[34]

Phalerae

The third element of the man's dress, the element that most proves he is a solider, are the *phalerae*, military decorations recognizing acts of bravery or service, taking the form of "small discs – sometimes crescent- or kidney-shaped – often highly decorated in relief – e.g. with lion or medusa heads. Literature suggests that they were gold or silver, but an extant set of nine (Lauersfort near the legionary fortress of Vetera/Xanten) are of silver-plated bronze."[35, 36] Only one *phalera* can be seen in the modern photograph and the 1966 reconstruction, making the 1902 photograph, which shows three *phalerae*, crucial in finally determining that the man is a soldier. The designs on the portrait's *phalerae* are not clear, as the 1902 photo is too small, though they might have looked similar to the Lauersfort *phalera* mentioned in the definition (figures 15-18), a gorgon, Jupiter, a lion, and a maenad. There are no other mummy portraits displaying *phalerae*, though the tombstone of Marcus Caelius can serve as iconographic comparandum (figure 19). He displays five *phalerae* on his chest, held together by a grid of leather straps. Three faces and one lion's head can be seen, though the fifth is hidden by Marcus Caelius's proper right arm.

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[34] Thomas Fischer, *Army of the Roman Emperors* (Havertown, PA: Casemate, 2019), 99.

[35] Cleland, Davies, Llewellyn-Jones, *A to Z,* 124.

[36] The term *phalera* is slippery, as it can also be used to talk about decorative junctions in equestrian equipment (M.C. Bishop and J.C. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment From the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2006) 120-1.) as well as a type of standard for a legion featuring dinner-plate sized medallions (Thomas Fischer, *Army of the Roman Emperors* (Havertown, PA: Casemate, 2019), 205.)

The Oriental Institute portrait does not display his *phalera* in a gridlike fashion, but rather on one strap, likely attached to a sword belt (figure 20, number 4) like in the Lyon burial.[37] The illustration shows a rather plain *phalera* with concentric circles, though *phalera* design differed by region. German *phalerae* were often simple, plain or with circles, petals, or geometric designs. Very fine openwork *phalerae* have been found at Dura-Europos and swastika, Celtic, spoke, and heart designs have been found in North Africa. Others have inscriptions or display the mythical, religious, or animal forms seen in the Lauersfort examples.[38] The conservation of the Oriental Institute portrait in 1966 was unfortunately not able to piece the paint chips back together into the form of three distinct phalerae, though there is hope that scientific analysis may reveal underdrawings or lower layers of paint that can elucidate the original decorations.

Hair and Face

In stark contrast to the Oriental Institute man's distinctive clothing, his hair and face are not out of the ordinary, even if breathtakingly and sensitively rendered. It is the skill of the painter – picking out the tip of the nose, the arch of the brow, the pupil of the eye, the dimple of the chin and the infraorbital region (the plane between the nose and the lower extent of the eye bag) in white – that impresses the viewer, rather than any unusual cast of features. His voluminous, curly locks are perhaps set apart by the carefully separated front curls, six in total, slightly obscuring the forehead. However, the portrait represents the dominant hairstyle for men seen in mummy portraits and strengthens the argument that the man is a soldier: "tousled curly hair is sometimes shown on men who were soldiers, their untidy hair signifying military

[37] Bishop, *Roman Military Equipment*, 160.

[38] Ibid., 162.

masculinity in a way that can be presumed common in view of the portraits' adoption of metropolitan fashions."[39] Men's hairstyles change more slowly than women's, which can often be used to date a portrait to within a decade due to the rapid changes in fashion spurred by the imperial court and closely followed by elite women in the provinces.[40] Still, the portrait's hair is a "typically Antonine mop of curl[s]," dating the portrait to the mid-second century.[41]

The figure's beard further narrows the stylistic date to c. 125-150 AD. Doxiadis provides an illuminating side-by-side comparison of men's and women's hair (and beard) styles by quarter-century (figure 21).[42] A side-by-side comparison is also provided by Croom, who links styles to emperor rather than to quarter-century stretch (figure 22). In the Oriental Institute mummy portrait the man's jawline beard connects his sideburns to his chin, covering the central portion of the chin. There is a slight dark spot under the lips, disconnected from the jawline beard, that could indicate a slight soul patch, or simply be shadowing under his lips. The mustache above his lips is also disconnected from the beard, whether from shaving or youth it is not known. In sum, while the man's clothes distinguish him from other portraits, his beard allows relative certainty surrounding the date of the portrait.

The skillful treatment of the man's face continues with his heavy eyebrows, which are in accord with the lush hair he sports elsewhere and frame his expressive eyes. The rest of the face

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[39] Keith Bradley, "Appearing for the Defence: Apuleius on Display," in *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture* eds. Jonathon Edmondson and Allison Keith, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 247.

[40] According to Susan Walker, "Mummy Portraits and Roman Portraiture" in *Ancient Faces*, ed. Susan Walker, 23, "By careful assessment of the hairstyles, clothes and jewellery worn by the subjects of the mummy portraits, it is possible to date them, in many cases within a decade or so, by reference to similar objects of known date from elsewhere in the Roman Empire. This is in itself an interesting aspect of Roman culture, which was in a sense an ancestor of the 'jeans and coca-cola' phenomenon universally recognized today. Even in remote parts of the Roman Empire, attempts were made to follow imperial court fashions, and certain features of everyday life (not merely clothes but also, say, tableware and even Latin handwriting) appear in astonishingly consistent form across the Empire at a given time."

[41] Cleland, Davies, Llewellyn-Jones, *A to Z*, 86.

[42] Doxiadis, *Mysterious*, 234-5.

is well painted, with highlights above the proper left eyebrow and below the proper left eye against the nose. The tip of the nose is picked out in white as is a glint in each eye. The fullest part of the proper right cheek and the plane of the left temple are painted in lighter tones, rendering the man's face as real as anyone to be seen walking down the street today. "It is not until some fifteen centuries later, in the faces painted by Titian or Rembrandt's depiction of his own features as he saw them reflected in the mirror, that the same artistry that characterizes many of the anonymous painters of the Fayum is witnessed again."[43] At the moment, it is not possible to place the portrait at hand into any school or under the category of a certain painter, like the Malibu painter. The closest comparandum to the treatment of his face seems to be the "Portrait of a man on Canvas," AE.I.N. 1425 in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (figure 23). Both men have a creamy tan and yellow base for the face, with the cheeks, chin, and forehead transitioning to a creamy pink base, rather than solely one or the other.

More analysis is needed, on these portraits and on mummy portraits in general, to create or strengthen groupings of portraits by workshop or hand. This is an area where painting style is more conclusive than material analysis in linking portraits. For two examples, see the St. Louis painter and the Brooklyn painter as two examples of clear workshops or hands. Though many workshops had distinct styles, that does not necessarily mean that one artist in a workshop can be credited with any oeuvre, or that any artist completed the entirety of a painting. This might even explain the discrepancy between the sensitive and specific rendering of the face and the somewhat less realistic or "correct" portrayal of the sitter's clothes and *phalerae*. The variance between position of the white circle (presumably a *focale*) between portraits could be the

[43] Euphrosyne Doxiadis, "Technique," in *Ancient Faces*, ed. Susan Walker, 30.

difference between a more freehanded or inventive painter and one who prized sartorial accuracy.

All of the questions raised by this portrait have come at an auspicious time. Unfortunately, the analysis contained here can only address the parts of the portrait visible within the frame. Upcoming scientific analysis in concert between the Oriental Institute and the Art Institute of Chicago will be able to look beyond the frame, beyond the conservation layers from 1966, and reveal new aspects of the mummy portrait. Today the partnerships being forged by forty-eight museums around the world, spearheaded by the J. Paul Getty Museum, have "grown to encompass a third of the known portraits of this type."[44]

Part III: Conservation and the Modern Day

Louis Pomerantz, the APPEAR Project, scientific testing

In 1966, Professor Pinhas Pierre DeLougaz and the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago hired Louis Pomerantz to evaluate and conserve an "encaustic on wood panel."[45] Pomerantz was the founder of the Art Institute of Chicago's scientifically-oriented conservation laboratory in 1951; by 1961 he had gone into business for himself and was well-respected and liked by those in his field. On the preliminary report of condition for the painting, marked August, 1965, his notes are clear, incisive, and darkly humorous, beginning with: "Generally speaking, the painting was a mass of loose particles resting on its wood panel support" (figure 24).[46] His account only grows more pessimistic: the painting was horizontal and could not be

[44] APPEAR, Svoboda, Cartwright, *Mummy Portraits… Emerging Research APPEAR Project*, vii.

[45] Louis Pomerantz project/client files for the University of Chicago, Oriental Institute, circa 1965-1966, box 19, folder 11, (Louis Pomerantz Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Museum, Washington, D.C., United States of America), 17.

[46] Ibid., 18.

lifted vertical until the particles reattached, there had been improper past treatments, the application of a wood frame that obscured the edges of the painting, and extensive areas of loss from extreme "cleavage, cupping, flaking, and buckling" of the paint film.[47] Recommended remedies were major mechanical treatment of the support and framing, as well as major general treatment of the paint film and surface coating. A price of $500 for conservation and treatment was agreed upon and after signing many insurance forms, the portrait was transported to Pomerantz's Evanston studio on February 4, 1966.[48]

Fortunately, the portrait was in the hands of a capable and ethical conservation scientist, rather than a restorer who might have destroyed critical elements or evidence in the portrait. Pomerantz's narrative treatment notes are extensive and reiterated here briefly. The aforementioned loose particles were painstakingly nudged back into place, then treated with hot aqueous solution of gelatin adhesive (15%) through Japan tissue until the entire surface was reattached securely. A thorough removal of grime, "crustations," and red-colored matter occurred, sometimes after being softened with water. The frame was left on for the entire process.[49] From the preliminary report of condition, Pomerantz also reinforced the wood support at the rear, inserted small wood wedges between the reinforced ribwork and the panel, and glued a small wood cleat to the center of the panel at the top to secure his other structural changes.[50] Another concern mentioned in the report is humidity, he may also have applied a moisture barrier to the wood and slightly modified the frame so that humidity could be more controllable within the frame.

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[47] Ibid., 17.

[48] Ibid., 9, 22-3.

[49] Ibid., 2.

[50] Ibid., 17-8.

The wooden frame is an obstacle to both our understanding of the portrait and its conservation. Laura D'Alessandro, Head of the Conservation Laboratory at the Oriental Institute, has seen a reference that the frame was applied in London before the portrait reached Chicago.[51] The frame obscures the painted edge of the portrait, which limits a source of information about an intriguing data point: the shape of the portrait. In some cases, portraits have been identified and assigned to workshops based on the cutting of the top of the image: arched, chipped, or shouldered (figures 25 and 26). It remains to be seen if it is possible to remove the wooden frame without damaging the paint and the portrait too much, though that risk is weighed against the possibility of knowledge gained about the shape of the portrait and the ability to control humidity and tension better, ensuring a longer life for the portrait.

The wood which the image is painted on has been provisionally identified as linden or basswood (genus: *Tilia*) in Louis Pomerantz's files. The last page of the Louis Pomerantz papers consists of a letter to Mr. Samuel Grober from B. F. Kukachka, the head of Wood Identification Research at the Division of Wood Quality in the Forest Service of the United States Department of Agriculture.[52] The relation between Grober and Pomerantz is unknown, however both lived in Evanston and while Grober was connected to the Antiquarian Society of the Art Institute of Chicago, Pomerantz worked there as the head of the conservation laboratory for ten years.[53] It is unknown exactly how the two met, but appears that they were in the same circles as of March 24, 1966, the date of the letter. Kukachka received a "small sample of wood taken from an Egyptian hawara" (sic) at the University of Chicago Oriental Institute, a sampling mentioned nowhere else

[51] Email to the author, December 8, 2020.

[52] Louis Pomerantz Papers, Archives of American Art, 30.

[53] "Samuel Grober Obituary," Legacy, Chicago Tribune, accessed April 11, 2021, https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/chicagotribune/obituary.aspx?n=samuel-grober&pid=124870977

in Pomerantz's files. Kukachka registers his surprise at the wood's identification in the letter, writing, "this is the first time I have encountered this genus among the many Egyptian artifacts I have had the opportunity of examining. There are several species in Asia Minor which extend southward into the Lebanon Mts. so presumably this wood was cut along with the cedar (Cedrus) that was used in so many Egyptian items."[54]

The use of *Tilia* may have surprised Kukachka in 1966, but it does not surprise current scholars in the field. The newest book on mummy portraits was published by the APPEAR Project during the summer of 2020 and includes a paper on wood choices in ancient panel painting and mummy portraits. Caroline R. Cartwright, scientist at the British Museum, assembled and analyzed 180 samples of wood by Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM) as of May 2018.[55] In her analysis, five of the eight woods were not native to Egypt, despite comprising 79.4% of the samples. These included *Tilia europaea* (lime, linden), *Quercus sp.* (oak), *Cedrus libani* (cedar of Lebanon), *Abies sp.* (fir), and *Taxus baccata* (yew). The native woods are *Ficus sycomorus* (sycamore fig), *Ziziphus spina-christi* (sidr, Christ's thorn), and *Tamarix aphylla* (tamarisk). The most popular of the native woods, Ficus sycomorus, had a prevalence of 15.6% but *Tilia europaea*'s 69.4% prevalence dramatically overshadows the sycamore fig.[56] *Tilia europaea* was so desirable because the trees can reach up to 100 feet tall and 4 feet in diameter, with most having 50 feet of clear trunk. The tree's tendency to grow straight lends itself to high-quality boards and its readiness to be seasoned endows it with both strength and flexibility –

[54] Louis Pomerantz papers, Archives of American Art, 30.

[55] Caroline R. Cartwright, "Understanding Wood Choices for Ancient Panel Painting and Mummy Portraits in the APPEAR Project through Scanning Electron Microscopy," in *Mummy Portraits of Roman Egypt: Emerging Research from the APPEAR Project*, ed. Marie Svoboda and Caroline R. Cartwright, (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2020), 17.

[56] Ibid., 18.

ideal for use in mummy portraits, where thin slices of wood are curved to fit within mummy wrappings and then painted. Linden may be significantly insect-repellent and impermeable, attractive qualities for wood that covers a decomposing body. Lastly, the color of the wood is consistent across segments of the tree, lessening the need for a heavy ground layer of paint.[57] It seems likely that Kukachka's assumptions were backwards: based on prevalence in this study, more linden than Lebanese cedar may have harvested for use in mummy portraits.

Though it is plausible that the wood is linden, we must refrain from accepting wood identifications where the methodology is unclear. The APPEAR Project maintains a scientific rigor and consistency in its wood identification while Kukachka's method of analysis is not elaborated in his letter. The current standard for identification involves three sections taken from the object: transverse section (TS), radial longitudinal section (RLS), and tangential longitudinal section (TLS), necessitating that a small cubic sample is removed from the item, rather than a splinter. Scanning electron microscopy (SEM) is employed in conjunction with optical microscopy using transmitted (polarizing) light.[58] Thus, based on modern statistics and Kukachka's letter, it is likely that the wood is linden, though it has not yet been confirmed.

Most mummy portraits are painted with encaustic, that is, made of hot (or cold) wax and pigment – though some are tempera.[59] It seems likely that this portrait would follow the

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[57] Ibid., 19.

[58] Ibid., 17.

[59] Tempera is a uniquely unhelpful term, further explanation is quoted here from Ken Sutherland, review of *Painting in Tempera, C. 1900* by Karoline Beltinger and Jilleen Nadolny, eds., *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* (2017, Vol. 56 Nos. 3-4), 268. "A conspicuous problem in tackling this subject, as noted in this volume and by previous authors, is the imprecise and shifting meanings of 'tempera.' The term in its original and most general sense refers to a paint binder (in the sense of 'tempering' or modifying). It was only later, and mainly because of its use in association with early Italian paintings, that it took on the specific meaning of the 'egg tempera' binder typically used in such works. Around the turn of the twentieth century, however, driven by a culture of experimentation and commerce, the term became bloated with diverse associations, encompassing almost anything

dominant trend of using encaustic but Pomerantz disagreed in his letter of July 29, 1965, to Professor Delougaz. He writes:

> "A rough hardness test was executed with a pointed metal instrument, to determine the presence of a wax medium. It was observed in this test that a very hard, brittle paint particle, completely resistant to pressure marks, characterized the specimen. Although far from being conclusive, the test indicated it most unlikely that wax constitutes more than a minor portion of the paint film's composition, if at all present."[60]

Maria Kokkori and Ken Sutherland, both of the Art Institute of Chicago, replied to Pomerantz's test with this comment:

> "Regardless of this test - we shouldn't make assumptions about the binding medium based just on the painting's appearance. In some cases, there may be physical characteristics - impasto, tool marks - strongly suggesting an encaustic wax medium, but often it's more ambiguous. Regarding Pomerantz's test, we wouldn't put too much weight on it: one of the problems with testing ancient binders (physically or by chemical analysis) is that the test may not take into account the effect of thousands of years of ageing [sic]. For example, ancient waxes are known to lose certain organic components gradually by sublimation, which will make them more hard & brittle, since they are effectively losing plasticiser. So the expectations for this test may not have been realistic."[61]

In other words, Pomerantz's test may have been reasonable for a Jasper Johns encaustic, whose wax is still fresh, though not for an encaustic dried out by Egypt's arid sands for nearly two millennia.

Luckily, it is not necessary to rely on Pomerantz's tests; due to the APPEAR Project, the Oriental Institute has joined the Art Institute of Chicago to scientifically analyze the mummy portrait. At the moment, the planned tests are as follows:

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that was not pure oil and that contained some water: paint formulations described as tempera included materials as varied as plant gums and resins, animal glue, casein, wax, and soap; as well as egg and oil."

[60] Louis Pomerantz papers, Archives of American Art, 22.

[61] Email to the author from Maria Kokkori, December 8, 2020.

Table 2: Planned Scientific Tests to be Conducted on Oriental Institute 2053[62]

Test[63]	**Definition and Purpose**[64]
Binocular microscopy	Using an optical microscope to examine the object more closely at significant magnification.
Digital microscopy	Using a digital microscope, which projects the image under magnification to a screen rather than using an eyepiece, to examine the object more closely.
X-radiography	An imaging technique used to reveal the internal structure of an object by using X-rays to record variations in the densities of its constituent materials. X-rays are transmitted, absorbed, or scattered in varying degrees by the materials present; the radiation that passes through the object is then captured on photographic film or a digital receptor placed behind the subject, thereby creating the radiograph. Dense materials and/or those containing elements of high atomic number, such as metal and lead white paint, strongly absorb X-rays and will appear white or light in tone; less dense materials, such as wood or other organic matter, readily transmit radiation and appear dark in the resulting image.
Reflected and transmitted infrared (IR-R and IR-T)	An imaging technique in which an object is irradiated with short-wave infrared radiation (SWIR; 1000–3000 nm). A specialized infrared-sensitive digital camera detects and captures the contrast between materials that reflect the infrared, such as lead white, and those that absorb it, such as carbon-containing pigments. Because infrared is of longer wavelength than visible light, some low-absorbing materials may also allow the infrared to be transmitted through them, revealing hidden underdrawings, artist's modifications and methodology, or modern interventions.
Ultraviolet-induced	An imaging technique and diagnostic examination method, based on characteristic responses of materials to ultraviolet (UV) radiation (185–400 nm) in the form of fluorescence, in which radiant energy in the UV region is

[62] Current as of April 12, 2021.

[63] Email to the author from Maria Kokkori, April 9, 2021.

[64] Except for "Binocular microscopy" and "digital microscopy," which were written by the author, this section comes from the glossary of APPEAR, Svoboda, Cartwright, *Mummy Portraits… Emerging Research APPEAR Project*, 153-160.

luminescence (UV-L)	absorbed and then reemitted as lower-energy visible light. The fluorescences revealed by the technique are used to assist in the general characterization or differentiation of materials—such as pigments, coatings, binders, and adhesives—and to diagnose the condition of an object (e.g., to detect restorations). The term *luminescence* also encompasses the possibility of a phosphorescent response to UV radiation in which there is a delay in the reemission of the absorbed energy by some materials, so that emission might even continue for a period after the UV excitation source is turned off. Because fluorescence is by far the dominant phenomenon being observed and documented, the term *fluorescence* has historically been used in describing this technique in conservation (as well as in medicine, nondestructive testing, and forensics); however, *luminescence* is an equally appropriate descriptor.
Hyperspectral (HSI) imaging	A scanning technique that records and processes hundreds of images of the same spatial area at a series of different wavelengths across the electromagnetic spectrum. Spectral data obtained for each pixel in the area can help detect or characterize materials present.
In-situ X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF)	A technique used for nondestructive elemental analyses of inorganic materials, utilizing a focused beam of X-rays to excite the atoms on the surface of an artwork and measuring the emitted energy. These emissions provide characteristic fingerprints of the elements in the sampled area, allowing researchers to formulate hypotheses about the compounds contained therein.
Macro-XRF scanning	A technique used for nondestructive elemental analyses of inorganic materials, utilizing a focused beam of X-rays to excite the atoms on the surface of an artwork and measuring the emitted energy. These emissions provide characteristic fingerprints of the elements in the sampled area, allowing researchers to formulate hypotheses about the compounds contained therein.
Fourier-transform infrared reflectance spectroscopy (FTIR)	An analytical method used for the characterization and identification of organic and some inorganic materials, based on the excitation of specific vibrational modes of functional groups in the infrared region.
Polarized-light dispersion	Optical microscopy that utilizes polarized light to study the structure and composition of materials. Particles (of pigments, for example) may be

microscopy (PLM)	characterized by their appearance and by observing their isotropic and anisotropic characteristics based on their crystallographic structure.
Gas-chromatography mass spectrometry (GC-MS)	An analytical technique used for the precise identification of organic binding materials such as oils, waxes, resins, and gums. The gas chromatograph separates complex mixtures of organic compounds using a capillary column housed in a temperature-controlled oven and, in combination with the mass spectrometer, can facilitate identification and quantitation of the various components.

These tests, taken together, will illuminate the portrait in ways that are beyond the reach of art historical analysis or Classical readings. Microscopy can reveal the most minute of visual details. Several tests are aimed at understanding paint composition: pigments, coatings, binders, and adhesives. Greater knowledge of pigments and the materials used can aid in understanding ancient trade networks and painting techniques. Tests can also tell us the extent of restorations and reveal if Pomerantz did more than he wrote down or if Grenfell and Hunt attempted any on-the-spot conservation.[65] Tests can also reveal underdrawings, which could possibly show the designs of the *phalerae*. Though scanning electron microscopy and energy dispersive x-ray spectroscopy (SEM-EDS) is not included above, it might be used for identification of the wood or pigments if deemed necessary.[66] Where textual sources fail or falter, material and chemical analysis allow us to reconstruct the material and artistic worlds of the past.

The information garnered from this portrait provides foundational and enriching information for scholars in art history and Classics. The goal of the Ancient Panel Painting:

[65] Petrie did, at some points, attempt to re-melt the encaustic wax or adhere paint flakes to paper for several mummy portraits so that the painting's condition would remain stable in transit from Egypt to the United Kingdom. Further accounts can be found in Janet Picton, Stephen Quirke, and Paul C. Roberts, *Living Images: Egyptian Funerary Portraits in the Petrie Museum*, (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007), 87.

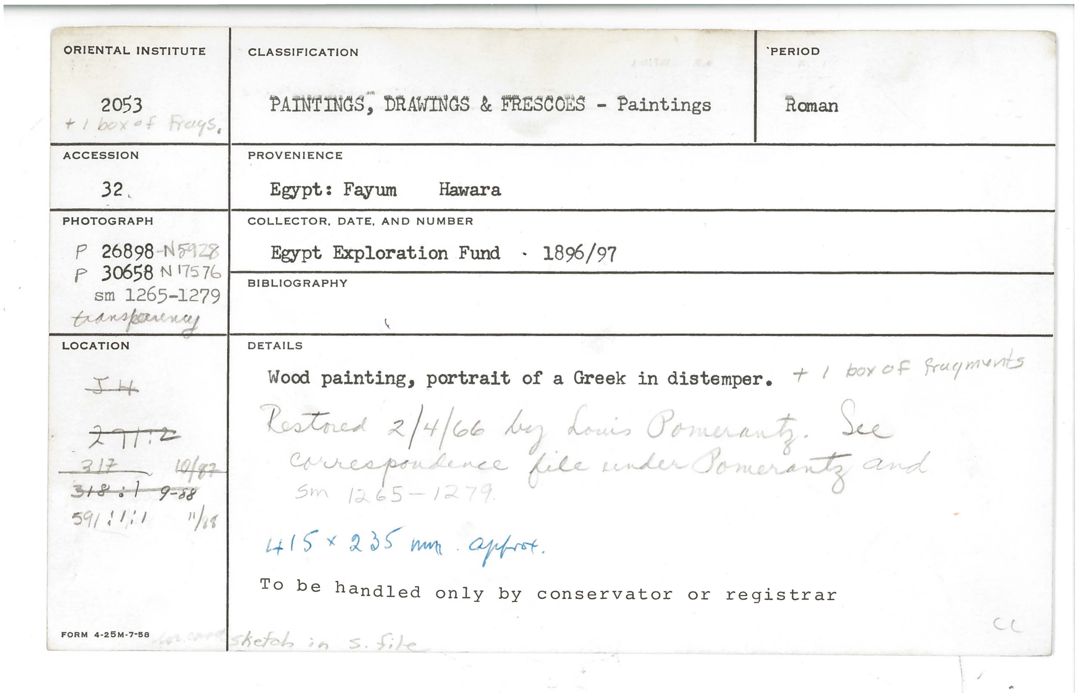
[66] Email to the author from Maria Kokkori, April 12, 2021.

Examination, Analysis, and Research (APPEAR) Project collaboration is to provide a platform for museums with mummy portraits to share and compare data and better understand the portraits through technical and visual study of a large data set. Through this deep concern with the unknown artists who produced these paintings and their materials, tools, and techniques, we can learn more about the sitters and their surroundings: the elite in Roman Egypt and how they lived, died, saw, and were seen.

Conclusion

This thesis is the first comprehensive record and analysis of Oriental Institute 2053. Confirming the portrait's discovery by Grenfell and Hunt at the Fag el-Gamous cemetery in 1902 helps future researchers place this portrait in context. Through iconographic analysis of the mummy portrait's clothing, we are able to surmise that the sitter was a Roman soldier, wearing a *paludamentum*, *focale*, and three *phalerae*. Furthermore, the identification of the man as a soldier and the provenience of Fag el-Gamous gives current excavators another datum adding to our knowledge of the Fayum as a multicultural and ex-military milieu. Going forward, the tests that will be run on this portrait aid in building a data set through which to analyze the corpus of the mummy portrait genre. Mummy portraits are arguably the most sophisticated and realistic form of ancient art and their verism has captivated viewers for centuries. This analysis propels the field of mummy portraits one step further, adding to our knowledge of the ancient world and forming a foundation to examine additional mummy portraits from Fag el-Gamous.

Appendix of Images



ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
2053
+ 1 box of Frags.

CLASSIFICATION
PAINTINGS, DRAWINGS & FRESCOES - Paintings

PERIOD
Roman

ACCESSION
32

PROVENIENCE
Egypt: Fayum Hawara

PHOTOGRAPH
P 26898 N5928
P 30658 N17576
sm 1265-1279
transparency

COLLECTOR, DATE, AND NUMBER
Egypt Exploration Fund · 1896/97

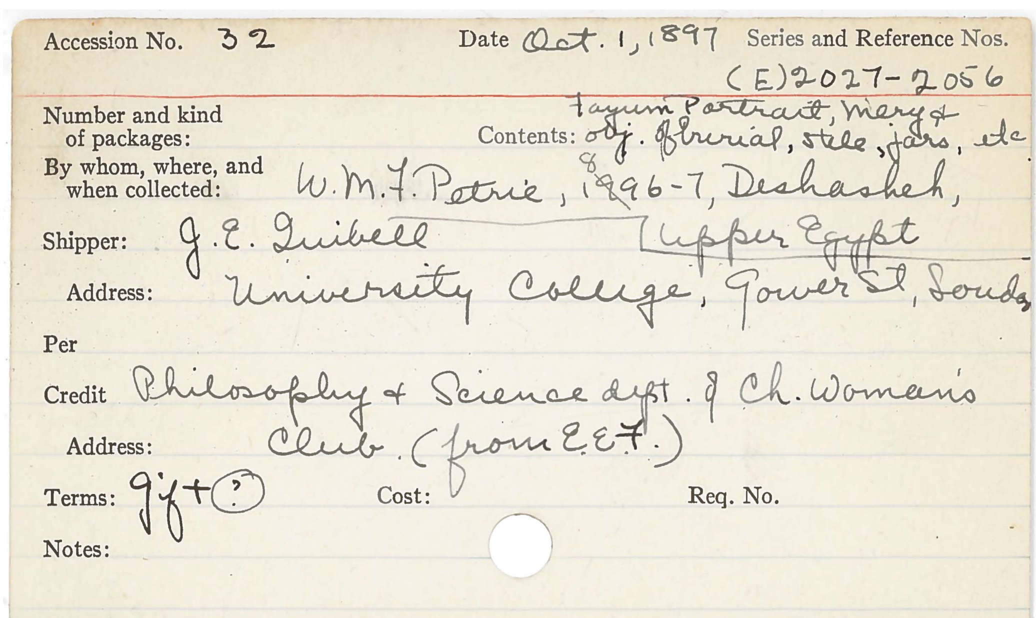
BIBLIOGRAPHY

LOCATION
~~J4~~
~~29I:2~~
~~317~~ 10/87
~~318:1 9-88~~
591:1:1 11/88

DETAILS
Wood painting, portrait of a Greek in distemper. + 1 box of fragments
Restored 2/4/66 by Louis Pomerantz. See correspondence file under Pomerantz and sm 1265-1279.
415 × 235 mm. approx.
To be handled only by conservator or registrar

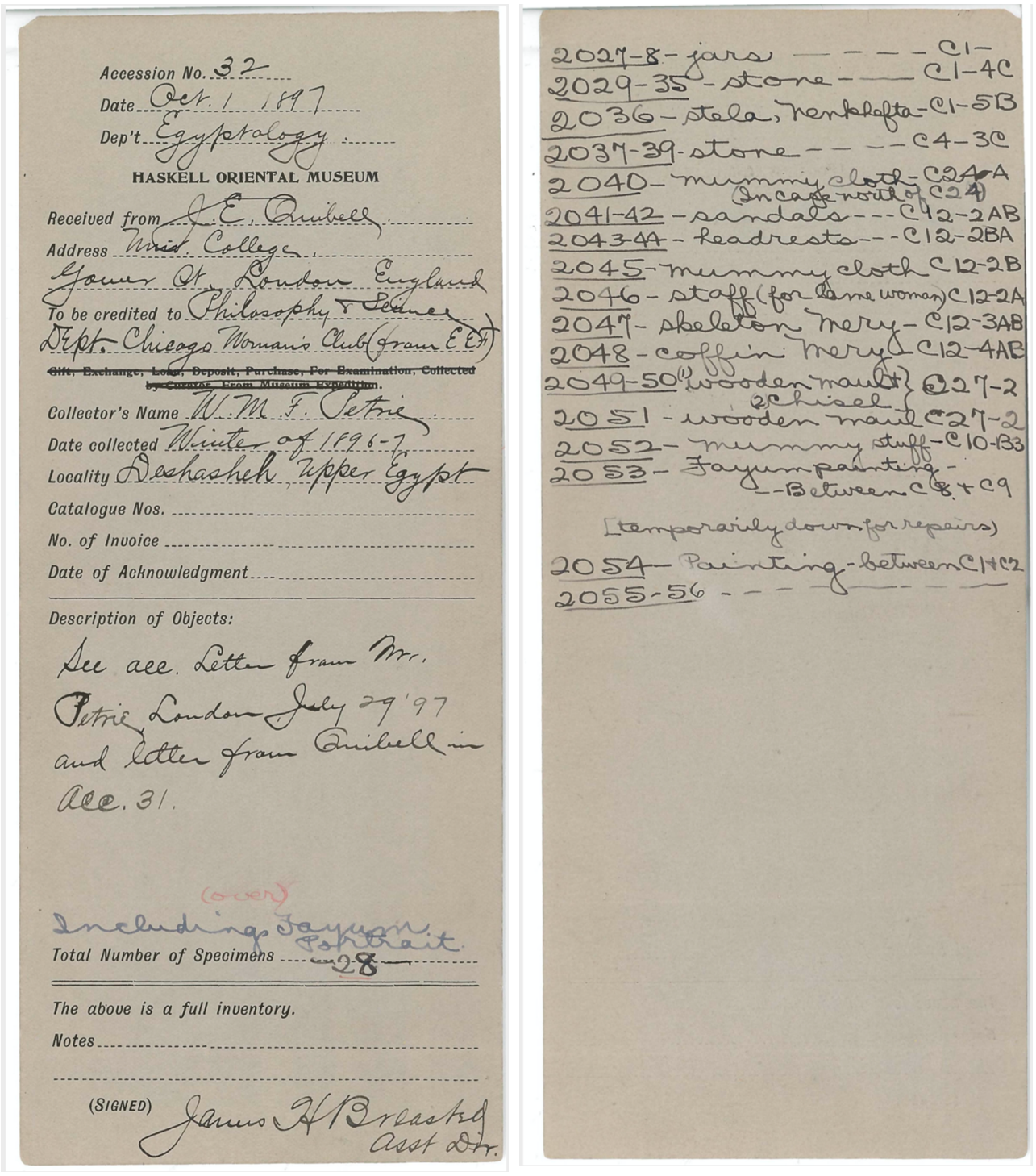
FORM 4-25M-7-58
sketch in S. file
CC

Figure 1. File Card for Object 2053, Accession 32, "Wood painting, portrait of a Greek in distemper." Museum Registration, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, IL.



Accession No. 32
Date Oct. 1, 1897
Series and Reference Nos. (E)2027-2056
Number and kind of packages:
Contents: Fayum Portrait, Mery + obj. of burial, stele, jars, etc.
By whom, where, and when collected: W.M.F. Petrie, 1896-7, Deshasheh, Upper Egypt
Shipper: J.E. Quibell
Address: University College, Gower St, London
Per
Credit Philosophy + Science dept. of Ch. Woman's
Address: Club. (from E.E.F.)
Terms: gift (?)
Cost:
Req. No.
Notes:

Figure 2. File Card for Accession No. 32: Fayum Portrait, Mery + obj. of burial, stele, jars, etc. (Chicago, 1 October 1897), (E) 2027-2056, Museum Registration, The Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, Chicago, IL.



Accession No. 32
Date Oct. 1 1897
Dep't Egyptology
HASKELL ORIENTAL MUSEUM
Received from J. E. Quibell
Address Univ. College
Gower St., London England
To be credited to Philosophy & Science
Dept. Chicago Woman's Club (from E.E.H.)
~~Gift, Exchange, Loan, Deposit, Purchase, For Examination, Collected by, Survey from Museum Expedition.~~
Collector's Name W. M. F. Petrie
Date collected Winter of 1896-7
Locality Deshasheh, Upper Egypt
Catalogue Nos.
No. of Invoice
Date of Acknowledgment
Description of Objects:
See acc. Letter from Mr. Petrie London July 29 '97 and letter from Quibell in Acc. 31.
(over)
Including Fayum Portrait.
Total Number of Specimens 28
The above is a full inventory.
Notes
(SIGNED) James H. Breasted Asst Dir.

2027-8 - jars - - - - - C1-
2029-35 - stone - - - - C1-4C
2036 - stela, Nenkhefta - C1-5B
2037-39 - stone - - - - C4-3C
2040 - mummy cloth - C24-A
(In case north of C24)
2041-42 - sandals - - - C12-2AB
2043-44 - headrests - - - C12-2BA
2045 - mummy cloth C12-2B
2046 - staff (for lame woman) C12-2A
2047 - skeleton Mery - C12-3AB
2048 - coffin Mery C12-4AB
2049-50 (1) wooden mallet } C27-2
(2) chisel
2051 - wooden mallet C27-2
2052 - mummy stuff - C10-B3
2053 - Fayum painting -
- Between C8 + C9
(temporarily down for repairs)
2054 - Painting - between C1 + C2
2055-56 - - - - - - - - - -

Figure 3. First two pages of Folder for Accession No. 32, dated Oct. 1, 1897, Dep't: Egyptology, Header: Haskell Oriental Museum. Museum Registration, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, IL.

Figure 4. Graeco-Roman Branch negative 127, captioned 2 mummy portraits from Sela, taken by Grenfell and Hunt in 1902, depicting Museum of Fine Arts Boston 02.825 on the left and Oriental Institute 2053 on the right. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

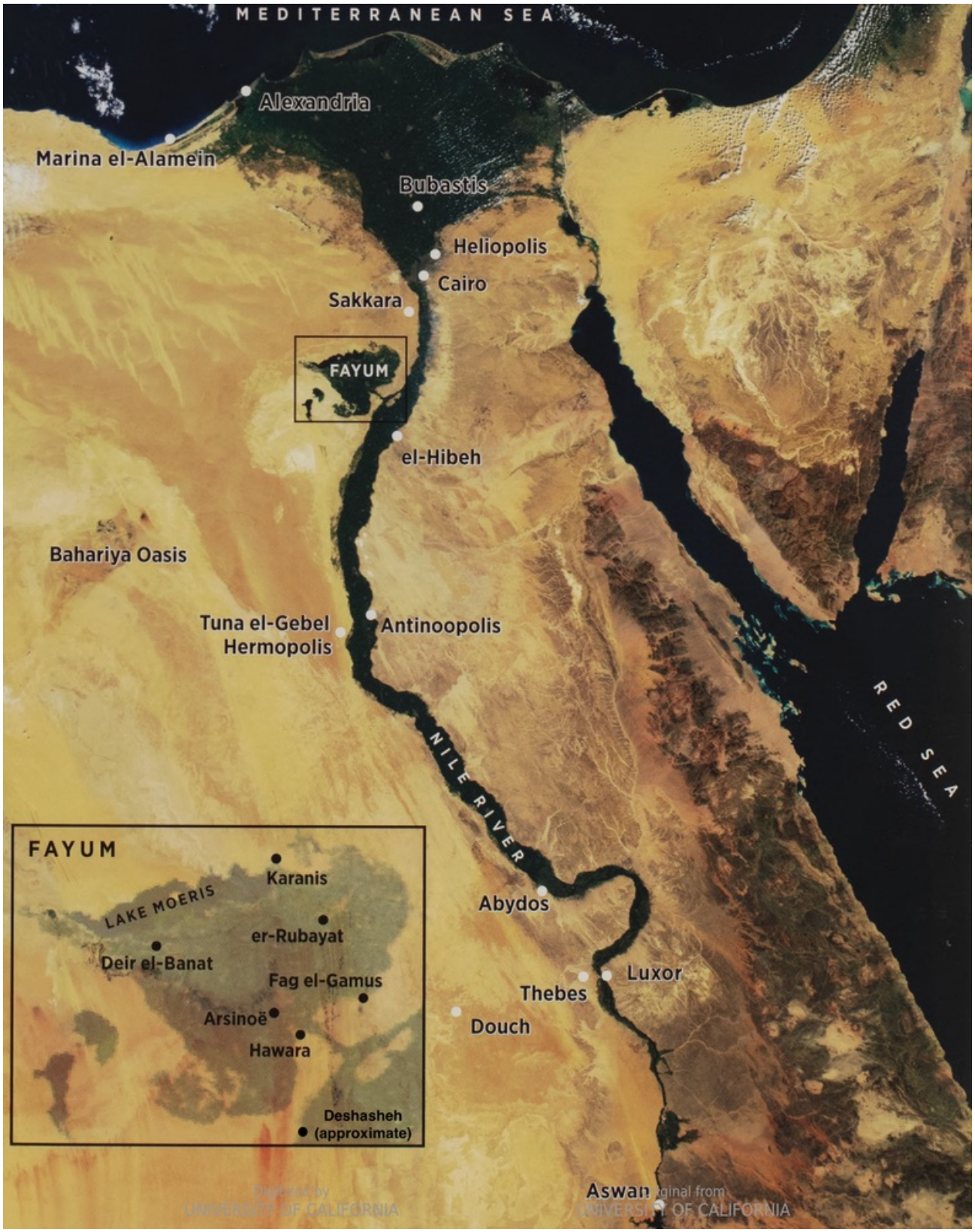


Figure 5. Satellite map of the Nile with inset map of the Fayum. Approximate location of Deshasheh added by author. Map published in Corcoran, Svoboda, and Walton, *Herakleides: A Portrait Mummy From Roman Egypt*, 2010.

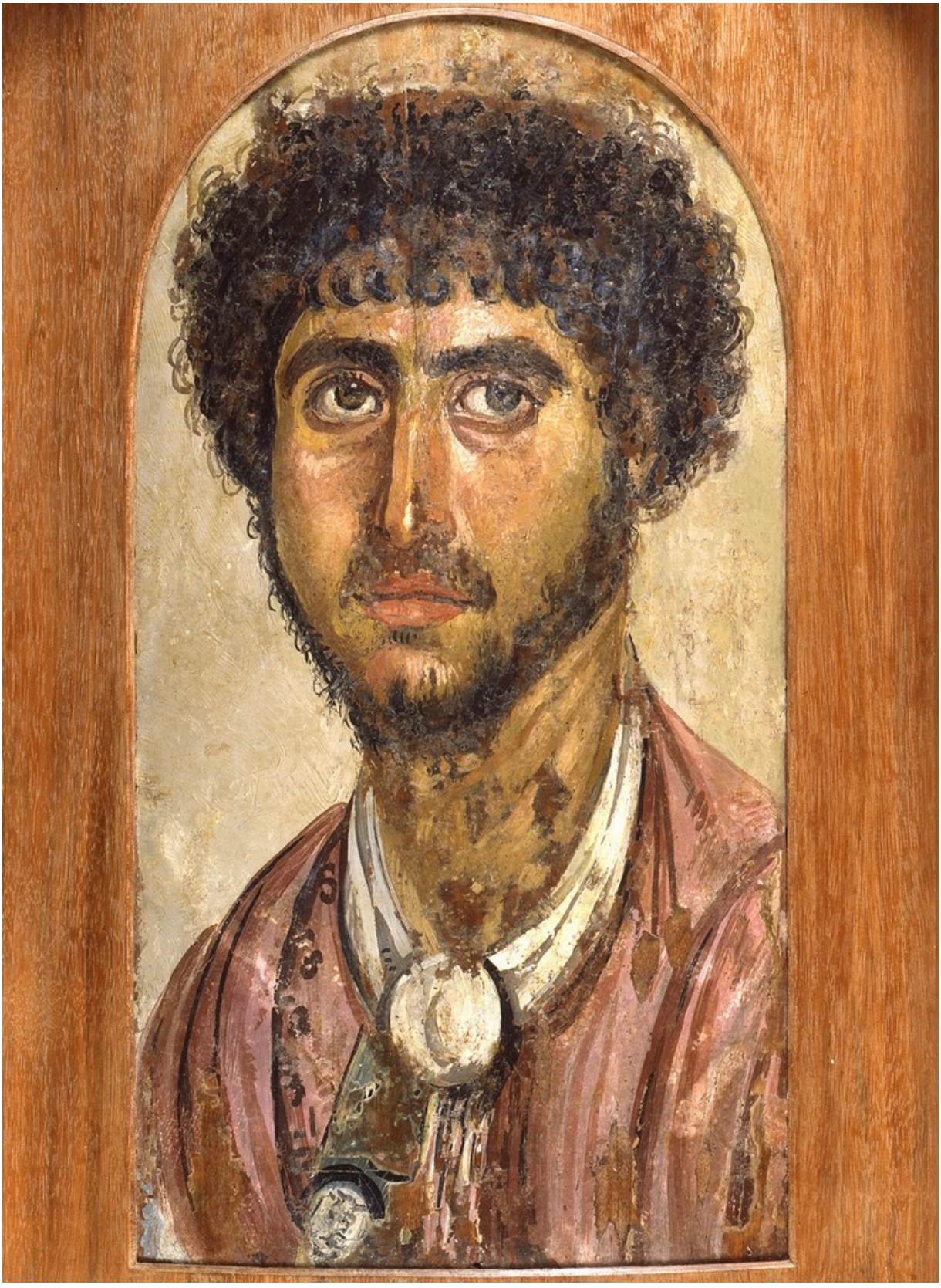


Figure 6. Faiyum portrait, registration number E2053, accession number 32. Oriental Institute, Chicago, IL, United States of America. Modern photograph.

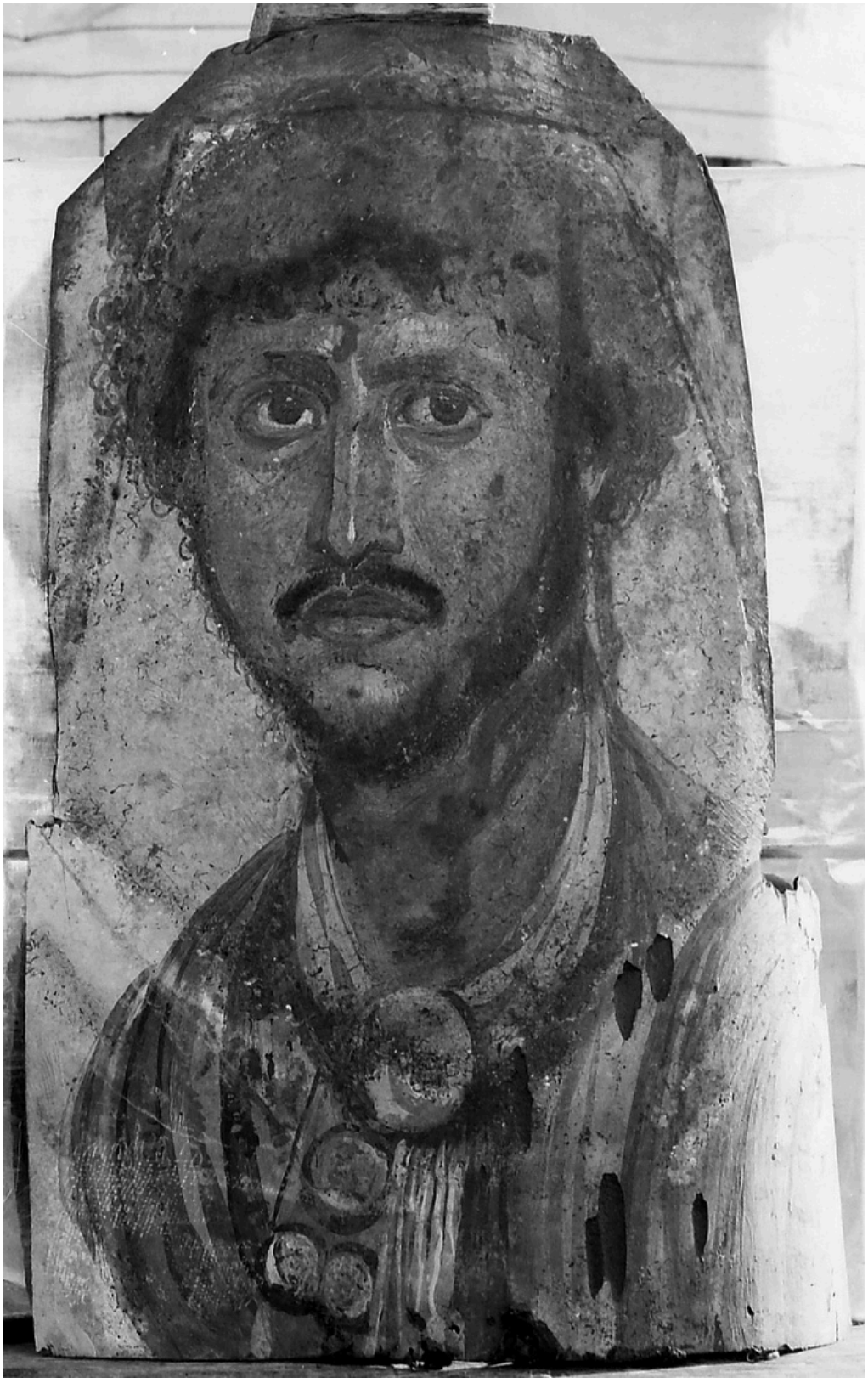


Figure 7. Close-up version of negative 127, cropped to show Oriental Institute 2053 in greater detail. Photo from 1902. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

Figure 8. Areas of paint loss as photographed in 1966 by Louis Pomerantz.

Figure 9. Mumienporträt Dame mit Collier/Mummy portrait of woman with necklace photograph by Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Antikensammlung. Vienna, Austria.

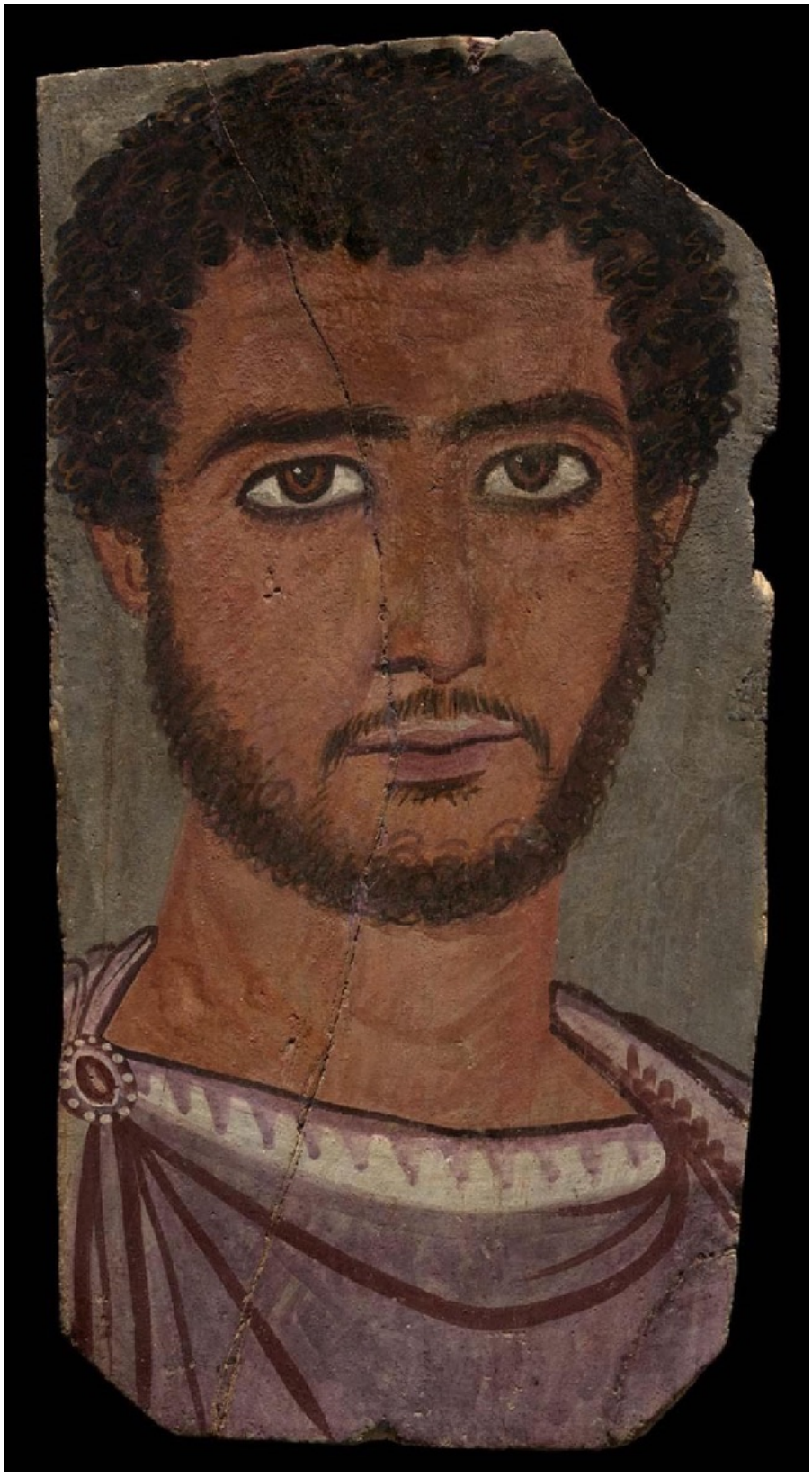


Figure 10. Funerary portrait of a young man, photograph in public domain. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, United States of America.

Figure 11. Young woman with jewelry, photograph by ArchaiOptix, through Wikimedia Commons. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Figure 12. Mumienporträt eines bärtigen Soldaten/Mummy portrait of a young man, photograph by Ingrid Geske-Heiden. Antikensammlung Berlin, Germany.

Figure 13. Focale, scene 72 of Trajan's Column, photographer unknown. Rome, Italy.

Figure 14. Focale, scene XXIV.50 of Trajan's Column, photographer unknown. Rome, Italy.

Figures 15-18. Lauersfort phalerae in the collection of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photographs by Johannes Laurentius. Clockwise starting from top left: gorgon, Jupiter, maenad, lion. Berlin, Germany.

Figure 19. Cenotaph of Marcus Caelius, 1st centurion of legio XVIII, who fell in the war of Varus (Battle of Teutoburg Forest, 9 AD), LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn. Photograph by Carole Raddato, from Flickr.

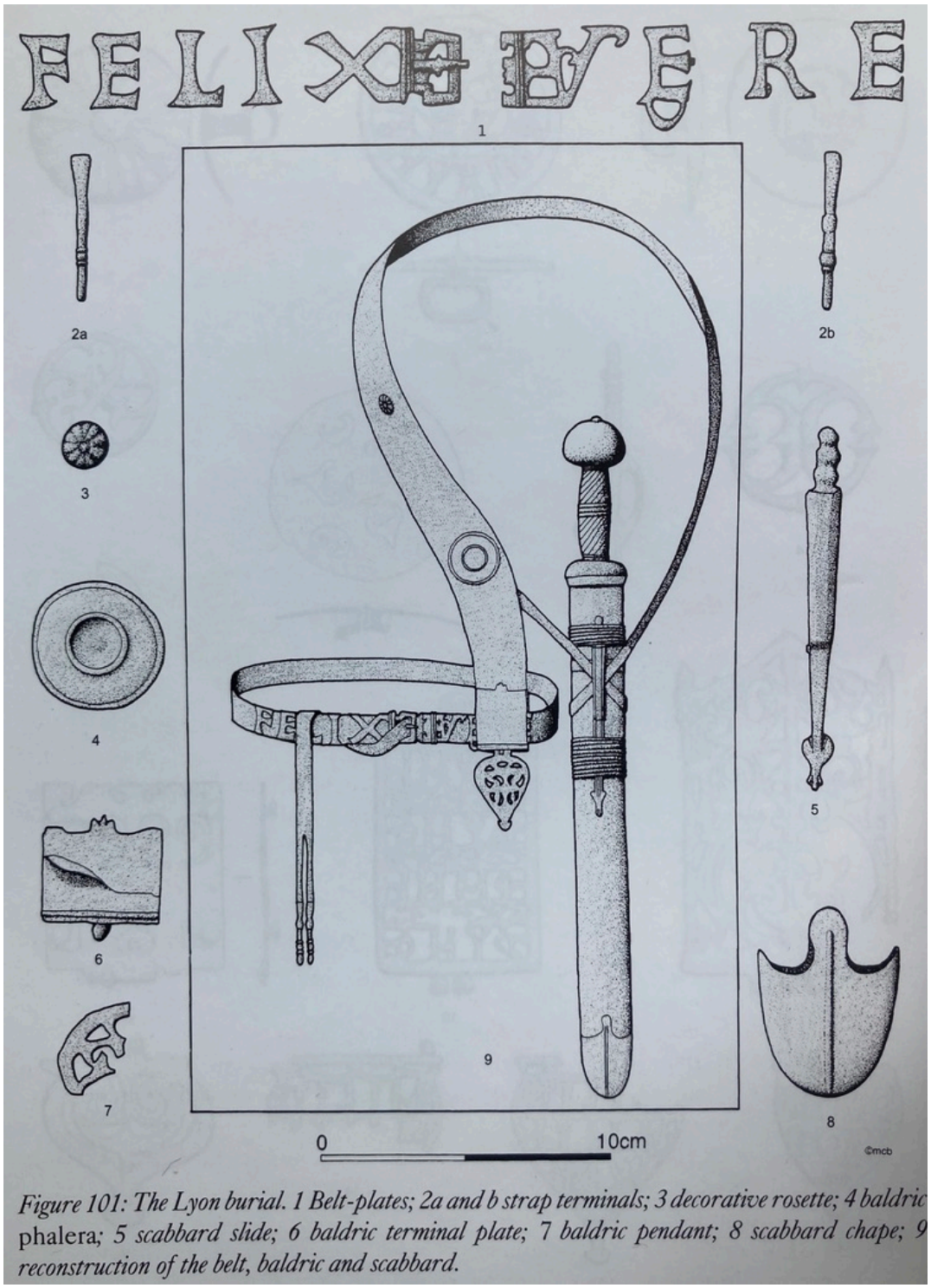


Figure 101: The Lyon burial. 1 Belt-plates; 2a and b strap terminals; 3 decorative rosette; 4 baldric phalera*; 5 scabbard slide; 6 baldric terminal plate; 7 baldric pendant; 8 scabbard chape; 9 reconstruction of the belt, baldric and scabbard.*

Figure 20. Reconstruction of the Lyon burial, with phalera on cross-body strap (item number 4), photo by author. Published in Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment From the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome*, 2006.

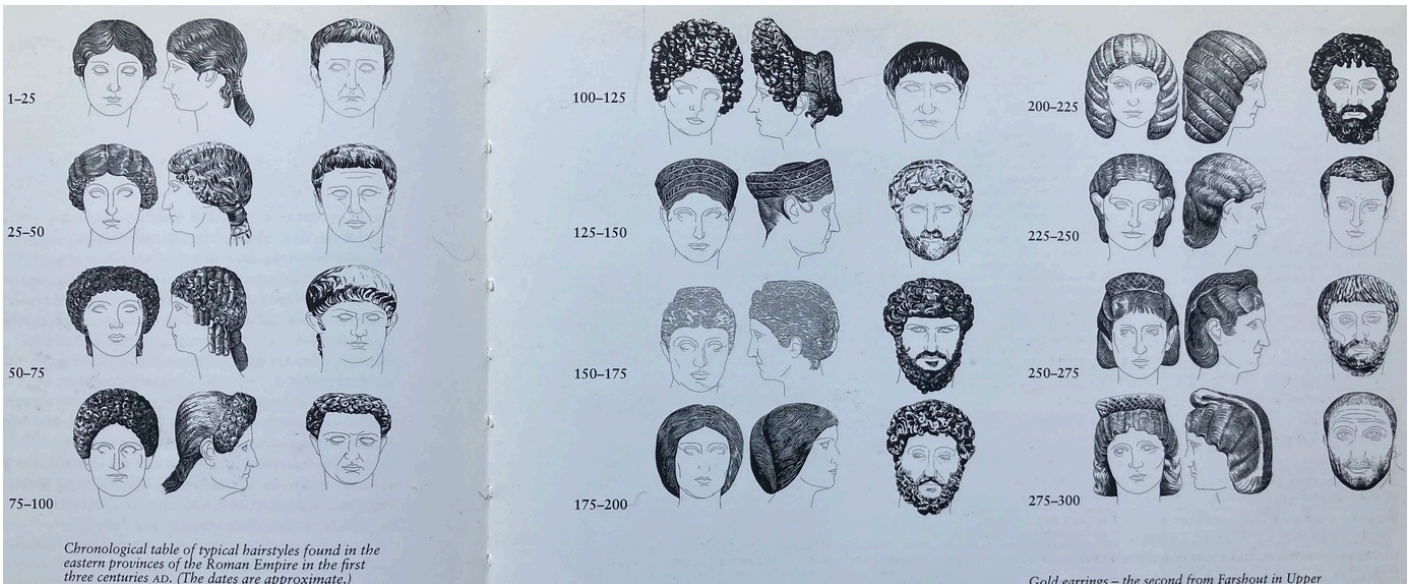


Figure 21. Diagram of men's and women's hairstyles by quarter-century. Drawings published in Doxiadis, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces From Ancient Egypt,* 1995.

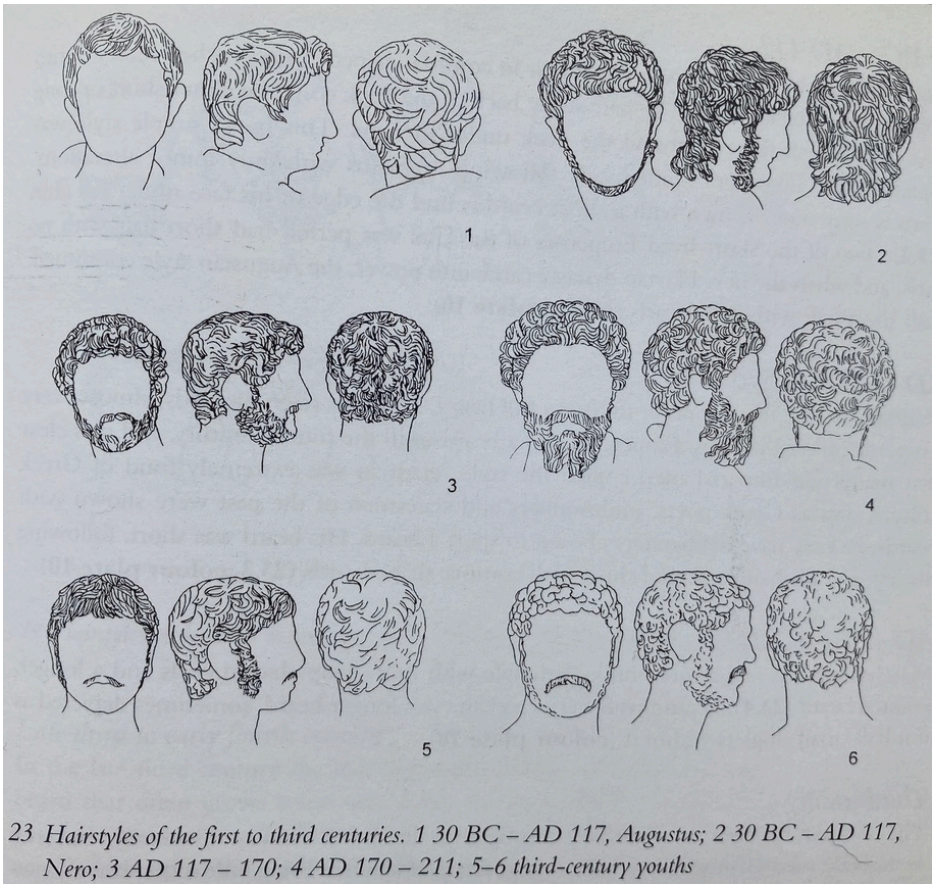


Figure 22. Diagram of men's hair by emperor.
Drawings published in Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, 2002.

Figure 23. Portrait of a man on canvas, photograph by ArchaiOptix, through Wikimedia Commons. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Figure 24. Photograph of the mummy portrait in raking light, showing layers and flakes of paint, after conservation in 1966 by Louis Pomerantz. Part of Louis Pomerantz papers.

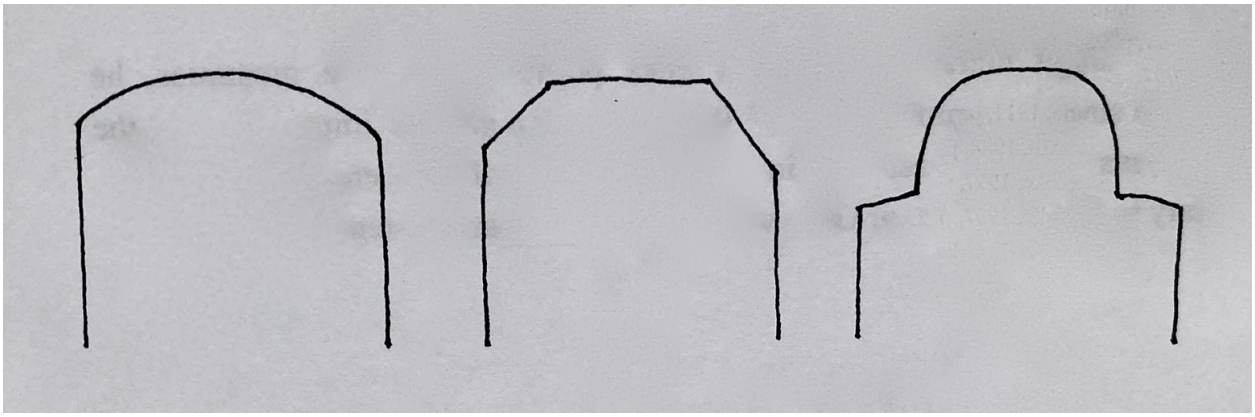


Figure 25. Various ways of cutting the top of a mummy portrait, from left to right: arched (prevalent at Hawara), chipped (er-Rubayat), and shouldered (Antinoopolis). Drawing published in Freccero, *Fayum Portraits*, 2000.

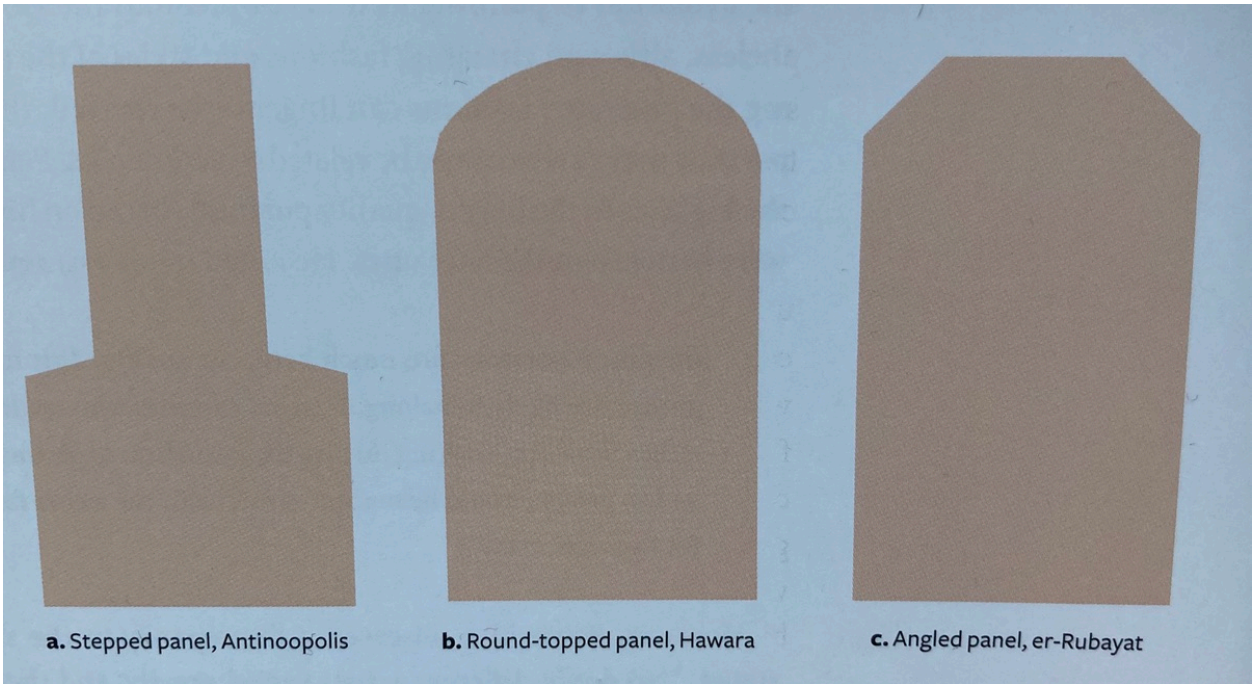


Figure 26. An alternate image of the cut tops of mummy portraits from a more recent book. Drawing published in Corcoran, Svoboda, and Walton, *Herakleides: A Portrait Mummy From Roman Egypt*, 2010.

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