PORTRAIT L

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ART**ANCIENT**

‘Immortality is the gift
portraiture bestows
on the portrayed.’

Euphrosyne Doxiadis

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The panel paintings from Roman Egypt are the oldest surviving naturalistic portraits known, created 1,500 years before paintings of everyday people would next appear. Painted for the men, women and children of the Fayum Oasis, they were placed over the faces of their mummies, preserving their images across millennia.

‘In digging for history the results are ever varying, no two sites are alike, no two days yield similar objects, no two discoveries are the same … and in no matter is it truer that *it is the unexpected that happens*.’

William Flinders Petrie (1853-1942), ‘A Digger’s Life’, 1885-6.

Portrait L

Portrait of a woman with pearl earrings and emerald necklace

c.98-117 A.D.
Encaustic on panel
Panel: 38 × 23.5 cm
Frame: 54 × 41 cm

Provenance
Discovered by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie in Hawara, Egypt, on 14 February 1888

Encaustic work of the finest style, from the single most important discovery of ancient panel paintings, among the finest and best preserved known and likely the only officially excavated panel portrait remaining in private hands. Subsequently exhibited in two of the most impactful exhibitions of Egyptian Art of the nineteenth century and later owned by some of the most important art collectors and dealers of the twentieth century before its loss into obscurity and rediscovery in 2023. Exceptionally well preserved with no overpainting.

Description
The subject is shown with her body in three-quarter profile and her head turned slightly to the left so as to face the viewer. She wears a lavender-coloured tunic, with a thick purple mantle draped over her shoulders. Her facial features are delicate, with an aquiline nose, pursed mouth with red lips, and large dark-brown eyes framed by neat, arching brows. Her eyes are lined with kohl, and her cheeks are adorned with rouge.

Her hair is styled into three tiers of tight ringlets with a square fringe at the front, whilst at the back her long braided hair has been arranged into a ring and set as a wreath bun on top, secured with a headband and horizontal ebony hairpin. She wears fine jewellery: gold earrings, each with two pearls set above and below a central emerald. Around her neck are two necklaces – one a gold chain of loop-in-loop style and the lower a string of biconical gold beads interspersed with hexagonal polished emeralds.

Her hairpin, represented in dark wood with light brown streaks and a reflective polish, was likely ebony, a prestigious wood imported from the Somali Peninsula via trade routes on the East African coast.

Background

This striking painting of a young, elegant lady vividly captures the essence of a woman from two thousand years ago. Like most people who posed for portraits of this type, the sitter is likely from the Graeco-Egyptian community, descended from Greek settlers who migrated during the Ptolemaic Dynasty and intermarried with local Egyptians.

The portrait reflects the sitter's wealth and status, depicting a woman from a prosperous multicultural city wearing luxury goods made from the finest imported materials. Her clothing would likely have been woven from fine wool, her tunic coloured with rose madder and her thick mantle with Tyrian purple, one of the most expensive and sought-after dyes in the ancient world. Her jewellery, made to order by highly skilled craftsmen, would have been fashioned from high-carat gold, perhaps originating from remelted handfuls of *aurei* – the near-pure gold currency of the Roman Empire, struck as far away as Lugdunum and Antioch. The large polished emeralds would have come from the *Mons Smaragdus* (Emerald Mountains) near the Red Sea coast, the primary source of emeralds in antiquity, whilst her pearls were almost certainly imported from the warm waters of the Persian Gulf.[1]

Her hairpin, represented in dark wood with light brown streaks and a reflective polish, was likely ebony, a prestigious wood imported from the Somali Peninsula via trade routes on the East African coast.[2] Her elaborate hairstyle, reflecting the fashion of the final decades of the first century, features ringlets and a high wreath bun, an arrangement that required skilled hairdressing techniques, specialised tools, conditioning oils and pomades, achievable only through the efforts of personal maids, household servants or professional hairdressers. The inside of her eyes and eyelids are adorned with kohl, a dark substance made from crushed lead sulphide that both enhanced beauty and protected against the sun's glare, and her cheeks are blushed with rouge, a pigment derived from cinnabar and minium.

Painting Style

The style of the present portrait closely adheres to earlier Greek painting traditions, capturing the subject in three-quarter view with a single light source creating shadows and reflections. Since no panel paintings from the Greek world have survived, the portraits of the Fayum Oasis – conserved by Egypt's arid climate – are the only examples of an art form that resonates to the present day and that ancient literary sources place among the highest achievements of Greek culture.

The portrait shown here is one of the most finely painted and ambitious examples of panel portraiture known to exist. Painted in the encaustic technique, layers of pigment, suspended in beeswax were carefully built up and blended to mimic life.

The vast majority of encaustic panel portraits were created predominantly with the *cauterium*, a small spatula similar to a palette knife, which was used to blend the thick wax into the desired tones. This technique created the typical impasto effect, so ubiquitous in encaustic portraiture that it is almost idiosyncratic of the genre itself (see Fig. 1). However, what sets Portrait L apart is the refined and notably widespread use of another tool: the brush (*penicillum*, see Appendix B). While the viscosity of the wax medium traditionally necessitated a hard metal tool, the ancient master of Portrait L, by thinning or emulsifying the wax, was – remarkably – able to 'paint' in the more traditional sense.[3]

This more painterly style can be seen in areas of both cheeks, where the wax is so thin that hints of the ground layer beneath can be seen. This is perhaps also evident in the rendering of the left earring, where the pigment used to paint the emerald appears to have 'bled' over the pearl below. This innovative approach also allowed the artist to create subtle transitions of shadow, most notably to the right of the nose, under the subject's eyes and beneath the ringlets of her hair – subtlety that would have been hard to achieve with thick impasto. It also enabled the artist to sharpen the definition and realism of the subject's large eyes, which are presented with a level of detail and intensity that is unparalleled (see Fig. 2).

While the viscosity of the wax medium traditionally necessitated a hard metal tool, the ancient master of Portrait L, by thinning or emulsifying the wax, was – remarkably – able to 'paint' in the more traditional sense.

These details, together with the subtlest light flecks on the final loops of her necklace, suggest that this was a painting made from life.

While the details of the face are a *tour de force* of incredibly fine brushwork, the larger volumes of the cheeks and neck are rendered with thicker strokes, no less carefully applied, to accentuate the smooth elegance of the sitter's features, such as her Venus rings. The delicate and nuanced highlights on the left of her neck and the pinpoint reflections in her eyes betray a light source positioned high and to her left. These details, together with the subtlest light flecks on the final loops of her necklace, suggest that this was a painting made from life.

There is also some use of metal tools and the back of the brush to depict the coils of the hair, one of the few areas of the painting where wax was more thickly applied. This technique was likely used to create contrasting texture, give volume to the hair and simulate the reflective, oiled curls of the sitter's locks. The perfectly groomed eyebrows and eyelashes, too fine for encaustic, appear to have been rendered in another medium, possibly tempera.

While vanishingly rare, the painterly technique of the present portrait is paralleled with another portrait of a young man, now prominently displayed at the British Museum.[4] This work, also in encaustic and tempera and also found by Petrie at Hawara in 1888 (EA 74711), exhibits many of the same qualities, though the eyes are considerably less detailed and the portrait lacks some of the subtlety and richness found here.

Portrait L, ArtAncient, London.

Portrait of a woman, Detroit Institute of Arts, 25.2.

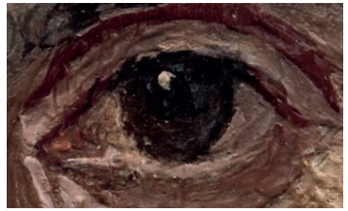
Portrait of a woman, 'L' Européenne,' The Louvre, Paris, MND 2047.

1
Detail of panel portraits in raking light showing the subtle, painterly style of Portrait L versus the more typical, thick impasto style of other portraits.

Portrait L, ArtAncient, London.

Portrait of a woman, the 'Isidora Master', Getty Villa, Los Angeles, 81.AP.42.

Portrait of a woman, 'L' Européenne,' The Louvre, Paris, MND 2047.



Portrait of a woman in a blue mantle, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (until restituted to Egypt in 2022).

2
Detail of Portrait L showing its uniquely refined, painterly style, versus the thick impasto style.

This painterly style enabled the artist to sharpen the definition and realism of the subject's large eyes, which are presented with a level of detail and intensity that is unparalleled.

The Painter's Palette
Scientific analysis (see Appendix B) has revealed that a broad range of pigments were used in skilful combinations to create the colours in Portrait L. These pigments were suspended in beeswax and blended to achieve qualities of translucency and depth.

Lead White	Lead white is one of the oldest manmade pigments in the world. Prized for its brilliance and smooth texture, it remained a staple on artists' palettes from antiquity through to the nineteenth century. Here, the ancient painter uses the pigment to highlight the sitter's sclera, the reflections in her pupils, as well as the sheen on her pearls. Despite its gradual replacement by titanium white, it can be found in paintings well into the twentieth century, including the work of major artists such as Picasso.
Carbon Black	Carbon black is one of the oldest naturally occurring pigments used by artists. Made from charring organic materials, such as plant matter, bone or wood, it dates back to prehistoric times when it was used in the first cave paintings. Composed of fine particles of pure carbon, it provides the artist with a deep, intense colour and tinting strength. It has remained a staple of the artist's palette to the modern day, as well as being used in traditional calligraphy and illuminated manuscripts.
Red Earth Pigment	As a naturally occurring substance, red earth pigment has been used since prehistoric times. In the first century B.C., the Roman architect Vitruvius said that red earth can be sourced in many places, but that one of the best places for its production is Egypt. On Portrait L, the pigment is skilfully mixed with lead white and earth pigment to create the subtleties of the fleshtones. As was said of the portraiture of the fourth century B.C. painter, Apelles of Cos, the skin here is 'warm and throbbing with life.'
Red Lead	Another early manmade pigment is red lead. In antiquity, the production of red lead has been linked to the silver mines at Rio Tinto and other locations in Roman Spain. In Roman Egypt, a number of mummies were wrapped in shrouds that were painted with red lead, which served a decorative as well as practical purpose, as it also acted as a preserving agent. Throughout the medieval period, it remained a favourite for the decoration of Byzantine, Persian and European illuminated manuscripts.
Copper-based Green	Copper-based green pigments, such as verdigris and malachite, have been valued throughout history for their vibrant, rich hues. Popular in medieval manuscripts and Renaissance paintings, here they have been used to paint the emeralds of the sitter's earrings and necklace. However, due to the pigment's unstable nature, they have darkened over time, and it is only through scientific analysis that their original colour can be identified.
Yellow Earth Pigment	Yellow earth pigment, or yellow ochre, is a naturally occurring substance. Mined throughout the Mediterranean, its distinctive yellow colour was widely used across ancient civilisations, including in the wall paintings of Pompeii. Today, such wall paintings appear red on account of their exposure to extreme heat during the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 A.D. On Portrait L, the vibrancy of yellow ochre is still visible, used to paint the rich gold in the jewellery, with highlights in lead white and brown ochre.

Tilia europaea

Tilia europaea, or lime wood, has been identified as the panel for over 70% of mummy portraits. Imported from Europe at vast expense, lime wood had ideal properties for the creation of such panels, and could be sawn, as seen with Portrait L, to a remarkable thickness of just 1 mm. Fine-grained and stable, it presented the perfect canvas for the ancient masters of the Fayum Oasis.

Gold Leaf

In Petrie's notebook for the Hawara season (no. 38, p. 33), he writes that Portraits L and H were found together, with 'bandaging all gilt.' Here, we see traces of the gilding from the mummy wrappings and the resin binding that once secured the portrait in place. Throughout antiquity, gold, hammered into the thinnest leaf possible, was used to adorn sarcophagi, sculptures and mosaics as a signifier of wealth and status. On mummy panel portraits, gold leaf also served as a visual connection with immortality, as it came to symbolise the divine.

Brown Ochre

As a naturally occurring earth pigment, brown ochre has been valued for its opacity, excellent coverage and permanence, making it a suitable choice for oil, watercolour – and encaustic painting. Prized for its warmth and depth, here it has been mixed with yellow ochre and white lead, creating the grain and reflective polish of a fine ebony hairpin.

Condition

Portrait L is further notable for its extraordinary condition. From as far back as the late nineteenth century, when panel portraits from illicit excavations at er-Rubayat (now understood to be Philadelphia) trickled onto the market and were acquired by Viennese dealer Theodor Graf (1840-1903), the practice of deceptively repainting the fragile portraits was widespread.

Thanks to modern-day imaging, a survey of some of the most celebrated panel portraits from Western museums reveals with clarity that many of them were indeed severely damaged and then overpainted. An example from Graf (Fig. 3), now another highlight of the British Museum collection, is representative of these heavily overpainted portraits, and a deception that perhaps led the competitive Graf to falsely believe his portraits were finer than those of Petrie's.[5]

Yet restoration and overpainting were not limited to Theodor Graf's portraits. Others, such as the well-known 'L'Européenne' at the Louvre, also suffered extensive damage and were later restored (Fig. 4), together with numerous examples that have appeared on the art market in recent years.[6]

Through a combination of Petrie's luck and prompt conservation, the 67 portraits he found at Hawara in 1888 were, in general, remarkably well preserved.[7] From within that group, the present portrait – the only one in private hands – is very likely the best. Its extraordinary condition was recently elucidated by several months of analysis at Cambridge University's Fitzwilliam Museum (see Fig. 5 and Appendix B).

A survey of some of the most celebrated panel portraits from Western museums reveals that many of them were indeed severely damaged and then overpainted.

3 (top)
Mummy portrait of a woman, ex-Theodore Graf Collection. British Museum, London. EA 65346.

4 (bottom)
Portrait of a woman, 'L' Européenne,' The Louvre, Paris, MND 2047.

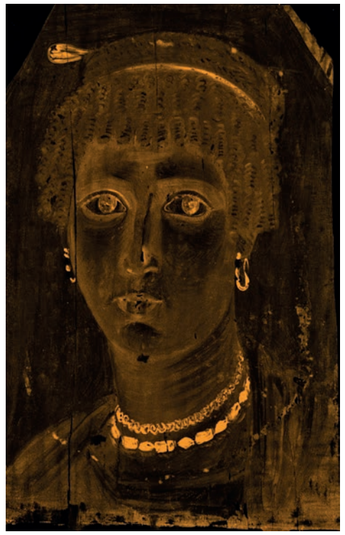
Visible light.

Ultraviolet light image revealing areas of overpainting in black, light yellow and light green.

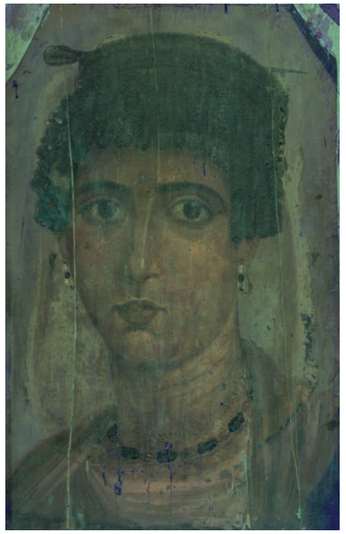
Visible light.

X-ray showing extensive damage, now restored with overpainting.

XRF Distribution
map of lead.



XRF Distribution
map of iron.



Ultraviolet Light
Image.

Infrared
Reflectogram.

5
Scientific imaging of Portrait L showing its near-perfect preservation.

Provenance

Excavated by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) in Hawara, Egypt, on 14 February 1888

H. M. Kennard (1833-1911), London, acquired from the above by August 1888, through a division of finds

The Important Collection of Egyptian Antiquities formed by the late H. Martyn Kennard Esq. of Lowndes Square, Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London, 16-19 July 1912, Lot No. 542

Kalebdjian Frères, Paris, acquired from the above

Léonce Rosenberg (1879-1949), Paris, by 1914 until at least 1922

Dr Arnold Ruesch, Zurich (1882-1929), by December 1926

Sammlung A. Ruesch, Zürich, Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, 1-2 September 1936, Lot No. 175

Dr J. Maeder (1900-1973), St. Gallen, acquired from the above

Thence by descent

Decorative Arts, Koller Auctions Ltd, Zürich, 21 September 2023, Lot No. 1011

Exhibited

The Egyptian Hall, London, 18 June–31 July 1888

'The Art of Ancient Egypt,' Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 29 April–7 July 1895

'Exhibition of Ancient Art,' The Leicester Galleries, London, October–November 1920

Published

W. F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*, London, 1889, p.44, pl. 11 (ill. No. L)

The Art of Ancient Egypt, *Burlington Fine Arts Club*, London, 1895, p.34, No. 4

The Important Collection of Egyptian Antiquities formed by the late H. Martyn Kennard Esq. of Lowndes Square, Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London, 16-19 July 1912, Lot No. 542, p.56, pl.12 (ill.)

'Illustrated Catalogues of Sales in July,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 21, No. 112, (July 1912), p.243

'Early Egyptian Portraits, Remarkable Prices,' *The Times* (19 July 1912), p.14

H. d'Ardenne de Tizac, 'Les Collections de M. Léonce Rosenberg,' *Parisia* (1914), p.15-16 (ill. Fig. 23)

S. Reinach, 'Les collections de M. Léonce Rosenberg by H. d'Ardenne de Tizac,' *Revue Archéologique*, Quatrième Série, T. 24 (1914) p.173-4

The Alexandre-Rosenberg Collection: Early Egyptian Art, Primitive Chinese Bronzes, Cubist Paintings and Sculptures, Persian Miniature Paintings, The Anderson Galleries, New York, Sale Number 1354, 3 May 1918, Lot No. 14, p.8 (ill.)

Collection Léonce Rosenberg, Paris, Deuxième et dernière partie,' Hôtel de Ventes 'de Roos', Amsterdam, 1 June 1920, Lot No. 168, p.28 (ill.)

'Catalogue of an Exhibition of Ancient Art: Chinese, Egyptian, French, Greek, Indian, Persian, South American, Etc,' Cat. No. 303, Ernest Brown & Phillips, The Leicester Galleries, London, October-November 1920, No. 13b

'Monthly Circle,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 37, No. 211 (October 1920), p.209

S. Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures Grecques et Romaines*, Paris, 1922, p.343 (ill. Fig. 2)

Sammlung A. Ruesch, Zürich: Griechische, Etruskische und Römische Altertümer, Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, 1-2 September 1936, Lot No. 175, p.19, pl. 18 (ill.) [luxury edition, Lot No. 175, p.19, pl.59]

Prof. Klaus Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*, Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1966, p.250

Prof. Klaus Parlasca, *Repertorio D'Arte Dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*, Serie B, Vol. I, Milan, 1969, p.57, No. 112, pl. 27 (ill. Fig. 2)

J. Picton, S. Quirke and P. Roberts, ed., *Living images: Egyptian Funerary Portraits in the Petrie Museum*, Routledge: London, 2017 (first published 2007 by Left Coast Press, Inc.) p.54, 60, 88, 296 (ill. Fig. L)

I. Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period: Life and Death in a Fayum Village*, Peeters Publishers: Leuven, 2009, p.189

ANCIENT PANEL PORTRAITURE

The Greek painters of the Classical and early Hellenistic periods developed revolutionary methods of representation that remain fundamental to Western pictorial art today.

6 (previous spread)
One of the only original Greek paintings to survive, albeit in fresco form, showing the Abduction of Persephone. Royal Tomb I, Vergina, Greece.

7
As a Roman copy of a Hellenistic painting, the Alexander Mosaic from the House of the Faun, Pompeii (c.120-100 B.C.), provides a rare insight into the skill of the ancient painter, notably in the use of foreshortening on Darius's horse.

The ancient Greek art of panel-painting was considered the highest art form of the ancient world, renowned throughout antiquity for its displays of lifelike realism. While praised and copied by the artists of the Roman Empire, the ephemeral nature of these creations – carried out on thin wooden panels – has meant none of the paintings lauded by the ancients survive today. Yet in Egypt's desert sands, perfect conditions ensured the preservation of one unique genre of ancient panel-painting. With the tradition of Graeco-Roman naturalism transported to the country through centuries of shifting empires, the portraits of the Fayum Oasis are the only insight we have today into the art of the ancient painter.

The Greek Art of Panel-Painting

Greek literature has as much to reveal about the renowned art of panel-painting as unearthed statues can reveal about sculpture.[1] However, unlike a student of sculpture, the art historian is placed in an unusual predicament. Ancient writers provide us with a tantalising and unusually complete overview of the development of Greek painting and the lives and works of major artists, yet not a single panel described by the Greeks survives today.

This loss is even more devastating because the ancients esteemed the genre more than any other – believing, according to Pliny the Elder, that only the painter can attain true glory.[2] It is only through secondary evidence that we can grasp the astonishing timelessness of the Greek painters' artistic practice. Here, we learn of their skilled imitation of nature (*mimesis*), the interplay of light and shade and the use of perspective – all techniques known to ancient painters long before the Renaissance. Yet while we glean what we can from echoes of these lost artworks in the vivid descriptions (*ekphrasis*) of ancient literature, from other media like mosaics, frescoes and vases, and from later copies and interpretations, it is the writings of Pliny and Lucian that inevitably leave us wanting.

From such evidence, we see that the Greek painters of the Classical and early Hellenistic periods developed revolutionary methods of representation that remain fundamental to Western pictorial art today. The introduction of perspective and *symmetria* (proportion) marked a decisive shift from archaic practice and resulted in the creation of dynamic compositions. In the fifth century B.C., Apollodorus also sparked the adoption of *skiagraphia*, an innovative shading technique that was integral to the realistic modelling of forms.[3] This newfound regard for *mimesis* is perhaps perfectly embodied in the fabled contest between Zeuxis and Parrhasius, in which Zeuxis painted a bunch of grapes with such success, 'that birds were seen to flutter around them'.[4]

In the fourth century B.C., the Sikyonian School began to train the great masters of the age, producing highly realistic artworks coveted across the vast empires of the ancient world. A great believer in the mathematical rationale behind the sculptor, Polykleitos' *Canon*, the founder of the Sikyonian School, Pamphilos, advocated that the painter study everything he could, including arithmetic and geometry, to achieve perfection.[5] In this way, painting rapidly developed. As echoed in Greek vase-painting, figures began to be rendered

realistically, in three-quarter view, with well-articulated bodies and remarkably folded drapery, previously unattainable with the two-dimensional profile.[6] Such innovations resulted in highly naturalistic works, incorporating both perspective and depth to create dynamic compositions.

To achieve such scenes on panel, the ancient colourist skilfully deployed a traditional yet limited four-colour palette, consisting of lead white, yellow-ochre, earth-red and carbon black.[7] In the iconic Alexander Mosaic from the House of the Faun in Pompeii, believed to be a Roman copy of a Hellenistic painting, we can see clearly the skilled use of colour, perspective and modelling by the ancient painter. On account of the high achievements of the ancient artist, Simonides of Ceos (556-468 B.C.) called painting 'silent poetry' and poetry 'painting that speaks'.[8]

The most famous of all ancient painters, and master of the Sikyonian School, was surely Apelles of Cos. In antiquity, his name was used to express the ideal of artistic perfection – as much as that of Leonardo or Michelangelo is today. According to Pliny, 'He alone made a greater contribution to painting than the rest of them put together… although his was an age graced with many fine artists, he was the greatest of them all.'[9] Famously the court painter to Philip II of Macedonia (382-336 B.C.) and to Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.), whom he accompanied to Asia, Apelles also enjoyed the patronage of Ptolemy I of Egypt (367-283 B.C.). Although none of his paintings survive, we know of their composition through the *ekphrasis* of ancient writers and the interpretations of later artists. His personification of Calumny, famously painted at the court of Ptolemy I, was recreated from the writings of Lucian by Renaissance master Sandro Botticelli (1445-1510), while his *Venus Anadyomene* was later reimagined by Titian (1488-1576).

Before Apelles, ancient portraiture was heavily idealised. When Zeuxis painted Helen of Troy for the Temple of Hera Lacinia, the citizens of Croton permitted him to choose five of their most beautiful women, so that he might combine, in his painting, the most attractive features of each.[10] As Greek moralist Theophrastus wrote, 'Only a flatterer tells a man that he looks like his portrait.'[11] Apelles, meanwhile, excelled in the realistic rendering of a person's likeness. Writers note that his painting of a nude hero was so realistic, it 'challenged Nature herself'.[12] Whilst employed as court painter to Alexander the Great, he fundamentally altered the path of portraiture in the ancient world. According to contemporaries, his depictions of Alexander went beyond mere representation.[13] They showed an almost 'true' appearance of flesh, 'so warm and throbbing with life'.[14]

Above all, it was the sense of 'graceful charm', of *charis*, that emanated from Apelles' portraits and made those he depicted so compelling.[15] A famous anecdote of Pliny's notes his mastery of the human form. During his stay in Ptolemy's Egyptian court, he was tricked by a servant into thinking he was to dine with the ruler. Enraged by Apelles' unexpected arrival, the Pharaoh demanded to know who had tricked him. The artist, with a piece of charcoal taken from the fire, swiftly drew a likeness on the wall. From the first few marks, Ptolemy immediately recognised the likeness of the servant.[16] On account of his innate skill, Apelles became a benchmark for artists in later ages.[17]

Apelles' name was used to express the ideal of artistic perfection, as much as that of Leonardo or Michelangelo is today.

8
Detail of Sandro Botticelli's *Calumny of Apelles*, a Renaissance reinterpretation of a work originally conceived by the fourth-century B.C. painter Apelles of Cos (c. 1494-95, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.).

Roman love of naturalism spurred legionaries to seize Greek paintings as war booty and citizens to purchase them for private villas, which in turn influenced artistic practice across the Empire.

9
Detail of Pompeian garden fresco showcasing Graeco-Roman naturalism, House of the Golden Bracelet, first century A.D.

The Roman Art Market

As the highest Greek art form, these naturalistic paintings attracted much attention across the empires of the ancient world. The Roman love of naturalism spurred legionaries to seize some paintings as war booty and citizens to purchase others for public and private villas across the Mediterranean. Pliny notes that Roman interest in Greek painting dates back to 146 B.C., when statesman and general Lucius Mummius captured Corinth and brought back paintings and other artworks to Rome. When he decided to sell these spoils of war, Attalus II Philadelphos (220-138 B.C.), the King of Pergamon, offered him 600,000 *denarii* for Aristides' painting of Dionysos. Newly alerted to its value, Mummius refused, hanging it instead in the Temple of Ceres.[18]

In a similar tale, the orator Hortensius (114-50 B.C.) paid 114,000 *sesterces* to buy Cydias' painting of the Argonauts and made a shrine for its display at his villa at Tusculum.[19] The Emperor Augustus (63 B.C.-14 A.D.) even paid the city of Cos a hundred *talents* to take Apelles' legendary *Venus Anadyomene* back to Rome, where it was dedicated in the shrine of his father, Caesar. Indeed, following the conquest of Egypt in 31 B.C., Augustus transferred many of Apelles' paintings back to Italy, where they adorned the most visited parts of his forum for all to see.[20]

As demand grew, Greek artists moved to Rome seeking lucrative employment, while wealthy Roman patrons like Cicero ordered their works directly from Greece. When originals grew scarce, faithful copies, reworkings and variations in the same style were made to fill the gap in the market. This increasing influx of naturalistic Greek paintings in turn influenced Roman artistic practice. Indeed, the elaborate and much celebrated Roman frescoes – a far more durable medium than panel-painting – such as those floral and figural examples at the House of Livia on the Palatine Hill, or at Pompeii's Villa of Mysteries and the Villa of Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale, reveal the influence of Greek naturalism abroad.[21] Portraiture also travelled across the Mediterranean, as evidenced by the famous dual portrait painted in fresco at the house of Terentius Neo.[22]

These panel portraits were a direct product of the remarkable tradition of Graeco-Roman naturalism, brought to Egypt through centuries of Greek migration.

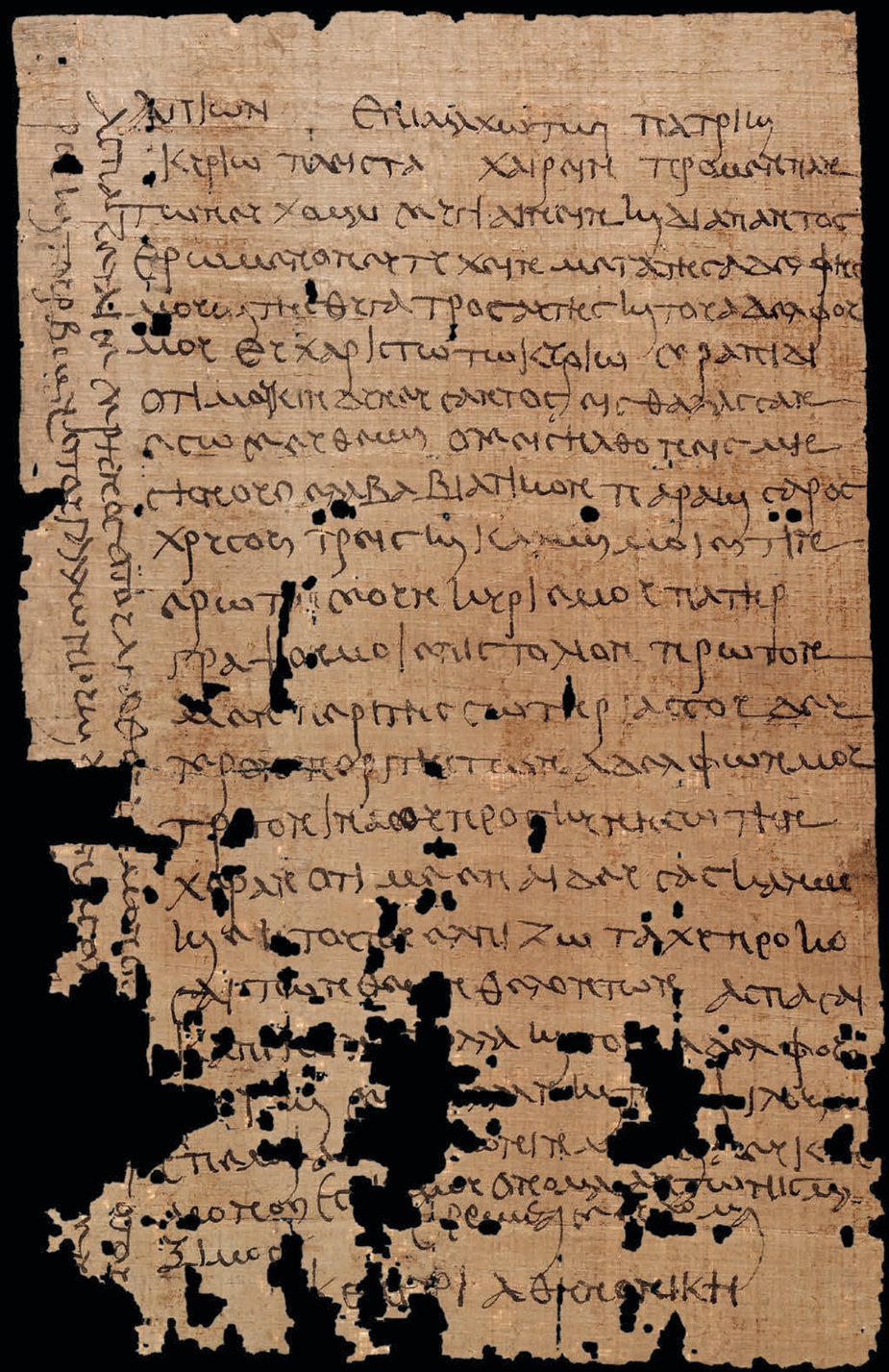
10
A naturalistic dual portrait from the House of Terentius Neo, Pompeii, c.50 A.D. Now in the National Archaeological Museum, Naples.

Graeco-Roman Panel Portraits

While ancient texts lauded the panel painters of antiquity, scholars and artists alike had long lamented that the objects of their admiration were lost. Then, in 1888, the renowned archaeologist William Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) made one of the most remarkable finds in the history of Egyptology. Petrie had stumbled across a Roman necropolis that had been preserved by the dry sands of the Egyptian Fayum, filled with mummies bearing painted panel portraits held in place with linen wrappings and resin. These portraits were a direct product of the remarkable tradition of Graeco-Roman naturalism, brought to Egypt through centuries of Greek migration. In admiring their lifelike qualities, one could now visualise the renowned panel portraits of Apelles, 'so warm and throbbing with life'.[23] Thanks to the Greek tradition of depicting a subject in three-quarter profile, with the head turned to the front, the viewer is invited to directly engage with the sitter.

Moreover, the panel portraits' enduring appeal is inextricably linked with the people they depict. It is in these paintings, as in the writings of Menander, Aristophanes and Petronius, that we see everyday people, rather than heroes or gods. As individual portraits, they emulate Apelles' *charis*, capturing not only individual faces but the personalities within. As a genre, we see a community of people not too dissimilar from ourselves, who lived and worked together more than two millennia ago. As such, it has been suggested that these panel portraits must have been painted from life, and consequently hung in the home before death.[24] Indeed, such portraits certainly had significance beyond burial. Among papyri found at Philadelphia, a small town in the Egyptian Fayum, was a letter from the second century A.D., written by the young man Apion. Travelling with the Roman navy, he wrote home to his parents that he was sending his *eikon*, or image, from Misenum to the Fayum in the care of a friend.[25]

In striving for naturalism, painters of the Fayum Oasis recognised that the traditional tempera technique, in which pigment was mixed with an egg base, was limiting. The non-blending, un-layerable nature of tempera was unsuitable for creating subtle gradations of colour that could depict the nuances of reality. Instead, they brought with them knowledge of the encaustic technique, invented by the Greeks as a medium appropriate for realistic representation. In encaustic, pigments were suspended in beeswax, allowing for smoother, more translucent layers of paint that could be blended and built up effectively.[26] Indeed, the superior capabilities of the medium to depict life had already been acknowledged in a poem attributed to Anacreon: 'Paint me my mistress with her soft black tresses, and, *if the wax can do it*, paint them breathing of myrrh.'[27]



‘Dear father, many greetings...
I thank the god Sarapis because when I was in danger at sea, he saved me immediately. When I arrived at Misenum, Caesar gave me three gold coins for travel expenses... I made sure to *send you my portrait* through Euktemonos...’

From a letter written by Apion, a young recruit from Egypt stationed in Italy, to his father, Epimachos, at home in the Fayum. Found at Philadelphia, second century A.D. (BGU II 423).

11
The papyrus mentioning Apion's portrait, written in the second century A.D. Found at Philadelphia (BGU II 423).

‘The painter chooses with great speed between his colours which he has placed in front of him in great quantity and variety of hues, in order to portray faithfully the naturalness of the scene, and he goes backwards and forwards with the eyes and with the hands between the waxes and the picture.’

Seneca, *Epistles* 121.5

The specific technique of encaustic remains somewhat of a mystery. The discovery of the wall paintings of Pompeii and Herculaneum in the eighteenth century alerted artists and philosophers to the superior painting methods of the ancients, which were capable of bringing images to life with a vibrancy that could endure millennia without fading.[28] Advocated by Denis Diderot (1713-1784), the foremost philosopher of the Enlightenment and one of the first modern art critics, experiments began specifically into the encaustic technique, taking what could be gleaned from Pliny's descriptions of the method and the tools employed.[29] And such experiments continue today, with the mummy panel portraits taking centre stage.[30]

As currently understood, the first step would have been to prepare a wooden panel from *Tilia europaea*, known colloquially as lime wood, which was imported into Egypt from Europe at vast expense.[31] The panel was then treated and sawn carefully to a remarkable 1-1.5 mm thickness. Before the painter began mixing his pigments, a ground layer was applied with a brush (*penicillum*), marking out major areas of the painting and providing a complementary colour upon which the wax would be layered.[32] Next, the main medium was prepared. With 'encaustic' coming from the Greek *enkaio*, meaning to 'burn in', beeswax was first melted 'by fire' before the pigments were added.[33]

Working with a traditional four-colour palette – lead white, yellow-ochre, earth-red and carbon black – the main areas of the portrait would have been subtly modelled, layering the wax and blending colours with a metal tool similar to a palette knife (*cauterium*) before then etching in details with a pointed tool (*cestrum*).[34] The artist would have added further colours – copper-greens, blues and purples – for the embellishment of jewellery and clothing. Occasionally, additional colours were used to highlight the lips and cheeks. As an Anacreontic ode to a painter notes, an encaustic portrait of a woman should have 'cheeks of roses mixed with milk'.[35] Such qualities are lauded in Lucian's *Imagines*, where he notes that the skill of a painter is measured in terms of his ability to mix and layer colours.[36]

The remarkable skill of the Fayum painters, working with a fast-setting material – immalleable once cooled – is summed up by the first-century philosopher Seneca: 'The painter chooses with great speed between his colours which he has placed in front of him in great quantity and variety of hues, in order to portray faithfully the naturalness of the scene, and he goes backwards and forwards with the eyes and with the hands between the waxes and the picture.'[37] The speed at which the painters had to work is perhaps the reason their style has often been noted as impressionistic. Indeed, the artists of the first-century

An encaustic portrait of a woman should have 'cheeks of roses mixed with milk'.

12
Geremia Discanno (1839-1907) painting the frescoes of Pompeii for the wider European public.

Fayum and the Impressionists of nineteenth-century Europe shared a common goal. They both sought to capture an image under changing light conditions, and to record what they saw in that precise moment. In the quick, instinctive brushstrokes they left behind, we come to see the 'signature' of each ancient painter.

By the late nineteenth century, methodical excavations at Pompeii by the pioneering archeologist Giuseppe Fiorelli (1823-1896) had revealed more frescoes at the House of the Vettii and the Villa of Mysteries. Fiorelli's collaboration with landscape painter Geremia Discanno (1839-1907) between 1870 and 1873 ultimately led to the publication of *The Excavations of Pompeii from 1861 to 1872*, which included, for the first time, fifty vibrant watercolours showing the painted Pompeian frescoes.[38] This landmark publication, along with emerging tourism to Pompeii, brought the art of the ancient painter to a wider European audience for the first time. However, nothing could match what was about to come. In January 1888, the young surveyor William Flinders Petrie set out on an excavation that would introduce the world to the last surviving examples of ancient panel-painting and bring contemporaries face to face with people from the distant past.

TIMELINE OF PORTRAITURE

Fifth century B.C.
In the late Classical Period naturalistic painting develops under the Sikyonian School

Fourth century B.C.
Greek painter Pausias refines the encaustic technique – a method using heated beeswax mixed with pigments – paving the way for its use in Graeco-Roman panel portraits

First century A.D.
Graeco-Roman panel painting reaches its artistic height, using the medium of encaustic to create individualistic portraits with vibrancy and depth

Third century
Production of panel portraits in encaustic declines

Fourth century B.C.
During the Hellenistic Period artists such as Apelles of Cos elevate portraiture to new heights, creating groundbreaking paintings, none of which survive

DORMANT MILLENNIUM

Sixth century
During the Byzantine Period encaustic is used to depict religious figures

Eighth century
Period of Iconoclasm begins

Twelfth century
Gothic art develops from Romanesque art. Some individualised depictions exist but remain highly stylised

OF WESTERN PORTRAITURE

Eleventh century
Romanesque art is characterised by religious symbolism with elongated and abstract figural representations

Fourteenth century
The Proto-Renaissance emerges in Italy, with artists like Giotto pioneering a return to naturalism. Working in tempera, they reintroduce depth, perspective, and emotion though their focus remains on religious scenes

Fifteenth century
Netherlandish painters such as Jan van Eyck revive naturalistic portraiture with their mastery of a new medium, oil. Like encaustic, oil could capture the nuances of reality, bridging the gap between ancient traditions and the Renaissance

Sixteenth century
In 1503, Leonardo da Vinci paints Italian noblewoman Lisa del Giocondo, *the Mona Lisa*

Sixteenth century
Renaissance painters such as Sandro Botticelli, Titian and Lorenzo Lotto depict monarchs, nobles and deities with great naturalism

Seventeenth century
Dutch Golden Age painter Frans Hals becomes one of the first modern painters to popularise portraiture for the middle classes

PETRIE'S DISCOVERY

You must thank you heartily for the Athenaeums which have duly arrived. The variety of comment between that & the Academy is amusing, & there is much news besides! From sheer incapacity to do anything worth doing, here is a lazy outline of our tents from a little shelter on a mound hard by where I breakfast in the heat.

excavations in plain

throwing out destructive on N. side of big

Skelley

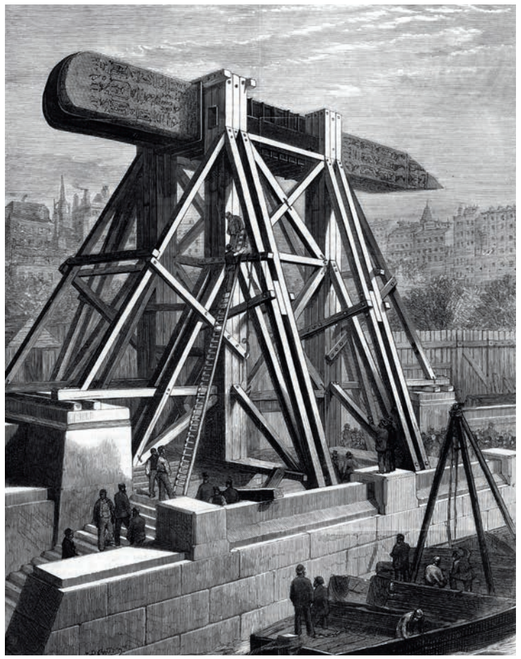
my tent

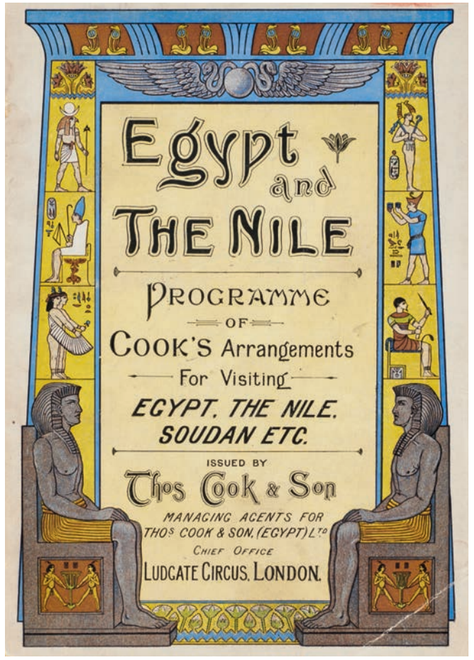
Mahé's tent

sarcophagus

Oh! that I could set about box making or doing anything; but every bell one drenches with the heat, & ever puts spirit on chills. I have just been round all the men & settled their accounts at last.

Schliemann says it is a shame & disgrace to Englishmen that they have not hung Gladstone long ago. Bravo!





'It would be hardly respectable, on one's return from Egypt, to present oneself without a mummy in one hand and a crocodile in the other.'

13 (left)
Nineteenth-century Europeans were fascinated by ancient Egypt. Here, an ancient obelisk, popularly known as Cleopatra's Needle is erected in London, 1878.

14 (right)
A late nineteenth-century advertisement for Thomas Cook & Son's package trips to Egypt.

In January 1888, under the imposing shadow of the Pyramid of Amenemhat III, William Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) carefully brushed away the sands of the Fayum Oasis, layer by layer, pausing occasionally only to jot down notes and sketches in his leather-bound notebook. Like others before him, Petrie had set out to uncover the secrets of Hawara. Working tirelessly in the heat of the Egyptian sun, he was on the brink of one of the most remarkable finds in the history of Egyptology: a burial ground for the Graeco-Roman elite from across the region, untouched for two thousand years.[1] But of all the treasures these people took with them to the afterlife, the most astonishing were their portraits. Lifelike, naturalistic and remarkably compelling, these ancient likenesses brought Petrie face to face with the ancient world he had spent his life trying to understand.

The Modern Archaeologist

In the midst of the nineteenth century, an exciting phenomenon was gripping Victorian London. Sparked by Napoleon's Egyptian Campaign (1798-1801) and fuelled by subsequent archaeological finds, a renewed and widespread nterest in the art and culture of ancient Egypt was taking hold. Inspired by tales that radiated outward from the Nile Valley, contemporaries reproduced Egypt's vibrant and historic landscape in novels, paintings and theatre, still beloved today. In Europe, Giuseppe Verdi's tragic opera *Aida*, set in Egypt's Old Kingdom, was met with great acclaim at its premiere in Milan in 1872, while in London, popular, paid exhibitions at the Egyptian Hall and Crystal Palace glamorised the relics of the ancient past. Amid this fervour, Egypt became a popular travel destination for the up-and-coming middle classes, with Thomas Cook & Son offering guided trips up the Nile from 1869.[2] A market for souvenirs soon followed, leading one tourist to comment, 'It would be hardly respectable, on one's return from Egypt, to present oneself without a mummy in one hand and a crocodile in the other.'[3] London-born surgeon and philanthropist Sir Erasmus Wilson (1809-1884) even spent an enormous £10,000 to remove Cleopatra's Needle from Heliopolis in 1877 and install it on the Thames Embankment a year later.[4]

15
Poster for an exhibition of the Theodor Graf Collection of 'Ancient Greek Portraits' in Vienna, late nineteenth century.

In 1881, the future of archaeology in Egypt was on shaky ground. The unlikely saviour was a young surveyor from London.

Around the same time, one particular type of find was beginning to cause a stir on the European art market. These were the mummy panel portraits emerging from an unknown area of the Egyptian Fayum, displaying faces that seemed to transcend the ages. Brought to Europe by Viennese dealer Theodor Graf (1840-1903), they possessed an eerie modernity that was particularly striking, and they confronted people with the reality of the ancients.

However, while Egypt was shown throughout London and Europe in vibrant Technicolor, perfectly preserved and on a monumental scale, the circumstances in which Graf's portraits came to the market was indicative of an epidemic plaguing Egypt at the time. The popular appetite for ancient treasures fuelled their place on the market, and trading continued unabated in the face of increasing concerns about objects being looted and stripped from their archaeological context.[5] Despite efforts to curb this destruction and stem the flow of antiquities from the country by the head of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, French Egyptologist Auguste Mariette (1821-1881), very few archaeological excavations were properly recorded and objects catalogued.[6] When Mariette died in January 1881, the future of archaeology in Egypt was on shaky ground. The unlikely saviour was a young surveyor from London, who had set foot in Egypt for the first time only a year earlier. Yet he was soon to become the most distinguished archaeologist of the day.

William Flinders Petrie had no formal training in archaeology. The practical skills he possessed, he learned from interest and experience. From a young age he had been fascinated by the ancient past. At the age of eight, on hearing about the excavations of a Roman villa on the Isle of Wight, he 'was horrified at hearing of the rough shovelling out of the contents, and protested that the earth ought to be pared away inch by inch, to see all that was in it and how it lay'. As he later recalled, 'I was already in archaeology by nature.'[7] On 12 September 1878 Petrie, like many others, went to watch Cleopatra's Needle being erected on the Thames Embankment. Soon after, he wrote to his friend, fellow archaeologist Flaxman Spurrel (1842-1915), 'I abhor all ceremonies and festivities and all concourses of people; *I want to be doing*, instead of being and suffering. I would rather do a week's hard work than assist in a day's pleasure.'[8] The following year, he set off on the long, arduous journey to Egypt, embarking on a mission to survey the Pyramids that would change the course of his career.

In particular, it was the 1883 publication of his findings, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, that set him on a new path.[9] This brought him to the attention of novelist and journalist Amelia Edwards (1831-1892) and marked the beginning of a working relationship and friendship that would last until her death. Having travelled to Egypt in 1873-4 and fallen in love with its vast and ancient history, Edwards, like many of her contemporaries, had bemoaned 'the work of destruction' that went on there. Seeing there was 'no one to prevent it' and 'no one to discourage it', she took matters into her own hands. In 1882, she set up the Egypt Exploration Fund to raise money to support salvage and preservation work throughout the country.[10] Finding a kindred spirit in Petrie, she offered him work with the EEF.

On 27 October 1883, after accepting Edwards' offer, Petrie wrote, 'The prospect of excavating in Egypt is a most fascinating one... I believe the true line lies as much in the careful noting and comparison of small details, as in more wholesale and off-hand clearances.'[11] This certainly underscored his ideology as an archaeologist, which was remarkably different from others of his day. He recalled later, 'The science of observation, of registration, of recording, was yet unthought of; nothing had a meaning unless it were an inscription or a sculpture.'[12] And yet to Petrie this was the lifeblood of archaeology. Indeed, during his first dig with the EEF he excavated and catalogued fragments of pottery that others before him would have disregarded. In implementing such a system, he fundamentally changed archaeology from a treasure-hunting activity to the ordered and scientific study of the human past it is today.[13] As he later concluded, 'The most important historical conclusions may hang on a single potsherd.'[14]

However, by 1886, tensions were rising in the EEF. Disappointed by the lack of guidance he received, and butting heads with the society's joint honorary secretary Reginald Poole (1832-1895), Petrie concluded that he needed to 'break new ground in archaeology'.[15] After failing to convince Edwards to join him, Petrie left the Fund to forge his own path. Following Petrie's resignation, a correspondent wrote to Edwards, 'Everyone thinks Petrie has been badly used – not by you – by Poole, under whom it was impossible for a genius like Petrie to work.'[16]

Petrie wrote, 'The prospect of excavating in Egypt is a most fascinating one...'

16 (left)
Amelia Edwards (1831-1892), founder of the Egypt Exploration Fund which funded Petrie's first season excavating in Egypt.

17 (opposite)
Petrie outside the tomb chamber he lived in during his first visit to Egypt, when he surveyed the Pyramids of Giza, c.1881-2.

Grébaut 'dangled the Labyrinth before me as a prize…'

18 (opposite)
Photograph taken by Petrie of the Pyramid of Amenemhat III in the Fayum, during his first season in Egypt, 1881-2.

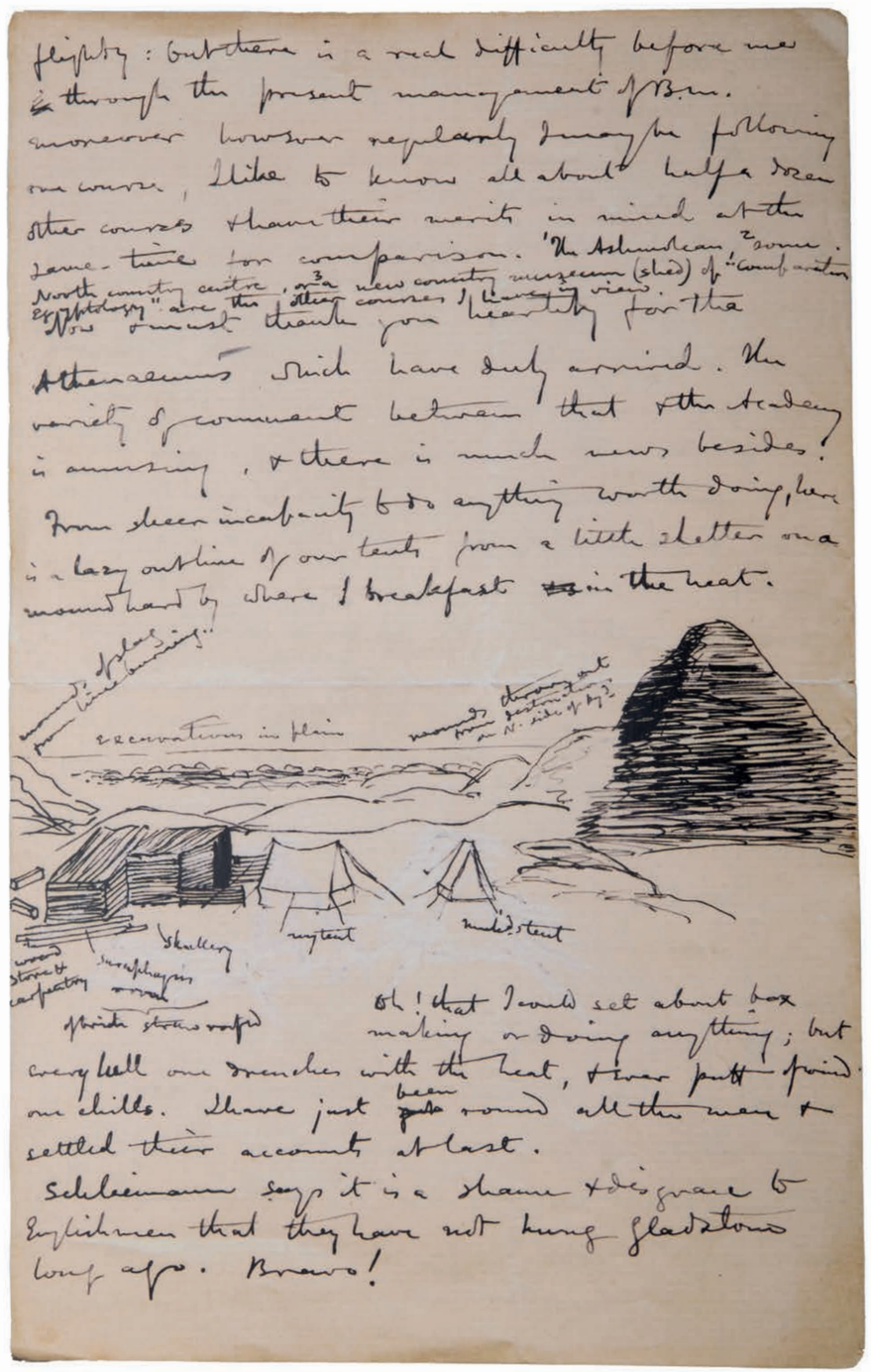
19 (above)
Henry Martyn Kennard (1833-1911), financial sponsor of Petrie's Hawara expedition.

Hawara, 1888

By 1887, Petrie was ready for a new challenge, and he set his sights on the treasures of Hawara, deep in the Fayum Oasis. Like others before him, he saw the secrets of the great Pyramid and Labyrinth complex of Middle Kingdom Pharaoh Amenemhat III (1842-1797 B.C.) as the ultimate prize. Famed even in antiquity, fifth-century writer Herodotus had written of their monumental architecture and magnificent reliefs, concluding that they surpassed even the renown of the Pyramids of Giza.[17] Echoed down the centuries by Strabo and Pliny the Elder, the area – near to the place known in ancient times as Crocodilopolis, home to the crocodile god Sobek – was frequented by archaeologists with hopes of discovering buried treasure.

However, the work of Karl Richard Lepsius (1810-1884) and Luigi Vassalli (1812-1887) in the 1840s and 1860s had uncovered nothing, so Petrie began to wonder exactly what was hidden beneath the sands.[18] Having photographed the area on his first visit to Egypt in 1881, he later contemplated the tales of its splendour, 'of the enormous extent of the buildings, and of their exceeding in vastness all the temples of the Greeks put together…'[19] In addition, the new director of the Antiquities Service, Eugène Grébaut (1846-1915), 'had no agency for working' in the Fayum, despite rumours of continual finds by local Arabs. At their meeting, he told Petrie that he wished to have someone 'organise & work matters out'. Aware of the appeal of the site to any budding excavator, Petrie wrote that Grébaut 'dangled the Labyrinth before me as a prize…'[20]

Newly separated from the EEF and determined to forge his own path, Petrie needed funding, and he made it his mission during the 1887 London season to secure it. Here, he became acquainted with industrialist and businessman Henry Martyn Kennard (1833-1911). From a Welsh iron-producing family, Kennard was the ideal backer for Petrie's excavation. Not only was he wealthy, but like many of his contemporaries he was fascinated by the treasures of Egypt. In October 1887 he wrote to Petrie, 'I am happy to feel I have an opportunity of adding my [name to] unearthing the ghosts of an ancient history – I shall be in town about the 2 or 3rd of Nov… when we can arrange all the particulars.'[21] Aided by businessman Jesse Haworth (1835-1921), whose assistance was arranged by Amelia Edwards, Kennard bore all costs of transport and workmen. In return, after a selection of finds was given to the Cairo Antiquities Service, the three men would 'equally divide all that came to England'.[22]



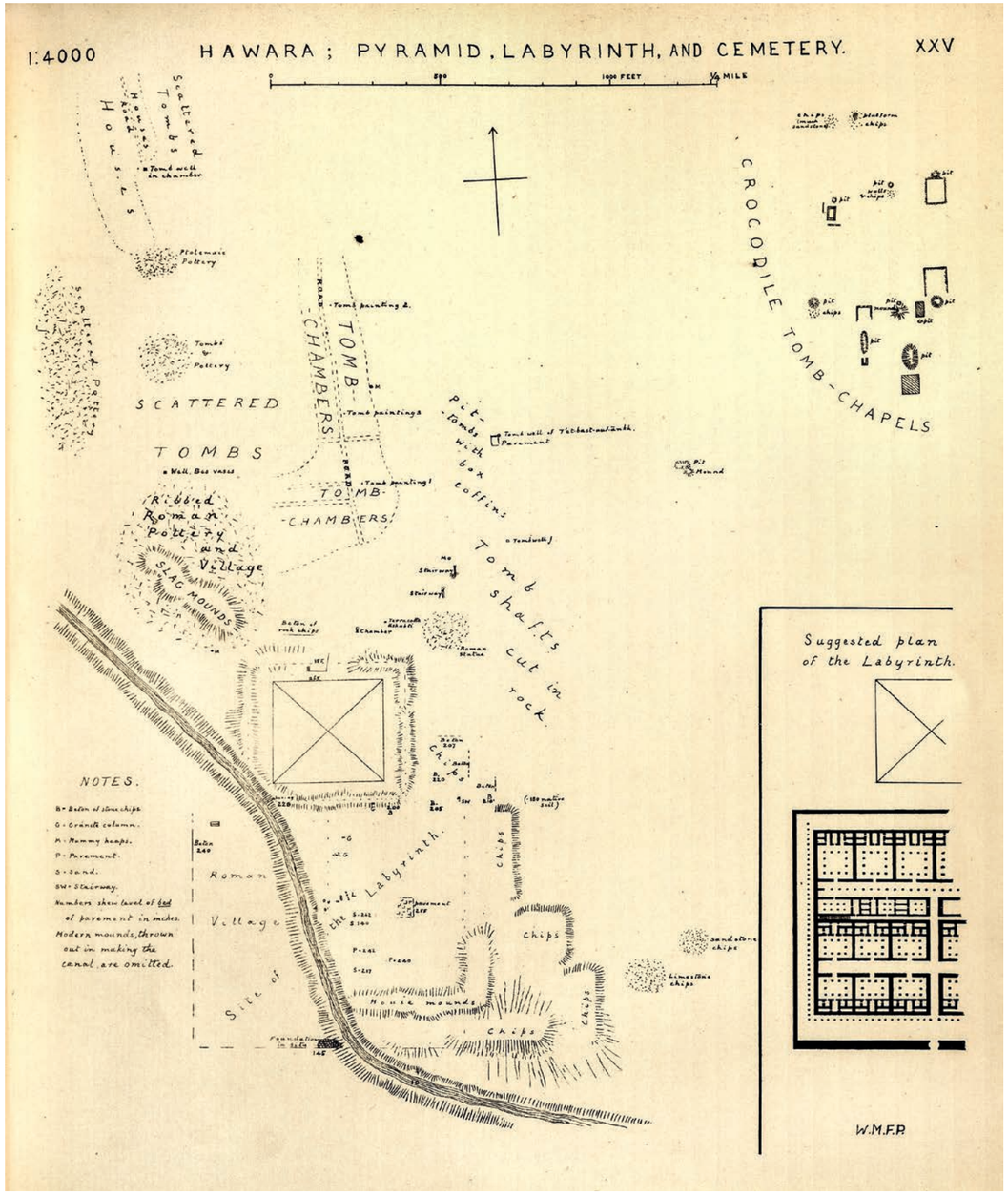
20
Letter from Petrie to Amelia Edwards, 9 April 1888, including a drawing of his campsite at Hawara, in the shadow of Amenemhat III's pyramid.

The men 'seem to like it very well, as there is a constant tootling of pipes, singing, clapping, shouting & general jollity going on'.

In December 1887, Petrie set off for Egypt. During the long journey, 'the seas were so high that the whole foredeck was all a-wash for two days.'[23] However, this was to be the end of his misfortune. On setting foot in the Fayum, the first task was to find suitable accommodation. 'There are no cheerful notices of Apartments to Let... no hotel touts to greet you.'[24] On previous digs, he might have settled in an ancient tomb chamber cut into the cliff-face, most suitable in the heat of the Egyptian sun. But on this occasion, he pitched a modest tent amidst those of his workers, 'the same size as my old small one... though I enquired all through the tent bazaar'.[25] In the early days of the season, the campsite was pitched 'between the pyramid & the canal close to it'. The men 'seem to like it very well, as there is a constant tootling of pipes, singing, clapping, shouting & general jollity going on'.[26]

While they relaxed after the long hours spent digging, every evening Petrie meticulously recorded the day's events, excitedly anticipating what treasures were to be found the following morning. Towards the end of January, Petrie began to report several wonderful finds, including a cartouche of Amenemhat III, confirming Herodotus' mythical story, and the nose of a colossus, 'glittering in the sunshine' with such fine a polish that it 'still reflected like glass'.[27]

On Thursday 26 January, the camp was preparing for the arrival of Petrie's benefactor, Henry Martyn Kennard. His 'tents, dragoman, cook, two donkey boys, & two hangers on all came over & pitched' before the arrival of 'Mr. K & his manservant' the following day.[28] Perhaps unsurprisingly, the dusty and arid nature of the dig site proved very different from the rarefied society of London, although it was not Kennard who was indifferent to the reality of an excavator's life. It was instead 'the disgust of the valet at living among a crowd of mummies [that] was the cream of the entertainment; he could not share his master's pleasure in getting into dirty pits'.[29] On this visit, Petrie reported that 'he will probably stay about a week, as he is much interested with the work'.[30]



21
Petrie's map of the dig site at Hawara, published in his 1889 book *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*. The portraits were found in an area just to the north of the Pyramid.

22 (opposite)
Petrie's 1888 expedition predated the widespread availability of photography. This photograph shows two portrait mummies from an expedition by Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt in 1896.

However, Kennard had arrived just in time. On that same day, on the north side of the Pyramid, Petrie stumbled across an undiscovered series of Roman tomb chambers. Having hoped for the tombs to be contemporary with the adjacent Pyramid and the Labyrinth of Amenemhat III (1842-1797 B.C.), he was initially disappointed.[31] However, unbeknown to him, he had just unearthed one of the most important discoveries ever made in Egyptology: the necropolis of Hawara, renowned in ancient times as a preferred burial ground for the Graeco-Roman elite. As he wrote that evening, 'I find, what I did not expect, a great cemetery... covering perhaps 100 acres...'[32] However, the usual and expected treasures of these ancient people were of little interest. Rather, Petrie had stumbled upon the first undisturbed cache of mummy portraits painted in the vibrant encaustic technique, perfectly preserved and bearing the likeness of their owner. That evening, he excitedly wrote:

'[This] may prove the most profitable speculation of all; for we find the bodies untouched, under the floors. They have no amulets, but one is a prize... over the head & neck is a board painted with a most beautiful portrait of a young girl.'[33]

Keenly aware of the significance of these finds and their undoubted popularity in Europe, Petrie wrote, 'These portraits are very rare, only two or three in British Museum; but lately they have been found at er-Rubayat, in the Fayum, & have been greatly sought for, & offered at fabulous prices in London & Paris.' Yet here, in the shadow of the great Pyramid of Amenemhat, 'they turn up in a fresh place, just under my feet. If we can get one or two a week we shall be well repaid'.[34] Petrie's wishes did not go unheard. Four days later, on Tuesday 31 January, a second portrait was found, and on 2 February, a third. Each discovery was recorded and each portrait labelled with a letter for identification.[35] On 4 February, Petrie wrote:

'I should perhaps tell my readers that these portraits are rare, & a single one would be an event of a season in any other place I have yet worked in. Any Cairo dealer would give a good round sum for the privilege of having a permission such as I have got for this lucky site. My friends who have backed me will not need to repent it.'[36]

Indeed, Kennard was particularly pleased to witness this extraordinary moment. He 'is on the wander about nearly all day long, being much stirred by the successive finds'.[37] To protect his newly found paintings, Petrie devised an innovative technique, cleaning the portraits with spirit where necessary, before preserving the encaustic in a layer of fresh wax.[38]

'The Roman tombs... may prove the most profitable speculation of all...'

'After a week with scarcely anything came a flood of finds in one day. Two mummies with portraits in one tomb... they are certainly in first rate condition...'

23 (left)
Portrait H, discovered together with Portrait L, on 14 February 1888. Now at the Royal Ontario Museum, Canada, 918.20.1.

24 (right)
Portrait L.

Spoiled by the treasures that Hawara had to offer, Petrie later complained, 'I have become accustomed to a supply of portraits that I am uneasy if a couple of days pass blank.'[39] Other smaller finds certainly continued: jars, embroidered clothes, sarcophagi and pieces of sculpture and ostraka, 'enough to make a collector happy for a month or two'.[40] On 11 February Petrie lamented, 'On the whole the end of this week has been comparatively dull.' Then, on the evening of 14 February 1888, he reported the following:

'After a week with scarcely anything came a flood of finds in one day. Two mummies with portraits in one tomb; both covered with cloth resined on. The portraits are therefore invisible till properly cleaned with spirit, though I can just see one through the resin: but they are certainly in first rate condition...'[41]

Found in a dig site to the north of the great Pyramid of Amenemhat III, Portrait L was discovered along with the portrait of an older woman (Portrait H), which now resides in the Royal Ontario Museum, Canada.[42] From then on, the finds of mummy portraits picked up pace. Petrie had 'well given up on Labyrinth work', and by the end of February, he reported that twenty-five mummy portraits had been found.[43] He couldn't believe his luck. 'The Greeks in Medineh are mightily sore at hearing reports of my finds: to think that they have had such a site close to them so many years, & have not poached in it.'[44]

‘After a week with scarcely anything
came... two portraits in one tomb...
I can just see one through the resin...
They are certainly in first rate
condition...’

‘They have no amulets, but one
is a prize... over the head & neck
is a board painted with the most
beautiful portrait of a young girl...’

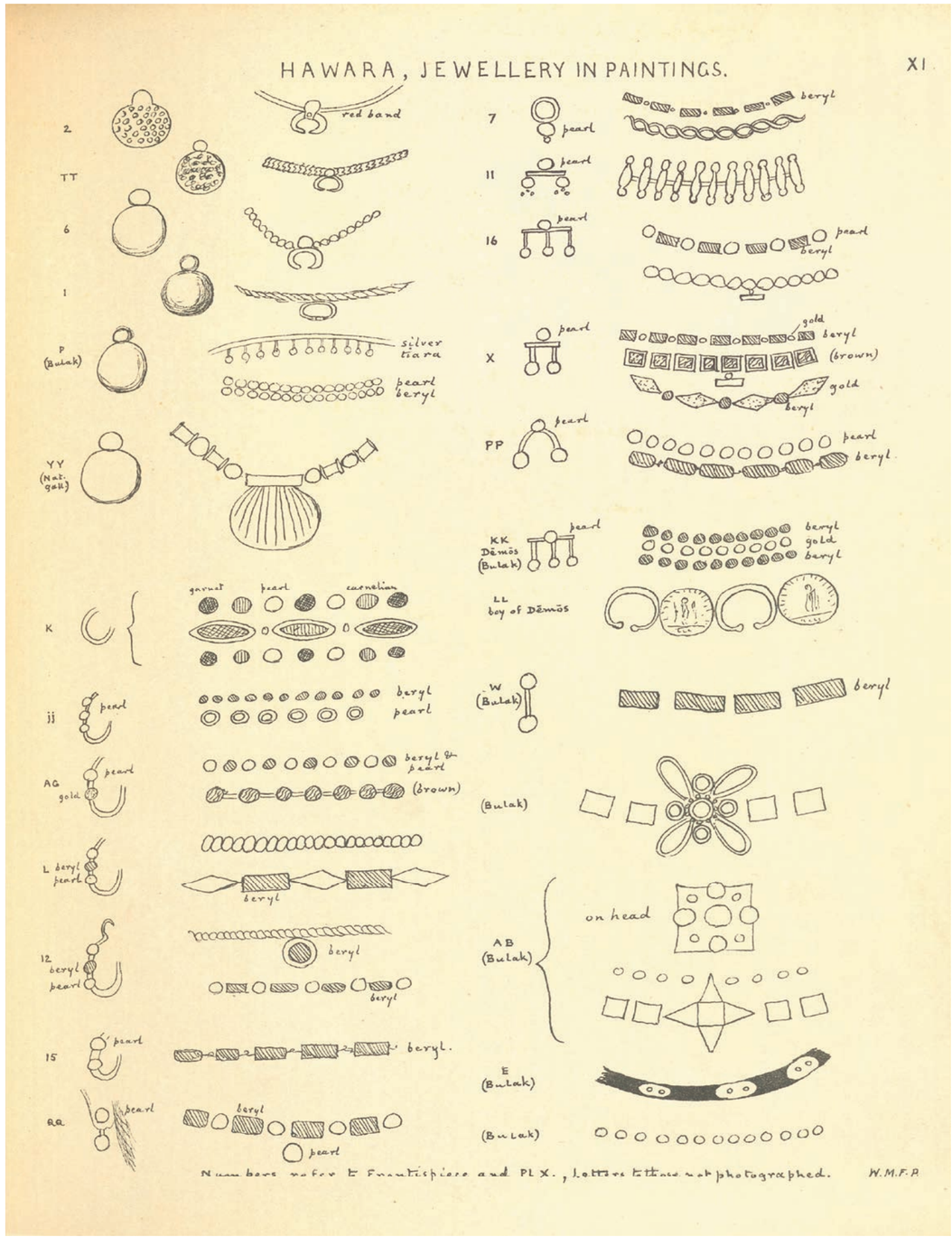
Petrie’s diary entries from Hawara, 12-14 February and 22-29 January 1888.

12-17 Feb/88. Went into medinah, got letters + cash, and lunched with Mr. Hewat. He had very kindly agreed to take in all many of my finds in store at his office (a huge dilapidated country house); so I despatched on to him three mummies + a box of skulls; loading the camel with a lot of empty boxes on the journey out from medinah.

After a week with scarcely anything came a flood of finds in one day. Two mummies with portraits in one tomb; both covered with cloth resined on. The portraits are therefore invisible till properly cleaned with spirit, though I can just see one through the resin; but they are certainly in first rate condition preserved thus. One was knocked about the feet + not beautiful in its wrappings, so I gave that up + only took the portrait; but the other is so perfectly preserved that I shall bring it. While seeing these brought to the tent, a boy runs up with a Roman glass phial [illegible] perfect; + begged me to come. They had got out also a leaden cinerary urn in perfect condition. The lid was so carefully cemented on, that when I got to the tent I decided to cut open the bottom a little to see whether there might be a glass vessel inside, which should be removed before travelling. But there was nothing but burnt bones; so I beat back the flap I had cut, + the thing is perfect so far as

25 (left)
Petrie's diary entry for 12-17 February 1888, detailing the discovery of Portrait L.

26 (opposite)
Petrie's drawings of the jewellery depicted in mummy portraits found at Hawara, 1888. Portrait L is shown on the left, fourth up from the bottom.



In March, Kennard visited the dig again, informing Petrie that 'they have only 5 portraits at Bulak [the main Egyptian museum], not so good as ours'.[45] Indeed, coming from the ground 'as fresh as the day they were painted', the remarkable portraits were immediately captivating.[46] Their innate naturalism and lifelike qualities also hinted at the personalities of the depicted. Petrie commented that one young lady was 'tolerably good looking, & evidently thought herself still more so'.[47] Another man looked 'as if he would have made a very conscientious hardworking curate, with a tendency to pulpit hysterics'.[48]

Towards the end of the season, Grébaut similarly remarked upon looking at a female portrait, that he 'once knew a young lady like that'.[49] In their naturalistic rendering, Petrie likened their ease of expression to the works of Joseph Turner (1775-1851) or John Constable (1776-1837).[50] He further reported, 'I have the notion – beside any special exhibition that we make of these – that it would be a grand joke to send in all the paintings I bring home to the Winter Exhibition of Old Masters at Burlington House.'[51] As a result, Petrie now looked upon golden mummies of the Ptolemaic period, once wondrous finds, with contempt. In March he described 'the plague of gilt mummies', reporting that 'more gilt faced things', in all their 'gilt gaudiness' were still being uncovered.[52] They could not compare with the simple naturalism of the Graeco-Roman portraits.

The weather conditions for most of the 1888 dig were appalling. Sandstorms halted much of the work and temperatures reached well over 38 degrees Celsius.[53] This, combined with the air in the tombs, 'half aromatic, half stifling & mouldy', took its toll on Petrie, who had suffered from asthma since youth.[54] In the end, the heat was the cause of the suspension of the 1888 season. When it was time to return to England, Petrie wrote:

> 'I had lately made a light travelling case for the precious portraits to go with me by hand; but when I came to putting them in I found that several – including the most beautiful of all – were in a very touchy state, the paint scaling off & all loose. So I concluded that I must wax all the shaky ones; and to my relief I have done it without a single smudge.'[55]

During that season, Petrie unearthed 67 portraits in total, the largest and best preserved group of mummy portraits ever found.

One young lady was 'tolerably good looking, & evidently thought herself still more so'. Another man looked 'as if he would have made a very conscientious hardworking curate, with a tendency to pulpit hysterics'.

27
Portrait LL, found 15 March 1888. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Acc. No. CG 33240.

28
Portrait J, found on the evening of 14 February 1888. Now in the British Museum, Acc. No. EA 74712.

29
Portrait AA, found 29 February 1888. Now in the British Museum, Acc. No. EA 74706.

30
Portrait T, found 25 February 1888. Now in The Walters Art Museum, Acc. No. 32.3.

The centre subject is a group of coffins, mummies, Canopic jars, &c., from the cemetery discovered by Mr. Petrie while excavating in the Fayoum.
1 and 11. Portraits in wax medium, from mummy cases.
2. Glass lens. 3. Mummy label, Greek inscription.
4. Flint-tools; and hidden knife.
5. Women's spindle.
6. Bundle of leather-worker's needles, tied as found.
7. Flint knife, from temple area, Arsinoë, age of the Ramesides.
8. Incense-burner.
9. Terra-cotta toy sedan chair, lady removable.
10. Fragment of the Labyrinth cartouche of Amenemhat III.
12. Papyrus charm and small image as found.
13. Terra-cotta doll, broken.
14. Toy crocodile.
15. Toy bedstead.
16. Boys' tops.
17. Toy bird, with wheels.
18. Rag doll.
19. Toy mirror of metal in wooden case.
20. Fragment of embroidery.

EGYPTIAN, GREEK, AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED BY MR. FLINDERS PETRIE.
EXHIBITION AT EGYPTIAN HALL, PICCADILLY.

'I have got a letter from Mr Kennard here saying that he has taken a room at the Egyptian Hall for £60 for two months... We must make a splash of it now...'

31
Advert for Petrie's landmark exhibition of 1888 in *The Illustrated London News* (30 June 1888, p.717).

Petrie's Landmark Exhibition of 1888

After Grébaut had selected several portraits to remain in Egypt, Petrie returned to England, ready to display his treasures – including Portrait L – to the public. Hoping to increase support for his next season, independent of the EEF, he was aware he needed to make the most of public interest in such portraits. As an academic society, the traditional location for the exhibition of finds – the Royal Archaeological Institute – was too limiting for his ambitions.[56] His commercially minded benefactor Henry Martyn Kennard took control of finding a more suitable location. Petrie kept Amelia Edwards informed of their eventual choice:

> 'I have got a letter from Mr Kennard here saying that he has taken a room at the Egyptian Hall for £60 for two months. I do not like running into such expense on speculation, where no object is involved except publicity, but I dare say it is the best thing to do... We must make a splash of it now...'[57]

Opposite Burlington House, home to such learned institutions as the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Academy of Arts and the Royal Astronomical Society, Egyptian Hall was the perfect choice. While situated in the thriving artistic and scientific centre of London, it was open to the interested layman. Advertised as 'England's home of mystery' in an 1887 campaign, Egyptian Hall also gave Petrie the ability to tap into popular enthusiasm for Egyptian culture and history. With its entranceway flanked by colossal figures of Isis and Osiris and grand hall lavishly designed to resemble the interior of Karnak Temple, the venue situated Petrie's finds within ancient Egypt itself. One contemporary paper reported that 'since [Giovanni Battista] Belzoni exhibited' his tomb of Seti I there in 1821, the Hall had not had 'anything in its galleries more appropriate to the name than Mr Flinders Petrie's antiquities now on view'.[58]

In preparation for the exhibition, Petrie unpacked and mounted the portraits himself, getting everything ready within two weeks. On 15 June, Petrie wrote to Edwards:

> 'If you had seen the scramble I have been living in, going to bed at 12 and up at 6 mending portraits and writing letters, and in London from 8 to 8 everyday, you would pardon my not sooner writing, or sending you the notes on the exhibition... the only time I could get to do them was writing from memory on the train... Now I really must go to bed; I am too dog-tired to sit up and direct cards to-night.'[59]

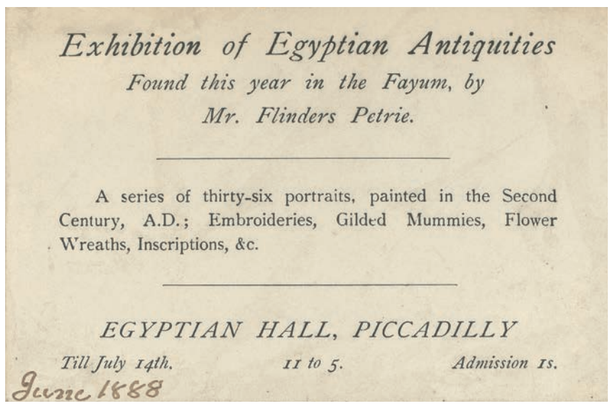
Running from 18 June until 12 July 1888, the exhibition received widespread acclaim. Reported as far as Chicago, the portraits were noted for their 'admirably free and bold treatment, some delicately and even minutely finished… which can have been little, if at all, inferior to the contemporaneous schools of Rome and Pompeii…'[60] In particular, they were noted for their remarkable preservation and strangely modern style. One viewer commented that the portraits were 'so fresh and vigorous that they might have left the artist's studio a few months back', while an article in *The Times* reported, 'They are preserved in all their freshness, or at least they have the appearance of being no older than Tuscan portraits of the time of Giotto.'[61]

For contemporary viewers, the visual link between these portraits from antiquity and the masters of the Renaissance, or the renowned portraitists of their own generation, was clear. In both style and substance, the portraits transcended the barrier that had been traditionally placed between the modern viewer and the artefacts of the ancients. As *The Illustrated London News* reported, 'These heads are by various artists, some of them wielding a brush as vigorous as that of Velázquez, and others a pencil as delicate and refined as that of Sir Frederick Leighton or [William-Adolphe] Bouguereau.'[62] Indeed these portraits were not regarded merely as ancient curiosities; they were recognised as the beginnings of art.

It is hardly surprising therefore that there were calls for the portraits to take up a permanent place in renowned public collections. While Kennard donated several portraits and artefacts to the British Museum, Petrie was particularly keen for them to be seen as artworks rather than artefacts. As such, he spearheaded the donation and purchase of a total of eleven to the National Gallery, arranging for five portraits to be donated by Kennard, two by Haworth and for four to be bought.[63] But the portraits were in high demand. On 20 July 1888, Petrie wrote to the gallery's director, Sir Frederic Burton (1816-1900), 'I am sorry not to have persuaded my friends to give more to the National Gallery in preference to other places; but I have made a special point of securing the old man's head for you.'[64] The keeper of the National Gallery, Charles Locke Eastlake (1836-1906), wrote to Kennard in August 1888, accepting his offer of five portraits, noting that 'the Trustees and Director regard these works as interesting and valuable additions to the Collection of the National Gallery, which cannot fail to be appreciated by the Public'.[65]

This acquisition was a pioneering step in the reframing of the prevailing art historical narrative. *The Times* reported on 28 August, 'It requires a certain amount of courage on the part of the Trustees of the National Gallery' to 'break through the rule which has hitherto prevailed at national museums of paintings – that examples of pictorial art anterior to the [Renaissance] were inadmissible.'[66] With the discovery of these portraits, 'an entirely new section of the history of art' was thus uncovered.[67]

'They are preserved in all their freshness, or at least they have the appearance of being no older than Tuscan portraits of the time of Giotto.'



32 (top)
The Egyptian Hall, 171 Piccadilly, was built in 1812 as a popular venue for public exhibitions and lectures. It would prove to be the perfect location for Petrie's exhibition in 1888.

33 (bottom)
Admission ticket for Petrie's landmark exhibition of 1888, during which Portrait L was seen by the public for the first time.

'These heads are by various artists, some of them wielding a brush as vigorous as that of Velázquez, and others a pencil as delicate and refined as that of Sir Frederick Leighton...'

Review of Petrie's Exhibition in *The Illustrated London News*, 30 June 1888.

As news of the paintings permeated Europe, the Louvre soon followed suit, displaying mummy portraits for the first time in 1903. They also served as inspiration for writers and artists alike. It has been speculated that Oscar Wilde (1854-1900) may even have visited the 1888 exhibition, drawing inspiration for his 1891 novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray* from the ancient portraits.[68] Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema (1836-1912) not only included a mummy portrait in his 1895 painting *Love's Jewelled Fetter* but was also among artists inspired by the exhibition to join the Society for the Preservation of Monuments in Ancient Egypt, which helped fund parts of Petrie's future projects.[69]

In fact, the exhibition brought Petrie several prominent connections. As he later recalled, 'There was much public interest in the exhibition. Sir Frederic Burton had his choice for [the National Gallery], and the visitors brought me friendships with [William] Holman Hunt, [Sir William Blake] Richmond and many others.'[70] The calibre of visitor was certainly a priority of Petrie's, to secure funding for the following season. In June he reported to Edwards, 'Things are going on very fairly at the hall... far better than I had hoped for. Several solid folks have been... all more than once. We have got hold of the right vein of folks, + not had any nasty boors or 'arrys about.'[71]

34 (left)
Photograph of the London exhibition of Petrie's finds from a later expedition to Hawara, 1911.

35 (opposite)
Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema was renowned for his depictions of Classical antiquity and the Graeco-Roman world. His *Love's Jewelled Fetter*, c.1894, shown here, includes a mummy portrait in the background.

The following season from 1888 to 1889, and again in 1911, Petrie returned to Hawara. While both excavations uncovered more mummy portraits, nothing could match his initial discovery for their quality, overall preservation and their impact on the popular imagination. Later, Petrie recalled the importance of the 1888 find: 'The cemetery of Hawara was a great resource for discoveries, and it proved to be one of the richest fields that I have found, although it was an entirely unexpected prize.'[72]

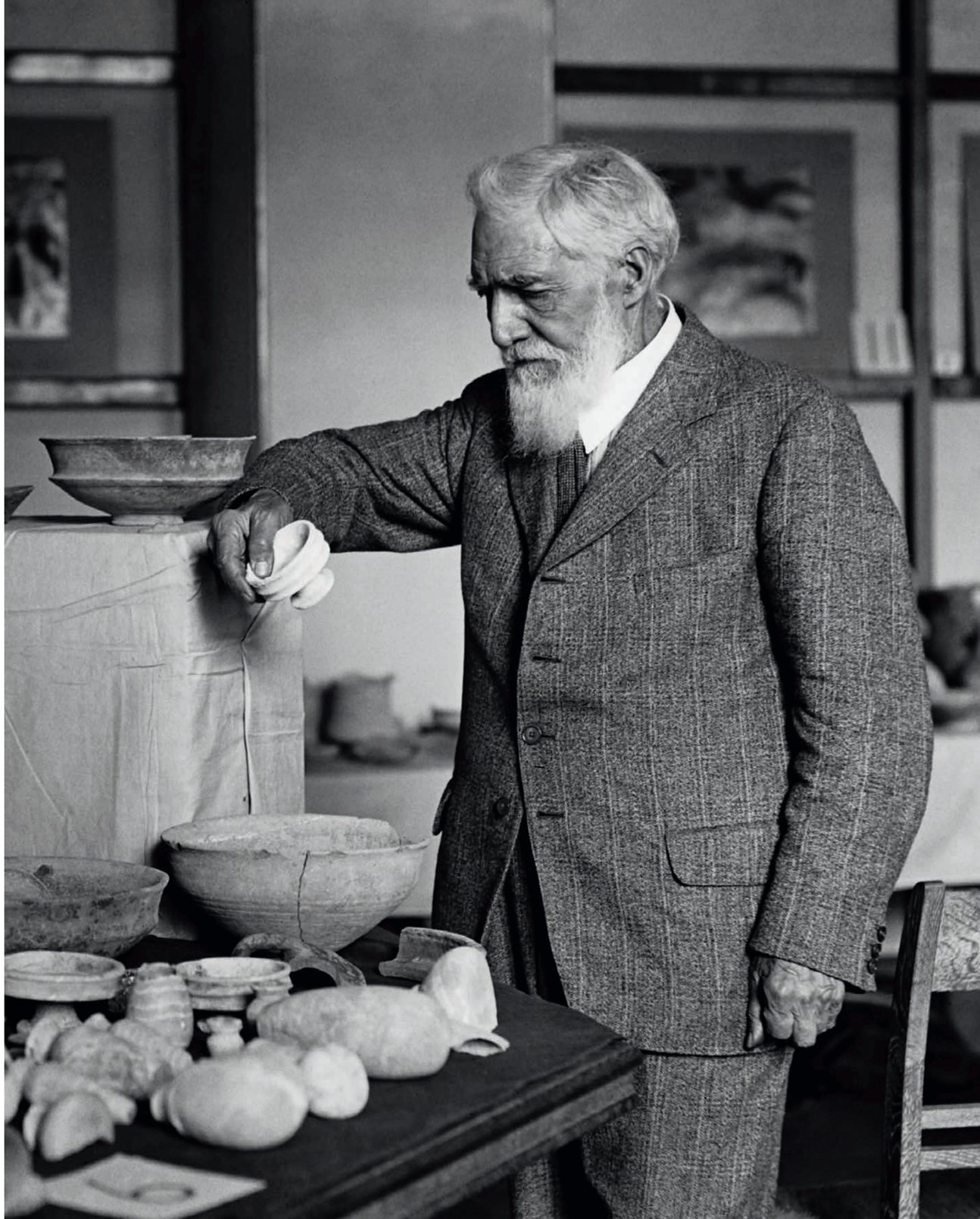
It is also due to Petrie's documenting of the finds that the Hawara season of 1888 produced some of the best recorded mummy portraits known today. Not only are we able to retell the story of their discovery through his journals and letters, but Petrie's records also provide these paintings with a secure provenance, unlike those from earlier finds and those brought to the market in the 1880s by Theodor Graf.[73] Determined to spur a new scientific age of excavation, Petrie's meticulous documentation, to an extent never seen before in Egyptology, provides us with invaluable information today. In his later book, *Methods & Aims of Archaeology*, Petrie summed up the *raison d'être* of his life's work:

> 'The work of the archaeologist is to save lives: to go to some senseless mound of earth, some hidden cemetery, and thence bring into the comradeship of man some proportions of the lives of this sculptor, of that artist, of the other scribe; to make their labour familiar to us as a friend; to resuscitate them again, and make them live in the thoughts, the imaginations, the longing, of living men and women…'[74]

Through the rediscovery of the faces of antiquity, Petrie certainly achieved just this. He later recalled, 'Though I came for the pyramid, I soon found a mine of interest in the portraits…'[75]

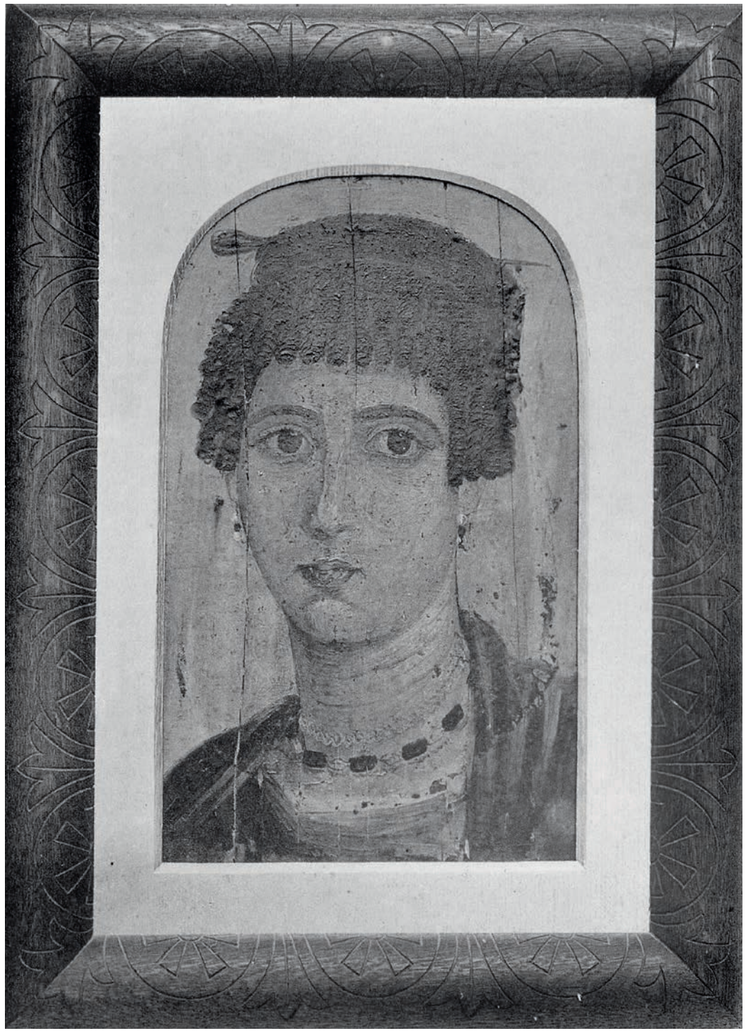
Though we do not have contemporary photos of the extraordinary 1888 exhibition, we know which portraits were displayed on account of notes taken at the time by Cecil Smith (1859–1944), curator at the British Museum and later director of the Victoria and Albert Museum (see Appendix A). These notes were published in Petrie's 1889 book *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*.[76] A century and a half later, portraits from this find are located in some of the most important museum collections around the world, from the Cairo Museum to the Royal Ontario Museum in Canada, the Antikensammlung in Berlin and the British Museum. Of all the examples exhibited in London in 1888, Portrait L, is the only one remaining in private hands.

'The cemetery of Hawara was a great resource for discoveries, and it proved to be one of the richest fields that I have found, although it was an entirely unexpected prize.'



36
Sir William Flinders Petrie at an exhibition of pottery he discovered in Southern Palestine at University College London, late 1920s.

PROVENANCE



Then in August… placed in an engraved frame, she began life at Kennard's main residence.

37
Portrait L, mounted and framed for display in Kennard's London home, 63 Lowndes Square, Belgravia.

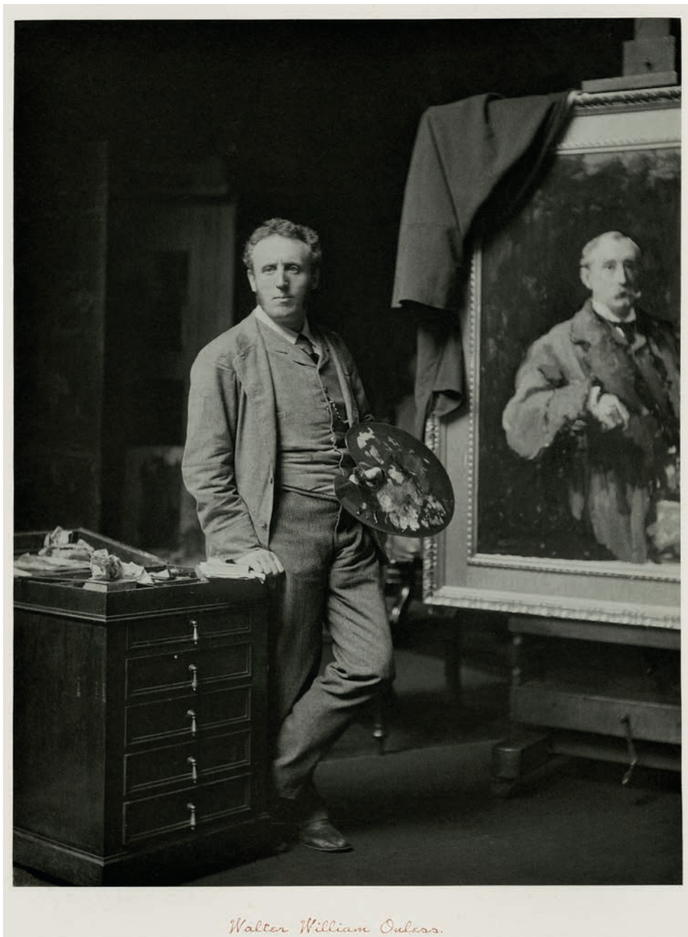
Henry Martyn Kennard (1833-1911)
By April 1888, Petrie had announced the conclusion of the Hawara season. In accordance with the agreement made between him and his benefactors, Henry Martyn Kennard and Jesse Haworth, the men set about to divide the recently discovered treasures. Perhaps noting her fine style and serene expression, Kennard personally selected Portrait L from the panel paintings laid out for his choosing. Seemingly unable to part her from her sister-portrait (Portrait H) – with whom she was found and had spent the last 2,000 years – he requested both for his safekeeping. Transported to London, the painting was initially presented to the public at Egyptian Hall. Then in August, newly backed on a thick oak panel, mounted and placed in an engraved frame, she began life at Kennard's main residence, 63 Lowndes Square, Belgravia.

While Haworth saw the 1888 excavation as a straightforward business pursuit, Kennard was different. Similarly the son of a wealthy industrialist, he, unlike Haworth, had a particular eye for the art of antiquity. It is clear he received the most accomplished portraits from Petrie's excavations, and by the end of the year the National Gallery had made sure to hang his recently donated paintings on public display. Meanwhile, Haworth's remained in storage.[1] When it came to dividing the finds, Amelia Edwards had already warned Petrie about Haworth, writing that he 'would not know what to do with the things, or where to put them, and he would not, I feel sure, be bothered with selling them'.[2]

Conversely, Kennard was a connoisseur and member of The Burlington Fine Arts Club, who had already started to build a remarkable collection of Egyptian art, provenanced from various sources such as Captain Francis H. Grenfell (1874-1946) and Reverend Greville Chester (1832-1890).[3] It was in this context that Portrait L became one of the jewels of his collection. During the 1888 exhibition at Egyptian Hall, Cecil Smith, then-curator at the British Museum, noted that Kennard's Portrait L was particularly fine, with 'well managed' shading and 'very smooth clean colouring', and was 'well worked'.[4]

Having funded Petrie's return to Hawara for the 1889 season, which resulted in the excavation of 21 further panel portraits, Kennard turned his attention to capturing his own likeness for posterity. Writing to the esteemed portraitist and member of the Royal Academy, William Walter Ouless (1848-1933) – known for painting Charles Darwin (1809-1882) and later the Prince of Wales (the future King Edward VII, 1841-1910) – a first sitting was arranged for New Years Day 1890. Notably, Kennard was to be depicted surrounded by the objects he treasured most – Egyptian antiquities.[5]

38
Inspired by the newly discovered panel portraits, Kennard sought to capture his own likeness and reputation as a collector in this portrait by W. W. Ouless (oil on canvas, 1890).



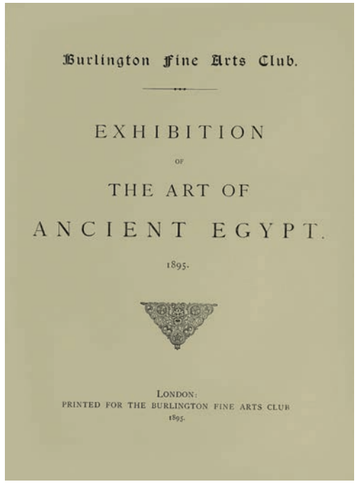
39
Member of the Royal Academy, Walter William Ouless, painting the portrait of Henry Martyn Kennard in his studio, c.1890.

However, Kennard was collecting at a time when Egyptian artefacts were only just beginning to be considered 'art'. Though they were previously considered primitive and valuable only for anthropological study, the popular enthusiasm for the 1888 exhibition of panel portraits, and their new place in the National Gallery's collection, had indicated this perception was changing. Then, in 1895, Kennard and Petrie joined forces once again. Just around the corner from Egyptian Hall, at 17 Savile Row, the esteemed Burlington Fine Arts Club announced that the 'art' of ancient Egypt would be the focus for its annual Special Exhibition.[6] This was an unprecedented step for the Club, which was known for its traditional displays of old master paintings. This was to be the first time that Egyptian objects had ever been displayed within the realms of art.[7]

Petrie was chosen to be on the organising committee for the exhibition, alongside Professor Gaston Maspero, former head of the Antiquities Service (from 1881-1886), and renowned German archaeologist Dr Adolf Erman (1854-1937). Reviewed as far as New York, the exhibition highlighted 'the sense of the antiquity of Art', previously believed to have begun only with the Renaissance.[8] As usual for Club exhibitions, loans from the remarkable collections of its members were encouraged, and Kennard selected Portrait L for the display, which was hung above the mantelpiece in the Club's main gallery. The committee presented such masterpieces alongside loans from prominent institutions including the Royal Museum, Berlin. The *Magazine of Art* reported that 'the art of Ancient Egypt is never likely to be better illustrated in a single exhibition... Not only private collectors, but important public institutions... have lent to the Burlington Club what are practically priceless treasures...'[9]

Throughout his lifetime, Kennard donated several pieces to the National Gallery, British Museum and Oxford's Ashmolean Museum, but Portrait L remained with him until his death in 1911. In July 1912, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* reported on upcoming sales at Sotheby's auction house. That month, they would be offering oil paintings, watercolours and Japanese prints. 'Of more importance,' however, were the 'Egyptian antiquities collected by the late Mr. H. M. Kennard to be sold... from the 16th to 19th.'[10] In the sale catalogue, Portrait L was described as 'an excellent example' of the mummy portraits from the Fayum.[11] Over four days, Kennard's collection was dispersed to collectors and institutions alike. Reporting on the sale at the end of the last day, *The Times* noted that Lot 542, 'A very fine bust of a lady, in coloured wax on panel, 9 ¼ in. by 15 in. high, fell to M. Kalebdjian, of Paris.'[12]

Kennard selected Portrait L for the display, which was hung above the mantelpiece in the Club's main gallery.



40 (top)
The main gallery of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 17 Savile Row, showing a traditional display of Old Master paintings. Portrait L was hung above the mantelpiece in the groundbreaking 1895 exhibition of Egyptian art.

41 (bottom)
Title page from *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1895.

42
The gallery of the Kalebdjian Frères at 12 Rue de la Paix, opposite Louis Cartier (1919).

The Kalebdjian Frères (fl. 1905-1930)

As the hammer came down on the afternoon of 18 July 1912, Lots 542 (Portrait L) and 543 (Portrait H) parted ways for the first time in 2,000 years. While Lot 543 was bought by Canadian archaeologist Charles Trick Currelly (1876-1957) for the Royal Ontario Museum, where it remains to this day, Portrait L caught the eye of two experienced Armenian brothers, Hagop and Garbis, whose gallery name, 'Kalebdjian', is recorded in the margin of a catalogue now held at the Brotherton Library.

Amid the splendour of Belle Époque Paris and right at the centre of the world's art market, the portrait was unpacked at the gallery of the Kalebdjian Frères on 12 Rue de la Paix. Here, she took up her place among a variety of objects purchased from the auctions of renowned Egyptian collections, including that of French Egyptologist Émile Amélineau (1850-1915), sold in 1904, and English banker Frederick Hilton Price, sold in 1911.[13] The Kalebdjian's was a collection drawn from the best Europe had to offer, comprising many 'masterpiece[s] of the first rank'.[14] The brothers also acted as agents, acquiring artefacts for wealthy patrons such as oil magnate Calouste Gulbenkian (1869-1955), a major collector of the day.[15] Perhaps even Louis Cartier (1875-1942), a loyal client and prestigious neighbour at 13 Rue de la Paix, gazed upon the portrait – whose necklace of polished emeralds and earrings of pearls and gold were the height of first-century fashion – as he formed a plan for his upcoming exhibition inspired by ancient jewellery, in June 1913.[16]

As early as 1903, the British Museum was also purchasing objects from the brothers, and today Kalebdjian-provenanced artefacts can be found in the collections of the Louvre, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Smithsonian. As American archaeologist James Henry Breasted (1865-1935) later said, on marvelling at their collection, 'It makes one wish for unlimited funds!'[17]

Léonce Rosenberg (1879-1947)

By May 1914, two years after the Kalbedjians secured Portrait L at Sotheby's, she reappears in a review of the collection of the legendary Parisian dealer – and foremost advocate of the Cubist movement – Léonce Rosenberg. Perhaps the Kalebdjian Frères acted as Rosenberg's agents, spotting the portrait at Sotheby's and purchasing it on his behalf, as they had done many times before for Gulbenkian.[18] Or perhaps one morning Rosenberg, an avid collector of antiquities at the time and a client of the Kalebdjians, was suddenly captivated by the portrait in the window of 12 Rue de la Paix, his own gallery being only a half-hour walk away.[19]

At the height of his career, Rosenberg's name was known around Europe as the foremost dealer of emerging and controversial artists, namely Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), Juan Gris (1887-1927) and Jean Metzinger (1883-1956).[20] Overcoming staunch opposition from his contemporaries, Rosenberg was the man who ultimately made Picasso a household name. Writing to the artist in 1916, he said, 'Together, we will be invincible. You will be the *creator*, I will be the *action*!'[21] Indeed, the art critic Max Jacob (1876-1944) later wrote of the debt Picasso and other Cubist painters owed to Rosenberg: 'Without him [those] painters… would be drivers or factory workers.'[22]

However, Cubism was not always Rosenberg's *raison d'être*. One of his first loves was the art of antiquity. After splitting from his brother Paul in 1911, with whom he bought and sold Impressionist works at the family gallery on Avenue de l'Opéra, Rosenberg set out on his own path. He later recalled, 'In my private apartment… I started dealing… in Oriental and Far Eastern archaeology… objects I loved infinitely more than Impressionism, which seemed to be a little too "bourgeois"…'[23]

By the time Portrait L arrived in Paris in 1912, Rosenberg had already built a remarkable collection spanning the epochs. It was described then as bringing 'together works that go beyond the average… illuminat[ing] each other with an unexpected light…'[24] By 1914, the renowned French archaeologist Salomon Reinach (1858-1932) had noted a 'beautiful example' of Graeco-Roman painting in Rosenberg's collection.[25] From among the many masterpieces on display at Rosenberg's apartment at 19 Rue de la Baume, Portrait L was selected for further praise by Henri d'Ardenne de Tizac (1877-1932):

> 'Most of [these paintings], crudely made with no concern for art, are of little interest; some, however, are genuine portraits, reproducing the faces of persons of quality; in such cases, one encounters works of art of delicate execution, to which the memory of the model still lends a melancholy charm. I like the smoothness of this portrait, the movement of the neck, the natural carriage of the face, the full chin, the luscious mouth, and that gaze, so fixed and cold in conventional works, which here acquires a kind of quiet depth, whose soothed gentleness pursues you for a long time.'[26]

To Rosenberg, the perceived dichotomy between works of antiquity and contemporary art was a fundamental misunderstanding. Indeed, he later wrote about the relationship between the works of his contemporaries and 'those of the ancient Egyptian Empire, [and] Greece', concluding that 'this kinship is the spirit of synthesis, of which Cubism is a new expression'.[27] In 1918, a groundbreaking exhibition and sale at New York's Anderson Galleries was to be the first expression of such ideology, in which the art of antiquity and Cubism sat side by side. Able only to display 'a selection from his treasures', Portrait L was again chosen as an example of the timelessness of ancient art.[28]

It was noted that this portrait of a lady 'of wonderful expression' was a 'particularly well-preserved' example, one of 'the most remarkable specimens of Roman painting'.[29] This exhibition was to be one of the first times the controversial Cubist paintings had been put to a public sale in America.[30] As the catalogue noted, 'In spite of this variety of periods and countries, there is an absolute unity of spirit in the artistic tendencies of Mr. Rosenberg. Simplicity of composition, greatness in the harmonies of lines, and pure colour guided him in the formation of his collection.'[31]

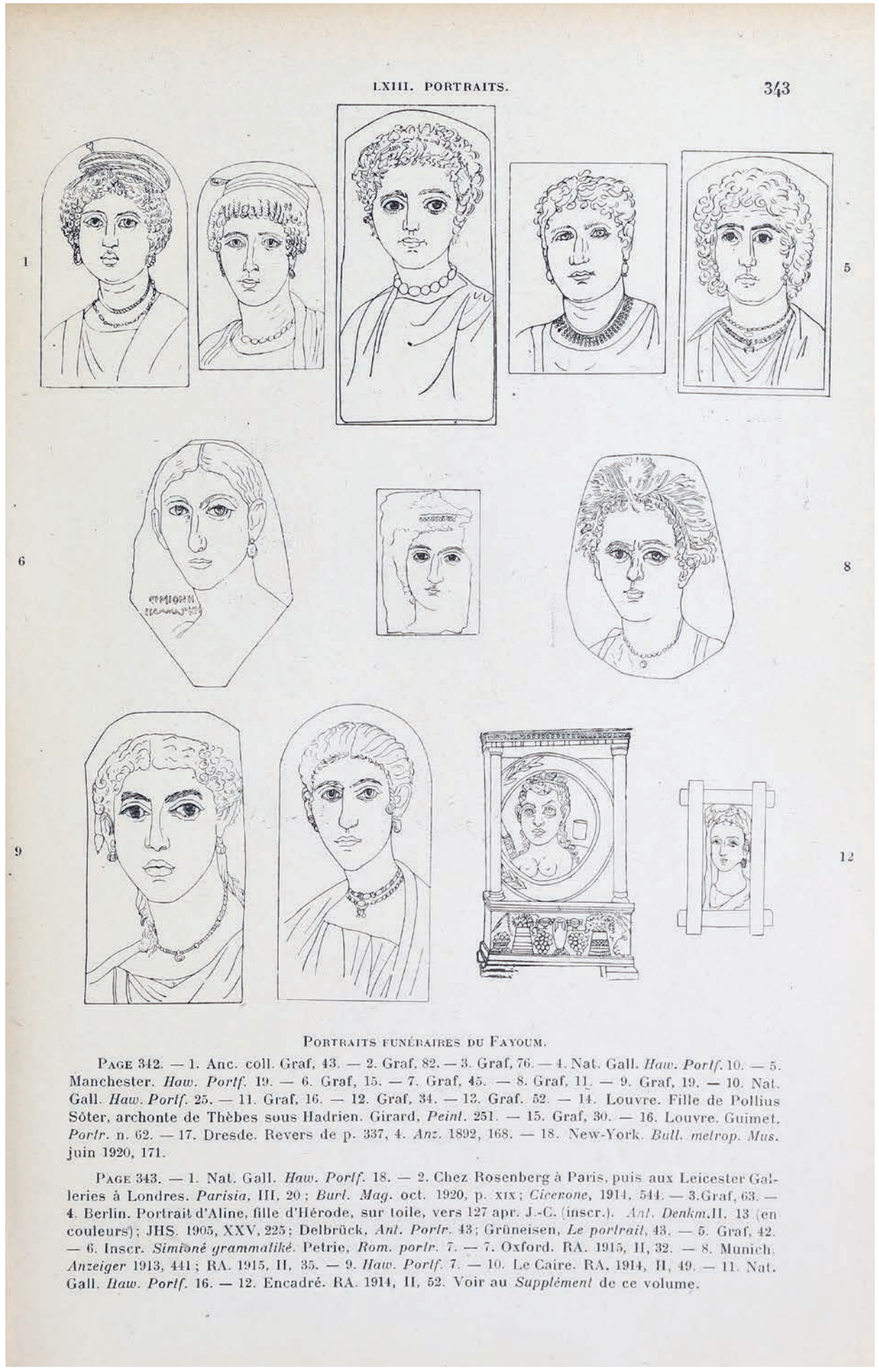
In 1916, Rosenberg wrote to Picasso, 'Together, we will be invincible. You will be the *creator*, I will be the *action*!'

'In spite of this variety of periods and countries, there is an absolute unity of spirit in the artistic tendencies of Mr. Rosenberg. Simplicity of composition, greatness in the harmonies of lines, and pure colour guided him in the formation of his collection.'

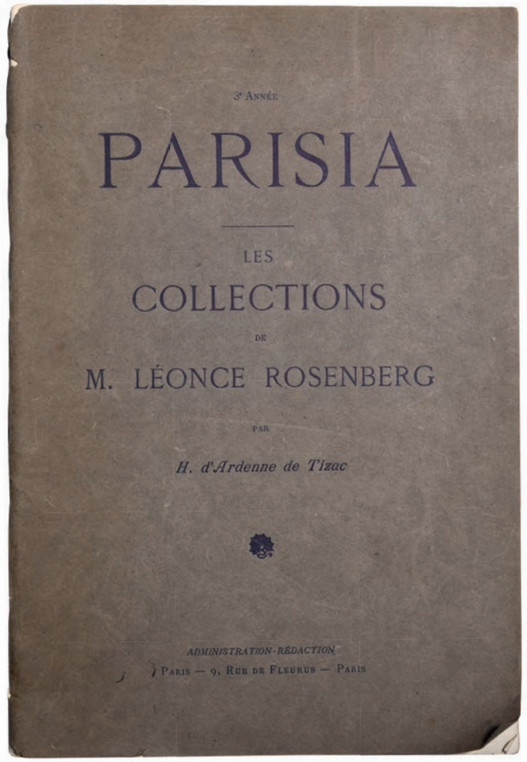
43
The new owner of Portrait L, Léonce Rosenberg, photographed in his apartment at 19 Rue de la Baume.

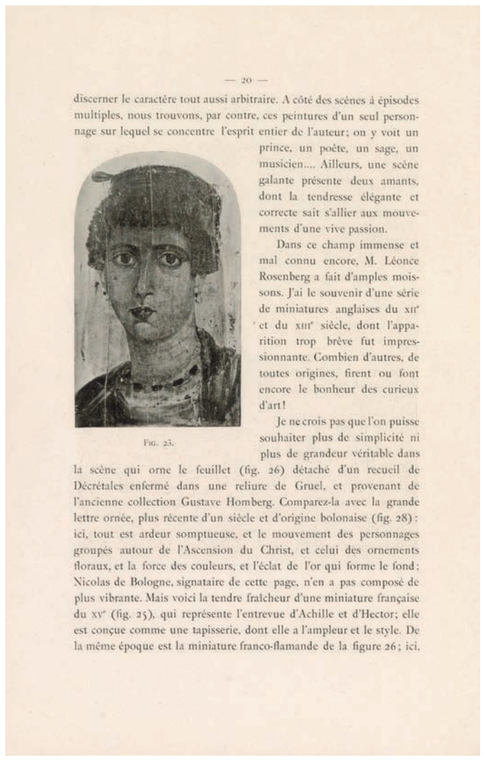
44
Léonce Rosenberg was the dealer who made Pablo Picasso. In 1915, Rosenberg was drawn by the artist in his military uniform.

45
Installation view of Léonce Rosenberg's early gallery, Haute Époque, 19 Rue de la Baume, c.1913-14.



46
Page 343 from Salomon Reinach's 1922 publication *Répertoire de Peintures Grecques et Romaines*. Portrait L is illustrated here as no. 2.



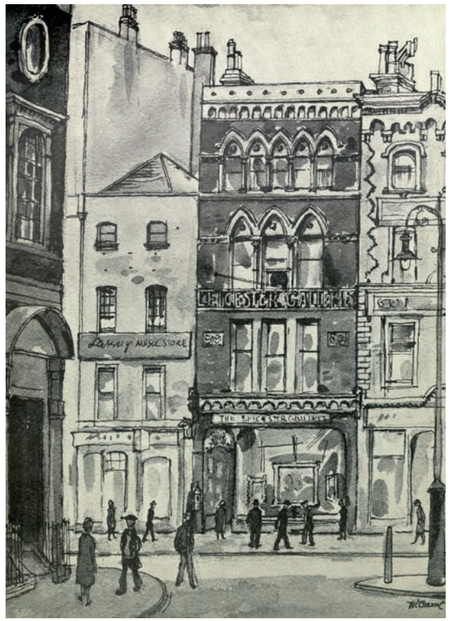


'Most of [these paintings], crudely made with no concern for art, are of little interest; some, however, are genuine portraits... I like the smoothness of this portrait, the movement of the neck, the natural carriage of the face, the full chin, the luscious mouth, and that gaze, so fixed and cold in conventional works, which here acquires a kind of quiet depth, whose soothed gentleness pursues you for a long time.'

Henri d'Ardenne de Tizac,
'Les Collections de M. Léonce Rosenberg', 1914.

47 (left)
Front cover of H. d'Ardenne de Tizac's 'Les Collections de M. Léonce Rosenberg,' 1914.

48 (right)
Page 20 of H. d'Ardenne de Tizac's 'Les Collections de M. Léonce Rosenberg.' Portrait L is illustrated here as Fig. 23.



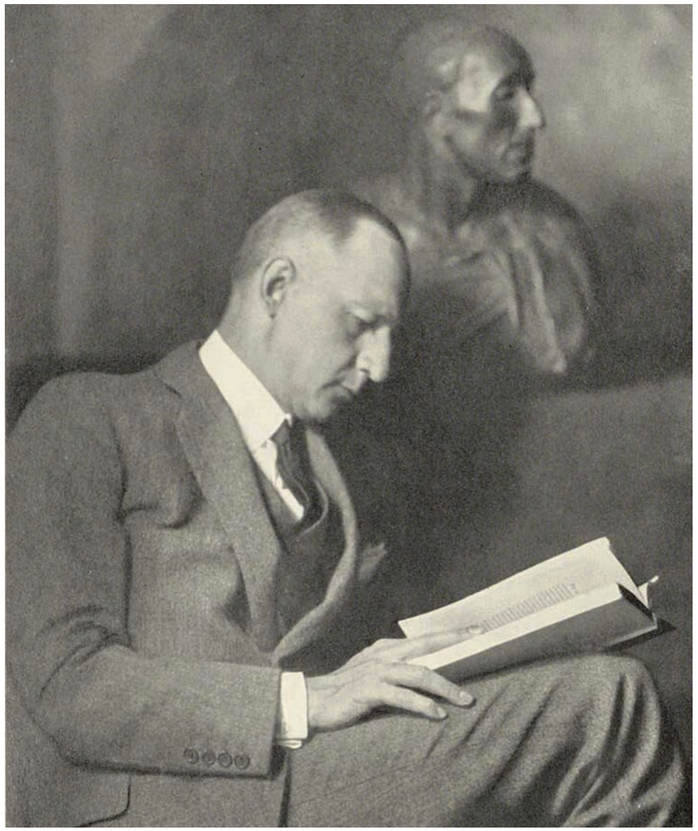
'It would not, for example, shock us very much to have a Derain or Matisse head hung beside the [panel] portrait from Egypt…'

49 (opposite)
Detail of Jean Metzinger's *Lady at her Dressing Table* (1916), which was hung alongside Portrait L at the Anderson Galleries in 1918 (no. 97). The display reflected the rationale of 'synthesis' behind Rosenberg's collection.

50 (right)
William Gaunt's watercolour of the Leicester Galleries, 1928.

In the summer of 1920, Portrait L was displayed in Amsterdam before returning to London.[32] Here, it was unpacked and hung in the Leicester Galleries at Leicester Square – home to Rosenberg's new business partners in England, Ernest Brown & Phillips – for their upcoming exhibition on ancient art.[33] According to *The Burlington Magazine*, this exhibition was 'one of the most important and one of the most instructive and enjoyable that has been held in London for some years'.[34] The timelessness of the present piece and its importance in the narrative of artistic creativity was again noted: 'On looking round the room at the Leicester Gallery… We are forced to the conclusion that between these creations of the past and the most vital art even of our own day there is not to be felt any real dividing line – any difference that matters – and it would not, for example, shock us very much to have a Derain or Matisse head hung beside the [panel] portrait from Egypt…'[35]

By the late 1920s, Portrait L had left Rosenberg's collection for Switzerland. Rosenberg later reflected on his illustrious career, 'If I had continued along the Impressionist path, it would certainly have been a good life, with no risks and no effort. *But how bored I would have been…*'[36]



‘Physically, he resembled a Roman with his noble Tiberius-like head… [yet] he remained somewhat reserved and reticent, even with friends’. But this ‘outwardly cool man was filled with an inner fire’.

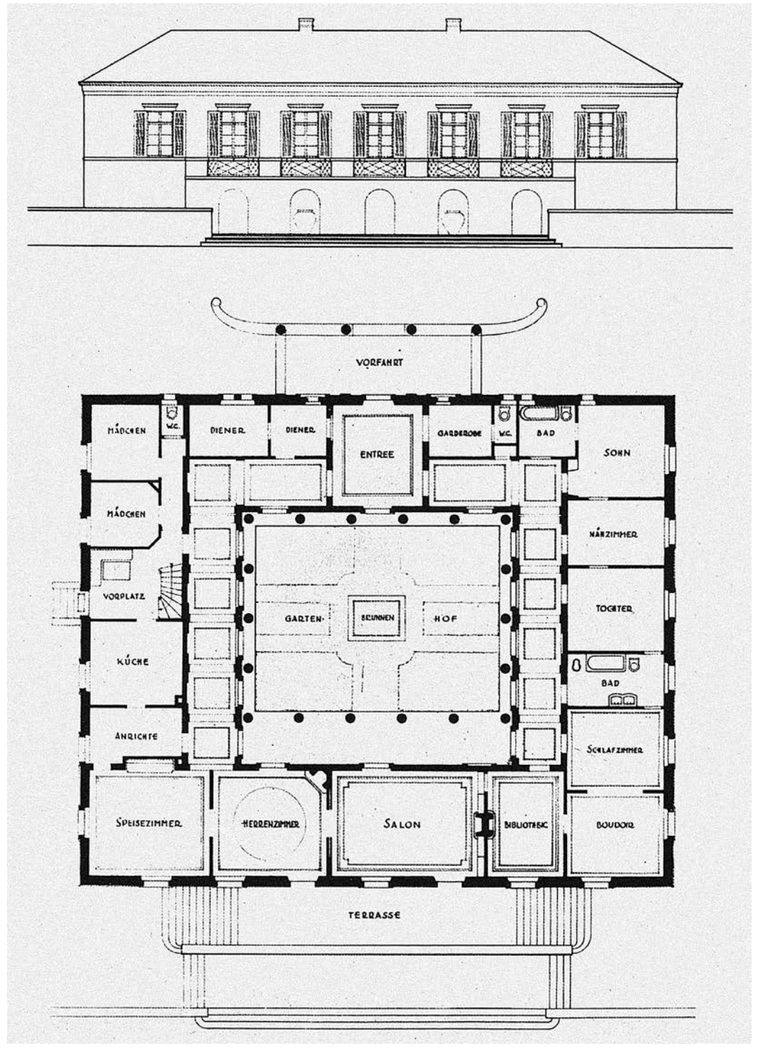
51
The new owner of Portrait L, the collector and philosopher Dr Arnold Ruesch.

Dr Arnold Ruesch (1882-1929)

Meanwhile, in Zürich, the Swiss architect Johann Albrecht Freytag was drawing up plans for a new project. Inspired by the great Pompeian houses of the Roman age, it was to be a living, breathing testament to the ancients, a precursor to the famous J Paul Getty villa in Los Angeles, and the home of the remarkable collector and philosopher Dr Arnold Ruesch. It was here at 78 Kurhausstraße, near the Dolder Grand hotel, where Portrait L, now displayed behind glass in an oak frame with gilt trim, started her next chapter.[37]

Born in Naples to a Swiss family, Dr Arnold Ruesch was a multifaceted collector. A businessman, philosopher and philanthropist, ‘physically, he resembled a Roman with his noble Tiberius-like head… [yet] he remained somewhat reserved and reticent, even with friends’. But this ‘outwardly cool man was filled with an inner fire’.[38] Alongside his business pursuits, in 1908 he compiled the *Guida Illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, bringing together and directing leading experts to produce the first illustrated guidebook of the museum’s renowned collection.[39] Indeed, he had a singular passion for the aesthetic, and a ‘palpable excitement came over him when he held a gem of antique art in his hands’.[40]

On her visit to Ruesch’s villa in September 1927, Marie Beazley (1885-1967), wife of renowned Oxford scholar Sir John Beazley (1885-1970), exclaimed that Villa Ruesch was simply ‘Zürich’s Museum’.[41] However, Ruesch had displayed his collection in a way no museum could. At the entrance, elaborate ancient mosaics – reminiscent of those in the Vatican’s Braccio Nuovo – were laid into the floor, while in the peristyle courtyard, frescoes from the Villa Boscoreale were embedded into the walls.[42] Inside, at the centre of the piano room, stood a half-life-sized marble statue of Aphrodite wringing out her wet hair at her bath. Meanwhile in the study, a Roman mosaic framed and mounted above the fireplace bore remarkable similarities to the famous Alexander Mosaic from the House of the Faun. On her visit in 1927, Beazley would also have seen – hanging on the wall of the study above a Roman audience chair now in The Walters Art Museum – one of Ruesch’s finest pieces: Portrait L.[43]



52
Villa Ruesch at 78 Kurhausstraße, Zürich, was the illustrious new setting for Portrait L, 1926.

53
The floorplan for Villa Ruesch. Portrait L was prominently displayed in the study, 'Herrenzimmer'.

54
The entrance hall of Villa Ruesch in 1926, with Roman mosaics laid into the floor.

55
The piano room in 1926, with the statue of Aphrodite in the centre, reunited by Ludwig Pollak for Ruesch's collection.

56
The peristyle courtyard of Villa Ruesch in 1926, with Roman mosaics laid into the floor, and frescoes embedded into the walls.

While it is unknown where Ruesch acquired Portrait L, we do know that, unusually for a collector of his generation, he regularly sought advice from expert archaeologists of his day: Otto Waser (1870-1952) and Ludwig Pollak (1868-1943). Pollak's name was made among archaeological and art-historical circles for his identification of the missing fragment from the Vatican's Hellenistic masterpiece *Laocoön and his Sons*. For Ruesch's villa, he reunited a marble statue of Aphrodite, fragments of which were previously scattered in multiple collections across Europe.[44] Remaining a life-long friend, he later described Ruesch as 'a true collector of the noblest kind', noting he had 'wise taste', carefully selecting pieces to curate a remarkable collection.[45] Already by this time, the portrait's earlier provenance as a painting from the renowned 1888 discovery was almost certainly lost.[46]

Ruesch died suddenly on 10 July 1929, and his prestigious collection of antiquities was sold by one of Europe's leading auction houses, Galerie Fischer in Lucerne, in 1936. In the introduction to the catalogue, Otto Waser singled out Portrait L (Lot 175) 'from the wealth of valuable items', as 'an exceptionally fine' ancient painting.[47] According to the catalogue, it was an 'excellent example' in 'very good condition'.[48]

Following the sale, objects from Ruesch's villa found their way into renowned collections, such as those of the American newspaper magnate and politician William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951) and art dealer Joseph Brummer (1883-1947). Today, Ruesch-provenanced objects can be found in institutions around the world, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art and British Museum.[49] Portrait L, however, remained in Switzerland, where it would stay for the next ninety years, and its path into obscurity would begin.

Archaeologist Otto Waser singled out Portrait L (Lot 175) 'from the wealth of valuable items', as 'an exceptionally fine' ancient painting.

57 (left)
The study of Villa Ruesch in 1926. Portrait L was hung on the wall to the left, in front of the chaise longue (out of frame).

58 (opposite)
In 1926, Portrait L was hung in the study of Villa Ruesch, above a Roman bronze audience chair. The audience chair is now in The Walters Art Museum.

Dr Julius Maeder (1900-1973)
With Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933, many artists and collectors sought refuge in Switzerland. On account of its neutrality and stable international relations, the country played a crucial role in the circulation of artworks and became a safe haven for masterpieces to survive the war. It was here, hidden away from a devastating conflict, that Portrait L would remain, and its remarkable history would ultimately be forgotten.

In 1936, while Galerie Fischer was preparing for the sale of Ruesch's collection, Dr Julius Maeder, a lawyer by training, had just returned from his travels abroad. During his extensive world tour, Dr Maeder had visited the land of the pharaohs.[50] Beginning in the capital at the Great Pyramid of Giza, he may even have explored the Cairo Museum, which displayed portraits from Petrie's 1888 season chosen by Eugène Grébaut to remain in Egypt. Travelling down the Nile, he also saw the wonders of Saqqara, the Pyramid of Djoser and the Serapeum of Memphis.

On returning home and writing about the trickery of 'pushy traders' in Egypt, the sale of Ruesch's collection, advertised in leading Swiss newspaper *Der Bund* in August 1936, surely caught his eye.[51] Maeder purchased eight lots from this sale, including a bust of Epicurus and two ancient rings, with Lot 175 – Portrait L – being the most valuable.[52] Described by family as a very private man, it was only through a later publication by Professor Klaus Parlasca, substantiated by records in the Galerie Fischer Archive, that we know about Maeder's acquisition of the piece.[53]

Following Maeder's death in November 1973, Portrait L passed into the care of his partner. Though she spent the next twenty years tirelessly examining notes and cataloguing the collection, the remarkable history of this ancient painting fell into obscurity following her death. Drawn to this curious portrait of an elegant lady, her niece then selected the painting from the estate, believing it to be a seventeenth-century portrait of a Swiss noblewoman. Taking it home, she hung it affectionately in the lounge beside the central stove. When the family moved, the portrait was placed in storage, and there it remained for the next twenty-four years. Gathering dust, it was left stacked up alongside other old pictures and paintings. It was only on clearing out the storage in 2023, 136 years after Petrie's discovery, that Portrait L finally resurfaced at a Decorative Art sale in Switzerland.[54]

Even when not recognised as ancient, the portrait's appeal purely as a work of art is perhaps revealing. Throughout its modern history, from groundbreaking exhibitions that introduced Victorian audiences to the art of antiquity to Rosenberg's provocative shows – where it was hung alongside works by Picasso and compared to paintings by Matisse – to its esteemed place in Ruesch's collection framed as an Old Master, Portrait L has been celebrated as a timeless image.

59
Lawyer and collector Dr Julius Maeder, the owner of Portrait L from 1936 until his death in 1970.

When the family moved, Portrait L was placed in storage… There it would remain for twenty-four years, gathering dust.

60
For many years, Portrait L was hidden in plain sight, its significance and extraordinary provenance forgotten. Here, it is shown on the wall before a childrens' Halloween party in 1996.

A MASTERPIECE REDISCOVERED

Initially dismissed by two auction houses as a seventeenth century painting, it was only by chance that, as the consignor was preparing to wrap the piece back up in the reception of a third Swiss saleroom, a valuer suspected that the portrait could be something more.[1] Fortunately, an external appraiser consulted Professor Klaus Parlasca's well known study of mummy portraits, where it was finally correctly identified as an ancient panel portrait. It was subsequently entered into a Decorative Art sale, and catalogued according to Parlasca's brief 1969 description.[2] Since its acquisition by ArtAncient, Portrait L has undergone a year-long research project, and four-months of scientific analysis, in order to rebuild its 136-year provenance, fully understand its condition and assess its significance within the corpus of surviving panel portraits.

Provenance Research

Through extensive provenance research, we have reconstructed Portrait L's 136-year ownership history and fully brought to light the details of its excavation, including Petrie's handwritten records of its discovery. We have also learned of its inclusion in the groundbreaking 1888 exhibition at Egyptian Hall, one of only 37 panel paintings displayed.

At the point of acquisition, there remained a concerning, unverified gap in the provenance chain between the portrait's sale at Sotheby's in 1912, the 1936 sale of Arnold Ruesch's collection and its later publication as part of Julius Maeder's collection by Klaus Parlasca in 1969. For the period of 1912 to 1936, extensive research has brought to light its time with two of the twentieth century's most renowned dealers in their respective fields: the Kalebdjian Frères and Léonce Rosenberg. Additionally, by substantiating the ownership of Maeder from 1936 onwards, through evidence in the archives of Gallery Fischer and the location of his will in the archive of St Gallen, we have verified the portrait's whereabouts during both World Wars and its continuous ownership chain from the 1920s to the present day.

In the course of research, we also identified Portrait L's exhibition in great capital cities – Amsterdam, Paris, London, New York – and its inclusion in an additional twelve publications, comprising exhibition catalogues, newspapers and journals, previously unknown. This has revealed that the portrait was consistently lauded throughout its history by prominent authors, including Cecil Smith, Salomon Reinach, Henri d'Ardenne de Tizac, Dr Rudolf Riefstahl, Otto Waser, Klaus Parlasca and Flinders Petrie himself.

Condition Analysis

At the point of acquisition, the condition assessment from the Swiss auction house noted 'retouching' as well as describing the painting's surface as fluorescing 'homogeneously' under UV light[3]. On account of the vast majority of mummy portraits that have suffered extensive damage and overpainting, such findings could be considered a 'red flag'.

Since its acquisition by ArtAncient, Portrait L has undergone extensive scientific analysis at the Hamilton Kerr Institute at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge and the Courtauld Institute of Art in London (see Appendices B and C). This has revealed, for the first time since discovery, its near-perfect preservation as well as its remarkable technique, consisting of delicate brushwork.

Scientific analysis has shown that the 'widespread fluorescence' seen on the surface of the painting is, in fact, modern conservative – likely due to preservation carried out at the moment of excavation by Flinders Petrie. This was supported by the identification of Petrie's own description of the discovery of Portrait L. On 14 February 1888, he recorded that he had discovered the painting in 'first rate' condition, after which he sealed his 'precious portraits' in a protective layer of beeswax, proudly noting that he had done so 'without a single smudge'.[4]

ANCIENT PANEL PORTRAITS TODAY

As the earliest form of portraiture known and the last surviving examples of the esteemed art of ancient panel-painting, mummy portraits were swiftly accessioned following their discovery and became foundational exhibits at the British Museum, the National Gallery, and the Musée du Louvre. Throughout the early twentieth century, other prominent museums, including New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, Berlin's Antikensammlung and St Petersburg's Hermitage, followed suit. Today, panel portraits are prominently featured as 'masterpieces' or 'highlights' of the collections of almost all leading institutions, including the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, The Met, the Louvre and the J Paul Getty Museum.[1]

Blockbuster exhibitions at the British Museum (1997) and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (2000) further confirm the enduring, unique popularity of these most relatable of ancient artefacts. One review of the New York exhibition described the familiarity of the people depicted: 'The prettiest girl from school is there… so is a distant cousin, a barely remembered college chum, and even an old flame you'd prefer to forget.'[2] Yet perhaps Caroline Cartwright, senior scientist at the British Museum, offered the most direct insight with her observation of a little girl, about five years old, at the opening of the 1997 exhibition. She watched as the child ran past the other artefacts in the gallery toward the paintings, excitedly calling out, 'Look, Mummy – real people!'[3]

In 2013, the J Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles founded the APPEAR (Ancient Panel Paintings: Examination, Analysis, and Research) Project as an ongoing research partnership with 60 global museums and institutions, aiming to provide a better understanding of the production, materials, workshops and artistic methods of extant panel portraits. Portrait L is the only privately owned painting recorded with APPEAR. The addition of this newly rediscovered masterpiece to the corpus further enriches our understanding and appreciation of the extraordinary skill of these anonymous ancient painters.

PANEL PORTRAITS FROM PETRIE'S 1888 EXPEDITION

The following portraits are arranged in the order they were found by Petrie, and are labelled with the letter assigned to them at the point of excavation. This order is taken from Dr Paul Roberts' study in *Living Images: Egyptian Funerary Portraits in the Petrie Museum* (2007). It does not include portraits whose whereabouts were unknown to Roberts (Portraits R, V, RR, SS and yy).

Where relevant, it is noted that the portrait was exhibited in 1888. This is according to the notes taken at the time by Cecil Smith, published in *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* (London, 1889).

Portrait A

Portrait of a boy, c.90-120 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.40.3 × W.17.6 × D.0.1cm.

Current Location:
Sainsbury Centre, University of East Anglia, UK. Acc. No. 326.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait B

Portrait of a woman, c.160-190 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.37.1 × W.22.6 × D.0.15cm.

Current Location:
Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London, UK. Acc. No. UC 14692.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait C

Portrait of a boy, c.130-160 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.39.4 × W.24

Current Location:
Salford City Art Gallery, UK.
Acc. No. 1954.9.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait D

Portrait of an old woman.
H. 41.7 × W. 22.7 cm.

Current Location:
Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London, UK. Acc. No. UC 74867.

Portrait E

Full mummy with panel portrait of a boy.

Current Location:
Cairo Museum, Egypt.
Acc. No. CG 33227

Portrait F

Portrait of a girl.

Current Location:
Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London, UK. Acc. No. UC 74868

Portrait G

Portrait of a woman

Current Location:
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK.
Acc. No. 1888.831.

Portrait L

Portrait of a woman, c. 98-117 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H. 38 × W. 23.5 cm

Current Location:
ArtAncient Ltd, London.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait H

Portrait of a woman, c.100 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.41.7 × W.22cm

Current Location:
Royal Ontario Museum, Canada.
Acc. No. 918.20.1

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait M

Portrait of a girl, second century A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H. 25.4 × W. 15.5 cm.

Lost.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait J

Portrait of a woman, c.100-120 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.39.6 × W.22.6 × D.0.25cm.

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK. Acc.
No. EA 74712.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait N

Full mummy with panel portrait
of boy, c. second century A.D.
Encaustic on wood.

Current Location:
Manchester Museum, UK.
Acc. No. 1768.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait K

Portrait of a woman, first century A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.403 × W.176 × D.10cm.

Current Location:
Blackburn Museum, UK.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait n

Portrait of a man, c.150-200 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.44 × W.23.5cm

Current Location:
Petrie Museum of Egyptian
Archaeology, University College
London, UK. Acc. No. UC 36347.

Portrait O

Portrait of a woman, c.first century A.D.
Encaustic on wood.

Current Location:
Victoria & Albert Museum, London, UK.
Acc. No. 1695-1888.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait S

Portrait of a woman, c.100 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.

Current Location:
Manchester Museum, UK.
Acc. No. 2266.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait P

Portrait of a woman, c.first century A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.35 × W.21.5cm.

Current Location:
Cairo Museum, Egypt.
Acc. No. CG 33241.

Portrait T

Portrait of a man, late first century A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H. 39.4 × W. 20.5 cm.

Current Location:
The Walters Art Museum, US.U
Acc. No. 32.3.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait Q

Portrait of a woman, c.first-second
century A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.26 × W.20.2cm

Current Location:
Petrie Museum of Egyptian
Archaeology, University College
London, UK. Acc. No. UC 55137.

Portrait U

Portrait of a young man, c.70-120 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H. 38.3 × W. 22.8 cm.

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK.
Acc. No. EA 74707.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait q

Fragments of a panel portrait, c.200 A.D.
Tempera on wood.
H. 29.7 × W. 22 cm (max.)

Current Location:
Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology,
University College London, UK.
Acc. No. UC 79363.

Portrait W

Portrait of a woman, c.138-161 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.42 × W.23 × D.0.02cm.

Current Location:
Cairo Museum, Egypt,
Acc. No. CG 33245.

Portrait X

Portrait of a woman, c.80-110 A.D.
Tempera on wood.
H.34 × W.26.5cm.

Current Location:
Ohara Museum, Kurashiki, Japan.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait Y

Portrait of a man, c.140-190 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.

Current Location:
Cairo Museum, Egypt.
Acc. No. CG 33236.

Portrait Z

Portrait of a young man, c.150-170 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.42.7 × W.22.2 × D.0.4cm.

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK,
Acc. No. EA 74704.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait AA

Portrait of a woman, c.100-120 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.38.2 × W.20.5 × D.0.15cm.

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK,
Acc. No. EA 74706.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait aa

Fragment of a panel portrait, c.first century A.D.
Tempera on wood.
H.25.3 × W.8.1 × D.0.2cm

Current Location:
Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London, UK. Acc. No. UC 79362.

Portrait BB

Full mummy of a woman with panel portrait, c.98-117 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.

Current Location:
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK.
Acc. No. 1888.832.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait CC

Portrait of a young man, c.80-120 A.D.
Encaustic and tempera on wood.
H.35.8 × W.20.75 × D.0.15cm.

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK
Acc. No. EA 74711.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait DD

Portrait of a woman, c.60-80 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.39.2 × W.19.6 × D.0.2cm

Current Location:
Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London, UK. Acc. No. UC 19611.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait dd

Panel portrait, with the name Tiapos.
Medium unknown.
H.32.5 × W.21 × .D.0.4-0.2cm

Current Location:
Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London, UK. Acc. No. UC 74869.

Portrait EE

Portrait of a woman, c.35-45 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.

Current Location:
Cairo Museum, Egypt.
Acc. No. CG 33268.

Portrait FF

Full mummy of a boy with a panel portrait, c.40-55 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK.
Acc. No. EA 21809.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait GG

Portrait of a woman, c.160-180 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.36 × W.18 × D.1cm.

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK.
Acc. No. EA 74710.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait HH

Full mummy of a boy with panel portrait.

Current Location:
Cairo Museum, Egypt.
Acc. No. CG 33225.

Portrait JJ

Portrait of a man, c.100-120 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.42.1 × W.23 × D.0.24cm.

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK.
Acc. No. EA 74708.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait jj

Portrait of a woman.
Encaustic on wood.

Current Location:
Manchester Museum, UK.
Acc. No. 2265.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait KK

Portrait of a woman, c.80-100 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.38 × W.21cm.

Current Location:
Cairo Museum, Egypt.
Acc. No. CG 33237.

Portrait LL

Portrait of a boy, c.30 B.C. -306 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.30 × W.15.5cm.

Current Location:
Cairo Museum, Egypt.
Acc. No. CG 33240.

Portrait PP

Portrait of a woman, c.60-90 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.38 × W.21cm.

Current Location:
Manchester Museum, UK.
Acc. No. 2264.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait MM

Portrait of a man, c.100 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.39 × W.23.5cm.

Current Location:
Cairo Museum, Egypt.
Acc. No. CG 33266.

Portrait QQ

Portrait of a boy, c.90-220 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.31 × W.21.5cm.

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK.
Acc. No. EA 74703.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait NN

Framed panel portrait of a woman,
c.50-70 A.D.
Tempera on wood.
H. 45.7 cm

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK.
Acc. No. 1889, 1018.1.

Portrait TT

Portrait of a woman, c.40-50 A.D.

Lost.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait OO

Portrait of a woman, c.50-100 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.37 × W.20cm.

Current Location:
Neues Museum, Berlin, Germany.
Acc. No. 10974.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait UU

Portrait of a man, early second
century A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.45 × W.25.4 × D.0.2cm.

Current Location:
Petrie Museum of Egyptian
Archaeology, University College
London, UK. Acc. No. UC 79360.

Portrait VV

Portrait of a woman, c.55-70 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H. 41.6 × W. 21.5 cm.

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK.
Acc. No. EA 74713.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait XX

Portrait of a man, c.140-180 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.43 × W.22cm.

Current Location:
Cairo Museum, Egypt.
Acc. No. CG 33299.

Portrait WW

Portrait of a man, c.160-170 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.36 × W.20.8 × D.0.2cm.

Current Location:
Petrie Museum of Egyptian
Archaeology, University College
London, UK. Acc. No. UC 19612.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait YY

Portrait of a woman, c.90-120 A.D.
Encaustic and tempera on linen
shroud.
H.51.7 × W.37cm.

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK.
Acc. No. EA 74709.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait ww

Portrait of a man, c.180-200 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.39.1 × W.14.9 × D.0.2cm.

Current Location:
Petrie Museum of Egyptian
Archaeology, University College
London, UK. Acc. No. UC 38060.

Portrait ZZ

Portrait of a woman, c.60-75 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H. 38 × W. 176 21 cm.

Current Location:
Petrie Museum of Egyptian
Archaeology, University College
London, UK. Acc. No. UC 45010.

Portrait xx

Portrait of a woman, c.100-120 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.47.7 × W.22 × D.0.2cm.

Current Location:
Petrie Museum of Egyptian
Archaeology, University College
London, UK. Acc. No. UC 38314.

Portrait AB

Full mummy with a panel portrait
of a woman, c.140-150 A.D.

Current Location:
Cairo Museum, Egypt.
Acc. No. CG 33221.

Portrait AC

Artemidorus, full mummy with panel portrait of a young man, early second century A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H. 171 cm.

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK.
Acc. No. EA 21810.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait AD

Full mummy with panel portrait.

Current Location:
Manchester Museum, UK.
Acc. No. 1775.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait AE

Portrait of a man, c.100-150 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H. 32.5 × W. 22.5 cm.

Current Location:
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK.
Acc. No. E.2.1888.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait AF

Portrait of a man, c.100-130 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.45 × W.21 × D.0.4cm.

Current Location:
Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London, UK. Acc. No. UC 33971.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait AG

Portrait of a woman, c.120-140 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H. 35.3 × W. 20.2 cm.

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK.
Acc. No. EA 74705.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait AH

Full mummy with panel portrait of a boy, c.100-120 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H. 24 cm

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK.
Acc. No. EA 13595.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait AJ

Portrait of a man, c.80-100 A.D.
Encaustic on wood.
H.42.5 × W.20.9 × D.0.2cm.

Current Location:
British Museum, London, UK.
Acc. No. EA 74718.

Exhibited in 1888.

Portrait AK

Gilt mummy with panel portrait of a woman, c.125-150 A.D.

Current Location:
Cairo Museum, Egypt.
Acc. No. CG 33216.

SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS

The Hamilton Kerr Institute, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

In order to explore the condition and creation of Portrait L, the Hamilton Kerr Institute undertook the following non-invasive methods:

- Infrared reflectography (IRR) and Visible Induced Luminescence (VIL)
- Ultraviolet (UV)-induced photoluminescence photography
- X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF)
- Macro XRF (MA-XRF) scanning
- Fibre optics reflectance spectroscopy (FORS)
- Fourier Transform Infrared spectroscopy (FT-IR)
- Digital microscopy

Appendices B and C present the results of scientific tests as reproduced from the original reports. While we have made every effort to ensure accuracy within the constraints of reproduction, any errors or omissions are our own. The original reports are available upon request.

1
Portrait L

Infrared Reflectography (IRR) and Visible Induced Luminescence (VIL)

2
Infrared reflectogram of Portrait L

3
VIL of Portrait L

Infrared (IR) imaging is a technique used to visualise underdrawing below paint layers when present and detectable. It relies on the contrast between IR-absorbing carbon-based drawing materials and the IR-reflecting preparatory layers below. Some underdrawing materials such as red or white chalk, metal point and lake pigments may not be visible in IR, while the use of a more IR-absorbing pigment in preparatory layers can also make visualisation challenging.

VIL uses visible light to induce the emission of infrared radiation, collected by the camera through a filter at 850 nm, able to show the presence of the pigment Egyptian blue as a bright material in a black and white image.

The IR image shows a dark response for black areas, such as the hair and eyes, indicating the use of carbon black. The dark gems on the necklace and earrings also appear dark in the IR range, suggesting the presence of a copper-based pigment and/or carbon black. The possible use of iron-based pigments and/or carbon black can be seen on the clothing, which appears dark grey. No underdrawing is evident.

The VIL image appears completely dark because Egyptian blue is not detected, excluding the use of this pigment.

Ultraviolet (UV)-induced Photoluminescence Photography

4
Ultraviolet light image of Portrait L

Exposure of an object to a UV source, usually in the 300–400 nm range, can cause photoluminescence, such as fluorescence, to occur in some materials in the visible wavelength range. Different classes of materials, such as certain organic dyes and lake pigments, can produce different colours of photoluminescence, allowing for qualitative identification of the compounds. This technique is mostly surface-sensitive, for instance showing differences in application of varnish layers on paintings, and can be used to visualise past restorations to objects.

The area around the face has a specific fluorescence darker than the rest of the painting. Petrie's diary suggests that cloth was adhered over the portrait with resin when the mummy was discovered, and he described removing the cloth with spirit (alcohol). The darker response compared to the edges of the portrait may be due to remains of this resinous material and deposits of dirt, including sand.

The greenish/yellowish UV fluorescence evident over the entire surface of the painting and on the non-original support is characteristic of a natural resin and was applied once the mummy portrait was adhered to this support. It is not possible to identify the number of layers of varnish or what is original without a cross-section of the paint layers.

Some localised colour losses are evident in the oval around the face, especially at the right and bottom side; they appear purplish, which is the UV fluorescence colour of the glue used to attach the painting to the later support. The orangish UV fluorescence evident on the purple cloak suggests the use of a red organic dye (madder?).

Macro XRF (MA-XRF) Scanning

Elements (Pb-Lα and Fe-Kα)

5
Portrait L

6
XRF element distribution map of lead

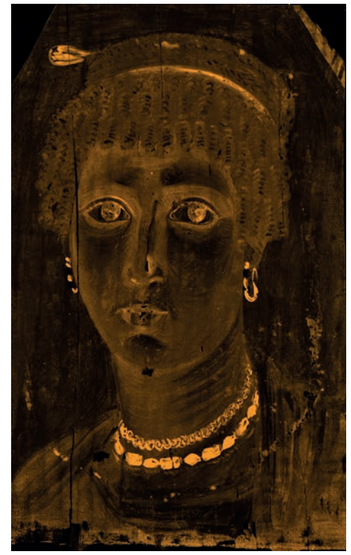
7
XRF element distribution map of iron

Lead and iron have been extensively used to paint most areas of the portrait. The background contains a high content of lead, likely as lead white, and a small amount of iron, probably as yellow ochre. The flesh tones are also obtained with lead white, while an earth pigment (see iron map) is used to create the shading. An earth pigment is also found to outline facial features. The hair contains both lead white and an earth pigment: the earth pigment is used to define the locks, whereas lead white is applied for highlights. The hairpin contains earth pigments – especially evident at the left side, and the red headband likely contains a red earth pigment. Finally, lead white and an earth pigment are also used to achieve the different shades of the clothing.

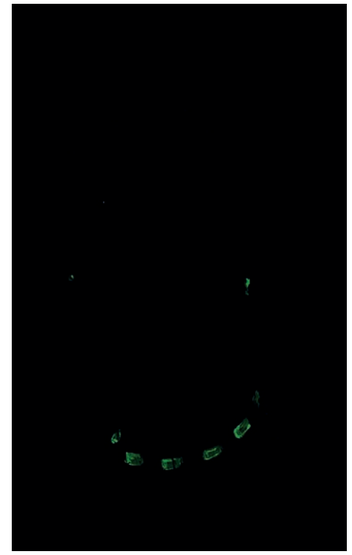
Macro XRF (MA-XRF) Scanning

Elements (Fe-Kα and Cu-Kα)

8
Portrait L



9
XRF element distribution map of iron



10
XRF element distribution map of copper

The jewellery, both necklace and earrings, is made of a yellow ochre (see iron map). A copper-based pigment, now darkened, has been applied on top of some of the areas previously painted with the yellow ochre, to create green gems.

Macro XRF (MA-XRF) Scanning

Element (Ca-Kα)

11
Portrait L

12
XRF element distribution map of calcium

Calcium is evident in the eyes and lips; it is unclear the nature of this compound, it may be calcium carbonate. The element is also evident where losses are present, for example at the right side of the painting and more extensively at the bottom, and in this case, it may be due to the ground layer.

Macro XRF (MA-XRF) Scanning

Elements (K-Kα and Cl-Kα)

13
Portrait L

14
XRF element distribution map of potassium

15
XRF element distribution map of chlorine

The potassium and chlorine distribution maps show a clear oval area around the face of the portrait. It appears to be possible evidence of the original wrapping around the mummy. These elements may be related to dirt and soil accumulated over the object except in the contour covered by the wrapping.

Notably, the potassium distribution evident in the purple clothing could be due to the use of a potassium-based substrate for the red organic dye.

Fibre optics reflectance spectroscopy (FORS) in the UV-vis-NIR-SWIR

16
Portrait L, sites analysed by FORS

FORS in the ultraviolet, visible and near-infrared (UV-vis-NIR) range measures reflectance of light from a target area to provide structural information on the materials present in the surface layers, and occasionally in underlayers when surface layers are thin or transparent. The identification of materials is based on electronic transitions giving rise to colour (visible-NIR range up to ~900 nm) or on the presence of characteristic absorption bands due to functional groups such as sulphates, carbonates, etc. (NIR range up to 2500 nm.) Limitations for this technique include the complexity of the spectra in the case of mixtures and the relatively low spatial resolution (~3 mm spot-size).

Table 1

Hypotheses on the colourants present, based on the FORS spectra alone

Spectrum number	Colour	Tentative pigment ID	Notes
sp 1	background	earth pigment, lipids	very sharp bands
sp 2	flesh tones, cheek	earth pigments, lipids	
sp 3	red lips	earth pigments, lipids	
sp 4	black hair	–	no pigment info
sp 5	purple hairpin	earth pigment	
sp 6	yellow earring	earth pigments, lipids	
sp 7	yellow necklace	earth pigments, lipids	
sp 8	dark gem	lipids	no pigment info
sp 9	purple clothing	earth pigment	
sp 10	light purple clothing	earth pigments, lipids	
sp 11	dark gem, earring	lipids	no pigment info
sp 12	white pearl, earring	lead white, lipids	

Fourier-Transform Infrared Spectroscopy (FT-IR)

17
Portrait L, sites analysed by FTIR

FT-IR spectroscopy is well-suited for the identification of organic materials, binding media, and degradation products. The IR radiation source generally works in the mid-infrared range (400–4000 cm-1) and it characterises the molecular structure of many materials. The technique is used in external reflection (ER) mode, in which the IR source is reflected from the surface and no contact is required with the object, although the band distortions make the interpretation of the spectra more challenging.

Table 2 **FT-IR measurements and tentative material ID based on FT-IR alone**

Spectrum number	Colour	Tentative material ID	Absorption bands (cm^{-1}) and notes
sp 1	background	beeswax, natural resin?	2945, 2912, 2848, 1735, 1475, 1382, 720
sp 2	background	beeswax, natural resin?	2945, 2912, 2848, 1735, 1475, 1382, 720
sp 3	flesh tones	beeswax, natural resin?	2945, 2912, 2848, 1735, 1475, 1382, 1035, 720, 555

Results Summary **Results of technical analysis of Mummy portrait, portrait of a woman**

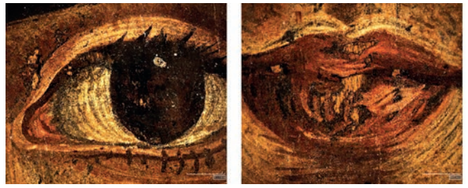
Colour	Pigments	Area	Techniques supporting pigment identification				
			IRR	UV	MA-XRF	FORS	FT-IR
White	lead white	pearls			x	x	
Black	carbon black	hair, eyes	x				
Purple	red earth pigment, lead white, carbon black	clothing, hairpin			x	x	
Yellow	yellow earth pigment	jewellery, background	x		x	x	
Green	copper-based green	necklace, earrings	x		x		
Red	red earth pigment	outlines of eyes, lips, hairband			x	x	x
	red organic dye (madder?)	clothing		x			
	red lead?	lips and inner corner of the eyes			x		

Discussion

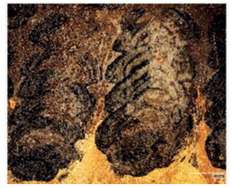
The yellowish background contains lead white, yellow ochre and carbon black. The lead distribution map (Fig. 6) makes it possible to distinguish the different directions of the brushstrokes.

The portrait is painted with an elaborate technique, in which thin brushstrokes of different hues are skilfully applied to create the volumes. There is also some use of the end of the brush and of metal tools too.

The flesh tones are painted with lead white and/or red lead mixed with an earth pigment (likely a red ochre), the fine brushstrokes being evident in the lead distribution map. Red ochre is also used to create the shading on the face and neck, to outline the eyes, nose and lips. A red pigment, probably red lead, was used to accentuate certain areas with a bright red, such as the inner corner of the eyes, the tip of the nose and part of the volume of the lips (Fig. 18). Unfortunately, it was not possible to clearly identify this pigment due to the limitations of the techniques employed. The irises contain earth pigment and carbon black.



18
Details of the eye and mouth under the microscope (HIROX): the different brushstrokes of various colours can be appreciated



19
Detail of a hair lock under the microscope (HIROX).

The black hair is painted with an earth pigment used as base layer, on top of which the locks are achieved with the use of carbon black, lead white was used for highlights (Fig. 19), and it is particularly evident in the lead distribution map (Fig. 6).

The hairpin is made of a brown ochre, highlighted by yellow, white and pink brushstrokes, all containing different ochres or mixtures of ochres and lead white. The red hairband contains a red ochre.

A yellow ochre was employed to paint the golden jewellery. Under the microscope, different brushstrokes can be discerned, made with a brown ochre and lead white to create shading and highlights. The gems appear dark but were painted with a green pigment, as shown by the images taken under the microscope where residues of the original pigment are still evident (Fig. 20). Copper was detected by MA-XRF, but unfortunately, FORS was inconclusive in defining the green pigment due to the low intensity of the spectrum. Remarkably, the green gems are painted over a yellow layer, as evidenced by the iron and copper distribution maps (Figs. 9-10 and 21). Lead white was used to paint the white pearls of the earrings.

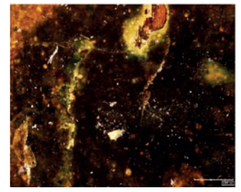
The purple clothing contains a mixture of red ochre, lead white and carbon black.

A higher content of lead white was used to create the lighter shade. The orangish UV fluorescence from this area suggests that a red organic dye, possibly madder, was used; however, the strong signal of earth pigments and lead white in FORS and XRF hid the weaker response of the organic material, and it was not possible to confirm it. The evidence of potassium, likely used as a substrate for the colourant, could corroborate the hypothesis.

Beeswax was identified by FTIR in the areas analysed; the result is in accordance with the encaustic technique used for this portrait.

The painting is covered by a varnish that is now yellow. Without a cross-section it is not possible to determine the number of layers, but the visual and historical evidence would suggest that the residues of dirt and varnish in the oval portrait shape are original while the varnish over the rest of the portrait was applied at some point after the painting was adhered to the new support (post 1888).

Retouching is not evident, but some paint losses are localised on the neck area, right side and bottom section of the painting. The face of the portrait is surrounded by an oval shape, which is particularly evident under UV light. Petrie's diary suggests that cloth was adhered over the portrait with resin when the mummy was discovered, many residues are still evident from when he removed the cloth: the additional layers of organic materials create a visual difference in which the centre appears dark. There seems to be a higher potassium and chlorine content in this area, while the wrapping of the mummy around the painting preserved the rest of the portrait from these deposits of dirt.



20
Image taken under the microscope (HIROX) of the dark gem, in which the original green is still evident.

21
Overlapping MA-XRF maps of iron (in yellow) and copper (in green).

Conclusion

The mummy portrait of a woman was analysed following a protocol of non-invasive analysis. The pigments identified are lead white, calcium carbonate, carbon black, red and yellow ochre, copper-based green and possibly red lead and red organic dye (madder?). They are compatible with the timeframe of attribution. Beeswax was identified as a binder. The painting technique is elaborate, and many thin brushstrokes are applied to create volumes.

A yellow varnish covers the painting, possibly applied when the portrait was discovered.

No retouching is evident.

SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS

The Courtauld Institute of Art, London

Aim of the present technical examination: to document aspects of the composition, materials and painting technique using X-radiography.

Methods of examination used in this study
X-radiography (figure 2) was carried out using an HD-CR 35 NDT - CR-Scanner and the following operating parameters: 24 keV, 4.3 mA, 30 seconds exposure time, 50 µm resolution.

Results
The X-radiograph of Mummy Portrait (Portrait of a Woman) (figure 2) shows evidence of the woodgrain of the secondary panel to which the original, thinned wooden support is adhered. Due to the thinness of the original support and the presence of radio-opaque materials in the paint layers, the woodgrain of the thinned wooden panel cannot be seen readily in the X-radiograph. Bright brushstrokes, however, particularly in the green background and the flesh tones, are quite apparent in the X-radiograph and suggest mixtures containing lead white. Details in the face and hair of the figure are also much more prominent than in the visible image (figure 1). The visible losses of paint around the original exposed region of the panel appear dark in the X-radiograph, as do joins and cracks in the panel. A rectangular region of high intensity can be seen in the X-radiograph on the proper right upper cheekbone of the figure. This feature is not apparent in the visible image of the recto (figure 1), and was not discernible using infrared reflectography, ultraviolet-induced visible luminescence imaging, or macro X-ray fluorescence scanning (not pictured, correspondence with the Hamilton Kerr Institute). As such, it most likely does not correspond to a feature within the composition and is likely to be related to the secondary wooden support.

1
Visible light image of Portrait L.

2
X-radiograph of Portrait L

Footnotes

Portrait L

1 Report by jewellery historian, Jack Ogden, on Portrait L, 08.07.24.

2 Report by jewellery historian, Jack Ogden, on Portrait L, 08.07.24.

3 E. Doxiadis describes a group of portraits, painted in Punic wax and tempera. She describes Punic wax as wax used cold requiring emulsification, and dilution with egg or oil. This allows a greater painterly handling. *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt*, 97.

4 E. Doxiadis, Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt, 199, no.45.

5 T. Graf, *Catalogue Of Theodor Graf's Gallery Of Antique Portraits*, 4.

6 For example, Lot 35, Antiquities, Christie's, New York, 5 June 2014, illustrated as the front cover of the sale catalogue was reportedly purchased by a US museum, before condition issues led to the cancellation of the sale. Reoffered in Antiquities, Christie's, New York, 18 April 2018, Lot 59, with a much reduced estimate.

7 In *Roman Portraits and Memphis*, Petrie notes that for the 1887-8 and 1888-89 seasons he found 81 portraits in total (p.2). As this is a conflation of two seasons, we have divided the portraits found according to Dr. Paul Robert's Table 1 in Living Images, p.59-65. According to Robert's study of Petrie's diaries (p.84-101) portraits A-AK were found in the 1887-88 season, totalling 67.

Ancient Panel Portraiture

1 S. Lydakis, *Ancient Greek Painting and its Echoes in Later Art*, 48.

2 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.118.

3 For more information on these techniques, see 'The Birth of Greek Painting,' 68-188; for Apollodorus, see 'Apollodorus the Skiagraphos,' 115-128 in S. Lydakis, *Ancient Greek Painting*.

4 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.63.

5 Pliny the Elder, *Natural Histor*y, 35.76.

6 Pliny notes that the three-quarter view was invented by a man named Kimon, from Kleonai. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.55-6. See also, D. Von Bothmer, *Greek Vase Painting*, 7.

7 V. Bruno, 'The Four Color-Palette of the Greeks' in Form and Color in Greek Painting, 53-61. Pliny also talks about the remarkable realistic effects produced using only four colours. See, Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.92.

8 Quoted in D. Plantzos, *The Art of Painting in Ancient Greece*, 21.

9 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.79.

10 G. Schwantler, 'Greco-Roman Portraits,' 15.

11 Theophrastus, *Characters*, 2. 2.

12 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.94-5.

13 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.89, 95

14 From the eulogy from the worshipper Kyno at the temple of Asclepius at Cos, H. Brecoulaki, 'Greek Painting and the Challenge of Mimēsis,' 219.

15 Pliny, *Natural History*, 35. 79-80; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, XII, 10, 6.

16 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.89-90.

17 To be aligned with Apelles was the highest form of praise a Renaissance master could achieve. For example, Pisanello (1395-1455) was compared to Apelles for his sophisticated balancing of idealisation with detailed naturalism. Even female artist Lavinia Fontana (1552-1614) was hailed as 'a new Apelles' on being recommended as portraitist to the Medici Duchess, Bianca Capello (1548-1587).

18 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.24.

19 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.130.

20 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.94.

21 S. Lydakis, *Ancient Greek Painting*, 55.

22 For more on the dual portrait at the house of Terentius Neo, see: J. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, 261-3.

23 From the eulogy from the worshipper Kyno at the temple of Asclepius at Cos, H. Brecoulaki, 'Greek Painting and the Challenge of Mimēsis,' 219.

24 W. M. F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arisnoe*, 20. However, this has been debated by later scholars.

25 *Berliner Griechische Urkunden*, Vol. II. No.423.

26 H. Brecoulaki, 'Greek Painting and the Challenge of Mimēsis,' 225.

27 Quoted in W. M. F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, 38. Emphasis added.

28 For a study of the 'encaustic revival' following the discoveries at Pompeii, see: D. Rice, *The Fire of the Ancients*.

29 D. Diderot, 'Histoire et le Secret de la Peinture en Cire'; Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.41.

30 The APPEAR (Ancient Panel Paintings: Examination, Analysis, and Research) Project founded in 2013 by the Getty Museum aims to broaden our understanding of the technical aspects of how ancient panel paintings were made.

31 From analysis undertaken by Caroline Cartwright at the British Museum, 70% of the portrait panels were made from *Tilia europaea*, and 10% from other imported woods such as oak, fir and yew. See, C. Cartwright, 'Depicting the Dead: Ancient Egyptian Mummy Portraits'.

32 E. Doxiadis, *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt*, 95-6.

33 Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.41. It is unknown what exactly was meant by 'encaustic' for the ancients. There have also been experiments with cold wax, known as Punic wax. See E. Doxiadis, Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt, 97-8.

34 V. Bruno, 'The Four Color-Palette of the Greeks' in *Form and Color in Greek Painting*, 53-61.

35 Quoted in H. Brecoulaki, 'Greek Painting and the Challenge of Mimēsis,' 218.

36 H. Brecoulaki, 'Greek Painting and the Challenge of Mimēsis,' 224.

37 Seneca, *Epistle*, 121.5 quoted in E. Doxiadis, *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt*, 93.

38 F. Giuseppe, *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872*.

Petrie's Discovery

1 Inge Uytterhoeven examines mummy labels to show where those buried at Hawara lived during their lifetime, revealing that many came from all over the Fayum region. I. Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 537.

2 For more on this, see: R. Hunter, 'Tourism and Empire: The Thomas Cook & Son Enterprise on the Nile, 1869-1914,' 28-54.

3 Quoted in B. Rogers, 'Unwrapping the Past: Egyptian Mummies on Show,' 201.

4 J. Thompson, *Wonderful Things: A History of Egyptology*, Vol. 1, 280; M. Gold, 'British Egyptology (1822-1882),' 14.

5 J. Rees, *Amelia Edwards: Traveller, Novelist & Egyptologist*, 53.

6 In order to remedy this, Mariette also permitted only himself to excavate. This was known as 'Mariette's Monopoly', and, unsurprisingly, was not well-received among aspiring Egyptologists. German-American assyriologist H. V. Hilprecht (1859-1925) observed that 'as long as Mariette lived, he guarded almost jealousy the privilege to excavate... but to no one was given permission to excavate on his own account...' H. Hilprecht, *Explorations of Bible Lands During the 19th Century*, 639; M. Drower, *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology*, 36.

7 W. M. F. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, 8.

8 W. M. F. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, 20.

9 See: W. M. F. Petrie, *The Pyramids and Temples of Giza*.

10 A. Edwards, *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*, 323.

11 W. M. F. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, 38.

12 W. M. F. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, 20.

13 For more on this excavation, see Petrie's Journal, 1883-1884 (Tanis), Petrie MSS 1.3, Griffith Institute Archive, Oxford.

14 W. M. F. Petrie, *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*, 49.

15 W. M. F. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, 63.

16 Quoted in J. Rees, *Amelia Edwards*, 57.

17 Herodotus, *Histories, III*. 148-149.

18 For the work of Carl Lepsius and Luigi Vassali, see: I. Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period*: Life and Death in a Fayum Village, 15-19.

19 W. M. F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, 4-5.

20 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.11.

21 Letter from Kennard to Flinders Petrie, 13.10.1887, (5/KAH/04), The Petrie Museum.

22 W. M. F. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, 84-5.

23 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.1.

24 W. M. F. Petrie, 'A Digger's Life,' 441.

25 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.12. Petrie was certainly more hands-on with his men than other excavators. In his later book *Methods and Aims*, he advocated for the importance of the archaeologist to be available to his workmen at any time of the day and in any capacity. During the 1888 Hawara season, for example, he took charge of first-aid, administering zinc eye drops and medication for toothache.

26 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.28-9.

27 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.26.

28 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.29.

29 W. M. F. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, 88. Petrie later warned against such propriety: 'The man who cannot enjoy his work without regard to appearances, who will not strip and go into the water, or slither on slimy mud through unknown passages, had better not profess to excavate.' See: W. M. F. Petrie, Methods and Aims, 7.

30 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.29.

31 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.30.

32 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.30.

33 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.30

34 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.30.

35 For Petrie's labelling system, see W. M. F. Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis*, 2.

36 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.38.

37 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.35.

38 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.37-8.

39 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.51-99, p.62-3.

40 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.35.

41 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.45.

42 See I. Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period*. For a reconstruction of the grave context of Portrait L and H, see p.189. For a map of the dig site, see image III.127.

43 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.51-99, p.38, 63.

44 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.100-126, p.102.

45 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.51-99, p.75.

46 W. M. F. Petrie, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, 97.

47 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.51-99 p.56.

48 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.51-99 p.57-8.

49 W. M. F. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, 94.

50 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.51-99, p.56.

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52 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.51-99 p.84.

53 Roberts, P. 'One of our Mummies is Missing: Evaluating Petrie's Records from Hawara,' 19.

54 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p.43.

55 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.51-99 p.96.

56 For the traditional displays at the Royal Archaeological Institute, see A. Williams, 'Exhibiting Archaeology: Constructing Knowledge of Egyptian Temporary Exhibitions in London, 1884-1939,' 69-73.

57 EES COR.017.c.95. Quoted in Williams, A. 'Exhibiting Archaeology,' 73.

58 'Antiquities from the Fayoum,' *St James's Gazette*, Tuesday, 19 June

1888. Petrie also wrote the same of the arrival of his portraits at the Egyptian Hall. He said that the place was 'once more appropriately filled, as it has not been since Belzoni's exhibition there over sixty years ago.' Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arisonoe*, 3.

59 W. M. F. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, 95-6.

60 'Interesting Discoveries of Explorer Petrie in Egypt,' *The Chicago Tribune*, Sunday, 24 June 1888, p.16.

61 'A Jackdaw's Flight', Leeds Mercury, Saturday, Issue 15673, 30 June 1888; 'Mr Petrie's Egyptian Antiquities', *The Times*, Issue 32427, Monday 2 July 1888.

62 'Mr Flinders Petrie's Discoveries in Egypt,' *Illustrated London News*, Saturday 30th June 1888.

63 See the following correspondence in the National Gallery archives:
NG7/105/3: Letter from Mr. Flinders Petrie stating that seven ancient Greco-Egyptian portraits have been presented to the National Gallery; NG7/105/4: Letter from Mr Flinders Petrie regarding the acquisition of Greco-Egyptian portraits (1260-1270) [now all in the BM] 21 July 1888; NG7/105/5: Letter from Mr Flinders Petrie regarding the acquisition of Greco-Egyptian portraits (1260-1270) [now all in the BM] 4 August 1888; NG6/13/572: Letter to Flinders Petrie from Sir Charles Eastlake (30 July 1888) complying with his request to defer the collection of pictures for a day;
NG6/13/583: Letter to Flinders Petrie from Sir Charles Eastlake (8 August 1888).

64 National Gallery Archives, NG7/105/3.

65 National Gallery Archives, NG6/13/584.

66 'The Latest Acquisitions of the National Gallery,' *The Times*, 28 August 1888, p.5.

67 'Egyptian Relics,' *York Herald, Supplement*, Saturday 4 August 1888.

68 K.Herold-Zanker, *Decadence and Orientalism in England and Germany, 1880-1920: 'The Indispensable East'*, 65.

69 J. Thompson, *Wonderful Things: A History of Egyptology*, Vol. 1, 255.

70 W. M. F. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, 95.

71 Petrie to Edwards, 12 July 1888, 3/1/PEN/35, Petrie Museum Archives, quoted in A. Thornton, *Archaeologists in Print: Publishing for the People*, 83.

72 W. M. F. Petrie, Ten Years' Digging in Egypt, 92.

73 For an account of the limited documentation from sites other than Hawara, see Dr. Paul Roberts' article, 'An Archaeological Context for British Discoveries of Mummy Portraits in the Fayum,' in J. Picton, S. Quirke, P. Roberts, (eds), *Living Images*, p.14-20. For the documentation from Petrie's season in Hawara, see p.20-67.

74 W. M. F. Petrie, *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*, 177-78.

75 W. M. F. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, 88.

76 W. M. F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*, 42-46.

Provenance

1 The Report of the Director of the National Gallery for the Year 1888 (NG17) in the British Museum Archives, details the donations for that year, and where they were hung, or stored. Of the five Kennard donated, four were hung 'under glass' on public display. While the two Haworth donated, were not.

2 Amelia Edwards to Flinders Petrie, 22.08.1887, (5/EDW/33), The Petrie Museum Archives.

3 See, for example, Lots 530 and 545 in Sotheby's, *The important collection of Egyptian Antiquities formed by H. Martyn Kennard, 16-19 July 1912*, p.74.

4 W. M. F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, 44.

5 Date of sitting taken from private correspondence held by descendants of H. M. Kennard. The finished portrait was hung in Gallery no. VII, and is listed in the exhibition catalogue: *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, 1891*. The 123rd., No. 619, p.24.

6 'Special Exhibitions' were arranged in addition to the general exhibitions held throughout the year. These Special Exhibitions had 'for their object the elucidation of some School, Master or Specific Art.' See the *Burlington Fine Arts Club's Rules, Regulations and Bylaws, with List of Members*, for further information, (1895, 200.B.110, National Art Library, V&A). For the Committee Minutes relating to the Exhibition of Ancient Art, see entries for 26th June 1894, 17th July 1894, 23rd April 1895, and 2nd July 1895, in *Burlington Fine Arts Club, General Meeting Minute Books*, Vol. 3, 13 February 1883 to 16 November 1897, (86.KK.13, National Art Library, V&A.)

7 Noted in 'The Burlington Fine Arts Club,' The Standard, 2 May 1895. p.2. Egyptologist Tom Hardwick also noted that this was the first time Egyptian objects were displayed as 'art': Tom Hardwick, 'Wonderfully Expensive Things: Howard Carter and the Market for Egyptian Art,' Seminars in the History of Collecting, The Wallace Collection, 28 Nov 2022, 13:00 - 14:30, Video URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WGXHeMHBcI8

8 'The Burlington Fine Arts Club,' *The Standard*, 2 May 1895. P.2; see also, 'Burlington Fine Arts Club,' *The Daily Telegraph*, 2 May 1895, p.8. See also advert in New York Times, Sunday 2nd June 1895.

9 'The Art of Ancient Egypt', *The Magazine of Art*, Vol. 18, (1895), p.396 quoted in S. Pierson, *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London*, 115.

10 'Illustrated Catalogue of Sales in July,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 21, No.112, (July 1912), p.242-243.

11 Lot 542 in *The important collection of Egyptian Antiquities formed by H. Martyn Kennard, 16-19 July 1912*, p.56.

12 'Early Egyptian Portraits, Remarkable Prices', *The Times*, 19 July 1912. p.14

13 R. Hagen, T*he Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880-1930*, 225. The Kalebdjian's also bought other pieces found by Flinders Petrie. See for example, 'Trial piece with two heads', in the Brooklyn Museum, Acc. no.33.61.

14 J. Larson (ed.), *Letters from James Henry Breasted*, 72.

15 For the Kalebdjians' relationship with Calouste Gulbenkian (1869-1955), see: R. McClary, 'Calouste Gulbenkian, His Mīnā 'ī Ware, and the Changing Islamic Art Market in the Early Twentieth Century,' 325-343.

16 H. Nadelhoffer, *Cartier: Jewellers Extraordinary*, 152.

17 J. Larson (ed.), *Letters from James Henry Breasted*, 72.

18 For the Kalebdjians' relationship with Calouste Gulbenkian (1869-1955), see: R. McClary, 'Calouste Gulbenkian...' (op.cit. fn. 14.)

19 Rosenberg certainly had a preexisting relationship with the brothers. File I.C.15, 'Receipts and incoming invoices, paintings: "Factures, 1909", 1908-1924' (The Paul Rosenberg Archives, MoMA, New York) contains an invoice from the Kalebdjian Frères for 'Monsieur L. Rosenberg,' dated 13 October 1909, for 'stile en pierre dure avec des figures égyptiennes.'

20 A recent biography of Rosenberg champions the dealer against his later reputation: G. Casini, *Léonce Rosenberg's Cubism: The Galerie L'Effort Moderne in Interwar Paris*, 2023.

21 Quoted in: M. FitzGerald, *Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth Century Art*, 66.

22 Max Jacob (1876-1944), letter to the fashion designer, Jacques Doucet (1853-1929). Quoted in D. Franck, *Bohemian Paris: Picasso, Modigliani, Matisse, and the Birth of Modern Art*, 268.

23 In addition to ancient art, Rosenberg also began dealing in the art leading up to the Renaissance. His first gallery was aptly named Haute Époque. It was renamed to Galerie L'Effort Moderne in 1918 and became the foremost gallery for Cubist works of the period. For the quote, see: Léonce Rosenberg to Amédée Ozenfant, undated [1929?], FLR, box LROS 20, 10422-1000. Kandinsky Archive, Centre de Pompidou. Cited and translated in, G. Casini, *Léonce Rosenberg's Cubism*, 14-15.

24 Author's translations. H. d'Ardenne de Tizac, 'Les Collections de M. Léonce Rosenberg', 4.

25 S. Reinach, 'Les collections de M. Léonce Rosenberg by H. d'Ardenne de Tizac', 174.

26 H. d'Ardenne de Tizac, 'Les Collections de M. Léonce Rosenberg', 15-16.

27 L. Rosenberg, *Cubisme et Tradition*, 14. Translation from: G. Casini, *Léonce Rosenberg's Cubism*, 18.

28 R. M. Riefstahl, 'Note,' in *The Alexandre-Rosenberg Collection*, The Anderson Galleries, 1918.

29 The Anderson Galleries, *The Alexandre-Rosenberg Collection*, New York, Lot 14 (ill.), p.8.

30 R. M. Riefstahl notes, 'So far as we know, this is the first time that characteristic pictures of this school have been put to the acid test of a public sale.' See: 'Note,' in *The Alexandre-Rosenberg Collection*. See also: The Anderson Galleries advertisement in *The New York Times*, Friday 3 May 1918, p.24.

31 R. M. Riefstahl, 'Note,' in *The Alexandre-Rosenberg Collection*, 1918.

32 For its display in Amsterdam, see: *Collection Léonce Rosenberg, Paris, 1 June 1920*, Amsterdam: Hôtel de Ventes 'de Roos', Lot 168 (ill.).

33 For the close relationship between Rosenberg and Ernest Brown and Phillips see: G. Casini, *Léonce Rosenberg's Cubism*, 108, fn 54. Contract between Léonce Rosenberg and Ernest Brown & Phillips, signed on November 15, 1919, FLR, box LROS 23, 10422-1607. For the 1920's exhibition catalogue see: '303. Catalogue of an Exhibition of Ancient Art: Chinese, Egyptian, French, Greek, Indian, Persian, South American, Etc.' Ernest Brown & Phillips, The Leicester Galleries, Leicester Square, London. October-November 1920.

34 'Monthly Circle,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 37, No.211, Oct, 1920. 210. It was also reviewed by renowned art critic Sir Claude Phillips: 'Leicester Galleries: Ancient Art,' *The Daily Telegraph*, 5 October 1920, p.7.

35 Here, the portrait is wrongly dated as fourth century AD. 'Monthly Circle,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 37, No.208-213, (London, July - December 1920), 209.

36 Author's translation. E. Tériade, 'Nos enquêtes: Entretien avec M. Léonce Rosenberg', 2.

37 We do not know whether it was Rosenberg or Ruesch who reframed the portrait in the frame it is in now. The only times we see an image of the frame are in 1912, in the Sotheby's sale which shows the frame Kennard had it put in when it entered his collection, and in a photograph of Villa Ruesch from 1926. While it is illustrated in Tizac's 1914 review, it is cropped to show just the part visible through the mount, and therefore gives us no further clues as to which collector framed it.

38 Author's translation. O. Waser, 'Arnold Ruesch,' 5.

39 *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Naples: Richter & Co., 1908.

40 O. Waser, 'Arnold Ruesch,' 5.

41 O. Waser, 'Arnold Ruesch,' 4.

42 For descriptions of the house, see: O. Waser, 'Arnold Ruesch,' 2-5; L. Pollak, 'Arnold Ruesch,' 174-5. For Ruesch's frescoes from Boscoreale, see also: B. Bergmann, 'Realia. Portable and Painted Objects from the Villa of Boscoreale', 84.

43 For the Roman bronze audience chair, see The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Acc. no. 54.2365.

44 L. Pollak, 'Arnold Ruesch,' 173; For the statue of Aphrodite, see O. Waser, 'Arnold Ruesch,' 4.

45 L. Pollak, 'Arnold Ruesch,' 174-5.

46 Kennard's ownership, and therefore Petrie's excavation, was probably unknown to Ruesch. In 1918, Rosenberg erroneously noted that the portrait had come from the Lambros-Dattari sale, which was held in Paris in June 1912, one month before the present portrait was sold in London at Sotheby's. The Anderson Galleries, New York, 'The Alexandre-Rosenberg Collection,' Lot 14 (ill.), p.8.

47 'Sammlung A. Ruesch, Zürich', Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, 1-2 September 1936.

48 'Ausgezeichnetes Exemplar. Sehr gute Erhaltung.' Author's translation. 'Sammlung A. Ruesch, Zürich', Galerie Fischer, Lucerne. Lot 175, p.19.

49 For example, see, 'Glass portrait head of a woman,' Roman, 2nd century, (Acc. No. 59.11.8) at the Metropolitan Museum; the bell krater, (Acc. No. 1991,0716.1) at the British Museum.

50 Dr Maeder wrote about his travels. For his time in Egypt, see: J. Maeder, *Der Weg Als Ziel*, 51-86.

51 Author's translation. J. Maeder, *Der Weg Als Ziel*, 52.

52 The lots purchased by J. Maeder were:
3. Black-figure jug, 400 [CHF].-
27. Red-figure bell krater, 500.-
175. The present painting, Portrait L. Bought for 600.-
183. Marble vessel, 45.-
190. Portrait bust of Epicurus, 400.-
228. Marble lion's head, 50.-
294. Ring, 90.-
300. Ring, 120.-

According to the invoice for the sale addressed to 'J. Maeder'. Email communication with Dr. Kuno Fischer, for the Galerie Fischer archive. 9.07.24.

53 Verbal communication with the last owner, 29.05.2024. For J. Maeder, see: K. Parlasca, *Repertorio d'Arte dell'egitto Greco-Romano*, Series B, Vol. 1, p.57, no.112. Additionally substantiated through email communication with Dr. Kuno Fischer, for the Galerie Fischer archive. 9.07.24.

54 Verbal communication with the last owner, 29.05.2024.

A Masterpiece Rediscovered

1 Verbal communication with the last owner, 29.05.2024.

2 K. Parlasca, Repertorio d'Arte dell'egitto Greco-Romano, Series B, Vol. 1, p.57, no.112

3 Condition report, Koller Auktionen, Zurich, Lot 1011, 21.09.23.

4 Petrie's Journal, 1887-1888 MSS 1.7.1-50, p 45, 96.

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1 For example, see 'Masterpieces,' *The Egyptian Museum*, Date accessed: 9.07. 24. URL: https://egyptianmuseumcairo.eg/the-collection/

2 Holland Cotter, 'Expressions so ancient, yet familiar,' *New York Times*, 18 February 2000

3 C. Cartwright, 'Depicting the Dead: Ancient Egyptian Mummy Portraits'.

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On the occasion of the exhibition
Portrait L at Frieze Masters 2024

ArtAncient
31 Imperial Rd
London
SW6 2FR

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+44 (0)20 3621 0816

ISBN 978-0-9930370-6-1

Published by ArtAncient Ltd

Text:
Olivia Longhurst
Costas Paraskevaides
Jethro Sverdloff

Photography:
ArtAncient Ltd

Design:
Richard Ardagh Studio

Pre-press:
DawkinsColour

Printing:
PurePrint

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Acknowledgments

This catalogue could not have been produced without the expertise and generosity of those listed below. From scholars and academics, to archivists and curators, we are grateful to all for their continued interest in the rediscovery of Portrait L. Our particular thanks go to both the previous owner of the painting, and the descendants of H. M. Kennard, who would like to remain anonymous.

Giovanni Casini.
Flavio di Corso.
Nathan Daly, PhD.
Flavia Fiorillo, PhD.
Kuno Fischer, PhD.
Jack Ogden, PhD.
Kelly Olson, PhD.
Janet Stephens.
Marie Svoboda, PhD.
Barbara Vogel.
Lucy Wrapson, PhD.
Susan Walker, PhD.

Our thanks also go to the Hamilton Kerr Institute at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and The Courtauld Institute of Art, London, for their work on rediscovering the true condition of Portrait L.

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