



Roman Period Mummy Masks from Deir el-Bahri

Author(s): Christina Riggs

Source: *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. 86 (2000), pp. 121-144

Published by: Egypt Exploration Society

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3822312>

Accessed: 08/09/2008 12:52

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=ees>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit organization founded in 1995 to build trusted digital archives for scholarship. We work with the scholarly community to preserve their work and the materials they rely upon, and to build a common research platform that promotes the discovery and use of these resources. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

ROMAN PERIOD MUMMY MASKS FROM DEIR EL-BAHRI*

By CHRISTINA RIGGS

A study of a group of linen and plaster mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri, dating to the third century AD, with an Appendix listing 26 known examples. The first publication of a female mask in Dublin, National Museum of Ireland 1901:79, introduces a discussion of the group's iconographic and stylistic characteristics. This is followed by a presentation of archaeological evidence gleaned from excavations carried out at the site by the Egypt Exploration Fund in the 1890s and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the 1920s.

A cohesive group of linen and plaster mummy masks is known to have come from Roman Period burials at Deir el-Bahri and probably dates to the mid-third century of the common era, c. 220–270.¹ The decoration of the masks reflects both adaptation and continuity in Egyptian funerary art from Roman times, whilst archaeological evidence for the burials in which some masks were found elucidates the mortuary role of the Theban West Bank during the period. The first section of this article examines the characteristics and construction of the Deir el-Bahri masks by presenting a hitherto unpublished example in the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin. Details of the corpus' iconography are explored in the second section, and a third section reviews the history of the masks' discovery, including information noted in excavation records relating to their associated burials. An Appendix lists the 26 examples of Roman Period linen and plaster mummy masks known to me; boldface numbers throughout the article correspond to each mask's entry in the Appendix.

Following most previous writers on the corpus, I use the term 'mask' for these objects, rather than 'shroud', to reflect the fact that they are a composite of linen and plaster and were made to cover only the head and torso of the mummy. The Deir el-Bahri masks seem to represent a final stage in the development of torso-length mummy coverings in Roman Egypt, which, when tied to the wrapped body, replicated a physical likeness of the deceased and provided space for potent funerary scenes and symbols.²

* I would like to thank Helen Whitehouse, who read this article in draft form and had many helpful insights, as well as the editor of the *JEA*, whose comments significantly improved the article's structure.

¹ All dates are AD/CE unless otherwise stated. General discussion of this group of masks: K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 207–9, with five examples on pl. 52; G. Grimm, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 95–6 and 143–5, sections A, B and D. Grimm's plates E, 112 and 113 illustrate masks from Deir el-Bahri and two similar pieces from Medinet Habu. Examples with no exact archaeological provenance have generally been attributed to Deir el-Bahri, a convention which is maintained here due to the fact that the Medinet Habu masks seem to consist only of clay faces, rather than a composite of linen and plaster made to cover the upper half of the wrapped mummy.

² Cf. the first century mummy of Anoubias, from Meir: C. Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, Masks, and Portraits* (CG; Cairo, 1905), 32–3 (CG 33137), pl. xvii; and the masked, late second century burials of Pebos and his family, from Deir el-Medina: D. Montserrat and L. Meskell, 'Mortuary Archaeology and Religious Landscape at Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina', *JEA* 83 (1997), 188–93, with further references.

National Museum of Ireland 1901:79

In 1901, Trinity College Dublin transferred a painted linen and plaster mummy mask in its collection to the possession of the nearby National Museum of Ireland, where it was given the inventory number 1901:79 (19; fig. 1 and pls. XVI–XVII). Because of the mask's poor condition, with crumbling plaster and faded paint, it has remained in storage in the National Museum and is published here in full for the first time.³

Description

The mask's surface is divided into two main pictorial fields with paint applied over a white ground. The upper field includes a moulded plaster face and represents the head and torso of a woman, ending at the subject's waist. The lower half of the mask is further subdivided into two registers of unequal height, the upper depicting a horizontal band of foliage and the lower the sacred barque of Sokar, flanked by a jackal and a lotus on either side.

A dark red band borders the entire mask and separates its two main pictorial fields as well as the two registers within the lower field.⁴ Within this red band, a thick black line surrounds the upper representational field, containing the head and torso of the likeness, and the lower field, where it crosses the red border painted between that field's subdivisions. Each of these subdivisions incorporates additional, doubled boundary lines as well. The difference in the treatment of the borders of the upper and lower portions of the mask emphasises the difference in the content of each: the upper region devoted to the human image, and the lower reserved for funerary iconography.

The representation of the deceased woman is 'naturalistic' in that its intent clearly is to provide an image that will stand for an actual individual.⁵ Here, the woman's body is shown to waist level, which was a popular visual device in third-century portraiture and thus a manner of delimiting the human body which would have been familiar to contemporary viewers. She wears a long-sleeved white tunic with wide purple *clavi* on the chest and gathers a shawl around her which is decorated with two purple tapestry roundels, or *orbiculi*. Four necklaces, painted in imitation of gold and semiprecious gems, cover her neck and upper chest, and on each wrist are two thick bracelets that hide the hem of the tunic's sleeves. Her hands are painted the same rosy pink as her face, and she wears nearly identical round-bezel rings on the second and fourth fingers of the left. Each hand holds a symbolic funerary attribute. With her left hand, the woman grasps the stem of a leafy bouquet, coloured green. The details of its leaves are lost, but parallels from Roman Period Egyptian funerary art suggest that the plant is myrtle.⁶ Her right hand cradles a two-handled glass

³ L: 102.6 cm; W: 37.0 cm. I am grateful to Eamonn Kelly, Keeper of Irish Antiquities, National Museum of Ireland, for permission to publish inv. 1901:79, and to Mary Cahill, Assistant Keeper, Irish Antiquities, for first bringing the mask to my attention and for her generous help with my queries. Andrew Halpeim and Caragh Smyth, also of Irish Antiquities, assisted me during my visit to the National Museum of Ireland in July 1998.

⁴ The colour was significant in funerary art of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, due to its associations with solar cosmology and with protective red fabrics invoked in mortuary literature: L. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt* (SAOC 54; Chicago, 1995), 55–8.

⁵ Cf. the definition of 'naturalistic portraiture' as 'a physiognomic likeness which is seen to refer to the identity of the living or once-living person depicted', in J. Woodall (ed.), *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester, 1997), 1.

⁶ E.g. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, pl. 34, 2 (mummy portrait Berlin 13277); S. Walker and M. Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces* (London, 1997), 118–20 (no. 116, shrouded mummy British Museum EA 6715A). Myrtle (*Myrtus communis*) is a common Mediterranean tree, and branches of it have been identified with certainty in tombs from the Roman Period necropolis

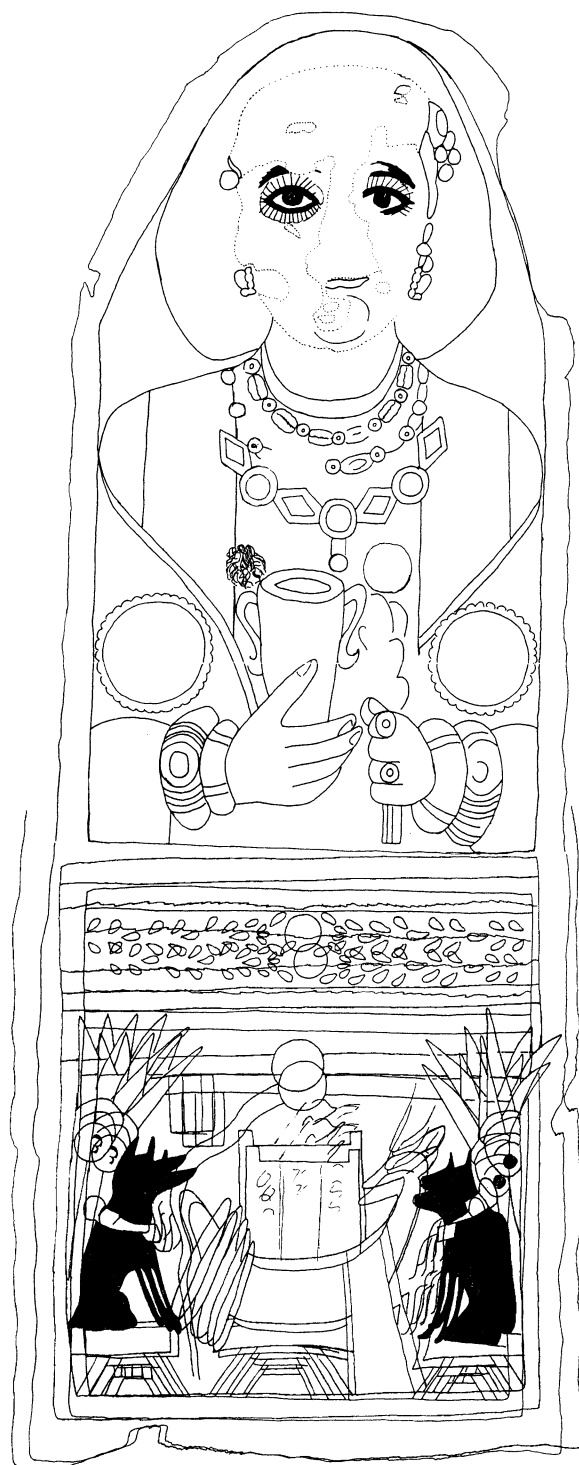


FIG. 1. 19, National Museum of Ireland 1901:79 (author).

cup filled with a red liquid to be identified as wine. The artist has drawn the top of the cup as a flattened oval, to indicate its depth, and outlined it in blue to imitate the colour of the glass. Within the blue oval, the liquid is painted a darker red than the liquid viewed through the translucent sides of the cup. The vessel's handles are painted yellow, presumably to evoke precious gilding over the glass.

The woman's head, which has suffered the most damage due to the fragility of its plaster, rests against a painted yellow background patterned with dots and wavy lines, as if she were lying supine on a pillow covered with such a textile. Painted black hair, with the paint applied directly to the prepared linen background, swells out on either side of her neck but fits more closely around the top and sides of her head. The hairstyle exposes her ears, which were added in sculpted plaster along with beaded 'gold' earrings. Remnants of black-painted plaster above either ear indicate that the front of the hair was dressed in vertical ripples over her forehead. Encircling the head and hair is a diadem of red petals alternating with a circular green 'stone' set in 'gold', preserved only at her left temple.

Made even more prominent by the structure of the mask, the woman's face gazes directly forward with wide-open eyes. The face and neck are painted rosy pink, accented by a darker red colour for the cheeks, lips, and the circle defining the bulb of the chin. Due to plaster losses, the nose, the upper part of the mouth, and portions of the forehead, cheeks, and chin are missing. The most striking features of the woman's physiognomy are her large, staring eyes, with their black pupils and heavily outlined rims. Thick black eyebrows arch above each eye, following the curve of the upper lids, and narrow black strokes extend from both the upper and lower eyelids to represent long eyelashes. The same red colour used for the lips, cheeks, and chin also surrounds the black rim of the eyes and covers the upper lid, crossed by a curved line of purplish red to indicate the eyelid crease.

When this mask was in place on its mummy, the garland depicted in the top register of the mask's lower portion covered the midsection of the woman's body and may have offered amuletic protection to the abdominal organs. The garland consists of red, yellow, and blue-green petals flanking a central yellow disk against a background of greenery. In addition to its possible symbolic role, the placement of the garland provides a visual cue to the transition between the portrait above and the scene below.

The central image of the bottom register is the *henu*-barque of Sokar, resting on a four-legged stand. The barque takes its traditional form, with several long mooring-posts extending from the antelope-headed prow and three oars attached at the stern.⁷ Both the barque and its stand are painted yellow, and lighter yellow lines and markings imitate basketwork on the side of the god's shrine. From the top of the shrine, the blue-green falcon head of Sokar emerges, although its painted details are lost. On either side of the barque, two black jackals sit on four-legged stands, and behind each jackal curves the stem of a lotus blossom, its white, pinkish red, and pale green petals spreading open into the red border between this scene and the garland band above. The jackals wear yellow bands around their necks, from the front of which three keys hang; the jackal on the viewer's right has an additional set of keys dangling below the first. The left-hand jackal holds in its mouth a long red rope connected to the red sun disk directly above the Sokar shrine. The sun disk balances in the

at Dush in the Kharga Oasis; see F. Dunand et al., *Douch, I. La Nécropole* (DFIFAO 26; Cairo, 1992), 259, pl. 92, 1, and R. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (DAIK Sonderschrift 14; Mainz, 1985), 41–2.

⁷ E. Brovarski, 'Sokar', *LÄ V*, 105574, especially 1066–7; C. Graindorge-Héteil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire* (GOF 4/28; Wiesbaden, 1994), 17–33.

middle of the register's double-lined boundary, and to the left, descending from the boundary, is a panel with three divisions for inscriptions that were never filled in.

Technical details

To create the mask, a single piece of tightly woven linen (warp and woof threads approximately 1.0 mm thick) was cut into a long rectangle, one end of which was reinforced from behind with two additional layers of similarly woven cloth. This end was then stretched and shaped to form an ovoid shape that bulges from the textile, several centimetres higher than the rest of the linen (pl. XVII, 1). Behind the projecting face, the mask is hollow, and the linen framing the head was cut at an angle, like the sides of a trapezoid, in order to fit the tapering head end of the mummy. The plaster face itself, with its sculpted lips and nose (now lost), was then formed either freehand or with the use of a mould. Strips of a finely woven textile on either side of the face provided support for the weight of additional plaster elements used to create the rippled hair, ears and earrings, and a diadem. Around the border of the mask, a series of holes through which cord was passed to sew it to the mummy are visible, but some of them have torn, leaving a jagged gap in the textile. The cut edges of the linen are frayed as well.

On the chest of the woman represented, breasts were created by bunching together several short lengths of thick, plied yarns and securing them to the linen surface with a few stitches. Each mound of yarn (about 3.8 cm diameter, projecting approximately 1.5 cm) was then covered by a piece of finely woven linen so that each breast could be given the same white ground as the rest of the mask. The proper right breast here has lost its original textile cover, revealing the twisted yarns below.

In contrast to the thick plaster lying at least 4.0 mm deep on the surface of the face, the rest of the mask's linen surface received only a thin layer of white ground in preparation for the paint. Much of this ground and the paint attached to it have worn or flaked away, leaving the texture of the linen visible behind the decoration and obscuring many of the painted details. Most of the plaster forming the woman's hair, diadem, and face has also fallen away from the linen, and what does remain is badly cracked. Nevertheless, the overall decorative scheme of the mask is clear, and a positive aspect of its damaged condition is that more of its structural details are revealed, giving some insight into the process of manufacture.

The decorative scheme of the Deir el-Bahri masks

Of the complete masks listed in the Appendix, **19** most closely resembles **3, 4, 5, 13, 14, 15, 24, and 26** in the painting of the face, jewellery, clothing, attributes, and *henu*-barque scene. Although at first glance the masks present an almost monotonous appearance, subtle differences in execution and content attest to the hands of several artists who were probably active over the span of a generation or so in one workshop which produced these masks for local burials. Furthermore, the best-preserved examples show the artists' confident drawing and manipulation of the vivid colour palette, especially in the variations of pink for skin tones and yellow for drapery folds and metallic highlights. Masks **1** and **23** are extremely similar to each other, as are **16** and **25**. Two complete masks (**2** and **21**) display unique decorative features not exactly paralleled elsewhere in the corpus. The following discussion considers the iconographic content of the Deir el-Bahri masks, focusing of necessity on the intact examples.

Costume

Since the masks' costumes, characterised by interlace-patterned *clavi*, *orbiculi*, and swastikas, appear in conjunction with datable features such as hair and jewellery styles, these masks make a potentially valuable contribution to the dating of surviving textiles from Egypt and elsewhere.

The women depicted on the masks all wear clothing identical to **19**, consisting of a long-sleeved undyed linen tunic emblazoned with wide purple *clavi*, topped by an *orbiculi*-ornamented shawl gathered around the shoulders and drawn across the upper arms, leaving the sleeves of the tunic free. Tunics with tapestry-woven *clavi*, extending to the waist, knees, or hem of the garment, were a standard Roman costume in the later empire, and the dry climate of Egypt has preserved many intact tunics.⁸ In addition to the *clavi*, tunics could also be decorated with tapestry sleeve, hem, and neck borders, and with round (*orbiculi*), square (*tabulae*), or star-shaped tapestry elements, particularly on the knees or shoulders of the garment. These tapestries were created in one piece with the garment by fashioning an appropriate design, such as a foliate or geometric pattern, a mythological composition, or a scene with animals, in dyed wool threads incorporated in the weaving. On the best-preserved Deir el-Bahri masks (e.g. **23** and **24**), ornamental patterning in imitation of woven tapestry work is picked out in white paint on the *clavi* and *orbiculi*, and the *orbiculi* clearly have a scalloped edge in each case.⁹ The deep purple or purplish-brown colour imitates the colour of surviving tapestries, which could be created inexpensively by over-dyeing indigo with madder red or vice versa.¹⁰

The shawl depicted on the masks may have been one of the large rectangles of cloth, fringed at the short ends, known from extant examples.¹¹ Tapestry decorations, such as *orbiculi* or *gammulae* (shaped like the Greek capital *gamma*), appear in each corner of these shawls, so that when the shawl was wrapped around the body the tapestry elements in two of the corners would be visible from the front, much as the artists of the Deir el-Bahri masks have shown. White dashes painted along the edge of the shawl probably indicate the edge of the textile, rather than a true fringe.

The representation of the women's hairstyle is identical on each mask but was executed with minimal detail because it had to be painted both on the linen backing and on the plaster framing the face. Its primary characteristics are the rippled curls visible between the forehead and the diadem, the fact that the ears are revealed, and the swelling of the hair on either side of the neck, tapering in around the head. These traits indicate that the hairstyle is most likely a version of the *Scheitelzopf* worn throughout the third century and into the early fourth, in which the hair was looped up from the nape of the neck and wound in braids either at the back or on top of the head.¹² Since the *Scheitelzopf* braids appeared promi-

⁸ E.g. Victoria and Albert Museum T.361–1887 (Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 178–9 (no. 227)). M. Rutschowskaya, *Coptic Fabrics* (Paris, 1990), 151, provides a diagram of different tunic decoration schemes.

⁹ Examples of *orbiculi* with scalloped edges, generally formed by a pearl or wave border: J. Trilling, *The Roman Heritage. Textiles from Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean 300 to 600 AD* (Washington, D.C., 1982), 106, fig. 3; P. du Bourguet, *Catalogue des étoffes coptes* (Paris, 1964), 64 (no. B3) and 65 (no. B5).

¹⁰ D. Carroll, *Looms and Textiles of the Copts. First Millennium Egyptian Textiles in the Carl Austin Rietz Collection of the California Academy of Sciences* (San Francisco, 1988), 33.

¹¹ E.g. M.-C. Bruwier et al., *Égyptiennes. Étoffes coptes du Nil* (Mariemont, 1997), 154–5 (no. 28); Trilling, *Roman Heritage*, 90 (no. 99).

¹² Especially the hairstyles worn by imperial women between c. 220 and 270, such as Julia Aquilia, Julia Mamaea, and

nently above the forehead on imperial portraits from c. 270 to 310—a feature the Deir el-Bahri masks lack—a dating prior to that time may be indicated.¹³

The male masks from Deir el-Bahri also have a consistent costume type, consisting of a long-sleeved tunic with narrow purple *clavi*. The trapezoidal neck opening of the men's tunics reveals a second, identical tunic below the first. Both the narrowness of the *clavi* and the layering of two tunics appear in other funerary representations of men in the first half of the third century.¹⁴ With one exception, the men wear a mantle with a swastika tapestry element, draped over the subject's left shoulder. Like *gammulae* or notched stripes, the swastika appeared regularly on textiles and has been characterised as either a weavers' mark or a protective emblem.¹⁵ Selfbands, formed by passing multiple weft threads at the same time through the warp, border the tunic *clavi* and are depicted in yellow paint, ending in a tassel of loose thread. Such bands served a practical as well as decorative purpose by reinforcing the textile.¹⁶ Most of the male masks wear tunics without visible sleeve decoration, other than a few painted white dashes to mark the hem at the wrists; the tunic of **21**, however, has a tapestry band at the end of each sleeve.

The single exception to the costume worn by the male masks is **14**, on which the deceased man is shown without a mantle, revealing both *clavi* of his outer tunic. This mask is also one of only two (along with **6**) on which the man is clean-shaven. Since no information is available about the mummies found with the unbearded masks, it is not possible to determine whether the bodies were also beardless and whether this trait perhaps related to the youth of the deceased. On the bearded masks, the combination of close-cropped facial hair and a curly but short hairstyle bears some resemblance to imperial fashions in the first half of the third century. The bearded masks are also in keeping with the appearance of three male mummies found by the Metropolitan Museum of Art expedition and subsequently unwrapped, one masked (**26**) and two contemporary but without masks; all three men had closely trimmed hair and beards plus sparse, detached moustaches.¹⁷

Otacia Severa. See K. Wessel, 'Römische Frauenfrisuren von der severischen bis zur konstantinischen Zeit', *Archäologische Anzeiger* 61/62 (1946–7), 62–75; M. Bergmann, *Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Bonn, 1977); M. Wegner, *Gordianus III bis Carinus* (Das Römische Herrscherbild 3/3; Berlin, 1979). Cf. the date 270–280 suggested for **24** in S. Walker (ed.), *Ancient Faces* (New York, 2000), 147.

¹³ Alternatively, the braids may not have been depicted on the masks due to the position of the diadem and the technical difficulty of adding more plaster at the end of the mask.

¹⁴ British Museum EA 6709: S. Walker and D. Montserrat, 'A Journey to the Next World: the Shroud of a Youth from Roman Egypt', *Apollo* 148 (July 1998), 5–9; Leiden F1968/2.1: D. Montserrat, 'A Roman Period Painted Shroud of a Young Man from Deir el-Medina in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden', in R. Demarée and A. Egberts (eds), *Deir el-Medina 2000* (Leiden, 2000), 277–86.

¹⁵ E. Guimet, 'Symboles asiatiques trouvés à Antinoë', *Annales du Musée Guimet* 30/3 (1903), 145–52, emphasised the protective and mystical qualities of the swastika and its origins in Indian art, using **15** to illustrate his remarks. On notched stripes and *gamma* ornaments, but not swastikas, see Y. Yadin, *The Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* (Jerusalem, 1963), 227–32, who interpreted them as weavers' marks with little or no symbolic value. On *gammulae* (or *gammadia*) and notched stripes in Roman Period Egyptian funerary art: D. Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris* (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 6; Mainz, 1990), 51–2, with further references.

¹⁶ For the technique of creating a selfband, see A. Baginski and A. Tidhar, *Textiles from Egypt, 4th–13th Centuries C.E.* (Tel-Aviv, 1980), 29. Preserved tunics with selfbands include Bruwier, *Égyptiennes*, 197–8 (no. 83); M. Martiniani-Reber, *Tissus coptes* (Geneva, 1991), pl. 16 (no. 42); J. LaFontaine-Dosogne, *Textiles coptes* (Brussels, 1988), pls. 25–6 (inv. 2482).

¹⁷ See below, p. 137 on Roman Burials V and VI, which were opened in the field, and pp. 137–8 on **26**, which was unwrapped at the Brooklyn Museum in the 1950s.

Jewellery

Jewellery is a prominent feature of both the male and female masks. The earrings, necklaces, and bracelets painted to represent gold and gemstones probably did not resemble anything the deceased had owned and worn, but depicting jewellery on mummy masks conveyed the status to which the deceased laid claim in death, and perhaps wanted to claim in life.¹⁸ The women on the masks wear heavy earrings consisting of several smaller round gold beads in a loop that hangs from a larger bead at the earlobe.¹⁹ Female masks like **19** wear four necklaces. At the base of the throat is a gold choker, followed by a necklace of circular stones in a gold setting alternating with double rows of small beads. The third necklace pairs similar gold-set stones with tubular beads, and the outermost necklace has alternating rhomboidal and circular stones set in gold, with a circular gold pendant hanging from the central stone. On **19**, the circular stones are red and the rhomboidal ones green, and on **24**, the gold settings are augmented with lighter yellow paint, imitating decoration in the worked gold. Each woman wears two thick gold bracelets on either wrist, with striations indicated across their width; the larger bangle has a central stone setting. The women also wear gold rings with round or oval stone bezels on the second and fourth fingers of their left hands. Heavy gold settings with large stones were typical of the best quality Roman jewellery from the late second century into the Byzantine era, and examples are known both from artistic representations and from actual finds of jewellery.²⁰ Less precious jewellery in the same style was made from silver, bronze, iron, lead, bone, and glass, and it is not necessary to assume that the gold, stone, and pearl jewellery depicted in funerary portraits from Roman Egypt was what the individuals themselves possessed. Furthermore, a simplistic correlation between represented jewellery and jewellery the subject actually owned and wore results in the awkward supposition that each female represented by a Deir el-Bahri mask ‘owned’ an essentially identical *parure*.

The male masks depict rings and necklaces as well. The rings worn by the men are nearly identical to those worn by women in form and placement on the fingers, while the men’s necklaces and pendants have a more clearly amuletic role than those of their female counterparts. On **14**, only a gold choker with three sets of striations is depicted, a unique feature of this particular mask. Masks **2**, **3**, **4**, **6**, **13**, **15**, and **26** all show a gold-coloured cord from which a gold, shrine-shaped pectoral is suspended; a coloured stone is sometimes set in the centre.²¹ At the bottom of the pectoral on **2**, a small black scarab can be seen, probably an amulet meant to be resting on the man’s chest rather than a part of the necklace itself. Mask **21** wears a large winged scarab instead of the shrine pectoral, which supports the observa-

¹⁸ Roman Period burials rarely include jewellery, and then only pieces made of simpler materials (ivory, ceramics or iron), sometimes broken beforehand: W. Hauser, ‘The Christian Necropolis in Khargeh Oasis’, *BMMA, Section II. The Egyptian Expedition 1930–1931* (March 1932), 38–50. Roman and Byzantine burials at Seila only included very simple jewellery: C. W. Griggs, ‘Excavating a Christian Cemetery near Seila, in the Fayum Region of Egypt’, in id. (ed.), *Excavations at Seila, Egypt* (Provo, 1988), 79.

¹⁹ Cf. Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 166–7 (no. 195, British Museum GRA 1872.6-4.602).

²⁰ Such as a treasure found at Lyon, dating to c. 200, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts there: A. Böhme, ‘Frauensmuck der römischen Kaiserzeit’, *Antike Welt* 9/3 (1978), 3–16, esp. figs. 7–10, 16–17, and 20. For other examples of third century jewellery, see K. Parlasca and H. Seemann, *Augenblicke. Mumienporträts und ägyptische Grabkunst aus römischer Zeit* (Frankfurt, 1999), 164 (no. 63) and 208 (no. 115).

²¹ J. Cooney, *Pagan and Christian Egypt* (Brooklyn, 1941), no. 10, describes **3** as having a ‘heart scarab’ within the pendant. The centre of the pendant on **13** is green (thus Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 156–7 (no. 175)), **2** is red, and **6** and **26** are blue.

tion that the jewellery represented on these masks is concerned more with protecting and exalting the deceased than with recording the jewellery worn in daily life.

Glass vessels

It was the two-handled cup full of a red liquid, featured prominently in the left hand of each mask, which led Naville to misinterpret these mummies as Christian, despite their Egyptian iconography.²² Wine was an offering for the deceased in Egyptian religion and had inevitable associations with Dionysus in Hellenic thought.²³ A glass vessel containing wine features in other examples of Roman Period Egyptian funerary art, perhaps a reflection of artists' interests in capturing the translucent quality of glass.²⁴ Wine imagery, through viticulture scenes, grapes and grape vines, and wine amphorae, also appeared in funerary art, as in the tomb of Petosiris in the Dakhla Oasis or in grape vine patterns on coffins and funerary biers.²⁵ A shrine in Cairo with the tondo portrait of a young man combines images of grain and fruit with wine imagery in the form of an amphora, grape bunches, and *kantharoi*, two-handled drinking cups.²⁶

On the Deir el-Bahri masks, the two-handled cup holding the wine also takes the shape of a *kantharos*, with curved handles that begin at the rim of the vessel and curve upwards, rejoining the body nearly half-way down and then flipping up in a little tail of glass; the vessel's foot is hidden by the deceased's hand.²⁷ Except for a few masks on which the handles are painted gold, the rim and handles of the *kantharos* are blue, indicating that blue glass was used for the cup. Well-preserved masks, such as **26**, also depict a pattern of dots and horizontal bands on the glass, decorative elements which would have been engraved on the glass or added to it with glass droplets of a contrasting colour. The *kantharos* was in use throughout the Roman world over a long period of time, and is particularly well attested between the third and fifth centuries.

Mask **2** holds another type of glass, a straight-sided, blue-green beaker with a flared rim. Horizontal bands across the beaker probably indicate a spiral of glass wound around it, and

²² E. Naville, 'Excavations: Work at the Temple of Deir el Bahari', *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Reports* 1893–94, 4; id., *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, II (MEEF 14; London, 1896), 5.

²³ On wine in Egyptian funerary rituals, see M. Poo, *Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1995), *passim*; C. Meier, 'Wein', *LÄ* VI, 1169–82; M. Poo, 'Weinopfer', *LÄ* VI, 1186–90. Wine is among the offerings mentioned in demotic funerary papyri of the period; see, for instance, M. Smith, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, III. *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 30507* (London, 1987), col. VII, line 5, and id., *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing* (Oxford, 1993), col. II, line 5.

²⁴ E.g. Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 118–19 (no. 114, British Museum EA 68509); 87–8 (no. 77, British Museum EA 63395); 103 (no. 95, Getty Museum 79.AP.142); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 144, pl. 47, 4. For painted representations of glass vessels, see F. Naumann-Steckner, 'Depictions of Glass in Roman Wall Paintings', in M. Newby and K. Painter (eds), *Roman Glass: Two Centuries of Art and Invention* (London, 1991), 86–98.

²⁵ Tomb of Petosiris, west wall of Room 1 and west wall of Room 2: J. Ösing et al., *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Fakhry* (AV 28; Mainz, 1982), pls. 32 and 34; funerary bed from Dush (inv. 312): G. Castel and F. Dunand, 'Deux lits funéraires d'époque romaine de la nécropole de Douch', *BIFAO* 81 (1981), 77–110; see also Dunand et al., *Douch*, pl. 60.

²⁶ CG 33269: Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 108–10, pl. 43 (as 'portrait of a girl'); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, pl. 10, 4.

²⁷ Close parallels include C. Isings, *Roman Glass from Dated Finds* (Groningen, 1957), form 38c; A. von Saldern, *Kataloge des Kunstmuseums Düsseldorf. Glas. Glassammlung Hentrich, Antike und Islam* (Düsseldorf, 1974), cat. 143; D. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis found by the University of Michigan Archaeological Expedition in Egypt, 1924–29* (Ann Arbor, 1936), catalogue no. 425 (handle only).

the white flecks of paint again imitate added glass or engraved markings. On **21**, a second vessel, an amphora of either glass or pottery, appears on the man's chest above the *kantharos* in his left hand. The amphora was commonly in use as a wine jar and thus represents another offering for the deceased.

Floral tributes

In a demotic mortuary liturgy of the early first century, the deceased is told, 'A garland of every flower will be brought to you. Fresh plants will be offered to you. A bouquet will be presented to you', as part of an enumeration of the privileges associated with the god-like state of the rejuvenated dead.²⁸ Like other funerary art from Roman Egypt, the Deir el-Bahri masks employ a profusion of such floral tributes, of which three types can be distinguished: wreaths worn like a diadem around the head; garlands and bouquets either held in the hand or tied around the wrist; and long bands of flowers and foliage which could be depicted festooning tomb walls, coffins, stelae, or the mummy itself.

Each of the masks' subjects wears a diadem composed of a round stone set in gold alternating with red and green buds of leaves or flowers. The fact that foliate diadems appear on both male and female masks from Deir el-Bahri, and that wreaths are such a common feature of Roman Period funerary art, points to a broad association between these diadems and the idea of the deceased's elevated status after death, rather than to a meaning specific to the deceased's gender or profession. Two different types of hand-held wreaths appear on the masks, the first being a simple bouquet of green leafy stems, identified as myrtle, and the second a fabricated rope of flowers and leaves bound together with decorative ribbons and provided with ties at the ends. Such hand-held wreaths are ubiquitous, appearing on countless shrouds, sarcophagi, pieces of sculpture, coffins, and masks of the period, and again, the frequency of their use points to a general interpretation of their funerary significance. Masks **2** and **21** have a second wreath around their left wrists, the same position in which wreaths were sometimes placed on mummies.²⁹ Finally, the garland placed horizontally across the middle of the Deir el-Bahri masks imitates the use of real floral arrangements in a mortuary context and divides the two pictorial realms of the masks.

Funerary iconography: the jackals and the Sokar barque

The significant bottom register of each mask utilises both solar and Osirian mythology in its representation of two seated jackals flanking the *henu*-barque of the funerary deity Sokar, whose links to both Osiris and the sun god were so ancient as to be inseparable from Sokar himself.³⁰ The god and his barque were a focus of funerary worship in Ramesside Theban tombs and on Third Intermediate Period stelae, and celebration of the Sokar festival continued into Ptolemaic and Roman times as part of the Khoiak mysteries of Osiris.³¹ In the

²⁸ P. Berlin 8351, column II, line 11, in Smith, *Liturgy*, 31, with commentary and further references on 47.

²⁹ From the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations at Deir el-Bahri, discussed below on pp. 135–9, the mummies of an adult woman and male infant in Roman Burial XLI both had floral wreaths, consisting of flowers sewn to strips of cloth, around their wrists and foreheads; the female mummy in Roman Burial XXIV (see also n. 73) had wreaths of flowers tied around her ankles, hips, and neck.

³⁰ Brovarski, *LÄ V*, 1060–1.

³¹ G. Gaballa and K. Kitchen, 'The Festival of Sokar', *Orientalia* 38 (1969), 1–76; É. Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak* (Cairo, 1966), *passim*.

bottom register of the Deir el-Bahri masks, the *henu*-barque preserves its traditional form and is set on a four-legged stand. The curved prow terminates in a backward-facing antelope's head, and on several of the masks (1, 3, 14, 15, 21, 23, 24, and 26) an additional projection from the prow represents the forward-facing head of a bull. In the middle of the ship stands the shrine of the god, its sides decorated in imitation of basketwork construction, as on 21. Flanking the *henu*-barque are seated jackals with keys hung from their necks, a funerary motif attested from the late first century onward. Such jackals appear so consistently on Theban material—at the feet of the Nut and Osiris figures on shrouds and coffin bases from the Theban Soter family group, for instance, and on a mummy label excavated at Medinet Habu—that the motif may well be a firm indication of provenance.³²

On many of the Deir el-Bahri masks, including 19, the jackal on the viewer's left holds a cord in its mouth which is connected to the sun disk at the top of the composition, above the god's falcon head. This image concisely encapsulates a more elaborate composition in which striding black jackals pull the towrope of the solar or Osirian barque on its sledge.³³ Attested on papyri, coffins, and tomb paintings from the New Kingdom onwards, in which they were sometimes called the 'souls of Hierakonpolis' or the 'souls of the East and West', the barque-towing jackals appeared prominently on the long sides of the vaulted Soter family coffins.³⁴ By depicting one of the seated jackals grasping a cord attached to the solar disk, the artists of the Deir el-Bahri masks have cleverly created a *pars pro toto* for the barque-towing scene and conflated the solar and funerary aspects of the jackals. Their multivalent symbolism allows the jackals to be 'read' simultaneously as guardians of the deceased, holders of the keys to the afterlife who lead the deceased safely to Osiris, and servants of the sun-god who pull his barque on its journey through the night.

The archaeological context of the Deir el-Bahri masks

The history of the masks' discovery at Deir el-Bahri, beginning with nineteenth-century explorers, illuminates the mortuary use of the site during the Roman Period. Like much of the Theban necropolis, the site had been continuously employed as a cemetery, even into Byzantine times, with countless mummies inserted into earlier tombs or buried in new pits and shafts. The following discussion traces the acquisition of unexcavated masks and examines archaeological evidence for the masks found during the Egypt Exploration Fund and Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations at Deir el-Bahri (fig. 2).³⁵

³² For the motif of jackals with keys, see Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 163–4. Soter family members and references to the objects definitively linked to them: K. van Landuyt, 'The Soter Family: Genealogy and Onomastics', in S. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden, 1994), 69–82; all of the shrouds and coffin bases employ the jackal motif. Mummy label from Medinet Habu, with a seated jackal on its reverse: T. Wilfong, 'Mummy Labels from the Oriental Institute's Excavations at Medinet Habu', *BASP* 32/3–4 (1995), catalogue no. 4.

The disposition of Sokar barque and jackals on the Deir el-Bahri masks is identical to the upper register of a third-century portrait shroud which I would assign a Theban provenance: Bruwier, *Égyptiennes*, 135–6 (no. 4).

³³ M. Heerma van Voss, 'The Jackals of the Sun-boat', *JEA* 41 (1955), 127.

³⁴ Refer to n. 32 for objects connected to the Soter family. The sides of the coffin of Sensaos (Leiden M75) depict the barque-towing jackals, illustrated in M. Raven, *Mummies onder het Mes* (Amsterdam, 1994), 50, and id., *De Dodencultus van het Oude Egypte* (Amsterdam, 1992), 80–2 (no. 33).

³⁵ A useful summary of exploration and excavation at Deir el-Bahri, with an emphasis on the Byzantine remains, can be found in W. Godlewski, *Deir el-Bahari, V. Le monastère de St. Phoibammon* (Warsaw, 1986), 13–20.

A plaster-coated clay mask very similar in appearance to the Deir el-Bahri masks was found in a Roman Period cem-

European collectors in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

Examples of the linen and plaster masks first reached European collections by means of the flourishing nineteenth-century antiquities trade. In 1854, V. Galli Maunier, a French antiquities dealer based in Luxor, cleared two mummy pits near the Anubis chapel of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahri.³⁶ The fact that this same area of the Hatshepsut temple would later yield masked Roman Period mummies invites speculation as to whether it is only by coincidence that several examples of such masks were first purchased by European travellers between 1855 and 1857.³⁷ In one of his two trips to Egypt, in the winters of 1855–6 and 1856–7, Alexander Rhind purchased the masks now in the collection of the National Museums of Scotland in Edinburgh (**1** and **2**). The Reverend William Frankland Hood, who accompanied Rhind on one of the latter's trips to Egypt and visited Egypt several times on his own, also purchased two masks, which were sold at auction by Sotheby's in 1924 (**3** and **4**). Another British collector, Sir Charles Nicholson, acquired two masks while in Egypt in 1856–7 and donated them with the rest of his collection to the University of Sydney (**6** and **7**).³⁸ Among the collection that Antoine Clot Bey gave to Marseille in the 1860s, forming the basis for the city's Musée Égyptien, was **8**, the face of a woman from the same type of linen and plaster mask. Having sold much of his large antiquities collection to the Louvre in the early 1850s, Clot Bey may have purchased **8** during his final sojourn in Egypt between 1856 and 1860.³⁹

Other unexcavated masks include **9**, **10**, and **11** in Cairo, all of which reached the museum no later than 1883, when Maspero included them in the *Guide* to the Musée Boulaq published that year.⁴⁰ A fourth Cairo mask (**21**) is a male example still attached to its mummy, for which Edgar provided no provenance or bibliography.⁴¹ Early in the twentieth century, the British Museum received the plaster face from a male mask (**22**), lacking any provenance but similar enough in composition and appearance to be included among the Deir el-Bahri group.

tery excavated by the University of Chicago at Medinet Habu: U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, V. *Post-Ramessid Remains* (Chicago, 1954), 42–4, pl. 27D. The chest of this female mummy was adorned with clay breasts and hands, and a general similarity between its decoration and that of the Deir el-Bahri mummies points to interconnections in the Theban mortuary industry and a common source of funerary goods used at different cemetery sites. According to the excavation field registers, this mask was recorded as MH 30.113g but the mummy was not kept. A similar mask, MH 30.114a, is in Hölscher, *Medinet Habu*, pl. 28A. The registers also mention a plaster mask with inlaid eyes (MH 30.116d, in Hölscher, *Medinet Habu*, 44) and four boxes of 'gypsum masks' (MH 30.15c). All of these objects were left on site and their present whereabouts is uncertain. I am indebted to Emily Teeter of the Oriental Institute Museum for checking the Medinet Habu records on my behalf.

³⁶ Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* II, 5.

³⁷ This area was the source of the masked Roman Period mummies discovered by the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1893–4. In 1928–9, the Metropolitan Museum of Art also located Roman Period burials (numbered XXXIX–XLV by the excavators) in the area, one of which (**26**) wore a linen and plaster mask.

³⁸ W. Dawson and E. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*³, revised by M. L. Bierbrier (London, 1995), 311, gives 1854–5 for Nicholson's Egyptian trip, but the catalogue of Nicholson's collection, *Aegyptiaca* (London, 1858, reprinted 1891), states in its title that the objects were purchased in Egypt in 1856 and 1857.

³⁹ *Who was Who*³, 102–3 (q.v. 'Clot').

⁴⁰ G. Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée de Boulaq* (Boulaq, 1883), 377. Therefore, Grimm's suggestion (*Mumienmasken*, 143 A) that these masks probably came from the EEF's 1893–4 excavations at Deir el-Bahri cannot be supported.

⁴¹ The fact that Edgar did not do so suggests that he knew of none, an unlikely occurrence had the masked mummy been excavated by the EEF only ten years previously.

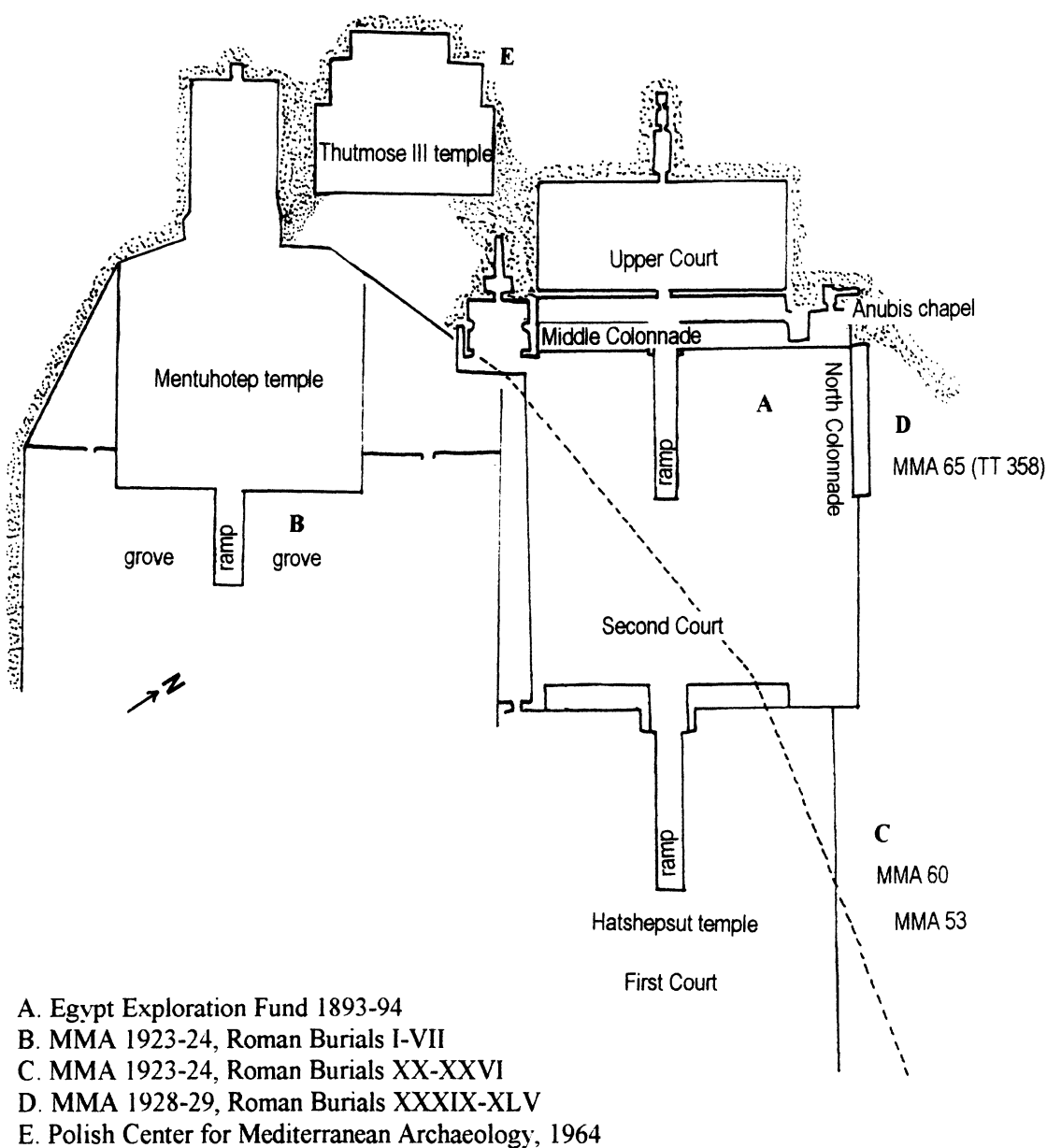


FIG. 2. Plan of Deir el-Bahri, showing locations of excavated Roman Period burials. The burials indicated by A, B, and D included linen and plaster masks.

The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1893-4 and 1894-5 seasons

The excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund at Deir el-Bahri, led by Edouard Naville, discovered an undisclosed number of Roman Period mummies wearing the linen and plaster masks. A photograph taken by Howard Carter, showing two of these mummies and an

unmasked child's mummy, was the first published image of the masks.⁴² Naville established the EEF's archaeological presence in Egypt by supervising several sites simultaneously, and his reports provide the only official record of the Fund's work at Deir el-Bahri. The clearing of the Hatshepsut temple began on 7 February 1893. On 22 March, shortly before the season drew to a close, workmen began to clear the northern corner of the temple's middle platform, or Second Court (see fig. 2), which had been filled in with rubble from pharaonic buildings in order to bring it level with the Upper Court and support the Byzantine monastery there, from which the site takes its name. When the excavation resumed in December 1893, the clearance work continued in the area defined by the ramp over the Middle Colonnade to the south and the Anubis chapel, North Colonnade and cliff face to the north. Here there were rubbish mounds up to forty feet high, topped by refuse from Maunier's and Mariette's earlier digging. According to Naville's description, the mounds consisted of a layer of waste and ashes associated with the monastery, then the rubble fill supporting the monastery, and next 'cliff falls, which covered burials dating back to the Saite period'.⁴³ A layer of limestone chips, apparently left over from construction of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, formed the bottom layer of the mounds. The last mound in the vicinity of the North Colonnade was cleared during the winter of 1894–5, a procedure that lasted six weeks.⁴⁴

The mounds below the level of the monastery contained burials dating from the Late Period through the Roman Period, and in both 1893–4 and 1894–5 the excavators found mummies wearing painted linen coverings with plaster faces, which Naville characterised as 'Coptic'. Naville did not describe the appearance and number of Roman Period burials found, or how many of them wore masks, and he was misled by his belief that they were the bodies of Christians:

The bodies were wrapped in linen, with thick exterior bandages, but without amulets or ornaments. Several wooden labels inscribed in Coptic or Greek proved the late date of these burials. A few were of a richer class. On the outer wrapping in front was sewn a painted cloth, reaching to below the waist, with a mask for the head. On the mask was moulded a wreath of flowers. These mummies are doubtless Christian. To one of them a Coptic label was attached by a piece of string. The hands, also painted, hold an ear of corn and a glass containing red liquid, i.e. wine. These two symbols I take to be those of the Eucharist; but here, as in the paintings in the catacombs at Rome, there is a mixture of Pagan symbols with the Christian. Below the waist is painted the boat of Sokaris, with a figure of Anubis on either side.⁴⁵

The mummy with the Coptic label to which Naville refers is apparently the *Greek* label which accompanied **13**; its inscription identifies the deceased as 'Pachons, son of Psersarmese and Seneponychos, from the village of Ternouthe'.⁴⁶

⁴² E. Naville, 'The Excavations at Deir el-Bahri during the Winter, 1894–5', in Egypt Exploration Fund *Archaeological Reports 1894–5*, pl. 2.

⁴³ Naville's account of the 1893, 1893–4, and 1894–5 seasons: *Deir el-Bahari* II, 4–5; Egypt Exploration Fund *Archaeological Reports 1893–4*, 1–7, and *Archaeological Reports 1894–5*, 33–7.

⁴⁴ Naville, *Archaeological Reports 1894–5*, 33.

⁴⁵ Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* II, 5.

⁴⁶ The mummy with mask **13** and a hanging label is on the left in Naville, *Archaeological Reports 1894–5*, pl. 2. P. Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt* (Cambridge, 1913), 127 n. 2, published the label inscription for the first time; the translation given here is taken from Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 157.

The Egypt Exploration Society's archives contain a single notebook recording the distribution of finds from EEF excavations between 1883 and 1899, but the information it contains is usually brief and sometimes incomplete.⁴⁷ Page 4v. notes that masks of 'Christian' mummies were sent to the British Museum in December 1895 (**12** and **13**). Elsewhere, Naville mentioned bringing two masks to London, presumably the same two British Museum masks.⁴⁸ The distribution notebook (page 11r.) also records that in 1897, the American Committee of the EEF received '3 linen and stucco masks' from Deir el-Bahri. Two of these are **14** and **17**, but the location of the third is presently unknown. An unspecified number of 'masks of "Christian" mummies' from Deir el-Bahri went to the Musée Guimet, Paris, in 1895 (pages 55v. and 56r.), including **15** and **16**. Although none of the register's entries records a mask being sent to Ireland, both the National Museum of Ireland and Trinity College Dublin did regularly receive donations of objects and papyri from the EEF. This fact, together with the turn-of-the-century date at which **19** reached Ireland, suggests that the Dublin mask came from Naville's excavations at Deir el-Bahri; without corroborating evidence, however, this can neither be proved nor disproved. Similarly, mask **5**, purchased at auction by Sir Henry Wellcome in 1922, lacks more explicit provenance data and may have been either an EEF find or part of an earlier collection, resold by the unidentified owner.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, 1923–4 and 1928–9 seasons

The EEF's work at Deir el-Bahri concluded with the 1906–7 season, with both the Hatshepsut and the Nebhepetre Mentuhotep temples having been cleared, and permission to work at the site was granted to the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art beginning in 1911. After World War I, the MMA took up its concession in the Assasif again and started to work on the Eleventh Dynasty temple in earnest. In the 1923–4 and 1928–9 seasons, the expedition discovered a total of four mummies wearing the painted linen and plaster masks, along with several other burials of roughly contemporary date. Extensive records concerning the excavation of these burials are preserved in the form of tomb cards in the archives of the MMA's Egyptian Department, supplemented by annual reports published in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* and collected in revised form in H. E. Winlock's *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri 1911–1931* (New York, 1942). The MMA archives also house photographs taken by Harry Burton of the excavations in progress and of individual mummies and objects. Together, these documents illuminate the archaeological context and mummification of the masked burials at Deir el-Bahri and relate them to other, unmasked burials as well. Although a complete analysis of the excavated Roman Period burials at Deir el-Bahri is beyond the scope of this article, a review of the Winlock records reveals the mortuary setting in which the linen and plaster masks were employed.⁴⁹

In the 1923–4 season, the expedition explored the northern part of the forecourt directly in front of the Mentuhotep temple platform and began to trace the original outline of the

⁴⁷ Patricia Spencer, Secretary of the Egypt Exploration Society, kindly allowed me to consult the distribution registers, correspondence, and Carter photographs relating to Deir el-Bahri during my visit to the Society in September 1998.

⁴⁸ Naville, *Archaeological Reports 1893–4*, 4.

⁴⁹ I was able to study the excavation records and photographic archives of the Department of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in August 1998. I thank the Department for permission to quote from these records here, and I am indebted to Marsha Hill for her help. My research was facilitated by the notebook of Winlock's Roman and Coptic tomb cards previously compiled by Marsha Hill, and by Susan Allen's assistance during my visit.

Eleventh Dynasty enclosure wall, following it from the north side of the Mentuhotep temple into the Second and First Courts of the Hatshepsut temple. The north wall of Hatshepsut's First Court lay under sand and gravel falls from the cliffs and one of Naville's dumps, and the Mentuhotep enclosure continued even further beyond this, crossing the Eighteenth Dynasty wall.⁵⁰ In the course of this protracted digging, two groups of Roman burials were found. The expedition designated them Roman Burials I–VII and XX–XXVI, a system retained here for clarity. Several of the graves contained multiple bodies, which were assigned an additional letter (A, B, C) after the Roman numeral. Burials I–VII clustered in the northern tamarisk grove of the Mentuhotep Court and contained the mummies of four adult women, two adult men, and two infants, including three female mummies wearing masks. The second group of graves, numbered XX–XXVI, was found in the large mound over the north side of Hatshepsut's First Court, around and over the so-called 'Tomb of Three Princesses', a Third Intermediate Period tomb designated Tomb 60 by the MMA.⁵¹ Although the characteristics of Burials XX–XXVI, in terms of the treatment and wrapping of the bodies and their deposition in the grave, clearly place these burials in the Roman Period, roughly contemporary to the other Roman burials at the site, they contained no masked mummies and are not discussed in detail here.⁵²

The graves in the tamarisk grove were shallow ovals just long enough to accommodate the mummified body and, according to Winlock, only 50 to 80 cm deep. Internal evidence indicates that the burials, with nearly identically prepared mummies, were deposited within a short span of time. Burial I (pl. XVIII, 1–2) contained the mummy of an adult woman with a linen and plaster mask (23); beneath the mummy's head lay a cord with foliage attached to it. Placed over the body was the lid of a reused tamarisk wood coffin dating to the early second century, with a demotic funerary inscription and depictions of the four sons of Horus drawn on its front.⁵³ Because this coffin was too long for the grave, or simply because the coffin was already damaged when reburied, its loose boards and foot box, which bears the motif of two seated jackals with keys around their necks, were placed on top of the lid.

Burial II was also the mummy of a woman, but with no mask. A two-handled basket was placed over the feet of the body, and an undecorated, vaulted coffin lid, inscribed in Greek for Senpamon, was reused to cover the mummy in the grave.⁵⁴ Passing over Burial III, an infant, the next grave accommodated two female mummies, both of which bore linen and plaster masks. Each mummy was covered with the lid of a Third Intermediate Period coffin that could be traced by the excavators to Tomb 53, discovered in the same season across the site near the First Court of the Hatshepsut temple.⁵⁵ At the head of the bodies lay an am-

⁵⁰ Winlock, *Excavations*, 86; pl. 86 is a photograph of the area being cleared.

⁵¹ PM I², 629.

⁵² See Winlock, *Excavations*, 116 and pl. 96 for Roman Burial XXIV.

⁵³ The current location of this coffin is unknown.

⁵⁴ The construction of this lid is the same as that of the vaulted, corner-post Soter family coffins (n. 32 above) and thus may point to a late first or early second century date for its original use. While clearing the area of the Thutmose III temple at Deir el-Bahri in 1964–5, the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology found an undecorated, Roman Period female mummy covered by another vaulted, corner-post lid judged to be reused: J. Lipińska, 'A List of Objects Found at Deir el-Bahari in the Area of the Temple of Tuthmosis III', *ASAE* 60 (1965), 153–204 (no. 26, inv. F7967), pl. xv, fig. 25; T. Dzierzykray-Rogalski, 'Mummy of a Woman Found on the Premises of Totmes' III Temple at Deir el-Bahari', *Études et Travaux* 4 (1970), 87–94.

⁵⁵ PM I², 628.

⁵⁶ Negative M5C14 in the MMA archives.

phora of Roman Period shape and fabric.⁵⁶ The body numbered Burial IVA was sent intact to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (24). Burial IVB was unwrapped in the field and the location of the mask is unknown (25).⁵⁷ When the mask was in place on this mummy, the top of an ear of wheat could be seen emerging below the bottom edge, and once the mask was removed, it proved to be one of several shafts of wheat arranged over the area corresponding to the mummy's pubic triangle.⁵⁸

Burials V and VI, both of male mummies without masks, reused the lid and base of a tamarisk wood coffin like that found in Burial I.⁵⁹ The lid was intact in Burial V except for its missing face, which was replaced by a carefully positioned rock. In Burial VI, the coffin's shallow base, painted with a representation of Nut, lay image-side down over the mummy. The last grave, Burial VII, was that of another infant. The form and decoration of the coffin lids and base found in Roman Burials I, V and VI link them to Soter-type funerary material and thus point to a date of *c.* 90 to 130 for the coffins' original use.⁶⁰

All of the mummies except Burials I (23) and IVA (24) were unwrapped and described in the tomb cards for each burial. The bodies had been mummified without removing any organs from the abdominal cavity, and the skin of the adults had been coated with a black substance and sprinkled with sawdust. Sticks of tamarisk wood about 4.0 cm wide, and whittled into a spoon shape at the head end, were placed full-length down the backs of both the adult and infant bodies. The elaborate layers of wrappings, on the adult bodies in particular, amounted to as many as six long sheets of linen alternating with strips of cloth tied to hold them in place, small torn rags and pads of folded linen. Burial II had such a linen pad placed over her face and legs in addition to a piece of cloth tied turban-like around her head. Burial IVB had a rolled cloth around her forehead like a diadem, a feature similar to the 'thick sausage of rag' the tomb card describes over the brow of the body in Burial V. Burial VI also had a turban-like piece of cloth wrapped around his head in the layer nearest the body. Such similarities support the hypothesis that all eight bodies were buried in the course of a few years. Burials I (23), IVA (24), and IVB (25) can be judged to be roughly contemporary because of their linen and plaster masks, while Burials I, V, and VI share the feature of the reused tamarisk wood coffins.

During the 1928–9 excavation season, Winlock's team found a third group of Roman Period burials near the northern edge of the Northern Colonnade of the Hatshepsut temple, just west of the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Queen Ahmose Merytamun (MMA Tomb 65/TT 358).⁶¹ These burials, numbered XXXIX to XLV, were dug in close proximity to each

⁵⁷ This mask is *not* identical to 16, contrary to Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 144 B 2.

⁵⁸ Two photographs of this mummy with the mask in place and then removed, revealing the position of the ears of wheat, are MMA negatives M6C149 and M6C150. No other masked mummy is known to have been adorned in this way. Its mask had unique features as well: the deceased woman holds a bunch of leafy plants in both hands, rather than a vessel of wine; instead of a floral garland in the top sub-register of the mask's lower half, there is a scene of two ibises flanking an unidentified object; and in the bottom sub-register, the two seated jackals flank a large lotus blossom rather than a Sokar barque. With the mask in place on the body, this lotus blossom lay over the wheat and the genital area.

⁵⁹ Present location unknown.

⁶⁰ Cf. Florence 2166 (G. Botti, 'Documenti demotici del R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze', in *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Vatican, 1941), 36–8); Tübingen 1714 (E. Brunner-Traut and H. Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen* (Mainz, 1981), 234–6, pls. 156–7); Klagenfurt AEI/1-2 (U. Horak and H. Harrauer, *Mumie-Schau'n. Totenkult im hellenistisch-römerzeitlichen Ägypten* (Linz, 1999), 58–9 and *passim*); Edinburgh 1956.357a–b (W. Dawson, 'On Two Egyptian Mummies Preserved in the Museums of Edinburgh', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 61 (1926/7), 290–4; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 118, pl. 139, 4; Horak and Harrauer, *Mumie-Schau'n*, 11).

⁶¹ PM I², 629–30.

other 'in the water-hardened surface of the dynastic rubbish pile', sometimes cutting into each other and thus indicating their relative chronology.⁶² One male mummy with a linen and plaster mask (26) was found in Burial XL, which was the deepest burial of this group.

A rectangular wooden coffin, given a wash of pale pink paint inside and out, sat in the bottom of the Burial XL pit and contained three bodies stacked on top of each other: XLC, an adult woman; XLB, an elderly adult woman; and XLA, the masked male mummy, which was brought back to the MMA intact but sold to the Brooklyn Museum in 1952 (26; pl. XIX, 1). On top of the shins of Burial XLA rested a ceramic lamp, blackened from use, and over this mummy lay the coffin's matching lid.⁶³ Above the coffin lid, the grave was lined with two long, broken boards and the fragmentary end-piece from another coffin or selection of coffins. The two long planks bear decoration similar to that of the Soter family coffins, showing jackals towing the barque of the sun god.⁶⁴ Finally, the pit was covered with the rectangular base from what would have been a vaulted wooden coffin, again identical to those associated with the Soter family group.⁶⁵ This coffin bottom was painted with a full-length female figure (Nut), flanked at the feet by seated jackals with keys and at the head by kneeling, mourning women, and it lay facing upwards at the top of the burial pit. One two-handled basket covered the face of the female figure, and another lay nearby at the head end of the coffin base.

Underneath the head of Burial XLA's mask (26), a sheet of linen had been sewn in place so that it could be brought up over the mask and extended along the front of the body, covering the mask entirely; the excavation records do not indicate whether or not the linen flap was found in this position.⁶⁶ Passing behind the mask's head and down its full length was a loop of twisted two-ply grass cords. The ends of the loop were left open at the bottom of the mask but connected to each other by another strand of cord and three additional cords at intervals above it; folded leaves were sewn onto these four strands.⁶⁷ A right-angled piece of wood, attached to the bottom ends of the grass cord and then sewn to the outer wrapping of the mummy, may have served no other purpose than to help keep the loop of cord in place, but its position pointing downwards in the middle of the mummy, approximately over the genitalia, is also noteworthy. This simple arrangement of grass cord and leaves can be associated with the *wesekh*-collar, whose primary purpose, particularly in a funerary context, seems to have been protecting the wearer; its length effectively guarded everything between the neck and the reproductive organs. At the same time, its ancient associations with the creator-god and its plant composition evoked the promise of fecundity achieved in death.⁶⁸

All of the burials except XLA (26) were unwrapped in the field and reveal mortuary traits similar to those already observed for Burials I-VII, as well as the group of burials (XX-XXVI) not discussed here. Leaving aside questions of the relative chronology of burials XXXIX-XLV, since all can be assumed to span perhaps two to three generations between

⁶² The quote is taken from the tomb cards in the MMA archives, which also provide a sketch of the burials' layout.

⁶³ Lamp and coffin are negatives M12C35 and M10C88, respectively, in the MMA archives.

⁶⁴ MMA negative M10C91; see n. 34 for a similar scene on the Soter group coffin of Sensaos (Leiden M75).

⁶⁵ MMA negative M10C90; see n. 32 for Soter comparanda.

⁶⁶ A photograph of the mummy not taken *in situ*, MMA negative M10C84, illustrates how the flap could be positioned over the mask.

⁶⁷ Comparable to the construction of the wreath fragments found with the mummy of Ramses II; see Raven, *Mummies*, 72.

⁶⁸ C. Riggs, 'Forms of the *Wesekh*-collar in Funerary Art of the Graeco-Roman Period', *CdE*, forthcoming.

the third and early fourth centuries, the basic disposition of the mummies can be briefly noted here. Burials XXXIX and XLI were double burials in undecorated, rectangular, wooden coffins; each held the mummies of a woman and a male child. The wrappings of the two adult women were nearly identical, and the layered linen on both the children and adults included pads of cloth placed fillet-like around the head and laid over the feet and face as well. Such padding not only helped the mummy take shape but also shielded those parts of the body most vital for life and movement. The female mummy in Burial XLI had flower petals strewn among the wrappings over her abdomen and flowers sewn onto ragged pieces of cloth decorated her head and wrists. The infant boy in this burial also wore flower-trimmed rags around his wrists, and his outermost wrapping was the bottom portion of a Soter-type shroud, preserving the feet and guardian jackals of the painted Nut figure.⁶⁹ The woman in Burial XXXIX and the woman numbered XLB had gilded resin amulets distributed over their bodies, especially the eyes, nipples, and navels; both of these also had a rag or pad placed over their pubic area. Burials XLC, the adult and child in XLI, and the child in XXXIX used small squares of gilt for the same purpose; for instance, the woman in Burial XLI had 1.5 cm squares on her eyes, nose, mouth, chin, shoulders, breasts, navel, pubic arch, wrists, knees, shins, ankles, and big toes. Three bodies without coffins, XLII, XLIII, and XLIV, were respectively an adult female, an adult male, and a male child who had died violently, the bottom of his right leg apparently torn off before death. Burials XLII and XLIII had baskets placed over the heads of the mummies, while Burial XLIV employed the bottom of a pot-bellied ceramic vessel in the same way.⁷⁰ Burial XLV was a female mummy in a shallow pit, her outermost wrappings swathed in a net.

While by no means an exhaustive study of the surviving evidence, this overview of the archaeological context in which both masked and unmasked Roman Period burials were made does reveal important aspects of mortuary practices at Deir el-Bahri at the time the linen and plaster masks were created and used. Great care had been taken in preparing the bodies for burial, with gilding, padding, and floral tributes incorporated to protect and glorify the deceased. Remnants of ephemeral materials, like the wreath under the head of Burial I (23) and the *wesekh*-collar on Burial XLA (26), provide tangible evidence for the physical gestures and possible ritual actions associated with depositing the corpse.

No clearer illustration could be given of the continuing role of the Theban sacred landscape than the fact that third century burials at Deir el-Bahri incorporated funerary goods that were up to several hundred years old at the time. To modern, Western eyes, the combination of shallow graves and recycled coffins and shrouds seems abhorrent and impoverished, but in the context of the Egyptian mortuary industry it must have been both a practical solution to dealing with the quantity of funerary remains in local cemeteries and a potent

⁶⁹ Although only one definitely belonged to a member of that family, Soter-type shrouds showing jackals at the feet of a female figure include Leiden AMM 8 (Sensaos), in Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, pl. 60,1; Boston MFA 72.4723, in F. Friedman, *Beyond the Pharaohs* (Providence, 1998), 249 (no. 163); Tübingen 342, in Brunner-Traut and Brunner, *Ägyptische Sammlung*, 302–3, pl. 153 (left).

⁷⁰ At Seila in the Fayum, excavators found Roman Period burials with reed bundles or pottery placed over the head of the deceased and covered by the fill of the grave pit or shaft. These burials also tended to be compactly layered, similar to the Deir el-Bahri group numbered XXXIX to XLV; see Griggs, *Seila*, 80–1. Roman Period burials excavated at Thebes near Malkata likewise used large fragments of pottery or a pair of stones to cover the heads of bodies interred without coffins: *Malkata-South*, III. *The Burials and the Skeletal Remains in the Area around 'Kom el-Samak'* (Waseda, 1983), 216 (for English summary).

means of benefiting from the hallowedness of the site. Rather than degrading them, the recycling of the coffins preserved the integrity of their original purpose and perhaps imparted additional spiritual effectiveness to the new burials in which they were employed.⁷¹ In graves where no coffin held the body or bodies, covering the mummies with part of a reused coffin or shielding their faces with baskets and pottery not only provided a physical barrier between the shallow burials and the ground surface, but also symbolically protected the deceased and created a 'tomb' in which they could be reborn.

Interpreting the Roman Period masks from Deir el-Bahri

When the Metropolitan Museum of Art uncovered its first masked Roman Period mummies at Deir el-Bahri, the trio of females from Burials I and IV, Winlock wrote that 'The mummies were atrocities of hideousness and are only mentioned here to draw forth an invidious comparison between the charming lady Hent-towy and her bedizened granddaughters of the last days of paganism at Deir el Bahri'.⁷² Although he modified his observation somewhat in the next season's report, and made no published comment at all when the fourth (male) masked mummy appeared in the 1928-9 season, Winlock's aesthetic judgement captured the prevailing response to the Roman Period burials in general and to this group of masks in particular.⁷³ Regardless of the fact that they were on mummies and bore traditional Egyptian iconography, the masks simply *looked* too strange to their excavators to be considered in the same continuum as pharaonic Egyptian funerary art, which is why Naville could so readily mistake them for Christian burials.

The naturalistic representation of the deceased, dressed in elite clothing and jewellery of contemporary style, is the most visually arresting feature of these masks. Portraying the dead in everyday costume, rather than in the guise of a mummy or Osiris, had been an option in Egyptian coffin production from the Ramesside Period onwards and was the most common type of likeness employed in the funerary art of the Roman Period.⁷⁴ Most panel and shroud portraits made for Roman Period mummies went a step further by painting the deceased according to a set of classical, rather than Egyptian, representational rules, in keeping with the mainstream artistic language of the Mediterranean world at that time. The Deir el-Bahri masks are less illusionist than such panel and shroud portraits at least in part because of the way they were made. Forming a projecting face from the linen and plaster necessitated the use of a forward gaze in the painted representation at the same time that it limited the extent to which the plaster could be sculpted. Why this construction was used for the masks, rather than linen, plaster or cartonnage alone, is difficult to say.

As for the traditional Egyptian iconography in the bottom register of each complete mask,

⁷¹ On the reuse of the Theban mortuary landscape, see also Montserrat and Meskell, *JEA* 83, 179–98.

⁷² H. Winlock, 'The Museum's Excavations at Thebes', *BMMA*, Section II. *The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924* (December 1924), 32–3; id., *Excavations*, 99.

⁷³ H. Winlock, 'The Museum's Excavations at Thebes', *BMMA*, Section II. *The Egyptian Expedition 1924–1925* (March 1926), 31–2, noted that in the last report, 'the mummies of the late Roman women were passed over with a rather scathing reference to their bedizened looks. It was perhaps rather harsh, for one of them, found under a mass of willow and henna boughs in a plain, rectangular coffin, has supplied us with a charming pair of dyed palm-leaf sandals—almost unworn—and a very interesting woolen turban'. The female mummy Winlock describes came from Roman Burial XXIV and did not wear a mask.

⁷⁴ For the trend towards realistic costumes on Ramesside coffins, see J. Taylor, *Egyptian Coffins* (Shire Egyptology Series; Aylesbury, 1989), 35–9.

it has arguably been Egyptologists' expectation that the Egyptian method of representation this register exemplifies was the normative standard for art throughout the country's pre-Christian history, but by the Roman Period art and architecture in the classical tradition were as much, if not more, a part of people's visual experience. Nevertheless, the bottom registers' succinct depiction of solar and Osirian renewal indicates that the segment of the local population responsible for these burials adhered to Egyptian funerary religion and was familiar enough with its tenets and motifs to adapt them to this particular artistic arrangement. Despite his poor opinion of what the Metropolitan Museum's expedition had found, Winlock's detailed excavation records permit the reconstruction of the mortuary context in which the Deir el-Bahri masks were used and underscore the continuity of Egyptian priorities regarding a 'good and effective' burial. National Museum of Ireland 1901:79 (19) and the other masks of this type illustrate the survival of ancient funerary practices in the Theban area throughout the third century, an active engagement with the past to ensure the future of the dead.

Appendix: Masks from and ascribed to Deir el-Bahri⁷⁵

- 1 National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh 1956.1187: Female
Rhind Collection, 1855–7
Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 207 n. 76, pl. 52, 3; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 32; Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 158–9 (no. 178).
- 2 National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh 1956.1188: Male
Rhind Collection, 1855–7
Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 207 n. 76, pl. 52, 1; Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 158 (no. 177).
- 3 Amherst College 1942.84: Male
Hood Collection, 185–7
anon., *Catalogue of the Important Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, etc., Formed by the Late Rev. W. Frankland Hood during the Years 1851–1861*. Sotheby's (London) auction catalogue, 11 November 1924, lot 162; J. Cooney, *Pagan and Christian Egypt* (Brooklyn, 1941), catalogue no. 10 and plate; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 291; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 32, pl. 112, 1.
- 4 The Egypt Centre, Swansea W922: Male
Hood Collection, 1855–7
Hood Collection catalogue (as for 3), Sotheby's, lot 163.
- 5 The Egypt Centre, Swansea W923: Female
Unknown
A Catalogue of Thibetan, African, and Oriental Curios.... J. C. Stevens (London) auction catalogue, 10 October 1922, lot 311, second item.

⁷⁵ The following provided invaluable assistance in assembling the corpus of masks: Edward Bleiberg, for showing me 26 and its associated mummy in storage; Roberta Cortopassi, for showing me 16 in storage and tracing it in the museum registers; Anthony Donahue and Carolyn Graves-Brown, for photographs, inventory numbers, and the auction records of 4 and 5; Isobel Hunter of the Wellcome Trust, for a copy of the sale catalogue listing 5; Geraldine Pinch, for bringing 18 to my attention; Karin Sowada, for images and descriptions of 6 and 7 in advance of their forthcoming publication by Klaus Parlasca; Emily Teeter, for providing an image and provenance information for 17; Terry Wilfong, for bringing 17 to my attention; and Ichiro Yamanaka of the Kyoto University Museum, for the inventory number of 18. Mask 17 is included here by permission of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

- 6 Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney R80: Male, face and chest only
Nicholson Collection, 1856–7
C. Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca, Comprising a Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, Collected in the Years 1856, 1857* (London, 1891), 27–8 (no. 80); Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 32; K. Sowada, 'Egyptian Treasures in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney', *EA* 8 (1996), 21.
- 7 Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney R108: Female, face only
Nicholson Collection, 1856–7
Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca*, 40 (no. 108); Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 32.
- 8 Musée Égyptien, Marseille 1074: Female, face only
Clot-Bey Collection, 1856–60
G. Maspero, *Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Marseille* (Paris, 1889), 196 (no. 1074); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 207 n. 76, pl. 52, 5; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 32; *Égypte romaine. L'autre Égypte* (Marseille, 1997), 154–5 (no. 177); M.-F. Aubert and R. Cortopassi, *Portraits de l'Égypte romaine* (Paris, 1998), 72, 73 (no. 28).
- 9 Cairo CG 33277: Male, face and neck only
Acquired before 1883
Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 121, with further references, including Maspero, *Guide*, 377; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 143 A (6).
- 10 Cairo CG 33278: Female, face and neck only
Acquired before 1883
Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 122, pl. xlvi, with further references, including Maspero, *Guide*, 377; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 31, 143 A (7), pl. 113, 1.
- 11 Cairo CG 33279: Female, face and neck only
Acquired before 1883
Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 122–3, pl. xlvi, with further references, including Maspero, *Guide*, 377; V. Schmidt, *Levende og døde i det gamle Aegypten* (Copenhagen, 1919), 250, fig. 1461 ('Saqqara', *sic*); Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 143 A (8).
- 12 British Museum EA 26272: Female
Deir el-Bahri, EEF excavations, 1893–5
Naville, *Archaeological Reports 1894–5*, 33, pl. 2 (right); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 208 n.78; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 143 A 1; Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 157–8 (no. 176); Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 351–2 (no. 241) .
- 13 British Museum EA 26273: Male
Deir el-Bahri, EEF excavations, 1893–5
Naville, *Archaeological Reports 1894–5*, 33, pl. 2 (left); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 208; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 143 A 2; n.78; Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 156–7 (no. 175); Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 351 (no. 240).
- 14 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 97.1100: Male
Deir el-Bahri, EEF excavations, 1893–5
Cooney, *Pagan and Christian Egypt*, catalogue no. 9 and plate; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 291; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 143 A 4, pl. 112, 2; L. Corcoran, 'Funerary Shroud and Mask', in S. D'Auria et al. (eds), *Mummies and Magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1988), 214–15 (no. 165), with further references to museum publications.

15 Louvre E 20359: Male

Deir el-Bahri, EEF 1893–5; formerly Musée Guimet, Paris

E. Guimet, 'Symboles asiatiques', *Annales du Musée Guimet* 30/3 (1903), pl. 1; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 208 n. 80, pl. 52, 4; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 143 A 3; M.-F. Aubert et al., *Guide du visiteur. Les antiquités égyptiennes*, II (Paris, 1997), 43–4; Aubert and Cortopassi, *Portraits*, 70–1 (no. 26).

16 Louvre E 20360: Female, face only

Deir el-Bahri, EEF 1893–5; formerly Musée Guimet, Paris

Unpublished. Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 144 B 2, states that this mask is identical to that excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1923, but records in the Louvre indicate that, like E20359, it is the former property of the Musée Guimet, acquired in the EEF distribution of objects from Naville's excavations at Deir el-Bahri.

17 Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago 9385: Female, face and neck only

Deir el-Bahri, EEF 1893–5; formerly Art Institute of Chicago 1897.283.

E. Teeter, *Egyptian Art in the Collection of the Oriental Institute* (Chicago, forthcoming), catalogue no. 61. The Art Institute received the mask from the EEF in 1897 and donated it to the Oriental Institute Museum in 1917.

18 Kyoto University Museum 625: Female, face lost

Deir el-Bahri, EEF excavations, 1893–5

Unpublished.

19 National Museum of Ireland, Dublin 1901.79: Female

Formerly in Trinity College Dublin; possibly EEF 1893–5

M. A. Murray, *National Museum of Science and Art, Dublin, General Guide to the Art Collections. Egyptian Antiquities* (Dublin, 1910), 17 ('cartonnage head').

20 Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon: Male, face only

Formerly Louvre AF 804; possibly EEF 1893–5

Grimm *Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 32, pl. 113, 2; V. Laurent, *Des pharaons aux premiers chrétiens* (Dijon, 1986), 47–8 (no. 227); V. Laurent, *Antiquités égyptiennes. Inventaire des collections du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon* (Paris, n.d.), 138 (no. 175); Aubert and Cortopassi, *Portraits*, 72–3 (no. 17).

20 Cairo CG 33276: Male, intact on mummy

Unknown, acquired before 1905

Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 119–21, pl. xlv; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 143 a (5), pl. 112, 3, with further references.

22 British Museum EA 7017: Male, face only

Unknown, acquired before 1924

A Guide to the First, Second and Third Egyptian Rooms (London, 1924), 143; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 95 n. 32; Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 159 (no. 179); Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke*, 352 (no. 242).

23 Cairo JE 49099: Female, intact on mummy

Deir el-Bahri, MMA excavations, 1923–4, Roman Burial I

H. Winlock, *BMMA, Section II. The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924*, fig. 38 (left); id., *Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1931* (New York, 1942), pl. 95 (left); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 208 n. 84; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 144 B 3, pl. 112, 4.

- 24** Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.3.219: Female, intact on mummy
Deir el-Bahri, MMA excavations, 1923–4, Roman Burial IVA
Winlock, *BMMA, Section II. The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924*, fig. 38 (right); id., *Excavations*, pl. 95 (right); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 208 n. 84; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 143 B 1, pl. 112, 5; Walker (ed.), *Ancient Faces*, 145–7 (no. 98) .
- 25** *Unknown*: Female
Deir el-Bahri, MMA excavations, 1923–4, Roman Burial IVB
Winlock, *BMMA, Section II. The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924*, fig. 38 (centre); id., *Excavations*, pl. 95 (centre); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 208 n. 84, pl. 52, 2 (‘verschollen’); Grimm, *Mumienmasken* 144 B 2 [*sic*].
- 26** Brooklyn Museum of Art 52.128a: Male
Deir el-Bahri, MMA excavations, 1928–9, Roman Burial XLA
Associated mummy, linen, and wreath are 52.128b–d. J. Cooney, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art 1951–1956* (Brooklyn, 1956), 59–60 (no. 74), pl. 92; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 291; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 143 B 4 with further references, pl. E.

PLATE XVI



19, National Museum of Ireland 1901:79 (copyright National Museum of Ireland)
ROMAN MUMMY MASKS FROM DEIR EL-BAHRI (pp. 121–44)



1. Face of **19**, National Museum of Ireland 1901:79 (*copyright National Museum of Ireland*)



2. Detail of hands of **19** (*copyright National Museum of Ireland*)



3. Sokar barque on **19** (*copyright National Museum of Ireland*)

PLATE XVIII



1. Roman Burial I from the MMA Egyptian Expedition to Deir el-Bahri, 1923-4 season
(courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)



2. Roman Burial I with the reused coffin lid removed. The mask and mummy are **23**, Cairo JE 49099 (courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

ROMAN MUMMY MASKS FROM DEIR EL-BAHRI (pp. 121–44)



1. Mummy, mask (26), and grass collar of Roman Burial XLA. All are now Brooklyn Museum of Art 52.128 (*courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*)

ROMAN MUMMY MASKS
(pp. 121–44)



2. Statue of Neferefre, Cairo JE 98171 (*courtesy of the Czech Institute of Egyptology*)

RECONSTRUCTION OF A KILT
(pp. 150–5)