

EGYPTIANIZING STAINED GLASS IN TORONTO

by Steven Blake Shubert

Stained-glass windows are usually associated with Gothic-style churches dating from the late Medieval to the early-modern periods in Europe (ca 1200-1600 AD), a style which was revived in the Nineteenth Century. In the Eighteenth Century there already had been a revival in classi

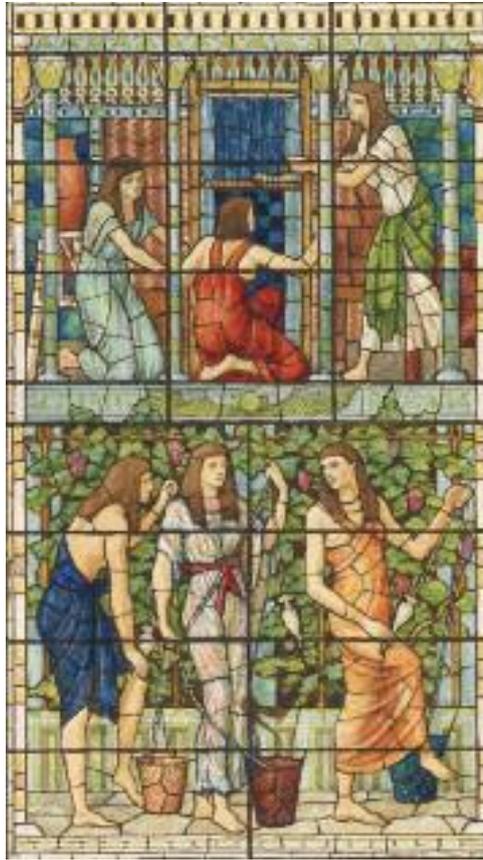
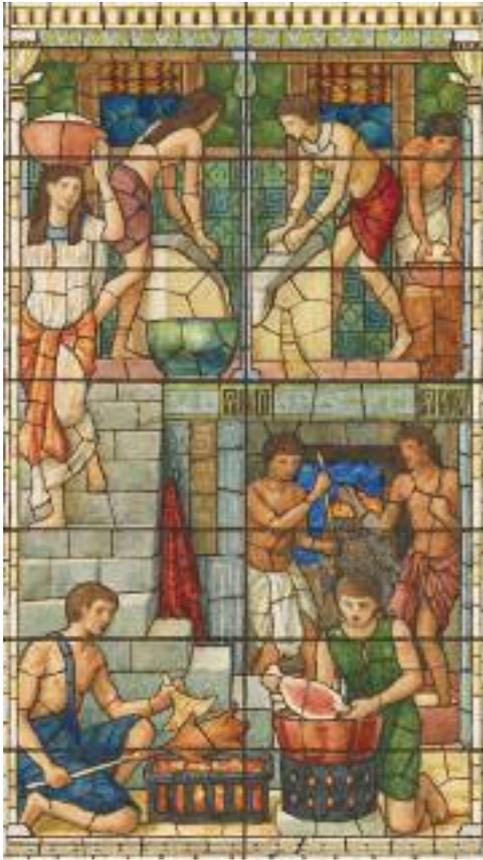


Above, The Lillian Massey Building (background) across the street from the Royal Ontario Museum (foreground). Below view of the installation of the ancient Egypt-themed stained-glass windows by Henry Holiday. Photos: John Elmslie

cal architecture, focussing on secular structures, such as banks, government buildings, and museums. The Lillian Massey Building at the University of Toronto is in the neo-classical architectural tradition, but contains an impressive three-panel stained-glass window, referencing the Gothic style. This combination of styles is made unique by the inclusion of decoration in the windows modeled on ancient Egyptian domestic scenes, connected with the function of the building as the home of the Department of Household Science at the University.

Although the Lillian Massey Building stained-glass windows by the British artist Henry Holiday (1839-1927) have been published by Corey Keeble and Alice Hamilton in *Rotunda* Spring 1977, neither the ancient Egyptian background nor the translation of the hieroglyphic texts in the windows was included. Knowing the ancient Egyptian background behind the scenes and reading the hieroglyphic texts helps to explain the depictions and the process that went into making these windows.





The pencil and watercolor drawings (often called “cartoons,” or *modellì* from the Italian) containing the original design of the Lillian Massey stained glass are part of the Royal Ontario Museum’s European collection (ROM 1927.114.1-3).¹ At the time of the Lillian Massey Building’s construction between 1908 and 1912, the Royal Ontario Museum was only in the process of being established. But the Latin text on an upper row of stained-glass windows indicates that they were dedicated in October 1915, so over a year after the original Royal Ontario Museum had been opened to visitors (March 1914). Both the Lillian Massey Building and the ROM were part of the University of Toronto; but their connection is even stronger.

Lillian Massey (1854-1915) provided funds to the University of Toronto to establish a Department of Household Science; she was the only daughter of Hart Massey (1823-1896), after whom Hart House at the University of Toronto was named. In 1897 Lillian married the widower John Treble (d. 1909), who was a first cousin to Charles T. Currelly, the founder of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology. Currelly was also a personal friend of Henry Holiday. They met in London through their mutual acquaintance with Sir William. M. Flinders

The pencil & watercolor “cartoons” made by British stained-glass artist Henry Holiday for his commission to create three windows for the Lillian Massey Building at the University of Toronto, which were dedicated in October 1915. The studies are today in the European collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Photos courtesy the ROM

Petrie, and in 1907 Holiday visited Currelly at the excavations at Deir el Bahari in Egypt.

After Holiday’s death, his daughter Winifred Holiday donated the drawings for the Lillian Massey Building windows to the Royal Ontario Museum. Winifred compiled a list of her father’s works² and assigned the windows to the “Royal Archaeological Museum” in Toronto, because of Currelly’s involvement.

Correspondence preserved in the ROM’s Registration Department³ allows a glimpse into how in 1975 Alice Hamilton and Corey Keeble were able to trace the connection of Henry Holiday with the ROM, then identify both the drawings and the stained-glass windows, and finally publish their 1977 *Rotunda* article. The preserved correspondence between Holiday and Currelly suggests that Lillian Massey Treble had intended that the windows be designed in a classical style in keeping with the neo-classical style of the building

by the architect George Martell Miller (1855-1933). In a letter dated May 7, 1913, Holiday wrote to Currelly saying, “you propose classical subjects, for which as you know I have fairly well qualified myself,” but then goes on to make a case for Egyptian scenes, as being older, less common, and with more authoritative primary sources with which to work. Holiday concludes that the “Greek subjects would be delightful to do, I should work at them *con amore*.”⁴

Lillian Massey Treble never seems to have approved the Egyptian subject matter of the window. On February 25, 1915, she wrote to Currelly from Phoenix, Arizona saying, “I trust I have not made a mistake in choosing the Greek design. When will the window be completed?”⁵ On October 1, 1915, a secretary wrote to Currelly thanking him for letters of Sept. 18th and 24th, saying that Mrs. Treble was happy to hear that the window was in place, but “would like to know if you think an Egyptian window would have looked better.” Mrs. Treble seems to have sensed some trepidation or hesitation in Currelly’s letters, which may have been due to the fact that he hadn’t indicated that the Egyptian design had been implemented.⁶ Lillian Massey Treble never saw the completed stained glass; letters of August 16 and October 1, 1915, indicate that she is looking forward to seeing the win-



Correspondents regarding the stain-glass commission Massey (c.) & Charles T. Currelly, founder of the Royal

were artist Henry Holiday (l.), benefactor Lillian Ontario Museum of Archaeology (r). Drawing by Bill Kimber

dows, but she passed away on November 3, 1915, in Santa Barbara, California.

The theme of the domestic arts relates to the function of the Lillian Massey Building in housing the Department of Household Science, where the domestic arts would be placed on a scientific basis through the University's training of home economics teachers. Thus the three panels of the window are devoted respectively to the culinary arts on the north, the textile manufacture arts in the center and the clothing care arts to the south. Each panel is divided into an upper and a lower section; while the lower scenes render outdoor activities, those on the upper level appear to be indoors, as indicated by a series of lotiform columns supporting a roof.⁷ On the two outer panels staircases connect the two levels. This same basic format was used earlier by Henry Holiday in an Egyptianizing window he had designed in 1896, for the Episcopalian Church of St. Paul in Richmond, Virginia.⁸ In this case he dealt with a Biblical subject: Moses leaving the court of Pharaoh. As in the Lillian Massey window, Holiday uses Egyptian architectural, decorative and costume elements, but depicts the human figures in a more classical naturalistic style.

Henry Holiday mentions in his memoirs⁹ that at the Edwards Library at University College London, he "had access to the voluminous works of Lepsius, Rosellini and Prisse D'Avennes, from which I got all the details that I needed for my scene and costumes." Lepsius refers to Carl Richard Lepsius (1810-1884), who led a Prussian expedition to Egypt and Nubia in 1842-

1845. The illustrative material collected on the expedition was published in a mammoth twelve-volume work called *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopiën* ("Monuments from Egypt and the Sudan") that was published from 1849 to 1859. The textual descriptions did not appear until 1897-1913, well after Lepsius' death, but in time to be consulted by Holiday.

Rosellini refers to Ippolito Rosellini (1800-1843), an Italian Egyptologist who worked with Jean-François Champollion, whom he accompanied to Egypt in 1828. The result of this expedition is a ten-volume work entitled *Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia* ("Monuments from Egypt and Nubia") published from 1832-1849. Finally Prisse d'Avennes refers to the French Egyptologist Emile Prisse d'Avennes (1807-1879), who published the beautifully illustrated two-volume *Atlas de l'art égyptien* ("Atlas of Egyptian Art"¹⁰) in 1878-1879. These works may all have provided sources for Holiday's designs for the Lillian Massey Building windows.

THE CENTRAL PANEL

The windows are on the east wall of the Lillian Massey Building and are placed above a monumental marble staircase.¹¹ The first part of the window seen when walking through the entrance hall towards the staircase is the lower central panel and the feet of the three women, that at first glance may appear to be dancing, but who are actually spinning thread. Spinning the thread is one of the first stages in making cloth, so it is a good beginning point for the domestic arts.

The woman in the center wears a diaphanous white garment with a red tie

around her waist; the woman on the right is attired in an orange dress that bares her breasts; while the woman on the left wears a blue garment. The three women standing together with their different poses are a visual reference to the famous three graces, representing an ideal of feminine beauty, as depicted in the works of such Renaissance artists as Botticelli and Raphael.¹² The depiction of the drapery to reveal the body underneath is an element of classical and Renaissance style that is not typically found in Egyptian art, where clothing tends to follow the contour of the body, concealing underlying shapes.

The hieroglyphic texts in this panel are rather difficult to read because they are mostly covered up by grape-leaf designs, almost as if Holiday was not terribly confident in this written medium. The ancient Egyptian word for spinning is hard to see because of the grape leaves, although this is the last word on the two vertical texts that frame the panel. Behind the central lady in white there are also fragments of hieroglyphs visible, which appear to be writings of two ancient Egyptian words for woman (or wife).

Groups of three women spinning are found in the Middle Kingdom Beni Hasan tombs of both Baqt (No. 15, Newberry *Beni Hasan*, II pl. 13) and Khety (No. 17, Newberry *Beni Hasan* II, pl. 13).¹³ In the Tomb of Baqt, one of the three women is kneeling, whereas in the Tomb of Khety two of the three women stand on top of small platforms or upturned baskets. So Holiday is not following the ancient Egyptian prototypes exactly; but the idea of a group of three women holding spindles goes back



The central panel of the Henry Holiday stained-glass windows in the Lillian Masey Building, University of Toronto, deals with spinning (lower scene) & weaving (top scene). Whereas women wove on vertical looms in ancient Egypt, for purposes of his composition, Holiday has depicted a woman working at a vertical loom, ordinarily used by only men. Photo: John Elmslie

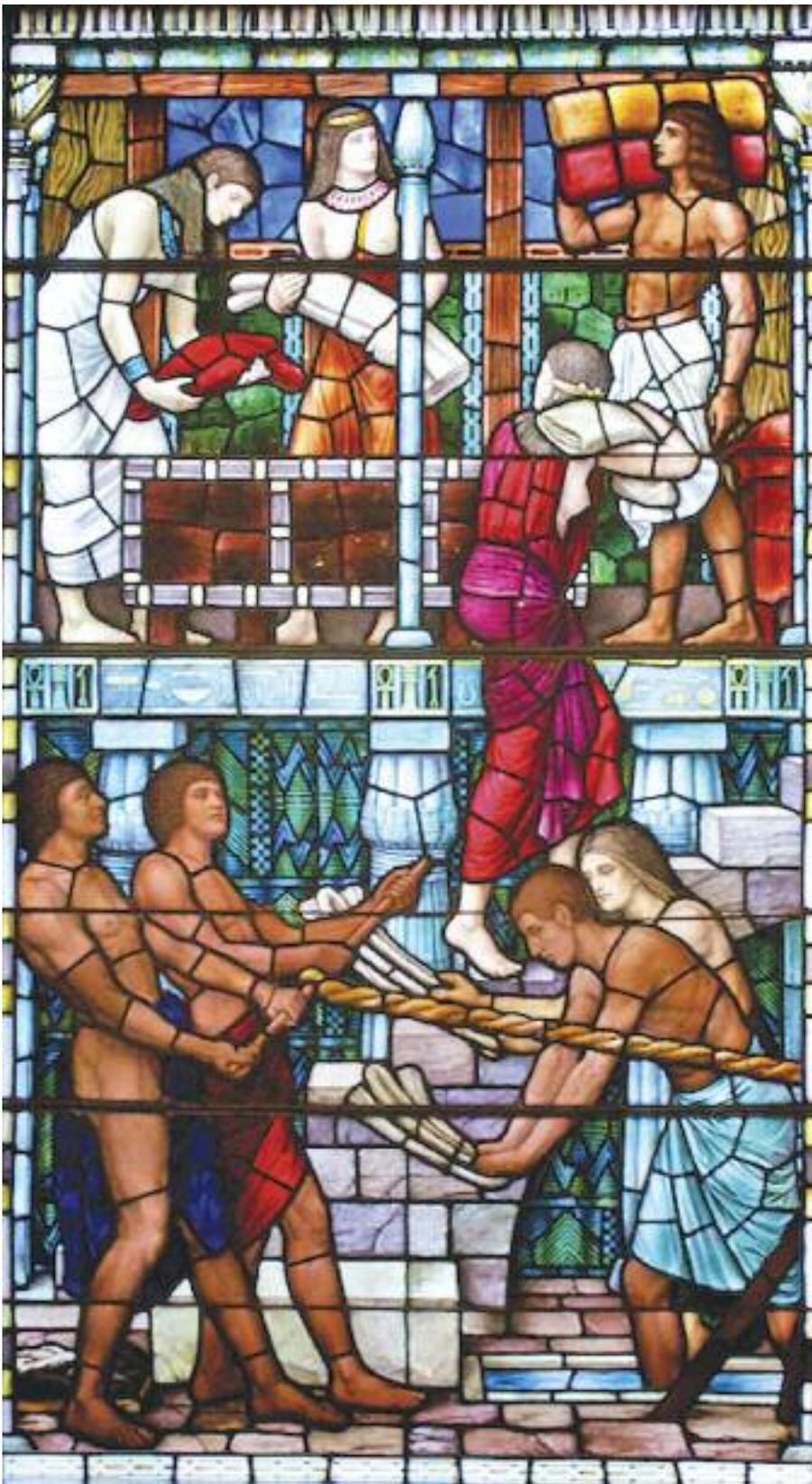
to ancient Egypt, as does the characteristic pose of a woman raising one leg and setting the spindle in motion by brushing it against her thigh. This motion causes the spindle to turn much faster than just letting it drop or turning it with your hand.

The baskets set at the women's feet contain lengths of fiber that have been made into strings called "roves," which are being spun into a 2-ply yarn. The individual rove threads in the baskets are being twisted together by the turning of the spindles. In the Lillian Massey Building window, the spinning women wear colorful hairpieces, necklaces, bracelets and anklets, which do not appear in either the ROM drawings or the ancient Egyptian prototypes.

The winged sun-disc dividing the upper and lower sections of the central window panel is a common motif in ancient Egyptian art, especially over doorways; Prisse d'Avennes includes examples of it in his *Atlas de l'art égyptien*.¹⁴ On either side of the disc are further hieroglyphic captions referring to the weaving scene above. To the right of the sun disc appears the word "weaving" (or knotting), written with two of the signs reversed; the Egyptian should be read from left to right here. To the left of the sun disc and read in the opposite direction (right to left) are the hieroglyphs for weaving (or trapping) thread. This same text appears in the Tomb of Baqt at Beni Hasan.¹⁵ In this tomb both spinning and weaving are depicted together as on the Lillian Massey Building window.

The weaving scene in the upper part of the central window panel contains a woman wearing a red dress kneeling before a vertical loom. To the left is a kneeling woman in a blue dress who is holding a wooden shuttle or a beater; in the original drawing (ROM 927.114.2) she is shown working on the loom. Behind her is an amphora or water jar set in a wooden pot-stand. To the right is a standing figure also working on the loom. Based on the skin color it is probable that Holiday intended to represent a female, although the linen garment ending above the ankles with an additional kilt around the hips would be more appropriate for an elite male of the Ramesside Period.

Ancient Egyptian weaving depictions and models typically show two women working on a single loom: one works the heddle to separate the warp threads and the other draws the weft threads through. The third figure may be based on a depiction of a male overseer, as in the Tomb of Khnum-hotep at Beni Hasan (No. 3). This scene was



The subject matter of Holiday's Southern or righthand window is the laundering (bottom scene) & storage (top scene) of linen cloth once it was woven. The composition of the two panels is connected by the figure of a woman carrying a bale of cloth & mounting stairs between the different levels. Photo: John Elmslie

published in Newberry, *Beni Hasan I* (1893), pl. xxix.¹⁶ There are also two weaving scenes in the third row of the north wall in the Beni Hasan Tomb of Baqt, published in Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, pl. iv.

There are some questions about the type of cloth being woven and the sort of loom being used. The fiber for spinning in ancient Egypt was flax; it was linen cloth that was woven. Hamilton and Keeble wrote, "In the central panel, three women are engaged in weaving cloth. Below them three women are spinning wool, their baskets of fleece beside their feet."¹⁷ The ancient Egyptians did have sheep and wool, but it is unlikely that any of the ancient Egyptian scenes depict weaving with wool; on the other hand, the ancient Greeks typically spun and wove cloth out of wool. The loom depicted in the window is a vertical or upright loom, whereas the ancient Egyptian prototypes depict horizontal looms. In a letter dated May 19, 1916, so after the window's installation, Holiday wrote to Currelly: "Have you examined the loom & seen how it works, I believe it is really a correct representation of an Egyptian upright loom, they were very commonly horizontal (as you no doubt know), but by no means always..."

From Holiday's defense of his depiction of a vertical loom, it can be inferred that Currelly had indicated that a horizontal loom would have been more appropriately depicted on the window. The Middle Kingdom depictions of weaving at Beni Hasan and the associated tomb models¹⁸ depict two or three women working on horizontal looms, usually in close proximity to figures producing thread by spinning, so Currelly would have expected a horizontal loom. However, there are New Kingdom depictions of vertical looms; these tend to be worked by a single male weaver.¹⁹ So Holiday is correct when he indicates that upright or vertical looms were used in ancient Egypt, but Currelly is correct in expecting to see the women working on a horizontal loom in this type of scene.

THE SOUTHERN PANEL

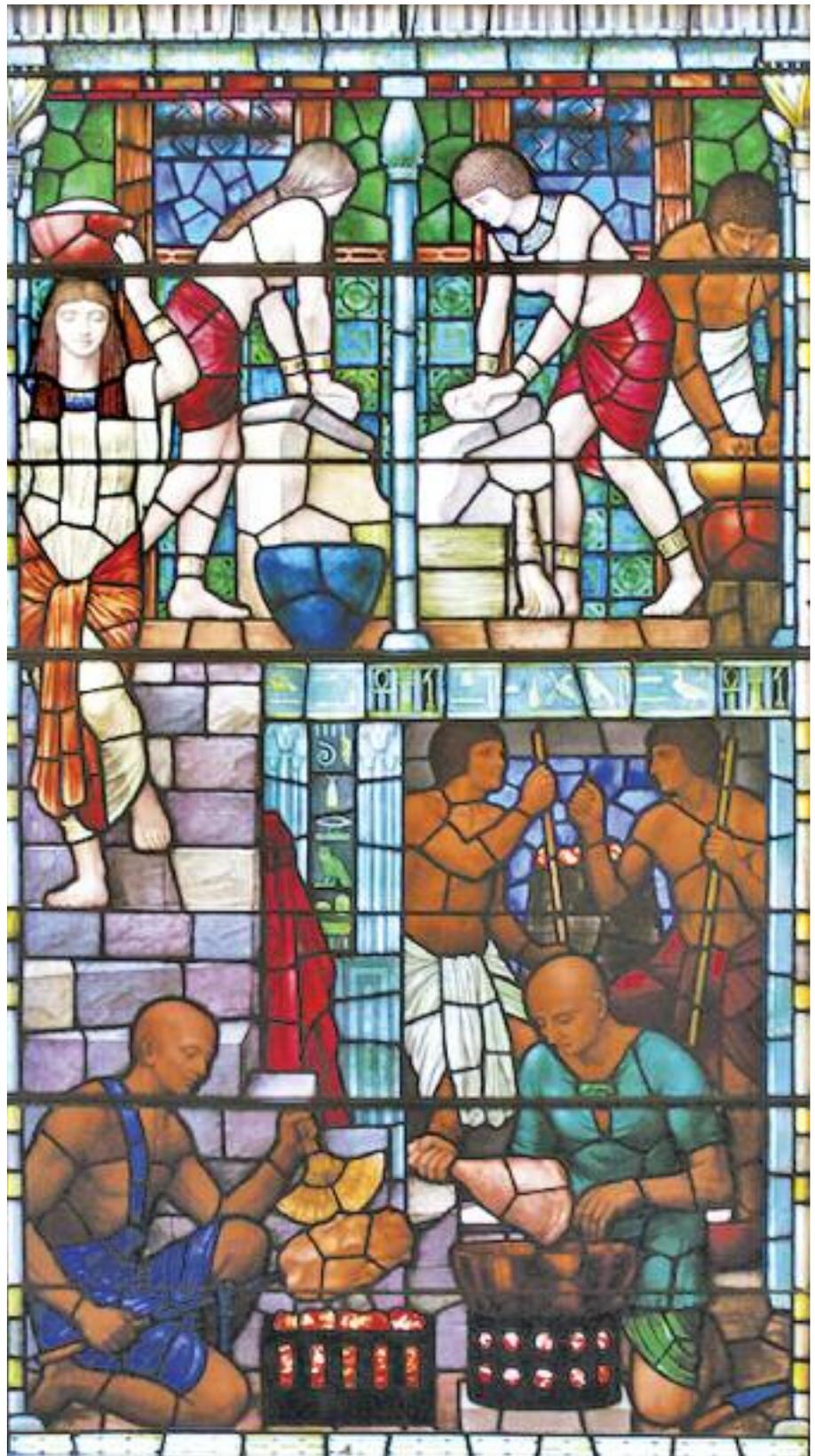
Once the cloth has been made, it will be used as clothing; so it seems suitable to turn next to the south window panel that deals with cloth or clothing. In the lower level a man and a woman are standing in a pool of water rinsing cloth and then two men are wringing out the cloth by twisting it around a pole. The actions taking place are clearly labelled by the horizontal hieroglyphic texts written on the lin-

tel separating the upper and lower scenes.

Unlike the vine-covered texts in the central panel, these are clearly visible, except where covered by the woman climbing the stairs. The context is more monumental than domestic; the columns with papyriform-cluster capitals topped by a square abacus are reminiscent of the columns from the Sun Court of Amenhotep III at Luxor Temple.²⁰ The text on the right interrupted by the woman climbing the stairs reads from right to left: “washing cl[otes].” The loop (V6 in Gardiner’s sign-list) is a determinative for linen, and allows us to understand the missing word. On the left the entire text is preserved: “they are washing the bed linen.” So, in the lower level of the south panel, linen bedding and/or clothing is depicted being laundered, by being rinsed in water and then wrung out to remove the moisture. These are perhaps the most characteristic parts of the laundry process, which would also have included rubbing the cloth with natron as a cleansing or bleaching agent, and the actual washing, which may have included beating the cloth with wooden clubs. Finally after the rinsing and wringing out the cloth would have been dried in the open air before it could be folded up and placed in storage.²¹

On a stairway leading up to the right, we have a back view of a woman in a red dress carrying a bale of cloth on her shoulder up the stairs. Since the woman is going up the stairs, the action moves from the lower level to the upper one. In the top panel, two women are shown folding cloth and placing it in a large chest. This is not the typical plain-linen storage chest, known from ancient Egyptian examples, such as those found in the tomb of Senenmut’s parents.²² The form of the chest with its light-colored horizontal and vertical bands recalls the banded decoration of Middle Kingdom coffins, such as that of Khnumhotep (MMA 15.2.2) from Meir.²³

On the right stands a bare-chested young man with two bales of cloth resting on his shoulder. He looks inward and directs the viewer’s gaze towards the center of the composition. In comparison with the design in the original sketch, the composition of the whole south panel in the window has been flipped around; this better frames the overall composition and better balances the staircase on the north panel. In the lower scene, the direction of the twisting machine has been reversed; in the window the men pull with their backs to the center of the composition, whereas in the drawing their backs were towards the right side. In the drawing four men are depicted



Holiday’s Northern or lefthand stained-glass panel deals with the culinary arts in ancient Egypt & compositionally begins with the upper scene of grinding grain, a woman descending a staircase carrying a basket of flour on her head connecting to the lower scene with two separate depictions of men cooking at braziers. Photo: John Elmslie

in the lower scene, whereas in the window this has been changed to three men and one woman.

The drawing is closer than the window to the ancient Egyptian prototype of the scene, which is from the Tomb of Amenemhet at Beni Hasan (No.2), since the tomb scene depicts four men. On the west wall of the main chamber of the tomb, in the fifth register from the top, is the laundry scene. It depicts three men beating cloth on rocks; then two men rinsing cloth in a basin; two men twisting the cloth wound round a pole, in order to wring it out; and then two men folding the cloth. This scene was published in *Beni Hasan I*, pl. xi. Newberry describes this scene in his text (p. 31) as “linen manufacture.” There is a similar laundry scene from the Tomb of Khunmhotep at Beni Hasan; this scene is described by Newberry “fullers.”²⁴ This has led to some confusion concerning the iden-

tification of the activities in the south panel of the Lillian Massey window.

In the literature dealing with this panel (both drawing & window), the laundry scene has been described as one of “beating flax.” In *Earthly Paradise* (1993) p. 56, it is said that “slaves are engaged in beating flax and carrying bales of cloth to a chest in the upper chamber.” Likewise, Keeble and Hamilton²⁵ describe the southern window in the following terms: “In the right hand panel, eight men and women are engaged in beating flax and in carrying the bright bales of cloth to the storage chests. Severe toil is suggested in this window, contrasting a life of heavy burden with the joyous sun-filled world of the woman who spun and wove the cloth.”

Holiday mentions “the beating of flax upon flat stones after soaking it in water” in a letter to Currelly dated July 22, 1915. This shows that the two had discussed linen manufacture, but that doesn’t mean that it refers to a specific element in the window.

Indeed, Holiday specifically mentions it as a current practice in Ireland. The beating of flax takes place after the plants have been harvested, the seeds removed (called “ripping”) and the plants soaked in water (called “retting”). At this point the flax would be beaten, which would allow for easier removal of the outer woody skin (called “scutching”) and the extraction of the fibers (called “heckling”), in preparation for the spinning of the thread.²⁶

THE NORTHERN PANEL

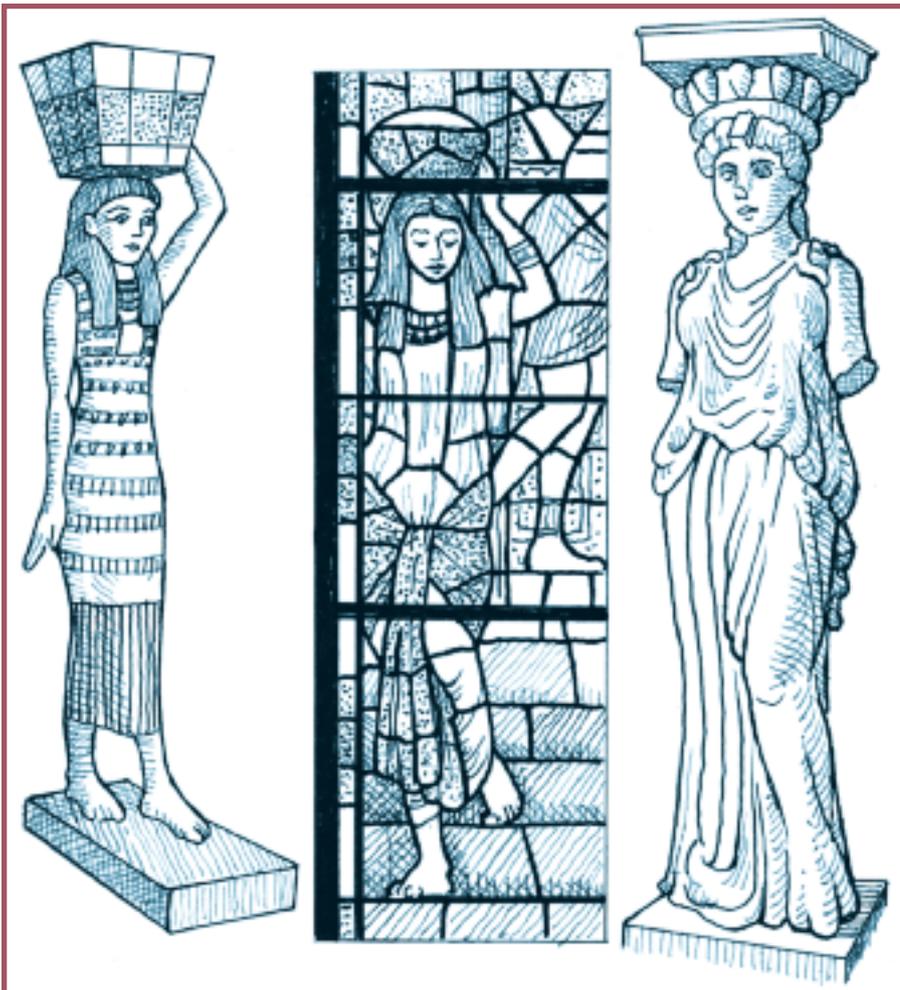
The northern panel deals with the culinary arts and is best viewed starting from the upper level. Here two women are grinding grain, while standing facing a central blue lily-column. The grain that they grind seems to be falling into a wooden box or trough placed between them; there is a broom with which to sweep up any loose particles and a large blue bowl into which the ground grain would be placed.

The women are topless and wear dark red kilts, anklets, bracelets and broad collars. White-linen kilts appear in ancient Egyptian depictions, but Holiday here uses color to make a striking visual statement. The pops of red contrast with the blue-green background of what seems to be a screen wall with both circular and meander patterns. Similar patterns, but in different colors, were copied by Prisse d’Avennes from the ceilings of Luxor tombs.²⁷ On the far right a man wearing a white kilt is kneading dough and on the left a woman is walking down the staircase carrying dough in a bowl balanced on her head.

The woman descending the staircase confirms the action moving from the upper level to the lower one. This woman with a translucent white dress and an orange overkilt is similar to a number of ancient Egyptian tomb models of women carrying loads on their heads, for example MMA 20.3.7 from the Middle Kingdom Tomb of Meketre.²⁸ The tomb figure carries a duck in her right hand and wears a beignet dress. Nevertheless, with her wrist and ankle bracelets and left hand steadying the load on her head, she is similar to the depiction on the Lillian Massey window.

The drapery of the Lillian Massey window figure is reminiscent of classical prototypes such as the caryatid figures from the Erechtheum, especially in how it reveals the body underneath in the position of the left knee. This is perhaps not entirely coincidental, as the Ionic columns and proportions of the Lillian Massey Building are also visual references to the Fifth Century BC. Erechtheum on the Athenian Acropolis.²⁹

Probable sources for the figure of the woman descending stairs with a basket on her head in the Northern panel (middle) are a painted-wood figure from the Middle Kingdom Tomb of Meketre in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (left) & one of the caryatid figures (right) from the Erechtheum on the Acropolis, Athens. Drawing by Bill Kimber





Details of the hieroglyphic texts on the Henry Holiday stained-glass windows, clockwise from top left: In the Central panel subtly covered by the grape-leaf designs; cooking texts in the Northern panel; references to washing clothes & bed linen in the Southern panel; & glyphs installed upside down. Photos: John Elmslie



In the lower panel there are two standing men in the background who hold staves and face each other. To the bottom right in both the window and in the drawing it can be seen that these men are stomping on something white in a contain-

er; they use the staves for balance. Behind them there is what appears to be a brown barrel with a yellow rim. This is a depiction of an ancient Egyptian bread oven, with the yellow indicating the flames of the fire. The vertical text to the left of the two men indicates that bread is being made, which trans-

lates as “they are being provided with bread.”

The first sign group of this text, the reed leaf followed by the spiral and the plural strokes, has been installed in the window upside down. This is not the sort of mistake that Holiday would have made and may be explained by references to broken

glass in some of the ROM correspondence about the window.³⁰ Since the piece of glass with the first sign group is square, if this had been broken, a replacement from England could have been installed upside down. This vertical text is flanked on either side by a panel with a heraldic plant motif representing the lily or lotus. This motif is found on a pillar erected by Tuthmose III at Karnak Temple; a drawing of this pillar is found in Prisse d'Avennes *Atlas de l'art égyptien*.³¹ Since Karnak Temple is located to the north of Luxor Temple, it may have been intentional on Holiday's part to reference Karnak Temple in the northern panel of the window, as opposed to Luxor temple in the southern panel.

The bread-making process illustrated in the window starts in the upper level with the grain (either emmer or barley) being ground between a saddle quern and a grinding stone by the two women. The man on the top right may be sieving the flour in order to remove impurities, but more likely is kneading the dough into a loaf. Whereas ancient Egyptian depictions usually show grinding being done by women, the dough making and kneading is often shown being done by men.

The dough is then carried downstairs in the large bowl balanced on the woman's head. The two men in the back of the lower level are again kneading the dough, but with their feet instead of their hands. This scene of men holding staves while treading the bread dough with their feet appears in the Tomb of Ramesses III in the Valley of the Kings. That scene is now destroyed, but it was copied by Rosellini and published in his *Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia* II pl. LXXXV, which is undoubtedly Holiday's source for the depiction.³²

In the foreground of the lower level of the northern window panel two men are depicted cooking meat. On the left is a kneeling man facing right wearing a blue kilt with a sash diagonally draped across his chest; he is roasting a bird on a spit over a brazier with his right hand, while fanning the fire with his left hand. The horizontal text above the bread oven refers to this figure; it reads "one is cooking the goose." In the break there is a decorative panel with the hieroglyphic signs for "life," "stability" and "dominion."

On the right a kneeling man wearing a green tunic faces left. He is grasping in his right hand what appears to be the end of a wooden scoop or spoon used to stir a soup or stew being boiled in a dark brown container set over a brazier. His left arm is held

loosely across his waist with the fingers hovering above the pot.

The fact that the two kneeling men are cooking is clear, but it is less clear what exactly is being cooked. Keeble and Hamilton in *Rotunda* 1977, p. 19, describe the two figures as "roasting a duck and a leg of lamb," whereas in *Earthly Paradise* (p. 57) the men are described as "roasting and boiling meat." The Egyptian text indicates that a goose rather than a duck is being roasted by the man on the left. The pale brown object held by the man on the right may be a joint of meat (leg of lamb?); certainly the center of this object is a pale red or pink colour in the drawing (ROM 927.114.3). There the figure on the right wearing the green garment may be a woman, as her skin is distinctly lighter than that of the men behind her. In the window, although the garment remains the same, the figure appears to be that of a man with a shaven head and dark skin. The scene may possibly relate to one published in *Lights and Shadows of African History* by Samuel Griswold Goodrich³³ (Boston; Bradbury, Soden & Co., 1844), p. 77. The scene is described as: *a cook roasting a goose; he holds the spit in one hand, and blows the fire with a fan held in the other. A second person is cutting up joints of meat and putting them into the pit which is boiling close at hand.*

The man cutting up a fowl on the left of the published scene is not reflected in either the drawing or the Lillian Massey Building window, but that may well explain the original intent of the scene. In the drawing (ROM 927.114.3) the figure in the green tunic is holding what may be a joint of meat with both hands, possibly with the intent of placing it into the pot of boiling water. This action seems to have been re-interpreted when the scene was rendered in the stained glass; now the figure in the green tunic holds what appears to be a scoop or spoon over the pot. So the alteration in the scene between the drawing and its execution in stained glass changes this small detail in interpretation.

CONCLUSION

Henry Holiday based his designs for the Lillian Massey Building windows on ancient Egyptian representations, but these prototypes were freely interpreted and adapted to his unique pre-Raphaelite style that complements both the classical style of the Lillian Massey Building and the Gothic reference of the stained glass medium. In his work on *Stained Glass as an Art*, Holiday includes a section on "Style in

Relation to Archaeology" (p. 130f.). He states³⁴ that: *it is a fundamental principle ... that every man's work should be the expression of his own feeling. If the work so conceived be a work of imagination and decorative beauty, I for one should infinitely prefer it to anything which lacked these first essentials, however correct in costume and details. But I could not admit that its merit consisted in or was promoted by its inaccuracy.*

Although inspired by ancient Egyptian sources, Holiday was not trying to be faithful to ancient models in every aspect of his work. The colors used and the human figures were adapted to the windows following pre-Raphaelite rather than ancient Egyptian stylistic conventions. Holiday uses many visual references and techniques, such as the inclusion of hieroglyphic texts, which may deepen the viewer's understanding of the work, although Holiday no doubt understood that they would not resonate with most viewers. Nevertheless, identifying and understanding the ancient Egyptian sources and references for the scenes in Holiday's Lillian Massey Building windows provides the viewer with a better comprehension of not only of the scenes depicted, but of how they came about.

Henry Holiday acknowledges using the works of Lepsius, Rosellini and Prisse d'Avennes in his Egyptological researches; and the present research has demonstrated that there are many individual elements in the Lillian Massey Building windows which may have been derived from these sources. In particular Holiday's scenes of spinning, weaving and laundry are derived from scenes in the Middle Kingdom tombs at Beni Hasan, which were published in two volumes by Percy E. Newberry in 1893. Spinning and weaving are typically depicted together in ancient Egyptian sources; Holiday's rendition is noteworthy in that he has taken ancient depictions of horizontal looms and re-interpreted them compositionally as an upright loom.

In addition to the ancient Egyptian sources from which the Lillian Massey windows were derived, the three drawings or designs (ROM 927.114.1-3) that Holiday made for the windows also provide useful information about the process of how the windows were developed. In particular, the skin tones of the figures on the windows are much more sharply differentiated than they are on the drawings, making all the men so dark as to appear to be Nubians and the women so fair as to appear to be European. Most likely, Holiday was only trying to follow ancient Egyptian colour conventions where men are usually shown with brownish skin and women with yellowish skin.

All six figures in the central panel appear to be female, although the one figure to the right of the loom may be based on the figure of an ancient Egyptian male overseer. There are eight figures in south panel, equally divided between men and women. In the drawing all four of the figures doing laundry were men, following the ancient Egyptian prototypes. On the window, however, one of these figures was changed into a woman. There are also eight figures on the north panel, comprising three women and five men. Again they basically follow the gender roles of their ancient Egyptian antecedents. It looks as if details of the figure in the green tunic cooking were changed in the window to more clearly indicate the male gender. In all cases where the drawings and the windows differ, the drawings are closer to the ancient Egyptian models.

Each panel of the Lillian Massey window contains Egyptian hieroglyphic texts that explain the activities that are illustrated. The texts in the central panel refer to spinning and weaving. The texts in the southern panel indicate that bed linen is being washed and laundered. The texts in the northern panel indicate that bread is being made and a goose is being cooked. These texts seem to have been composed by Holiday himself. In his *Reminiscences of My Life*, pp. 429-30 Holiday writes: *The ancient language is still a matter of investigation, and I make no claim to have mastered it, but I have read many of their stories and historical documents in the hieroglyphic writing, and was for some years member of an "Egypt Society," which met weekly to study the "Book of the Dead" in the original.*

So it is likely that his study of the ancient Egyptian language prepared Holiday to compose the texts in ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. His daughter noted that it was Holiday's practise to keep his records "in whatever language he happened to be interested in at the time."³⁵ These languages included Arabic, Greek and Norse, as well as German and Italian. So Holiday certainly had the linguistic skill to engage in hieroglyphic prose composition.

By including ancient Egyptian texts as an integral part of his design, Holiday is following the ancient Egyptian artistic tradition. Whereas ancient Egyptian texts are generally written on the background of the scenes they describe, Holiday chose to incorporate them within the architectural elements that frame the scenes. This produced a unique blend of the old and new, creating a singular artistic vision with a number of

authentic visual references to ancient Egypt.

NOTES

1. Published in *The Earthly Paradise: Arts and Crafts by William Morris and His Circle from Canadian Collections*, edited by Katharine A. Lochnan, Douglas E. Schoenherr and Carole Silver (Toronto, 1993), 55-57.
2. Published in *Walker's Quarterly* nos. 31-32 (1930), 65. Under "1911-12-13" is the listing "Toronto. Royal Archaeological Museum. Windows dealing with Domestic Life in Ancient Egypt." Under "1914" the list indicates that work continued on the Toronto Egyptian windows.
3. I would like to thank Bill Pratt of the World Cultures Dept. and Melissa Thompson of the Registration Dept. for facilitating my access to this material in the ROM.
4. The letter is extensively quoted in Alice B. Hamilton & K. Corey Keeble, "Scenes from Egyptian Life: Three Stained Glass Windows by Henry Holiday" *Rotunda* 10.1 (Spring 1977), 19.
5. *Ibid.*, 18-19. In this same letter Lillian Massey Treble arranges to send the first payment of £200 for the window.
6. For example, in her Oct. 5th 1915 letter, Lillian Massey Treble writes to Currelly concerning the windows "I feared they were not just what you would have liked in subject."
7. The designs for these columns may have been inspired by the 1868-9 work of Prisse d'Avennes, reproduced in his *Atlas of Egyptian Art* (Cairo, 2000), 15, showing pillars from the tombs at Zawyet el Mayitin in Middle Egypt.
8. See *William Morris Gallery. Henry Holiday, 1839-1927* (London, 1989), no. 98.
9. Henry Holiday, *Reminiscences of My Life* (London, 1914), 412.
10. The formal title is *Histoire de l'art égyptien d'après les monuments depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la domination romaine*.
11. Henry Holiday was certainly aware of the position of the windows; in his letter to Currelly written May 19, 1916, he writes: "I should like to have your personal opinion as to how the windows look in relation to the staircase & the impression as you go up the stairs."
12. The type actually goes back to Roman Pompeii, where it may have been derived from earlier Hellenistic prototypes.
13. The two scenes are illustrated together in Linda Heinrich, *The Magic of Linen: Flax Seed to Woven Cloth* (Victoria, BC, 1992), 180. The spinning and weaving scene from the tomb of Khety is published in Rosellini, *Monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia* v. 2 pl. XLI.
14. Prisse d'Avennes, *Atlas of Egyptian Art* (Cairo, 2000), 55.
15. Percy E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II* (London, 1893), pl. iv.
16. This tomb is published in Rosellini, v. 2, pls. xxvi, xxxiii; and Lepsius, *Denkmäler* v.2 pls. 123-30, but I have not been able to confirm that the specific scene is included.
17. Hamilton and Keeble, 19.
18. See John Garstang, *The Burial Customs of an-*

cient Egypt as illustrated by Tombs of the Middle Kingdom: being a report of Excavations made in the Necropolis of Beni Hassan during 1902-3-4 (London, 1907), 133, fig. 131. A similar spinning and weaving model was found at El Bersheh.

19. A good overview of ancient Egyptian looms is found in Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood, "Textiles," in *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, eds. (Cambridge, 2000), 276-278.

20. See J. P. Philips, *The Columns of Ancient Egypt* (Manchester, 2002), 10. It is noteworthy that illustrations of this type of columns are also found in Prisse d'Avennes, 22.

21. For discussions of ancient Egyptian laundry practices, see Rosalind Hall, *Egyptian Textiles*, Shire Egyptology 4 (Aylesbury, 1986), 48f.; Jac Janssen & Rosalind M. Janssen, "The Laundrymen of the Theban Necropolis," *Archiv orientální* 70 (2002), 1-12.

22. See W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1929), v. II, 203-204.

23. *Ibid.*, v. I, 318.

24. Fullers work with wool rather than linen; they soak the newly shorn wool in urine in order to cleanse it and make it easier to process into cloth.

25. Hamilton and Keeble, 19.

26. For a good overview of ancient Egyptian linen and its production, see Linda Heinrich, 173-189.

27. Prisse d'Avennes, 29, illustrating ceiling patterns in "spirals and meanders."

28. See , v. I, 266-7. Similar female offering bearer models were found at El Bersheh.

29. Holiday was certainly told about the classical design of the Lillian Massey Building and architect George Miller was also consulted about the stained glass. Thus Holiday may have intentionally decided to incorporate a reference to the Erechtheum caryatids in the window.

30. From a letter dated October 5, 1915, from Lillian Massey Treble to her "Dear Cousin Charlie," it is implied that the broken glass was repaired in Toronto. Mrs. Treble wrote that she was "hearing of the broken glass which though a matter of small importance, would it not be better to make it good by the artist, Henry Holiday, who made the window." On May 19, 1916, Holiday wrote to Currelly, "I am sorry to hear that any pieces were broken, of course, they shall be replaced."

31. Prisse d'Avennes, 14.

32. A good overview of ancient Egyptian bread making is found in William Darby, Paul Ghalioungui and Louis Grivetti, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* (London, 1977), Chapter 12, 501f., with the Ramesses III scene illustrated on 523.

33. Listed on the title page (accessed through Google) as "the author of Peter Parley's Tales."

34. Henry Holiday, *Stained Glass as an Art* (London, 1896), 134.

35. "Note by Miss Holiday" in *Walker's Quarterly* nos. 31-32 (1930), 44.

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