

General Introduction

1.1. Scope and Plan of the Catalogue

This volume catalogues terracottas made in Egypt during the Persian, the Ptolemaic, the Roman, and the early-Christian periods (*ca.* 6th cent. BCE – *ca.* 6th cent. CE), now held in the Allard Pierson, the archaeological collection of the University of Amsterdam (Figure 1.1). (In 2019, the Allard Pierson Museum merged with the University of Amsterdam Library’s Special Collections to form the Allard Pierson, The Collections of the University of Amsterdam.) The term “terracotta” is here understood broadly to include not only earthenware figurines but also sculpted ceramic vases, lamps, and objects of practical use made from baked clay. In the catalogue, we aim to fully describe and illustrate each object, offering commentary where relevant. The objects share their provenience from Egypt and—apart from their material—they also share, in most cases, the moulding techniques. Their production, however, belongs to different periods and to various groups of inhabitants, each with their own traditions, living in the land of the Nile.

The diverse series of artefacts present their own characteristics. Thus, some figurines demonstrate the longevity of Pharaonic traditions through the Late Period and beyond in a technique previously uncommon in Egypt. A few objects from Memphis are reminders of the Persian dominance before the time of Alexander the Great. Terracottas from Naucratis testify to the presence of Greeks settled in Egypt before the Hellenistic period. Still others, funerary gifts in the elegant style of the Greek “Tanagra” tradition, were found in the early cemeteries of the new cosmopolitan capital Alexandria. Among the objects are gods and goddesses of Egyptian and Greek religion, figures of myth and magic, and priests engaged in rituals or festivals.

The numerous pieces from the Arsinoite *nome* (the district named after Arsinoe II; present-day Faiyum) and elsewhere are expressions of personal piety, embodying prayers for fertility and prosperity. The total number of such terracottas in collections, both in Egypt and elsewhere, runs into the tens of thousands. Many terracottas vary



Figure 1.1. The Allard Pierson at its present location on the Oude Turfmarkt as seen from the Rokin (photo: Allard Pierson).

only in small details. One can only speculate on how the illiterate coroplasts and their clientele acquired new models and iconographic varieties over centuries. Some pieces illustrate the popularity of the theatre, the races and the games of the Graeco-Roman milieu. Others are reflections of daily life and street scenes, featuring slaves, servants, the poor, disabled and figures with physical abnormalities. Ptolemaic kings and queens left their mark on coroplastic sculpture, and the elaborate hairstyles of Roman empresses also made their way to Egypt. Lastly, a distinct class of artefacts illuminates the emergence of Christianity in Late Antiquity.

As in all other collections, the terracottas described in this catalogue very rarely derive from controlled excavations that provide an archaeological context. Where known, provenience and provenance information are provided for each entry. Ancient literary evidence sheds light on the subject only indirectly. Inevitably, more intuitive methods are required to understand the material. An absolute chronology can, for instance, not be established based on style or artistic conventions alone. Placing these artefacts within the lived experience and worldview of Egypt's inhabitants is essential to understanding their function and significance, yet it often remains a subjective affair.

With these caveats in mind and for the sake of clarity, the terracottas are divided into three main categories: divine, human, and animal and object. Such an order naturally involves a level of interpretation which may unintentionally be misguided or misleading. Deities can regularly be recognised by their attributes. Fragmentary animal figurines, however, might represent theriomorphic members of the Egyptian pantheon. Where relevant, the commentary to individual entries offers specifics of interpretation.

1.2. The History of Terracotta Catalogues

The history of the study of Graeco-Roman terracottas from Egypt was largely marked by neglect. Catalogues of important terracotta collections published before 1950 can, in fact, be counted on one hand. In their overview of Egyptian terracottas in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (1986), Wilhelm Hornbostel and Hans-Peter Laubscher still had occasion to bemoan the situation. Then, suddenly, half a dozen relevant publications followed in quick succession, cataloguing the collections of the Louvre, of Kaufmann in Frankfurt, of Benaki in Athens, of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, of the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, and finally of the Egyptian terracottas in the British Museum in 2008. With the large collections in Alexandria, Berlin, London and Paris now available, those in Cambridge, Chicago, New York, Oxford, and the collections in Turin and the Vatican in part—to name only the most significant museums holding Egyptian antiquities—still await publication.

Terracottas from Egypt in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (RMO: *Rijksmuseum van*

Oudheden), the Netherlands, are among the earliest recorded examples. They were acquired in 1827 and 1828 and were described by Conrad Leemans in the first volume of *Aegyptische Monumenten in het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden te Leyden* (Egyptian Monuments in the Dutch Museum of Antiquities in Leiden; Leiden 1867, pls. 17, 18, 20 and 22). The collection as it stood in 1958 was finally published by the Egyptologist Willem van Wijngaarden. Other incidental publications of smaller holdings of Egyptian terracottas in Dutch collections were prepared, among others by Constant W. Lunsingh Scheurleer (1931; *Gids* 1937), Elisabeth Prins de Jong (1944), Lili Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford *et al.* (1975), and Paula Leyenaar-Plaisier (1986). Regarding the collection described here, isolated pieces have featured in exhibition catalogues, museum guides, and notices in the *Bulletin of the Society of Friends of the Allard Pierson Museum (APM)*.

While thousands of Graeco-Roman terracottas from Egypt have been preserved, identical specimens are uncommon. The range of the repertoire of terracotta production in Egypt from the sixth century BCE to the sixth century CE now seems largely established. The so-called Faiyum series, however, displays very considerable variations in type. New insights may therefore be safely expected from previously unpublished material. While essential progress has been made over the past decades, questions remain about the origin of the material, the relative if not absolute chronology, variations in local manufacture, as well as the role of terracottas in everyday life in ancient Egypt. Carefully documented excavation reports, still rare, may prove essential in this respect.

In recent years, several initiatives have been undertaken to make terracotta collections accessible in online databases, facilitating comprehensive, global research. These efforts aim to bring together material from various museums and institutions, enabling scholars to compare objects across collections more effectively, to identify patterns, and to gain deeper insights into production techniques, distribution and cultural significance. By integrating diverse datasets and providing digital access to previously scattered collections, these projects contribute significantly to the advancement of coroplastic studies. However, the success of these projects depends on sustained efforts to update and expand the software and databases regularly.

One such project, called *Greeks in Naukratis*, is run by a team of classical archaeologists and Egyptologists based at the British Museum in partnership with institutions and research worldwide. The online database features over 18,000 objects from the site of ancient Naukratis from the late 7th century BCE to the 7th century CE. It covers Egyptian, Greek, Cypriot, Syro-Palestinian, Phoenician, Etruscan, South-Italian, Persian, Anatolian, North-African, Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine material. The *TERRAEGYPT* project was set up to enhance a global study of the terracottas from the 4th century BCE to 4th

century CE from Egypt that are conserved in collections in Auch, Cahors and Toulouse, France.

The increasing availability of collection publications and online collections from multiple institutions also greatly enhances provenance studies. By examining and comparing labels, inscriptions or marks on terracotta figurines or other objects on a global scale, researchers can uncover new insights into their provenance. A recent study by Danielle S. Bennett, for example, successfully identified labels and handwriting linked to the Fouquet collection. The published article aimed to document these old labels and share the data publicly, aiding in the recognition and identification of additional labels across institutions and objects. Archival research has matched some of the numbers to a handwritten list with photographs from Fouquet, confirming a connection to objects previously only tentatively attributed to the collection. Such studies have the potential to reveal new details about the provenance and movement of these artefacts.

Literature

Leemans 1867; H. B. Walters 1903; V. Schmidt 1911; Weber 1914; Kaufmann 1915; Perdrizet 1921; Vogt 1924; Breccia 1930; *id.* 1934; van Wijngaarden 1958; Hornbostel and Laubscher 1986, esp. nos. 21–24; Bayer-Niemeier 1988; Dunand 1990; Pingiatoglou 1993; Fischer 1994; Fjeldhagen 1995; Nachtergaele 1995; Pons Mellado 1995; Török 1995; Bailey 2008; Villing *et al.* 2013–2025 (*Greeks in Naukratis* project); D. S. Bennett 2023; Galbois 2023.

1.3. The Collection and Its History

1.3.1. Allard Pierson

The Allard Pierson Museum (renamed the Allard Pierson, The Collections of the University of Amsterdam, following its merger with the University of Amsterdam Library's Special Collections in 2019) was established in 1934 as the archaeological collection of the University of Amsterdam, housing artefacts from ancient Mediterranean civilizations. The museum is named after Prof. Dr. Allard Pierson (1831–1896), son of the patrician businessman Jan Lodewijk Gregory Pierson (1806–1873) and author Ida Oyens Pierson (1808–1860), daughter of the banking family Oyens (Figure 1.2). Allard Pierson was a Protestant theologian, art historian, and linguist, appointed as the first professor of archaeology at the University of Amsterdam in 1877. During his tenure, he assembled a substantial collection of plaster casts of ancient works of art for educational purposes.

By 1875, Allard Pierson's son, Jan Lodewijk Pierson, had already laid the foundation of the eponymous company that would later become Bank Mees, Hope & Pierson (renamed MeesPierson after 2008). After the death of Prof. jhr. Dr. Jan Six (1857–1926), the second professor of



Figure 1.2. Prof. Dr. A. Pierson (photo: *Eigen Haard*, 1896, public domain).

archaeology and art history in Amsterdam, Jan Lodewijk Pierson established the Allard Pierson Foundation (APS) in 1932. The Foundation purchased some incidental works of ancient art, including several terracottas, in the early 1930s. On 12 November 1934, the Allard Pierson Museum opened its doors to the public for the first time at Sarphatistraat (Figure 1.3). Through further acquisitions over the following decades, the museum collection grew significantly, with the most important addition being that of C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer. The guide he wrote provides insights into the holdings up to that date. In 1976, the museum moved into the neoclassical monument originally designed as the headquarters of the central Dutch Bank (DNB: *De Nederlandsche Bank*). On 6 October 1976, Her Royal Highness Princess Beatrix ceremoniously opened the new museum in the centre of Amsterdam at Oude Turfmarkt.

Literature

Gids 1937, vii–ix; *Gids* 2002, 8–10; Scheurleer 2009, 13–14.

1.3.2. Constant W. Lunsingh Scheurleer

The majority (*viz.*, some 450) of the terracotta objects from Egypt catalogued in this volume derives from the C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer collection, which the Allard Pierson Foundation acquired in 1934 and afterwards. Prof. Dr. Constant Willem Lunsingh Scheurleer (1881–1941) was the son of a gifted father, the banker and musicologist Dr. Daniël François Scheurleer (1855–1927), and his wife Maria E. P. Lunsingh Tonckens (1860–1891) (Figure 1.4).



a



b

Figure 1.3. (a) The Allard Pierson Museum at its former location, Sarphatistraat 129–131; photo taken on 5 October 1972 (photo: Amsterdam City Archives / Arsath Ro'is, J.M.). (b) Interior of the Allard Pierson Museum at its former location. Several of the terracottas included in the present catalogue are visible on the right side (photo: Allard Pierson Archive).



Figure 1.4. Prof. Dr. C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer; photo taken in 1935 (photo: Allard Pierson Archive).

Father and son were board members of the Dutch banking firm Scheurleer & Sons (*Scheurleer en Zoonen*) in The Hague (established in 1804; liquidated in 1932). D. F. Scheurleer occupied an influential position in the cultural life of his time. He owned an exceptional library and a rich collection of musical manuscripts and instruments. Additionally, Scheurleer was a productive author of scholarly studies on music and maritime history, which earned him an honorary doctorate from Leiden University in 1910. Later, C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer was made doctor honoris causa twice: first in Danzig in 1925, then at the *Gemeentelijke Universiteit van Amsterdam* (now the University of Amsterdam) in 1926.

While his background was not academic, collecting, studying and publishing were as natural a part of C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer's world as banking. He travelled to Egypt in 1901 and 1902, visiting monuments and acquiring antiquities, among them terracottas. During this time, Scheurleer first established relations with some of the important dealers and museums in Cairo and Alexandria. In later years, he purchased pieces through the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF; later renamed as the Egypt Exploration Society, EES), at auctions, and on the European art market. Moreover, he obtained a large quantity of Egyptian terracottas from the eminent Egyptologist F. W. von Bissing in 1921. (In the entries below, this provenance history may be deduced from all objects deriving from the von Bissing collection. Where the old inventory number is deleted

or untraceable on the object itself, we have indicated this parenthetically.)

Scheurleer's primary interest was in classical Greece. In 1909, the young collector published a detailed catalogue of his collection, which incorporated some Egyptian objects. To him, the cultural relationship between Late Period Egypt and the Greek world justified enlarging his collection with Egyptian material. Scheurleer's objective as a connoisseur was to present an overview of classical art as a source for Western civilization.

As his private collection gradually grew, the need for sizeable housing became accordingly acute. Moreover, he wanted his collection to be accessible to the interested public. Scheurleer therefore had the Museum Carnegielaan built in 1924 behind the Peace Palace in The Hague (Figure 1.5). Due to the Great Depression, the family firm Scheurleer & Sons, where C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer had acted as director since 1921, was liquidated, and both the musicological and archaeological collections were sold. From 1936 until his death, he served as extraordinary professor of Greek archaeology at Leiden University. With his wife Johanna Catharina Charlotte Lunsingh Scheurleer (née de Meester) he was, among others, the father of Theo H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, later director with the Rijksmuseum and professor of art history in Leiden. Objects from the Scheurleer collection that the Allard Pierson Museum did not purchase in 1934 eventually entered the holdings through permanent loans from the Archaeological Institute of Utrecht University (AI UU) and from The Hague City Museum, respectively in 1990 and 1998.

Literature

Von Bissing (ed.) 1924; van Gelder 1941; van Hoorn 1941; Neugebauer 1942; Neugebauer and Bianchi Bandinelli 1943; Th. Scheurleer 1984; Nederland's Patriciaat 2002, 279–349; Scheurleer 2009, 15.

1.3.3. Friedrich W. von Bissing

Many of the terracottas described in this catalogue (*i.e.*, 390) were acquired from Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Bissing (1873–1956), who obtained his vast collection of antiquities in Egypt (Figure 1.6). The terracottas were only a small part of what must have been one of the largest private collections of Egyptian antiquities at the time and since. Occasionally, information is available about where von Bissing obtained his artefacts, such as through British Egyptologist W. M. Flinders Petrie or from Cairo art dealer Maurice Nahman (see Subchapter 1.3.6). For most of the terracottas, however, the exact findspot is not known, as the von Bissing inventory and archive are no longer available. (For each catalogue entry below, we provide the provenance information known from the museum archives; in all other cases, it may generally be assumed that he bought the object in question on the art market in Egypt.)



a



b

Figure 1.5. (a) Museum Carnegielaan 12; photo taken in 1926 (photo: family archive Lunsing Scheurleer). (b) Inside of the Museum Carnegielaan (photo: Allard Pierson Archive).



Figure 1.6. Prof. Dr. F. W. Frhr. von Bissing (photo: private collection).

Friedrich von Bissing was the son of Moritz Ferdinand Freiherr von Bissing (1844–1917), a member of the Silesian landed gentry and a general in the imperial German army. From 1892 until 1896, the younger von Bissing studied classical philology, art history, archaeology, and Egyptology in Bonn and Berlin. Ancient Egypt stood at the very centre of his interests. He collaborated on the *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* and journeyed to Egypt, where he contributed several volumes to the *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* and conducted the excavation of the solar temple of Nyusera at Abu Gurab together with Ludwig Borchardt. In 1901, he was appointed at the University of Munich, where he carried out research and educational duties. Von Bissing is known to have placed his library and collection at the disposal of interested students and scholars. He was a prolific writer, the author of 621 publications. Much later in life, he was appointed to the chair of Egyptology at Utrecht University, where he remained until his retirement (from 1922 to 1926). He then returned to Germany, where he continued working as an independent scholar until his death.

Badly hit by the hyperinflation in the Weimar Republic after the Great War, von Bissing was forced to sell parts of his collection. Late in 1921, Scheurleer, who had earlier met von Bissing in Munich, acquired the Egyptian terracottas along with many other pieces from

the later periods of ancient Egyptian civilization, with the understanding that he would gradually reimburse von Bissing through instalment payments. When the Great Depression also struck Scheurleer financially, neither he nor von Bissing had exactly established which pieces had been acquired and which ought to be returned. The two men did come to some kind of agreement on the matter.

When von Bissing lived in The Netherlands, he frequently visited Scheurleer in The Hague to see his own objects in the latter's collection. Oral history relates that von Bissing was continuously rearranging his series from Egypt in the Museum Carnegielaan in The Hague, calling the terracottas his “Lieblinge (darlings)” (as remembered by the late Dr. H. A. L. E. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford (1907–2002), Leiden). His extensive library, auctioned in 1956, demonstrates the depth of his learning (see: *Bibliothek Prof. Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Bissing: Aegypten, der Alte Orient, Hellas und Rom, Germanische Frühgeschichte, Varia*, Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett auct. cat. no. 26, 28 Nov. –1 Dec. 1956).

Literature

Brunner 1956; Müller 1956; Wallert 1959; Scheurleer 2009, 15; A. Grimm 2010; Loeben 2011; Bierbrier (ed.) 2012, 60–61 (von Bissing); Loeben 2013, 88–94; van Haarlem 2014; *id.* 2016.

1.3.4. Further Collections

In addition to von Bissing, Scheurleer also acquired terracottas from Egypt—either directly or indirectly—from fellow collectors through his international contacts across Europe. Thus, after his return from his first journey to Egypt, he purchased a series of well over a hundred objects from the Schneider collection (possibly Munich?). The identity of this individual can no longer be retrieved. Three items from this collection are included in this catalogue, namely: a bust of Sarapis (cat. no. 15, APM00421) and two heads of Harpocrates (cat. nos. 52, 55; APM00404, APM00422), which, according to the inventory, were found in the Near East (Palestine and Syria), like most of the other items of the Schneider purchase.

Scheurleer obtained eleven terracottas from the collections of Dr. Eddé and Max de Zogheb at two separate auctions held at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, in 1911 and 1912 respectively. The exact identity of Dr. Eddé remains unclear. He may have been related to Émile Eddé (1886–1949), the later president of Lebanon, some of whose family and in-laws lived in Egypt, and whose son, Raymond Eddé (1913–2000), was born in Alexandria in the palatial home of the Lutfallah Sursok family. The items listed in the Eddé sales catalogue are said to originate from Alexandria—an attribution that, in the case of the terracottas, appears to be accurate (cat. nos. 128, 201, 205, 206, 304, 321, 395, 412; APM00935–APM00938, APM00940–APM00942 and APM14152). In fact, the same appears to apply to those from the collection of Count Alexandre-Max de Zogheb (cat. nos. 150, 224, 471; APM00981, APM08407 and APM00986), a prominent member of Alexandrian high society around the turn of the 20th century, and author of several titles on the lost tombs of Alexander the Great, the Ptolemaic kings and Cleopatra. Among the pieces from these two collections auctioned in Paris were, for instance, a seated old nurse (cat. no. 304, APM00935), a basket-bearing priestess (cat. no. 224, APM08407) and several Ptolemaic female heads (cat. nos. 201, 205–206; APM00940–APM00942).

Objects from two other prominent collections are now held in the Allard Pierson. In 1921, more than 8,000 Egyptian antiquities belonging to Rev. William MacGregor (1848–1937) were sold through Spink & Son in London. MacGregor was born into a wealthy industrialist Scottish family and, after studying at Oxford University, became vicar of St. Editha's Church in Tamworth, Staffordshire, England. Around 1885, he joined the newly founded Egypt Exploration Fund. MacGregor assisted Édouard Naville during excavations at Memphis, Boubastis and elsewhere. He funded the excavations led by W. M. Flinders Petrie at Abydos, and as Vice-President of the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology he also sponsored excavations at Edfu and Esna, among other sites. Via the firm Spink & Son, Scheurleer was able to acquire seven pieces from the MacGregor collection (APM01983–APM01989), including a terracotta Eros playing the

lute (cat. no. 108, APM01985). When the remainder of the collection was later offered for auction at Sotheby's, Scheurleer additionally bought an Alexandrian silver vase (APM03397).

French medical doctor Daniël Marie Fouquet (1850–1914), based in Cairo, was an avid collector of Egyptian, Coptic and Islamic antiquities. Paul Perdrizet had already published a learned study of Graeco-Egyptian bronzes and terracottas from the Fouquet collection (in 1911 and 1921, respectively). Over 350 lots were later offered for auction at Galerie Georges Petit, in Paris, on 10–11 June 1922, leading to the dispersion of the Fouquet collection among various museums and private collections. From the 1970s onward, pieces from the collection reappeared on the art market. At this time, in 1975, the Allard Pierson Museum procured several items, including three terracottas (cat. nos. 181, 314, 452; APM08963, APM08965–APM08966) through the antiques gallery “à la Reine Margot” in Paris. (These terracottas do not appear in Perdrizet's publication). The Louvre also acquired several terracottas belonging to this collection.

In March of 1923, Scheurleer purchased over fifty items from Prof. Dr. Paul H. A. Wolters (1858–1936), then professor of classical archaeology at the University of Munich and director of the Glyptothek there. Among these was a terracotta lamp featuring Sarapis (cat. no. 16, APM03297).

Literature

Auction Catalogue Hôtel Drouot 1911; *id.* 1912; Fouquet, Lair-Dubreuil and Sambon 1922; Sotheby's, London, 26 June 1922; Capart 1938; Vandier 1972; Besques 1973; Scheurleer 1974a; Lullies and Schiering (eds.) 1988, 124–127; Bierbrier (ed.) 2012, 197 (Fouquet), 347 (MacGregor), 398–400 (Naville), 428–430 (Petrie), 423–424 (Perdrizet).

1.3.5. Donations and Long-Term Loans

In later years, the collection of the Allard Pierson Museum has been enriched by donations and long-term loans. From the old inventory, it can be deduced that C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer also received an occasional gift. For example, in 1931, he received the lamp handle with a horse's head (cat. no. 505, APM04578) as a gift from A. Th. (Theo) L. A. Heyligers (1882–1951), judge at the Mixed Courts of Egypt at Mansoura. However, due to the sparse information, it cannot always be determined exactly who the other generous individuals were.

Earlier, in 1923, Scheurleer had received a standing Harpocrates with *cornucopia* (cat. no. 27, APM03490.002) as a present from his close friend Anthony Th. A. Artz. Artz was the son of D. Adolphe C. Artz (1837–1890), a Dutch painter of the “Hague School” of Jozef Israëls and Jacob Maris. In 1914, Anthony Artz moved with his family to Notting Hill, North Kensington, London, from where he informed Scheurleer of artefacts on sale at art dealers

in London, such as Fenton and Spitz. Interestingly, the Harpocrates in question also carries an inventory number from von Bissing (*viz.*, T. 171). The latter must thus have ceded the figurine to Artz first, who then presented it to Scheurleer for his museum collection.

About twenty Egyptian terracottas at the Allard Pierson derive from the private collection of Prof. Dr. Robert Alexander Lunsingh Scheurleer (born 1944), grandson of Constant Willem Lunsingh Scheurleer. Robert Lunsingh Scheurleer was chief curator at the museum and, in 2002, became director of the museum, a position he held until his retirement in 2009. Through his efforts the museum also acquired pieces from the art market (discussed below). Scheurleer received some of the terracottas from friends, acquaintances and colleagues, including Dr. D. Meeks, Paris (cat. no. 49, APM11882) and A. A. Tadema (cat. no. 522, APM13963).

The museum obtained approximately twenty additional items in this catalogue through private donations. In 1957, the museum received eight objects, including four Menas *ampullae* (cat. nos. 170, 172, 175–176; APM08653, APM08651, APM08669, APM08652), from the legacy of Dr. Rein Miedema (1886–1954), a Remonstrant minister in Amersfoort (Figure 1.7).

A terracotta lamp in the shape of a fish (cat. no. 490, APM03830) was bequeathed by Prof. Dr. Dirk Loenen (1890–1966), professor of classics, philosophy and ancient history at the University of Amsterdam. Ms. Beatrice Boeke-Cadbury (1884–1976), a member of the Cadbury chocolate manufacturing family, gifted two oil lamps (cat. nos. 512–513; APM09097–APM09098). The standing Aphrodite Anadyomene in Egyptian tradition (cat. no. 96, APM12552), purchased in Northern Africa in the 1960s, was donated by Mr. A. W. de Groot and Mr. R. Leuven in 1990.

Over the years, Willem Schnitzler, Amsterdam, has enriched the museum's coin collection, and has also given the museum a caricature that had been on loan since 1993 (cat. no. 381, APM13054). In 1993, Ms. B. van der Hart-van Belkom, Maassluis, donated 30 artefacts, including a Harpocrates (cat. no. 28, APM13134), a double-Bes image (cat. no. 63, APM13135) and a pet dog (cat. no. 485, APM13150). In 2000, Ms. E. A. E. van der Zwaan endowed the museum with an acquisition fund, through which nearly 500 items—mostly medical tools and instruments—were acquired from the collection of Mr. J. S. M. C. van Breukel, a dentist from Den Bosch. This collection also included a Menas *ampulla* (cat. no. 178, APM14513) and a Coptic lamp (cat. no. 515, APM14512).



Figure 1.7. Mayor H. Molendijk (left) parts from Dr. R. Miedema (right) at the latter's retirement; photo taken in 1951 (photo: *Dagblad voor Amersfoort*, 25 September 1951, 2; Eemland Archive, inv. no. 07116; PDM 1.0).

Ms. Renée Henriette Kotting-Menko (1913–2004), Jewish classics teacher and active member of the Dutch Classical Association (NKV: *Nederlands Klassiek Verbond*), bequeathed 34 objects to the university by testament signed in 1971 to be displayed in the museum. Among the objects were a head of Harpocrates (cat. no. 51, APM15461) and a caricature (cat. no. 382, APM15477). Ms. Marianne E. Willems-Hendrix (1938–2004) left 48 artefacts by testament to the museum in 2005, many of which were Mother Goddess figurines, but the collection also included the figurine of a crouching child (cat. no. 313, APM15708).

Since its refoundation in 1969 by Prof. Dr. J. M. Hemelrijk, The Society of Friends of the Allard Pierson Museum (VvV APM: *Vereniging van Vrienden van het Allard Pierson Museum*)—which merged in 2021 with The Foundation of Friends of the Special Collections (*Stichting Vrienden van de Bijzondere Collecties*) to become Friends of the Allard Pierson (*Vrienden van het Allard Pierson*)—has generously assisted with the purchase of artefacts, or graciously donated objects. This includes one of the terracotta caricatures in this catalogue (cat. no. 374, APM13308).

Finally, to reiterate, parts of the von Bissing and Scheurleer collections were reunited with those of the Allard Pierson Museum through permanent loans from the former Archaeological Institute of Utrecht University and The Hague City Museum (GM DH), in 1990 and 1998, respectively.

Literature

Scheen and Scheen 1981, 15–16, 213; Hecht, Hoogenboom and Stolwijk 1998, 107 and 302; Slis 2006, 252; Jessurun d’Oliveira (ed.) 2015, 73–74 and 87–90.

1.3.6. Dealers and the Art Market

Collectors such as Scheurleer and von Bissing mainly assembled their archaeological collections through the antiques market. (Where available, provenance history is provided for each item in the catalogue. An alphabetical listing of the art dealers and collectors mentioned in this section can be found in the Concordances.) Perhaps the most prominent antiquities dealer from whom both Scheurleer and von Bissing independently bought Egyptian terracottas when they sojourned in Cairo was Frenchman Maurice Nahman (1868–1948). Nahman, then principal cashier at the Crédit Foncier Égyptien (CFE) in Cairo, was also a renowned expert who showcased his wares in a large gallery within his palatial, Arabic-style home, later known as “Casa Nahman”.

Scheurleer purchased eighteen objects, including five terracottas featured in this catalogue, from Nahman in 1902—rendering the name “Nachmann” (as if German). According to Scheurleer’s inventory, von Bissing had informed him that he had bought a substantial series of

terracottas from the same Nahman. Although no date is given for this purchase (or, more likely, purchases), von Bissing resided in Egypt from 1898 to 1901. These terracottas were reportedly from a single find in Memphis (*viz.*, mod. Mit Rahina) and were dated as early-Hellenistic (*i.e.*, 3rd–2nd cent. BCE). Scheurleer speculated whether some of the artefacts he had acquired from the dealer might also originate from this find. When this information was entered into the museum inventory, then curator Dr. C. S. Ponger wisely treated both the Memphite provenience and the early-Hellenistic dating with caution. (In this catalogue, the alleged provenience is therefore placed in quotation marks.)

Von Bissing bought an additional series of eighteen terracottas from Nahman at a later, unspecified date—perhaps shortly after leaving Cairo, around 1902 (APM07188–APM07194 and APM07197–APM07201). The undated invoice for these items states that they were found in Memphis (“Mit Rahina”) (Figure 1.8). According to von Bissing, they were discovered together with the stone shield and helmet models (APM07864–APM07867, APM07879, APM07944), although he did not purchase them from Nahman at the same time. The terracottas

CRÉDIT FONCIER ÉGYPTIEN
LE CAIRE

*Une Caisse contenant
les objets suivants:*

Une boîte en bois contenant 19 terra cotta dont une 18' émaillée provenance (Memphis) = 35

Un Kakhais de l'ancien empire (legèrement réparée) avec le signe Tad entre 2 colonnes de bronze à Abou Tig (H⁶ Eg⁶) = 30

Une pomegranade porcelaine provenance Tel El Amarna = 4

Tasse (petit) porcel. avec sujets prov. Memphis = 6

Un Tasse fragmente porcel. (Achmann) = 15

Chapeau en bois (Tayoum) = 2

Un miroir en calcaire avec inscriptions hiéroglyphes (Memphis) = 7

Une porcel. pendante Tad entre 2 biseaux del Tel El Amarna = 10

Reboute 100

Figure 1.8. Undated receipt from the Crédit Foncier Égyptien, Cairo, written by M. Nahman. Notice the description of the terracotta figurines: “Une boîte en bois contenant 19 terra cotta dont une émaillée provenance (Memphis)”. (photo: Allard Pierson Archive).

in question—exclusively heads—appear Memphite in character and may be dated to the sixth through mid-fourth century BCE.

During his lifetime, Nahman offered stock for auction at his house in 1920 and again at the London headquarters of Christie’s in 1937. Following his death, his legacy was sold at the Parisian auction house Hôtel Drouot in 1953. Pieces from the Nahman estate later resurfaced in a Christie’s sale at South Kensington in 2004. Countless objects from Nahman’s estate of antiquities have thus entered international museums and private collections. For instance, over 600 artefacts eventually found their way into the collection of the British Museum. Over eighty terracottas featured in this catalogue may trace their origin to this dealer.

Literature

Capart 1947; Ader 1953; Christie’s, South Kensington, 28 Apr. 2004, lot nos. 210, 281–327; Bierbrier (ed.) 2012, 397 (Nahman); Abdulfattah 2020.

Rollin & Feuarent was an antiquities gallery and auction house, first founded by Claude Camille Rollin (1813–1883), who was subsequently joined by his son-in-law Felix Bienaimé Feuarent (1819–1907). Based in Paris at Rue Vivienne (later Rue de Louvois), with a branch office in London at Haymarket (later Bloomsbury Street), Rollin & Feuarent served as advisors to firms selling through the Hôtel Drouot, including the Eddé and de Zogheb sales. Scheurleer maintained an active correspondence with Feuarent and his associates. Between 1905 and 1931, he frequently acquired pieces from both the Paris and London offices. Among these is the squatting Black African boy (cat. no. 339, APM00685), bought for £4/- in 1905.

Another source was Michel Casira (*fl. ca.* 1890–1915), the established dealer in Cairo, from whom von Bissing acquired three terracottas listed in this catalogue (cat. nos. 120, 447, 474; APM07136, APM07144–APM07145). These figurines, including a Silenus blowing the salpinx (cat. no. 120), are said to provenience from Hermopolis (mod. Ashmunin) in Upper Egypt, as the invoice attests (Figure 1.9). Over the years, Scheurleer also regularly acquired artefacts from Casira, although these purchases did not include Egyptian terracottas.

Fenton, known under slightly different names, was an art dealer based on Holywell Street (later New Oxford Street and Cranbourne Street) in London, active *ca.* 1880–1930. In 1909, Scheurleer purchased seven objects (APM00772–APM00778) for the sum of £3:15/-, including the caricatural figurine of a sponger (cat. no. 367, APM00773).

In that same year, an acquaintance from The Hague, Mr. Frederiks, acquired over 80 artefacts (CWLS, inv. nos. 794–876) for Scheurleer at the total sum of *fl.*150,- (about €1700 adjusted for inflation). Among this group of artefacts was a terracotta head of a Black African boy (cat.

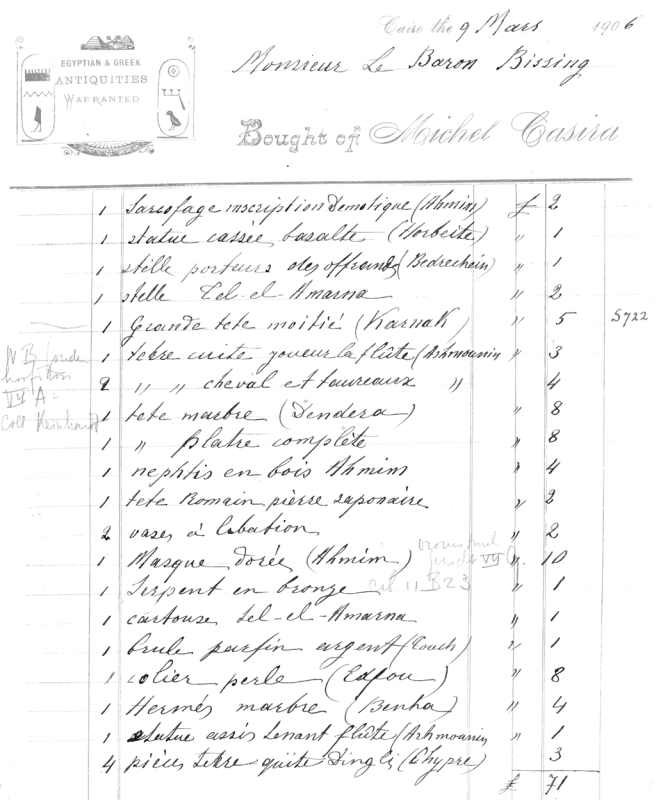


Figure 1.9. Invoice dated 9 March 1906, from Casira to von Bissing, including the terracotta figurine “playing the flute” (scil., salpinx), the standing horse and ox, reportedly from Ashmunin (photo: Allard Pierson Archive).

no. 346, APM00840). Who this Frederiks exactly was, can no longer be discerned.

Hôtel Drouot in Paris has organised numerous auctions of antiquities, antiques and fine arts since its establishment on Rue Drouot, in the 9th arrondissement, in 1852. As mentioned above, the Eddé and de Zogheb collections were auctioned there in 1911 and 1912, respectively. In 1975, two of the museum’s Menas ampullae (cat. nos. 171, 174; APM13333, APM12997) were purchased there.

Both von Bissing and Scheurleer were well-acquainted with the German classical archaeologist Dr Paul Julius Arndt (1865–1937), an expert on ancient Greek vases and sculpture, as well as a collector and art dealer based in Munich. Arndt sold important works of classical art to institutions such as the Glyptotek in Munich, the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, and the Yale Art Gallery in New Haven, Connecticut. He is said to have owned several thousand terracotta statuettes, with some 650 going to the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, though most remained in Munich. About the same time that he attained the von Bissing terracottas, around 1921–1922, Scheurleer acquired most of his extensive series of Tarantine terracottas from Arndt. Additionally, he purchased other objects from him, among these were some terracottas from Egypt, including heads of Eros (cat. no. 110, APM01837), Black Africans (cat. nos. 343, 347; APM03256, APM00979) and of a child (cat. no. 434, APM00965).

The London firm Spink & Son was a firm of dealers in arts and antiques as well as an auction house, established in 1772. Originally, the business was founded as a jeweller's and pawnbroker's shop in 1666 near Lombard Street. By the early twentieth century, the company had moved to St. James's. Their headquarters are currently situated in the old Bloomsbury post office. On several occasions, Scheurleer purchased artefacts from Spink, some of which are precious objects, such as an Alexandrian silver vase from the MacGregor collection (APM03397) and a Roman silver skyphos (APM00788). Two items in this catalogue likewise derive through Spink from the estate of MacGregor, *viz.*, a lute-playing Eros (cat. no. 108, APM01985) and a Menas *ampulla* (cat. no. 173, APM01986).

Maison Platt, founded in 1880 on Rue des Petits-Champs in the 1st arrondissement and later relocated around the corner on Rue de Richelieu in 1963, was a firm specialised in numismatics and once in antiquities as well. Among the eight objects Scheurleer bought from Platt in 1927 is the polychrome statuette of a dancing boy (cat. no. 278, APM03579) (Figure 1.10).

The last art and antiquities dealer from whom Scheurleer obtained terracottas was the Dutch furniture and sculpture firm Th. Jan van Beukering & Zn. ("Beukering and Son") in Arnhem, that also dealt in arts and antiques. On at least three separate occasions, Scheurleer bought series of pieces from Beukering, once in the spring of 1919

(CWLS, inv. nos. 1379–1384), then in the summer of 1923 (CWLS, inv. nos. 3429–3476) and another time about 1928 (CWLS, inv. nos. 4388–4462). The last purchase included a dozen Egyptian terracottas, which the Allard Pierson Museum eventually received on permanent loan from the Archaeological Institute of Utrecht University (AI UU) in 1990 (APM12613–APM12615, APM12620–APM12622, APM12624–APM12626, APM12788–APM12790).

Literature

Much of the above information derives from the museum's archives and personal recollection, also see: Baedeker (ed.) 1914, 41; Neugebauer 1937; Guillaumin 1986; Lullies and Schiering (eds.) 1988, 158–159; Török 1995, 9; I. von Zur Mühlen in Hamdorf (ed.) 1996, 13; Bierbrier (ed.) 2012, 190 (Feuardent), 471–472 (Rollin).

Before the formal establishment of the Allard Pierson Museum, the Allard Pierson Foundation acquired several terracotta figurines from Graeco-Roman Egypt. Among these were a series of ten terracottas, among other artefacts, from the Turkish dealer Osman Nouri (in original records often misspelled as 'Noury') Bey based in Cairo, including the first ever artefact the foundation acquired: a caricatural bald male head with floppy ears (cat. no. 376, APM06297). The series further includes several other caricatures, a head of a Ptolemaic princess, two Roman female heads with elaborate coiffures, a toad, and another Menas *ampulla* (APM06220–APM06222, APM06295–APM06296, APM06299–APM06300, APM06302, APM06350). Around the same time, in 1931, a caricatural figurine of a woman kissing a mule (cat. no. 368, APM06225) was obtained from Jacques Aalderink (1892–1973), who had recently established his business in Oriental art and ethnographica on the Spiegelgracht in Amsterdam. Lastly, in 1934, the foundation bought the statuette of a Black African man carrying a basket (cat. no. 337, APM06349) through auction house Frederik Muller & Co., then in the Nieuwe Doelenstraat, Amsterdam.

Since the mid-1960s, R. A. Lunsingh Scheurleer has bought terracottas included in this catalogue from European art dealers, mostly in Paris. The standing figurine of Sarapis (cat. no. 13, APM09446, now lost), for instance, was purchased from Georges N. Krimitzas, who ran an antiques shop in Rue de l'Université, Paris. Four other pieces in this catalogue derive from the Parisian Galerie Serres, founded in 1972 by Jean-Philippe Mariaud de Serres, on Rue Bonaparte. These include a jumping dog (cat. no. 482, APM10243) and a dancing Bes figure with hand drum (cat. no. 73, APM14404).

Galerie à la Reine Margot was established in 1938 at Quai de Conti and specialises in archaeological objects. The doll of a baby boy (cat. no. 314, APM08966) is one of the items that Scheurleer acquired there. The figurine of a male head wearing a helmet (cat. no. 245, APM14400) was purchased from Galerie Samarcande, opened in 1973 by arts and antiquities dealer Joseph Uzan on Rue des Saints-Pères.

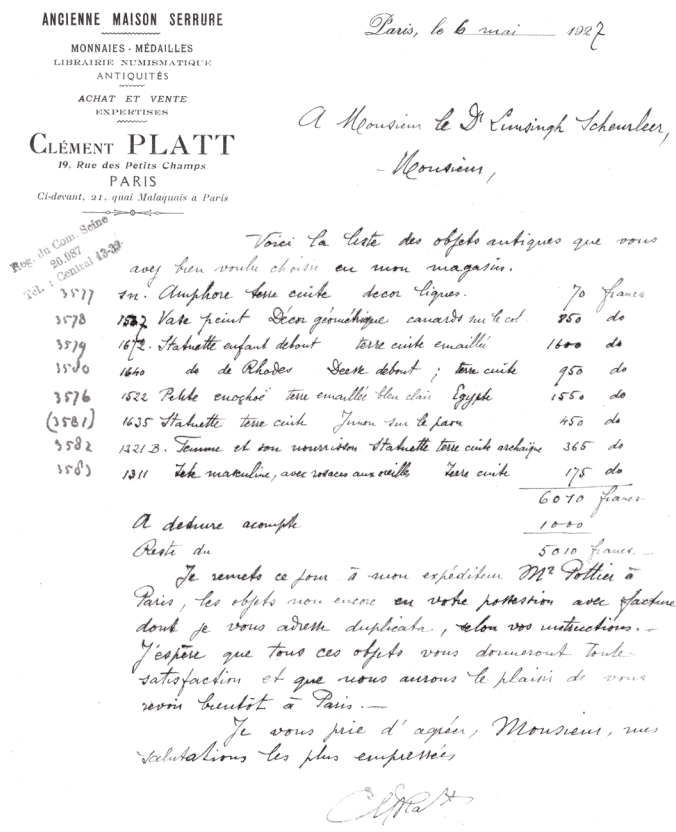


Figure 1.10. Invoice dated 6 May 1927, from Clément Platt to Scheurleer, including the unprovenienced "statuette enfant debout terre cuite émaillé" (photo: Allard Pierson Archive).

An additional piece was purchased from Robert Bellet, who ran stand 145 at the flea market (Marché aux Puces) in the Parisian suburb Saint-Ouen (cat. no. 4, APM13332).

Scheurleer furthermore obtained terracotta figurines through Dutch auction houses such as Paul Brandt (Keizersgracht, Amsterdam) (1883–1952), Henk J. Kouw (Langebrugsteeg, Amsterdam) (1920–2001), and Auke A. Tadema (Heemstede) (1913–1989). In 1995, the stock of art dealer and numismatist Jacques Schulman (Keizersgracht, Amsterdam) (1849–1914) was consigned to Mieke Zilverberg (Amsterdam) and sold at Sotheby's (sale 662, Amsterdam, 27 June 1995; APM13357–APM13360, APM13364–APM13365).

Lastly, the Society of Friends donated the already mentioned Roman caricature with large ears and nose (cat. no. 374, APM13308). This piece was acquired in 1994 from Gallery Dick Meijer, which was established in 1966 on the Keizersgracht in Amsterdam and specialised in archaeological artefacts.

Although the available provenance information proves insightful for understanding the museum's collection history, it should be remembered that about two-thirds of the terracottas in this catalogue have no known provenance beyond the previous owner—be it von Bissing or Scheurleer, Eddé or de Zogheb, or another collector still. The art dealer from whom the objects were purchased, is known for only 156 pieces (less than 30%), with more than half of these attributed to the gallery of Maurice Nahman.

1.3.7. Markings and Labels Found on the Terracottas

A total of 30 terracottas in this catalogue feature markings applied directly to their surfaces, while 23 terracottas bear affixed labels with markings, amounting to 31 labels in total (including two now lost and one removed). This section focuses exclusively on those markings that do not correspond to current or known inventory numbers or publications. Such markings are generally understood to reflect inventory numbers from previous collections, purchase records, or references to exhibitions and catalogues, offering valuable insights into the objects' provenance prior to their entry into the Allard Pierson collection. However, their exact origin and meaning often remain unclear due to gaps in documentation, the loss of archival records, and the wide dispersal of related objects across various institutions and private collections. The purpose of this section is to document and describe the markings and labels as a foundation for further study. Comparative analysis of similar features on terracottas and other artefacts in other archaeological collections, along with archival research, may ultimately help to reconstruct the histories of these objects.

There are eight main types of markings applied directly to the terracotta surfaces, reflecting various documentation practices and writing materials (Figure 1.11). These include: (1) numeric markings in pencil, (2) combined

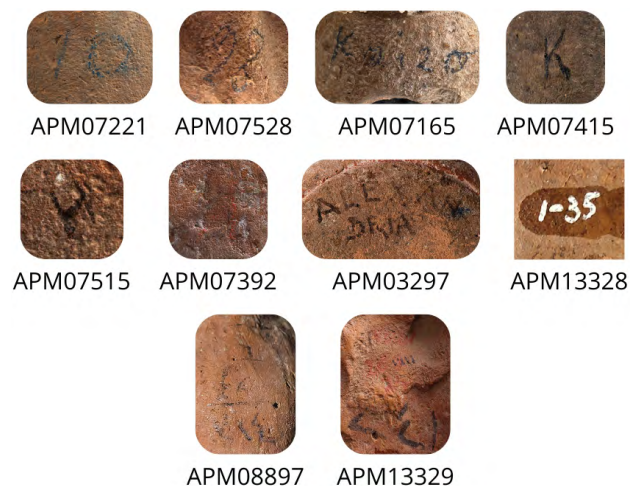


Figure 1.11. Different types of markings found on the terracottas (photos: Allard Pierson, compiled by the editor).

text and numeric markings in pencil, (3) letter markings in black ink, (4) letter markings in red ink, (5) place names written in pencil, (6) white ink markings of the format “I-” followed by a number, (7) price markings (in pounds) accompanied by Arabic script in pencil, and (8) illegible markings, written in pencil, black ink, or red ink. An overview of all catalogued terracottas with these markings is presented in Table 1.1.

Although the meaning of many of these markings, as well as their exact dating, remains (so far) unknown, some general assumptions can be proposed. The letter markings in black ink (type 3) appear on three figurines from Heracleopolis Magna, where the letters “K” and “H” correspond to “House K” and “House H” as noted in the excavation records of the EEF campaign of 1905 led by Petrie. The writing should then be his or that of his assistant (Griffiths?). It is possible that the letter “A” (type 4) on APM07392 may also hint at the object's provenience – possibly Alexandria or an excavation context. The price notation on APM08897 (type 7) offers interesting evidence of the object's valuation during a specific, though yet unidentified, transaction.

There are twelve identifiable types of labels, all featuring numeric markings and, in some cases, additional text, often illegible (Figure 1.12). The labels vary in size, shape, design, and preservation, and the markings on them differ in both writing material and style, including both handwritten and printed elements. They represent different periods of acquisition and documentation. The following section describes these labels in sequence, from the rectangular labels with blue ornaments, to the rounded labels and to the white rectangular ones. An overview of all terracottas with labels is provided in Tables 1.2 and 1.3.

The first label is only partially visible, as in two instances (APM07355, APM07302) only a small part or a few traces of the label remain, while in three other cases (APM07226, APM07310, APM07297) the label is covered by labels of type 2, which are thus clearly of a later date. The first

Table 1.1. Overview of all catalogued terracottas with markings (inventory numbers in bold are shown in Figure 1.11).

Marking Type	Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Provenience	Provenience	Marking
1	7	APM07218	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“3”
1	10	APM07221	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“10”
1	34	APM07244	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“16”
1	41	APM07258	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“30”
1	54	APM07227	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“17”
1	68	APM00201	Egypt	CWLS, Museum of Antiquities, Giza	“20”
1	74	APM07399	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“6”
1	87	APM07182	‘Memphis’	CWLS, Bissing, Nahman	“4”
1	100	APM07172	‘Memphis’	CWLS, Bissing, Nahman	“5”
1	112	APM07371	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“6”
1	118	APM07423	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“21”
1	149	APM07175	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“30”
1	252	APM07162	‘Memphis’	CWLS, Bissing, Nahman	“3”
1	269	APM07300	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“19”
1	299	APM07528	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“28” or “98”
1	325	APM07146	‘Memphis’	CWLS, Bissing, Nahman	“6”
1	333	APM07478	‘Memphis’ or ‘Naucratis’	CWLS, Bissing, Nahman?	“12”
1	347	APM00979	Alexandria	CWLS, Arndt	“6”
2	246	APM07165	‘Memphis’	CWLS, Bissing, Nahman	“Koi[?] 20”
3	17	APM07415	Heracleopolis Magna, ‘House K’	CWLS, Bissing, EEF	“K”
3	223	APM07291	Heracleopolis Magna, ‘House K’	CWLS, Bissing, EEF	“K”
3	458	APM07515	Heracleopolis Magna, ‘House H’	CWLS, Bissing, EEF	“H”
4	293	APM07392	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“A”
5	16	APM03297	‘Alexandria’	CWLS, Wolters	“Alexandria”
6	287	APM13328	Egypt	RALS, Brandt	“I-35”
7	341	APM08897	‘Memphis (Giza)’	Tadema, shop near Pyramid Giza	“£6” with Arabic text
8	207	APM07427	‘Memphis’	CWLS, Bissing, BSAE(?)	[illegible]
8	329	APM07190	‘Memphis’	CWLS, Bissing, Nahman	[illegible]
8	228	APM13329	Egypt	RALS, Kouw	[illegible]
8	382	APM15477	Egypt	Kotting-Menko	[illegible]



Figure 1.12. Different types of labels with markings found on the terracottas (photos: Allard Pierson, compiled by the editor).

label is rectangular, with a decorative border, consisting of two blue lines, the outer line thicker than the inner one. The corners of both the blue lines and the label itself are clipped. Since the centre of the label is consistently covered or damaged, no writing is preserved. All five examples derive from the von Bissing collection, though the labels must date to an earlier period.

The second label type consists of fragments from a larger rectangular label that was cut in (at least) three pieces. The corners are clipped, and the label has a decorative blue border with a geometric pattern. Some pieces have the border on three sides, with one clipped-corner edge and a straight cut on the opposite side, indicating they came from the label’s end. Others have borders on the two short sides with straight cuts on both ends, suggesting they were taken from the middle section of the label. All five labels of this type display a two-digit number in bold, black ink, written in a slightly slanted script. The consistency in handwriting style, ink, and label material across these

Table 1.2. Overview of label types per catalogue number.

Cat. No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Unknown
1	✓	✓											
22						✓							
93						✓							
108							✓						
110				✓									
146		✓											
160										✓			
177			✓										
236		✓				✓							
275	✓	✓											
281	✓	✓											
355			✓										
358			✓										
378								✓					
416	✓												
417					✓								
421													✓
459													✓
471												✓	
475	✓												
497				✓	✓						✓		
502				✓									
516							✓		✓	✓			

examples suggests that they belonged to a single, original, labelling system. The numbers cannot be linked to any known inventory number or publication and clearly predate their association with the von Bissing collection.

The third label is rectangular with a decorative blue border featuring a double-lined frame and perforated stamp-like edges. It appears on three terracottas and displays an older inventory number, consisting of four digits preceded by the letter “D”, and Arabic text in red ink. These terracottas were purchased from Noury in Cairo in 1931, though it remains uncertain if the labels were originally his, as the other six terracottas purchased from Noury at the same time lack such labels (APM06295–APM06297, APM06299–APM06300, APM06350). The consistency in writing style, ink, and label material again suggests that they belonged to a single original labelling system.

The fourth label is similarly rectangular with a perforated edge and a double-lined blue frame with

small repeating geometric patterns. One example features the number “18” in pencil (APM01837), which is linked to the terracotta’s purchase from the art dealer Arndt in 1921. The purchase list recorded this specific terracotta as number 18 with the description “Oberteil einer Kinderstatuette mit lockigem Haar” (Figure 1.13). Three other terracottas (not included in this catalogue) from the same purchase carry identical labels, each marked with their respective purchase number: 13 (APM01832), 14 (APM01833), and 15 (APM03257). While faded and now illegible text is present on these labels, it is unclear whether they or the labels themselves originated from Arndt. It is possible that the label itself was already attached before their acquisition by Arndt, pointing to a shared previous provenance for these four objects. Notably, the pencil-written purchase numbers, such as “18”, were likely added retrospectively and do not appear to date to the same moment as the original application of the discussed label. Five of the terracottas in this catalogue originate from Arndt. Only one of

Table 1.3. Overview of all catalogued terracottas with labels (inventory numbers in bold are shown in Figure 1.12).

Label Type	Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Provenience	Provenance	Marking
1	416	APM07302	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	(only traces of label preserved)
1	475	APM07355	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	(only part of label preserved)
1, 2	1	APM07226	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	[unknown], “82”
1, 2	275	APM07310	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	[unknown], “68”
1, 2	281	APM07297	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	[unknown], “92”
2	146	APM07482	Memphis(?)	CWLS, Bissing	“69”
2, 6	236	APM07472	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“15” or “55”, “161” [“759” crossed out]
3	177	APM06302	Egypt	APS, Noury	“D” with illegible number and two lines of illegible Arabic text
3	355	APM06222	Egypt	APS, Noury	“D2549” with two lines of Arabic text
3	358	APM06221	Egypt	APS, Noury	“D2553” with Arabic text (label removed)
4	110	APM01837	Egypt	CWLS, Arndt	“18” with illegible text in pencil
4	502	APM14141.001	Unknown	CWLS, GM DH, Arndt	“725” in pencil
4, 5, 11	497	APM14141.003	Unknown	CWLS, GM DH	“1809” in red, “355” in pencil, and “4774” in black; [unknown in pencil]; “333” stamped
5	417	APM07308	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“I, 15c”
6	22	APM07475	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“I, 16 ^b ”
6	93	APM07290	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“104”
7	108	APM01985	Egypt	CWLS, Spink & Son, ex MacGregor	(only part of label preserved)
8	378	APM14403	Egypt	RALS, Mariaud de Serres	“A598”
9, 7, 10	516	APM03310	Alexandria?	Schulman	“63” (only the label outline and some remnants of the other two labels remains)
10	160	APM14068	Egypt	CWLS, GM DH	“56”
12	471	APM00986	Alexandria	CWLS, Drouot, ex de Zogheb	“962”
Unknown	421	APM07304	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“I 7a” (now lost)
Unknown	459	APM07522	Egypt	CWLS, Bissing	“I 29” (label lost)

them bears the discussed label with a reference to the purchase list. Another one (APM00979), also bought in 1921, is marked with “6” written in pencil directly on the object. However, this number does not correspond to the purchase list. Two braziers in this catalogue also carry this label type, but the labels show a three-digit number in pencil in the same handwriting style (APM14141.001 and APM14141.003). One of them is said to originate from Arndt. The label on the other brazier also features an extra four-digit number written in black ink, that corresponds to the CWLS inventory number, and there is also a faded number in red below the three-digit number. These discrepancies strengthen the likelihood that the

label predates Arndt’s ownership and that it was reused or repurposed in the context of later acquisitions. The original numbering system associated with this label type remains uncertain.

The fifth label is a rectangular label with clipped corners and a double-lined blue border decorated with a row of small, adjacent circles on the inside. Its centre includes two blue horizontal lines for writing, starting with a stylized, printed “N^e.” This label appears on two terracottas: on one, it is partially cut and inscribed with “I 15^e” in black ink; on the other, the writing in pencil is obscured, as the label is partially covered by a later addition (type 11).

Arndt 1921	Blatt	Arndt 1921	Arndt 1921
1 1821	Bustafes Terrakotta Andron	200	
2 1822	Fingerring (1) Stein	200	
3 1823	Kopfbild aus Stein	250	
4 1824	Kopfbild aus Stein	50	
5 1825	Kopfbild aus Stein	20	
6 1826	Kopfbild aus Stein	60	
7 1827	Kopfbild aus Stein	20	
8 1828	Kopfbild aus Stein	40	
9 1829	Kopfbild aus Stein	50	
10 1830	Kopfbild aus Stein	30	
11 1831	Kopfbild aus Stein	10	
12 1832	Kopfbild aus Stein	30	
13 1833	Kopfbild aus Stein	10	
14 1834	Kopfbild aus Stein	10	
15 1835	Kopfbild aus Stein	20	
16 1836	Kopfbild aus Stein	10	
17 1837	Kopfbild aus Stein	30	
18 1838	Kopfbild aus Stein	50	
19 1839	Kopfbild aus Stein	50	
20 1840	Kopfbild aus Stein	20	
21 1841	Kopfbild aus Stein	50	
22 1842	Kopfbild aus Stein	50	

Figure 1.13. Purchase receipt from Arndt, 1921 (photo: Allard Pierson Archive).

The sixth label is round with jagged edges and significantly larger than the others. It bears handwriting in thin black ink, with a three-digit number on two instances and the marking “I, 16^b” on one. One terracotta (APM07472) carries both this label and a label of the second type. All three examples derive from von Bissing, though the label and marking most certainly belonged to a previous owner. Notably, the markings “I 15c” and “I, 16^b”, although written on different label types (type 5 and 6), are similar in format and likely reflect the same numbering system. The partly preserved label of Eros playing the lute (APM01985), ex MacGregor collection, is similar in style, but has larger jagged edges. It is, therefore, described as a separate label, type 7. Traces of such label are also found on APM03310.

The following five label types are each represented by a single example in this catalogue. Type 8 is a round white label with an underlined “A” and a three-digit number in thick black ink. Label type 9 is similar but carries a two-digit number in blue ink. Type 10 is a large rectangular label with a two-digit number in calligraphic handwriting in black ink. Type 11 is a rectangular label featuring a printed three-digit number in a decorative font with curled terminals, while type 12 has a printed three-digit number in a simpler font style.

Two labels are now lost and, aside from their recorded markings, which are very similar in style to the ones on

APM07308 (type 5) and APM07475 (type 6), their exact appearance remains unknown. The loss or intentional removal of labels highlights another challenge in reconstructing the provenance of these objects. In total, 53 terracottas in this catalogue bear a marking – either applied directly to their surfaces or on an attached label – that does not correspond to known inventory numbers or publications, with several objects featuring more than one over time. As demonstrated, the range of formats, styles, and materials attests to a considerable diversity in documentation practices. While gaps in archival records and the wide dispersal of related objects continue to pose challenges, the systematic recording and publication of these features – ideally supported by photographs – provides essential groundwork for future research. Through comparative analysis and collaborative efforts across collections, these traces have the potential to recover the provenance and collecting histories of the terracottas.

Literature

Guichard and Bridonneau 2019; D. S. Bennett 2023.

1.4. Provenience

The terracottas in this catalogue are presumed to have been either manufactured in or found in Egypt. As most of the objects were acquired through the art market rather than through controlled archaeological excavations, approximately seventy percent of the pieces now in Amsterdam lack a precise provenience. In fact, Greek and Roman terracottas from Egypt with a documented provenience are rare—in other collections as well. Where known, presumed, or suggested, a more specific place is named per entry. (We employ ancient city names, rather than modern Arabic names; for sites of provenience, see Table 1.4.)

The terms “provenience” and “provenance” are used to differentiate between the location where an artefact was unearthed (the findspot) and the history of its ownership or acquisition respectively. In practice, however, even in instances where it is known where an item was (allegedly) found and acquired, this differentiation may be artificial. Terracottas bought in Alexandria or Cairo were likely found there as well.

Both F. W. von Bissing and C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer did acquire artefacts—many of which are now housed in Amsterdam—through excavations directed by Prof. Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie, FRS (1853–1942). These excavations were carried out under the aegis of the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF), and later the British School of Archaeology in Egypt (BSAE). The former was founded in 1882 and, after the Great War, renamed the Egypt Exploration Society (from 1919). The latter, founded by Petrie himself in 1905 to fund his excavations, was dissolved in 1954. He conducted excavations in Egypt from 1880 until 1925, after which he turned his attention to Palestine. Meanwhile, in 1893, Petrie was

Table 1.4. Table of provenience.

<p>Lower Egypt</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alexandria - Nile Delta <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - incl. Pelusium - Naucratis - Memphis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - incl. mod. Mit Rahina & Giza <p>Upper Egypt</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arsinoite nome (mod. Faiyum) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - incl. Crocodilopolis (mod. Hawara) - Heracleopolis Magna (mod. Ihnasiya) - Oxyrhynchus (mod. Bahnasa) - Hermopolis (mod. Ashmunin) - Thebes (mod. Luxor)

appointed Edwards Professor of Egyptian Archaeology and Philology at University College London. About two dozen terracottas in this catalogue derive from EEF or BSAE excavations. (When Petrie attributed artefacts to “Munich” in his BSAE publications these were sent to von Bissing, who was resident of that town from 1901 to 1922.)

1.4.1. Lower Egypt

Memphis and Thebes have been capitals of Egypt in succession throughout much of Pharaonic history. During the Late Period, Sais was the capital of the 26th and 28th Dynasties (resp. 672–525 and 404–398 BCE), while the 29th Dynasty briefly ruled from Mendes (398–380 BCE). Memphis was, however, the Egyptian administrative centre during the two periods of Persian dominance (resp. 525–404 and 343–332 BCE). During the last rule of native independence of the 30th Dynasty (303–343 BCE), Memphis became the country’s capital again. After Alexander occupied Egypt, the Argeads retained Memphis as satrapal headquarters as the Persians had done before them. The ruins of Memphis are located near the present-day town of Mit Rahina, just southwest across the Nile from Cairo. In Egyptian, the chief temple of Ptah was called *Hut-ka-Ptah* (*Hwt-kꜣ-Pth*, “the enclosure of the soul of Ptah”), from which the Greeks may have derived *Aigyptos* (Αἴγυπτος).

About eighty or ninety of the Egyptian terracottas that Scheurleer acquired from the collection of von Bissing were allegedly found near Mit Rahina. The inventory states that most of these were purchased from Nahman, who apparently claimed that the majority belonged to a single find. In 1902, Scheurleer had also purchased figurines from the same dealer that are said to derive from Memphis. Whether Nahman’s finds were clandestine or unearthed through regular excavations cannot be determined. According to the Scheurleer inventory from 1902, a separate group of Memphite terracottas (within

the inv. nos. range APM07188–7201) belong to the same find as the early-Hellenistic stone models for helmets and for a Ptolemaic shield (APM07864–7867, APM07879, APM07944), which von Bissing acquired from Nahman in April of 1902. One of the Memphite heads in the museum (cat. no. 181, APM08963) derives from the Fouquet collection that has been dispersed to various collections since the auction in 1922.

Terracottas from Memphis are best known from the examples obtained by Petrie, who conducted excavations at the site from 1907 to 1912 (*cf.*, the head of Isis-Hathor, cat. no. 3, APM07219). As a whole, these Memphite specimens are a very diverse lot. Three heads are linked with the Achaemenid court style and represent rare testimonies of the Persian dominance in Egypt. Most of the Memphite terracottas—in this catalogue and in general—are artistically unremarkable. Their manufacture is crude; they tend to be solid; they often have handmade details such as ears that were separately affixed; and are usually covered in a white or pinkish wash. About a dozen or more can be dated to the Late Period, *viz.* the time of Saite and Persian rule. A substantial group of nearly seventy figurines belong to the Hellenistic style and together are an indication of Graeco-Macedonian presence in the capital. Some are of exquisite artistic quality and testify to the eminence of Memphis as an important centre of (early) Hellenistic culture.

Southwest from central Cairo, along the west bank of the Nile, lies the Giza district (variously spelled el-Gīza, Gizeh, etc.), the site of the Great Pyramids. Upon his visit in 1902, Scheurleer acquired an image of Bes with shield and sword (cat. no. 68, APM00201) at the Museum of Antiquities in Giza, the predecessor of the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities on Tahrir Square in Cairo. A bust of a Black African man (cat. no. 341, APM08897), bought from Tadema, is said to have been purchased in a shop near the pyramid at Giza. Some of the phallophoric processions in Amsterdam (cat. nos. 63, 216–218; APM13135, APM07277, APM07270–APM07271) come perhaps from the Bes chambers at Saqqara, the Memphite necropolis. Similar groups have been found in great quantities there. This information, however, is unattested for the Amsterdam examples.

In the Hellenistic period and the Roman Imperial age, the Egyptian capital was Alexandria, named for its founder Alexander the Great and situated strategically on the isthmus above Lake Mareotis (mod. Mariout) on the southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. The Allard Pierson collection includes some twenty terracottas that can be reasonably attributed to Alexandria. Among these are possible portrait heads of Berenice II and Arsinoe III (cat. nos. 200–201; APM14157, APM00940), as well as the superb statuette of a standing actor in the role of “The Clever Slave”, which derives from the von Bissing collection (cat. no. 260, APM07134). During his stay in Egypt in 1902, Scheurleer obtained two terracotta braziers from the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria (cat. nos.

496, 499; APM00102, APM00106). Most, if not all, of the artefacts Scheurleer acquired in 1911 and 1912 through the Hôtel Drouot from the Eddé and de Zogheb collections likewise derive from Alexandria.

Long before the conquest of Alexander the Great, the Greek colony Naucratis was settled by the Milesians on

the Canopic branch of the Nile (*ca.* 615 BCE). (The exact date is unknown; ancient reports range from 749 to 560 BCE; before 600 BCE seems more likely on archaeological grounds.) The site was rediscovered by Petrie in 1884. Regarding the terracottas encountered during the first year of excavations he reported the following (also see Figure 1.14):



Figure 1.14. Terracotta heads allegedly “found” in Naucratis (photo: Petrie 1886, pl. 15).

The terra-cotta heads found at Naukratis cover a large field, ranging from the sixth century to Roman times. How many of them were brought from Asia Minor and Greece, and how many may be native, we cannot yet say. ... Individual comment on these is needless, they tell their own story and age by their appearance, and not by any details of their finding, as all of them were brought to me by Arabs without any history. – Petrie 1886, 41, §47.

The museum owns a small group of about seven terracottas that come from Naukratis. Some of these by all evidence were imported from abroad and belong to the earliest examples in this catalogue (e.g., cat. nos. 399, 401; APM07474, APM07476). Naukratic terracottas could also resemble Memphite specimens; others are likely of local manufacture. Hellenistic heads from Naukratis tend to be similar to those from Alexandria. Where von Bissing obtained these pieces can no longer be uncovered.

Just a few other terracottas in the Allard Pierson collection can be attributed to the Nile Delta region. According to the inventory, the lamp handle decorated with a horse's head (cat. no. 505, APM04578), which Scheurleer received in 1931 from Theo Heyligers, was found in Pelusium, the eastern border fortress, by the latter's father, J. C. Th. Heyligers (1850–1920). The graceful female statuette in Tanagra tradition (cat. no. 320, APM07204) was unearthed in a “grave in the Delta” (Rubensohn 1902, 187). It may well have been manufactured in Alexandria. The late-Hellenistic sculpted vase with the bust of Isis (cat. no. 11, APM07275) is also said to be from the Delta, without elaboration about its findspot. In style, it is indistinguishable from Alexandrian vases.

1.4.2. Upper Egypt

Ancient Thebes in Upper Egypt had been the country's capital in earlier times – and was for long the second largest city, until Alexandria surpassed both Memphis and Thebes in population size. Located to the south of the so-called Qena Bend in the Nile, at the site of the modern city of Luxor—across the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens—Thebes was known in Egyptian as Waset (*W3s.t*), “City of the Sceptre” and later Niut-Amen (*Niw.t-Imn*), “City of Amun”. This catalogue includes three Graeco-Roman terracottas from Thebes: a squatting Harpocrates (cat. no. 59, APM07269) derives from the collection of von Bissing; a head of a smiling child (cat. no. 434, APM00965) originally comes from the C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer collection; and a nude female torso (cat. no. 285, APM08894) once belonged to the Tadema collection.

Along Lake Moëris (approximately mod. Birket Qarun), at a natural offshoot of the Nile, an oasis has flourished since prehistoric times, now known as Faiyum (also spelled el-Fayyūm, Fayoum, etc.; via Coptic, from Egyptian *P3-im*, Pa-im, “The Lake”). A large part of the lake was reclaimed in the early-Hellenistic period and a district was

settled there named Arsinoe after the sister and wife of Ptolemy II. Although the oasis area had been inhabited for millennia, most artefacts from the Arsinoite *nome* date to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods of occupation. Seven of the objects in this catalogue were excavated during the BSAE campaign of 1911 in Crocodilopolis, the capital of the XXIth nome of Upper Egypt. Petrie writes that “to the north-east of the pyramid” of Amenemhat III (ca. 1860-ca. 1815 BCE) in the city's necropolis (mod. Hawara):

... a group of coloured pottery figures was found in a surface chamber. The mask and the bull were only white and black; but the three different figures of Horus, 18, 19, 20, were fully coloured, as also the Atys 21, and bouquet wand 22. The limbs of the Atys and the bouquet are of plaster. (Munich) – Petrie 1911, 20, §44.

The figures in question are in fact three Harpocrates statuettes (cat. nos. 26, 31–32; APM07224–APM07225, APM07229), a standing Eros (cat. no. 111, APM07364), a standing ox (cat. no. 446, APM07461), and the miniature theatre mask (cat. no. 270, APM07379). “Munich” here refers to the city of von Bissing's abode (i.e., inv. nos. T. 1704, T. 1705, T. 1708). The whereabouts of the “bouquet wand” is not known.

Four more terracottas in the museum collection are attributed to the Faiyum, where it remains uncertain if that means the city, ancient Crocodilopolis, or region of the oasis, ancient Arsinoites. This applies for example to the vase of a squatting Black African boy (cat. no. 339, APM00685). None of the objects in this catalogue have a reported provenience from Karanis (cf. Allen 1985).

Another seven pieces stem from the EEF campaign of 1905 in Heracleopolis Magna, the capital of the XXth nome of Upper Egypt (mod. Ihnasiya Umm al-Kimam; variously spelled Ehnasya). These include, i.a., a priest of Thoth (cat. no. 223, APM07291), three Ibis figures (cat. nos. 456–458; APM07350, APM07526, APM07515) and a falcon mummy (cat. no. 455, APM07279). Scheurleer received about a hundred objects from Petrie's BSAE excavation campaigns in 1921/1922. Among these were four terracottas from Oxyrhynchus (mod. el-Bahnasa), the capital of XIXth nome of Upper Egypt. Earlier, von Bissing had obtained a camel figurine (cat. no. 472; von Bissing inv. no. T. 253; APM07349) from the same site, possibly originating from the EEF excavation of 1895/1896, when Egyptologist Bernard Pyne Grenfell (1869–1926) had taken part in the archaeological dig with papyrologist Arthur Surridge Hunt (1871–1934).

Artefacts found at Antinopolis (also called Antinoë; Greek: Ἀντινόου πόλις; Coptic: Ansena; modern: Sheikh ‘Ibada) serve to date comparable objects. For, the city was established at an oracular site of Besa (opposite Hermopolis Magna), by emperor Hadrian near the place of his intimate friend Antinous' drowning in 130 CE. Although there are no terracottas in Amsterdam that could be attributed to Antinopolis, we will have occasion to refer

to Dunand's publication of pieces now in the Louvre from this site.

Lastly, a few terracottas have been included in this catalogue, despite having been obtained outside Egypt, but whose material, style and/or theme would seem to point to an Egyptian origin. These include a Bes figure from Crete (cat. no. 84, APM00358, now missing), an image of Marsyas (cat. no. 128, APM00937) and a sponger character (cat. no. 367, APM00773) both from Cyprus. Three pieces of the Schneider collection were brought from the Near East—*viz.*, a bust of Sarapis-Ammon from Ashdod (cat. no. 15, APM00421), a wreathed head of Harpocrates from Ascalon (cat. no. 52, APM00404), and a head wearing the Egyptian double crown also from Ascalon or from Gaza (cat. no. 55, APM00422). Finally, also included is a late Roman Aphrodite Anadyomene probably from Tunisia (cat. no. 96, APM12552), which may be a local variant of the type, or imported from Egypt.

Literature

Petrie 1886; *id.* 1888a–b; *id.* 1889; *id.* 1890; Grenfell, Surridge Hunt and Hogarth 1900; Petrie 1905; *id.* 1909a–b; *id.* 1910; *id.* 1911; *id.* 1912; Scheurleer 1974a; Moorey 1980, 134; Bayer-Niemeier 1988, esp. nos. 554–562; R. S. Bagnall in Walker and Bierbrier (eds.) 1997, 17–20; D. J. Thompson 2012.

1.5. Material and Technique

The manufacture of baked earthenware figures was an inexpensive production process, allowing for the creation of objects accessible to a wide public. These figures could be made of either local or imported clay, cast from moulds or sometimes (additionally) modelled by hand, painted in various shades, and sold for religious or decorative purposes. Although not an insignificant town, if the ceramic production in Hellenistic Athribis is any indication, workshops producing terracottas must have existed in most, if not all, major urban and chief district centres. Artisans may even have set up temporary shops near main temples during popular festivals. Still, little is known about local production centres, although regional and chronological stylistic variations can incidentally be recognized. A general comparative overview would certainly advance scholarship in the field. The following discussion of the material and techniques of coroplastic production may therefore prove beneficial to the interested reader.

1.5.1. Clay

In addition to their Egyptian origin, the defining feature shared by all the objects in this catalogue is their material: fine-grained sedimentary minerals—*viz.*, clay. Many of the pieces described in this catalogue are of the characteristic reddish-brown colour commonly associated with the term “terracotta”; others, however, range from light beige to dark brown. The grain ranges from fine to coarse. While the material is typically assumed to be Nile silt, clay could

and was also imported from abroad. Variations in colour and structure may therefore indicate foreign origins, which nonetheless cannot be used as conclusive evidence for the place of manufacture.

Statuettes produced in Alexandria, for instance, may not have been made of local clay. The clay of Memphite terracottas tends to be of fine grain and beige to light brown in colour. Pieces dated to the second and third centuries CE frequently have an oily, chocolate-brown tan. Late Antique terracottas are regularly made from a coarser and stronger reddish clay. These differences in structure and colour of the clay are largely determined by the combination of minerals, metal oxides and organic matter. Clay minerals from sedimentary rocks (*e.g.*, sandstone, siltstone, or mudrock) generally include finely weathered feldspar. Future chemical analysis of mineral compounds in terracotta artefacts could contribute significantly to our understanding of their origin, manufacture, and dating.

Discolouration of natural clay first occurs during the firing process, as is often evidenced by the difference in colour between the surface and the core, which (when visible) is often greyish to black. That is to say, the degree and duration of firing also influences the final colour of the baked clay. Subsequent repeated reheating, for instance in the case of coal-basins (braziers) or oil lamps, will significantly redden the material. Centuries of erosion, oxidation, incrustation, and other forms of weathering or decay may further alter the colour of terracottas.

The clay of Egyptian terracottas as a rule includes flakes of mica, a crystalline silicate mineral that gives a silvery or golden shine. Occasionally, we observe clear (translucent) inclusions that would appear to be quartz. Moreover, clay could be tempered with various materials. In the catalogue, we note gypsum inclusions, traces of (often burnt) bits of straw, and even ground seashells. At times, the clay contained other particles of light to dark grey to brown colour. Perhaps these inclusions are naturally occurring minerals, metal oxides, sand grains (for tempering), or pigment traces (for colouring).

Literature

H. B. Walters 1903, XXII–XIII; Weber 1914, 4–7; Farnsworth 1964; R. A. Higgins 1967, 1; Bayer-Niemeier 1988, 13–16; Besques 1992, 96; Pingiatoglou 1993, 13–14; Ballet 1995, 260–261; Török 1995, 17–19; Burn and Higgins 2001, 22–25, n. 28; Bailey 2008, 5–6; Hunt (ed.) 2016.

1.5.2. Moulding and Modelling

Whether fashioned in Memphis, Alexandria, the Faiyum or in workshops elsewhere along the Nile, nearly all the Egyptian terracottas now in Amsterdam were made with the use of moulds. By far the most common process involved two moulds: one detailed mould for casting the front, and

a second, generally unworked or only summarily treated, mould for the back. In the catalogue, the indication “front and back moulded” is applied only when the back displays at least some cast detail. In some cases, more than two moulds were used. Occasionally, instead of the traditional front and back moulding, two moulds were used to shape the sides. In rare cases, only a single mould was used, leaving the back either flattened or fashioned from a slab of clay added by hand. The objects are usually hollow and their base—if present—open underneath.

When more than one mould was used, the individual parts would leave joins that were normally retouched with a flat modelling tool (likely a small knife or spatula). This retouching was hardly done with an eye for aesthetic perfection. In most cases, the joining was done rather hastily and clumsily. This carelessness alone is a good indicator of the time-is-money efficiency and the commercial nature that drove the terracotta industry. After joining the halves or parts, the excess clay would be removed, and detailing could be applied with a sharp modelling tool (such as a spatula or reed). This additional modelling could simply be done to restore or emphasise details that became lost in worn moulds. On Hellenistic coroplastics, such detailed modelling could transform the statuettes into works of art of exceptional quality.

The moulds themselves could be made from clay, as evinced by the mould for a winged female figure (cat. no. 169, APM07547). However, in Egypt, moulds made of plaster were the standard (*cf.* APM07125, APM07262, APM07547). Pockets of air in plaster moulds could burst during drying, leaving bubbles in the surface of the cast when the clay was baked. A large find of plaster moulds, apparently found in Memphis and now in the Cairo Museum, enabled C. C. Edgar to publish his observations on the techniques employed. Some of these moulds have external channels, designed for pouring in a liquid substance, and therefore suggesting they were used for metal casting. Other moulds, lacking such channels, were used for casting objects in terracotta, stucco and/or faience—for, it is evident that the same (type of) mould could be used for different plastic materials that harden when dried or heated. Several stucco and faience figurines in Amsterdam unmistakably belong to the same coroplastic tradition as the terracottas (for example a Venus fastening her *strophium*, APM02965; or a head of Harpocrates crowned with a *pschent*; APM11454). In some instances, the moulds seem to have been taken from a bronze original.

Literature

Edgar 1903, vi–xvii; H. B. Walters 1903, XXIII; Weber 1914, 8–10; R. A. Higgins 1954, 3–6; van Wijngaarden 1958, VII; R. A. Higgins 1967, 1–5; Philipp 1972, 6–7; Scheurleer 1975a, 22; Leyenaar-Plaisier 1986, 4–6; Bayer-Niemeier 1988, 13–16; Dunand 1990, 7–8; Pingiatoglou 1993, 14–15; Fischer 1994, 19–27; Fjeldhagen 1995, 11–13; Bailey 2008, 5–6; R. I. Thomas 2019, 183–189.

1.5.3. Further Aspects

Uncommonly, a mixed technique combining clay and plaster was employed. This is the case with the Eros statuette standing next to a lamp (cat. no. 111, APM07364). Here, the body of the figure and the lamp were fashioned from clay, while the wings and arms were made from plaster and affixed separately after firing. That these details in plaster were not added in modern times is certain, as the figure was excavated at Hawara (ancient Crocodilopolis) by Petrie, who already noted the uncommon mixed technique (and called the figure Atys on account of his “Phrygian” cap).

Regardless of whether they were functionally necessary or not, vent-holes appear infrequently on the back of figures. When present, they tend to be small and round, about the diameter of a finger. Fingers could and were used to pierce the clay. In the case of cat. no. 188 (APM07199), a dented impression is clearly left by the artisan’s finger. Usually, the hole was cut with a sharp instrument (such as a knife). Seldom is the vent large or square-shaped, as seen on terracottas from Boeotia.

Especially when the interior is visible (due to damage), fingerprints can, in a few rare instances, be observed. At times, they appear too small for adult hands, which tempts the interpretation that children may have been employed—perhaps in family-run workshops. Although doubtless time-consuming, it may prove beneficial to pursue this line of investigation and compare fingerprints to link pieces to their manufacturers, even if such information may be insufficient for identifying workshops or establishing provenience. Leonie Hoff’s recent study on terracotta figurines from Thonis-Heracleion, dated to the Late and Ptolemaic periods (7th–2nd century BCE), analysed fingerprints to reveal that men, women, and children participated in their production across Egypt and Greece. The findings suggest a shared workload, possibly within families, with a greater presence of women in Egyptian workshops. Differences in fingerprint placement indicate that children were assigned simpler tasks as part of their training. Another recent dermatoglyphic analysis of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic clay figurines from Lahun (*ca.* 1800–1700 BCE), carried out by Vanessa Forte and Gianluca Miniaci, also suggests that children participated in their production to a limited degree. Notably, children’s fingerprints were primarily found on the zoomorphic figurines, which required fewer steps to create. The study further identified a high number of production chains, reflecting significant stylistic and technological variability, as well as multiple skill levels among the artisans.

Terracottas were dried and then fired. Excavations since 1985 at Tell Atrib (ancient Athribis), north of Cairo along the Tanitic branch of the Nile, have brought numerous mudbrick kilns to light. These ovens reveal an active centre of ceramic production in four differentiated strata, dating from the fourth century BCE to the first century CE, used

for manufacturing vases, figurines, and oil lamps. Unfired pottery, hand-modelled heads, worn clay and plaster moulds, and stamps were found in the vicinity of the workshops. Great quantities of erotic statuettes of various kinds have been unearthed around a bathhouse dating to the reign of Ptolemy VI (early 2nd cent. BCE). Fragments of marble statues that exhibit the same artistic quality as some of the early Ptolemaic terracottas point to a common tradition for the sculptural and coroplastic works.

Once moulded and baked, the front of virtually all terracottas was dipped into a fluid mass of white limewash. (This undercoat was tested as calcite with minor quartz inclusions, *i.e.*, calcium carbonate won from limestone quarries; BM Department of Scientific Research Report 7048, 10 May 1999.) Undressed parts, not intended to be covered by the wash, may show traces of the dripping liquid lime (*e.g.*, the shield, cat. no. 251, APM07132). This coating can form an unsightly, thick layer of gum-like substance of as much as 4 or 5 mm, which obscures much of the finer modelling. One of the more sharply detailed and intact statuettes, the young woman pursued by a dog (cat. no. 308, APM07156), offers an example of such gummy *engobe*. (Traces of limewash are not consistently mentioned in the catalogue.) Art dealers sometimes remove the limewash—using acid, lime, or vinegar—to better reveal the terracotta modelling and render the figurine more appealing and, thus, increase its commercial value.

Terracotta figurines from Egypt with a signature are scarce. A study by Georges Nachtergaele resulted in fewer than one name per 200 terracottas (under 5%). Among the 523 pieces in this catalogue, only one single statuette (a Standing Bacchic Actor, cat. no. 266, APM07403) is inscribed with a name, *viz.* Hermōnos (under 2%). Additionally, four braziers in the museum collection bear the name Hecataeus, well-known from a workshop at Cnidus (cat. nos. 498–501). The names are normally theophoric Greek. However, names are incidentally an unreliable indication for ethnicity as native Egyptians are known to have adopted Greek or Roman names—and intermarriage regularly would have resulted in offspring of mixed backgrounds. Moreover, names on terracottas likely refer to the owner of the workshop rather than the artist who created the prototype from which the pieces were cast.

Literature

Edgar 1903, XIII–XVII; H. B. Walters 1903, XXIV–XXVI; van Wijngaarden 1958, VII; Leyenaar-Plaisier 1986, 4; Bayer-Niemeier 1988, 13–57; Nachtergaele 1994; Myśliwiec and Południkiewicz 2003; Ashton 2016, 71–88; Lichtenberger and Moran 2018; Forte and Miniaci 2023; Muller 2023; Hoff 2024.

1.5.4. Painted Decoration

After firing and subsequent cooling, colours were applied with a brush. Very few terracottas have preserved their

original painted decoration. Their current faded, and often blank, appearance renders their once vivid polychrome surfaces barely comprehensible today. The loss of colour likely began already in antiquity through wear and weathering. Over the centuries, prolonged exposure to light, air, soil, and/or water further deteriorated the painted details. Since their discovery in modern times, the decoration of the terracottas has suffered further deterioration, with their condition worsening over time. Even careful handling causes loss of paint and museum lighting is not friendly to terracottas. This situation is no different in Amsterdam, despite the climate control in place at the Allard Pierson. At times, comparison with the old Scheurleer inventory makes painfully clear how much pigment has disappeared over the course of a century.

Colouring was an essential part of the production process that greatly increased their commercial value. Ancient buyers expected a rich display of polychromy. When carelessness or the ravages of time have failed to erase the surface decoration, a few well-preserved pieces still offer a glimpse of their intended appearance. Particularly noteworthy examples in Amsterdam include two Harpocrates figures (cat. nos. 31–32; APM07225, APM07229), an Eros figure (cat. no. 111, APM07364), a seated *orante* (cat. no. 232; APM07470), the late-Roman rider on horseback (cat. no. 250, APM07463), the theatrical mask from Hawara (cat. no. 270; APM07379), a dancing boy (cat. no. 278, APM03579), and the reclining sacred bull (cat. no. 444, APM07289).

Where paint or pigment, or just a few traces, remain visible on statuettes of human figures, some general observations can be made. Bodies could be painted white or pink, or occasionally red, brown, or yellow. Black was added for details in the face, such as eyebrows, eyes, and pupils. Hair could also be painted black, or brown. Elements of the garment could be indicated in black, while other colours used included various shades of pink, red, brown, yellow, blue, and green. In some cases, the background was also decorated. Whenever visible to the naked eye, such details of colours are noted in the catalogue entries.

In one of the graves excavated by Petrie in the cemetery of Hawara, a set of six pottery cups was found, containing water-soluble paint pigments datable to the first century CE (Figure 1.15). The colours can be described as follows: so-called Egyptian blue (copper calcium silicate); ochre or amber yellow (jarosite, or iron sulfite); orange or vermilion (minium, or lead tetroxide); dark red-brown or burnt sienna (hematite, or iron oxide); pink (rose madder dye mixed with gypsum); and white (lime, or calcium sulphate). The cups are now held in the British Museum (BM, inv. nos. 1888,0920.22–28). Although the grave's owner may have been a fresco painter, these pigments correspond well with those used on the Egyptian terracotta figurines. Similar pigment sets have been found in Pompeii. It is thought that orange was not known in Egypt before contact with the Romans. Nonetheless, orange (or a faded vermilion) does appear—though rarely—on terracottas in



Figure 1.15. Six pottery cups containing paint pigments belonging to a fresco painter; found in the painter's grave on the cemetery of Hawara; British Museum, inv. no. 1888,0920.23-28 (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum).

Amsterdam. Examples include a figure of a priest (cat. no. 220, APM07285), a bust of a Black African woman (cat. no. 351, APM07495), a female head belonging to a flask (cat. no. 409, APM07176), and a standing horse (cat. no. 477, APM07466).

Literature

Petrie 1889, 11; H. B. Walters 1903, XXIV–XXV; Weber 1914, 7–8; R. A. Higgins 1954, 7; van Wijngaarden 1958, VII; R. A. Higgins 1967, 3–5; Bayer-Niemeier 1988, 16; Dunand 1990, 8; Pingiatoglou 1993, 15; Nenna and Seif el Din 1994; Fjeldhagen 1995, 12–13, fig. 4; Walker and Bierbrier (eds.) 1997, no. 278; Burn and Higgins 2001, 313–315; Bailey 2008, 6.

1.5.5. Condition and Restoration

Few terracottas have remained fully intact over the centuries. Objects not deliberately deposited as temple or funerary gifts may well have been accidentally broken in antiquity and then discarded. Arms, heads, and other projecting elements easily break off from figurines due to the fragile connection to the body. While attempts at repairing terracottas must have occurred, they often remain difficult to detect. Walker and Bierbrier discuss a case of ancient restoration in plaster involving a statuette of Heracles.

In modern times, restorations have been common. To repair damage, plaster is usually employed, which is often painted over to conceal the intervention. Such restorations were intended to make the object more aesthetically pleasing and, thus, more commercially valuable to dealers and collectors of antiquities alike. The Allard Pierson, like many other collections, owns a great number of heads broken off from terracotta figurines. Occasionally, a head was attached to a body to which it did not originally belong, with the join at the neck filled in with plaster. In the Amsterdam series, these heads have been detached from the body (e.g., cat. nos. 131, 392, 410, 440; APM07266.001, APM07398.001, APM08085, APM07141.001). It should be noted, moreover, that many more heads have been preserved than headless bodies.

Many other pieces are missing their lower part. This may not be accidental. That is to say, the nudity of the figure—such as revealed female pudenda or an exaggerated phallus—was considered too obscene for display. Consequently, even when such figures were found (nearly) intact, the whole or lower part of the body may have been discarded. Consider, for instance, the headless kneeling phallic cult servant (cat. no. 216, APM07277). This terracotta was saved from this fate because von Bissing, unlike many collectors of his time, had no qualms about preserving phallic figures.

In other cases, separately attached phalluses have been concealed. This may have already happened in antiquity, as such projecting elements (as noted above) are especially prone to breaking off. In the case of the standing Priapus figure in Amsterdam (cat. no. 134, APM07385), the break where the ithyphallic member of Priapus once was appears fresh. Breakage points are often filled with plaster—sometimes quite carelessly, as seen in the Harpocrates on a peacock (cat. no. 44, APM07232).

Literature

Dunand 1990, 9; Fjeldhagen 1995, 12, fig. 4; Walker and Bierbrier (eds.) 1997, no. 275.

1.6. Dating and Its Difficulties

The majority of Egyptian terracottas in the Allard Pierson, as in other museum collections, have no known provenance beyond the private collector or art dealer from which the pieces have been acquired. Even in cases where the provenience, the actual findspot, is known—or can be reasonably surmised—information about the exact archaeological circumstances is often lacking. In the past decades, this situation has certainly improved significantly. Still, dating terracotta artefacts remains an exercise fraught with difficulties. Dates provided in the catalogue should be considered suggestions mostly based on no more than subjective intuition. The present authors do not always agree with their predecessors, nor necessarily with each other, but respectfully agree to disagree. (For a chronological timetable, see Table 1.5).

1.6.1. Archaeological Chronology

Even if the excavation context is absent, provenience may still suggest some clues to a relative chronology. Objects unearthed in the ancient Alexandrian cemeteries indicate a date (*ante quem*) to the first half of the Hellenistic period (ca. 330–150 BCE); the cemetery in el-Shatby dates to no later than the third century BCE. Similarly, the distinct strata uncovered at Athribis are a basis for dating when the artefacts were last used. Conversely, a provenience from Ptolemaic foundations such as those in the Arsinoite nome (the present-day Faiyum district) provides a date (*post quem*) unlikely earlier than the third century BCE, while a Roman foundation such as Antinopolis points to a date after 130 CE.

Table 1.5. Chronological table.

<p>Late Period (672–332 BCE)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Saite period (26th Dyn., 672–525) - 1st Persian dominance (27th Dyn., 525–404) - Last period of native independence (404–343) - 2nd Persian dominance (31st Dyn., 343–332) <p>Hellenistic Period (332–30 BCE)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Early-Hellenistic (<i>ca.</i> 330–250, <i>or</i> 3rd–2nd cent.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alexander the Great (r. 336–323) - Ptolemy I (satrapy, 323–305; kingship 304–282) - Ptolemy II (r. 284–246) & Arsinoe II (<i>ca.</i> 278–268) - Mid-Hellenistic (<i>ca.</i> 250–150, <i>or</i> 2nd cent.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ptolemy III (r. 246–221) & Berenice II (r. 246–220) - Ptolemy IV & Arsinoe III (r. 220–204) - Ptolemy V (204–181) & Cleopatra I (r. 192–176) - Ptolemy VI (180–145) & Cleopatra II (<i>ca.</i> 175–116) - Late-Hellenistic (<i>ca.</i> 150–30, <i>or</i> 2nd–1st cent.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ptolemy VIII (<i>ca.</i> 169–116) & Cleopatra III (r. 142–101) - Ptolemy IX (<i>ca.</i> 116–81) & Berenice III (<i>ca.</i> 101–80) - Ptolemy XII (80–51) - Cleopatra VII (r. 52–30), C. Julius Caesar (<i>ca.</i> 48–44), M. Antony (<i>ca.</i> 42–40) <p>Roman Period (30 BCE – 475 CE)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Early Imperial Period (27 BCE – 284, <i>or</i> 1st–3rd cent.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Julio-Claudian dynasty (<i>ca.</i> 49 BCE – 68 CE) - Flavian & Antonine dynasties (69–192) - Late Roman (<i>ca.</i> 3rd–4th cent.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Severan dynasty (193–235) - Dominate (284–476) <p>Late Antiquity (5th–6th cent. CE)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - End of Western Empire (5th cent.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fall of Rome (476) - Rise of Byzantine Empire (5th–6th cent.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Growth of Coptic Church (from 5th cent.) - Muslim conquest (<i>ca.</i> 640)

We feel obliged, nonetheless, to call attention to the difficulties encountered with earlier excavation reports. Take, for example, objects that F. W. von Bissing received through the British School of Archaeology in Egypt from

the excavation directed by Flinders Petrie in 1910 at Memphis. It is worthwhile citing Petrie in full here:

Three burnt houses in the eastern part of the city were carefully cleared, removing only the burnt earth, so that everything that we found had been in use at the same period in the house. In each house coins were found; these were late Ptolemaic in all three houses, with coins of Claudius (41–54 A.D.) in [houses] B and C, and a coin much worn and decayed, but probably of Tiberius, in [house] A. As the enormous coinage of Nero, which was begun in his 3rd year, 57 A.D., and culminated in his 12th year, 66 A.D., was totally absent here, it is very unlikely that any of these houses can be as late as 60 or 70. About 50 A.D., within a few years either way, seems the probable date; and if we seek for any reason why three large houses were burnt, at some distance apart, at the same period, we might look to the Jewish riots soon after the accession of Nero, about 55 A.D.–Petrie 1910, 45, §77.

Von Bissing received all the objects from ‘House C,’ which were all dated on account of Petrie’s information to about 50 CE.

Apart from the fact that a house destroyed *ca.* 55 CE may well contain items from more than a generation before (as the late-Ptolemaic coins already indicate), the contents of ‘House C’ are of such an utterly diverse date of manufacture as to range from the third or second century BCE to the third or fourth century CE. The two terracotta pieces from ‘House C’ now in Amsterdam illustrate our misgivings. The crowned head of Isis-Hathor should be dated on account of its exquisite style no later than the mid-Hellenistic period (*ca.* 2nd cent. BCE). The statuette of the standing horse (cat. no. 476; APM14166 = Petrie 1910, pl. 40, no. 52), however, is of mid-Imperial date (*ca.* 2nd–3rd cent. CE). Compare, incidentally, the figurine of the seated cat from ‘House A’ with a very similar specimen now in the Allard Pierson (*ca.* 1st–2nd cent. CE; cat. no. 466; APM07361; *cf.* Petrie 1910, pl. 40, no. 38). The faience sherds (*loc. cit.* nos. 58–59), moreover, are most likely of early-Hellenistic date (3rd cent. BCE), while the oil lamp (*ibid.* no. 50) can only be late Roman (*ca.* 3rd–4th cent. CE; *cf.* cat. no. 512; APM09097). Something must be wrong in the method Petrie used for dating his finds, but then he wrote a hundred years ago.

Literature

Weber 1914, 15–16; Perdrizet 1921, VII–VIII; Dunand 1990, 9–13; Pingiatoglou 1993, 16–20; Török 1995, 22–25; Bailey 2008, 3–5; R. I. Thomas 2015a, 11–19.

1.6.2. Attributes as Means of Dating

Without incontrovertible means of dating terracotta artefacts, there may still be other visible clues for establishing a comparative chronology. Statuettes are, for instance, often adorned with attributes of various kinds.

If it can be determined when such attributes were first introduced in Egypt, or when they were first developed, we have at the least an indication of a general date *post quem*. We can think of elements such as articles of clothing, styles of coiffure, crowns and jewellery, military equipment, and types of pottery, especially *amphorae*.

Articles of clothing and costume may provide a broad indication of the era in which a terracotta piece was manufactured. For example, the traditional Greek female dress consisted of under and upper garments. A Macedonian soldier was typically decked in a military cloak, a felt hat and short boots. The distinctive garment for Roman men was the *toga* wrapped abundantly around the body. Roman women usually wore a sleeveless dress and a mantle. Men, women and children also wore undergarments, and women might additionally wear underwear. Greek dress will be first encountered in Egypt with the settlement of Naucratis; Macedonians first entered Egypt during the expedition of Alexander the Great; while Romans will have seldom been seen in Egypt until the reign of Cleopatra.

In this context it is pertinent to mention the costume known as the knotted dress, which—as Robert Bianchi (1980) has cogently argued—has been erroneously called the dress of Isis. Although the Egyptian goddess Isis was represented in this type of costume, so was the female companion of Bes, Besa, and Baubo. Ptolemaic queens, such as Berenice II (*e.g.*, on the Euergetes Gate at Thebes) or Cleopatra I (*e.g.*, on a faience *alabastrum*; APM07583), donned a heavily pleated, fringed costume with a knot tied between their breasts in ceremonial contexts. Indeed, the dress goes back to Pharaonic fashion, as New-Kingdom queens such as Nefertiti († *ca.* 1330 BCE, wife of Achenaten) and Nefertari († *ca.* 1255 BCE, wife of Ramesses II) were shown in similar close-fitting, pleated, white linen costumes with a knot tied between or below their breasts. Knotted costumes are therefore a problematic source for dating figurines, let alone for identifying the depicted subject.

Ancient Greeks customarily wore their hair long, perhaps tied or rolled into a knot at the crown of their head. Ephebes and athletes cut their hair short. Ptolemaic queens introduced the fashion of parting their hair in wavy locks bound to the back and tied into a *chignon* at the nape. For its appearance, modern authors have named the hairstyle “melon coiffure”. Elegant ladies in Egypt followed elaborate female hairstyles from the Roman imperial court of the second and third centuries but with noticeable delay. Less straightforward to interpret are the so-called Libyan locks, known from Cyrenean coins, and which have been associated with the goddess Isis as well as with Ptolemaic queens of the second half of the Hellenistic period. This corkscrew hairstyle is difficult to differentiate from the locks of the archaic Kouros-type. The same locks are also worn by Besa and Baubo, as well as the small theatrical mask from Hawara (cat. no. 270, APM07379). The age-old custom of shaving children’s heads, leaving only a single lock to the right side, continued well into the Roman

period in Egypt – at least on images of Harpocrates. This style was also appropriated by priests in the cult of the youthful son of Isis. Egyptian priests generally wore their head bald as a sign of purity.

Greek women traditionally covered their hair with a hairnet, a veil, a cloth, or different types of hairbands of various materials. In this respect, it may be appropriate to emphasise the danger of confusing homophonous ancient and modern terminology when it comes to kinds of headdress, such as diadem, mitre and tiara. The Egyptian Pharaoh and the Great Persian King bound fillets around their crown, a custom adopted by Alexander the Great after the death of his opponent Darius III. In the Hellenistic period, donning the fringed, gold-embroidered, white *diadēma* was a royal prerogative. The word *mitra* referred to any type of band wound around the waist, body or head, including metal armour, leather girdles, cloth headbands, surgical bandages, and the oriental turban.

Wreaths of various sorts were a common feature of the repertoire of Graeco-Roman terracottas: wreaths bound with a ribbon point to festive circumstances; floral wreaths symbolise vegetative fertility; while wreaths of ivy leaves with (or without) grape bunches are associated with the cult of Dionysus. A metal crown may adorn the head of a goddess, such as Aphrodite, or Ptolemaic queens. Furthermore, jewellery unearthed in graves, as well as representations on mummy portraits, coffins and cartonnages are major sources of information on the types of adornments worn at different times in Graeco-Roman Egypt. Imitations in gilded or painted clay or stucco of necklaces destined for the afterlife similarly reveal aspects of contemporary personal appearance (*cf.* *e.g.*, APM07544, APM10547 and APM14267). Amulets such as the *bullā* and *lunula* were worn as a pendant on a necklace by Roman boys or girls until reaching adulthood. The body chain, worn across the bust with a central pendant between the breasts, was a style of female jewellery of the later Roman and Byzantine periods (*ca.* 2nd cent. CE and beyond).

Compared to classical Graeco-Roman art, military representations seldom occur in Pharaonic Egyptian art. The appearance of Greek, Macedonian or Roman military equipment on Egyptian terracotta figurines certainly suggests a general period of manufacture. We may consider various types of helmets, breast plates, swords, shields, leather-strapped kilts, and so forth. On the Amsterdam terracottas from Egypt, we come across, for instance, the small round, Greek shield carried by Bes (cat. no. 68, APM00201); the half-rounded, “Scythian” shield carried by Psyche and a Black African soldier (cat. nos. 109, 243; APM07256, APM07316); the oval, “Galatian” shield carried by another Bes image and a warrior (cat. nos. 69, 251; APM07261, APM07132); and the short rectangular, Roman shield carried by a horse rider (cat. no. 158, APM07313). Experts in ancient military equipment may be better suited to date certain types of armour to specific eras.

Furthermore, types of pottery featured on terracotta statuettes may hint at an approximate date of production, or at least a *post quem*. Egyptian vessels, such as the typical round pot (○), continue to appear in the Graeco-Roman coroplastics (e.g., cat. no. 30, APM07245). Rhodian *amphorae* were imported by the tens of thousands into Alexandria from the early-Hellenistic period onwards. The male figurine carrying an amphora of Rhodian type should nonetheless be dated to the early Roman Imperial age (ca. 1st–2nd cent. CE; cat. no. 316; APM07326). In certain cases, the expertise of Dr. Patrick Monsieur led to a better understanding of the chronology of the terracottas. In other cases, however, it became clear that coroplasts did not always strive for chronologically accurate depictions of the amphoras on the terracottas. Certain types of amphoras must have served for a very long period, even long after the date of the actual production.

Clues for dating pieces can, additionally, be found in terracotta busts imitating elements of their Roman sculptural counterparts, where the portraiture form fully developed from the later Republican period onwards. Finally, we could point to musical instruments, furniture and architectural elements that may contain chronological indications. Specialists in these areas could undoubtedly offer insight into the origin—both in time and place—of such attributes.

Literature

Fraser 1972, I: 167–169; Dunand 1979, 19–29; Bianchi 1980; Bayer-Niemeier 1988, 19–33; E. J. Walters 1988; Fjeldhagen 1995, 13–14.

1.6.3. Technical and Stylistic Chronology

Further means for dating terracotta objects include chemical testing and analysis of the material. As indicated above, mineral and organic compounds may offer clues about the provenance of the clay and the date of the artefact's manufacture. Microscopic comparison of the structure and calibration of the colour of the clay may similarly provide hints.

Other technical aspects may be considered when dating terracottas. In relation to her thorough examination of terracottas from the Athenian Agora and from Troy, Dorothy Burr Thompson stressed the fact that a prototype may have a date of invention or initial creation, but the production of the specimen under question may have been considerably later, through deliberate copying of the original. Apart from wear, the friable nature of plaster made frequent renewal of moulds necessary. When the original was not at hand, a moulded terracotta or plaster (or even a cast bronze) figure could serve as the model for a new mould and thus became the prototype for a new, perhaps modified or remodelled, series. Shrinkage of the models will then occur over generations of copying, as well as a loss of crispness in the detailing. In the present catalogue, the decrease of size is illustrated by the seated

phallic figures, a common figure in the Egyptian repertoire from the Saite to Roman periods (cat. nos. 290–291; APM07786, APM07307).

An analysis of the development of stylistic features may illuminate at least a relative chronology. The study of the evolution of terracotta lamps and lanterns as performed by Dunand is a case in point. Aspects—suggested, e.g., by Philipp and Bayer-Niemeier—from which clues may be derived include physiognomic details such as the eyes, anatomical proportions, the indication of bone structure, as well as the shape of the drapery, a sense of perspective or depth, and the form of the base.

Literature

Weber 1914, 10–12; Philipp 1972, 12–15; Dunand 1976; Bayer-Niemeier 1988, 19–33 and 55–57; Fischer 1994, 37–102.

1.7. Function

Before considering the possible function, or functions, of Egyptian terracottas, it will prove beneficial to review the various categories and subcategories to which the artefacts under question belong. This reflects the interest of the authors, and the opportunities seized. Still, one gets a good impression of the relative variety of these artefacts. About one-third of them are of a religious nature, representing gods or goddesses, creatures of myth, heroes and saints (ca. 180 items). Half of the terracottas depict human figures (ca. 275 items). These include kings and queens, princes and princesses (ca. 35 items), priests and cult servants (ca. 30 items). Most, however, portray commoners of various walks of life (ca. 215 items), such as soldiers, actors, caricatures, ethnic or street types, as well as nude and phallic figures. A tenth of the objects in this catalogue show animals (ca. 50 items), which include sacred and domestic animals, pack and transport animals, and so forth. The remainder of the terracottas are objects (ca. 30 items), such as braziers and burners, lamps and lanterns, and a handful of others. Categories – and thus functions – can and do overlap: a portrait of a deified king or queen, a divine human, is an illustrative case in point; a representation of a sacred bull or cat, a divine animal, is another.

Many of the terracottas will have had a primary or secondary religious function. Figurines are found in large quantities at sanctuaries, although in the past these were often left poorly documented, barely reported, and ignored as generally unimportant by both archaeologists and papyrologists. The objects will have been ex-votos, deposited in fulfilment of a vow, gifts offered to the temple's deity in gratitude or as an act of devotion. As inexpensive works of minor arts and of mass production, Egyptian terracottas of a religious nature give expression to the beliefs of commoners. They exhibit a rich typology and iconography that provides an extraordinary body of evidence for the study of popular religion in ancient Egypt. The relative infrequency of the great gods of the

Egyptian, Greek and Roman pantheons, in comparison to the abundance of Harpocrates and Bes is a striking reflection of the sentiments of personal devotion.

Terracotta statuettes of gods and goddesses have also been excavated in common houses. Surely, they may have adorned domestic shrines as objects of worship or have been placed in separate niches inside the house as an expression of piety. Such figurines may have been the focus of private prayer, illuminated by a terracotta oil lamp. The desire for a healthy and fruitful family life manifests itself in fertility figurines. Phallic figures were found in the Bes chambers at Saqqara that express not only the pleasures of procreation but also the wish for a successful pregnancy. Bes images are known to have been set up in the bedroom of pregnant women and even placed on their brow during labour. Terracottas could thus serve an apotropaic function, offering personal protection, much like amulets. Yet, terracottas of identical appearance, erotic in nature, were found deposited at the bathhouse in Athribis. Undoubtedly, these deposits give expression to a more frivolous desire for sexual pleasures. Figurines could, in other words, also involve an element of sympathetic magic – not only invoking the protection of the gods but actually pleading for their assistance.



In the ancient worldview, the gods were indeed believed to influence every aspect of life and death. A funerary function is confirmed by objects found in or near graves, tombs or cemeteries. In the case of the pieces from the Allard Pierson collection, that applies specifically to the group found at Hawara during the excavation directed by Petrie. The objects found in tombs, however, will in many cases have had a prior function before they were deposited along with the body of the deceased. This is not only the case with articles of clothing or cosmetics, pottery or furniture, but also terracotta figures placed in tombs. At cemeteries in the Faiyum, for instance, Petrie unearthed not only mummy wrappings and jewellery, *ushabties* and amulets, but also terracotta figurines of Harpocrates and Eros, sphinxes and an *orante*, a theatre mask and an ox, dolls and toys. Grave gifts may have been thought to offer protection in death; they may have been offered to the deceased for personal reasons; they may additionally have been meant to adorn the tomb. Attributing a single function to a class of artefacts may, in other words, be misleading.

In fact, many terracottas will have primarily had a mundane, practical function. Items without an obvious religious significance may well have been foremost intended for decoration and/or amusement. At Memphis and Heracleopolis, Petrie found many figurines in regular houses; while excavations at Karanis under Francis W. Kelsey revealed that terracottas could be placed in niches at home, and oil lamps could be built into walls. Even if they were decorated with religious themes, the primary purpose of lamps and lanterns was illumination; braziers were used as basins for firing coal; burners were meant

to hold incense; torch-holders contained inflammable material to be ignited at night; *et cetera*. Likewise, sculpted vases and flasks, pots and other vessels were, first, made for containing liquids or substances. The refined statuettes in the Tanagra tradition, the sharply observed caricatures, figurines of characters of daily life, and other types and genres will simply have pleased the owner.

It bears repeating that terracotta figurines and objects were on the whole cheap mass-produced items. An occasional piece may have been a work of minor arts of exceptional quality, as some in this catalogue certainly are. The overwhelming majority of the terracottas, however, were not manufactured for aesthetic reasons, but for widespread use among commoners who could not afford precious artefacts in stone or metal. It is this audience one must bear in mind, not only when considering the function, but also the possible significance of the terracottas from Egypt. The ancient market for terracottas will have operated on the principles of supply and demand where the workshop will have taken account of the wishes of his clientele.

Votive figurines may well have been sold in temporary or permanent shops near temples during the time of festivals or throughout the year. One would like to know to what extent priests were involved in the creation of the religious typology and iconography of the statuettes of Harpocrates or Bes, Isis or Sarapis, and so forth. No matter how free the imagination of the artist was able to run, popular demands and the expectations of the buyers will have reined in creativity. The production will have catered to the various religious beliefs and traditions of the population, both old and new. The coroplast can, at times, be proven to have imitated stone or metal sculpture of large-scale cult statues. Temple statuary itself will have been commissioned by and in conjunction with the priests. Directly or indirectly, formally or informally, priests will therefore have influenced the manufacture of terracotta statuettes depicting divine figures.

Consider, in this context, the ingenious interpretation offered by Martin von Falck of the significance of Harpocrates depicted on a goose (*cf.* cat. no. 45, APM07233). As he observes, the bird hieroglyph  (G39) means “son (*š3*)”, which would indeed be appropriate for Harpocrates, who embodies sonship. Such an intricate symbolism would befit an audience educated in (at least the basics of) hieroglyphics. The sign in question, however, represents a pintail duck, whereas the fowl at hand is an Egyptian goose. This hieroglyph  (G38) means “goose, bird (*3pd*)” and was used for the phonogram “*gb*”. The same sign was used for the homophonous name of the god Geb. Von Falck’s reasoning thus appears faulty. The rich and creative variety of the appearance and inspiration, function and significance of the Egyptian terracottas, in short, demands a correspondingly varied interpretation for understanding that richness.

Literature

H. B. Walters 1903, XXVI–XXIX; Weber 1914, 16–17; R. A. Higgins 1954, 7–8; *id.* 1967, XLIX–L; Dunand 1979, 8–13; Ammerman 1990; Dunand 1990, 13–15; Pinch 1993; Pingiatoglou 1993, 21–22; Fjeldhagen 1995, 22–24; M. von Falck in von Falck and Lichtwark (eds.) 1996, no. 204; Rumscheid 2006; Bailey 2008, 1–3; Boutantin 2014, 97–156.

1.8. Conventions

Provenience: all artefacts in this catalogue are from Egypt or are presumed to have been manufactured there (unless specified); where the alleged findspot cannot be confirmed the site is placed within quotation marks; a parenthetical question mark indicates doubt about the origin; a question mark behind the place name indicates a suggestion that cannot be verified.

Provenance: all terracottas are held at the Allard Pierson, either as part of the permanent collection or as part of a long-term loan agreement; the majority derive from the Scheurleer

collection, most of which in turn once belonged to the von Bissing collection.

Purchase: in cases where further acquisition information is known, date and place are provided with a parenthetical shorthand for the dealer or auctioneer (which refers to Subchapter 1.3.6); items from the von Bissing collection may be presumed to have been bought in Egypt (mostly Cairo), *ca.* 1898–1901.

Inventory: inventory numbers are provided where known; von Bissing marked terracottas with ‘T’ (for “Ton”), stone artefacts with ‘S’ (for “Stein”); von Bissing numbers are occasionally lost or erased from the object; in a few cases, the Scheurleer number was lost in the transfer from The Hague City Museum (GM DH) to Amsterdam.

Dimensions: all measurements are given in centimetres for the preserved height, width and depth of each item; for (nearly) round objects the diameter (∅) may be provided; in case of irregular shapes the measurements may be approximate.

