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Antiquities from Cyrenaica in the Stanisław Tekieli Collection at the National Museum in Warsaw

Residing in the new Gallery of Ancient Art at the National Museum in Warsaw are two similar small terracotta figurines – both of sitting women and both from Cyrenaica, Libya.[1] Their iconography does not diverge from that of other representations of enthroned goddesses known in the Classical world. In the Archaic and Classical periods, figurines of this kind were mass-produced in various centres throughout the Greek world. Yet, these statuettes, even next to other often larger and more richly decorated ancient artefacts, fully warrant special attention. What makes them unique is their provenance – artefacts from Cyrenaica, though present in many European museums,[2] are a great rarity in Poland. Both pieces were donated to the NMW by Stanisław Tekieli, who from 1984 to 1990 worked with his wife in the Libyan city of Bayda in the central part of the Cyrenaica plateau, where he served as the head of paediatric surgery at a local hospital. The memories he brought back from Libya, Tekieli recalled in a book published in 2011.[3] What he also brought back was a collection of artefacts he had acquired there, which he first left on long-term loan at the National Museum in Warsaw and eventually donated. The set consists of 27 small objects. The vast majority are clay items (16 terracotta figures, four miniature vessels, two fragments of black-figure pottery, and two lamps), alongside which are two metal items (a bronze figurine and a metal arrowhead) and one small fragment of a marble sculpture.[4]

Living six years in a place where the beauty of the landscape and the wealth of traces of the ancient past come together in a wonderfully harmonious whole, the donor's free time was spent pursuing his passion for "ancient culture and Mediterranean archaeology."[5] Tekieli made no secret of his interest in antiquity – in the book describing his life in Libya he not only mentions his wanderings among ruins ("the location of our daily walks after work was

[1] The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. nos. 238780 MNW and 238781 MNW – cf. figs. 12 and 13.

[2] Artefacts from Cyrenaica at the Louvre Paris, the British Museum in London and several other museums (e.g., those in Madrid and Leiden) were amassed thanks to the efforts of 19th-century travellers, diplomats and archaeologists in Libya; for more on the subject, see Monika Rekowska, *In pursuit of ancient Cyrenaica...Two hundred years of exploration against the history of archaeology in Europe (1706–1911)* (Oxford, 2016), in particular pp. 213–33; see also n. 70.

[3] See Stanisław Tekieli, *Od Cyreny do groty św. Marka. Wspomnienia lekarza pracującego w Libii w latach 1984–1990* (Warsaw, 2011).

[4] The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. nos. 238778 MNW and 238801 MNW.

[5] Tekieli, op. cit., p. 5.

Cyrene, a gorgeous, splendidly-preserved ancient city [...] a mere 14 km north of Bayda"),[6] but devotes the entire second part to "Monuments of antiquity (Leptis Magna, ancient Cyrene, the grotto of Saint Mark)." Twice, he recalls his conversations with "the Italian archaeologist Claudio Frigeiro [properly: Frigerio]."[7] Many of the illustrations in the book show views of archaeological sites and museums the author had visited and a few depict artefacts from his own collection, chiefly coins[8] but also other small objects like lamps, miniature vessels, small bronzes.[9] The author briefly mentions the collection loaned to the NMW, listing the objects therein: "figurines of sitting women from the 5th century BC, women's heads from the 5th century BC, a miniature hydria from the 4th–3rd century BC and oil lamps from the 5th century BC. Very interesting are a piglet figurine and a bronze arrowhead, both from the Hellenistic period."[10]

This modest though very intriguing collection can be treated as a metaphor for some important aspects of life in ancient Cyrenaica. Settled by Greek colonists in the 7th century BC, the region found itself under Ptolemaic rule from the 4th century BC until its conquest by the Romans in the 1st century BC. During Roman rule, Cyrenaica remained somewhat on the periphery of the tumultuous political events underway and grew in harmony until the mid-7th century, when it was besieged by Arab invaders.[11]

The city's inhabitants owed their prosperity to its strategic location on the intersection of trade routes, both land and marine, running from the western African coast, via Alexandria, to Asia Minor and from central Africa to Italy. Even more significant, however, were the region's agriculturally conducive geographic conditions and mild climate, which made Cyrenaica an "island" in Northern Africa. In antiquity, Cyrenaica was known for its horse breeders[12] but its real fame came from silphium (Gr. *silfion*, Lat. *silphium*), a precious plant of many properties.[13] Wild growing silphium brought great wealth to the rulers of Cyrenaica but it was agriculture that ensured the populace's prosperity.[14]

Though the region's capital, Cyrene, was founded in 631 BC, its greatest economic peak came during the reign of Battus II (1st half 6th c. BC). This is evidenced by, i.a., an influx of luxury goods (of gold, silver, ivory and bronze) and by the abundance and variety of imported

[6] Ibid., pp. 74–75.

[7] Ibid., pp. 119, 130. Claudio Frigerio worked with the Italian archaeological mission in Cyrene, serving as an illustrator and excavation technician. Among the projects he was involved in are the restoration of the sanctuary of Apollo and the Prytaneion in the agora, as Tekieli recalls. For more on Frigerio, see Joyce Reynolds, "Obituary: Claudio Frigerio," *Libyan Studies*, vol. 27 (1996), p. 3.

[8] Tekieli, op. cit., pp. 103, 107, 136.

[9] Ibid., pp. 98, 124.

[10] Ibid., p. 124.

[11] André Laronde, "La Cyrénaïque romaine, dès origines à la fin des Sévères (96 av. J.C. – 235 ap. J.C)," in Hildegard Temporini, ed., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, part 2, vol. 10.1 (New York–Berlin, 1988), pp. 1006–64.

[12] This reputation lasted much longer, as is evidenced by the mission entrusted to Claude Lemaire, a consul in Tripoli, who in the early 18th century travelled to Cyrenaica to purchase horses for the count of Toulouse, see Henri Omont, *Missions archéologiques en Orient aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1902); for more on the traveller and his activity in Cyrenaica, see Rekowska, *In pursuit...*, op. cit., pp. 19–20.

[13] For a short discussion on the issue (earlier bibliography therein), see Rekowska, *In pursuit...*, op. cit., pp. 233–38.

[14] Already writing on Cyrenaica's agricultural potential was Herodotus (4.199.1), while contemporary scholars note that this potential was discerned and exploited by the local populace long before the arrival of Greek settlers.

items of everyday use, like pottery and terracottas. Attesting to Cyrene's size and population is its urban architecture and its expansive necropolis – a true "city of the dead."[15] The patron god of Cyrene and the surrounding region was Apollo, though due to the city's agricultural character, very popular were agrarian cults, chief among which were those of Demeter and Persephone, archaeological evidence of which dates as far back as the 7th century BC.[16] An annual festival celebrating nature's rebirth, known as the *Thesmophoria*, during which women honoured Demeter for their sexuality and fertility, was initially held in a small sanctuary erected in the city agora and later in a sanctuary dedicated to the Two Goddesses (*Tó Theó*) built just south of the city wall in the Wadi Bel Gadir valley.[17] The extramural sanctuary functioned uninterruptedly from the Archaic period to the mid-3rd century AD, when it was partially destroyed by an earthquake.

In his description of the collection handed over to the NMW, Stanisław Tekieli vaguely cites the "vicinity of the temple of Demeter" as the items' place of origin. Given the lack of information concerning how the artefacts were acquired, a precise determination of their provenance is not possible. Nevertheless, the collection seems to reflect the range of artefacts discovered at the sanctuary and to indicate an association with the ceremonies performed there.

The excavations in the expansive (more than 4200 m²) complex erected in honour of the divine mother and daughter, explored by American and Italian archaeologists,[18] unearthed

[15] See Richard George Goodchild, *Cyrene and Apollonia* (Tripoli, 1970); James Copland Thorn, *The Necropolis of Cyrene. Two Hundred Years of Exploration* (Rome, 2005), p. 26.

[16] Many premises indicate that even prior to the arrival of Greek settlers the cult of agrarian deities played a tremendous role in the religious life of the local inhabitants. For more on Graeco-Libyan religious syncretism and the symbiotic relationship between the Greeks and Libyans, see Sophie Marini, *Grecs et Libyens en Cyrénaïque dans l'Antiquité. Aspects et vicissitudes d'un rapport millénaire* (Paris, 2015) (expansive bibliography therein).

[17] Callimachus, in his description of the rituals connected with the cult of Demeter recorded in *Hymn to Demeter*, (*Hymn 6: Eis Démétra*, l. 1–23, 116–138) may be referring to ceremonies in Cyrene, the city of his birth. This is suggested by certain topographical clues, though such an identification is the subject of ongoing discussion. See Neil Hopkinson, ed., *Hymn to Demeter* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 32–39. On the cult of Demeter and Persephone in Cyrene, see Donald White, "Origin and Initial Transference of the Cult," in id., *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya, Final Reports*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 20–30; id., "Demeter Libyssa. Her Cyrenean Cult in Light of the Recent Excavations," *Quaderni di archeologia della Libya*, no. 12 (1987), pp. 67–84.

[18] Though 19th-century explorers had already made attempts to identify the sanctuary, excavations at the nearby *acropolis* and the sanctuary area were initiated only in the early 20th century by Richard Norton, the son of the founder of the Archaeological Institute of America and director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. The results of the investigation, including the discovery of a deposit of terracottas, were published the following year, see Richard Norton, "The Excavations at Cyrene: First Campaign, 1910–1," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Institute of America*, no. 2 (1911), pp. 141–63; Joseph Clark Hoppin, "Vases and Vase Fragments Found at Cyrene," *Bulletin of the American Institute of America*, no. 2 (1911), pp. 164–65; Charles Densmore Curtius, "Objects of Terra-Cotta Found at Cyrene," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Institute of America*, no. 2 (1911), pp. 166–67, in particular plate LXVI and LXIX. For political reasons, Norton was forced to suspend his research in 1911, see Anna Santucci, Jaimee P. Uhlenbrock, "Cyrene Papers: The Final Report. Richard Norton's Exploration of the Northern Necropolis of Cyrene (24 October 1910 – 4 May 1911): From Archives to Archaeological Contexts," *Libyan Studies*, no. 44 (2013), pp. 9–55, in particular pp. 9–10. After 1913, work at the site was resumed by Italian archaeologists led by Ettore Ghislanzoni, who correctly identified the sanctuary, see Ettore Ghislanzoni, "Notizie archeologiche sulla Cirenaica," *Notiziario archeologico*, no. 1 (1915), pp. 212–21, figs. 70–74. In 1969, Donald White began excavation work at the site of the sanctuary, first under the auspices of the University of Michigan, and later of the University of Pennsylvania's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Political factors – the events of 1981 and the severance of diplomatic relations between the United States and Libya – once again interrupted the research, though the findings were published in a series of reports edited by Donald White, *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya*, vol. 1–8 (Philadelphia, 1984–2012). When relations between Libya and the United States resumed in 2004, a new project ("Cyrenaica Archaeological Project") was initiated by Prof. Susan Kane of Oberlin College. That project was suspended in 2011, again due to political reasons. Currently, research at the site of the sanctuary is conducted by Italian archaeologists (until 2014 led by Mario Luni). For more

a vast number of votive artefacts associated with the cult of the goddesses. The objects left there by worshippers could have fulfilled various functions: they may have been just offerings, objects of personal adornment or ritual implements. Among the objects found, especially noteworthy is the wealth of pottery, ranging from imported painted vases to modest locally-produced vessels. The collection donated to the museum contains two sherds of black-figure pottery from the 5th century BC whose characteristics suggest Attic origin (**figs. 1, 2**).[19] Similar pieces of pottery are known to have been intentionally smashed after being used in ritual libations.[20]

Besides full-size pottery, also found were many examples of miniature scale replicas, such as small *kotyliskoi* (cups), *amforiskoi* (amphorae) and *hydriskoi* (water jugs), whose use as votive items is suggested by the frequency of their occurrence in sanctuaries and tombs. How exactly they relate to their larger counterparts remains a subject of ongoing discussion.[21] Some, despite their diminutive size, may have served their original function as containers for liquids (jugs) or as drinking vessels (various kinds of cups) that were left behind as votive offerings after having been used in ritual meals. Among them were hydriae, used for holding and pouring water in purification rites. *Hydriskoi*, hydriae in miniature scale, started to appear at sanctuary sites in the Archaic period.[22] The next category of pottery most frequently

on the early research, see Donald White, "Early Travelers and Preliminary Investigations," in Donald White, ed., *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya, Final Reports*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 1–19. On the results of the Italian research, see Mario Luni, "Ricerche, scoperte e studi a Cirene in cinquanta anni di attività della Missione Archeologica Italiana," in id., ed., *Cirene nell'antichità* (Rome, 2010), pp. 25–48. Monografie di Archeologia Libica, 29.

[19] Visible on one of the fragments (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238798 MNW, height 3.3 cm), is the bottom right part of a most-likely standing figure dressed in a himation (the folds marked with notches), at whose feet lies a horizontal branch with small leaves or fruit (perhaps grapes). The outline of an elongated object in the shape of the letter U visible to the figure's right is difficult to identify definitively, though we cannot rule out the hypothesis that this may have been a mythical creature with the tail of a snake, which symbolised prolificacy and fertility, as seen in the decoration of an Ionic cup with a vineyard scene with four women with snake tails instead of legs, see Noëlle Icard-Gianolio, Anne-Violaine Szabados, "Monstra," in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, supplementum* (Düsseldorf, 2009), p. 343 (fasc. 1), p. 168 (fasc. 2), cat. no. 19. The fragment is most likely from the bottom section of a drinking vessel (skyphos? cup?), as suggested by the black engobe on the interior side. The second fragment, meanwhile, is from the upper part of a closed vessel (amphora? hydria?) (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238799 MNW, height 4.7 cm). Its top part is decorated with an Ionic cymatium separated by a thin brown line from the lower scene with a man (only visible is the upper part of his head in right profile, with a pointed nose and an eye schematically demarcated with a scored line and a raised arm, likely the right). The black shape at right might be the back of an animal (horse?), as suggested by analogous artefacts, see John Boardmann, John Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra 1963–1965. The Archaic Deposits I* (London, 1973), p. 29, cat. no. 1029, plate 73. British School at Athens, Suppl. 4 (an amphora decorated at top with a scene with three men and a horse); id., *Excavations at Tocra 1963–1965. The Archaic Deposits II and Later Deposits* (London, 1973), p. 47, cat. no. 2145. British School at Athens, Suppl. 10 (a similar body position is seen in the running man in a scene with a rider on a horse), or a fragment of another figure running in front of the man, like in the composition of certain scenes with runners decorating Panathenaic amphorae, see, e.g., Martin Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren. Eine athenische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.–4. Jahrhundert v. Ch.* (Basel, 1998), p. 123, cat. no. 6.004, table 6; p. 127, cat. no. 6.050, table 13; pp. 127–28, cat. no. 6.055, table 15.

[20] Mary B. Moore, *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya, Final Reports, III.2, Attic Black Figure and Black Glaze Pottery* (Philadelphia, 1987), p. 1.

[21] For a discussion on this subject (with bibliography therein), see Elizabeth Pemberton, "Small and Miniature Vases at Ancient Corinth," *Hesperia*, no. 89 (2020), pp. 283–87 and 330–334; see also Signe Barfoed, "The Use of Miniature Pottery in Archaic-Hellenistic Greek Sanctuaries. Consideration on Terminology and Ritual Practice" [online], *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome*, no. 11 (2018), pp. 111–26, at <https://doi.org/10.30549/opathrom-11-06)>, [retrieved: 28 February 2021].

[22] Pemberton, op. cit., p. 293.

occurring in such places is wine cups of various kinds, including those of very small dimensions, including *skyphoi*, *cotylae* and cups without a handle.

From the Archaic period, famed for the production of miniature pottery (*hydriskoi*, *kotyliskoi*) was Corinth. Products of Corinthian workshops were widely exported, the beginning of high-volume trade in items of this kind coming in the late Archaic period and its peak in the Classical period, to gradually subside by the late Hellenistic period. Similar vessels are widely found in sanctuaries and tombs throughout the Greek world.[23] Also produced were local imitations, a category to which we can most likely ascribe four small pieces from the NMW collection (three small hydriae and a cup with a horizontal handle – **figs. 3–6**). Only one of the *hydriskoi* seems to be an exact copy of a Corinthian original (fig. 3),[24] the others being simply inspired by similar models.[25] Pottery of this kind was widely produced in Cyrenaican workshops, as indicated by the deposit of Archaic and Classical miniature pottery found at the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone in Taucheira in western Cyrenaica. Most of the items there were imitations, of various degree of faithfulness, of Corinthian models.[26]

Playing a significant role in ceremonies honouring Demeter and Persephone were ritual meals in which worshippers would eat a sacrificed piglet. A kind of symbolic sacrifice to the goddesses were terracotta figurines of these animals and more expensive metal equivalents, like the bronze statuette in the NMW collection (**fig. 7**).[27] The collection contains one more metal object (**fig. 8**) – an arrowhead with two blades and barbs.[28]

[23] Stefanos Gimatzidis, "Feasting and Offering to the Gods in Early Greek Sanctuaries: Monumentalisation and Miniaturisation in Pottery," in Amy C. Smith, Marianne E. Bergeron, eds, *The Gods of Small Things* (Toulouse, 2011), p. 84. Pallas. Revue d'Études Antiques.

[24] A miniature hydria (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238794 MNW, height 7.1 cm) with long narrow neck, round body, and three handles: one vertical and two horizontal; analogue, see Pemberton, op. cit., p. 294, fig. 1 inv. no. C-1962-317); Boardmann, Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra... II*, op. cit., p. 73, cat. no. 2348, plate 37 (a local imitation from the late Archaic period).

[25] Two miniature hydriae of similar shape and proportions (both squat, with round body and short thick neck, with one vertical and two horizontal handles) and similar size (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238795 MNW, height 3.5 cm; inv. no. 238796 MNW, height 3.1 cm) and similar clay shade and texture (pale orange, with high amount of inclusions). The closest analogues suggest local production toward the end of the Archaic period or Classical period, see Boardmann, Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra... II*, op. cit., p. 70, p. 67, cat. no. 2295; p. 69, cat. no. 2296, plate 35; Ghislanzoni, op. cit., p. 94, fig. 14.5. Miniature cup (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238797 MNW, height 2.3 cm) with low foot and horizontal handle attached to the rim ("Ionian cup"), with remnants of white-coating and a black glaze, made likely somewhat later, in the 2nd half of the 5th or at the turn of the 4th c. BC, as comparanda suggest, see Ghislanzioni, op. cit., p. 92, figs. 13.2, 13.3; Boardmann, Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra... II*, op. cit., p. 67, cat. no. 2292, plate 34; p. 95, cat. no. 2401; p. 96, cat. no. 2407, plate 43.

[26] Boardmann, Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra... II*, op. cit., p. 91: "The local potters produce a mass of plain small hydriae for dedication and a few other shapes."

[27] The statuette (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238802 MNW, height 1.8 cm, length 4.2 cm) of a piglet with pointed ears, snout slightly upturned and tail with leftward spiral (light notches to mark the bristles on the back, the eyes and snout) can be dated to the turn of the 1st c. BC and 1st c. AD, see Henry Beauchamp Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum. Greek, Roman & Etruscan* (London, 1899), cat. no. 1782 (The British Museum, inv. no. 1824,0414.1); artefacts from The British Museum referred to in the article can be found in the institution's online database, see <britishmuseum.org/collection>, [retrieved: 28 February 2021].

[28] The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238803 MNW, length 4 cm. Arrowheads were widely used in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and are found at many sites (Lindos, Olympia, Delphi, Delos, Chios, Aegina). Analogous arrowheads also come from the Artemision in Cyrene and the extramural sanctuary of Demeter, though it is difficult to connect them to any specific ritual function, see Gregory Warden, *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya, Final Reports IV.1. The Small Finds* (Philadelphia, 1990), pp. 51–52, cat. no. 370–72.

Demeter and Persephone worship ceremonies were conducted in total secrecy. The most secret rituals were held at night, and these nocturnal celebrations involved the use of many oil lamps. There are two lamps in the Tekieli collection at the NMW – both with an open reservoir and well-preserved black glaze (**figs. 9, 10**). Despite differing in their diameter and presence of a handle (or lack thereof), both pieces can be ascribed to the same category of black-glaze lamps produced from the late 6th to early 4th century BC.[29] Such lamps were widely distributed throughout the Mediterranean, also frequent in Cyrenaica and broadly imitated by local workshops. This is evidenced by the large numbers of such artefacts found not only in Cyrene but also other cities of ancient Cyrenaica: Euesperides, Ptolemais, Taucheira and Apollonia.[30]

The most numerous (and most important) group of artefacts uncovered at the sanctuary, however, consists of mass-produced terracotta figurines of standard types of standing or enthroned goddess (Demeter or Persephone). Female cult adherents would leave them at the sanctuary as offerings of supplication or gratitude. When the niches filled up, the old figurines were discarded: they were buried, having their heads broken off beforehand to prevent their re-use.[31] Unearthed at the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone have been no less than 4500 well-documented terracotta figurines, which today offer an informative source for the study of the religion, trade dynamics and social changes in Cyrenaica spanning over 800 years.[32]

Most of the earliest figurines were imported from Rhodes and Crete (from the 7th c. BC) as well as from Ionia, Corinth and Sicily,[33] which evidences the Cyrenaicans' commercial contacts with practically the whole of the Greek world.[34] Local workshops producing such wares began cropping up only in the mid-6th century BC, intensifying their production

[29] The lamp, with a horizontal banded handle (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238800 MNW, length 7.5 cm, diameter 5.2 cm), is of the Howland 21 type, while the larger lamp with no handle (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238801 MNW, diameter 9.6 cm) is a variation of the type (Howland 21D), and both are compatible with the Bronner IV type in the generally used lamp typological classification system, see Richard Hubbard Howland, *The Athenian Agora IV. Greek lamps and their survivals* (Princeton 1958, s. 46–48, pl. 34; Oscar Theodor Broneer, *Corinth IV, 2., Terracotta lamps* (Princeton, 1965), type IV, pp. 39–42, fig. 14. Stanisław Tekieli's book (op. cit., p. 124) contains photographs showing another lamp of a similar type alongside artefacts donated to the NMW.

[30] Ghislanzoni, op. cit., p. 90, fig. 10.9; Boardman, Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra... II*, op. cit., pp. 96–97, cat. no. 2416–28, plate 44; Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*, vol. I: *Greek Hellenistic and Early Roman Pottery Lamps* (London, 1975), pp. 286–87, cat. no. Q 619–625, plate 117; Donald White, Kyle Meredith Philips, "The City Defenses of Apollonia," in John H. Humphrey, ed., *Apollonia, the Port of the Port of Cyrene. Excavations by the University of Michigan 1965–1967* (Tripoli, 1976), pp. 120, 122, 125, table XX.e, figs. XXII.a, XXV.f, XXVI.g. Libya Antiqua Supplement, 4; Donald M. Bailey, *Excavations at Sidi Krebish, Bengasi (Berenike)*, III.2, *The Lamps* (Tripoli, 1985). Libya Antiqua Supplement, 5; Emanuela Fabbricotti, *Catalogo delle Lucerne di Tolemaide (Cirenaica)* (Oxford, 2001), p. 9, cat. no. 2–4, table I. British Archaeological Reports International Series, 962; Thorn, op. cit., p. 616, categories 101 and 102 (with earlier bibliography); Santucci, Uhlenbrok, op. cit., p. 46, fig. 35, p. 48.

[31] Of the several thousand figurines discovered, 85 percent are headless, see Jaimee P. Uhlenbrock, "History, Trade, and Terracottas," *Expedition*, vol. 34 (1994), nos. 1–2 (Donald White, ed., *Gifts to the Goddesses: Cyrene's Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone*, p. 17).

[32] Ibid., pp. 17–23.

[33] On Sicilian influences in the Archaic period, see Jaimee P. Uhlenbrock, "The Ugly Family from Sicily: A Coroplastic Conundrum at Cyrene," *Quaderni di archeologia della Libya*, no. 18 (2004) [Studi in memoria di Lidiano Bacchielli], pp. 15–26.

[34] Ead., "Terracotta Figurines from the Demeter Sanctuary at Cyrene: Models for Trade," in Graeme Barker, John Lloyd and Joyce Reynolds, eds, *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 297–304. British Archaeological Reports International Series, 236.

through the Classical period or after 470 BC. It must be noted that the occurrence of figurines produced by workshops along the eastern Mediterranean coast (*East Greek figurines*), likely connected with an influx of immigrants, is not characteristic of Cyrenaica exclusively – this phenomenon has been documented in the furthest parts of the Mediterranean and Black Seas.[35] In the 5th and 4th centuries BC, western Greek influences began appearing in wares from Cyrenaica. The developed commercial connections with Greeks in Sicily and Magna Graecia are confirmed by a bulk of imports, i.a., from Taranto.[36] From the Hellenistic period, the trade network expanded to include Egypt, with which Cyrenaica had close political and cultural ties.[37] In the Ptolemaic period, strong Alexandrian influences are clearly visible in the arts and architecture but remain largely absent from coroplastic art. The similarity between wares from Egyptian and Cyrenaican workshops is apparent in Tanagras being an imitation of Alexandrian models, though, in general, there are more similarities to terracottas produced in centres in southern Italy. In the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, the figurines' style is closer to that of products from eastern centres (mainly Attica and Ionia) though they retained certain traits characteristic of Egyptian models, such as the *kalathos*, a frequent clothing element in Cyrenaican figurines.[38]

In the small collection donated by Tekieli to the NMW, the most interesting objects are the sixteen terracotta figurines, which provide much insight on Cyrenaica's history and its trade and cultural relationships with other corners of the ancient world.[39] Most of the figurines were produced in local workshops according to different models (with the use of imported moulds or moulds made from imported figurines). Differentiating them are the varieties of clay used (brick-red commonest), the clay being rather coarse, often containing fragments of sea-shells or occasionally white or darker particles.[40] All of the figurines are mould-cast, the majority of them being one side moulded, with a flat back, and finished with varying degrees of care.

[35] Ibid., p. 302. The scale of import also influenced local production and the ubiquity of imitations of models from the Eastern Mediterranean.

[36] Jaimee P. Uhlenbrock, "Influssi stranieri nella coroplastica cirenaica," in Lidio Gasperini, Silvia Marengo, eds, *Cirene e la Cirenaica nell'antichità. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi* (Rome, 1996), pp. 729–31; ead., "Terracotta Types of Enthroned Females from the Extra Mural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene," in Mario Luni, ed., *Cirene e la Cirenaica nell'antichità* (Rome, 2010), p. 88. Monografie di Archeologia Libica, 30.

[37] On Cyrenaica in the Hellenistic period, see André Laronde, *Cyrène et la Libye hellénistique. Libykai Historiai* (Paris, 1987).

[38] On Hellenistic coroplastics, see Reynold Alleyne Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (London, 1967), p. 133, plate 64; Simone Besques, "Un atelier de coroplathe à Cyrène au IIIe siècle av. J.-C.," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, fasc. 5–6 (1988), pp. 370–77; Lucilla Burn, "Hellenistic Terracottas Figures of Cyrenaica: Greek Influences and Local Inspirations," *Libyan Studies*, no. 25 (1994), pp. 147–58; Lucilla Burn, Reynold Alleyne Higgins, *Catalogue of Greek Terracottas in the British Museum III* (London, 2001), pp. 211–55, cat. no. 2661–858.

[39] The collection also includes a small fragment of imported marble (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238778 MNW, height 6 cm) (fig. 11) from a sculptural group. It shows the head of a youth or child (with a *kalathos*?), on which rests the hand of another, larger figure, likely a woman. The artefact's condition makes positive identification impossible. Nevertheless, the fragment's size suggests a work of small dimensions. The static pose, calm expression, and gesture of the hand suggest a group composed of a woman and a child – a similar (though not identical) configuration is visible in a sculpture of Aphrodite and Eros – Angelos Delivorrias, Gratia Berger-Doer, Anneliese Kossatz-Deissmann, "Aphrodite," in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. 2 (Zürich–Munich, 1984), p. 38 (fasc. 1), p. 29 (fasc. 2). Due to the lack of direct analogues, it is impossible to date the piece more precisely than the Hellentistic-Roman period.

[40] Higgins, *Greek...*, op. cit., p. 133; Burn, Higgins, op. cit., plate III: *Representative examples of clay shades and texture*: cat. nos. 2704, 2723, 2747 (Cyrenaica).

In the Warsaw collection, the most common type are those of a seated female figure with a covered head, wearing a *polos* (a cylindrical crown) of varying height and width or a *stephane* (a kind of diadem). It seems that most of them depict either Demeter or Persephone.

The set contains two intact figurines of an enthroned goddess (both on display), three headless figurines (two seated, one standing), a fragment of a throne, and eleven heads or busts. It remains to be answered whether the heads belonged to seated or standing figurines, yet, seeing as no less than seventy percent of all of the terracotta figurines discovered at the sanctuary are of an enthroned goddess, we may surmise that they belonged to figurines in this very pose.[41] Similar pieces began to appear in local coroplastic production toward the end of the 6th century BC and continued to be made until the Hellenistic period.

The two figurines on display (**figs. 12, 13**) are of comparable size and show an identical rigid pose with the arms firmly pressed to the sides, elbows bent, hands resting on the knees, and feet placed on a low footrest. Both goddesses sit on thrones whose backrests are of similar height but have different sides.[42] Both females also have rather schematic facial features, an archaic smile, and similar hairstyles in which the hair is coiffed into bands covering the ears. Both wear a diadem (*stephane*) and have their heads covered, though the *epiblema* (veil, scarf) on the head of one exposes the hair over the ears, while the other's is wrapped tightly. Analogous portrayals are known from Attica and Rhodes, and the numerous examples from Cyrenaica indicate the popularity of this type throughout the 5th century BC.[43] Also underscoring the ties with Attica are two female heads of similar appearance – with a thick tress of hair above the forehead, covered head, and wearing a *stephane* (**figs. 14, 15**).[44] Meanwhile, another figurine attached to which was a head of different proportions, pose and execution of the back, but with a highly similar face, hair and headdress, is most likely an imitation of an original coming from Rhodes (perhaps cast in a mould imported from Rhodes) (**fig. 16**).[45]

[41] Uhlenbrock, *Terracotta Types*..., op. cit., pp. 85–100.

[42] One of the women (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238780 MNW, height 9.6 cm) sits on a throne with a low backrest whose upper corners flare outward (upper part broken off), while the other throne (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238781 MNW, height 9.5 cm), of comparable height, does not possess such corners. On the torso of the first figurine traces of red polychromy remain.

[43] Malcolm Bell, *The Terracottas, Morgantina Studies*, vol. 1 (Princeton, 1981), p. 125, cat no. 10 (with earlier bibliography); Reynold Alleyne Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1969), pp. 64–65, cat. no. 121–26, plate 22; p. 86, cat. no. 225–26, plate 38; Uhlenbrock, *Influssi stranieri*..., op. cit., p. 729, fig. 8, inv. no. 78–564 (imported from Ionia, early 5th c. BC); ead., *Terracotta Types*..., op. cit., p. 89, fig. 6, inv. no. 74–929 (Cyrenaica); Alfred Laumonier, *Catalogue de terres cuites du Musée archéologique de Madrid*, p. 85, cat. no. 441, inv. no. 3876, plate XXVII.2 (Cyrenaica).

[44] Both heads (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238790 MNW, height 2.7 cm and inv. no. 238792 MNW, height 3.2 cm) have a formulaic, slim face with an archaic smile, a small straight nose, almond eyes and full lips; analogous figurines of Attic origin have been found in Naukratis (The British Museum, inv. no. 1886.31.32, 1911.44.25), though local imitations are also known: see Boardmann, Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra... II*, op. cit., pp. 100, 101, cat. no. T 151, plate 49; The British Museum, inv. no. 1953.0410.1 and 1953.0410.2; Laumonier, op. cit., p. 93, cat. no. 484 (inv. no. 3199), plate XXXI.1. The clay colour indicates that both heads were likely over-fired, though one is distinctly darker than the other. Figurines having similar heads are dated to the end of the Archaic period or beginning of the early Classical period (late 6th – 1st half 5th c. BC).

[45] The head (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238791 MNW, height 3.2 cm) is slightly larger and delicately tilted forward (unlike the previous ones, which are rigidly straight); scholars give a somewhat earlier dating for figurines of a similar pose, i.e., 2nd half 5th c. BC, see Clement Gutch, "Excavations at Naukratis, D. The Terracottas," *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, vol. 5 (1898/1899), p. 81, cat. no. 27, plate XII (The British Museum, inv. no. AN1896-1908-G.94); Laumonier, op. cit., p. 93, cat. no. 483, inv. no. 3218, plate XXXIV.2; Henry Beauchamp Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum* (London, 1903), pp. 83– 84, cat. no. 210–213, plate 37; Gloria S. Merker, *Corinth XVIII.4. The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Terracotta Figurines of the Classical,*

Another four artefacts depict goddesses wearing a *polos*. Imagery of this type relates to the cult's chthonic dimension, which was particularly vibrant in Sicily. Yet, the prototypes for these figurines are more diverse in form. One of them, whose traits are characteristic of eastern Greek (Ionic) terracottas, may be an imitation of the Rhodes model distributed widely throughout the ancient world in the late Archaic and Classical periods, as evidenced by the abundance of similar artefacts found, including imported figurines as well as imitations thereof, like in the southern Apennine Peninsula and Sicily (**fig. 17**).[46] Definitive identification of a prototype for the next terracotta is difficult as it was pressed with a well-worn mould, which resulted in vague definition of the facial features, hair and clothing (**fig. 18**). Comparable figurines come from Boeotia and Sicily, and the production of similar terracottas also took place in Cyrenaica, including ones for export, as is confirmed by findings in Rhodes.[47] The Attic model likely served as the prototype for the figurine of a seated woman with hair styled in regular, long and shallow waves that enclose the face and fall onto the shoulders, wearing a low cloche *polos* (**fig. 19**).[48] A different *polos*, straight and topped with a torus, adorns the head of another young woman (**fig. 20**).[49]

Two figurines imitating the style of early Attic coroplastic works (severe style)[50] are headless. One shows a standing woman dressed in a traditional *peplos* whose heavy, even folds fall all the way down to the feet, and a *kolpos* that extends below the girdled waist (**fig. 21**). In her right hand, hanging parallel to her body, the goddess holds a *phiale*, while her left arm is broken off, prohibiting definitive reconstruction of either the arm's gesture or any object,

Hellenistic and Roman Periods (Princeton, 2000), p. 94, cat. no. C103, plate 11; Wilhelm Schürmann, *Katalog der antiken Terrakotten im Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe* (Göteberg, 1989), pp. 34–35, cat. no. 64, 69, table 14. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, 84.

[46] Head, The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238787 MNW, height 3.8 cm, see models from Rhodes: Higgins, *Catalogue...*, op. cit., pp. 51–52, cat. no. 69 (The British Museum, inv. no. 1926,0324.10), p. 176, cat. no. 659 (The British Museum, inv. no. 1862,0512.6); analogues, see Franz Winter, *Die antiken Terrakotten III. 1, Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakoten* (Berlin, 1903), p. 120, no. 2; Schürmann, op. cit., pp. 91–92, cat. no. 309, 312, pp. 52–53; Boardmann, Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra... I*, op. cit., p. 154, cat. no. 26–28; Uhlenbrock, *Terracotta Types...*, op. cit., p. 91, fig. 12 (Cyrenaica). Analogues allow us to date the figurine to the late 6th or turn of the 5th c. BC.

[47] Surviving is only the upper part of the figurine – the head (remnants of red polychromy on the hair above the forehead) with parts of the torso and a fragment of a high-backed throne (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238783 MNW, height 7.1 cm), see Winter, op. cit., p. 120, cat. no. 6 (Sicily); Merker, op. cit., pp. 292–93, 303, cat. no. I44, plate 68 (Boeotia); Simone Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, étrusques et romains I. Époque préhellénique, géometrique, archaïque et classique*, Musée du Louvre, (Paris, 1954), cat. no. B391 (c. 525 BC); Boardmann, Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra... II*, op. cit., pp. 99, 100, cat. no. T 112, T 113 (Archaic period), plate 45; Uhlenbrock, *Influssi stranieri...*, op. cit., p. 737, fig. 18, inv. no. UM74-487.

[48] The figurine (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238782 MNW, height 6.5 cm) depicts a woman of regular facial features, carefully-executed eyes with clearly distinguished eyelids and demarcated pupils, thick eyebrows, and full lips. The woman once sat on a throne whose backrest extended above the level of the shoulders, as evidenced by the surviving left corner. The characteristics of the clay indicate local production, possibly from an imported mould. Analogues make it possible to date it to the late Classical period, see Niels Breitenstein, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Danish National Museum* (Kobenhavn, 1941), p. 262, cat. no. 28, plate 29 (Attica); Boardman, Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra... II*, op. cit., pp. 99, 100, cat. no. T111–116, plate 45 (Cyrenaica); Patrizio Pensabene, "Statuine fittili votive della chora Cirenea," *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia*, no. 12 (1987), p. 113, cat. no. 3–4 (Cyrenaica, 5th– 4th c. BC).

[49] The head (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238786 MNW, height 9.5 cm) is considerably larger than the others, and is made of different clay, practically free of inclusions, with high execution precision (face with regular features, almond eyes with defined upper eyelid, eyebrow arches connected to a straight nose, and full lips). Similar artefacts come from El Gubba near Cyrene, though the Warsaw piece is of clearly superior quality, see Pensabene, op. cit., pp. 115–17, cat. no. 8, 10 (dated to 5th–4th c. BC).

[50] Uhlenbrock, *Influssi stranieri...*, op. cit., p. 732.

plant or animal the hand might have held. Perhaps she was of the *kanephora* type – a woman carrying a basket – as is the case with an analogous statuette from the sanctuary.[51] The other headless *peplophora* sits on a throne with a low backrest. Her *peplos* is draped in heavy parallel folds covering her feet while her arms, bent at the elbows, rest on her thighs just above the knees (**fig. 22**).[52]

Though the identification of the only partially preserved terracotta is uncertain, we can presume that it comes from a figurine in the type of late-Archaic and early-Classical Boeotic figurines of a goddess seated on a throne decorated with double-lobed acroterions (**fig. 23**).[53]

It is difficult to identify a prototype for a veiled female head whose face is framed by fine, regular waves that cover her ears and fall over her shoulders (**fig. 24**). Certain defects, like an asymmetrical face, unevenly set eyes and crooked lips indicate the use of a poor quality mould, much like in the case of an analogous figurine produced in a local workshop.[54]

The collection's largest object of this kind shows a woman with regular facial features and almond-shaped eyes with clearly distinguished upper and lower eyelids, a small nose and full lips (**fig. 25**). Her face is framed by shoulder-length hair in small locks, centrally parted above the forehead, the head covered by an epiblema.[55]

Votive heads of this type were popular in Etruria and central Italy (Lazio and Campania) in the late-Classical and Hellenistic periods. Likely from the early-Hellenistic period is a head whose damaged surface prevents a definitive determination of the hairstyle. The depicted woman's hair was probably centrally parted and her epiblema-covered head was crowned with a diadem (**fig. 26**); the head may have belonged to a statuette of Aphrodite.[56]

[51] The figurine (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238784 MNW, height 12.7 cm) is headless. The fabric (light-beige clay, free of visible inclusions) and the execution precision may suggest an import from Attica, though motifs of standing *peplophora* were widely produced in local workshops as well. See Winter, op. cit., p. 64, no. 6 (peplos draping), Uhlenbrock, *Influssi stranieri*..., op. cit., p. 733, fig. 13: inv. no. UM 78–804 (local production, 2nd half 5th c. BC).

[52] Figurine, The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238779 MNW, height 8.2 cm. Similarly posed and modelled Attic figurines are typically twice as big, see Frederich Wilhelm Hamdorf, Florian Leitmeir, *Die figürlichen Terrakoten der Staatliche Antikensammlungen* München, vol. 1 (Munich, 2014), p. 152, cat. no. D 4; Higgins, *Catalogue*..., op. cit., cat. no. 675 (mid-5th c. BC; The British Museum, inv. no. 1879,0405.1); Cyrenaican kanephoros, see Uhlenbrock, *History*..., op. cit., p. 21, fig. 11 (late 5th c. BC).

[53] The size of the surviving fragment (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238804 MNW, height 9.3 cm) indicates that the figurine was significantly larger than those described above, see <https://www.vcoins.com/en/stores/palmyra_heritage/120/product/ancient_greek_terracotta_archaic_goddess_protome_bust_boeatian_ca_6th_century_bc/1055758/Default.aspx> (Boeotia), [retrieved: 28 February 2021]; <https://www.corcoran.org/collection/seated-goddess-demeter> (Boeotia), [retrieved: 28 February 2021]; Laumonier, op. cit., p. 90, cat. no. 466 (inv. no. 3197), plate XXIX.2; Higgins, *Catalogue*..., op. cit., p. 219, cat. no. 820 (5th c. BC; The British Museum, inv. no. 1911.0416.2)

[54] Figurine, The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238788 MNW, height 4.8 cm, cf. Higgins, *Catalogue*..., op. cit., p. 390, cat. no. 1474 (late 5th c. BC; The British Museum, inv. no 1868,0705.89).

[55] Figurine, The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238785 MNW, height 12 cm, cf. Laumonier, op. cit., p. 94, cat. no. 485 (inv. no. 3219), plate XXXIV.4 (interpreted as Demeter or Persephone); Schürmann, op. cit., p. 229, cat. no. 837, plate 143 (Campania); Peter Cornelis Bol, Ellen Kotera, *Bildwerke aus Terrakotta aus mykenischer bis römischer Zeit, Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik, Antike Bildwerke*, vol. 3 (Melsungen, 1986), pp. 206–8, cat. no. 112.

[56] The head (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 238789 MNW, height 3.8) seems tilted toward the missing right shoulder (broken below the chin), which may indicate a less rigid and frontal pose than that of figurines from the 5th c. BC. Comparisons suggest local production, see Laumonier, op. cit., p. 101, cat. no. 515 (inv. no. 3228), plate XLII.3 (figurine of a nude Aphrodite); Cyrenaican figurine from the Hellenistic period, Burn , Higgins, op. cit., p. 238, cat. no. 2760, plate III (The British Museum, inv. no.1856,1209.17); Simone Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, étrusques et romains*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1972), p. 317, cat. no. D 2672, plate 391.

Inasmuch as the figurines described above are mass-produced wares, remaining practically with no direct analogue is a particular terracotta, of uncertain dating, whose iconography relates to the grotesque amalgamation of mythological imagery popular in minor Alexandrian art and was often the result of the intermingling of the Egyptian and Greek religions, like those of Bes, Isis and Baubo (**fig. 27**). The latter, especially, enjoyed great popularity in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, while similar terracottas found in other parts of the world may perhaps be considered as Egyptian-art-inspired.

Though the figurine is only partially preserved,[57] it is not difficult to identify it as a sitting nude woman with plump curves, ample bosom with clearly marked nipple, rounded belly and large buttocks. The woman sits on a small stool reminiscent of a birthing chair, which is modelled out of the base. The surviving left leg is bent at the knee and positioned horizontally over the belly with the woman's left arm resting just below the knee on the shin. Figurines of similar iconography are identified as depictions of women who are pregnant, in childbirth, or associated with the myth of Baubo, a deity connected with Demeter. Such objects probably had an apotropaic function.[58] The figurine's condition stands in the way of definitive reconstruction of its original form, though the presence of the birthing chair allows us to assign it to the category known as "female fertility demons."[59] The rear vertical handle behind the neck might hint at the figurine's function as part of a figural vessel or oil lamp (the base would therefore have served as a reservoir) or as a figurine of a protective being that would be hung.[60]

Though small in number, the collection of terracotta figurines at the NMW well illustrates the wealth of coroplastic art from Cyrenaica, where more than 9000 intact or partially

[57] The figurine (The National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. *238793* MNW, height *9.3* cm) retains its left side of the body with part of the torso and chest, part of the left leg, and the left arm; the piece is broken at the level of the base of the neck; on the rear, remaining below the upper back is a broken vertical handle; the whole is composed of several glued pieces. There are traces of red pigment on the abdomen and chest.

[58] For variations of this iconographic type, along with examples, see Céline Boutantin, *Terres cuites et culte domestique. Bestiare de l'Egypte gréco-romain* (Boston–Leiden, 2014), pp. 56–62. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, *179*; see also Théodora Karaghiroga-Stathacopoulou, "Baubo," in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. 2, fasc. 1 (Munich–Zürich, 1984), pp. 87–90.

[59] The term *female fertility demon* used by Donald M. Bailey seems a cautious choice to describe artefact types of similar, though not identical, iconography, see Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum, vol. IV. Ptolemaic and Roman Terracottas from Egypt* (London, 2008), pp. 46–47, 51–53, plate 23–25. The figurine from the NMW is the subject of a dedicated paper, see Monika Rekowska, *Baubo in Poland? An unknown terracotta from Cyrenaica in the National Museum in Warsaw* in *Convivium. Festschrift in honour of Prof. Demetrios Michaelides* [in print].

[60] Protective being figures with a suspension lug on the back could be hung in a household shrine with the aim of protecting the home and family, see Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Terracottas...*, op. cit., p. 46. Figural vessels connected with fertility cults are known from the Alexandrian circle, see Pascale Ballet, "Terres cuites d'Alexandrie et de la chôra. Essai d'étude comparative de quelques ateliers. Thèmes et techniques," in Jean-Yves Empereur, ed., *Commerce et artisanat dans l'Alexandrie hellénistique et romaine. Actes de la Table Ronde organisée par le CNRS, le Laboratoire de Céramologie de Lyon et l'EFA, Athènes, 10–12 Octobre 1988* (Paris, 1988), pp. 231–34. Suppléments au Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 33. Comparanda, see, i.a., Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas...*, op. cit., cat. no. C 646 (Faiyum); W. Schürmann, op. cit., p. *297*, cat. no. 1132, plate 187; Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps...*, vol. 4, op. cit., cat. no. *2777* (The British Museum, inv. no. 1856,1001.58); Françoise Dunand, *Catalogue des terre cuites gréco-romaines d'Egypte, Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1990), p. 144, cat. nos. 381–83; p. 205, cat. no. 561, p. 207, cat. no. 566–67. Despite the lack of close parallels for the artefact from the NMW, we can note the similarity of its morphology to a lamp from Naukratis in the shape of a seated boy (The British Museum, inv. no. 1888,0601.148). Anthropomorphic oil lamps were popular in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, mainly in the eastern Mediterranean. A figural vessel depicting a sitting nude woman, of a similar type though with a different handle (The British Museum, inv. no. 1982,0406.5, see Burn, Higgins, op. cit., cat. no. 3139) is dated to the 2nd–1st c. BC. The figurine from the NMW can be cautiously dated to the late Hellenistic or early Roman period.

intact figurines have been discovered, of which more than 800 currently reside in European museum collections. Though they have been brought to Europe since the mid-19th century, it took some time for them to be recognised and appreciated as a significant source in the study of ancient art.

After the Arab conquest and the fall of its ancient civilisation, Cyrenaica remained on the peripheries of archaeological research. When the craze for antiquity following the discovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum swept Europe and journeys to the Apennine and Anatolian Peninsulas intensified, Libya was unapproachable and remained largely unknown. Yet, despite its political and cultural isolation, the region roused great curiosity in those with an interest in antiquity. While the establishment of diplomatic relations rendered Libya more accessible, travelling to Cyrenaica remained a relatively rare phenomenon on account of the destination's reputation as unsafe and difficult. In the 19th century, however, the steadily growing numbers of travellers to the country sparked widespread removal of artefacts to Europe,[61] supplying collections and bolstering Cyrenaica's accessibility, if only in the metaphorical sense.

Enjoying the greatest interest among collectors were coins and stone sculptures, valued for their significance to historical research and their aesthetic value. But, also brought back with those objects were terracottas, which nonetheless had to patiently await their turn as a subject of scholarly interest and appreciation as a source of historical knowledge. Although terracotta statuettes have been collected in Europe for their decorative value since the Renaissance (sourced mainly from tombs in central Italy and Sicily),[62] wealthy collectors and antiquities dealers devoted relatively little attention to this category of artefacts. Monarchs and aristocrats rather sought stone sculptures for their residences, aiming to demonstrate their wealth and strengthen their prestige. Antiquarians tended to focus their interest on coins, gems, small bronze wares and moderate-size stone sculptures. Mass-produced terracotta figurines, without inscriptions and rarely mentioned in written sources, bred little enthusiasm. Only a handful of collectors, like Jean-Baptiste Seroux d'Agincourt, Francesco di Paola Avolio or Baron Raffaele Judica, felt the need to devote space for them in their collection catalogues.[63] When collected, it was usually alongside vases,[64] as the statuettes were also brought back from Greece and Asia Minor.[65]

The interest in terracottas peaked only in the 1860s, when exploration of the tombs surrounding the town of Tanagra in Boeotia began[66] and the antiquities market saw an influx

[61] For more on Cyrenaica's "discovery" by travellers, see Rekowska, *In pursuit...*, op. cit., passim.

[62] Donald M. Bailey, "Small Objects in the dal Pozzo-Albani Drawings. Early Gatherings," in Ian Jenkins, ed., *The Cassiano dal Pozzo's Paper Museum*, vol. 1 (Milan, 1992), p. 16, figs. 23–24.

[63] Jean-Baptiste Seroux d'Agincourt, *Recueil de fragments de sculpture antique en terre cuite* (Paris, 1814); Franceso Di Paola Avolio, *Sulle antiche fatture di argilia che si trovano in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1829); Raffaele Iudica, *Le antichità di Acre, scoperte, descritte, ed illustrate* (Messina, 1819), pp. 107–11, table X, XI, XII, XIII, XV, XXXIV.

[64] Lord Hamilton's collection, sold to the British Museum in 1772, includes 175 such figurines alongside decorated pottery, see Nancy Ramadge, "Sir William Hamilton as Collector, Exporter, and Dealer," *American Journal of Archaeology*, no. 94 (1990), p. 474.

[65] For more on the subject (with bibliography), see Jaimee P. Uhlenbrock, "The Study of Ancient Greek Terracottas: A Historiography of the Discipline," *Harvard University Art Museum Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1993) (*Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World. The Coroplast's Art*), pp. 10–11, 23.

[66] Still in the 19th c., Hellenistic figurines of a specific type came to be known as "Tanagras," even though such artefacts had already been produced in Athens (340–330 BC) to be later imitated at other sites, most prominently in Tanagra, in the 3rd c. BC. For more on the subject, see Violaine Jeammet, ed., *Tanagra. Mythe et archéologie.*

of many objects that represented a great catch for small-scale collectors, being a symbol of bourgeois taste. Their extraordinary value lay in the fact that they offered a sense of being in touch with genuine Greek art at a relatively accessible price point. This certainly impacted their popularity in the artistic *milieu* – they were imitated and incorporated by artists, painters, sculptors and craftsmen.[67] Figurines of women dressed in colourful flowing robes inspired writers (like Oscar Wilde, Rainer Maria Rilke and Marcel Proust) and influenced fashion trends. But despite their popularity (or perhaps precisely because of it), terracottas still lacked scholarly interest, with museums treating them as baubles to be placed on furniture.[68] Only toward the end of the 19th century, following the French excavations at Myrina, which yielded a profusion of materials of defined provenance and documented archaeological context, did scholars begin to note the historical value of terracottas. On account of their mass-production and their abundance in all periods of Greek art, they became appreciated as a tremendous source in the analysis of sculpture stylistics from the Archaic to the twilight of the Hellenistic period.[69] Finally, attentions turned to figurines from Cyrenaica, large collections of which are to be found at two major European museums – the Louvre and the British Museum.[70] Their presence in both collections was an outcome of excavation works conducted in Libya by French and British diplomats in the 19th century. The terracotta set at the Louvre, from exploration led by Joseph Vattier de Bourville, a French vice-consul in Benghazi in the years 1847–1849,[71] became the subject of scholarly scrutiny only in 1883, when the archaeologist and Louvre curator Léon Heuzey (1831–1922) included several dozen artefacts from Libya in his catalogue of terracotta figurines in the museum's collection.[72] At the British Museum, the set of clay figurines from Cyrenaica appeared around the same time, thanks to the work of the British vice-consul in Benghazi Frederick Werry (1856) and his successor George Dennis,[73]

Catalogue de l'exposition Musée du Louvre, exh. cat., Louvre, Paris, 2003–4 (Paris, 2003), in particular the articles: Juliette Becq, "La découverte des Tanagras," pp. 34–35; Violaine Jeammet, "Origine et diffusion des Tanagréennes," pp. 120–29. On the interest in Tanagra figurines in the 19th c., see Néguine Mathieux, "De Tanagra au salon: un rêve bourgeois," Violaine Jeammet, ed., *Tanagra...*, op. cit., pp. 294–97; Juliette Becq, "1872: The Tanagras in Paris. The Discovery of the Tanagras," in Violaine Jeammet, ed., *Tanagras. Figurines for Life and Eternity. The Musée du Louvre's Collection of Greek Figurines*, exh. cat., Centro Cultural Bancaja, Fundación Bancaja, Valencia, 2010 (Paris, 2010), p. 16.

[67] For more on the subject and a bibliography, see Edouard Papet, "De l'objet archéologique aux babioles de luxe," in *Tanagra. Mythe...*, op. cit., pp. 36–64 (pp. 48–64 – works of art inspired by terracottas).

[68] Olivier Rayet, "Les antiques du Musée de Berlin," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 26 (1882), p. 227.

[69] Edmond Pottier, *Les statuettes de terre cuite dans l'antiquité* [Bibliothèque des Merveilles] (Paris, 1890), pp. I–II, 38, 73–74, 131–139; Edmond Pottier, Salomon Reinach, *Catalogue des terres cuites et autres antiquités trouvées dans la nécropole de Myrina* (Paris, 1886). See also: Violaine Jeammet, "Un certain goût pour les Tanagras: du XIXe siècle à l'Antiquité," in *Tanagras...*, op. cit., pp. 33–43.

[70] Besides the Louvre and the British Museum, a collection of terracottas from Cyrenaica resided in Madrid, purchased in 1872 from Tomas Asensi, see Claudia Paz Yanes, "Don Tomás de Asensi. Historia de una vida y de una colección," *Boletin del Museo Arquelógico Nacional (Madrid)*, no. 13 (1995), pp. 5–11; Laumonier, op. cit., pp. 83–85 (the entire catalogue, pp. 85–106), plate XXVII–XLV. Additionally, a small set of terracottas from Cyrenaica was located in Leiden, brought there by Clifford Cocq van Breugel, the Dutch consul in Tripoli in 1837–1838, see Leonhardt Johannes Friedrich Janssen, *Terra-cottas uit het museum van oudhede te Leiden* (Leiden, 1862), pp. 2–3.

[71] On Joseph Vattier de Bourville's activity in Cyrenaica (expansive bibliography therein), see Rekowska, *In pursuit...*, op. cit., pp. 33–35.

[72] Léon Heuzey, *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1883), pp. 23–30, plate 40–56. Presented in the catalogue were 80 artefacts, each of them with a description.

[73] Rekowska, *In pursuit...*, op. cit., pp. 38–39, 195–96 (earlier bibliography therein).

but entered the scholarly discussion only in the early 20th century with their publication in the catalogue of terracottas.[74]

Compared to the above collections, the National Museum in Warsaw's set of terracottas seems modest indeed, especially bearing in mind that the majority of the artefacts are rather standard and that analyses thereof adds little to the knowledge about coroplastic art from Cyrenaica (the one exception being the "Baubo" figurine). However, it is not the size of a collection that determines its value. The antiquities at the NMW offer excellent insight into the cult of Demeter and Persephone and comprise the most diverse assortment of artefacts from Cyrenaica anywhere in Poland, one that is particularly significant on account of the contribution made by Polish archaeologists to research on Ptolemais, one of the cities of the Libyan Pentapolis.[75]

Translated by Szymon Włoch

[74] Walters, C*atalogue of the Terracottas*..., op. cit., pp. 128–30 (Archaic terracottas from Cyrenaica), pp. 266–89 (Classical and Hellenistic terracottas from Cyrenaica).

[75] In 2001, topography study and excavation works initiated and led by professor Tomasz Mikocki of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw began in the residential quarter of Ptolemais. Despite Prof. Mikocki's premature death in 2007, the project continued under the leadership of Prof. Kazimierz Lewartowski but was ultimately suspended in 2011 due to the unstable political situation in Libya. As a result of the excavations, partially unearthed was the structure of an insula and several houses, one of which, the House of Leukaktios, stands out for its very well preserved mosaics and painted decorations. On the Polish research in ancient Ptolemais, see the collected articles concerning the excavations: Jerzy Żelazowski, ed., *Ptolemais in Cyrenaica* (Warsaw, 2012) and Piotr Jaworski, Krzysztof Misiewicz, eds, *Ptolemais in Cyrenaica. Results of non-invasive surveys* (Warsaw, 2015) (earlier bibliography therein).