

THE GRAECO-ROMAN
TERRACOTTA FIGURINES OF FINLAND
AND THEIR COLLECTORS

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Leena Pietilä-Castrén

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I. Introduction

The Material

Finnish museums and private collections contain numerous ancient artefacts, comprising a variety of objects such as glass and metal items of many sorts, vases, lamps, sculptures, and terracotta figurines. Most of these artefacts have never been studied in a scholarly manner,¹ nor even professionally displayed. It was our good fortune that in the course of preparing the first volume of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* of Finland, we had the opportunity to survey the quality and quantity of Graeco-Roman material in our country. As a consequence of this informal survey, detailed studies of Roman glass and lamps were subsequently undertaken,² and only the terracottas remained the *terra incognita* of Finnish collections. The goal of this study is to remedy that situation.

When this study began, fewer than sixty Graeco-Roman terracottas were known to exist in various Finnish collections. As of the time of publication, some thirty more terracottas have been uncovered; however, only sixty-four have been presented in the catalogue, due to the exclusion of obvious forgeries and those items only very recently purchased. In the latter cases we have followed Unesco guidelines accepted by international scholarly publications since 1973, except for catalogue entries 4, 12, 40, 43, 63, bought from authorized antique dealers no later than 1980. Some private collections remain unstudied at the request of their owners.

Ancient artefacts began drifting into Finland at the beginning of the 19th century. A small number were exhibited in the 1800s as part of the Historical-Ethnographic Collection of the University of Helsinki, but after the transfer of that collection to the National Museum in 1912 they have remained in storage. Some items were also displayed by the Society of Arts and Crafts, but none after 1928. After being relegated to the storerooms, they were unavailable to the general public and forgotten even by local researchers. A new era began in 1972, when the Joensuu Art Museum put on display a collection which was bequeathed to it the same year, but it was only in 2003 that more ancient artefacts were put on display in the Helsinki University Museum. Otherwise, the Graeco-Roman objects are still in museum storerooms, for the most part, and until recently those in privately owned collections have been known only to restricted circles.

The term terracotta is applied in this study to figurines and small scale statuary alike, thus encompassing a great range in scale, from miniatures to statuettes, the largest (no. 4) measuring ca. 34,6 cm in height. In antiquity there was an equal range of types, the most popular of which were human figures dating from the Archaic period, gods and goddesses in religious contexts, and later votaries, banqueters, dancers, animals, and caricatures. They were likely used as votive gifts in sanctuaries and household shrines,

¹ Of the terracotta figurines nos. 5 and 6 have been published, in J. Ikäheimo, J. Okkonen & J.-P. Ruuskanen, Joensuun taidemuseon antiikkikokoelma, *Faravid* 1992, 58-62, and no. 60 in *Ancient Egypt. A Moment in Eternity*, 190, no. 296, (exhibition catalogue). Tampere 1993. Inscriptions have been summarized by M. Kajava, Materiali epigrafici e documentazione sulle iscrizioni in Finlandia, in *AIRF* 19 (1998) 73-77, and individual pieces of statuary by L. Pietilä-Castrén, A copy of the Praxitelian *Anapauomenos* in Finland. *Arctos* 26 (1992) 97-104; A Piece of Dionysian Hilarity, *Arctos* 37 (2003) 115-122.

² H. Wikström, Roman glass in the National Museum, *Suomen Museo* 2001, 39-52. A.-M. Pennonen, An unpublished MA-thesis in the University of Helsinki, Institute of art history, 2002.

however they could also have been used as funerary gifts or even ornamental elements in private houses. The standardized mass production of these types of terracottas originated in the Classical period (ca. 480-323 BC), but was particularly characteristic of the period of the Hellenistic cultural koine (323-31 BC), when production flourished. As a result, this period has also produced a considerable number of isolated heads, now separated from their more fragile torsos. The significance of terracottas in general seems to have diminished in the Imperial Roman era, when they were replaced with small bronzes. Despite this trend, we can recognize an innovative period of terracotta production in Gaul during the 2nd century AD. In our catalogued objects there is a clear predilection for Greek material from the area around Athens, and the south-western corner of Asia Minor. The Italian pieces come mostly from the southern areas, from Sicily, Paestum and Pompeii.

Goals and Methods

The goal of this study is to produce an overview of ancient terracotta figurines in Finland, and make them accessible to those interested in classical archaeology and ancient culture, whether laymen or professional. Although an antiquarian study of this kind has its own intrinsic limitations due to the lack of proper provenance, it nevertheless serves to facilitate and expand the understanding of ancient material culture. In Finland, a country without a Mediterranean museum, it would be a waste indeed not to make public our collections of Graeco-Roman antiquities to the fullest extent possible, if not through exhibitions, then at least by publishing as yet unknown material, and in this way provide for one of the primary responsibilities which a museum would otherwise assume.

The methods utilized in this study were as follows. After locating the terracottas and recording the appropriate data for each piece, the diverse body of material was classified by subject, without making a division by possible geographical area of origin. This seemed the obvious choice for a small collection without documented provenance, and also proved useful for categorizing both the common and diverse features inside the chronologically organized groups. Catalogue entries are confined to technical information and lists of closely related types. At least one photo is provided for each item. Measurements for each piece, usually at least the overall height, are given, and also the technical details, such as the appearance and colour of the clay. The colour of the clay as described is that of the surface, unless otherwise noted, as seen with a magnifying glass or a microscope. The clay colours were classified by Munsell definitions; perhaps excessive for museum pieces, but still the most practical means of expressing such information. The appearance of the clay may also help in determining the authenticity of an isolated piece,³ due to the fact that after the 5th century B.C. terracottas were usually covered with a white slip, on top of which the colours were then applied. If traces of this slip are preserved, it is therefore recorded as decoration. The general condition of each piece is noted, indicating how much of the figurine is preserved and in what status. The pieces range from those that are relatively intact to those glued together from several fragments, and restored with varying levels of ability. The physical description is in terms of stance, dress and head; the terms right and left are used from the perspective of the figure's proper right and left

³ E.g. Higgins 1969-1970, in the beginning of each geographical entry. Burn, 30.

side. The descriptive section is completed by bibliographic comparanda, from which the suggested date is derived. The nature of small scale statuary and the coroplastic medium itself call for dating within rather wide parameters, as every figurine has actually two dates, a stylistic date according to the archetype, and the mechanical date of its actual manufacture in the workshop.⁴

Comparanda

Terracotta figurines were inexpensive to produce and rarely travelled long distances from their place of manufacture. *Mutatis mutandis* it is natural to assume that the place of modern acquisition was also near the original site of production. It was thus important to discover whatever information possible about the people who purchased these artefacts and the nature of their travels throughout the Mediterranean. Whenever this information was available, it served as a focus for the study of iconographic parallels from possible areas of manufacture.

The bibliography consists of publications of archaeological excavations and museum and exhibition catalogues; these comparanda are used as a visual and geographical reference, or to support the chronological conclusions given for each piece. No attempt has been made to note all the published examples, which are numerous in the extreme. Parallels from the Eastern Mediterranean, such as Lindos, Troy, or Olynthus, are to be found in publications from the 1930s; studies published since the 1990s, especially those of Thasos, Corinth and the Kerameikos, are even more useful and informative. In Italy interest towards this kind of material is a recent phenomenon, and material that was discovered in the late 19th and early 20th centuries has partly been lost due to lack of interest.⁵ Terracottas have, however, been published diligently since the 1970s, and the *Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia*, which includes some older excavations, has proved a most useful source for the Italian material.

The Collectors

The second section of this study deals with the collectors – as I would like to call the people who originally acquired the artefacts. The term is used here for the sake of convenience, and due to the lack of a suitable alternative to describe this remarkably heterogeneous group. We have provided a short biography for each of them. For some, a large amount of biographical material was available, either published or unpublished. For others, very little was uncovered, either because of the private nature of their lives, or due to a personal desire to maintain their privacy. Where possible, we have noted salient features pertaining to our study for each person, such as their level of education, any chances to travel in the Mediterranean and observe the remains of ancient world, any personal contact and knowledge of classical culture, and their interest in collecting and preserving the pieces. All collectors discussed brought at least one terracotta figurine to Finland, either among

⁴ Thompson 1963, 5-7. Muller 60-61.

⁵ Comella 1981, 717.

a larger set of antiquities, or individually. The many Finnish collectors who have owned antiquities, but no terracotta figurines, are not included here.

A few of the terracottas in this study have a rudimentary archaeological context, meaning here that the site of their discovery is known in general terms, and thus it may be assumed that the object originated in that area. More often, the objects seem to have been acquired in random or fortuitous ways or through middlemen, who may have misrepresented provenances, if they offered one at all. The absence of precise original contexts for the pieces has thus encouraged reflection on another aspect of modern life inextricably bound to such studies, namely the phenomenon of collecting antiquities. For the Finns, the phenomenon started relatively late, in the first decades of the 19th century. Whatever objects may have existed previously in the Academy of Turku were lost for the most part in the fire of 1827.⁶ In the days of the early collectors it seemed natural to put small items, found lying around in the course of exotic travels, into one's pockets. We can also easily imagine the eagerness of local people to sell whatever was unearthed in their fields to errant foreign travellers. This small-scale spoliation was at first purely fortuitous, but became more determined as time went by. In these pages I shall give a picture of the Finnish phenomenon of acquiring Graeco-Roman antiquities in the belief that it is far better to tell honestly the story of this mostly innocent collecting, than to leave these artefacts languishing in their little boxes.

⁶ Talvio, 69, 73. Also M. Klinge, Teoreettisen kuvataideharrastuksen alkuvaiheista Suomessa, in *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 1962, 89.

II. Catalogue

Draped Females: Standing and Others, nos. 1-18

This is a heterogeneous group, primarily consisting of whole or fragmentary peplophoroi (nos. 1-8) from the early to late Classical periods, with diverse lengths of overfolds (*apoptygma*), and holding votive-offerings in their hands, including a piglet, flower, an egg, a pigeon and various unidentified objects. Their headgear varies from tiny poloi to large ones, their hairstyles from veiled to elaborate coiffures. A hydrophoros (no. 3) is also included in this group. The second part of the group includes women enveloped in chitons and mantles, dating from the late Classical through the Hellenistic period. There is also a dancer (no. 10), technically not a standing figure, but included in the second group because of her garments. The Isis-devotee figure holding a tambourine (no.18), while a somewhat more specialized type, is included on similar grounds. The standing female figurines can be identified as worshippers or votaries, miniature versions of cult statues, or charms. The female figurines purchased in Greece come from antique dealers in Athens, or from the area of Sparta. Those purchased in Italy come from Pompeii, Agrigento, or Lucus Feroniae. One piece was obtained in Izmir, Turkey, and three from an antique dealer in London.

1. STANDING FEMALE WITH PIG.

HEIGHT: 20,2 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back flat. Hollow. Open underneath.

Tooling on sides, on joins and under polos. In mid back a circular vent (diam. 2,3-3,0 cm.). Joins also visible under chin.

CLAY: 5YR 5/6 yellowish red. Hard. Cream sliplike discoloration on the surface is obtained by adding salt to the clay. See Higgins 1969-1970, 297, and especially Uhlenbrock, 30- 31. Cf. nos. 23 and 34 of this catalogue.

CONDITION: Chip on tip of nose and right side of base. The figure is slightly bent along its entire length.

She stands squarely on both feet on a low rectangular base, which is rounded at the back. She wears a chiton with undulating parallel folds, with long overfold reaching the knees. Her right arm hangs by her side, the hand holding the hindpart of a young pig, which hangs down in front of her right leg. Her left hand is raised to her breast. The oval face is severe, with arched eyebrows and clearly shaped eyes, the mouth is small with full lips. Her hair frames the face in undulating parallel waves, and she wears a polos, with an incised line defining its lower edge.

This was a popular votive offering throughout Sicily, connected to the cult of the chthonic deities Demeter and Persephone, for



Fig. 1.

whom the pig was a pleasing gift. Higgins 1969-1970, 299-301, figs. 1091-1096, pl. 150. The type was created in Gela in the end of the 6th century and production lasted over a hundred years. This subtype (T 11) was in production around the middle of the 5th century, Sguaitamatti, 83-87, and Panvini, 163-167, with probably a mould sibling. For piglet carriers, Merker, 117, 265-266. The figurine is most likely a representation of the sacrificing god herself, rather than of the mortal votary, see Bell, 82-83.

DATE: Ca. 450 BC.

From Agrigento, Sicily, ca. 1911. Designmuseum, Helsinki (B 779). Werner von Hausen Collection.

2. STANDING FEMALE.

HEIGHT (preserved): 11,7 cm. Thickness: 0,5-0,8 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back flat. Hollow. Tooling on top of head, folds, outline of the left arm.

CLAY: 7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Hard, with dark and white inclusions.

CONDITION: Surface worn. Broken diagonally in front near the ankles, at the back of knees, and back of head; headgear broken off at base.

Cut in waist, glued, chipped on stomach, fragments missing at back.

Encrustation sealed to the figure in 1959, when it was lightly brushed with paraloid B 72. Cf. nos. 19-21, 39, 62.



Fig. 2.

She stands on her left foot, right foot slightly advanced. Her right hand holds an unidentified object to her breast. The left arm rests on her left thigh. She wears a peplos with short overfold, and a small polos. The undulating long hair frames the face. The eye sockets and small pointing nose indicate sketchily the features of the round face.

She is a votary holding an object, probably flower, to the breast, indicating the intention to make the offering. Cf. Higgins 1969-1970, 106-108, 295, figs. 324-332 and 1082. For clothing, see e.g. Blinkenberg, 554, fig. 2290 with broken headgear, and p. 514, pl. 95, no 2117 with the headgear as the orifice. Also Laumonier, 64-65, nos. 52-59, pl. 4, and especially Thompson, Menelaion, 124, fig. 81, a hydrophoros, who balances the jar without either hand. Cf. the face in rounded shape from Corinth, Merker, 26-28, fig. C11, pl. 1. For the peplophoroi of the severe style from the north-eastern Peloponnese, Poulsen, 9-11, Abb. 1, 2, 4.

DATE: Ca. 450 BC.

From the Menelaion, Sparta, in 1882. National Museum (KM 14683:10). O. E. Tudeer Collection.



Fig. 3.

3. HYDROPHOROS.

HEIGHT: 10,3 cm. Thickness: 0,5-0,7 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back flat. Hollow. Tooling on folds, on hydria, v-opening, face and tresses.

CLAY: 10 YR 6/4 light yellowish brown and 5/4 yellowish brown. Hard, with mica.

CONDITION: Worn. Broken right from waist to left hip and wrist. Chipped in right elbow. Cracked from left shoulder to waist, glued. Encrustation sealed to the figure in 1959 when it was lightly brushed with paraloid B 72.

Her elongated right arm is raised to balance a hydria on top of her head, the solid panel of clay joining the arm and head, while her left arm is by her side. She wears a low girded peplos with long overfold, with folds radiating up to the v-opening with a ridge. Her face has a weary overall look. In shape it is oblong with low forehead and rounded heavy jaw. The eyes are large, the left one extending to the temple, the eyebrows are defined. The prominent nose is abraded, the mouth is straight with full lips. The curly hair is parted and swept to sides, tresses falling on shoulders. The vessel has a high foot with vertical grooves, a handle on the free side and a peaked lid.

The standing woman of hydrophoros type appears in the early 5th century in southwest Asia Minor, spreads throughout a wide area, and persists to the 3rd century. It is connected to the fertility cult and ritual bathing of the brides, and also the dead, and agriculture, see Merker, 38-40, and Burr, 180. For the hydrophoroi from the Menelaion, Tod, 237-238, no. 10, fig. 83, found in the excavation in 1889-1900, and Thompson, Menelaion, 116, fig. 5: 81, also Winter I:3, 157.

DATE: Late 5th century BC.

From the Menelaion, Sparta, in 1882. National Museum (KM 14683:9). O. E. Tudeer Collection.

4. STANDING FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 34,6 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back flat and handmade, very large rectangular vent.

CLAY: 7.5YR 6/6, 6/8 reddish yellow.

DECORATION: White slip in front. Red on the folds of lower and upper body.

CONDITION: Mended from several pieces, restored heavily on back side, on left shoulder, polos, knees and ankles



Fig. 4.

with a plaster-like substance. Cracked base at back, below neck and polos, and left side in join.

She is another peplophoros, standing in bare feet on a tall rectangular base with right knee advanced and the weight on the left foot. Both arms are at her sides. She wears a peplos with v-opening and waist-long overfold. The face is oval with straight nose, but otherwise misty features, though a small upward curving mouth and eye sockets are indicated. Her fluffy hair is parted in the centre and fashioned with four vertical plaits. The polos is high and wide.

This is a common type of standing woman, with considerable longevity and only minor variations in details. It was fashionable in Attica with imitations in Boeotia and elsewhere in large areas, from the early Classical period to the 4th century BC, Poulsen, 52-56. Higgins 1969-1970, 225-226, nos. 846-847, pl. 117, presents Boeotian variants with large headgear. Also Moltesen, 160-163. Merker, peplos-figurines with short overfold, 24-29. Pensabene 2001, 132-133, no. 13, tav. 4. *Tanagra*, 115, fig. 74, for hair and polos. Cf. below, nos. 5-6.

DATE: Ca. 400 BC.

From antique dealer Konstantinos Dimitrisis, Athens, in 1980. Helsinki University Museum (BLVK 108). Birgit Lojander Collection.

5. STANDING FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 26,7 cm. Thickness: 0,6-0,8 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back handmade, flattened. Large rectangular vent, open underneath.

CLAY: 5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow, with reddish inclusions.

DECORATION: White slip in places, light red on hair.

CONDITION: Broken horizontally under throat and breast, above thighs and vertically from neck to breast, all the way down to the base. Chipped nose and upper edge of polos. Mended with white plaster, which is painted light brown.

She stands on a high rectangular base, her weight on her right foot, with left knee advanced. Her right hand is lifted to her breast and she holds a flower with her fingers. Her left arm hangs at her side, the hand holding the folds. She wears a peplos and a low wide polos over an elaborate coiffure of four horizontal plaits, topped with one row of snail-shell curls, and three vertical plaits, one in the middle, two larger at sides. Her neck is spreading, face is round with a prominent nose and upward curving mouth. The eyes are barely rendered as eye sockets.

For the large hairdresses, Mollard-Besques 1954, 93, pl. 66, c. 61, with connection to the Theban cult of Kabeiroi,



Fig. 5.

and for a later dating, Holzhausen 82-84. Also Papadopoulou, 120-122, no. 127. Cf. below nos. 6 and 7.

DATE: Early 4th century BC.

From Athens, in the 1930s. Joensuu Art Museum (JTM 589). Onni Okkonen Collection.

6. STANDING FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 32,5 cm. Thickness: 0,6-0,9 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, flat back. Large rectangular vent from shoulder blades to ankles, open underneath. Tooling on joins and angles of vent.

CLAY: 10 YR 7/4 very pale brown, 5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow, 7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow with brown inclusions.

DECORATION: White coating in front. Red on base, on hair and on the right side of polos. Pink at hem.

CONDITION: Broken under throat, mended with grey ochre plaster. Cracks in right ankle, chips on right side of base. Encrusted at back of right shoulder, back of head and right elbow.

She stands on a high (5,2 cm.) rectangular base, with rounded back and two horizontal red lines on the middle and top, running round the front and sides. Her weight is on the left leg, with right knee and foot advanced. Her left hand is raised to her breast holding a flower, her left arm is at her side. She wears a peplos with v-opening and overfold to the waist. Her neck is spreading. The face is oval, nose slightly pointed, the mouth small. The right eye is clearly rendered, the left one is indicated by a socket. On her head she wears a low wide polos on top of an elaborated coiffeur with five horizontal plaits, one vertical plait in the middle and ringlets by her temples.

For the lines on the base, Higgins 1969-1970, 217-218, fig. 814, pl. 112 (late 5th century) and 229, fig. 861, pl. 122 (early 4th century), and Besques 1994, 67, fig. 45, (CA 4268), from Theba (early 4th century). Moltesen, 160-163. The clay with its range of colours points to Boeotian production.

DATE: Early 4th century BC.

From Athens, in 1938. Joensuu Art Museum (JTM 587). Onni Okkonen Collection.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.

7. FEMALE HEAD AND PART OF TORSO.

HEIGHT: 13,6 cm. Thickness 0,6-0,9 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back flat. Misfired.

CLAY: 10 YR 7/4 very pale brown, 5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow, 7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow with brown inclusions.

DECORATION: Light grey slip in places. White on face, ribbons, veil and polos. Dark grey on clothing, hair, ribbons, veil and polos. Red on necklace, ribbons and right side of hair. Flaking on surface of dark grey area.

CONDITION: Broken across the breasts, along left side of veil and top of polos. Top of polos chipped. Broken horizontally above forehead, glued. A fragment missing on right side of the veil.

She wears a dark peplos and either a white symmetrical himation covering her head, or a separate veil under the polos. Her face is oval, nose straight, mouth small and eyes visible as sockets. On her spreading neck she has a large necklace and smaller simple chain above it. Her elaborate coiffeur is made of seven layers of tight shell-snail curls, decorated with two vertical ribbons with six dots on each. The uplifted piece of cloth is decorated with two darker stripes all around. The polos has additional darker stripes, vertically and horizontally, and a projecting lower rim.

She is remarkably dressed in jewellery, clothes and hair style, perhaps giving an idea of the cult statue in the Theban Kabeirion. Mollard-Besques 1954, 86, pl. 60, c. 22-23, with a large polos and a veil. Higgins 1969-1970, 226-227, figs. 848 and 851, pl. 118. Also Pensabene 2001, 133-134, no. 14, tav. 4. For the large hair, Holzhausen 82-84. Cf. below no 8.

DATE: Early 4th century BC.

From Athens, in the 1930s. Joensuu Art Museum (JTM 590). Onni Okkonen Collection.



Fig. 8.

8. FEMALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 9,3 cm. Thickness: 0,5-0,7 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back handmade, upper back flat, lower rounded. Hollow.

CLAY: 10 YR 6/6 brownish yellow.

DECORATION: Traces of white slip. Reddish brown on stephane and left side curls, grey blue on polos.

CONDITION: Chipped on top, broken under and right side of neck.

She has oblong face, thick eyebrows, small eyes, thick nose, and long spreading neck. The back of the long overfold of the peplos is raised over the polos, decorated with three palmette-patterns upwards, in relief. Three rows of tight curls form an arch framing the upper part of face, ending on top in a stephane made of a plait. The cheeks are framed by two vertical plaits.

A complete example of the same type, in Higgins 1969-1970, 229, no. 860, pl. 122, and a mould sibling in *Tanagra*, 109, 113, fig. 72. The type is known in Thebes, Rhitsona and Halae. Draped female figures in ritual coiffures along with a veil-like cover, either the overfold of the peplos, himation or even separate veil, appear around the year 400 in the votive gifts of temples and tombs, perhaps indicating Egyptian influence in the Theban Kabeirion, Besques 1994, 28, 67, fig. 45. See also the arrangement of the himation in Bell, 149, fig. 162, pl. 46, and 153, fig. 189, pl. 49. For the arrangement of the veil, cf. no 7.

DATE: The first half of the 4th century BC.

From an antique dealer at Pandrossou-street in Athens, in the end of the 1950s. Helsinki University Museum (CHE 52). Christoffer H. Ericsson Collection.

9. STANDING FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 23,8 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back flat, very lightly modelled. No vent, open underneath..

Clay: 5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Fine.

DECORATION: White coating on the drapery and left arm. Red at back of head.

CONDITION: Left foot broken, the folds of the himation chipped in front above the knees and at the edge, behind the left arm. A crack under the right armpit, at the back. Head broken at juncture of neck and cloak; a new head was attached with glue at an unknown date, and the neck covered with gypsum. Encrusted at the left elbow.

She stands with her weight on her left foot and her right leg slightly bent at the knee. Her left arm is bent to her waist and her right arm is at chest level. She is enveloped in the himation, which is draped across front and shoulders, and then around the back, where it falls in a panel, marked by one deep pleat. The himation is open on the left side, its upper corner is pulled to the front, over the left shoulder, and she holds it with her right



Fig. 9.

hand, one edge falling in a zigzag cascade over her left leg, and dramatic folds fall over her outstretched left arm. The upper part of her chiton may have been shown in colour, now lost, and the hem of the chiton trails over the insteps of her slippered feet and has a double hem. Her head is inclined to the left, the hair is parted and drawn up to form a knot above the forehead. Her face is oval, with a small mouth and full lips. The small eyes are slightly oblique with both lids intact. The earrings are rounded.

This type of draped female with large outstretched cloak was produced in Corinth, the double hem being a specifically Corinthian feature. Some variants were also produced in Macedonia and the Pontic region, the colour of the clay may be indicative of Corinth, Merker, 212-213, fig. H88, pl. 32. *Tanagra*, 276, fig. 214. This type was also popular in Italy, Capua and Canosa: Besques 1986, 34, D3469, Pl. 25b.

DATE: Late 4th or 3rd century BC.

From antique dealer Louis Meier, London, in 1959. Sinebrychoff Art Museum (BI 568), Helsinki.

10. FEMALE DANCER.

HEIGHT (preserved): 7,1 cm. Width: 9,2 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back flattened.

Hollow.

CLAY: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink. Rather soft.

DECORATION: White slip under, reddish yellow all over.

CONDITION: Preserved from head to waist.

Broken vertically in two pieces, glued clumsily. Chipped upper right side of cloak and right hand. Broken at back.



Fig. 10.

The right arm and shoulder is enveloped in diaphanous drapery, which drapes across the breasts revealing left shoulder and breast, the left hand grasps the folds of the garment that billows above the head. The upper part of himation is lifted up like a veil above the head with a graceful movement of the outstretched arms. Her face is round with straight and open full lips, small nose and clearly rendered almond-shaped eyes. Her neck is strong. The hair is drawn loosely to the sides, and then up to the crown to form a top-knot.

From her graceful movement she is identified as a dancer, a subject generally popular in the early decades of the 4th century BC. A dancing figure portraying the same movement, from Olynthus, is wearing a transparent garment, Robinson, 75-76, pl. 41, fig. 376. Another from Lamia, wearing a chiton below a himation, in *Gifts*, 261, fig. 129. In Winter II, 144, no. 1, an entire figure, which is a mould sibling from Athens, referring to Polytechnion 379 M. 848, and to Thisbe, Coll. Lecuyer (which I have not seen). The type comes near the Venus Velificans, with a mantle forming a sail or nimbus behind the head, and suggesting rapid movement or flying, Ridgway, 124, pl. 39, dated to the 2nd century BC. The clay and the spare modelling of the back could also point to a Boeotian workshop, see Burn, 29. For the similar features with Aphrodite, see Mollard-Besques 1963, 29, pl. 32a, c, and p. 32, pl. 38e, pl. 37a-e, from late Classical to late Hellenistic. *Tanagra*, 124-125.

DATE: 4th century BC.

From an antique dealer at Pandrossou-street in Athens, in the end of the 1950s. Helsinki University Museum (CHE 53). Christoffer H. Ericsson Collection.

11. STANDING FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 9,0 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back handmodelled, rounded.
Hollow.

CLAY: 10 YR 8/6 yellow. Soft and powdery.

CONDITION: Preserved on the right side from armpit to feet, left side from hip to hem. Encrustation in the folds. Lower back broken and chipped.

This heavily draped figure stands with weight on the right leg, the left leg is bent and trails to side. She wears a floor length chiton with mantle falling straight over thighs; the hem of the mantle projects on right side and a bundle of folds hangs by the left side. Simple slipper indicated on the right foot, left foot covered by the chiton. Lower part of circular vent preserved in back.

This is one of the most popular types of standing female figurines, usually heavily draped, with Attic and Boeotian inspiration, probably filtered through Magna Graecia and ubiquitous in Italy, Nagy, 21-22, 166, Fig. 122, IIA32, pl. XLVII.

DATE: The first half of the 3rd century BC.

From Lucus Feroniae, in the 1950s. Helsinki University Museum (CHE 60). Christoffer H. Ericsson Collection.



Fig. 11.

12. STANDING FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 22,4 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front and back moulded, hollow. Rectangular small vent (2 x 3,3 cm.) in lower back.
Modern tooling around neck.

CLAY: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow. Hard.

DECORATION: White slip on the folds, yellow on the chiton at the back, fawn elsewhere.

CONDITION: Cracks at back and waist. Upper back mended with plaster. The plaque base is missing. The head and neck are remade by the antique dealer.

She stands with her weight on the left leg, the right knee barely visible under drapery. The cloak is tightly swathed round her body, cutting diagonally from right knee to left hip and concealing her right arm, which is lifted to breast. Left hand rests on hip. The folds radiate out from the left elbow, creating a contrast to the tight vertical folds of the chiton. At the back, the cloak hangs down in an angular fold from the left shoulder.



Fig. 12.

visible under the hem. The right arm is lowered in the front, the left arm is lifted and the hand touches her head. She wears a sleeveless high-girt chiton, the belt is not marked, and a mantle is rolled round her hips forming a knot on the left. The hair is parted in the middle, drawn back, and falls on the shoulders in long serpentine curls, those on the left side reaching the armpit. The neck is long and the face oval with clearly marked features and slightly protruding nose. The upper edge of the wings carry pre-firing dents and long end-quills are marked with deep grooves.

Originally this statuette was probably part of the plastic decoration of a large askos or olla, produced in Canosa, in Apulia. The usual repertoire consisted of female figures, erotes, winged victories, and centaurs, applied on the shoulders and top of the vase. They were part of the requisite burial furniture in underground tombs, and are variably called pseudo-orants, mourners, priestesses, or even dancers, see Jeammet 257 + n. 9, and were in production from the late 4th century to the 3rd BC, Besques 1986, 137. They show a peculiar combination of the indigenous, long standing tradition of appliqué technique and Greek iconographic influence from the Tanagra figurines, *Tanagra*, 290. Besques 1986, 138, D 4091 A, Pl. 134, has similar clothing, inclination of head, but the arms have disappeared and there are no wings. The position of the arms of this figurine, one

This is the very popular subtype of the heavily draped standing female figurines from Tanagra, aptly called "Sophoclean." The type of himation Sophocles himself would have worn is completed for the female counterparts with chitons underneath. Kleiner, 115, Taf. 26:1, from Athens. Burn, 52-53, 2070-2071, pl. 13, a date from the mid to late 3rd century is suggested by the tightly stretched and zigzagging treatment of the drapery, and the twisted pose. Also *Tanagra*, 199-201.

DATE: The latter half of the 3rd century BC.

From antique dealer Marta Kapsulaki, Athens, in 1975. Helsinki University Museum (BLVK 63, former 77a). Birgit Lojander Collection.

13. STANDING FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 28,5 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back slightly modelled, with a round vent in mid back. Open underneath. Tooling in left armpit and wings. Added clay in curls and knot of mantle. Trails of finger-marks extending downwards on the back side. CLAY: 5 YR 5/6 yellowish red. Fine.

DECORATION: Traces of white coating on front.

CONDITION: Chipped on right hip, right knee, and on a fold in front. Wings broken in the middle and glued. Fingers broken on both hands. Curls missing on right shoulder.

Her weight is on her left leg, right knee advanced, the body is in slight torsion to the left. Both slippers are

lifted to the head, the other raised in front, was characteristic of one of the types, see van der Wielen 1978, 148. Similar coiffure in Jeammet 262, 2A, the head of type M1. For the short-sleeved chiton and himation wrapped around the hips, cf. van der Wielen 1986, 223, fig. 6, and for the gesture 222, fig. 5. The Canosine figurines were also inspired by the repertoire of Asia Minor, not least from Myrina; O. Elia, *EAA* 2 (1959), s.v. Canosini, vasi, 317-318; similar figures were produced in Sicilian Centuripe and Tarentum, van der Wielen 1978, 146.

DATE: 3rd century BC. South-Italian.

From antique dealer Louis Meier, London, in 1959. Sinebrychoff Art Museum (BI 569), Helsinki.

14. STANDING FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 14,1 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back flat. Figure and base rendered in the same mould. Solid. Tooling on the upper edge of the base, at the hem, and at the drapery extending from knees downward, on the left side of the figure, on the back and crown of the head and the right contour of the face.

CLAY: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink with small black inclusions. Hard.

DECORATION: Buff colour apparent on some places.

CONDITION: Intact. Very worn. Blisters on forehead, left foot, and drapery on the right side. Voids on right wrist and right side of base.



Fig. 13.

She stands on a spreading rectangular base, under which is a depression. The base and the figure were made in the same mould, and constitute a single piece. Her weight is on her right leg, and the slightly flexed left leg trails to left. Her right arm rests on her hip, a fold of the himation pointing outward. The left arm is hanging down, slightly in front of the hip. She has an unidentified object in her left hand. She has sloping shoulders, and wears a chiton and a himation, the hem of which is visible by the right ankle. The head is asymmetrical and tightly covered with the mantle. The face is oval and sketchily featured.

This type of stiff draped female figures goes under the general definition of Tanagra-figurines, though it is an unfortunate reflection of the earlier style. It was made locally, in an extremely worn mould, which was characteristic of the Pompeian workshops, d'Ambrosio,



Fig. 14.

from Veii, in Comella 1990, 48-50, 77, 189, no. E6fr2, tav. 23d.

DATE: 3rd or 2nd century BC.

From Lucus Feroniae, Italy, in the 1950s. Helsinki University Museum (CHE 63). Christoffer H. Ericsson Collection.

16. STANDING FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 6,0 cm. Thickness: 0,6-0,8.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back concave.

CLAY: 7.5 YR 8/6 reddish yellow. Soft, powdery.

CONDITION: Surface worn. Preserved from neck to hip.

Chipped on right shoulder. Encrustation in grooves. Voids in upper body.

Heavily draped figure, right arm by her side, hand grasping edge of mantle, left arm out, hand on hip.

14-15, but its aspect was certainly improved by ample tooling and the now-missing paint. A very similar figure with moulded back, from Capua, in Baroni, 97-99, 105-107, 164, tav. XVI, no 5 (A XCIII a1), dated to 3rd – 2nd centuries BC. Also Dusenbery, 902, 907-909, and Della Torre, 37, no 5 (J VII a1), tav. XIII. The clay matches the CP9 fabric of Pompeii, see d'Ambrosio, 101.

DATE: 3rd or 2nd century BC.

From Pompeii. Museum of Cultures, Helsinki (KM 14560:563, catalogued in 1858). Constantin Carstens Collection.

15. STANDING FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 8,9 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Moulded, hollow.

CLAY: 10 YR 7/6 yellow. Soft.

CONDITION: Surface worn. Preserved right leg and adjacent drapery to base. Base broken. Encrustation in places.

The base is low and round, cast with the figure. She stands on her right leg, which is visible under the hem. She wears a himation hung diagonally over the thigh on the right side, over a chiton.

She might have rested her left arm on a small column, as in a parallel



Fig. 15.

Voluminous mantle passes over her left shoulder, slips off the right shoulder, but covers elbow and forearm. Pulls hem of mantle diagonally. Folds of chiton fall vertically.

This is another version of the heavily draped standing female votary with parallels in wide geographical areas. From Veii from the 3rd century, in Vagnetti, 63, fig. F XVIII, tav. XXVIII. From Gravisca in slightly smaller scale, Comella 1978, 32, no. CI 19, tav. X-49, also Pensabene 1980, 91, no. 61-64, tav. 19. From Cerveteri with right hand on hip, in Nagy, 142-146, figs. 89-91, 95, pls XXXIX-XL. With the same basic way of draping the himation, cf. nos. 11, 12 and 14 in this catalogue.

DATE: 3rd or 2nd century BC.

From Lucus Feroniae, Italy, in the 1950s.

Helsinki University Museum (CHE 64).

Christoffer H. Ericsson Collection.



Fig. 16.

17. BUST OF STANDING FEMALE TYPE.

HEIGHT: 8,6 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back lightly modelled, tooling on neck and back of hair. Tresses, earring and button of added clay.

CLAY: 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, with mica. Hard.

CONDITION: Preserved right shoulder, below neck to left collar bone, at the back both shoulder blades. Broken at left shoulder, chipped on right cheek and nose. Left earring missing. Blisters on upper lip and on left side of head.

She has an oval face, with clearly marked eyebrows and small dreaming eyes. The nose and mouth are small. The hair is drawn in a high peak at the front and in a knot at the back of head, long tresses falling on the shoulders. The head is slightly tilted to right and upwards, her neck is long. The earring on the right ear is so deeply rendered as to appear almost cylindrical from the side. The chiton is fastened at the right shoulder with a large round brooch, leaving the arm bare.

This delicate bust may well be a copy of Diphilos' Aphrodite of the type leaning the elbow on a column, with right hand on the hip, from Myrina, in Mollard-Besques 1963, 24,



Fig. 17.

pl. 25 a, e. The clay is characteristic of the Myrinean production. For Diphilos, D. Burr Thompson, s.v. Myrina, *EAA* 5, 312b.

DATE: 1st century BC or 1st century AD.

From Izmir, Turkey. National Museum (Keckman 22). Erkki Keckman Collection.

18. STANDING FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 24,3 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back smooth, slightly curving, with a small round vent. Open underneath. Tooling on joins.

CLAY: 5 YR 5/6 yellowish red. Hard.

DECORATION: White slip on some of the grooves.

CONDITION: Fragment missing in front from base, with a visible crack. Chipped left side of chin, cheek and tambourine.

She stands astride and barefoot on a spreading base with right hand on hip and left holding a tambourine on shoulder level. Her head is slightly turned to the right. She wears a chiton, and a mantle, which is tied under and in between the breasts, goes over the right shoulder, and reaches down to the hemline. Two deep grooves in the neck. The face is round with muddled mid-part. The brows are distinct and the wide eyes clearly lidded. The broad nose is flat, the full lips turn down. She wears spherical earrings. Her hair is parted in the middle and frames the face in small parallel curls, ending in three corkscrew locks lying on the shoulders. A thick wreath crowns the head. There are two inventory slips on the back of the statuette, the upper with German text describing the figurine, while the text of the lower is not legible due to water damage.

This corpulent lady is a votary of Isis, wearing a characteristic outfit. The type persisted with only minor changes from late Hellenistic period to at least the second half of the 3rd century AD, and was very popular in Egypt, Fischer, 89-90, 354-355, Nr. 887-888, Tfl. 93. The rigid design would perhaps place her in



Fig. 18.

the later phase of production, despite the expressiveness of the facial features.

DATE: 2nd or 3rd century AD.

From antique dealer Louis Meier, London, in 1959. Sinebrychoff Art Museum (BI 566), Helsinki.

Seated Females, nos. 19-33

By chance, this range of fifteen seated females, consisting of whole or fragmentary figurines and busts, gives a good picture of the development of the type chronologically, geographically and from the point of view of iconography. The first three (nos. 19-21) belong to the early phase from the 6th century BC, and were locally produced in Sparta, or its surroundings. They offer an example of the indigenous primitive style of the local craftsmen, and might be called popular art. The rest of the figurines in this group are moulded. The next five (nos. 22-26) belong to a type from the 5th century BC, going back to East Ionian late 6th-century pieces, but well known also in the West, e.g. in Sicily. Variations on the otherwise monotonous scheme were created through the details of the physiognomy, seating, head and colours of the figure. Busts became more common at the end of the 5th century, being most likely connected with the worship of Demeter. In the course of the 4th century an increased degree of plasticity became very obvious, as can be seen by three examples (nos. 31-33), discovered far from each other, from the Black Sea, southern Italy and southern Etruria. After a chronological gap in our collection of more than three hundred years, the Gallian kourotrophos (no. 33) from the height of the Imperial period provides an example of the last interpretation of this type in the far West.

19. SEATED FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 8,7 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Hand made, flat and solid. Polos, eyes and breast decoration of added clay.

CLAY: 7.5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Hard, with mica.

CONDITION: Broken at waist, upper right arm and left armpit. Encrusted in places.

The torso has very broad shoulders, with a thick band (*hormos*) arching across the breast. The long spreading neck narrows into the head, which is pinched in with a long flat nose. Two pellets are applied for eyes, hanging down like cheeks. The right arm-stub was lifted outwards. Low polos decorated with central knob.

This primitive type of enthroned female is common throughout all Argolid and Laconia, and called 'pastille style', as a reference to the disc-shaped attachments or pellets. The term 'primitive



Fig. 19.

style' indicates indigenous and independent features as compared to the production of the creative centres that represent the leading trends of Archaic art. For example, from the Peloponnese in general, Winter I, 26-27. For the Argive production, see Carl W. Blegen, in *AJA* 43 (1939) 422-423, esp. no. 1251 (fig. 10:5), dated to the 7th century BC, and Higgins 1969-1970, 269-270, nos. 980-981, and Guggisberg, 170-171, Abb. 3:1a-b and 3b. Also Szabó, 12, n. 21, and p. 97-99, 103-105, fig. 126. For the Menelaion and the chronology of the Spartan figurines, Thompson, *Menelaion*, 124, fig. 5, no. 83 and 116, 123-124, the characteristic fabric of nearly all the late figurines from the Menelaion is red and dusty in appearance, and the surface is much worn. Furthermore, some of the items were found on the surface, and some of the figurines in Thompson's list from 1908 were found by Kastriotis, who excavated in the Menelaion in 1889 and 1900, soon after Tudeer's visit at the site. The prominent central part of the polos on this figure is reminiscent of the spiral ornament of the other more carefully modelled figurines, see Higgins 1969-1970, 204-20, Papadopoulou, 108-109, fig. 111, and Szabó, 97-98. Cf. also no. 20.

DATE: 6th century BC.

From the Menelaion, Sparta, in 1882. National Museum (KM 14683:11). O. E. Tudeer Collection.

20. SEATED FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 10,8 cm.

Thickness: 0,6-1,0 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Hand made, solid. Eye pellets and brooches of added clay.

CLAY: 5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Hard, with mica.

CONDITION: Broken diagonally from right to left on lower body. The struts are broken. The thick band across the breast is missing.



Fig. 20.1.



Fig. 20.2.

The body is a flat, downward spreading strip, supported by two struts behind, indicating the feet of the throne. Two short, stubby wing-like arms, ending in sharp points, are held open. The breast ornament consisted of two shoulder brooches (*peronai*) fastening a broad, simple band. The long, spreading neck narrows into the head. Two pellets are applied for eyes, and the nose is pinched. The missing part of the garment and its hem originally formed the front support of the figure. For the comments and bibliography, see above no. 19.

DATE: 6th century BC.

From the Menelaion, Sparta, in 1882. National Museum (KM 14683:12). O. E. Tudeer Collection.

21. SEATED FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 9,7 cm. Thickness: 0,5-1,2 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Handmade, solid and flat. Necklace of added clay.

CLAY: 7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Hard, with white and black inclusions.

CONDITION: Broken at the waist, right wing of the throne, and the tip of the left wing. Surface worn on the top of polos. Nose chipped. Void on the chin. Blister on the left collar-bone. Lower necklace is missing.

She sits on a throne with a winged high back. Her breasts are indicated, she has two applied necklaces, the lower one was slightly angular, and in the upper one there are two small discs at the centre. Her face is oval and nose short. The hair frames the face, polos is high with projecting rim round the top.

The same arrangement of two necklaces appears also in Corinth, Stillwell, 77, no. 46, pl. 13:VIII, 46. For comments and bibliography, see nos. 19-20 above.

DATE: 6th century BC.

From the Menelaion, Sparta, in 1882. National Museum (KM 14683:8). O. E. Tudeer Collection.



Fig. 21.

22. SEATED FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 27,3 cm. Thickness: 0,4-0,7 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Moldmade, back flat. Hollow with thin walls and open base.

CLAY: 7.5YR 8/3 pink and 10YR 8/3 very pale brown (body and throne), 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow (polos), soft.

CONDITION: Cracks from collarbones in between the breasts to waist, from right arm to left knee, over the ankles to the footstool, also in the upper part of the back of throne. Mended with yellowish grey plaster, which covers the back all around, part of the seat and footstool, and the right side of the tresses. Very thick encrustation on polos and right side of the face.

She sits on a solid, high-backed chair with rounded projections at the upper corners, her feet on a footstool. Her hands are resting on her



Fig. 22.

knees, the breasts are indicated as the only detail of an unarticulated chiton. She has oval face with weak chin, marked eyeballs, and narrow lips with Archaic smile. The polos is high and cylindrical, beneath it she wears a headband. Her hair is scalloped over her forehead and either the tresses or a veil reach the shoulders.

This type of enthroned female with high polos is found in different sizes in Sicily, originating probably from Agrigento, Dewailly, 75-77, fig. 40. The high polos has earned the name 'pappas' for this type, in reminiscence of the headdress of a modern Greek Orthodox priest, Robinson, 8-9, pl. 5, fig. 20. Also Scatozza Höricht, 58-59. *Veder greco*, 307, Tomba 169, fig. 2, and Tomba 1254, fig. 2, both from Agrigento from the latter half of the 6th century BC. Also Mollard-Besques 1954, 44, pl. XXXI, B 260, 262, 266, 269, dated to 525-500. The winged back of the throne is of later Attic influence, Higgins 1969-1970, 305-306, pl. 153, no. 1118, early 5th century BC, and 50-51, pls. 14-15, figs. 65, 69 from Rhodes. Vierendeel-Schlörb, 22, and also Panvini, 131, tav. LIa.

DATE: Ca. 500 BC.

From Agrigento, Sicily, ca. 1911. Designmuseum, Helsinki (B 778). Werner von Hausen Collection.

23. HEAD OF SEATED FEMALE.

HEIGHT (preserved): 9,1 cm. Thickness 0,3-0,6.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back and top of polos hand modelled.

Hollow.

CLAY: Pink (7.5YR 8/4) and reddish yellow (7.5 YR 7/6), very fine and soft. Cream sliplike discoloration, cf. nos. 1 and 34.

CONDITION: Broken under chin, right ear and upper right side of polos.

Pieces missing at back, partly mended with plaster. Encrusted. Blister by the right eye, void on forehead.



Fig. 23.

She has oval face with weak chin, small obliquely set eyes, and small mouth with Archaic smile. Over the forehead the hair is curled up into a roll of single strands. The polos terminates in a rounded ridge.

The face and profile are similar to no. 22, though the polos is not so tall.

DATE: Late 6th century BC.

From Agrigento, Sicily, ca. 1911. Designmuseum, Helsinki (B 782). Werner von Hausen Collection.

24. SEATED FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 11,0 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back hand modelled with tooling. Open underneath. Trails of fingers in sides and seat.

CLAY: 5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Waxy.

DECORATION: White slip on the grooves, shoulders and top of breasts. Yellow on the chair. Grey on the hair. Red on left arm and left cheek.

CONDITION: Chipped nose. Grey encrustation in places.

She sits on a klismos-like chair with a high back, leaning heavily backwards. The feet rest on a footstool, the hands on her lap. She wears a himation, draped symmetrically over head, shoulders and upper body, reaching below the knees, where the tight folds of the chiton are rendered. The face is oval, the mouth is straight and small, nose is small, and the eyeballs marked. The hair is parted in the middle and covered with a polos.

This type of enthroned female is often connected to the worship of Demeter and Kore, and Aphrodite, becoming more schematic with time, Higgins 1973, 77, pl. 52, no. 142. Fossey – Francis, 69. For Attic and East Ionian production, Higgins 1967, 63, 72-74. For the clothing of the Attic type, Vierneisel-Schlörb 23-24. The Attic production of this enthroned frontal female type, representative of any local goddess, appears in the end of the 6th century and is very popular until the middle of the 5th century. Blinkenberg, 514, 530-531, nos. 2191-2192, pl. 100. Vierneisel-Schlörb, 23-26, 32, especially Taf. 21, nos. 98, 100. Cf. no. 22 above and no. 25 below.

DATE: The first half of the 5th BC, from an Attic workshop.

National Museum (KM 14677:27). Cay Sundström Collection, bequeathed in 1959.



Fig. 24.

25. SEATED FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 12,4 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back hand modelled. Open underneath. The joins of the neck are partly visible.

Tooling on face. Trails of fingers on left side of face.

CLAY: 7.5 YR 6/4 light brown. Hard, waxy surface.

DECORATION: White slip in places.

Condition: Voids on left knee and on right shoulder.

Blisters on stomach, left foot and back.

She sits on a winged throne, with feet on a footstool and hands resting on knees. The upper body, including the arms and upper arms, seems elongated. She wears an unarticulated chiton, the headgear consists of low polos and veil reaching the shoulders. The face is triangular, eyebrows are marked, nose and mouth are lopsided, curving to the left.



Fig. 25.

An interesting parallel to the waxy surface is e.g. in the Benaki Museum in Athens, M 227 (unpublished), from an Attic workshop, 5th century BC. For comments, see above nos. 22 and 24.

DATE: 5th century, Attic workshop.

National Museum (KM 14677:26), Cay Sundström Collection, bequeathed in 1959.

26. SEATED FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 11,4 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Back lightly modelled, hollow and thin. Tooling on the back of head, drapery, arms, fingers and toes. Joins are visible on head.

CLAY: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Soft, with mica.

CONDITION: Broken at left forearm, back of right side of the seat, and toes of left foot.

She sits on a block-like stool, feet on a footstool, the left one more advanced. The right hand is lifted in between the breasts, which are clearly indicated, the left hand rests on the knee. The fingers and toes are clearly marked. She seems to wear a peplos with rounded neckline and a himation covering the head tightly. The back of the head is protruding. The face is triangular, with the line of the eyebrows continuing to the ears; the eyes seem closed. The nose is broad and flat. The flat folds of the drapery begin from lower belly. This type of seated female is found in Caria and adjacent areas. Winter I, 55:5; Blinkenberg, 551, pl. 106, no. 2283, and pl. 98, no. 2157. Also Higgins 1969-1979, 99-100, pls. 48-49, figs. 288-290 from Rhodes, and 112-113, pl. 54, fig. 358 from Halicarnassus. The oblong back of the head indicates a prominent knot under the mantle.

DATE: The latter half of the 5th century BC.

From Mugla (Caria), in Turkey. National Museum (Keckman 24). Erkki Keckman Collection.



Fig. 26.

27. HEAD AND BREAST OF SEATED FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 6,3 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back flat and partly concave with fingerprints. Tooling at back and on both sides of head, on polos and face.

CLAY: 10 YR 8/3 very pale brown. Soft and powdery, with black and red inclusions.

DECORATION: Very pale brown on front.



Fig. 27.

CONDITION: Surface worn. Broken diagonally from right waist to left shoulder, preserving the right shoulder blade. No arms. Cracks on right shoulder, chest and left side of head and face.

The torso is triangular and broad, the rounded chest is absorbed in the high angular back of throne. The figure has virtually no modelling, the face is triangular with the nose and chin forming a continuous line, nose is indicated by two vertical lines. The low and broad polos with veil is rendered with a delicate incised line.

This type was common in the Demeter sanctuary in Knossos and may well represent the seated cult statue. The type was probably created in the late 5th century and lasted well into the

4th. The minimal modelling is not easily dated, but if it represents the cult-statue, a date soon after the construction of the temple in the late 5th century would be reasonable, at least for the emergence of the type, which clearly had a long life. Higgins 1973, 78-79, nos. 153, 154a, pl. 54, and Higgins 1992, 353, nos. 16-17. Cf. no. 28 below.

DATE: Late 5th or early 4th century.

From Mount Juktas, Crete, in 1903. National Museum (KM 8712:13). Mary Stenbäck Collection.

28. HEAD AND BREAST OF SEATED FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 5,9 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back flat. Hollow. Tooling on shoulders.

CLAY: 5 YR 5/6 yellowish red. Hard, with black and red inclusions.

CONDITION: Front broken from right shoulder to under the left breast, at back under the shoulder blades. Chipped top of polos, crack in neck, broken back of seat on left side. Grey encrustation in places.



Fig. 28.

She sits on a throne with angular back. Her chest is broad with open v-neck and vertical drapery. She wears low polos with veil falling on the shoulders. Her face is with virtually no modelling, except for the small mouth.

This female bust comes from the same source as the previous one (no. 27). For the type's connection to the cult of Demeter, Thompson 1963, 77-78, also Robinson, 63-65, pl. 36, figs. 355-356. Also in South Italy the ex votos of this type were popular implements of the cult of Demeter and Kore, and chthonic deities in general, see Bell, 84-85, and Borriello 1985, 159-162. The bust as a three-dimensional version of a protome, provided with a back and clothes, Bell, 85. The deep v-neckline appears after ca. 300 BC, Thompson 1987, 337-338.

DATE: 4th century or early Hellenistic.

From Mount Juktas, Crete, in 1903. National Museum (KM 8712:15). Mary Stenbäck Collection.

29. HEAD AND BREAST OF SEATED FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 9,7 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back flat. Tooling on sides.

CLAY: 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow with mica. Hard.

CONDITION: Broken diagonally from under breast to shoulders. Chipped by the left breast and upper left side of polos. Earrings of added clay.

She wears a chiton with open v-neck and rather high polos. Her face is oblong with round chin, the features are muddled with lopsided nose and eye sockets near each other, and small mouth. Small earrings are scarcely visible. Her hair is parted in the middle, tresses falling in front. The back is cut straight under the shoulder blades. Remnants of the high back of the throne are visible in the rear, at the back of the figurine's shoulders.

This is perhaps another Demeter. The excavations in 1924-1928 at the necropolis of Ialysos unearthed several seated female figurines with polos, though of Archaic or early Classical date, in Jacopi, 126-127, 141-142, 226-227, figs. 119:2, 135:1, 223:1. Cf. nos. 26, 27 and 30.

DATE: 4th century or early Hellenistic.

From Ialysos, Rhodes. National Museum (Keckman 23).
Erkki Keckman Collection.



Fig. 29.

30. SEATED FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 14,8 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Back moulded. Round vent in mid back, diam. 1,8 cm. Hollow, open underneath. Tooling on the back side, arms, hands, drapery and details of face. Added clay on the earring and tresses.

CLAY: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink, very hard.

DECORATION: White on the folds and in places on right side.

Red pigment on lower lip, orange under the girth. Pink on the face and hem of the chiton.

CONDITION: Small crack under the chin, long crack from waist to neck and upper back. The tip of the left slipper is broken, the right knee to the hem of the mantle is broken, continuing as a crack to the right foot. The top of the head is broken along with the upper triangle of the face. Blister in chin and right arm. Voids in the back side. Left earring and seat missing.

She wears a short peplos, reaching to the middle of the calves, over a chiton, and himation wrapped symmetrically around the shoulders. The peplos with an asymmetric



Fig. 30.

deep v-neck is girded high. She keeps her arms tightly on the body, covered with cloak, the right hand is holding a patera. Her head is covered with a low wide stephane on top of the veil, long tresses fall on the shoulders. The face is round with high cheek bones, and small mouth with full lips.

This small hieratic type of enthroned female belongs to a widely distributed group, which may come from a single centre of manufacture in Tarentum. The figurines all need a support, and they must originally have been seated on wooden thrones, Higgins 1969-1970, 355, nos. 1336-1345, pl. 186. She was usually accompanied with lion and tympanon and commonly identified as Kybele/Demeter, e.g. in Vermaseren 1977, 6, no. 20, pl. XIV, and 30, no. 97, pl. LXV. The votives of Kybele were in general strictly frontal, Erika Simon, s.v. Kybele, 755, in *LIMC* VIII, 1997. A variant from Tarentum in Iacobone, 79, C4XVII, tav. 72a. For the combination of peplos and chiton, Thompson 1963, 35, 78. For the phiale as a sacrificial instrument in the marriage rite, Bell, 84. For the introduction of the cult of Demeter in the area of Naples, Miranda, 392-393.

DATE: Early 4th century BC.

From Pompeii. Museum of Cultures, Helsinki (KM 14560:564, catalogued in 1858). Constantin Carstens Collection.

31. SEATED FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 9,3 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back hand modelled. Big round vent. Open underneath, hollow.

Tooling on back, fingerprints on joins. Misfired.

CLAY: 7.5 YR 5/2 brown. Very hard with chalky inclusions.

DECORATION: White on the folds, grey on the stone, turquoise on the chiton, red on the slipper and the cloak.

CONDITION: Head, neck and flat base missing. Broken slipper, chipped right arm and calf.

She sits on an irregularly shaped stone, enveloped in a chiton and a cloak, covering totally the arms and hands. The placement of the hands is not obvious, however they may be clasped together on her lap. The legs are crossed, knees visible under the folds, and the right foot advanced with the slipper visible. Inside the figurine is the modern text "Smy 22III84", indicating the date, 22nd of March in 1884, when General C. R. Sederholm donated it to the Finnish Antiquarian Society.

This figurine is inspired by the Tyche of Antioch, made by Eutychides, a pupil of Lysippus, and famous for its pyramidal composition, see Ridgway, 233-234, figs. 115-116. Among the Tanagra-figurines it offers another variant of the Pudicitia-motive, in Kleiner, 145, 170, 186 and Tfl. 31b. For the different headcovers, see e.g. Breccia, 128-129, no. 402-403, pl. LXVIII:18, from Alexandria, from around 300 BC, and from Mytilene



Fig. 31.

in *Tanagra*, 255, fig. 197.

DATE: 3rd century BC.

From a tomb in White Peninsula (Ak-burun), in Kertch, in the 1870s. National Museum (KM 14560:1041). C. R. Sederholm Collection.

32. SEATED FEMALE.

HEIGHT: 9,0 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Moulded, back handmade, flat. Tooling on folds and back.

CLAY: 7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow, with mica.

CONDITION: Preserved from hips to base.

She sits on a throne with high back, feet with slippers apart and resting on cushion and footstool. The figure and the seat with its fixed, two-stepped footstool are shaped as a continuous line with the knees only slightly accentuated. Slightly modelled folds are wavering to the right ankle.

This is a Central Italian variant of the ubiquitous frontal type of seated female, which has been divided into 39 subtypes either holding a baby, a votive gift, or barehanded, in Vagnetti, 66-75, tav. XXIX-XXXIX. Also Comella 1990, 51-53, tav. 25-27. The figurine from Lucus Feroniae is of rather delicate design. For the throne with armrests and footstool, see Bonghi Jovino, 18, 50, tav. II:A and XVII:3-4, no. 12.

DATE: 4th century BC.

From Lucus Feroniae, Italy, in the 1950s. Helsinki University Museum (CHE 62). Christoffer H. Ericsson Collection.



Fig. 32.

33. SEATED FEMALE WITH BABIES.

HEIGHT: 14,6 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back handmade. Pin hole (diam. 0,5 cm.) underneath. Hollow. Bottom of the base fixed with two pellets of added clay. Joins visible on sides and throat. Tooling on wicker and all the details of clothing, body parts and babies.

CLAY: 10 YR 8/4 very pale brown. Hard.

DECORATION: Chamois all over.

CONDITION: Head missing. Crack from right shoulder to armpit and forearm, another under left arm, continuing to the backside. A piece is missing from the left side of the back. Some joins are covered with glue.

She sits on a high backed wicker chair with armrests and high base, holding two babies by their legs. Her angular and linear arms and stiff fingers are in profile. The folds of the v-opening resemble the leaves of a palm tree, out of which the neck rises. Her lap is angular and cut with four vertical lines, indicating the drapery of her robe. The slippers

appear from under the hem. The suckling babies are presented symmetrically with tiny arms. The chair has a high smooth base, the wicker is vertical except for the framing. At the backside below is a small inventory slip with the text “Vicky 28 84”.

The enthroned female as mother-goddess, or *kourotrophos*, is the next popular type after standing naked Venus in Roman Gallia. It originates from Allier in Central Gaul, from where it spread as imports and imitations to Belgica and southern Germania Superior. Her fecundity is emphasized by two babies, and she is most often seated on a high-backed wicker chair. The clay points to Allier. Blanchet, 133, 181, and 182 for the missing coiffure. Rouvier-Jeanlin, 51-52, 159, no. 313. Schauerte, 26-27, 329-334, Tafel 110-111. Vertet, 34-36, fig. 7a-b. On this type’s multiple religious use, Rouvier-Jeanlin, 27-29. Ultimately, the generic type has been traced to the mid-sixth-century BC limestone statue from Megara Hyblaea in Sicily, Bonfante, 197-198.

DATE: Ca. 75-150 AD.

From Alesia, purchased from Musée Saint Germain-en Laye, in Paris, in 1923. National Museum (KM 8248:31).



Fig. 33.1.



Fig. 33.2.

Female Protomes, nos. 34-37

The Greek coroplasts were introduced to protomes by the Phoenicians. Protomes came to Sicily as Ionian imports, where local production was introduced first in Gela in the latter half of the 6th century BC. Along with gorgoneia and antefixes, protomes belong to a body of partial representations, which were designed to be suspended from the walls of sanctuaries as well as houses. They were standard Archaic votives throughout the Greek world from Sicily to Black Sea. By the middle of the 5th century BC the type characterized by frontal, mostly female, faces had evolved to include representation of breasts and shoulders, although after this period protomes as a general type eventually disappeared altogether. Their function was most likely apotropaic, and they were connected to the chthonic cult of Demeter and Persephone. In this catalogue, there are four items, three of which were purchased in Agrigento, in southern Sicily, and one allegedly in London.

34. FEMALE PROTOME.

HEIGHT (preserved): 14,2 cm. Thickness: 0,3-0,7 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Moulded, concave.

CLAY: 5YR 5/6 yellowish red. Hard, with mica. Cream slip-like discoloration on the surface, cf. nos. 1 and 23.

CONDITION: Broken at the rear and on top. Cracks on forehead and chin.

This protome consists of the front half of a female head with a long neck, modelled as a semi-circular sheath with rounded top. Her head is covered by veil worn over a stephane, and a headband ending behind ears with semi-circular lobes. The veil falls stiffly to the sides of the neck in two symmetrical columns. She has an oval-round face, sloping slightly on left side, and prominent nose, small mouth with full lips and Archaic smile, and puffy eyeballs. Suspension hole on top.



Fig. 34.

This is a variant of the common protome found throughout the Mediterranean in the Archaic period, Blinkenberg, 594, and Uhlenbrock, 34-36, 82-83, fig. 21, cf. below no. 35. From Morgantina the same type in ca. 550-500 BC, Bell, 127-128, pls. 8-9, figs. 34-38. Also Croissant, 67: type B2-3 with variations, in 550-520 BC.

DATE: Ca. 540-500 BC, Geloan production.

From Agrigento, Sicily, ca. 1911. Designmuseum, Helsinki (B 780). Werner von Hausen Collection.

35. FEMALE PROTOME.

HEIGHT (preserved): 11,9 cm. Thickness 0,6-0,7 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Moulded, concave.

CLAY: 7.5YR 8/4 pink and 7/6 reddish yellow. Soft.

CONDITION: Broken at neck and behind ears at both sides. On top a hole for suspension. Another hole broken on top, continuing as a crack to forehead. Encrusted. Mended with plaster inside.



Fig. 35.

This backless head has a slightly triangular face, the nose is pointed and the mouth small with full lips. Left eye is lower. Hair is parted in the middle, crowning the face and ending behind the ears. Diadem (*ampyx*) with veil on head.

This type of head was diffused in southern Sicily both as protomes and in statuettes,

Dewailly, 57-61, n. 34. See also Croissant, 91-93, type C4-C5. She is of Uhlenbrock's Blank Eye type, Uhlenbrock, 82-83, pl. 36c, pl. 38.

DATE: The end of the 6th century BC.

From Agrigento, Sicily, ca. 1911. Designmuseum, Helsinki (B 781) Werner von Hausen Collection.

36. FEMALE PROTOME.

HEIGHT: 6,3 cm. Thickness: 0,5-0,7.

TECHNIQUE: Moulded, concave. Tooling on hairline.

CLAY: 7.5YR 7/4 pink and 7/6 reddish yellow. Fine.

CONDITION: Broken under the chin and ears. Worn front edge of diadem. Cracks in chin and right cheek.

This backless head has a diadem with veil. Her face is oval with straight long nose, and small straight mouth. Her eyes are big with articulated lids and arching eyebrows. The forehead is crowned with undulating hair, visible also by the right ear. Sketchy earrings by both ears. Pierced for suspension from top of head.

The type of clay, height and the details of the protome are very near the head of a seated goddess (type B XII) from Selinunte's Malophoros sanctuary, in Dewailly, 77-78, fig. 41. See also Croissant 91-93, type C4-C5. It is near Uhlenbrock's Thymiaterion type, Uhlenbrock, 65-66.

DATE: Last decades of the 6th century BC.

From Agrigento, Sicily, ca. 1911. Designmuseum, Helsinki (B 783). Werner von Hausen Collection.



Fig. 36.

37. FEMALE PROTOME.

HEIGHT: 32,5 cm. Thickness: 1,1.

TECHNIQUE: Moulded, concave. Tooling on right side.

CLAY: 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, hard with white sparkling inclusions.

DECORATION: White slip on right side, on face and top of head. Modern painting with ochre on plaster.

CONDITION: Crack from right ear to below the right breast, mended with pink plaster. Modern piercing in between breasts.

This is a full-size large protome, extending to the waist, perhaps indicating the length of the overfold, underneath which the breasts are



Fig. 37.

rendered. She wears a stephane from which a veil, framing the face with tight small folds and extending down past the neck, falls over the shoulders in flat wavy lines. The stephane ends above the ears with earrings in the shape of inverted pyramids. The hair is an arching fringe of locks with mid part. The face is round with triangular chin, prominent nose, and full upward curving lips. The big eyes are set obliquely with clearly marked eyebrows. Suspension hole on top.

This is a protome of the early Classical period. See Winter I, 245, no. 6, and Bell, 88. For the face, Marangou, 136, no. 201, from Athens. For the veil, cf. Higgins, 1969-1970, 70, fig. 148, from Rhodes. See also Mollard-Besques 1963, 8, pl. 7a.

DATE: Ca. 480-450 BC.

Purchased in London, in 1938. Joensuu Art Museum (JTM 585). Onni Okkonen Collection.

Female Heads, nos. 38-51

The female heads in this part belong mainly to three groups: those that were broken off from a figure, those that were meant to be attached to standing draped female figures, and those that were used as appliqués or attachments to pots, perhaps even to furniture. There are examples which are bare-headed, covered with a mantle, and with sakkos or diadem. The coiffures range from melon-style and shell-snail curls with knots in different places, to locks flying open or coiffed for ritual purposes. Few of these heads could have been included also to the groups of standing or seated females above.

38. FEMALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 5,7 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded. Solid. Added clay on headgear and hair. Fingerprints on the back on sakkos.

CLAY: 7.5 YR 6/4 light brown. Hard and sandy, with mica.

DECORATION: White slip on face, right side of stephane and on various depressions.

CONDITION: Broken under chin and diagonally to the left by neck.

Stephane is broken on the left side, nose is chipped. Void on hair above forehead and chin, blisters on mouth and left cheek.



Fig. 38

She wears a stephane, her long hair is centrally parted and rendered schematically in big angular curls, falling on the shoulders. The face is oval, the mouth half open. The almond-shaped eyes have both lids.

The head is broken off from a peplos-clad bust or half figure, to which parallels are found most often in Attica, in Higgins 1967, 74, no. 30A, and Moltesen, 161, no. 85. From Kerameikos, in Vierendeis-Schlörb, 19, no. 47, Taf. 13, from 440/430. A related early Classical Boeotian type from Corinth, in Merker, 292, 303, fig. I44, pl. 68.

DATE: Ca 450 BC, Attic workshop.

National Museum (MV 18375:7). Hans Aminoff Collection.

39. FEMALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 6,6 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back hand modelled, hollow. Added clay on earrings, hair and stephane.

CLAY: 7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Hard.

CONDITION: Broken under chin and at the nape. The rim of the stephane is chipped. Voids on stephane, chin, nose and hair on right. Blister on nose. Brown encrustation.



Fig. 39.

She wears a slightly flaring low polos, her hair is parted in the middle and swept to sides. The face is oval, the contour of the right eye is round, the left oval. The nose seems broken because of the void and blister, the mouth is small with full lips. She has disc-like earrings.

A certain clumsiness of treatment and the poor quality of the clay are the characteristics of this female head, the type often considered as head of a goddess. It is very common over a wide geographical area. For parallels in the Menelaion, Thompson, *Menelaion*, 116, 124, figs. 5:86-87.

DATE: The latter half of the 5th century BC.

From the Menelaion, Sparta, in 1882. National Museum (KM 14683:7). O. E. Tudeer Collection.

40. FEMALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 6,6 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back handmade, rounded. Long tang for insertion into figure. Earrings and knot of added clay. Tooling and trails of fingers on hair.

CLAY: 7.5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Very hard.

DECORATION: Brown all over.

CONDITION: Flaked at neck, lightly encrusted at the back of neck and knot. Nose chipped. Blisters above the forehead and behind the right ear. Voids on chin, under the left nostril and by the left eye.



Fig. 40.

Her long neck is tilted to her left. The hair is parted in the middle and drawn back in loose melon waves and in a low knot at the nape. Her face is oval with small deep-set eyes and full lips, both eyelids are rendered. Oval earrings.

In the melon-coiffure the hair is divided usually into eight parallel segments from the forehead and drawn to the knot at the back. For a melon-coiffure with deep waves, see Thompson 1963, 38, and Higgins 1986, 122-123. For different interpretations of the melon-coiffure, cf. nos. 43 and 49.

DATE: 3rd or 2nd century BC.

From antique dealer Giannis Kourdoglanian, in Athens, September 1979. Helsinki University Museum (BLVK 101). Birgit Lojander Collection.

41. FEMALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 5,2 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back handmade, rounded. Pin hole at the back of head. The knot and earrings of added clay. Tooling on top of head.

CLAY: 5YR 7/2 pinkish grey. Hard.

DECORATION: Reddish yellow all over.

CONDITION: Nose and sides of the neck chipped. The lower part of the right earring has slid lower on neck.



Fig. 41.1.

Fig. 41.2.

The long neck is slender and ringed. The head is slightly inclined to the right. Her face is oval with a small delicate mouth, both eyes are thickly lidded. The hair, rendered in small parallel waves, is parted in the middle, drawn back under a plain circlet or fillet and tied in knot at the nape. The earring consists of double pellets, one on top of the other.

This head is related to the Hellenistic heads of Aphrodite. From Caria, in Burn, 193, no. 2566, pl. 92, and from Corinth, Merker, 169, 231, 284, fig. H247, pl. 44.

DATE: Late Hellenistic.

From the Grand Bazaar Bedustan, Istanbul, in 1968. Helsinki University Museum (BLVK 14). Birgit Lojander Collection.

42. FEMALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 3,9 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Very worn mould. Tooling on head, knot and neck.

CLAY: 10 YR 8/6 yellow. Hard.

CONDITION: Surface worn. Groove across face from right ear to left neck.

Voids and depressions in left cheek and right side, back.



Fig. 42.

Narrow pinched skull, round on top of head. Features are rather indistinct, right eye socket lower, small nose, weak chin. Thick neck. Sleek hair drawn back and tied in a knot, rendered as a schematic mass of curls at the nape of the neck.

The oblong shape of head and groove in the lower face suggest carelessness when removed from the mould. Cf. a slightly bigger head and of better quality, Sgubini Moretti, 115, no. 14, tav. 33, from the 3rd century BC.

DATE: Late Hellenistic.

From Lucus Feroniae in the 1950s. Helsinki University Museum (CHE 67). Christoffer H. Ericsson Collection.

43. FEMALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 5,0 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back handmade. Hollow. Tooling and trails of fingers on the right temple. Knot and earrings of added clay.

CLAY: 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow with a little mica.

DECORATION: Partly covered with white coating.

CONDITION: Broken under the neck. Top of the knot chipped.



Fig. 43.

The face is oval with small nose, the lightly indicated facial features are hidden under the white slip. The hair is arranged in a flat, dry-looking version of the melon coiffure, and is brought into a knot at the slightly elongated back of the head. Small spherical earrings.

For the hair and clay, Burn, 39-40, no. 2022, pl. 4, which may have been produced in Tanagra. Melon-coiffure with cross-markings at right angles to the course of the waves, Thompson 1963, 38-39. Cf. the hair of nos. 40 and 49.

Date: The 3rd century BC.

From antique dealer Konstantinos Dimitrisis, Athens, in 1977. Helsinki University Museum (BLVK 72). Birgit Lojander Collection.

44. FEMALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 2,5 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back handmade, flat.

CLAY: 10 YR 8/6 yellow. Powdery.

CONDITION: Surface worn. Broken under chin. Encrusted.

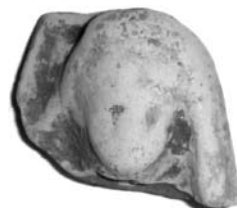


Fig. 44.

Her himation is raised overhead with her right hand, and pulled behind right ear. The head is slightly turned to left. Face is round with discernible eye sockets. Her hair is parted in the middle and held with a band.

The gesture belongs to a general type of draped standing female, and may be related to the Aphrodite of Fréjus, Stillwell, 125, no. 20, pl. 24. It also appears as a caricature. See e.g. Bell, 214, fig. 742, pl. 117, and Merker, 244-245, figs. H357, H366, pl. 53.

Date: 4th century or - Hellenistic.

From Lucus Feroniae in the 1950s. Helsinki University Museum (CHE 66). Christoffer H. Ericsson Collection.

45. FEMALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 4,1 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back handmade, rounded and tooled.

CLAY: 7.5YR 7/3 pink. Hard.

DECORATION: White slip on face and hair, light yellowish brown in places.

CONDITION: Broken neck, cracks at left temple. Small chalky particles on top of head.

Her head is tilted to the right, the rounded hair mass is enveloped in a sakkos, apart from three rows of snail-shell curls framing the round delicate face. Small features with narrow lips, small eyes with thin upper lids, tiny nose and straight mouth. The folds of the covered head are indicated by tooled depressions. According to the seller's information this piece originates from Pergamon. Other tightly wrapped early Hellenistic sakkos-heads from Corinth, in Merker, 230-231, nos. H240-242, pl. 44, and imported figurines of uncertain origin, 294, no. 175, pl. 71. From Troad without the sakkos, in Besques 1971-1972, 92, E11, pl. 118, from the 1st century AD, and from Smyrna with a veil, p. 200, D1488, pl. 281, from the 3rd century BC. See also Fjeldhagen, 154-155, no. 145. For the coiffure, Thompson 1963, 39-40, also cf. no. 48 below.

DATE: 3rd or 2nd century BC.

From the bazaar of Nusaret Kiral, Izmir, in 1966. Helsinki University Museum (BLVK 9). Birgit Lojander Collection.



Fig. 45.

46. FEMALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 3,2 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back hand modelled.

CLAY: 5 YR 6/8 reddish yellow. Hard and fine.

DECORATION: White slip in places.

CONDITION: Broken at neck.

She has an oblong face with straight eyes and both eyelids, broad nose, straight mouth with full lips. Thick curly hair arches over the forehead with thick bound wreath, which is short and lightly stippled.

When purchased this head was attached to the standing male figure no. 54, but the measurements did not match. There is no sign of a knot in the nape, but with the rest of the figure missing, the final word on the sex must remain unsaid. This type of detached head with thick bound wreath was used for male and child figurines alike, but most often for female figurines in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, Laumonier, 212-213, esp. pls. XX, figs. 1067-1082. Thompson 1987, 267 (459), no. 5, pl. 63 (pl. 70) with similar short wreath, from the 1st century BC. See also Higgins 1969-1970, 127, no. 441, pl. 62, draped male without beard from Halicarnassus. The grey core of the clay in both detached parts (*i.e.* nos. 46 and 54) is characteristic to Halicarnassus, Burn, 188. The joining of the pieces has been carried out by a resourceful modern man.

DATE: 2nd or 1st century BC.

From the bazaar of Nusaret Kiral, Izmir, in 1967. Helsinki University Museum (BLVK 8B). Birgit Lojander Collection.



Fig. 46

47. FEMALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 8,5 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back hand modelled. Tooling marks on face, back and wreath. Clay pellets added to the temples, and a third at the nape of the neck, in order to support the wreath, which was fashioned from added clay. Earrings also fashioned from two pellets of added clay.

CLAY: 5YR 5/8 yellowish red. Hard.

CONDITION: Chipped nose tip. Knot missing. Voids on the lower part of the face.

Her head is raised and slightly tilted to the right. Her face is round and the features small, eyes are rendered with both lids, the nose is tiny and the mouth straight with full lips. The neck is long and ringed. Her hair is centrally parted and drawn back. There may have been a low knot at the neck. The wreath is thick, bound, with short and longer diagonal grooves. Oval shaped earrings.

Figurines of young females with profuse vegetal wreaths were usually connected to the Dionysian cult, as a worshipper, maenad or a depiction of the deceased. The provenance from "an urn with charcoal" suggests a possible funerary context. The pellets probably served a dual purpose of fixing the wreath and indicating ivy leaves, in analogy with the other wreathed heads en bourrelette. For the thick wreath, Thompson 1963, 45-47, Besques 1971-1972, 82, no. D 487, pl. 106, and Vierendeis-Schlörb, 139, 148-149, no. 459, Taf. 79. Cf. no. 46 above.

DATE: 2nd or 1st century BC.

From Paestum, in 1829. National Museum (KM 14560:18). Immanuel Ilmoni Collection.



Fig. 47.

48. FEMALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 4,5 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back flat. Tooling and fingerprints on back and sides.

CLAY: 7.5YR 8/4 pink. Soft.

DECORATION: Pink on face and red on the left side of the wreath.

CONDITION: Diagonally cut under neck. Voids on left eye and forehead. Encrusted.



Fig. 48.

She has a long neck, oval face with mask-like eyelids and small blurred mouth with stiff lips. The nose is distorted. Hair is rendered in three rows of snail-shell curls and surrounded by large thick bound wreath. Rounded earrings.

The remarkable headdress, *tettix*, has 2nd century BC parallels from around the Aegean, from e.g. Delos, Pergamon and Thasos, in Muller, 410-411, Pl. 130, no. 1000. The flat back suggests application to a pot or other kind attachment, cf. Thompson 1963, 129, no. 192, pl. XLI and p. 133, no. 242, pl. XLIX. Very similar type of female votaries from

Flavian period, see Thompson 1963, 93-95, and especially 137, no. 281, pl. LV, for the coiffure *id.* 39-40. Cf. no. 45 above.

DATE: 2nd century BC.

From the bazaar of Nusaret Kiral, Izmir, in 1966. Helsinki University Museum (BLVK 10). Birgit Lojander Collection.

49. FEMALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 3,1 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back handmade, rounded. Stephane and knot of added clay. Tooling on face and hair.

CLAY: 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Hard.

DECORATION: White slip, especially on the neck and on the left side of the face.

CONDITION: Intact.



Fig. 49.1.



Fig. 49.2.

Her head is inclined to her left. The melon-hair is centrally parted with eight deep waves and drawn back into a knot in the nape of the neck. On top is a crescent-shaped plain stephane. The face is oval with small dreamy eyes with clearly indicated eyelids, blurred nose and small mouth.

The shape of the stephane is connected to the type of Aphrodite and Nike, which started in the late 3rd century and continued throughout the 2nd BC, see Burn, 133, nos. 2318-19, pls. 58. Also Mollard-Besques 1963, 165, pl. 199h, and from Smyrna, in Besques 1971-1972, 199, D1482, D1484, pl. 281, and with similar rendering of curls, p. 203, E 62, pl. 285. Thompson 1963, 38, for the melon-coiffure. Cf. nos. 40 and 43.

DATE: 2nd century BC.

From the bazaar of Nusaret Kiral, Izmir, in 1967. Helsinki University Museum (BLVK 12). Birgit Lojander Collection.

50. FEMALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 2,6 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, top of head, hair and eyes incised. Flat back. Blister on hair at the right side.

CLAY: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Hard.

CONDITION: Broken at the neck and top and back of hair. Chipped lower part of face.



Fig. 50.

She has a round face with swollen eyelids, muddled tip of nose and mouth. Her hair is parted in the middle and drawn on top of head, whence it flows open to her right.

This kind of open and flowing hair is most often connected to an ecstatically dancing maenad. The archetype, in different positions, with flowing drapery, goes back to Lysippus and Scopas, to the latter half of the 4th century, as part of a Dionysiac thiasus advancing

to the right. It was still popular, with all kinds of adaptations, in neo-Attic examples and Antonine art, Cittadini, 210, 216. The flat back suggests application to a pot or other kind attachment, see e.g. Rotroff, 374-375, nos. 1353-1361, pl. 103, and p. 405, no. 1631, pls. 128-129. Compared with a more demurely dancing female, such as no. 10 above, the dancing maenad is differentiated by the rendering of the hair. See another female with similarly unkempt hair, possibly Eos, in Besques 1971-1972, 71, D444a, pl. 97.

DATE: Late Hellenistic.

From the bazaar of Nusaret Kiral, Izmir, in 1967. Helsinki University Museum (BLVK 13). Birgit Lojander Collection.

51. FEMALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 6,0 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back of head slightly modelled, hair built up in front in a very high 'false front' style. Tooling on lips and eyes, and back of head and high hair. Earrings of added clay.

CLAY: 5YR 7/8 reddish yellow. Hard.

CONDITION: Intact.

Her face is round with a broad, flat nose. Her lips are full, the eyes seem to be closed with shaped upper lids. The hair-mass is parted in the middle and swept out to the sides. Above is a rendering of diadem-like curls with a knot surrounded by curls, and with a horizontal small bun in the neck. Small, spherical earrings.

This is a 'coiffure head', for which Fjeldhagen, 20, suggests many uses, as examples of fashion catalogues with ladies' hair styles, with bodies of sewn fabric as dolls, or offerings in the form of self-portraits, or as substitutes for hair-offerings. For bow-knot, used also by the priestesses of Isis in their stupendous wigs, Thompson 1963, 43-44, and Fjeldhagen, 166-167, no. 162. Also Mendel, 425, no. 2879, pl. XV:5, from Myrina, and Mollard-Besques 1963, 182-183, pls. 218,e and 219,b. It is also related to the late Hellenistic hair style of Apollo, from Smyrna, in Besques 1971-1972, 159, no. D1078, pl. 218.

DATE: From the 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD.

From Izmir, in 1968. Helsinki University Museum (BLVK 15). Birgit Lojander Collection.



Fig. 51.

Standing Draped Males, nos. 52-55

Standing draped or semi-draped male figurines are represented here with four examples, all from the 4th century BC or little later, and all representing the locally popular types, from Asia Minor, Athens and southern Etruria.

52. STANDING DRAPED MALE.

HEIGHT: 36,5 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Moulded, back flat. Open underneath. Tooling on right side, cock, folds and polos.

CLAY: 7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Soft.

DECORATION: Red on face and right side of hair. Brown on left side of face. Modern light brown paint on mended areas.

CONDITION: Broken at right ankle and front of base. Cracked under neck, from left shoulder to abdomen, splitting to two cracks towards both calves. Nose, rim of polos and outline of vent chipped. Glued and mended with plaster.

He stands on a high base, his left knee and foot slightly advanced. His right arm is by his side, and in the crook of his left arm he holds a cock. He wears a himation wrapped diagonally from right hip to left armpit and over the left shoulder, where it falls down tightly by the side to the calf. The folds are rather small and dense. He has narrow shoulders, long spreading neck and oval face. The eyes are almond-shaped, the nose large and mouth straight. His hair is high and made of three rows of tight snail-shell curls. The arching low diadem has an incised rim. The back of the head is quite flat. The cock has its head turned towards left. The vent at the back is very large, extending from shoulder blades to the base.

This semi-draped youth with the himation covering his mid body is a later version of the one with the himation draped only around the arms, see Winter I, 181-184, and Winter II, 242. He is a votary, carrying the cock as his offering, which points to a coming-of age ritual, Merker, 61. The bird might be used also as a status symbol, as an indicator of social class, in Mackay, 105, or was connected to funerary rites as a chthonic symbol, Merker, 61, n. 250, and Boymel Kampen, 125. See also Mollard-Besques 1954, 95, pl. 67, c.69, and Higgins, 1969-1970, 220, 232, figs. 822-825, 870, pls. 114, 124. Related head from Kabeirion in Thebes, in Schmaltz, 162, Nr. 159, Taf. 12. The high hair and the direction of the cock point to late production of this type, *id.* 65-66.

DATE: Late 4th century BC.

From Athens. Joensuu Art Museum (JTM 588). Onni Okkonen Collection.



Fig. 52.

53. STANDING DRAPED MALE.

HEIGHT: 15,1 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back lightly modelled. Hollow.

CLAY: 2.5YR 6/6 light red, with mica.

DECORATION: White slip on the middle of the body and left arm, pink on polos and at the back, blue on mantle.

CONDITION: Base broken at left side, figure broken above ankles.

Voids on belly and left side. Cut above ankles in modern times.

He stands with his right knee slightly advanced, right hand is straight by his side holding a phiale, and the left arm is out, hand on hip. Himation passes diagonally from right waist over to left shoulder, falling down under the left arm. His head is slightly inclined to right, he wears a polos. The face is bearded, eyeballs and mouth barely visible, flat nose, his short hair is curly and drawn to sides. At the back a veil covers the shoulder blades arching down towards the base. The type of standing semi-draped and bearded male wearing a polos was usual in Asia Minor and Rhodes, appearing in early 5th century and perpetuating until the middle of 4th, Higgins 1969-1970, 102, near parallels 134-134, nos. 481, 483, 485, pl. 66, and Mendel, 142-143, no. 1719, pl. III:7. Related types from Rhodes, in Blinkenberg, 719, 722, nos. 3081, 3085, pl. 145. In the late phase the figurines were fired in low temperature, resulting in the figure coming easily apart at the joins, and the core of the clay turning grey, Higgins 1969-1970, 102, and Burn, 188. They are sometimes identified as Dionysos or Zeus, see, Merker, 63. Cf. no. 54 below.

DATE: Ca. 350 BC.

From Bodrum, Turkey. National Museum (Keckman 3). Erkki Keckman Collection.



Fig. 53.

54. STANDING DRAPED MALE.

HEIGHT (preserved): 8,2 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back lightly modelled, tooling in places.

CLAY: 6/4 light yellowish brown and 10YR 6/1 grey inside.

DECORATION: White coating on lower body and phiale.

CONDITION: Lower part and head missing. Cracked at joins. Encrusted on back and under left armpit. Cut above ankles in modern times.

He stands on his right leg, his left knee advanced. His right arm is by his side, in right hand he holds a phiale with omphalos. The straight left arm is hidden under the folds of himation, which is draped diagonally from under right arm over to left shoulder, leaving right side of chest uncovered, the right mamilla is rendered.

For comments, see no. 53 above. When purchased in 1967, this figurine was clumsily attached to the head no. 46. The colours of the clays differed in the two pieces, also the measurements of both necks.

DATE: Ca. 350 BC.

From the Bazaar of Nusaret Kiral, in Izmir, in 1967. Helsinki University Museum (BLVK 8A). Birgit Lojander Collection.

55. STANDING DRAPED MALE.

HEIGHT: 10,3 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front moulded, back flat. Hollow.

CLAY: 10 YR 7/4 very pale brown. Soft and powdery.

CONDITION: Preserved from head to waist. Cloak chipped on top of head and by sides. Neck and the tip of chin chipped.



Fig. 54.

The garment is wrapped over his head, encircling shoulders and the raised, disproportionately large right hand, with palm turned outward and thumb pointing inward. Folds of the robe stretch diagonally from the right wrist to the left shoulder. His hair is drawn back. The face is oval, with flat nose, heavy-lidded puffy eyes, and a mouth with full lips.

This type of *togatus* is of medio-Italic tradition. The robe covers the head, opening in a large *sinus* on the chest, and leaving the right hand and part of the chest and shoulder uncovered. For the gesture of the right hand in a female statuette, in *Veio*, 75-76, fig. I.F.6.8. See also *togati* with palm inward, in Comella 1990, 45-46, nos. E2Va and E2Vb12, tav. 14c-d. Of the creation of this type of standing worshipper in the West in the 4th century BC, and in the eastern Mediterranean, in the 3rd century, see Thompson 1963, 95-97. For the robe and gesture, Pensabene 1980, 155-156, and in large-scale statuary, in *Enea*, 236-238, D218.

DATE: 4th century BC.

From Lucus Feroniae, in the 1950s. Helsinki University Museum (CHE 61). Christoffer H. Ericsson Collection.



Fig. 55.

Male Heads, nos. 56-57

The two male heads of this catalogue belong to the general group of votive heads, which are usually found in votive trenches within sanctuary precincts, having been deposited there after the number of votives became too large to display within the sanctuary itself. The first type first appeared in the late Archaic period in Magna Graecia, from whence it spread over wide areas in the East. The other is somewhat more recent and represents a type common in Central Italy.

56. MALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 8,0 cm. Thickness 1,0-1,5 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Moulded, back concave, tooling on front hair, by the neck and eyelashes.

Added clay in headgear, beard and pellets for affixing it.

CLAY: 10YR 8/3 very pale brown. Hard.

DECORATION: Pink on top of head and traces of brown by the right eye.

CONDITION: Neck cut diagonally from right to upper left. Beard broken, chipped on top of head and left eye. Encrusted on left side. Missing left side beads, right side uppermost beads, and the central decoration from headgear.



Fig. 56.

The head of this bearded male is tilted to the right. His hair is centrally parted, and rendered with short vertical incisions. He wears a stephane of large beads, originally consisting of four on each side, and a lotus flower centre piece. The facial features are clearly marked with long eyelashes and arching eyebrows. He has a prominent nose, small upward curving mouth with wider upper lip. The broad beard points slightly outward and reaches up to the ears, covering lower parts of cheeks. It is fixed with pellets from underneath. There are three holes on top and sides of the head, of which the right one is not properly perforated.

This is a head of the well-known type of bearded male reclining on a dining couch, resting his left arm on the cushions and holding a rhyton or phiale in his right hand. He might have represented a heroized dead, or the votary himself, Borriello 2003, 38. For the interpretation of the reclining banqueter, see Iacobone, 166-169. The type was created and in production in Tarentum from the end of the 6th century to the end of the 4th century BC. On the outskirts of Tarentum an enormous find of several thousand figurines was discovered in 1880-1881, e.g. Fischer-Hansen, 75-77, nos. 41-42, and Iacobone, 2, 156-157. This head is of good quality, and belongs to the early period, Herdejürgen, 1-3, 26, 38, no. 9; in the first phase the beads were big. Maybe a mould sibling in the Louvre, also with a broken beard and similar clay, in Mollard-Besques 1954, 71-73, B 512, pl. XLVI (46). Besides the iconography, the clay also points to Tarentum as the area of production.

DATE: Ca. 500 BC.

A gift from Professor Axel Boëthius, from Italy ca. 1927. Helsinki University Museum (CHE 35). Christoffer H. Ericsson Collection.

57. MALE HEAD.

HEIGHT: 7,7 cm. Thickness: 1,5-2,0 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Handmade, concave, tooling on hair.

CLAY: 2.5 Y 8/3 pale yellow. Soft.

CONDITION: Broken on top. Preserved mid forehead and hair, nose, eyebrows, left eye. Worn. Encrusted.

The hair is worn in an arching fringe of straight locks and topped by the mantle. The right eye is a mere socket, the left is small and almond-shaped, the nose is narrow at bridge.

The almost life-sized votive heads depicted either the divinity or the worshipper, reflecting the popular nature of religion and the medio-Italic style. They were produced from the 4th century to the end of the 1st BC in Campania, Lazio and southern and central Etruria, see *Roma medio repubblicana*, 138-139. Very similar head from l'Ara della Regina, Tarquinia, in Comella 1982, 56-57, B1XX, tav. 17b. Further examples in Pensabene 2001, 334, tav. 72-73 from the 4th and 3rd centuries BC.

DATE: 3rd or 2nd century BC.

From Lucus Feroniae, in 1950s. Helsinki University Museum (CHE 65). Christoffer H. Ericsson Collection.



Fig. 57.

Children, nos. 58-60

Children were already a favourite subject of coroplasts in the Classical period. The three examples in this catalogue, from Ionia, the Black Sea, and Egypt, have features that were popular in the Hellenistic period, sometimes even later. They are of the following general types: heads with one or more hair braids, boys as young Erotes, and seated small boys with one knee raised, the other relaxed on the base, and leaning on the opposite hand.



Fig. 58.

58. HEAD OF BOY.

HEIGHT: 3,4 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Made in a two-part mould, join visible all around the head.

CLAY: 2.5 YR 5/4 Reddish brown.

DECORATION: White slip in various places.

CONDITION: Flaked under the neck, muddled during mould removal on the right side of the nose tip and above the left eye. Voids on right eye, and chin. Blisters around the mouth and under the left eye.

The head is tilted to the right. The round face is framed by short curly hair, worn in a plait down centre of head. The nose is pressed slightly to the left. The eyelids and eyebrows are carefully rendered. The mouth is straight with full lips.

This is an isolated head. Erotes are often depicted with this particular hairstyle, Thompson 1963, 123, no. 145, pl. XXXI. It helped to keep the curly hair in place, both for boys and girls, Neils, 307. From Myrina, Mollard-Besques 1963, 189, pl. 224 i.

DATE: 2nd century BC.

From Ionia, in the 1960s. Helsinki University Museum (BLVK 11). Birgit Lojander Collection.

59. TORSO OF CHILD.

HEIGHT: 7,7 cm. Thickness: 0,2-0,6 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Front and back moulded. Hollow. Pin hole on top of head (diam. 0,4). The wreath, in armpits and in joins added clay. Tooling on eyes and torque. Trails of fingers on the back.

CLAY: 2.5 YR 6/8 light red. Very hard, with mica.

DECORATION: Reddish brown all over, pink on torque.

CONDITION: Broken from waist. Missing right forearm and left upper arm. Nose tip chipped. Crack running through left eyebrow, caused by the void in the left eye itself. Voids and blisters in places.



Fig. 59.

He has a muscular, sturdy upper body, the right arm is raised to the shoulder level, left arm-stub indicates that the arm originally hung straight down. His head is slightly tilted to right. The right ear is clearly marked. He has round face with bulbous forehead and high cheekbones. His eyes are rendered by means of fine incisions, the eyebrows are thick. The mouth with full lips is slightly open. The wreath in his head consists of six big leaves, three on each side. A thick, wreath-like object hangs around his neck.

This figure displays characteristics common to both child-like Erotes and satyrs. The roundedness and scale of the bodily features belong to a child, the high middle part of the forehead, heavy eyebrows, and general facial expression and sturdiness of the body to a satyr. The wreath of ivy leaves, schematic and triangular, were carried by both, Winter II:3, 250, no. 8 from Tarentum, and p. 309, no. 608 from Myrina, and an Eros with a wreath round the neck, p. 343, no 3. For the satyr-like nature of children, see Summerer, 46, 53. The quality of clay and technical features point to Tarsus in Cilicia as a possible production centre, where Dionysian Erotes were part of the repertoire, Besques 1971-1972, 269-270, 323-326, nos. 2743-2788, pls. 399-402.

DATE: Late Hellenistic

From Kertsch, Crimea, in 1868-1871. National Museum (KM 14560:925). I. I. Filipenko Collection.

60. SEATED BOY.

HEIGHT: 24,5 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Single-moulded, the reverse only slightly articulated. In the mid back a fingertip-sized depression, probably for holding the statuette. Added clay strips on the joins all the way up to the neck.

CLAY: 5 YR 6/4 light reddish brown with sparkling inclusions.

DECORATION: Two layers of paint are visible in places; bottom layer pinkish grey, on top of which white turning sometimes to chamois. Red stripe on the upper step of the base, and penis. Two red parallel lines on the lower belly, waist and neck. Red also on the fingers and wrists, the mouths of the pot and the child. Black on necklace, eyes, eyebrows and hair.

CONDITION: Upper body from waist upwards and head in many pieces, mended. Nose chipped. Voids on lower back.

The rectangular base (ht. 5,0 cm.) has a stepped two-part moulding, in front at its foot and upper edge. The child sits in relaxed position on his left buttock. The right knee is raised and depicted frontally, the left leg is relaxed on the base. Between the legs there is unspecified drapery, ending in a tassel. The double red lines probably indicate the plumpness of the corpulent body. He has a pot under the left arm, the right arm is lifted to the breast, and he rests his chin in his right hand, a forefinger pointing to his mouth. He wears an amulet on a chain round the neck. A long lock of hair hangs on the right shoulder, an oval-shaped form of drapery covers his left shoulder. The head is slightly inclined to the right. The face is round with a small nose and high, arched forehead. The small mouth is straight, the eyelids, eyes and eyebrows are distinctly marked. The head is partly clean-shaven with hair behind the flat right ear, the left ear is carefully rendered.

This iconography is suitable for any child, but is most often connected to the Egyptian child god Harpocrates (Horus). The type appeared already in the Classical period and was based on Egyptian prototypes, see Merker, 68, also Fjeldhagen, 28-29, no. 4, and was favoured by the Greeks living in Egypt, Tram Tan Tinh, B. Jaeger & S. Poulin, s.v. Harpocrates, esp. "avec un pot", *LIMC* 4 (1988) 415, 425, nos. 133-137. Dunand, 74, no. 141, presents another iconographical type of Harpocrates, but in other respects with remarkably similar features, such as the clay, size, base and painting, comparable also



Fig. 60.

to no. 133 in the Museum of Cairo, with a provenance from Touna el Gebel, near the necropolis of Hermopolis. This type of votive offering to Harpocrates flourished in the 3rd century AD, the long lock of hair, 'Jugendlocke', in particular became fashionable after 200 AD, Fischer, 100-101, Fig. 580, S. 265, Tfl. 59.

Bibl: Ancient Egypt. A Moment in Eternity, (exhibition catalogue). Tampere 1993, 190, no. 296, called "plaster statue", probably due to the white slip. Dated in that instance to the 2nd century AD.

DATE: 3rd century AD.

Purchased by F. R. Martin in Egypt, in 1895-1896. National Museum (KM 5981:90).

Animals, nos. 61-63

There are three terracottas representing animals in this catalogue: a horse from Cyprus, a dove from the Menelaion in Sparta, and a pig from Athens. In Archaic Cyprus the horse, mostly with a rider, was a popular gift in sanctuaries, as well as tomb offerings. It was also connected to the worship of heroes. In religious life the dove and the pig had direct connections with cult rites. The dove appears often in marriage iconography and, as an attribute of Aphrodite, may have been regarded as a particularly suitable votive in the Menelaion, due to the legendary connection of the place with Helen. The pig was the sacrificial animal proper of the chthonic cult of Demeter.

61. HORSE.

HEIGHT: 11,2 cm. Width: 7,7 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Handmade, solid. Trails of fingers on head and neck. Added clay on mane, right ear and tail.

CLAY: 10 YR 7/3 and 7/4 very pale brown. Soft and powdery.

DECORATION: (10 YR 8/2) very pale brown and (2.5 YR 8/2) pale yellow, all over. Reddish brown marks from finger trails by right ear and tip of muzzle.

CONDITION: Broken left front leg, hoof of right leg, hind legs and tail. Crack along stomach bottom.

The horse is delicately modelled with lightly accentuated mane, brows, muzzle and throat. Right ear is pricked. Peg-legs. Traces of attachment for tail and rider on back.

In Cyprus horse-and-rider figurines were particularly popular at Kourion, in the sanctuary of Apollon Hylates from the 7th century onwards, but a large number appeared also in the



Fig. 61.

necropolis of Amathus in the 6th century, Karageorghis 1995, 62. For the Amathus-type of horse, Karageorghis 1987, 24. Simple horse figurines were relatively few. Originally there would have been a rider, which has become detached, Karageorghis 1996, 23. The rider was made separately and fixed on the horse's back before firing, Karageorghis 1995, 61. The pale clay indicates the area of Amathus, see Young, 186. According to Youngs' classification the horse is similar to types 19 and 26, dated to the latter half of the 6th century, 151-152, 228.

DATE: 600-475 BC. Cypro-Archaic II.

Donated by the Cypriot authorities in 1980. *S(ine) R(egistro)* 6607/75. Institute of Classical Philology, University of Helsinki.

62. BIRD.

LENGTH: 4,3 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Hand made, solid.

CLAY: 7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Hard, with dark and white inclusions.

CONDITION: Broken head, tail, right wing, tip of left wing. Dark brown encrustation.



Fig. 62.1.



Fig. 62.2.

Plump, roughly modelled body in a flying position. A ridge on the backside between the wings. Fan-shaped tail. On the stomach, in front of the thighs, a small hole (diam. 0,2 cm., depth 1,0 cm.) possibly for fastening.

The flying bird is a less common type than the resting bird. In Corinth, for instance, after the middle of the 6th century, only one-third of the doves are of flying type, the more usual being seated, Stillwell, 184-185, no. XXVII, 6, pl. 39. The same way of fastening a flying bird in Schürmann, 46, Taf. 22, no. 102, from Boeotia from the end of the 6th century. Three doves attached on a ring base, in Marangou, 133, fig. 195. From Argos, see Guggisberg, 180-181, Abb. 5:22, and flying birds also from Boeotia and Athens, A. Andreiomenou, *ArchDelt* 21 B1 (1966) 80, pin. 83.2, found in a child's coffin, dated to the 5th century. Lamberton, 8-9, fig. 16, for the different species of doves as votives. Very good parallel from Cyrenae, in Besques 1992, 78, D 4413, pl. 44f and 45c, Hellenistic. From the Menelaion a sitting bird with a fanlike tail, Thompson, Menelaion, 124, fig. 5:85.

DATE: 5th century BC.

From the Menelaion, Sparta, in 1882. National Museum (KM 14683:6). O. E. Tudeer Collection.

63. FIG.

HEIGHT: 5,5 cm. Length: 10,2 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Made in two-part mould. A pin-hole underneath, between the back legs. A void above the tail.

CLAY: 10 YR 8/3 very pale brown. Fine.



Fig. 63.

DECORATION: White coating (2.5 YR 8/2) covers the whole beast. Around the left eye and snout some pink.

CONDITION: Intact.

A ridge (1,0 cm. wide) from between the ears to the testicles, runs slightly depressed in the middle of the back. The legs are modelled as simple knobs. The straight tail falls down on the right hind leg. Accurately shaped ears, eyebrows,

eyes, and one tusk, on the right side of the straight snout.

In the 5th century BC the pig was common in tombs and as votive offerings in the sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore, and very widespread in Attica, Boeotia, Greek East, Sicily, Magna Graecia and in Italy, where it sometimes also included a base, Ciaghi, 240-241. From Boeotia, Besques 1971-1972, 39, no. D 218, pl. 48. From Athens, *The City beneath the City*, 320, no. 329. Vierneisel-Schlörb, 165, Taf. 99, no. 565. The depression in the back might suggest that originally there had been a figure riding, Higgins 1969-1970, 77, fig. 176. See also no. 1 of this catalogue.

DATE: 5th century BC.

From antique dealer A. M. Vitali, Athens, in 1979. Helsinki University Museum (BLVK 99). Birgit Lojander Collection.

Miscellaneous, no. 64

64. BRAZIER LUG.

HEIGHT: 12,0 cm.

TECHNIQUE: Figure pressed with a mould.

CLAY: 5YR 5/8 yellowish red, sandy with big glittering and brown particles. Very hard.

CONDITION: Only the figurative handle preserved, with part of the raised rim, from a large vessel.

The satyr-like figure in raised relief consists of a flat head with flying hair framing the face, and a long beard protruding diagonally from the wall of the vessel, to act as a handle. There are wrinkles on the forehead, the eyebrows are thick, nose flat, and the full lips are surrounded by long moustache and the long beard, made of six sections meeting diagonally in the middle. The hair is made of three consecutive arches,



Fig. 64.

behind the hair the quadrangular line of the mould is clearly visible.

Braziers (*pyraunoi*), in which charcoal was burnt for heating or cooking, were commonly provided with three lugs decorated with a satyr mask. The type was popular in the middle and eastern Mediterranean, deriving from Greek archetypes with numerous local imitations, Schürmann, 332-333, no. 1262. Dunand, 331-332, no. 1005. Török, 182, nos. 298-301, pl. CLXII.

DATE: 3rd or 2nd century BC.

From Ialysos, in Rhodes. National Museum (Keckman 59). Erkki Keckman Collection.

III. The Collectors

Immanuel Ilmoni (1797-1856)

Early years and university studies

Immanuel Ilmoni, professor of theoretical and practical medicine in the University of Helsinki from 1834, was born to a parish bell-ringer's religious family in Nummi, in southern Finland. He went to school in Porvoo, where the normal curriculum included classical and modern languages. He was especially interested in ethnographic studies, but at the Academy of Turku he vacillated about the direction of his future career. He studied many subjects and read plenty of literature, including Greek and Latin authors. By the end of the summer vacation of 1816 his dedication to classics was shown by his not being happy about having only reached the seventh chapter of Homer.¹

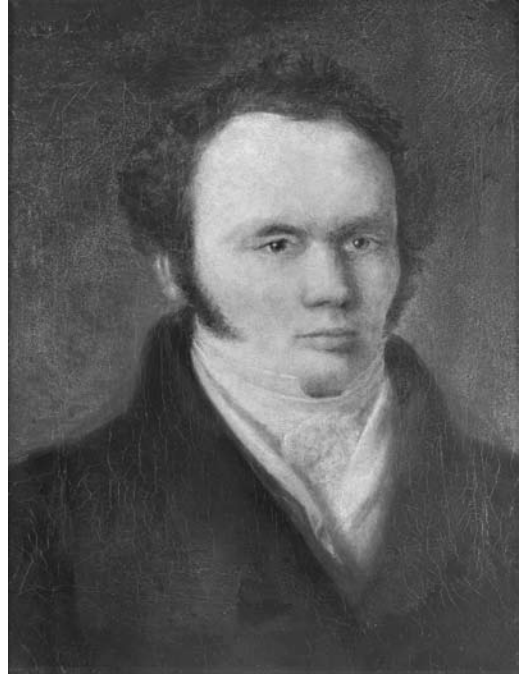


Fig. 65.

In 1819 he began studying medicine, and in the summer of 1822 made his first visit to Stockholm, the capital of Finland's mother country until 1809. There he made his first contact with larger collections of visual art and ancient sculpture when visiting the Royal Castle. Ilmoni mentions especially the Muses, Antinous, and the sleeping Endymion,² all of which he saw in the Royal Museum in the garden wing of the Castle, devoted exclusively to ancient sculpture brought from Italy by King Gustav III. The nine Muses had been picked up from different sources in 1784, and was a mismatched group. Antinous, on the other hand, was a plaster cast of a relief of Villa Albani, but the statue of the mythological shepherd Endymion is even today considered authentic, unique in type, and rare in subject.³

In Drottningholm Castle he saw miniature models of Roman temples made, according to him, of gypsum.⁴ Ilmoni made, however, a mistake here, as they in reality were made of cork, as was the popular custom at that time. Even today there are still eight miniature models in Drottningholm, which depict famous temple ruins in Tivoli,

¹ Heinricius, 5, 16.

² Heinricius, 47.

³ Leander Touati, 28, 64-65, 101-104, 111.

⁴ Heinricius, 49.

Rome, Pompeii and Paestum. Most of them were acquisitions of Gustav III, and they were displayed in the library and other rooms of the castle.⁵

The next visit to Stockholm was undertaken in 1823-1824 as part of his medical studies. Although pursuing medicine with a special interest in natural philosophy and psychiatry, he was also a keen writer of drama and poems. Now he expressed for the first time his wish to go out into the great world to see life and nature, obviously inspired by his stimulating stay in Stockholm, where he had enjoyed theatre, arts, music and the company of estimable persons.⁶ That dream had to be put aside for a while, however, as he returned to Finland, where he was appointed adjunct professor of anatomy and physiology and anatomical prosecutor in Turku in 1826. Later that year he met with some friends, who had recently returned from a Caucasian expedition with samples of mayflies. To another friend, who was leaving for Russia, he suggested collecting local traditional costumes.⁷ These exchanges seem to be the first signs of his interest in collecting, not surprisingly coinciding with the general fashion of making ethnographical trips to the east after Finland had become an autonomous Grand Duchy of Russia.

Grand Tour June 1828 – October 1830

The Fire of Turku in 1827, when not only the university and its library but also his personal lodgings were completely destroyed, precipitated a change of plans. He applied for and received a leave of absence from his position at the university for two years and embarked on the schooner *Hebe* for the voyage over the Baltic to Travemünde in June 1828.⁸ His dream to see more of the world was finally happening. His whole Grand Tour is documented in his “Diary from my journey abroad”, covering 216 written pages, and letters sent, sometimes collectively, to his friends.⁹ He travelled by public transportation and by foot, sometimes alone, sometimes with occasional companions, acquaintances, and a few times even with fellow countrymen.

He set out to study anatomy and physiology, and this aim was partly fulfilled almost immediately in Germany and Austria. He made the most of Berlin, studying various fields from medicine and different methods of gymnastics to hospitals, from art exhibitions to a porcelain factory and even Passalacqua’s Egyptian Museum. In Berlin he also made his final decision about leaving for Italy, “even if he would be obliged to offer his last coin”. He wished, firstly, to visit Rome, secondly, to climb Vesuvius, and “in case he was raging, to see and listen to him at least from afar”, and, thirdly, to study the natural history of zooplankton and other sea protozoa along the Italian coastline. At the same time he continued to learn more about art and classical archaeology as he made his way south by visiting the Glyptothek and noblemen’s private collections in Munich, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna.¹⁰

⁵ M. Olausson, Gustav III:s korkmodeller och den svenska drömmen om antiken, in *Tempel i kork. Modeller av antika byggnader ur Gustav III:s samlingar*. Medelhavsmuseet, Skrifter 17, 37-40, 44, Fig. 12. Göteborg 1992.

⁶ Heinricius, 81-84.

⁷ Heinricius, 93-94.

⁸ Heinricius, 98, 104.

⁹ The diary written in Swedish, *Dagbok under min utländska resa*, is preserved in the Finnish Literature Society, Coll. 434, Immanuel Ilmoni’s Archive, and the letters, Coll. SLSA 95, Immanuel Ilmoni’s Archive.

¹⁰ Heinricius, 110, 114.

The first sign of his penchant for collecting occurred in Weimar, where he brazenly ripped off a piece of Luther's frock on display in the library. On a more professional level, he collected samples of protozoa, plants and minerals, which he sent from Trieste by sea back to Finland.¹¹

Italy

He was in Italy from March to September 1829. Of his observations on the sights of Venice, suffice it to mention here "the quantities of trophies from Cyprus, Candia, Greece and Byzantium, of which many, such as the Lysippean horses, were obliged to travel to Paris and then back".¹² It was only fourteen years earlier that the four horses of St. Mark's, in gilded bronze, were returned from Paris, their home since Napoleon looted them in 1797. In Ilmoni's time they were back on the façade of the basilica.¹³ In Italy Ilmoni saw many places passed through by Hannibal, such as the Lacus Trasumenus, Capua, and Somma north of Milan. In his references to the notable adversary of ancient Rome we see perhaps the influence of his history classes in Porvoo. In Rome he moved in the circles of the Scandinavian artists, and April 21 he wrote a long and lively description of his experiences to his friends in Finland.¹⁴ Moving southward, he saw Herculaneum through its underground corridors, rode a mule to the top of Vesuvius, and visited Pompeii. In general, he studied all the sights around the Gulf of Naples diligently describing the beautiful landscapes, mountains, and flora, being however less enthusiastic about the bad food, poor furniture and the quantities of fleas in the inns.¹⁵ He was most impressed by the castle of Capo di Monte above Naples, with its beautiful and rare flowers, writing "in that kind of place I would like to live and die, in this land of eternal spring".

He did not write about the local antiquities in either his diary or letters. He was in Pompeii and Paestum in late April and early May, and in Sicily the whole month of June. Ilmoni climbed Etna twice, and is probably the first Finn to have conquered the volcano. He visited Catania and Syracuse on the eastern coast. In Girgenti, as Agrigento was then called, he visited the ancient sites and met an otherwise unknown Signor Luigi Graneti, who showed him his collection of Graeco-Sicilian vases. Then he went to the northern coast, to Trapani and Palermo. Back in Naples, two priests tried to convert him to Catholicism, but were not successful with the quick-witted Protestant, who some days later witnessed an exhibition baptism of two Jews by a cardinal in Rome.¹⁶

The rest of Ilmoni's journey took him on foot over the Alps to Zürich, from Germany to Paris, from London to Copenhagen and finally from Stockholm back to Finland. On his journey he had taken every opportunity to experience and explore, but had time to pursue studies in his own field as well, establishing professional relations all over Europe. He was profoundly interested in many fields, as had been characteristic of his activities from his first school years. In October 1830 he returned to Finland with ambivalent feelings,

¹¹ Heinrichius, 118, 127-128.

¹² His letter written in Rome the Second Easter Day 1829. Heinrichius, 128-129.

¹³ They were taken from the Hippodrome of Constantinople during the fourth crusade in 1204. Originally they had probably adorned a Roman triumphal arch, though Classical origin is also suggested. Nowadays they are exhibited inside because of the air pollution, and those on the façade are fibre glass replicas.

¹⁴ Heinrichius, 131-135, 137.

¹⁵ Heinrichius, 140-141.

¹⁶ Heinrichius, 146-147, 152.

vacillating between the happiness of his reunion with friends and family, and the insatiable desire to fly again to the wider world.¹⁷

Finland

In February 1834 Ilmoni was appointed professor of theoretical and practical medicine at the University of Helsinki. In September he donated his little collection of fourteen pieces “from Rome, Paestum, Sicily and Egypt” to the Coin, Medal and Art Cabinet of the University.¹⁸ It is not clear, how Egypt came to figure in the records, as Ilmoni never visited the country, nor are there any Egyptian objects attributed to him in any Finnish collection. It may be that the lesser known Sicilian site of Girgenti was confused with the better known and similar sounding Egypt. All the catalogues of the University collections describe the female head no. 47 as “discovered in an urn among carbonized charcoal in Paestum”.¹⁹ This comparatively definite information suggests that Ilmoni made the discovery himself, when wandering among the ruins. For the remainder of the items, Pompeii is given as the place of acquisition. Ilmoni’s donation of artefacts may have been in anticipation of the relocation of the collections to the basement of the University building during the very next year 1835. These collections, originally called the Coin, Medal and Art Cabinet, were divided in 1848 into the Coin Cabinet and the Ethnographic Museum, and the latter was later known as the Historical-Ethnographic Collection.²⁰ In the catalogue of the year 1875 the items attributed to Ilmoni consisted of only eight items: a lamp, five clay pots, the figure from Paestum, and an Attic vase, called Etruscan.²¹ It seems that in the intervening time, perhaps in the process of the transfer of the collections, some of Ilmoni’s pieces were lost.

In 1841 he had an opportunity to relive some of his Sicilian experiences, when he delivered a paper titled “Physiographic notes on Sicily” to the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters. Two years later, in 1843, he was made a member of the Nordic Antiquarian Society in Copenhagen (Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrifts Selskab). He was also active in the field of visual arts, being one of the founding members of the Finnish Art Society in 1846.²² We shall never know what his disposition towards creating a professorship of classical archaeology in 1856 would have been, as he died of typhus before the matter was discussed in the University’s consistorium.²³ Ilmoni may well have supported the idea, whose main agent was his intimate friend Nils Abraham Gylden, associate professor of Greek and Roman Literature, appointed to the office in 1834, the same year that Ilmoni took his chair.²⁴

¹⁷ The last entry of the diary is on October 4, 1830.

¹⁸ *Cons. prot.* 20.9.1834, §18, in the Helsinki University Library, MF/MS 66. The information of the catalogue of Reinholm, 94, changed further Paestum to Palestine “14 stycken antiqviteter från Rom, Palestina, Sicilien och Egypten. Förärade af Hr. Professor Immanuel Ilmoni.”

¹⁹ “Funnet bland brända kol i en urna i Paestum”.

²⁰ Talvio, 76.

²¹ Färling, 105-106. In the 1857 catalogue the fourteen items are not specified, Reinholm, 94. The vase is published in *CVA* Finland, 69, Fig. 109.

²² Heinrichius, 302, 304.

²³ Aalto, 147.

²⁴ They were acquainted also through their common interest in the Finnish Art Society. In addition, the wife of Gylden made the match between Ilmoni and his second wife in 1851, Heinrichius, 229, n. 1, 235.

Constantin Carstens (1830-1909)

Civil engineer Constantin Carstens was the eldest son of a second lieutenant and sharpshooter from southern Finland. He spent his childhood in Askola and Pernaja, and went to gymnasium in Porvoo in 1848-1852.²⁵ After school he worked on the Swedish railways during 1856-1857 and continued studying abroad in Germany, in Karlsruhe, where he went to the Polytechnic Institute in 1857-1858.²⁶ The Polytechnic was the first of its kind in Germany, founded in 1825. Around the middle of the 19th century Karlsruhe was already a model city and cultural centre of the Grand Duchy, where Carstens would have had the opportunity to visit the remarkable Grand Ducal collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities.²⁷

It was immediately after his stay in the Continent that he donated a collection of four items,²⁸ two figurines, a South Italian red figure lekythos,²⁹ and a lamp, to the University. The information we have about these items implies that they come from Pompeii:

the German text “*gekauft in Pompei den 9 juli 1829*” is written in ink on the bottom of the lamp, and the relevant documents in the National Board of Antiquities of Finland state that they were “Donated by the Engineer Karstens, found in Pompeii”. It is likely that he purchased them while in Karlsruhe from someone who had visited Pompeii almost thirty years earlier. As late as 1874 Carstens, then living in St. Michel in Central Finland as a factory owner, became a member of the newly founded Finnish Antiquarian Society,³⁰ thus demonstrating an ongoing interest in antiquities, even though his professional career was in quite a different area.

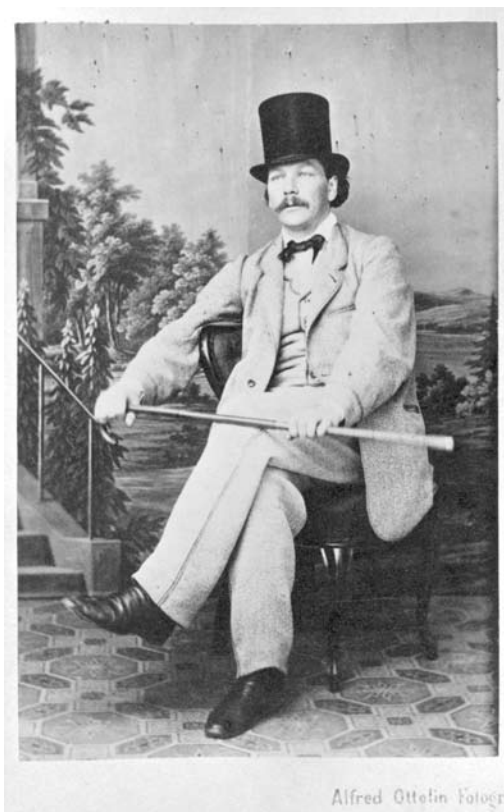


Fig. 66.

²⁵ A collection of nine occasional poems, *Casems Ecloger*, seems to be written by him in the years 1846-1849. They range from poems addressed to friends to those read aloud in the examination festivities of the school. Finnish Literature Society, Literary Archives A 710 (8165).

²⁶ Atle Wilschman, *Släktbok 2. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 1. Helsingfors 1918-1933*, 696-698.

²⁷ Now part of the Badisches Landesmuseum. www.karlsruhe.de/Historie/Stadtrundgang/ge3.en.htm.

²⁸ KM 14560:562-564bis.

²⁹ In *CVA Finland*, 113, Fig. 202.

³⁰ Luettelo Suomen Muinaismuisto-Yhtiön jäsenistä yhtiön perustamisesta v. 1870 1875 v:den alkuun asti, 22.

Ilya Ivanovitch Filipenko (c. 1830 - after 1903)

A Russian military officer named Ilya Ivanovitch Filipenko, known also as Eliel Jean Philipenko, contributed to the ancient collections of Finland. Not much is known about his life, other than his military service. He was made an officer in 1855, in the 1860s he was in China to carry out a task “creditably and with his usual energy”.³¹ Next, in the Crimea, he served as a colonel in the Guards’ Artillery, and in the years 1868-1871 he is known to have collected sixty six coins³² and seventeen antiquities, five vases,³³ one brick stamp, one lamp, one terracotta figurine, three objects of glass, and six miscellaneous items.³⁴ He had acquired most of them himself in the area of Kertch. Soon afterwards, in 1877-1878, he was in the Balkans participating in the Turkish war in Montenegro, after which he returned to Russia.³⁵

He donated the antiquities through Dr. H. A. Reinholm to the University in 1875, while passing by Helsinki and staying at the Hotel Kleineh. Filipenko had visited the Ethnographic Historical-Collection, obviously an important local sight, and observed the lack of certain Bosporan and ancient Greek coins. His donation of coins was supplemented with a box of various antiquities, all of which he believed to be of great use for the University.³⁶ This box contained the heterogeneous group of seventeen ancient objects. H. A. Reinholm, for his part, was the Lutheran priest in Sveaborg, the fortress island outside Helsinki. He mixed also among the Russian military, and was a known folklorist and vice chairman of the newly founded Finnish Antiquarian Society.

Carl Robert Sederholm (1818-1903)

Studies and early career

Carl Robert Sederholm was a military engineer. He was born into a landowner’s educated family near Viborg in south-eastern Finland, where his mother used to read aloud Goethe’s poetry and the works of German philosophers to her children. After spending the years 1828-1835 in the German school of Viborg, he went to the Cadet School in Fredrikshamn in south-eastern Finland, remaining there until 1842. He was especially interested in military engineering, and being also a talented draftsman, was sent to the Engineering Academy in St. Petersburg for two years. After graduating in 1844, he was immediately sent to the Crimea, where he participated in fortification works, first in Sevastopol, later in Kinburn. He remained in the area and became the head of the fortification works at Tauria in 1850,

³¹ Списокъ генераламъ по старшинству. СПб. 1888, 786. А. В. Щербакъ, Черногорія и ее война съ турками въ 1877-78 годахъ, 2. СПб. 1880, 121.

³² Accession catalogue of the Coin Cabinet, 1875, no. 269.

³³ One of which is published in *CVA* Finland, 59, Fig. 88.

³⁴ KM 14560:915-931.

³⁵ Списокъ генераламъ по старшинству. СПб. 1888, 786. А. В. Щербакъ, Черногорія и ее война съ турками въ 1877-78 годахъ, 2. СПб. 1880, 121.

³⁶ The letter by I. I. Filipenko, written in Hotel Kleineh in September 1875, is in the archives of the Coin Cabinet of the National Museum. Wilh. Lagus erroneously claimed, that Filipenko was stationed in the Russian Garrison on Sveaborg, in *Numismatiska anteckningar. I. Historik öfver Finska Universitetets Mynt- och medaljkabinett*. Helsingfors 1888, 125.



Fig. 67.

and wrote a study in Russian entitled “An Attempt for a Permanent Fortification System” in 1854. During the Crimean War the fortress of Kinburn surrendered, and Sederholm was sent as a prisoner of the French to the Princes’ Islands in the Sea of Marmara. He remained there for six months until March 1856, and considered the time very pleasantly spent. He was allowed to visit Constantinople, and he had time to study philosophy and the history of religions in the library of a cultured Armenian. After his return to the Crimea, he was promoted and decorated several times and made chief engineer of the Chersonesus, in western Crimea.³⁷

Kertch

In 1865-1877 he was responsible for building the fortification walls of Kertch in the eastern Crimea. He was promoted to the commander of the fortification of Kertch in 1877, and was, as general lieutenant, responsible also for the defence of the site.³⁸ While building the walls he was in a way also responsible for the archaeological excavations, as his troops discovered and opened many kurgans, Scythian tombs, revealing marvellous treasures. Sederholm served as a capable contact between the museum and the state authorities. The finds are now in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg.³⁹ As the years passed, Sederholm longed more and more for Finland, but the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 kept him in the Crimea, and it was only in 1882 that, after forty years of Russian service, he returned and was appointed head of the Engineering Department of Finland.⁴⁰

Finland

In March 1884 he donated the figurine no. 31⁴¹ to the Finnish Antiquarian Society. It was found from a rich burial on the White Pensinsula, Ak-Burun, near Kertch, together with coins, some of which were said to date from the period of Lysimachus.⁴² As this seems to have been the only ancient object in Sederholm’s possession, it gives the impression of a modest memento from the excavations of Pantikapaion,⁴³ rather than the fruit of active collecting, as practiced by Filipenko, whom Sederholm doubtlessly knew well. Sederholm, Filipenko’s superior, may have influenced Filipenko’s decision to donate his collection in Finland. Sederholm’s figurine was headless and burnt black, not precisely a beautiful item by then current tastes. His real interests lay elsewhere.

In Finland, he studied and wrote about the history of religions. Another favourite activity, apparently more related to his profession as a military engineer, was the building of miniature models of architectural monuments from different parts of the world. The practical work of building the models was done by two carpenters, and in 1899 he was able to exhibit twenty-three out of thirty-four of them in the Ateneum, the Art Museum in

³⁷ Gothóni, 16, 21, 23-24.

³⁸ The necrology of Sederholm in *Peterburskij listok* 17./30.3.1903 (No 74). Gothóni, 25.

³⁹ Yu. A. Vinogradov, From the History of Archaeological Excavations on the Cape Ak-Burun near Kerch, in *Archaeological News* 8 (2000) 312-313, (*Archeologičeskie vesti*). Hilpi - Scheinin, 38.

⁴⁰ Gothóni, 28.

⁴¹ KM 14560:1041.

⁴² Protocol of the Finnish Antiquarian Society, March 22, 1884 § 7. The coins were not included in the donation.

⁴³ Friederike Fless gives a description of the necropolis of the White pensinsula in *The necropolis of Pantikapaion (Kerch, Crimea)*, p. 7 in http://www.pontos.dk/e_pub/FlessPantikapaion_1.htm

Helsinki. The subject of the models ranged from Finnish and Swedish castles and cathedrals to Egyptian pyramids, from a Chinese Buddhist temple to an Indian minaret, from the Forum Romanum and the Capitoline Hill to the Athenian Agora and the Acropolis.⁴⁴ The models were made of wood in 1:150 scale. They were not isolated buildings, but whole topographical entities supplemented with site contours and painted panoramic sceneries. For Sederholm the models were symbolic interpretations of the inner life, religion and attitude towards god of different cultures.⁴⁵ It was not only the form of buildings he sought to recreate, but also the symbolism lying behind them.⁴⁶

He liked to invite people to the private museum in his home in Helsinki, usually at noon, to see his models and to take his guests on imaginary trips to, for instance, Moscow and the Kremlin, as well as other distant places. In his will Sederholm bequeathed the models to the Finnish Society for Crafts and Design, and the Reserve Officers' School in Fredrikshamn.⁴⁷ Today many are dispersed in different museums and the Institute of Art History in the University of Helsinki, but some are apparently lost.

Oskar Emil Tudeer (1850-1930)

Studies in Finland and Germany

O. E. Tudeer was a classical scholar and professor of Greek literature. He was born in St. Michel in Central Finland to a judge's family. He went to school in Viborg, where he learnt Latin, Greek, German, French and Russian. He matriculated in 1867 at the age of sixteen, and became a student of classics at the University of Helsinki. He took his master's in 1873 and doctoral degree in 1876, with a dissertation on Homeric syntax. He spent almost two years in post-doctoral studies in Leipzig and Berlin, accompanied by his only sister and widowed mother. Even though he was busy writing about Greek phonetics, using inscriptions as his sources, he surely appreciated the culture and art of his surroundings and was impressed by the lectures on art history he heard in Munich. Upon his return to Finland he was appointed docent of Greek philology in 1879.⁴⁸

In 1880 he and two friends founded a cultural magazine written in the Finnish



Fig. 68.

⁴⁴ C. Sederholm), *Olika folkslags märkligaste byggnadsalster framställda i trämodeller. Beskrifvande katalog*. Helsingfors 1899. The eleven models, which were not exhibited, were given a separate catalogue posthumously, as a supplement to the former, in 1907.

⁴⁵ Nordström, 425.

⁴⁶ Gothóni, 29-30.

⁴⁷ Nordström, 424. Hilpi – Scheinin, 38.

⁴⁸ Aalto, 93-94.

language, supporting the Finns' growing sense of nationalism in the spirit of humanistic fennomany. The purpose of the magazine, entitled *Overseer* (Valvoja), was to combine moderate national politics with scientific, social and religious topics in a progressive spirit. It was in the circles of this magazine that he was first called the "Last Athenian" because of his fine personality and sense of humanistic understanding. It is the next year that he received a scholarship for studies abroad, his final destination being Greece.⁴⁹

Europe in 1881-1882

His journey is well documented through his frequent letters to his sister and fiancée. It started in Christiania (Oslo) at a congress of philologists in early autumn 1881. From there he continued to London, where he became acquainted with the collections of the British Museum. Then he travelled by train to Berlin, Vienna and Venice, where he, fascinated by the city's art and architecture, studied and took notes on ancient art in the Doge's Palace.⁵⁰ In Florence he visited Loggia dei Lanzi and mentions seeing ancient sculpture, especially the group Menelaus supporting the body of Patroclus. In the Uffizi Galleries he was overwhelmed with Michelangelo, but also returned later to see ancient sculpture, of which he especially mentions the Dying Niobids.⁵¹ Further south, his first impression of Rome was by moonlight, and he was simply enthusiastic. For time limitations, however, he had to confine his activities in Rome to ancient monuments in the museums and archaeological sites, but he thought it again useful to make notes on what he saw for a better understanding of the immense whole.⁵²

Greece

Even if Tudeer had already seen and experienced great cultures, it was his first contact with Greece on Corfu which made him quite exultant; he praised the nature and landscape. In Athens he frequented the German Archaeological Institute, participated actively in the scientific life of the city, and studied modern Greek. He also found it very useful as a philologist to see the concrete remains of the ancient sites.⁵³ He considered the Athenian museums to be rather storerooms with innumerable fragments of great art and historical interest, though few with high artistic value, and was sorry to see that most of the statues were not properly exhibited. Instead they lay on floors or leant against walls. The Acropolis Museum, however, impressed him as a positive exception.⁵⁴

In the spring he spent several weeks in the Peloponnese, travelling by mule. He stayed at Olympia for an entire week, copying inscriptions. From Bassai he rode to Arcadia, Messenia, and finally to Sparta,⁵⁵ where he spent three days in March and met with exceptionally friendly people. The first day (March 20) he wandered to the hills north of modern Sparta to see the archaeological remains of the ancient city in the middle of fields and olive groves. With the help of a local teacher, for whom he had a letter of introduction, he managed to enter the museum, which he liked very much for its small

⁴⁹ Tuuteri 1994, 4. Tuuteri 2004, 15.

⁵⁰ Tuuteri 1994, 8.

⁵¹ Tuuteri 1994, 10.

⁵² Tuuteri 1994, 12.

⁵³ Tuuteri 1994, 19-20.

⁵⁴ Tuuteri 1994, 20, 21.

⁵⁵ Tuuteri 1994, 27-29.

size. There he could also understand better the local features of and connections between the different ancient items.

The second day he rode east to Chrysapha, the third to Magula, Mistra and Tarori to the west of the city.⁵⁶ He described these trips to the surrounding villages in a letter, mentioning that they were made partly in the hope of finding antiquities, in which he had succeeded only in part.⁵⁷ Perhaps this means that he would have liked to have bought more than the three terracottas mentioned in his ledger for March 21, *i.e.* the day he rode to Chrysapha. For that date there are three entries (in Swedish): “Tip for the guide from Pikromygdalia 60; lemonade 55; three terracottas 5,60. Altogether 6,75”.⁵⁸

In April he visited the Cyclades in the company of Adolf Furtwängler, the excavator of Olympia. Their enthusiasm is best described by their return to Athens, when they went to take a turn on the Pnyx and Philopappus hills to watch the Acropolis in the early sunrise, before even attending to themselves after the journey.⁵⁹ In late May he visited Thebes, Platea and Thespieae in Boeotia, where he, according to an entry in his ledger for May 21, bought “antiques for the price of 5,60”,⁶⁰ without specifying further the number or quality of the items. In early June he sailed to Turkey and visited Hissarlik with Heinrich Schliemann. Soon afterwards he left Greece; in Sicily he energetically visited ancient sites and museums all over the island.⁶¹

From later evidence we know that Tudeer brought twelve ancient objects home to Finland, seven figurines and five vases of different shapes.⁶² In his ledger entries “terracottas” very probably covered the figurines, and “antiques” probably the vases. He proved himself unprejudiced in his choice of figurines, which with their humble features were in stark contrast with everything traditionally beautiful he had seen so far. In a letter to his fiancée written from Sparta, he actually reflected on not knowing enough about the material aspects of the field.⁶³

Finland

Tudeer returned to Finland in August 1882 after an exceptionally intensive tour of Europe and six months in Greece. During the next year he wrote about his experiences in the Cyclades for the magazine *Valvoja* (3/1883), and still nine years later (11/1891) about his visit to Hissarlik with Heinrich Schliemann. In 1885 he was appointed Professor Extraordinarius in Greek philology. In addition to his lectures and academic writing, he published a book on “Greek people during the Persian Wars” in Finnish in 1906.⁶⁴ His

⁵⁶ Tuuteri 1994, 31-32, where Chrysapha is erroneously read as Chrysopta. Cf. Tudeer’s letter from Nauplion March 26 to brother Ernst, Coll. O. E. Tudeer, Helsinki University Library.

⁵⁷ The letter from Nauplion written March 25, 1882 to Ellen Wijkander, Coll. 245 O.E. Tudeer, file 18, Helsinki University Library. From this letter it also appears that he was actively involved in buying ancient objects for others, too.

⁵⁸ The Archive of O. E. Tudeer, file 1867-1919, ledgers 1881-1884, in the National Archives of Finland.

⁵⁹ Tuuteri 1994, 40.

⁶⁰ The Archive of O. E. Tudeer, file 1867-1919, ledgers 1881-1884, in the National Archives of Finland. Cf. the letter from Athens June 1, 1882, to Ellen Wijkander, in Coll. 245 O. E. Tudeer, file 18, Helsinki University Library.

⁶¹ Tuuteri 1994, 48-49.

⁶² KM 14683:1-12.

⁶³ n. 57.

⁶⁴ Aalto, 94-95.

son Lauri Tudeer, a numismatist and also a classical scholar, inherited the collection of ancient items from his father, and it was his widow who donated them to the National Museum in 1959.⁶⁵ According to family tradition the collection came from the Menelaion in Sparta.⁶⁶

When visiting the villages surrounding Sparta in 1882, Tudeer must have been told by colleagues and perhaps also by the Spartan teacher about local archaeological discoveries. The Menelaion had been identified already in 1833,⁶⁷ even though the final confirmation of the site's identity was reached only in the 1970s.⁶⁸ Ca. 700 BC the Spartans had begun a hero cult, dedicated to Menelaus and Helen, on a long ridge above the east bank of the river Eurotas, where the shrine prospered and attracted huge numbers of votive offerings.⁶⁹ Considering their proximity, we may assume that his trip to Chrysapha took him to the Menelaion, the name of which must have sounded appealing enough decades later to become the family provenance for all his acquisitions. The quality and the colour of the clay of most of the seven figurines⁷⁰ suggest Laconia as a possible origin, with their reddish and dusty appearance and worn surface,⁷¹ but we may never know exactly which three were bought during his trip to Chrysapha.

Werner von Hausen (1870-1951)

Formative years

Werner von Hausen, painter and school master of drawing, was born to a banker's family in Helsinki. He matriculated in 1890 and studied in the Drawing School of the Finnish Art Society in 1893. He did not undertake other formal studies in his chosen field. Instead, he stayed long periods abroad, copying and studying the works of the great masters in museums, painting diligently and mixing among artists. His later fame as a painter of still lifes and floral arrangements was certainly due to this method of studying through copying. In 1893-1894 he was in Paris, which had since the 1870s surpassed Rome as Europe's artistic centre. He belonged mainly to the symbolist movement,⁷² but was later considered a free spirit. He stayed six months in Egypt in 1895, returning to Finland via Jerusalem, Samos, Constantinople and Vienna.⁷³ Later he also spent time in the Netherlands and Germany.

⁶⁵ Diaries 11.3. and 5.10.1959 of the National Board of Antiquities. In 1959 the figurines were treated with Paraloid B 72 toluene liquid without cleaning them properly. Two of the vases are published in *CVA Finland*, 25, Fig. 33, and 46-47, Fig. 65.

⁶⁶ Verificate KM 14683:1-12.

⁶⁷ Ludwig Ross, Bleifigürchen vom Menelaion, in *Archäologische Zeitung* 12 (1854) 217-219. Ross refers also to some terracotta figurines „von sehr rohes Arbeit“.

⁶⁸ H. W. Catling – H. Cavanagh, Two Inscribed Bronzes from the Menelaion, Sparta, 145-146, in *Kadmos* 15 (1976) 145-157.

⁶⁹ H. W. Catling, The Work of the British School at Athens at Sparta and in Laconia, in *Sparta in Laconia. Proceedings of the 19th British Museum Classical Colloquium*, 25-26, (BSA Studies 4). London 1998.

⁷⁰ Nos. 2, 3, 19-21, 39, 62

⁷¹ Thompson, Menelaion, 123-124.

⁷² S. Sarajas-Korte, *Suomen varhaissymbolismi ja sen lähteet*, 90, 100. Helsinki 1966.

⁷³ W. von Hausen, Minnen från samvaron med Gustaf Ageli i Paris och Cairo 1894-95, in *Ord och bild*. Stockholm 1926, 612-615.



Fig. 69.

He was in Italy in 1898-1901, and returned there several times during the course of his long and active life.⁷⁴ He was impressed by the Italian masters, and liked to copy their works, but he also copied ancient wall paintings. He was by nature a cultivated intellect and fortunate among Finnish artists to be able to live and work where he wished.⁷⁵ During his early years he was active also in other ways. During the general strike of 1905 he was one of the first undersigning artists, who in real revolutionary spirit presented the idea of Finland's separation from Russia.⁷⁶ He also wrote a newspaper article "against the powerful and arbitrary art critics of Helsinki".⁷⁷

Finland

He exhibited his works for the first time in 1898 in both Finland and Norway, and after that participated almost annually in exhibitions in Finland until 1949.⁷⁸ The newspaper critique of the exhibition of The Artists' Association of Finland in 1901 recognized von Hausen's inspiration from Italy's antiquity and ruins, particularly those of Sicily. It was noted that he painted the temples of Concordia and Juno in Girgenti (Agrigento) in Sicily in a realistic and strong manner, but the atmosphere of his Italian landscapes did not please the critic to an equal degree.⁷⁹ One of them was a water-colour "Sicilian Landscape", a

⁷⁴ *Suomen taideyhdistyksen kertomus vuodelta 1901*, Helsinki 1902, 44; *id.* 1901, Helsinki 1902, 44.

⁷⁵ Verner von Hausen sjuttio år, in *HBL* 29.10.1940.

⁷⁶ R. Nummelin, Patriotisk och politisk konst 1898-1918, in *Konsten i Finland. Från medeltid till nutid*. Helsingfors 1998, 261.

⁷⁷ Bedömandet av konst, in *HBL* 14.5.1912.

⁷⁸ *Kuvataiteilijat 1986*, (Suomen taiteilijaseura), 92. Jyväskylä 1987.

⁷⁹ T.H., Suomen taiteilijain syysnäyttely, in *Päivälehti* 29.11.1901.

brownish violet scene of sun burnt hills in late summer. In 1930 and 1945, on the other hand, his Italian landscapes along with scenes from Pompeii were highly praised.⁸⁰ An exceptionally hard opinion was, however, rendered by the critics of his commemorative exhibition in 1974, claiming that he had used bright colours without sufficient shading, verging on the showy.⁸¹ His works also include four undated ink drawings of Greek vases.⁸²

His teaching career began in 1908, and he taught for ten years in the School of the Finnish Society for Crafts and Design on the subjects of decorative painting in 1908 and drawing from models in 1908-1918.⁸³ In the years 1908-1938 he was master of drawing in the secondary school of the garden city of Kauniainen near Helsinki,⁸⁴ where he lived.

During his first years of teaching at the Art Society's school he purchased numerous ancient items for the Museum of the Finnish Society for Crafts and Design. For one thousand Finnish marks he acquired a variety of objects which, according to a hand-written museum catalogue, included seventy-six ancient pieces, mostly vases, four lamps and seven terracotta figurines. The exact dates of these purchases are not known, but they most likely took place in late 1911.⁸⁵ It is in this year that the museum received a new and energetic intendant, Gustaf Strengell, whose task was to reorganize the museum in its new premises on the upper floor of the Villa Hagasund in Helsinki. As a broadminded and well-educated person, he favoured acquiring representative items from all over the world.⁸⁶ In his article "The Museum of the Society for Crafts and Design – an unnoticed cultural institution" he wrote in 1914 that, "We will thus start from the small collection of Greek vases, purchased by the painter Werner von Hausen, by mandate of the Society, from Sicily at the location of their discovery. The collection fills an entire glass cabinet".⁸⁷ Most of the items were indeed put on display, including the terracotta figurines, even though Strengell does not mention them.⁸⁸ In the printed catalogue, he published the same year, there are six entries for the figurines under the title "Greek vases and terracotta objects".⁸⁹

The precise number of objects in von Hausen's collection remains unclear. An undated and anonymous document in the Archives of the University of Art and Design Helsinki provides more information on the figurines, though only five are listed as "two

⁸⁰ 60-v. *HBL* 23.10.1930; 75-v. *HS* 29.10.1945.

⁸¹ A. I. Routio, *Kuvia metsäpolulta, kuvia ansaareista*, in *Uusi Suomi* 23.1.1974.

⁸² In Ateneum Art Museum, A II 858:1-4.

⁸³ *Konstflits föreningen i Finland. Redogörelser för åren 1905-1908; 70-vuotiaita*, in *Uusi Suomi* 29.10.1940.

⁸⁴ For more of von Hausen in Kauniainen, see J. af Hällström, *Grankulla 1906-2006 Kauniainen. Lajinsa viimeinen*. Jyväskylä 2006, 103, 144.

⁸⁵ The last entry of the undated catalogue is the number 2441 from the year 1911, and von Hausen's items carry the numbers 2163-2239. The number of the terracotta figurines is given as seven, but must be erroneous. Lot 2238, a mask, is not known in any of the subsequent catalogues.

⁸⁶ Pekka Suhonen, *Ei vain muodon vuoksi. Suomen taideteollisuusyhdistys* 125, p. 104-105. Helsinki 2000.

⁸⁷ Gustaf Strengell, *Taideteollisuusyhdistyksen museo – huomaamatta jäänyt sivistyslaitos*, in *Kotitaide* 1914, joulunumero, p. 25.

⁸⁸ According to the catalogue (in n. 85) in Swedish "största delen utställda, de öfriga finnes i lådan D".

⁸⁹ Strengell, 15-16. – Forty of von Hausen's vases are published in the *CVA* Finland: p. 22, Figs 25-26; 35, Fig. 46; 37, Fig. 49; 38, Fig. 51; 39, Fig. 52; 45-46, Fig. 63; 47, Fig. 67; 50, Fig. 74; 54, Fig. 79; 55-56, Fig. 81; 64-65, Fig. 96; 65-66, Fig. 99; 66-67, Fig. 101; 70, Fig. 111; 108, Fig. 194; 111, Fig. 200; 117, Fig. 209; 118, Fig. 210; 121, Fig. 215; 121, Fig. 216; 123, Fig. 218; 124, Fig. 220; 124-125, Fig. 221; 126, Fig. 223; 128, Figs 226-227; Nr 3.a-b, Pl. 85; 130-133, Figs 229-232; 138-139, Figs 249, 251-255; 140, Figs 257-258; 142, Fig. 264.

heathen gods and three loose heads”.⁹⁰ That this document pertains to von Hausen’s acquisitions is confirmed by the inclusion of a very simple drawing and the verbal description of a Native Apulian trozzella, published in the *CVA* Finland as Fig. 229,⁹¹ and known to have been in his collection. von Hausen, an avid buyer, perhaps added to the five figurines described in the document – without drawings – after the original purchase to bring the number to six. The hand-written catalogue of the museum increases the confusion, giving the total number of the figurines as seven. The six figurines published here are, in any case, all characteristically Sicilian coroplastic products. The “heathen gods” are the sitting and standing women (nos. 1 and 22). The extra “loose head” might be either no. 36, being very similar to but smaller than no. 35, or no. 23, which is in relatively bad condition. That the undated document is von Hausen’s list of items intended for the museum is further supported by the detailed list of the costs of packing and boxes, tip, down payment for the freight forwarding, all for the sum of 1055.40 Italian lire, of which the antiquities themselves covered 1020.30 lire. They were bought from two different sellers, the first being a lady Rosaria Buzanca, the other being a male, called Cavá, unless a stockroom, in Italian *cava*, is meant. The place of purchase was Girgenti, mentioned in the museum’s inventory cards. It seems that von Hausen had thus returned to Sicily in 1911 with the special task of acquiring antiquities, which he fulfilled dutifully.

Strengell wrote the 1914 museum catalogue in Swedish, but it was translated the same year into Finnish. The Greek material is presented with a historical overview and an introduction to vases, with special attention to the study of vase painting and shapes, and figurines and their use.⁹² This is probably the first piece of its kind in the Finnish language. Concerning the presentation of these objects at the Villa Hagasund, which was opened to the public in September 1912,⁹³ we know that the tour of the museum ended with the Greek vases and terracotta figurines, which were displayed on grey batik.⁹⁴ How long they remained on exhibit is not certain. The museum had to give up two rooms in 1915, at which time some items were put into storage, and in 1928 the whole museum was moved to the fourth floor at Bulevardi 6, into the Niemeläinen House,⁹⁵ in the centre of the city. After this relocation, Strengell’s presentation had in any case lost its intended frame of reference.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ The two page unsigned document belongs to the Archives of the Finnish Society for Crafts and Design, file/folder 9, catalogues of objects, 1890s and the beginning of 1900s.

⁹¹ *CVA* Finland, Fig. 229, pl. 86, 1 a-b, p. 130.

⁹² Strengell, 12-14.

⁹³ Niinivaara 1966, 45.

⁹⁴ Niinivaara 1967, 47.

⁹⁵ Erik Kruskopf, *Suomen taideteollisuus: suomalaisen muotoilun vaiheita*, 166-167, Porvoo 1989.

⁹⁶ Niinivaara 1967, 53.

Mary Stenbäck (1881-1926)

In 1926 Mr. Wolter Stenbäck donated a Cretan collection of twenty-three pieces to the National Museum in Helsinki. According to the information associated with them, they were for the major part votive gifts from the 5th century BC or later, and picked up by Mrs. Stenbäck in a cave near Knossos, when she visited Arthur Evans in 1903. A tragic British-Finnish love story is concealed behind this Cretan collection, which includes two busts of seated female type, nos. 27 and 28, in the above catalogue.⁹⁷

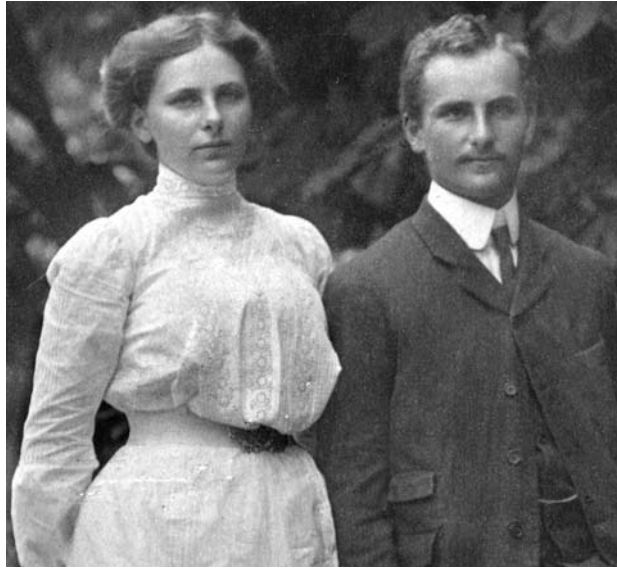


Fig. 70.

Journeys to the Continent

Mary Stenbäck, née Longman, was born in London in 1881 to the publisher Charles J. Longman and his wife Harriet Evans, being thus on the maternal side a niece to Sir Arthur Evans, the excavator of Knossos. In the Manuscript Department of Åbo Akademi (Turku) in Finland there are four diaries⁹⁸ written by Mary Longman, and kept during as many journeys abroad in the company of her relatives, her cousin Susan Minet, her uncle William Minet and his second wife Mary.⁹⁹ It is interesting to follow Mary Longman's diaries from an eleven-year old girl's short notes to a twenty-one year old young lady's lively observations supplemented with plans, landscape drawings and witty comments. The first trip was made to France and Switzerland in late summer 1894, the second to northern Italy and Switzerland in spring 1900, the third one of six weeks to Italy and Sicily in spring 1901, and the fourth of five weeks to Greece and Crete in 1903.

The party spent ten days in Athens on this last trip, staying at the Hotel Grand Bretagne. They visited the National Museum, of which Mary writes March 13: "They have lots of vases, of every date, some perhaps are contemporary with Mycenaean times". Next day they went to the sites south-east of the Acropolis: "From the Theseion we went to the Pnyx. Here we found Dr. Dörpfelder (sic) giving a lecture, which much interested Susan & Aunt Mary – as Uncle Willie + I could not follow him (since he spoke in German) we read Ulysses by ourselves".

⁹⁷ KM 8712: 13 & 15.

⁹⁸ ÅA, Wolter Stenbäck-samlingen, unnumbered.

⁹⁹ Evans, p. vii, viii, 279, 289.

Crete

In Candia, modern Herakleion, they stayed “at Uncle Arthur’s town house” for two weeks, sightseeing amongst the Islamic remains, visiting the museum, getting acquainted with local handicrafts, and had in general a lively social life.

Arthur Evans had started excavating Knossos in 1900. During the relatives’ visit in spring 1903 he was unearthing the stepped theatral area in the north-western corner of the palace. The work was begun in the end of February and continued until May.¹⁰⁰ Evans had also researched many of the caves in the surrounding areas. In the 1890s he had visited the caves of Patso, west of Mt. Ida, and of Kamares on the southern slopes of Mt. Ida.¹⁰¹ Evans took the visiting relatives for an excursion up to Mount Juktas, with its conspicuous summit of 811 m, by way of a track of some 20 kilometres south of Knossos. Mary Longman’s diary entry for April 1 tells about “a long expedition to Mount Euktas”, made the day before:

Yesterday we went for a long expedition up M’ Euktas, with Uncle Arthur. We drove as far as Knossos & there mounted mules & horses, & rode inland, at first following the stream up a deep gorge. About 12 we got to a big village, called Arkhanes, where we left the mule track, & began climbing the mountain. It was a very steep climb, & the mountainside was covered with loose stones, but the mules took us a good part of the way up; little boys led them, & tried to follow a zigzag path, but it was difficult to find, & they had to scramble up some steep places. Presently we found it was quite too rough to ride, so we dismounted & scrambled up to the top. There we got a lovely view all round, but found no lunch, which was a disappointment. It had gone to the cave, in the other peak, as it was meant to, but they had failed to leave a guide to take us there, so we went to the wrong peak. However, the one we went to was the highest, & had the best view northwards, so we gained by the mistake, & we also saw more of the mountain for we had to walk a long way back along the ridge to the right place. It was very rough walking. Everywhere between the stones was a small & prickly shrub with leaves that looked like a tiny holly. Daphni grew all over the mountain too, & was in flower, so it smelled delicious. The flower is just like the garden mezereon, but it grows very thickly, & quite close to the ground. We were above the anemone line, but we saw lots of white cyclamen.

It was about 2.15 when we got to the cave, & then we had lunch. We had a wide view, in the direction of Ida, & we saw 5 eagles which kept flying about us & below.

After lunch we explored the cave. It is very narrow, but goes a long way in. It is said that no one has ever penetrated to the end. Now it is much blocked by stalactites, but 2 of Uncle Arthur’s men had been in during the morning, to clear a bit of it to us. It was all very wet, because of the stalactite drippings. We went in on hands & knees; first the two men, Uncle Willy, Uncle Arthur, Susan & I. Aunt Mary stayed outside. We passed two places where it was necessary to go absolutely flat, & cripple along. Then there was a place where one person could just stand upright.

¹⁰⁰ Evans, 345-346.

¹⁰¹ Boardman, 77, 79. Already in 1894-1896 he had explored the Dictaeon cave above Psychro, overlooking the high Lasithi plain in Central Crete, writing a brief account of his work in *JHS* 17 (1898) 350-357.

Susan stood there for a stretch, & then passed on to let me do the same. Another little bit on hands & knees brought us to a small chamber, about 4 ft high, where we could sit, & where we found a large deposit of votive cups & vases. A large pile of these had become covered by the constant dripping, & formed a stalagmite, but some were loose, & we carried out what we could in pocket handkerchiefs.

We went a little further, crossing a pool as best we could on hands & knees, & came to another larger pool, into which Uncle Arthur nearly floundered. He had brought a pocketful of magnesium wire, so we had an illumination, which was very pretty & weird, & showed a small dark passage going further on, but it had not been cleared any further, so we came back.

This place is called the “tomb of Zeus” from a very old Cretan legend, & is the origin of the saying “All Cretans are liars”. It first occurs in a poem of Callimachus beginning “All the Cretans are liars, for they say that thou, o Zeus the Eternal, died & art buried in Mount Euktas”.¹⁰²

When we got out of the cave we had tea, & then started back. We found a better way down the mountain, but were later than we meant to be, owing to the mistake in the morning. Uncle Arthur hurried ahead, for he cannot see in the dark, & as he had a trotting pony he got back to Cnossos by 6.15. We hurried our mules as much as we could, but it was dark before we got to Cnossos. It was a lovely night, with a new moon, & a big planet close to it. It was very quiet & warm, & then when we got into the gorge, by the river, all the boys were singing so loudly “brekekekex, koax, koax”.

It was too dark for us to try to pick our way, but the mules seemed to know it quite well, though the road was very rough. We got to Cnossos by 7, & there found the carriage which took us to Candia.

The cave was most likely Stravomyti, the one Arthur Evans visited several times in the decades from 1898 to 1924. It was on the southwest side of Mount Juktas, had two chambers, the lower of which was very narrow and more than 30 m deep.¹⁰³ The excursion to Mount Juktas must have been one of the highlights of Mary Longman’s Cretan trip, after which the party left for the Ionian islands, continued then over to Brindisi and north to Bologna and Milan. There the full written pages of the diary were supplemented by the stationery of the Hotel Cavour.

The two female figurines from the cave in the present catalogue are of very different clay. If it is assumed that they are local products from the Knossos area, then it appears that two local clay-beds had been used. The clay of the figure no. 27 is a fairly fine, soft and deep pink, while that of the figure no. 28 is a coarse, fairly hard clay, the colour shifting from orange to yellow.¹⁰⁴ The rest of Mary Longman’s Cretan collection consists of twenty-one small vases of different shapes and fabrics, among them two Attic red figure squat lekythoi from 400-350 BC.¹⁰⁵

The objects might have been planted by Arthur Evans’s two men, who went beforehand to clean the cave, as a pleasant surprise for the young ladies. This was an old

¹⁰² Frank Nisetich, *The Poems of Callimachus*. Oxford 2001, 201. *Call. Jov.* 1,7-12.

¹⁰³ Prent, 320-321.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Higgins 1973, 56.

¹⁰⁵ *CVA* Finland, 58, Figs 85-86, pl. 45. For the late cult objects in Mount Juktas, see Prent, 644.

custom practiced already, for instance, at the excavations of Pompeii to please esteemed visitors.

Britain

Mary Longman was educated at Girton College in Cambridge, where she passed the first part of the Classical Tripos (BA-degree) in June 1904, a year after her return from Greece. The next three years she worked as a research assistant at the London School of Economics during the times she was not working for the Royal Commission on the Poor Law. In 1908 she applied for the position of an assistant to the Children's Care Committee in London.¹⁰⁶ With the words of a testimonial "She has considerable knowledge of elementary school and knows also working class homes and their economic conditions".¹⁰⁷

Wolter Stenbäck (1884-1955), her future husband, was born to a Swedish-speaking physician's family in southern Finland. While he studied medicine he was also a patriot and active in the party opposing the Russians. He was arrested during a trip to Russia in 1907, but in the course of his transport to Siberia he managed to escape, after which he travelled round Europe as a refugee, becoming a physiotherapist and working in hospitals. The first note mentioning Mary Longman in his daybook is from the end of December 1912.¹⁰⁸ It seems likely that they had met in October in the course of some business of the Children's Care Committee in London, if not earlier.¹⁰⁹ Their relationship must have been quite a serious one by early 1915, when Mary had already been studying Swedish for some time.¹¹⁰ The wedding was planned for October 1916 in Stockholm,¹¹¹ but she was not given a passport, because women and children were not allowed to travel overseas due to the submarine campaigns in progress in the North sea.¹¹² Mary tried every possible means to obtain the passport, even applying pressure from Uncle Arthur, but to no avail.

Finland

Wolter Stenbäck returned to Finland after the Russian revolution in 1917, and in February 1919 the couple were finally married in Helsinki. She became a Finnish subject by marriage, and in October 1923 she joined the staff of The Times of London as its correspondent in Finland.¹¹³ In summer 1923 Joan Evans, Mary's aunt and the youngest sister of Sir Arthur Evans, visited Finland and was impressed by the Finnish National Museum, where objects belonging to the same era were placed near each other, unlike the displays at the British Museum.¹¹⁴ Mary translated her husband's book "Eight months in Russian imprisonment" into English,¹¹⁵ but it was never published. She also started translating a book about Finland, which she did not finish.¹¹⁶ During the winter of 1923-

¹⁰⁶ ÅA (Åbo Akademi), Wolter Stenbäck-samlingen 1281.

¹⁰⁷ ÅA, Wolter Stenbäck-samlingen 1321.

¹⁰⁸ ÅA, Wolter Stenbäck-samlingen, unnumbered document, December 29.

¹⁰⁹ ÅA, Wolter Stenbäck-samlingen, unnumbered document, County Council of London, 28.10.1912. His relationship to this Committee is not known.

¹¹⁰ ÅA, Wolter Stenbäck-samlingen 1062a.

¹¹¹ ÅA, Wolter Stenbäck-samlingen 1077a, 1072.

¹¹² ÅA, Wolter Stenbäck-samlingen 1254, 1255.

¹¹³ ÅA, Wolter Stenbäck-samlingen 1286a, The Times necrology July 3 in 1926.

¹¹⁴ ÅA, Wolter Stenbäck-samlingen 1262a.

¹¹⁵ *Åtta månader i rysk fångenskap*, Stockholm 1914. Unnumbered manuscript ÅA.

¹¹⁶ ÅA, Wolter Stenbäck-samlingen 554.

1924 she seems to have suffered from the long sunless season, being quite unwell. The winter of 1925-1926 was also hard on her, and in summer 1926 she was in a nursing home, after having been ill for some time. She died in the end of June.¹¹⁷

Following her death, Wolter Stenbäck immediately removed all traces of his wife from his house, sending her clothes, jewellery and photos to England.¹¹⁸ There is likewise no mention of Mary in his mother's book *Idyll och drama*,¹¹⁹ and she seems to have been a forbidden topic. What Wolter Stenbäck's mother-in-law, Harriet Longman, wrote to him was obviously quite true, "Others find it better to sweep away the past & make a fresh & different start after a great loss".¹²⁰ He also cut all contacts with his British relatives, who occasionally learned something of him through common acquaintances, such as the art historian Gisela Richter, and sent him messages until 1934.¹²¹

The four diaries and the Cretan collection were the only things left of Mary in Finland. Wolter Stenbäck donated the ancient collection to the National Museum in October 1926. On the corner of the Museum's thank you letter he added "ML followed her Uncle Arthur Evans to Crete and was allowed to keep the things she herself had discovered".¹²² The collection must have been important to Mary Longman, as she brought it with her to Finland. We shall never know whether the twenty-three pieces were the whole lot from the cave, or just part of it, the other half having possibly gone to her cousin Susan Minet. The information describing them as "votive gifts from the 5th century BC or later", sounds like an assessment given by Uncle Arthur on the spot. They must have fallen under the category of minor finds, which he was allowed to transport out of Greece as an excavation director,¹²³ a practice apparently extended to the benefit of his relatives. The collection finally ended up in the storerooms of the Finnish museum that Mary's Aunt Joan had so much admired three years earlier.

Cay Sundström (1902-1959)

Political career in Finland

Ambassador Cay Sundström was born into a teacher's family in Hamina, in south-eastern Finland. He matriculated at the University of Helsinki in 1919 and became a candidate of odontology in 1933, but never practiced the profession. He was active in many fields, including music, French language and literature, and other Romance languages. Politics, however, became his career. He was one of the founding members of the Academic Socialist Society in 1926, a member of the Parliament as a representative of the Social Democratic Party 1936-1938, 1939-1941, in the Socialist group in 1944, and in the Finnish People's Democratic League in 1945. For political reasons he was in prison 1941-1944.

¹¹⁷ ÅA, Wolter Stenbäck-samlingen 1327b, 544.

¹¹⁸ ÅA 550a, ÅA 1214a.

¹¹⁹ Sofia Stenbäck, Ekenäs 1967.

¹²⁰ ÅA 550a.

¹²¹ ÅA 569, 570b.

¹²² "ML åtföljde sin morbror Arthur Evans till Kreta och fick vid utgrävningen gärna behålla sådant som hon själv hittade." ÅA, Wolter Stenbäck-samlingen, unnumbered document.

¹²³ Boardman, p. V.

Eastern Europe and China

In 1946 he published a book entitled “The revolt of a Romantic. The political struggle of Victor Hugo”.¹²⁴

In 1945-1953 he was the envoy of the Finnish Embassy in Moscow, and 1949-1953 also in Bucharest, Romania, and 1950-1953 in Sofia, Bulgaria. He was envoy in Peking in 1953-1954, and finally ambassador to China until his death in 1959.¹²⁵

He bequeathed his considerable possessions, including his Chinese collection and Chinese library, silver, and his Greek collection, to the Finnish State. The Greek collection is mentioned twice in the papers of Cay Sundström. The first instance was in his will,¹²⁶ and the second in a letter by a magistrate, who was worried about the fate of the objects. From the latter it also appears that Sundström had not taken the Greek antiquities to Peking. Instead, they were kept in a bank vault in Helsinki.¹²⁷ He

must have had ample opportunities for purchasing the Greek collection in the tumultuous circumstances in Russia, or further south in Bulgaria or Romania, but no information on their origin is available. From his will it also appears that if the Finnish State could not place them properly, they could be offered to schools and museums in the countryside. The Greek collection has, however, remained at the National Board of Antiquities, with only a few vases on display at the premises of its Archaeological department.

Sundström’s collection of twenty-seven pieces consists of two terracotta figurines, six lamps and nineteen vases,¹²⁸ fifteen of which are published.¹²⁹ It is a very representative collection of different vase shapes and pottery ranging from a Mycenaean stirrup jar to Corinthian and Attic ceramics. It is possible that it was once created as a study collection,



Fig. 71.

¹²⁴ *Romantikerns revolt. Victor Hugos politiska kamp*. Stockholm.

¹²⁵ T. G. Aminoff (ed.), *Vem och vad. Biografisk handbok* 1957. Helsingfors 1957, 533, s.v. Sundström. Carl-Johan (Cay); J. Nuorteva – T. Raitio (eds.), *Ulkoasiainhallinnon matrikkeli* 1918-1993. 2, p. 210. Mikkeli 1996.

¹²⁶ His testament 2.XI.1958, § 2: ”---den gamla grekiska samlingen tillfaller staten.---Sålänge staten ej har plats för dessa samlingar kunna de fördelas mellan våra ambassader, skolor, statliga institu(t)ioner, landsortsmuséer m.m.” The Archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, Sundström Collection.

¹²⁷ Letter to Åke Backström from Peking May 9, 1959. The Archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, Sundström Collection.

¹²⁸ KM 14677:1-27.

¹²⁹ *CVA* Finland: 13, Fig. 8; 14, Figs 9-10; 24, Figs 30-31; 27-28, Fig. 36; 34, Fig. 44; 41-42, Fig. 56; 44-45, Fig. 61; 48, Fig. 68; 54, Fig. 78; 55, Fig. 80; 59, Fig. 89; 62, Fig. 92; 63, Fig. 93.

which Sundström bought as a whole. There is nothing in his education or avocations to indicate an interest towards Classical antiquity more than that of an average cultured, wealthy person, who grasped the opportunity to own such a collection when it was offered. In his will he ordered, however, that he be laid to rest in the family grave to the tunes of “The Song of the Athenians”.¹³⁰ It was composed by Jean Sibelius in 1899 to the poem *Atenarnes song* by the Swedish Viktor Rydberg, as a free adaptation of Tyrtæus’ exhortation to the battle.¹³¹ The meaning of the song is certainly open to other interpretations in the context of Sundström’s life than an affection for classical culture.

Onni Okkonen (1886-1962)

Studies and writing

Onni Okkonen, writer, critic, professor of art history and academician, was born in modest circumstances in Korpiselkä, in Carelia. He went to school in Joensuu in eastern Finland, and matriculated in 1905, during a period of political turmoil with Russia and national romanticism in arts. He took his master’s degree in Finnish language and literature at the University of Helsinki and travelled to Italy in 1908 to complete his studies in art history. There he was so enthralled by Italian art that he pursued a doctoral degree in 1911, focusing on the Renaissance artist Melozzo da Forlì. Throughout his life Italy was important to him, but ancient art in general and Greece in particular became familiar to him in 1923, when he visited Greece while on a scholarship for study in the Mediterranean, spanning 1921-1924.¹³²

In 1925 he published in Finnish a book called “Art Cities of Italy”,¹³³ in which he also discusses Etruscan art. In his writings he often encouraged his Finnish readers to seek inspiration not only in their national artistic tradition, but also in Classical and Renaissance examples. In 1928 he was appointed professor of art history at the University of Helsinki, in which position he remained until 1948. He began writing a series of works on the various periods of art, since, in the 1920s, more Finnish-speaking students were entering university, yet, there was a lack of art history literature written in their native tongue. In 1936 his “Ancient Art” was published. He had a threefold aim with his books. They were meant for those taking their first steps in systematic studies of art history, for the greater public as general education, and as stimulants for more profound research. He was a diligent writer not only of books, but of newspaper articles and art critiques as well, and considered it inspiring to be surrounded by works of art when writing.¹³⁴

Collecting

His many journeys abroad were an early influence on his collecting, but the real catalyst came with his professorship, which allowed him to spend more freely. In Europe he

¹³⁰ The supplement 1, § 1 of the testament, October 2, 1958, The Archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, Sundström Collection.

¹³¹ Tyrt. fr. 6.

¹³² Nieminen, 13. Humina, 23.

¹³³ *Italian taidekaupunkeja*. Helsinki 1925.

¹³⁴ Nieminen, 14-15. Humina, 29.



Fig. 72.

became acquainted with antique dealers and art merchants, and he also maintained a lively exchange with foreign colleagues and Finnish collectors.¹³⁵ In the end he relied on his own expertise and bought according to his own liking. His collecting was not of an organized nature, but rather depended on the opportunities encountered. He kept no records or documents of his purchases. The ancient items must have been important while he was writing the book on ancient art, but some of them seem to have been purchased even later. His Graeco-Roman collection consists of thirty-one pieces, statuary of different materials, terracottas, vases,¹³⁶ and glass, bought in Athens, Rome, Capri, London, Egypt, Madrid, and even in Finland.¹³⁷

In 1910 Okkonen wrote a newspaper article “Art collections for country towns”.¹³⁸ He regretted that only wealthy people had exposure to art, and disapproved of collectors who hid their treasures in private homes, beyond the general public’s reach.¹³⁹ Later, in the 1940s, he began pondering the destiny of his own collections, but never made a formal will. At that stage his collections comprised clear stylistic categories, such as Ancient, European – especially 15th and 16th century –, and Finnish collections. The

¹³⁵ Humina, 24-27.

¹³⁶ In *CIV* Finland there are twenty vases representing quite well both Greek and Italian fabrics: p. 18, 2.a-c; 19, Fig. 21; 23, Fig. 27; 35, Fig. 45; 44, Fig. 60; 57, Fig. 84; 61, Fig. 91; 66, Fig. 100; 72, Fig. 115; 89, Fig. 154; 100-101, Fig. 181; 113, Fig. 203; 114, Fig. 205; 115-116, Fig. 206; 119, Fig. 212; 122-123, Fig. 217; 126, Fig. 224; 138, Fig. 250; 140, Fig. 256; 141, Fig. 261.

¹³⁷ This information is from Prof. Okkonen’s widow, Helmi Kargus-Okkonen, Humina, 35-36. For the female terracotta figurines there seems to be some uncertainty between Athens and London on the Joensuu Art Museum’s inventory cards, the year at least for some of them is 1938.

¹³⁸ “Taidekokoelmia maaseutukaupunkeihin”, *Päivä* 30.6.1910.

¹³⁹ Humina, 28.

Chinese collection was created only in the 1950s. All these collections were displayed in the many rooms of his spacious apartment as part of its everyday setting. It was his heirs that donated the Ancient collection in 1972 to the city of Joensuu, Okkonen's old school town. By chance, since 1981 the Joensuu Art Museum has been located in his old school building, where his ancient items have been on continuous display.¹⁴⁰

Hans Aminoff (1904-1968)

The master of Pekkala Manor, Hans Aminoff, bequeathed through the Aminoff Foundation a collection of ancient items to the National Board of Antiquities in 1971. It consisted of eleven items of clay and metal, from lamps to vases, and figurines.¹⁴¹

We have only vague information about these items. Aminoff Foundation documents state that the antiquities had been in the Pekkala Manor in Ruovesi in Central Finland. By the 1950s the items were definitely in this location, where they were exhibited in a glass case. They were probably purchased by Hans Aminoff during his many journeys abroad after the Second World War. His trips took him most often to Spain, but sometimes also to Greece and France. He was interested in all kinds of old items, from art to furniture, the criteria being a personal liking, not any specific period or theme. He purchased objects from antique dealers, or wherever a favourable opportunity offered itself.¹⁴²



Fig. 73.

There is a slight possibility that the items, or some of them at least, might go further back in the family's history, to the grandfather of Hans Aminoff, admiral Oscar von Kraemer (1829-1904), who had a remarkable career in the Russian fleet. The Admiral made two short trips to Pireus and Athens in the spring of 1858 and 1873, and stayed there for longer periods with his family in 1867-1868 and 1879-1882. In 1873 he was directly involved in transporting antiquities for the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Nieminen, 15-18.

¹⁴¹ KM 18375:1-11. One vase is published in *CVA Finland*: Fig. 83, p. 57.

¹⁴² According to information given by Mrs. Antonia Hackman, the daughter of Hans Aminoff, 15.2.2005 and 28.4.2005.

¹⁴³ B. Estlander – K. Ekman, *Från hav och hov. Amiral Oscar von Kraemers levnadslopp*. Helsingfors 1931, 276.

Some statues from the von Kraemer family's time in Greece have, in fact, ended up with another branch of his descendants. The active social life led by the von Kraemer family in Greece must have encouraged the collecting of ancient objects d'art.¹⁴⁴ The admiral died at Pekkala Manor, which was the home of his daughter Sophie and her husband Alexander Aminoff, the same year 1904 that his grandson Hans Aminoff was born there.

Erkki Keckman (1906-1986)

Early collecting

Erkki Keckman was born in St. Michel in 1905 and matriculated in Viborg in 1925. The next year, upon his father's death, he as the eldest son had to take over the family business, which absorbed all his time. In the Russo-Finnish Winter War of 1939-1940 he served as the commander of a mine laying company, and was wounded, becoming seventy percent disabled.

He was interested in history and began collecting coins when he was only five years old, after having received old coins and medals from a German architect. As a schoolboy he increased his little collection with Finnish, Russian and Swedish coins, some even from the 17th century, but all these were left in Viborg, which remained behind the Russian border after the war. In the southern seaside town of Lovisa, Keckman started a plastic business, whose products covered a wide range from optics to furniture. During a trip to London immediately after the Coronation of Elizabeth II in 1953, he happened to see the window of the well-known coin merchants Spink & Son on James Street, and his old enthusiasm for coins was reawakened.

Numismatics

He began collecting seriously in the beginning of the 1960s, when it was easier to travel. He travelled abroad to relieve the stress of his work, and he went frequently to the south, travelling to all the Mediterranean countries except Libya. At first he bought Roman, Greek and medieval coins from local antique dealers and bazaars, but he soon decided to specialize in Greek coinage, purchasing them at auctions abroad. Keckman's collection is noteworthy for the coins of south-western Asia Minor, mostly silver and bronze, but also for the early Lydian and Ionian electrum coins. There are also tens of unique exemplars. His numismatic collection was well known abroad, less so in Finland. He also wrote a few articles for Finnish and foreign publications and had a lively correspondence with museums and foreign colleagues. His collection was sold in 1983 to SKOP-bank of Finland, after which he purchased even more coins. In total, there are 2056 Greek coins,¹⁴⁵ and a further 565 coins from Rome, Byzantium, various Islamic countries, and India.

Figurines and vases

The base for his travels was often the island of Rhodes in Greece, or Marmaris in southern Turkey, and as a frequent visitor he made many friends among the local people. Probably during the 1960s and 1970s he sometimes purchased or received as gifts objects other

¹⁴⁴ Pietilä-Castrén 2006, 82-83.

¹⁴⁵ *Sylloge nummorum Graecorum*, Finland, 1-2. Helsinki 1994, 1999.



Fig. 74.

than coins, such as vases, pots and figurines. He bought some lamps in the Near East in the early 1970s. These objects, sixty-six pieces altogether, were intended by the bank to form a sort of backdrop for the coins, but Keckman did not have the heart to give them away. The personal importance he attached to these items is shown by many photos, in which they are seen in his study, above his desk on eye level. His wife, along with fellow Finnish numismatist Mr. Hannu Männistö, encouraged him to write a catalogue of the objects, which he did shortly before he died. The list consists, however, only of the name of the object, its measurements and the place of purchase in general terms. This collection was also bought by the SKOP-bank after Keckman's death in 1990. It has not been studied in full, with the exception of the terracotta figurines presented here, and contains some fakes, perhaps evidence of the increasing desire of the local people to meet with the demand of the tourists.¹⁴⁶

Christoffer H. Ericsson (b. 1920)

Collecting in childhood

Christoffer Ericsson was born the only child of an artist's family in Helsinki. He spent his early childhood surrounded by relatives and cousins in the family's seaside villas in southern Finland. He received his first ancient objects from his maternal aunt's husband Axel Boëthius, the first director (1926-1935) of the Swedish Institute in Rome, who was visiting Finland in the summer 1927. He used to keep small objects in his pocket, which

¹⁴⁶ H. Männistö, Erkki Keckman in memoriam, in *Numismaatikko* 6 (1989) 192-193.



Fig. 75.

he gave as presents to young Christoffer, the first one of them being the satyr-like head of a banqueter from Taranto (no. 56).¹⁴⁷

In 1930 Christoffer spent some months in Rome with his parents. While they were pursuing their own interests, the son stayed in the home of the Boëthius family in Palazzo Brancaccio, not far from S. Maria Maggiore, and formed his first impressions of ancient remains. The parents were encouraged by Boëthius to visit the antique dealer Vita at Agostino de Pretis street, even though objects of classical antiquity did not primarily appeal to them. As a result, however, the parents bought three pieces of marble statuary, two reliefs and a marble head.¹⁴⁸ They were sent by sea to Finland, and put on display in the studio of their home at Kulosaari on the outskirts of Helsinki. In addition to these genuine pieces, Christoffer himself bought souvenir copies of ancient items, such as a miniature model of the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum Romanum. On the way back home they also visited the newly opened Pergamon Museum, and he also bought a copy of the Sitting Scribe from the Egyptian Museum in Berlin. These little objects were displayed in a decorative Jacobean cabinet in the Ericsson home.

After Christoffer's parents died in a car accident in late 1933, he was sent to Rome to recover, staying with the Boëthius family for the spring months of 1934.¹⁴⁹ He continued to purchase small objects from Vita with his pocket money, and on the advice of Boëthius he carefully wrote out inventory cards for them.¹⁵⁰ He spent his time on the Quirinal,

¹⁴⁷ I have had the pleasure of meeting Prof. Christoffer H. Ericsson and discussing his life and vicissitudes, described in the following passage, many times since the 1990s and especially in 2004 and 2005.

¹⁴⁸ Unpublished, exhibited at the Helsinki University Museum. Signor Vita lived in the same apartment in which his merchandise was on sale and wrapped in newspaper.

¹⁴⁹ Ericsson, 102.

¹⁵⁰ Chr. H. Ericsson, *The Graeco-Roman Antique Collection at the University of Helsinki*, (stencil) 12, 16.

and frequently visited the Museo delle Terme and the Lateran Museum, with Boëthius constantly urging him to deepen his knowledge of ancient culture. He frequented the surroundings of the city as well, and young Christoffer followed the Boëthius-family's large entourage on many Sunday excursions. In Cerveteri the children scattered to the nearby fields, collecting whatever antiquities they came across without a second thought, transporting them back to Rome in the spacious legs of their golf trousers. When Boëthius found this out, he was furious, but in the end let the children keep their mementoes.¹⁵¹ Christoffer's collection had by now grown to twenty pieces. In April he returned alone by train to Finland, and was settled in his paternal uncle's home in Kulosaari. Here his comrades used to mock his antique collection as childish and womanly, as they themselves preferred playing football and bandy.

That same year 1934 Boëthius returned to Sweden to assume a professorship at the University of Gothenburg. Christoffer, for his part, continued school in Finland, but the two were planning his studies in classical archaeology at the University of Uppsala in Sweden. In late 1939 Finland went to war with Russia, and Christoffer was instead sent to serve at the front.

Collecting in adulthood

After five years of military service, Christoffer Ericsson was discharged on Christmas 1944. The future for Finland looked utterly gloomy, ancient culture seemed remote, and it definitely seemed better to do something practical. He started repairing old motors and sailing boats.¹⁵² His parents' home was now his own, and he changed the former studio into a living room, where the ancient marbles were fastened to the walls and two glass cases were set up for the other items. In 1950 he made his first post-war trip to Sicily and Italy, where he bought a number of books on ancient antiquity for his home library. He had fallen again under the spell of antiquity.

In the meantime Professor Axel Boëthius had retired from his position at university and returned to Rome. Ericsson visited him in the middle of the 1950s and sometimes accompanied him to archaeological sites, such as Lucus Feroniae north of Rome. While Boëthius was busy, Ericsson wandered in the newly ploughed fields, came across some fragments of terracotta figurines in the furrows, picked them up, and kept them as mementoes true to his childhood habit. Perhaps Ericsson had come across the rich votive deposit that was later published in 1975. The deposit consisted of statues of votaries, heads of statuettes, anatomical ex votos, masks, and loom weights.¹⁵³ Ericsson picked up seven votaries and one fragmentary mask from Lucus Feroniae.¹⁵⁴ Feronia's sanctuary with its sacred grove on the right bank of the river Tiber, in southern Etruria, was a lively

¹⁵¹ Pietilä-Castrén 2000, 134.

¹⁵² Ericsson, 95, 106-107.

¹⁵³ For the votive deposit, M. Fenelli, Contributo dello studio del votivo anatomico, in *Arch Class* 27 (1975) 206-252; A. M. Sgubini Moretti, Materiali archeologici scoperti a Lucus Feroniae, in *Nuove Scoperte e acquisizioni nell'Etruria meridionale*, Roma 1975, 110-132; Comella 1981, 736-737.

¹⁵⁴ In February 2007 an allegedly unprovenanced pyramidal loom-weight (KM 19322:24) in the National Museum in Helsinki turned out to belong to the items collected by Prof. Ericsson in Lucus Feroniae. It adds to the votive nature of the whole. The loom-weight is rather small: height 5,9 cm, weight 59 g, clay 7.5 YR 6/4 light brown and hard, slip 7.5 YR 5/4 brown. A groove on the flat top and a cross on one side were incised before applying the slip.

emporium in antiquity, drawing people from afar. Also other sanctuaries in central Italy and Campania have yielded important deposits of votive offerings dating to the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.

So far Ericsson had only visited Italy, and his experience of Greek culture was drawn from its western manifestations in South Italy and Sicily. In 1958 he finally went to Athens and, as in Rome in the 1930s, inspected the local antiquities market in the shops of Plaka. Among assorted junk he discovered two terracotta figurines (nos. 8 and 10), which he showed to Axel Boëthius back in Rome, who declared them authentic.

Writer and scholar

After making some economic miscalculations and unsuccessful investments Ericsson lost his remarkable inherited property in 1960. He moved to the centre of Helsinki, put his treasured antiquities on the bookshelves and in glass cases in his study, and in 1962 wrote in Swedish the book “The Golden West of the Greeks”,¹⁵⁵ which he considers the most important work of his prolific literary production. His agony over his changed personal circumstances was balanced by his devotion to ancient culture, while he worked as a department head of the Maritime Museum of Helsinki. He was the main advocate for creating the exhibition *Antiquitas – Ancient Objects from Finnish Collections*¹⁵⁶ in 1971 for the Ateneum Art Museum. It was the first account of Graeco-Roman items in Finland. He continued his academic pursuits on the side and took his doctoral degree in 1980 with a study of *Roman Architecture expressed in Sketches by Francesco di Giorgio Martini: Studies in Imperial Roman and Early Christian Architecture*.¹⁵⁷ To show his gratitude for the support received from the Institute of Art History, he donated his Graeco-Roman Collection to them that same year, consisting by that time of 49 pieces. The collection was immediately put on display in the Institute’s premises in the main building of the university.

He expressed a wish “that the collection would be used as a study collection in order to direct the students’ interest towards ancient material culture and classical archaeology, and also, that it with time would grow to a modest equivalent of the Mediterranean Museum in Stockholm, and further, that the material would be in the reach of amateurs and anyone interested in ancient culture”. The collection consists of lamps, lamp moulds, vases, terracotta figurines, architectonic pieces, statue fragments and reliefs of marble, amphora handles and miscellaneous objects. He included a hand written catalogue with notes on the places and dates of purchases, and the chronology and origin of the pieces.¹⁵⁸ In addition, he donated minor fragments of marble and pottery to the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Helsinki, and his numismatic collection to the University of Jyväskylä, where he was professor of art history in 1979-1986. During his years of active teaching he lectured on the ancient city of Rome, Greek sanctuaries, and popular arts and crafts of Greece. After his retirement he became a member of the board of trustees of the Finnish Institute at Athens (1983-1988), and was also active in the Society of Friends of the Finnish Institute at Athens (1986-1998) and the editor of *Helikon*, the society’s magazine in 1986-1996.

¹⁵⁵ *Grekernas gyllene väster*. Helsingfors 1962.

¹⁵⁶ *Antiquitas. Antiikin taidetta suomalaisista kokoelmista* (stencil).

¹⁵⁷ Helsinki 1980.

¹⁵⁸ Some of the information has been supplemented later orally.

The vases from his collection were studied at the end of the 1990s for the publication of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* Finland,¹⁵⁹ thus fulfilling his wish that they would be a stimulus for the students of ancient culture. Since the autumn of 2003 his collection has been displayed at Arppeanum, the Helsinki University Museum, alongside the Lojander Collection and various items of the Institute of Classical Philology.

Birgitta Lojander (b. 1921)

Historical tales from the flea-market

The childhood years of Birgitta Lojander, née Sallmén and borne in Helsinki, were spent in Tallin, in Estonia, where her father was the director of a pulp factory. Two things in particular influenced her early interest in the surrounding material world. As a child, she was read to from the Swedish family monthly, *Allers*, hearing fascinating stories of distant places. Further she was impressed by the local flea market where she was not, however, allowed to go. She lay instead on top of the family's garden fence, observing from a distance customers bargaining for very tempting looking objects.¹⁶⁰

After fourteen years the family returned to Finland, settling in Kulosaari, near Helsinki, where Birgitta Lojander and Christoffer Ericsson became classmates. She went to study in Sweden at Stockholm's Högskola in 1942-1943 during the Russo-Finnish War. The Historical Museum of Stockholm had opened in 1939, and she had during her stay an opportunity to become acquainted with its interesting historical objects. In Stockholm, she was also influenced by the positive reaction toward activities of the Swedish Institute in Rome. She would have liked to study classical archaeology and participate in fieldwork in the Mediterranean, but it was not possible to do so at the University of Helsinki. She studied art history instead, and attended lectures by Professor Onni Okkonen, although he does not seemed to have encouraged her to concentrate on ancient art. In the end she wrote her master's thesis on Dürer's drawings.

A collector by nature

The opportunity to purchase ancient objects first presented itself in the middle of the 1960s, when she began travelling widely after having been widowed. She went abroad once or twice annually, the only exception being 1998, most often to the Mediterranean. She began purchasing ancient pieces in Greece in 1965, and returned there in 1968, 1971, 1973-1975, 1977, 1979, 1980, and also later, but did not make any more purchases. She travelled to Turkey in 1966-1969, 1976, to Israel in 1969, 1970, 1972, 1980, to Sweden in 1970, 1982, to Switzerland in 1977, 1981, 1983, 1986-1992, 1996, 1997, 1999-2002, and to Tunis in 1978-1980, 1982, 1984, 1993. Single purchases were made in Germany in 1974, in Belgium in 1976, in Cyprus in 1978, and Jordan in 1996. In Finland she made purchases from auctions or antique dealers in 1974, 1985, 1986, 1994, 1995, and 1999-2002. With the advent of stricter laws pertaining to the buying and selling of antiquities, she transferred her antiquity-hunting to Tunis.

¹⁵⁹ *CVA* Finland, 15, Fig. 12; 16, Fig. 14; 17, Fig. 15; 25, Fig. 32; 26, Fig. 34; 43, Fig. 59; 97, Fig. 173; 99, Fig. 177; 102, Fig. 186; 109, Fig. 196; 136, Figs 241-243; 137, Fig. 247.

¹⁶⁰ Personal interviews and many pleasurable discussions in 1999, 2004 and 2005.

Being interested in many different kinds of visually attractive objects, she visited every imaginable place where such things could be had. She hunted in bazaars, at official antique dealers, and junk shops. She never had an organized plan for her collecting, and her purchases depended on what she happened to see and to like, and what was available. The whole activity was a big adventure, as she especially enjoyed bargaining and buying masses of junk in order to acquire something she really desired or considered to be valuable among the less desirable items. She often returned to the shops or dealers she knew, and made friends with many of them, mixing with their families and visiting their homes. She bought many of the terracotta figurines during the years 1966-1968. Of her Athenian antique dealers, all authorized by the state, Giannis Kourdoglanian, Armenian by birth, has retired. The business



Fig. 76.

of A. M. Vitali, who has also retired, has been taken over by his son. Konstantinos Dimitrisis has died, but Marta Kapsulaki (fig. 76, right) lives and still runs her business on Pandrossou- street in Athens.¹⁶¹ The husband of Marta Kapsulaki used to restore objects, and his handiwork can be seen on the head of the standing female figurine no. 12. Mrs. Lojander also preserved the addresses of the bazaar merchants and the guarantees of the antique dealers. From 1972 she relied very much on the expertise of the antique dealers Hans and Sonja Humbel, the owners of 'Arete – Galerie für antike Kunst', in Zürich, who also became her friends.

She kept a careful register of her purchases, writing down the date and price of the item, description, measurements, her impression of the dating and workshop, possible information of the place of discovery, and the name of the dealer. In this way a rudimentary context is preserved for the objects, although its accuracy cannot be proven. She carefully researched her collection, deriving great pleasure from this study.

Mrs. Lojander kept a low profile, and seldom showed her growing collection to strangers. The ancient items were displayed throughout her spacious apartment on open shelves, where she appreciated them every day. She cherished hopes that her

¹⁶¹ Information given by Mr. K. Roussos from the Somatio archeopolon kai emboron ergon technis Ellados, in Athens, in December 2004.

granddaughter would become interested in the antiquities and perhaps study them some day, but her granddaughter thought the profession of researcher seemed too lonely. In 2003 Mrs. Lojander decided to donate her collection to the Helsinki University Museum, which was preparing to move to new premises. In the new building, Arppeanum, a small room was reserved for the Lojander collection, the Ericsson collection, and the objects connected to the Institute of Classical Philology. The Lojander collection, altogether 187 items, consists of vases, terracotta figurines, glass, jewellery, bronze, lamps and some miscellaneous pieces. It was the express wish of the donor that the items should be put on display.

Other Acquisitions

Sinebrychoff Art Museum, Helsinki

Five terracotta figurines were purchased from London in 1959 on the recommendation of the acquisitions board of the Art Academy of Finland. No details have been preserved, but the board customarily acted on tips received from Finnish or foreign contacts and art dealers. It appears from the records of the board meeting of September 11, that the decision to buy “five Tanagra figurines” was made. The members in attendance at this meeting are not recorded, but most often they were the sculptor Aimo Tukiainen, painters Aimo Kanerva and Tapani Jokela, and the Art Academy intendant Aune Lindström, who travelled widely in the Mediterranean and herself had a private collection of ancient items. She may have in fact played a decisive role in these acquisitions. In the First Inventory Book of Sculpture of the Art Academy there is a little more information about the five terracottas: They were bought from the antique dealer Louis Meier, for a price of 130 pounds, equal to 117 125 Finnish marks.¹⁶² Nowadays they make part of the collections of the Sinebrychoff Art Museum. Only three of the figurines (nos. 9, 13 and 18) are included in our catalogue, as the other two were determined to be forgeries, one (BI 567) on iconographic grounds, and the other (BI 570) by both technical grounds and chemical analyses.¹⁶³

National Board of Antiquities

Two Swedish agents sold Graeco-Roman material to the National Museum in Helsinki. The first was Fredrik Robert Martin, amanuensis at the Swedish National Museum, who had been travelling in 1895-1896 in the eastern Mediterranean, buying antiquities at least in Cyprus and Egypt.¹⁶⁴ In addition to bronze items, he sold the Finns the terracotta statuette representing Harpocrates (no. 60), which he stated came from El Fayum.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² BI 566-570.

¹⁶³ Made by Mr. Seppo Hornytzkjy at the Ateneum Art Museum.

¹⁶⁴ *Svenska män och kvinnor* 5. Biografisk uppslagsbok. Stockholm 1949, p. 251, Nr. 8. Paul Åström, The Pera Bronzes, in *Scripta Minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis*, 1977-1978:4, p. 5, 10.

¹⁶⁵ An unnumbered document by A. Hackman, November 21, 1896, in the Archives of the University of Art and Design Helsinki, “Archives of the Finnish Society for Crafts and Design, folder 9, Catalogues of objects: 1890s and the beginning of 1900s”. Probably due to the error of the writer of the document the site is given as El Fazum.

The mother-goddess from Gaul in the collections of the National Museum (no. 33), is traditionally described as having once been a part of the Collection of Henri-E. Millon, and auctioned in Paris in 1923. The Swedish agent Olov Janse¹⁶⁶ went to the auction in Paris with the object of bidding on behalf of the Estonian National Museum. While in Paris the Prehistoric department of the Finnish National Museum contacted him by letter, asking him to buy also on behalf of the Finns “some typical French antiquities”.¹⁶⁷

Henri-E. Millon was *conseiller à la cour* in Dijon in France in the later half of the 19th century, and an amateur archaeologist. He was famous for being interested in even the most humble looking items and acquired a considerable collection of local antiquities from excavations he personally undertook. Joseph Dechelette and three other local archaeologists were asked by Millon to write a catalogue for his collection, and part of the material was indeed published in *La Collection Millon. Antiquités préhistoriques et gallo-romaines* in 1913. Ten years later his entire collection was auctioned. The museum registration number, KM 8248, denotes all of the items from the Collection Millon bought for Finland. The Millon mother-goddess is not, however, included. Although the original mother-goddess from the Collection Millon (lot 119) was in fact bought by Janse, he was asked by the French authorities, who had made a mistake by letting it go to an outsider, to exchange it for a similar object from the storerooms of the Musée Saint Germain. He consented, and the replacement figurine was taken to the Finnish Delegation and sent to Finland. In his letter in Paris, Janse attempted to convince his Finnish clients, that the substituted figurine is equivalent in character and quality to the original Millon figurine, and thus represents the same concepts within French archaeology.¹⁶⁸ He was, indeed, correct. According to the accompanying information, the St. Germain figurine comes from Alesia, which is the main production area of the mother-goddess type in Central Gaul. Both the acquisitions by Martin and Janse were bought with funds bequeathed by the Finnish patron of art Herman Frithiof Antell.

¹⁶⁶ Svenska män och kvinnor 4. Biografisk uppslagsbok, Stockholm 1948, 39.

¹⁶⁷ The letter by A. Hackman 31.10.1923, Arkeologiska kommissionen, förhistoriska avdelningen. Verificate for KM 8248:31.

¹⁶⁸ Janse's letter of November 29, 1923. Verificate for KM 8248:31.

IV. Conclusions

The second part of our study introduced the collectors and their biographies in order to understand their motivations for collecting antiquities in general, and means of acquiring the objects specifically. Now some observations can be made about the relationship of the collectors' backgrounds and attitudes towards collecting, as well as the development of collecting in general in Finland. To conclude this chapter the terracotta figurines are examined in their Finnish context, and as examples of ancient coroplastic art.

The Collectors

Since 1834 there have been thirteen people of varying educational background, who contributed to the collecting of terracottas in Finland. Eleven of these were Finns by birth, and two were foreigners; the first, a Russian military man, I. I. Filipenko, may have been influenced by his Finnish superior, and the second, Mary Stenbäck, became a Finnish citizen by marriage. Of the thirteen collectors about half were rather young, in their twenties, when acquiring the objects, and only two were female. Their professions varied; of those who later became university professors, Tudeer was directly connected to classical culture, Okkonen and Ericsson to art history, while Ilmoni and von Hausen promoted other cultural and artistic activities in Finland. Von Hausen was the only professional artist among the purchasers. Mary Stenbäck and Birgitta Lojander possessed some knowledge of antiquities because of their general university training in the field of arts and sciences. Sederholm, along with Filipenko, were military men, and if Oscar von Kraemer had a share in creating the Aminoff Collection, he makes the third of this group. Sundström, Aminoff and Keckmann were not interested exclusively in classical antiquities, but in collecting in general. Their motivation for collecting antiquities thus remains unclear. There were, furthermore, three professional agents, two of whom are known by name. They were both Swedish, F. R. Martin and Olof Janse, and professionally involved with the Swedish or Estonian National Museums. The third contact acting for the Ateneum Art Museum in Helsinki is not known.

Trips to the Mediterranean were the usual means of acquiring ancient items. During the time span of almost 150 years there is a range of travel from Grand Tour of more than two years to chartered holidays of some weeks. Immanuel Ilmoni's Italian journey fulfilled in many respects the characteristics of a romantic Grand Tour.¹ He was prepared for the trip having previous knowledge of classical literature and having seen ancient sculpture in advance in Stockholm. In Europe he became acquainted with Italian art and architecture, visited all the important ancient sites, wrote letters, which were circulated at home among friends, and kept a travelogue. Furthermore, he collected souvenirs, made comments on Italian country folk and Catholic priests, was enthusiastic about the beauty of the landscapes and climbed the volcanoes. All the while he also pursued studies in his own field, medicine. One typical feature of the Grand Tour was missing, though, as there is no visual document of him in the shape of, for instance, a caricature, nor a portrait of him standing by ruins. This was surely due to his moderate resources, as he was not travelling *en grand seigneur*.

¹ M. Ahlund, Reseskildringarna, gravyrverken och drömmen om Italien, 24-29, in *Drömmen om Italien. Nordiska resenärer i Södern 1750-1870*. (Exhibition catalogue), Stockholm 2004.

Oskar Tudeer, a classical scholar, is the only one who acquired his material when on a longer scholarship in Greece. He was also the first to make an extensive trip both to Italy and Greece, the latter being for professional reasons his real destination. In Athens he must have become aware, after having mixed among other scholars, that exporting antiquities was not allowed, as the export of antiquities had been banned since 1827. Perhaps he considered his modest and partly unattractive looking booty insignificant and rather as mementoes and souvenirs. This export prohibition actually applies to all the other collectors, most of whom did their collecting during holiday visits, and we can only assume that they likewise considered their souvenirs too modest to elicit legal action. Only one person, Constantin Carstens, acquired his pieces outside the Mediterranean when studying in Germany.

The nature of travelling is also reflected in the collecting. Ilmoni, Carstens, and Tudeer, collected antiquities on only single occasions. In the 20th century travelling became generally easier, and frequent trips to the Mediterranean were possible. It is likely that von Hausen's special mandate to purchase antiquities for the Museum of the Finnish Society for Crafts and Design was combined with one of his regular visits to Italy, and the activities of Ericsson and Lojander were also facilitated by easier travelling. Greece and Italy were the most popular places for acquiring antiquities. Tudeer, Stenbäck, Ericsson, Lojander and Keckman acquired from Greece. Ilmoni, and Ericsson acquired from Italy, and von Hausen from Sicily. Keckman and Lojander also went to Turkey, while Sederholm and Filipenko stayed in the Crimea for professional reasons, likewise Carstens in Germany. In the cases of Sundström, Aminoff and Okkonen no exact knowledge of their travels is available.

The collectors' attitudes toward acquiring Graeco-Roman objects varied greatly. Ilmoni, Filipenko, Tudeer, von Hausen, Okkonen, Keckman, Ericsson and Lojander were determined collectors, but only von Hausen, Keckman, Ericsson and Lojander registered their acquisitions in informal catalogues or lists. Ilmoni, Carstens, Sederholm, Tudeer, and Stenbäck recorded basic information at least for some of their pieces. None of the collectors seem to have had a preference for terracottas. This is in part a product of their informal collecting strategies; all of their antiquities were purchased from what was available or offered principally in antique dealers' shops or bazaars, or from locals peddling what emerged from the soil. The terracottas were often merely a portion of a larger lot, which might total 187 objects, as in the Lojander Collection, in which the quantity of objects reflected the number of her trips. Mary Stenbäck was in a way given her Cretan collection, as the adventurous discovery of the items suggest. Sederholm's misfired and headless figurine definitely gives a picture of a modest memento, as compared with the treasures he sent to St. Petersburg.

The antiquities were rather small in size; they were easy to pick up and fit in one's pocket. Only Ilmoni and von Hausen are definitely known to have sent their acquisitions back to Finland: von Hausen officially for the Museum of the Finnish Society for Crafts and Design, and Ilmoni probably along with his plants and zoological samples. Since he crossed the Alps on foot with only a rucksack, we may deduce that Ilmoni's antiquities were sent along with the samples. Birgitta Lojander certainly carried her various acquisitions in her luggage, as is most likely the case with all the others.

The terracotta figurines in Finland

The majority of the 19th century collectors donated their antiquities shortly after their acquisition either to the Historical-Ethnographic Collection of the University, or to the Finnish Antiquarian Society. I would like to think that the prompt donation of the collections to public institutions was affected, at least to some extent, by two facts: Finland was without any ancient collections, having lost what there might have been in the Fire of Turku in 1827. The small donations were thus expressions of civic pride and investment in the country's culture. The development of Europe's magnificent new public museums with their extensive collections of antiquities, founded from the end of the 18th century through the first decades of the 19th, surely impressed the errant Finns, especially those who might have glimpsed the potential of the booming antiquities markets on the Continent. Sederholm, albeit a military man, similarly was involved in furnishing St. Petersburg with antiquities from Kertch.

Ilmoni's items were put on display immediately at the University in 1834, but when the Historical-Ethnographic Collection was moved to the National Museum in 1912,² they were probably placed in storage, as no space was planned for Graeco-Roman objects in the new museum, primarily designed to display national and Finno-Ugrian material.³ In the beginning of the 20th century von Hausen's Sicilian acquisitions were exhibited in the Museum of the Society for Crafts and Design at least from 1912 to 1915, if not until 1928. The rest of the collectors kept the items in their homes, where they were typically displayed on shelves or in glass cases, often in the study, but in Okkonen's and Lojander's case throughout their spacious apartments. The practice of these two reflects also the number of their items, and perhaps in Lojander's case an idea which she might have absorbed from Okkonen as her professor. The objects were then left either by will, as by Sundström and Aminoff, or they were donated by relatives to a museum, as was done in the cases of Stenbäck, Okkonen, Keckman, and Tudeer.

Sundström, Okkonen and Ericsson had definite ideas of presenting their collections to wider circles. Sundström and Okkonen specifically desired that their items be displayed in the country towns. The collection of Onni Okkonen, donated to the Joensuu Art Museum by his estate, is in the end the only one housed at a museum outside of Helsinki. This collection was the third to be publicly displayed in 1972. Ericsson's desire was to create a nucleus of a Graeco-Roman museum directed equally to scholars and laymen in Helsinki. Such a display happened first in the Institute of Art History of the University of Helsinki in 1980. Since 2003 the Ericsson Collection is in the Antique Room of the Helsinki University Museum along with the Lojander Collection and the small collection of study material of the Institute of Classical Philology. The four-piece collection brought by Constantin Carstens from Karlsruhe has been displayed in the Museum of Cultures in Helsinki since 2004 as part of the permanent exhibition called "Fetched from afar".

Due to the small number and great variety of the terracotta figurines and statuettes, we have organized our catalogue in general categories such as a category of generic male heads, and a standing female group, which includes a dancer, a winged female and a musician. The pieces as a whole, despite the fortuitous nature of their acquisition, represent a good cross section of Graeco-Roman terracotta figurine and statuette types. In fact, the most important iconographic types are present, only the grotesques are missing.

² *Cons. prot.* 15.12.1911, §10. The archives of the University of Helsinki.

³ M. Härö, *Suomen muinaismuistohallinto ja antikvaarinen tutkimus 1884-1917*, 164. Helsinki 1984.

There are, however, no spectacular pieces. Instead the sixty-four items are modest and typical products of ancient coroplasts' workshops, and in this way reflect the true nature of mass-produced terracotta figurines. This is also shown by the four items (nos. 1, 8, 10 and 56), to which mould siblings could be found in other collections. In addition the broad range of terracotta figurines and statuettes in Finland, although small in number, proves that even modest collections containing material from many different areas and sources can facilitate study of comparisons and connections between products, as well as provide an overview of this humble three-dimensional art.

The material also provides a representative selection of geographic origins and chronological periods. There is a clear predilection for Greek objects, particularly from the area around Athens, as well as from the south-western corner of Asia Minor. The Italian pieces come mostly from the southern areas, from Sicily, Paestum and Pompeii. No purchases were made in Rome, as not many figurines circulated in its markets at the time many of our collectors were buying, largely because modest terracottas were of little scholarly interest at the time and because many other finer objects were available to purchasers in Rome. The more consistent groups of terracottas were naturally those acquired from a single source, such as Tudeer's Spartan material, von Hausen's Sicilian pieces, Stenbäck's two items from Crete, and Ericsson's set from Lucus Feroniae. There are three geographically peripheral pieces, two from Egypt, though with iconographic connections to the Hellenistic world, and one very popular type from Roman Gaul, with age-old iconographic connections to Sicily. These three figurines were acquired by the assistance of outside agents.

Although the present study considers a small group of ancient items, it provides insight into the question of why Finland even today lacks a proper museum of Graeco-Roman antiquities. Since collectors began acquiring objects, no matter whether it was vases, figurines, glass, or bronze, and no matter what number or their quality, the objects have ended up in many different institutions, in which the antiquities failed to complement the institution's mission or collection goals. As a result, these institutions rarely appreciated the ancient material and seldom grew their collections or exhibits around them. Instead, our material, if displayed at all, was a minor aspect of large and more heterogeneous collections. Although the Helsinki University Museum installed in 2003 its classical antiquities in its smallest room, this is now the largest and most heterogeneous display of Graeco-Roman objects in Finland. The terracotta figurines are included in the exhibit *instrumentum domesticum*, household objects, into which even the most modest terracotta figurine fits as an example of household religion. It has been one hundred and seventy years since Professor Immanuel Ilmoni donated his collection to the University, and with this publication of the terracotta figurines in his and other collections we thus finally fulfil the implicit goal of Ilmoni's donation by presenting them for the benefit of all.

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