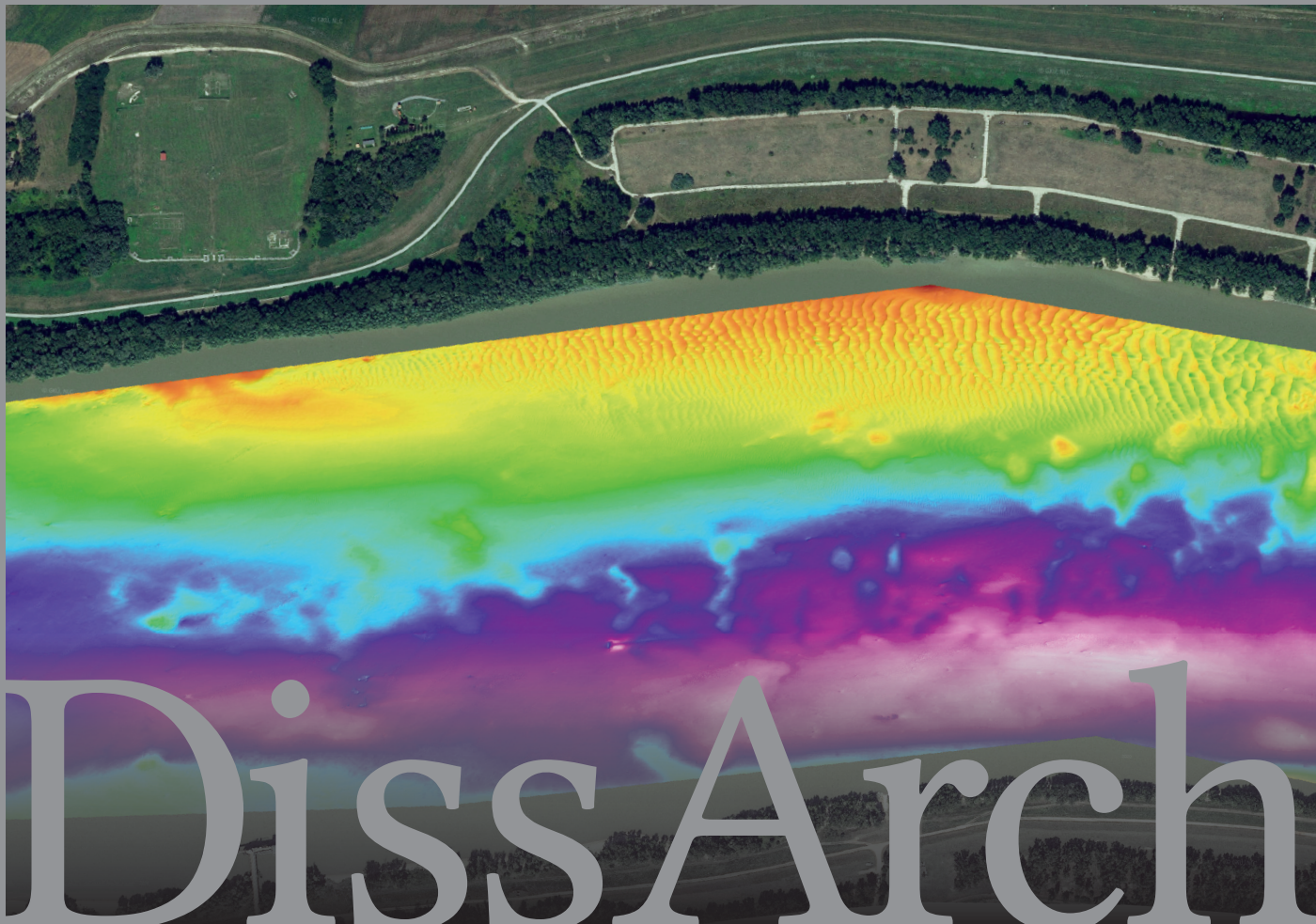


# DISSERTATIONES ARCHAEOLOGICAE

ex Instituto Archaeologico

Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae



# DissArch

Ser. 3. No. 13. | 2025

Dissertationes Archaeologicae  
ex Instituto Archaeologico  
Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae

Ser. 3. No. 13.

Editor-in-chief

Dávid BARTUS

Editorial board

László BARTOSIEWICZ (Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden)

Ondřej CHVOJKA (University of South Bohemia, České Budějovice, Czech Republic)

Alexandra ANDERS (ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary)

Miroslava DAŇOVÁ (University of Trnava, Trnava, Slovakia)

Mario GAVRANOVIĆ (Austrian Archaeological Institute AAS, Vienna, Austria)

Hajnalka HEROLD (University of Exeter, Exeter, United Kingdom)

Tomáš KÖNIG (Comenius University, Bratislava, Slovakia)

Tina MILAVEC (University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia)

Gábor V. SZABÓ (ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary)

Tivadar VIDA (ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary)

Technical editor

Gábor VÁCZI

Proofreading

Katalin SEBŐK, Emilia GRANDI, Zsófia GYURKA, Borbála NYÍRI, Julianna REY-BENE

Cover picture

HELICOP s.r.o.

Aviable online at <http://ojs.elte.hu/dissarch>

Contact: [dissarch@btk.elte.hu](mailto:dissarch@btk.elte.hu)

Support: [vaczi.gabor@btk.elte.hu](mailto:vaczi.gabor@btk.elte.hu)

ISSN 2064-4574 (online)

Publisher

Lénárd DARÁZS

© Author(s)

© Institute of Archaeological Sciences, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University

Budapest 2025



**PKP**  
PUBLIC  
KNOWLEDGE  
PROJECT



**DOAJ**

**ERIH PLUS**  
EUROPEAN REFERENCE INDEX FOR THE  
HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES



# CONTENTS

## WATER DIVIDES – WATER CONNECTS: ROMAN MILITARY, COMMERCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTACTS BETWEEN THE MIDDLE DANUBE REGION AND THE BLACK SEA

Lajos JUHÁSZ 7

---

Water Divides – Water Connects: Roman military, commercial and cultural contacts between the Middle Danube Region and the Black Sea

Chiara CENATI 9

---

*Aequora Danubii cunctis transnare sub armis: A new interpretation of the poem CLE 427*

Nikola RUSEV 25

---

Trimammium: The Roman limes fortress and the necropolis

Miroslava DAŇOVA – Klaudia DAŇOVA – Ján RAJTÁR 51

---

The Danube riverbed near the Roman fort at Iža-Leányvár: Results of investigations, 2019–2022

Varbin VARBANOV 63

---

Evidence of fishing from the excavations of the Roman fortress of Sexaginta Prista (Ruse, Bulgaria)

Svetlana VELIKOVA 75

---

Medieval life along the Roman limes at the Danube, Ruse Region

## 1ST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ARCHAEOLOGY STUDENTS

Dániel HÜMPFNER – Bence PÁRKÁNYI – Rita Helga OLASZ 87

---

Introduction

Rita SULIMAN 89

---

Egyptian influence on Late Bronze Age (1600–1200 BC) ivory artefacts from the kingdoms of Ugarit and Qatna

Mirtill ÁRVAI	105
<hr/>	
Some Thoughts on five Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines from the Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest	
Bence PÁRKÁNYI	119
<hr/>	
Not all Gorgons are Greek: A red-figure kylix fragment in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest	
Virág Veronika SZÁNTÓ	131
<hr/>	
Representation and object: <i>Pyxis</i> on the sarcophagus of Titus Aelius	
Dániel HÜMPFNER	147
<hr/>	
New data on the settlement history of the so-called <i>villa</i> , a Roman period building, at Testvérhegy	
Rita Helga OLASZ	167
<hr/>	
Child graves from Brigetio	
Márton SZABÓ	189
<hr/>	
Imported ceramics from the Roman camp at Almásfüzitő	
Ferenc BARNA	211
<hr/>	
Gestempelte Ziegel aus den Ausgrabungen von Komárom/Szőny-MOL-Kiskertek (Brigetio) im Jahr 2015	
Regina Viktória CSORDÁS	257
<hr/>	
From the table to the grave? The question of animal sacrifices in Avar cemeteries on the Little Hungarian Plain	
Kata SZATHMÁRI	279
<hr/>	
Possible ways of use of medieval and early modern bone tools based on results of use-wear analysis, experimental archaeology, and ethnographic parallels	

## ARTICLES

Attila PÉNTEK – Ferenc CSERPÁK – Krisztián ZANDLER – Szilvia GUBA	297
<hr/>	
First Open-Air Mousterian Site in the Mátra Mountains (North Hungary): Preliminary Results from Szurdokpüspöki-Lapos-tanya	

Kristóf István SZEGEDI – Annamária BÁRÁNY – Julia BLUMENRÖTHER – Endre DOBOS – Tibor MARTON – Gergely PÁLL-BARNA – György LENGYEL	321
<hr/>	
Szekszárd-Palánk and the postglacial recolonization of the Pannonian Basin	
Eszter SOLNAY – Zita HRABÁK – Péter HORNOK – Péter KISS – Zsuzsanna M. VIRÁG – Zsuzsanna SIKLÓSI	353
<hr/>	
Pottery technological analysis of the Copper Age Transdanubia (Western Hungary)	
Gábor SÁNTA	381
<hr/>	
Ceramic Depositions, Ritual Features, and Irregular Burials of the Tumulus Culture in Hungary	
Ákos MENGYÁN – Ferenc KRISTÁLY	413
<hr/>	
Pots for a purpose? Interdisciplinary analysis of small amphorae from the Late Bronze Age cemeteries of Maklár (Northeast Hungary)	
Attila MRENKA	447
<hr/>	
A peculiar Late Bronze Age find from Sopron-Warischberg	
János Gábor TARBAY	459
<hr/>	
Late Bronze Age Arrowheads from Transdanubia and Beyond: Distribution, Chronology, Bronze Technology, and Use-Wear	
Ábel GARCZIK	543
<hr/>	
New data on base marks of Late La Tène <i>situlae</i>	
Máté Róbert MERKL – Gábor CSÜLLÖG – Gabriella DARABOS – Ilona PÁL – Maria HAJNALOVA – Enikő Katalin MAGYARI	563
<hr/>	
The vegetation of the Roman province of Pannonia based on wood charcoal, pollen, anthracological and carpological studies (1st–5th century AD)	
Dávid BARTUS	611
<hr/>	
Roman Bronze Figurines Depicting Iuppiter from Brigetio	
Radu PETCU – Ingrid PETCU-LEVEI	633
<hr/>	
A bronze statuette of the Héros Horseman (Thracian Rider) discovered near Tomis (Palazu Mare), Moesia Inferior	
Kata DÉVAI – István FÓRIZS	645
<hr/>	
On the functionality of <i>vasa diatreta</i> : The case of the cage cup fragments from Gorsium	

Linda DOBOSI 663

---

Pieces of gaming equipment from Roman Pannonia: The Collection of the Kuny Domokos Museum in Tata (Hungary)

Bence GULYÁS – Tamás CZUPPON 699

---

A stirrup type with Byzantine provenience in Central and Eastern Europe

Alin FRÎNCULEASA – Daniel GARVĂN – George TROHANI – Elena RENȚA – Mirela MIHON – Cristian MANAILESCU – Oana GAZA – Doru PACESILA – Alexandru PETRE – Erwin GÁLL 713

---

Absolute dating of the Early/Pre-state Medieval date burial features in Muntenia (the 7th–14th century AD)

Attila TÜRK – Flórián HARANGI 743

---

A 13th-century headwear fragment with metal threads from southeastern Hungary and the Bulgarian connections of Árpád Age headdresses

## FIELD REPORTS

Dávid BARTUS – Melinda SZABÓ – Rita Helga OLASZ – Ákos MÜLLER – Bence SIMON – Szilvia JOHÁCZI – Lajos JUHÁSZ – Tibor NÉGYÖKRŰ – Kitti IVANCSICS – László BORHY – Emese SZÁMADÓ 763

---

Excavations in the legionary fortress of Brigetio in 2025

Bence SIMON – Szilvia JOHÁCZI – Ákos MÜLLER – Bence PÁRKÁNYI – Lőrinc TIMÁR 781

---

Pilisszentiván-Hárs-erdő 2025: New buildings and finds from a Roman village in the northwestern hinterland of Aquincum

Attila Botond SZILASI – Attila TURI – Rita RAKONCZAY 791

---

2000 years of settlement horizons in the area of the second inner courtyard of the *Neue Residenz* in Salzburg

## THESIS REVIEW ARTICLES

Nóra SZABÓ 827

---

Change and transformation during the transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age along the capital region of the Danube: Settlement structure analyses based on particular sites from the Vatyá III – Koszider Period and the Early Tumulus Culture

# Some thoughts on five Mycenaean terracotta figurines from the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest

Mirtill ÁRVAI  

Institute of Archaeological Sciences, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary  
amirtill@gmail.com

Received 1 September 2025 | Accepted 26 September 2025 | Published 30 January 2026

**Abstract:** The Collection of Classical Antiquities of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, (hereafter MFAB) holds five terracotta figurines attributed to the Mycenaean culture: a *Psi* (T.737), a *Kourotrophos* (T.15), a female figurine sitting on a throne (T.5), a Linear Type 2 bovine figure of (93.15.A), and a figure of a couple lying on a bed (T.13). This paper presents these figurines and discusses some questions regarding their typology, function, context, and origin.

**Keyword:** Mycenae, figurine, terracotta

Mycenaean terracotta figurines are small handmade objects, ranging from 5 to 20 cm in height and portraying humans, animals, furniture, and chariots. Anthropomorphic figures most commonly depict females; the variants were termed *Psi*, *Phi*, and *Tau*, based on their resemblance to the respective letters of the Greek alphabet.<sup>1</sup> These figurines are characteristic of the Late Bronze Age, with most of the pieces dating from the LH III period. Most specimens come from Mycenae and the surrounding areas, but many originate from other regions of the Aegean, including Crete, as well as other parts of the Mediterranean.<sup>2</sup> They are usually painted, mainly with linear motifs, although unpainted examples also exist. The figures were decorated with black or red paint before firing.

Most of these statuettes were recovered from the graves of males and females of all age groups, coming from a variety of social backgrounds. Additionally, many pieces were found in deposits, mostly in the walls of monumental tombs, and a large number have been recovered from simple waste disposal pits around dwellings.<sup>3</sup> Given the diversity of contexts, recent research is increasingly focusing on analyses suggesting that contextual differences may indicate variations in the function and use pattern of the figures. The question of function remains an open and controversial issue in the research of this find group, even though it is one of the most discussed topics, with many theories developed since the 19th century.

The collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest holds five Mycenaean terracotta figurines. Two have received special attention in international research due to their uniqueness; however, no precise information is available about the origin and context of any of them.

1 FURUMARK 1941, 86–89.

2 FRENCH 1971, 103–108.

3 TZONOU-HERBST 2002, ii.

## Brief research history

Terracotta figures of Mycenaean art have been known since the excavations of Heinrich Schliemann in Mycenae and Alfred Biliotti in Rhodes.<sup>4</sup> After Schliemann, several researchers, including Christos Tsountas, Wolfgang Reichel, and Maximilian Mayer, studied Mycenaean terracotta objects in the 19th century.<sup>5</sup> Despite the early recognition of the find group in archaeology, they were not properly researched for a long time. Some attention was given to the female figures, for which Arne Furumark developed a typology, terming the distinguished variants using letters of the Greek alphabet (*Psi*, *Phi*, and *Tau*). He, however, ignored animal figures.<sup>6</sup>

Elizabeth French conducted the first comprehensive study of Mycenaean terracotta figurines. Her doctoral thesis, *The development of Mycenaean terracotta figures*, was completed in 1961, but its extended and updated version was published only in 1971. She examined the stylistic development of the figures and placed the different types in chronological order based on Mycenaean pottery, thus giving them a considerable dating value (Figs 1–2).<sup>7</sup>

Ingrid Weber-Hiden created a separate chronology based on the figurine record of Tiryns. She aimed to create a chronological framework equivalent to that of Mycenaean pottery.<sup>8</sup>

The most recent and comprehensive study is the work of Ioulia Tzonou-Herbst, published in 2002. As part of her doctoral research, she examined more than 4,000 terracotta figurines from Mycenae, focusing on their contexts. She also examined areas outside Mycenae, including the Greek mainland, the Aegean islands, and sites beyond the Mycenaean world, incorporating both human and animal figures into her research.<sup>9</sup>

In 2009, important studies were published in the 20th issue of the journal *Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae*, published by the Svenska Institutet i Athen. Edited by Ann-Louise Schallin and Petra Pakkanen, the issue contains fourteen articles on terracotta sculptures in Mycenaean art.<sup>10</sup>

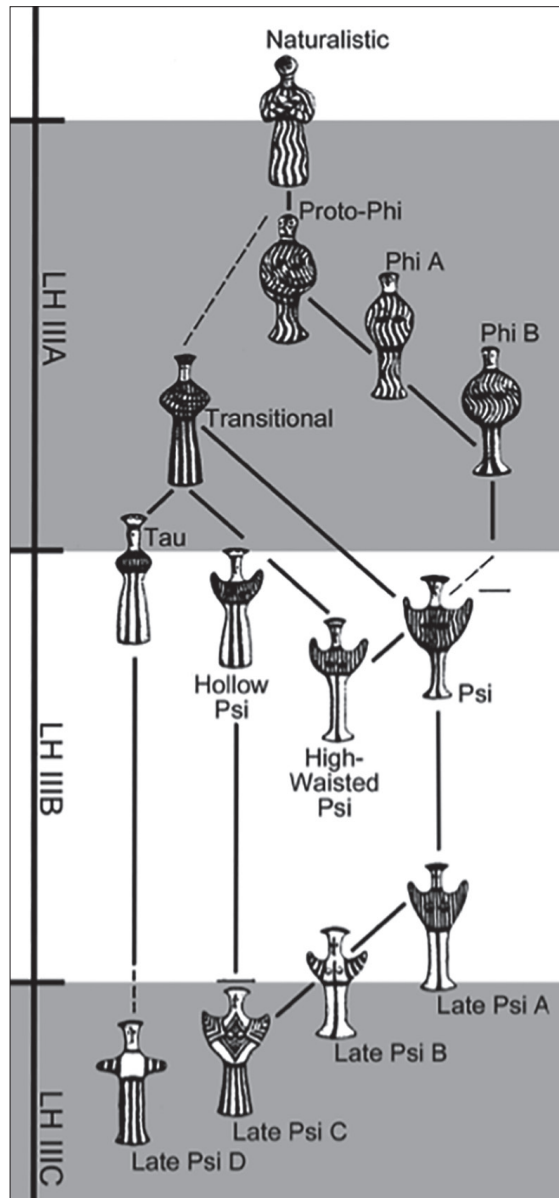


Fig. 1. Elizabeth French's typology and chronology of the female figures (*Phi*, *Psi* and *Tau*) (TZONOU-HERBST 2002, Fig. 1).

4 Schliemann's excavations in Mycenae began in 1876, while Biliotti conducted excavations in several settlements on Rhodes between 1852 and 1883 (SCHLIEMANN 1878; BARCHARD 2006).

5 TSOUNTAS 1888; TSOUNTAS 1892; MAYER 1892; REICHEL 1897.

6 FURUMARK 1941, 86–89.

7 FRENCH 1971.

8 WEBER-HIDEN 2002.

9 TZONOU-HERBST 2002.

10 SCHALLIN – PAKKANEN 2009.

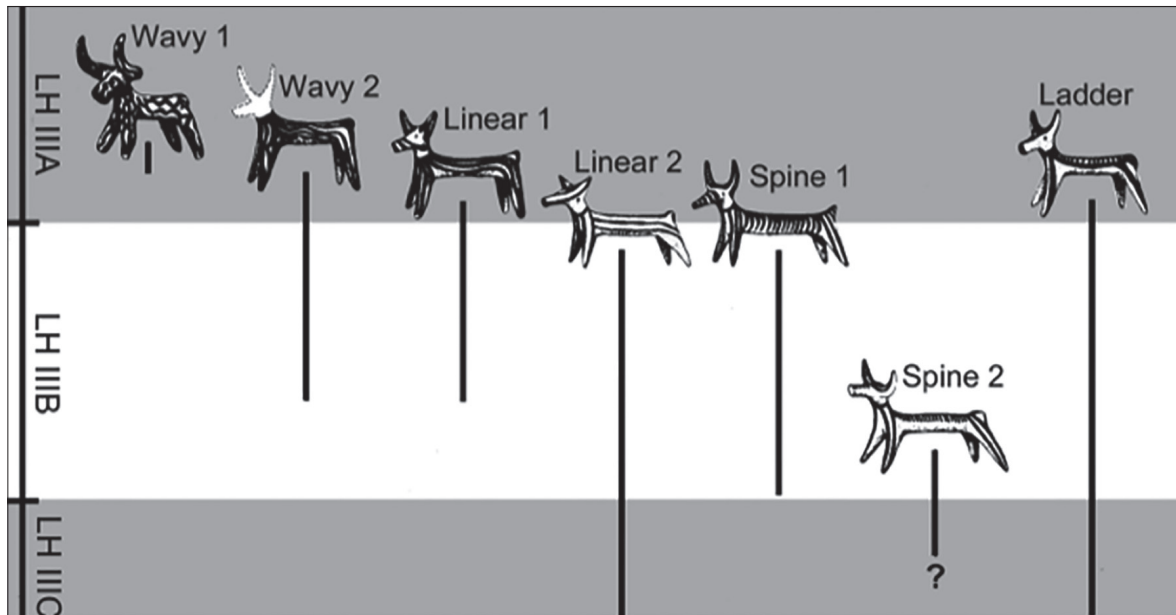


Fig. 2. Elizabeth French's typology and chronology of animal figures (TZONOU-HERBST 2002, Fig. 2).

Melissa Vettters also worked with this find group, contributing to its research with a contextual analysis of the deposits unearthed in Tiryns.<sup>11</sup>

### Mycenaean terracotta figurines in the Classical Antiquities Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest

The five examined figurines belong to different types and periods. There is, however, a common trait that connects them: all were acquired on the antiquities market and, consequently, no information is available on their provenance or find context, especially as none of them can be associated with a specific archaeological site. In addition, the lack of information and the high probability that several pieces were traded before entering the museum collection raise the issue of forgery, which must also be thoroughly examined. The terracotta figurines from Mycenae are easily forged due to their small size and simple hand-formed design. Moreover, their black market value is relatively high;<sup>12</sup> several such figurines are currently being sold at auction houses around the world for very high prices.

#### Psi type figurine

The so-called 'Psi idol' (Inv. no. T.737) of a female is 10 cm high, solid, and cylindrical. The figurine stands on a cylinder with a flared, reverse conical base (Fig. 3).<sup>13</sup> Her arms are raised on the sides, lending a crescent shape to her upper body; only a pair of small breasts protrude from the flat chest. Her broke off; it was restored only in 2005, when Ágnes Zamadits cleaned it. The head has a bird-like

11 VETTERS 2015.

12 As part of my subsequent research, I carried out technological investigations of the manufacturing process through experimental archaeological methods. These experiments indicated that the production of such figurines does not present significant technical challenges and can be accomplished relatively quickly, although a certain level of ceramic expertise is required.

13 The figurine was first published in 1947 by Zoltán Oroszlán and Aladár Dobrovits in the exhibition guide of the Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts: OROSZLÁN – DOBROVITS 1947, 22. Another exhibition guide was written by János György Szilágyi: SZILÁGYI 2002, 16–17.

design, and it is capped with a typical *polos*. The figure is decorated with brownish-black paint. Slant hatching covers the upper body, enclosed by a thicker horizontal line at the bottom; besides, a thin line adorns the face, two dots mark the eyes, and a line accentuates the edge of the *polos*, the top of which is decorated with an 'X'.

This figurine belongs to the *Psi* type. In her typological framework, French added further subtypes to the ones determined by Furumark (Fig. 1). The *Psi* type was divided into the so-called *Hollow Psi*, *Psi*, *High-Waisted Psi*, and *Late Psi* variants.<sup>14</sup> A columnar stem and a moderate waistline characterise the *Psi* type. The piece in Budapest belongs to this particular group. *Psi* figurines are present in the LH IIIA period, but there are no pieces dated with certainty to the LH IIIB period. However, since late *Psi*-type female figures appear in the LH IIIB period, the *Psi* figurines likely disappear before that.<sup>15</sup> Weber-Hiden dates the *Psi* statuettes in the period LH IIIA2 to LH IIIB2.<sup>16</sup>

Little is known about the provenance of the figure, which was catalogued as originating from Crete, from where it was transferred to Athens, where it was purchased. It was donated to the Museum of Fine Arts by Dr István Genthon, but the exact date was not recorded. Due to a lack of information, its dating cannot be specified within the LH IIIA period



Fig. 3. *Psí* in the Collection of Antiquities of the Museum of Fine Arts, LH IIIB–C. Collection of Antiquities of the Museum of Fine Arts, a. no. T.737 (photo by László Mátyus) © Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

### Kourotrophos figurine

The *kourotrophos* (Inv. no. T.15), the figure of a woman holding a child, represents a rarer type.<sup>17</sup> The statuette is small, only 6 cm high, with a cylindrical body that widens into a reverse conical base. The figurine of the woman is embracing a child with both arms, holding it close to her left arm (Fig. 4).<sup>18</sup> The representation is exaggerated, featuring a bird-like head, and the child is even more schematic. Faint traces of red paint are visible on the surface. The female figure resembles the so-called Transitional type, suggesting it may have been made in the LH IIIA1, IIIA2, or IIIB1 period.<sup>19</sup> The *kourotrophos* had been part of the Paul Arndt Collection before it was deposited in the MFAB.

14 FRENCH 1971, 108.

15 FRENCH 1971, 129; TZONOU-HERBST 2002, 35.

16 WEBER-HIDEN 2002.

17 SZILÁGYI 2002, 16–17.

18 Kourotrophoi always hold their children on their left arm.

19 FRENCH 1971, 142–143

### Bovine figurine

The only animal figurine in the Budapest collection depicts a bovine (Inv. no. 93.15A).<sup>20</sup> Based on its design and decoration, it belongs to the Linear Type 2 in the typology of French, which she created based on form and painted decoration. The most frequently portrayed animal is cattle, but the typology also applies to other, less common species. French created four basic types based on ornamentation: wavy, linear, spine, and ladder,<sup>21</sup> subdividing each into two sub-types, Type 1 and Type 2.<sup>22</sup>

The figurine is 10.72 cm long and 7.68 cm high; it is hand-formed and features painted decoration on the body and the head (Fig. 5). Body and head were formed from a single piece of clay, while the tail was formed separately, as a thin band and folded between the also separately shaped legs, which were subsequently attached to the body. The horns point upwards, and the nose is broad and elongated, with a sharply truncated tip that appears flat and round from the front. The horns, head, body, and legs are covered with painted patterns. The paint is mostly black, except on the right hind leg, where it exhibits a reddish tinge, possibly a firing irregularity (Fig. 6).<sup>23</sup>

The figurine was purchased from the Swiss auction house Galleria Serodine in Ascona in 1993. No further information is available on how the object came into the auction house's possession or where or by whom it was found. The Budapest piece dates from the LH IIIC period.

Linear Type 2 is simplified compared to the previous variations. Only a few lines run along the body, most often three or four. The horns are generally short and difficult to distinguish from the ears. The body shape is completely schematic.<sup>24</sup> This variant is present from the LH IIIA to the LH IIIC period.<sup>25</sup>

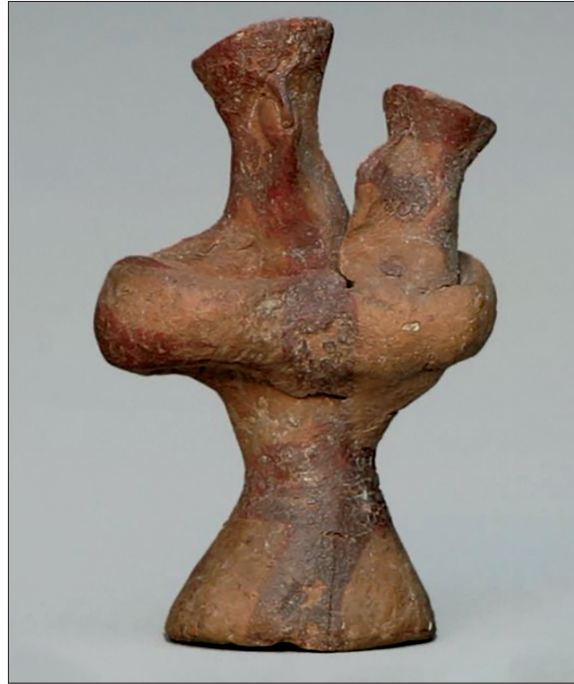


Fig. 4. Kourotophos in the Collection of Antiquities of the Museum of Fine Arts, LH IIIA1–B1. Collection of Antiquities of the Museum of Fine Arts, a. no. T.15 (photo by László Mátyus) © Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.



Fig. 5. Terracotta bull figurine in the Collection of Antiquities of the Museum of Fine Arts, LH IIIA–C. Museum of Fine Arts, Collection of Antiquities, a. no. 93.15.A (photo by László Mátyus) © Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

20 SZILÁGYI 2002, 16–17.

21 FRENCH 1971, 151.

22 FRENCH 1971, 151–152.

23 It is difficult to determine with the naked eye that it was a firing fault, it may be that a different paint was used on the right hind leg. To establish this for sure, scientific investigations are needed, which I would like to carry out in my further research.

24 FRENCH 1971, 155.

25 FRENCH 1971, 156.

A similar figurine—bearing a striking resemblance to the one presented here—was auctioned at the Artemis Gallery in Louisville, the United States.<sup>26</sup>

### Female figure on a throne

The figurine of a female seated on a throne (Inv. no. T.5) belongs to another rare type of Mycenaean terracotta figurines (Fig. 7).<sup>27</sup> The statuette is 8.5 cm high; it depicts a *Psi* figure seated on a three-legged throne. Unlike typical *Psi* idols, the female is depicted without a *polos*. She lifts her arms upwards but not fully, following the upper curve of the throne's frame; her hands are attached to the upper corners of the frame, and her lower body is merged with the seat part, as if she were to melt into the throne. The whole statuette is decorated with black painting, with vertical and horizontal lines covering the entire surface of the throne, the upper body, and the arms of the female figure; the hatching ends at the neck with a horizontal line. Two dots mark the eyes in the bird-like head, and the nose is marked by a vertical line starting from the top of the head. The back and top of the head are completely covered with paint.

The figure received some attention in international research, as Elizabeth French cited it as an example in her dissertation.<sup>28</sup> This is because intact thrones are scarce, and figurines depicted seated on them are rarer still. This piece also came from the Paul Arndt collection, but we have no information about its history or provenance.

Depending on the type of the figurine, seated figurines can be dated from the LH IIIA1 to the LH IIIC period.<sup>29</sup> The female figurines may belong to the *Psi*, *Phi*, and *Tau* types; the Budapest figurine is a *Psi*. The thrones can be classified into three different categories: Type A, Type B, and basket type.<sup>30</sup> Usually—including this case—



Fig. 6. The bull figurine has red paint on the right hind leg. Museum of Fine Arts, Antique Collection, a. no. 93.15A (photo by Mirtill Árvai).



Fig. 7. Female figure seated on a throne, in the Collection of Antiquities of the Museum of Fine Arts, LH IIIB. Collection of Antiquities of the Museum of Fine Arts, a. no. T.5 (photo by László Mátyus)  
© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

26 Artemis Gallery, Louisville, CO, US, Lot 7A: Greek Mycenaean Painted Terracotta Bull. Based on the similarity of their shape and decoration, it is possible that the two figurines originated from the same region or even the same settlement of the Aegean, however, this cannot be demonstrated with certainty.

27 SZILÁGYI 2002, 16–17.

28 FRENCH 1971, 170.

29 TZONOU-HERBST 2002, 39.

30 The type A and B came from Mylonas, and later on, French added the basket type.

*Psi* figurines sit on Type B thrones.<sup>31</sup> Two closely similar seated figurines are known from Corinth,<sup>32</sup> and the collection of the Metropolitan Museum holds a third one (A. N. 74.51.1711) from Cyprus.

#### Figurine of a couple lying on a bed

One of the most interesting figurines is undoubtedly the statuette of a couple lying on a bed (Inv. no. T.13).<sup>33</sup> It is 10 cm long and only 3 cm high (Fig. 8.a–b); it was also obtained from the Paul Arndt Collection in 1914, without any information on the previous owner.<sup>34</sup>

The figure depicts a low, four-legged bed, probably made of wicker (as suggested by the painted decoration), with a cuddling couple lying on top. The legs of the figures merge into the plane of the bed, while their upper bodies are more prominent and three-dimensional. The left figure's arm reaches toward the breast of the other figure. The head of the right figure is missing. The bed and the couple are decorated with black and reddish-brown lines.



Fig. 8. a–b – Figure of a couple lying on a bed in the Collection of Antiquities of the Museum of Fine Arts, LH IIIA–B. Collection of Antiquities of the Museum of Fine Arts, a. no. T.13 (photo by László Mátyus)  
© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

Elizabeth French also mentions this piece in her 1971 work as one of the earliest group compositions in Greek art.<sup>35</sup> The Vlastos collection in Athens holds a similar terracotta statuette, the provenance of which is also unknown.<sup>36</sup> This figurine, however, most probably represents a child in a small bed or cradle rather than a couple lying on a bed. Tzonou-Herbst also mentions some beds, but none of them has a couple lying on them. Some of these compositions include a standing human figure attached to the side of the bed (breadmaker type).<sup>37</sup>

Many terracottas depicting couples making love—probably *hieros gamos* scenes—have been found in Mesopotamia (Figs 9–10). These compositions bear a striking resemblance to the Budapest piece, differing only in the design details of the human figures and decoration (in the case of Mycenaean tradition, a bird-like face and painted wavy lines). The Mesopotamian terracottas likely had an apotropaic function.<sup>38</sup>

31 French herself mentioned this seated figurine in her dissertation, where she identified it as a *Psi* sitting on a Type B throne (FRENCH 1971, 170).

32 They are on display in the Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth. Reference: objects MK 6870; MK 6871.

33 SZILÁGYI 2002, 16–17.

34 MAJEWSKI 1956, 5.

35 FRENCH 1971, 172.

36 FRENCH 1971, 172.

37 TZONOU-HERBST 2002, 40.

38 ASSANTE 2002, 27–30.

The possibility that the Budapest figurine is a forgery cannot be ruled out completely due to its uniqueness and the total lack of reliable terracotta analogies. Whether this is the case could be decided with instrumental analyses, which are planned for the next phase of research.

### Origin and distribution

Discussion is ongoing in academia on the origin of the Mycenaean figurines. They are usually examined as one group, though certain variants may have separate origins. Carl Blegen considered them to have Aegean origin and compared them to an EH figurine he found in Zygouries.<sup>39</sup> He believes that Mycenaean figurines do not originate from Minoan Crete but may have developed in the mainland. In light of his excavations at Prosymna, he later suggested a Minoan and Cycladic influence, and traced back at least one of the *Psi* and *Tau* figurines to the EH period. Blegen found an ivory sculpture in Prosymna, which he linked to the Minoan tradition and considered to be the predecessor of the *Phi* type. He was unable to find an exact prototype for the *Psi* figures, but linked the type to the Gournia figures. He concluded that the animal figurines bear a strong resemblance to the bull from LM I Pseira, thus the Mycenaean animal figures may be a continuation of the Minoan tradition in mainland Greece. In the case of the *Tau* type, he considered EC marble statues as a possible antecedent. In summary, Blegen identified influences from Cycladic, Cretan, and mainland cultures on the terracotta figures.<sup>40</sup>

Mylonas, on the other hand, rejected the theory of Minoan origin, arguing that Mycenaean types were not present in Crete. He pointed out that the time gap is too big for a connection between the EH and LH figures.<sup>41</sup> French believed that a Cretan origin should be sought and argued that the development of the LH IIB period, through which the terracotta figures passed, was triggered by contact with the emergent Crete.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to the general origin of the figures, there is also the question of the *Psi* figures and their possible connection with the Minoan goddess with upraised arms. French believes the *Psi* to be of Cretan origin, but its iconography reflects mainland traditions.<sup>43</sup> Renfrew argued for a full Cretan origin.<sup>44</sup>



Fig. 9. Old Babylonian terracotta from Susa. Louvre SB 7979 (photo: Raphael Chipault).



Fig. 10. Terracotta figure from Uruk. Louvre AO 8662 (photo: Christian Larrieu).

39 BLEGEN 1937.

40 TZONOU-HERBST 2002, 85–86.

41 MYLONAS 1966, 116.

42 FRENCH 1971, 103–106.

43 FRENCH 1971, 103–106.

44 RENFREW 1985, 413.

Martin P. Nilsson focused on Minoan and Mycenaean customs rather than the appearance of the characters. He pointed out that figures, unlike in Crete, often appear in Mycenaean tombs. He linked the custom of placing figurines next to the deceased to the Mycenaean and, therefore, considered the Cretan-type figurines in Cretan tombs to be evidence of Mycenaean influence.<sup>45</sup>

Tzonou-Herbst also studied the issue of origin, focusing on the presence of the figurines in the EH period and their absence in the MH period. The absence of terracotta figurines in the Early and Middle Bronze Age may indicate a Minoan origin, but MM figurines differ greatly from Mycenaean ones. However, Minoan figurines are older, so it is possible that they inspired Mycenaean art. Tzonou-Herbst believes this is possible because Mycenaean terracottas appeared after the Mycenaean had gained ground in Crete and adopted Minoan traditions in their own way—in summary, that the emergence of Minoan terracotta figural art was triggered by Minoan inspiration, but the statuettes were designed in a local style.<sup>46</sup>

The temporal and spatial distribution of the figures shows both continuity and discontinuity across the Mycenaean world. They were popular in some areas and less so in others. They rarely appear north of Thessaly and not at all in Macedonia. The types of figures in Crete and Cyprus are very different: in Crete the most popular type is Phi, while in Cyprus it is the Psi. Another difference between the two islands is that in Crete, Mycenaean figurines don't appear in burials, while in Cyprus there are examples from tombs. In contrast, figurines have been found in Mycenaean *tholoi* in Mycenae, Pylos, Achaia, and Mesolonghi, whereas in Lamia, Argolis, and Achaia, they are less frequently found in burials.<sup>47</sup>

Nenad Petrovic presented a summary of all animal figures from outside the Aegean,<sup>48</sup> from at least 17 sites, mainly in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Levant, and Cyprus. More than twenty animal figurines have been found in excavations in Ugarit and Enkomi. He also studied the find context of the included statuettes, concluding that only the inland regions of the Levant differ from the Greek mainland. Animal figures appear in both settlements, burials, and possible sanctuaries in the coastal parts of Cyprus and the Levant. In contrast, three or four of the five animal figures found in the inland Levant were discovered in or near sanctuaries and one in the palace of Megiddo. Petrovic gave two possible explanations for this distribution: either the figures were brought to the shrines as votive offerings by visiting Mycenaean, or they were traded items that became votive offerings due to their exotic character, obtained by people unfamiliar with Mycenaean traditions. Apart from Knossos, Mycenaean terracotta figurines—especially those portraying animals—were rare in Crete. However, their absence from Cretan shrines is striking. Cretans were likely more familiar with Mycenaean customs than the peoples inhabiting the coastal areas of Cyprus and the Levant, and they did not use these customs as votive offerings.<sup>49</sup>

## Interpretation

### Cultic / Religious artefacts

The interpretation of these figurines is even more debated. Many theories were put forward on the subject, but a scholarly consensus remains to be reached. Several researchers linked the figures to religion and rituals, while others proposed a much simpler function as toys.<sup>50</sup>

45 NILSSON 1927, 257–265; TZONOU-HERBST 2002, 87.

46 TZONOU-HERBST 2002, 88.

47 TZONOU-HERBST 2002, 192–195.

48 PETROVIC 2004.

49 PETROVIC 2004, 252–255.

50 TZONOU-HERBST 2002, 64.

Figures of women and animals are found in a variety of contexts, including burials, votive deposits, shrines, and dwellings, which does not help much with determining their one-time functions. Research on the religious function of figurines depicting images of deities has focused on female figures. Early scholars, notably Heinrich Schliemann and Christos Tsountas, both argued that the statuettes depicted deities. Schliemann, following Homer's description of the 'cow-eyed' Hera and associating the goddess with Prehellenic cults, concluded that the *Phi* figures symbolised the full moon and the *Psi* figures the crescent moon. He also believed that the *Psi* figures represented the horns of Hera's sacred animal, the cow.<sup>51</sup>

Initially, Tsountas accepted Schliemann's theory that the figurines represent a deity. However, in 1897, he criticised it, saying that it relies too heavily on Homer's descriptions. Tsountas did not consider the terracotta figurines of Mycenae representations of Hera, focusing instead on what the pieces he studied reveal about a deity. He interpreted the animal figurines as votive offerings and noted the absence of shrines, suggesting that the rituals might have been performed within households or possibly at outdoor altars. He also considered the figures recovered from graves to be simply personal items used by the deceased during their lifetime.<sup>52</sup>

Nilsson strongly criticised Schliemann's theory, saying that there is no evidence for such a role and suggesting that the figures might represent the worshippers themselves. According to him, the figures were considered divine representations because they were deemed unfit for any other function. Nilsson pointed out that there is no real evidence for identifying the figurines as goddesses and that the existence of so many variations in different styles actually contradicts such an interpretation. He pointed out that the meaning of the figures may depend on the context in which they appear.<sup>53</sup>

In the mid-20th century, Alan Wace considered the question of the function of female and animal figurines unanswered, while leaning towards interpreting them as votive objects.<sup>54</sup> Nilsson's counter-arguments, on the other hand, led Blegen to question the religious function of the Prosymna artefacts. The 1950s witnessed a debate revolving around the two theories, continued in the 1960s and '70s, with Mylonas also opting for the deity hypothesis and French favouring the worshipper interpretation. The publication of the Phylacopian shrine represented a breakthrough, as the authors raised an important question about the figures: When should they be seen as offerings to the gods, and when should they be thought of simply as toys for the amusement of children? Colin Renfrew argues that cults should be recognised by their context, and that the most convincing evidence of a cult's presence is the symbols used, especially if they represent people and animals.<sup>55</sup> Eventually, Renfrew was convinced by the large quantity of terracotta sculptures that the structure excavated at Phylakopi was a sanctuary, and accepted that the animal figures, at least the cattle, were cult objects.<sup>56</sup> Alternatively, in his monograph on the buildings at Phylakopi, he suggested that the building might not have been a shrine but a warehouse or possibly a shop selling toys. With regards to the question of function, he argued that the context from which the figurines were retrieved is not necessarily to be associated with ritual practice, and even proposed that some fragments might be rubbish, i.e. come from disposed items. Renfrew endorsed Robin Hägg's view that the figurines were used mainly in domestic and funerary rituals instead of public ones and sanctuaries.<sup>57</sup>

51 SCHLIEMANN 1878, 10, 12, 19–22, 106.

52 TSOUNTAS 1897; TZONOU-HERBST 2002, 66.

53 NILSSON 1927, 260–263.

54 WACE 1949, 115.

55 RENFREW 1985.

56 RENFREW 1985, 361–368.

57 RENFREW 1985, 389, 402.

Hägg also hypothesised two layers of Mycenaean religion: an official, state religion, and a folk cult.<sup>58</sup> This was proposed by Spyridon Marinatos already in 1927, who believed that the figures mostly found in relatively poor tombs indicate the coexistence of two religious systems: one for the elite and the other for the less distinct strata of society.<sup>59</sup>

### Children's toys

According to another interpretation proposed first by Blegen, and later by Mylonas and Jon C. van Leuven, the figurines may be associated with children. Van Leuven attempted to prove, using statistical methods, that the figures appear more frequently in context with children than with others, but he could not rule out their connection with adults.<sup>60</sup> He suggested that the figures may have served as votive offerings from families unable to have children, who sought the gods' help.<sup>61</sup>

Blegen first raised his theory in connection with his excavations at Prosymna, where several figures were found in children's tombs.<sup>62</sup> He uncovered nineteen graves with such statuettes (with eleven child burials amongst them) and nineteen more children's graves. This high number suggests that terracotta figurines in Mycenae are the most common additions to children's burials. Blegen suggested that the female figures may represent the child's nanny, while the animal figures perhaps symbolise breast milk or could be simple children's toys. He believed that even the female figurines could be children's toys and that the carriage statuette was certainly a toy. This explanation seems plausible for both pieces discovered in burials and those on the floors of dwellings, as well as the pieces found in religious contexts.<sup>63</sup> He saw the *kourotrophoi* as strong evidence for his theory, as *kourotrophos* figures often depict breastfeeding women, which fit the 'nanny' interpretation.<sup>64</sup>

Blegen's theory received a mixed reception. Mylonas later combined it with a religious hypothesis, equating the *Psi* figurines with the Minoan goddess with raised arms, identified as a goddess of blessing. He described the *Phi* and *kourotrophos* figurines as divine nursemaids, placed in children's graves along with the *Psi* figures to protect them during their journey to the afterlife, while the animal figures were supposed to provide milk for them during the journey. The carriage figures were interpreted as children's toys. Blegen built his theory based on material he excavated in Prosymna and Eleusis, as well as Varkiza, Voula, and Perati.<sup>65</sup>

Later, Van Leuven pointed out that not all child graves discovered by Blegen can be dated to the LH III period, and that the tombs with the highest number of children do not contain terracotta figurines. In total, twelve graves contained both children and figurines, of which a visible link between the children and the figurines placed next to them could be detected in only five. Van Leuven developed a separate typology based on three variables: the presence or absence of female figures, animal figures, and child remains. He revealed that the frequency of figurines was higher in children's graves than in graves with no children, and that most children's graves include terracotta figurines, which he saw as conclusive evidence of a connection between figurines and children. He believed the figures were placed in burials by families who had problems having children or had higher rates of child mortality, and interpreted the figures as a kind of plea for help in conceiving

58 HÄGG 1981, 39.

59 MARINATOS 1928, 21.

60 VAN LEUVEN 1994.

61 TZONOU-HERBST 2002, 77–79.

62 BLEGEN 1937, 255–256.

63 TZONOU-HERBST 2002, 74.

64 BLEGEN 1937, 356; TZONOU-HERBST 2002, 75.

65 TZONOU-HERBST 2002, 76.

and in protecting children. In her 2002 study, Tzonou-Herbst criticised Van Leuven's theory because, despite considering the graves examined by Blegen problematic, Van Leuven worked with the same graves. Tzonou-Herbst found van Leuven's statistics unacceptable because they included several graves with no direct link between the figures and the child remains.<sup>66</sup>

#### A bit of both

French also addressed the questions of interpretation, origin, and chronological position.<sup>67</sup> She supported the religious interpretation, but she did not completely reject other theories, believing that the artefacts in question had a complex function. French placed great emphasis on context, on how the figures that emerged could be interpreted. She believed that female figurines represent either a goddess or a worshipper, depending on the context, and tended to interpret animal figurines and group compositions as elements of everyday life. According to her, all figurines could have been used as offerings or could be attributed with various magical traits and associated with superstitions. She did not reject Blegen's theory about children and even considered it possible.<sup>68</sup>

Recently, the context of the figurines has become an increasingly central topic of research.<sup>69</sup> Tzonou-Herbst's study provides a very thorough contextual analysis of the included figurines. She agreed with French in that the context and the function of the objects are closely related, and argues that the meaning and the function of the figurines may vary in different contexts, as well as that previous and current research and its conclusions are based on little evidence and do not consider all aspects in their full complexity. She believed that the figurines were ordinary objects for the Mycenaeans, as they also appear together with luxurious and administrative items. Such artefacts also appear in both poor and wealthier burials of adult women and men and children alike. In residential buildings, they are often found in waste disposal pits. For example, such statuettes were discovered as offerings at the perimeter wall of the tomb of Clytemnestra in Mycenae.

She pointed out that even if the figures were disposed of in waste pits away from their place of use, they still reflect the user's intention. In the case of pieces recovered from rubbish pits and fill layers of terraces, one can assume that the figure 'outlived' its primary function and was reused as construction material. So, when they were discarded, their meaning and significance changed after their 'first life' was over. She also stressed that even if one accepts that the figurines were sacred objects, the fact that some were obtained from profane contexts cannot be overlooked; therefore, one cannot state that a context is ritual just because of the presence of a figurine. Perhaps only some types had a ritual or religious function, while others did not, or they only served ritual purposes on certain occasions.<sup>70</sup>

The Budapest figurines shall be evaluated in light of all these theories. Tzounou-Herbst's theory requires information about the exact find context and site. Since all of them are in good condition, one may assume a funerary or ritual context, as the pieces obtained from graves and depositions are usually less fragmented.

The most interesting figure is the couple lying on a bed. This unique piece shows great similarity to Late Bronze Age terracotta statuettes in Mesopotamia (Figs 9–10).<sup>71</sup> Cultural transfer seems a fitting explanation in this case: perhaps Mycenaeans came across some Mesopotamian terracotta figurines

66 VAN LEUVEN 1994, 44–45; TZONOU-HERBST 2002, 77–79.

67 FRENCH 1971.

68 FRENCH 1971; FRENCH 1981.

69 FRENCH 1971; TZONOU-HERBST 2002; VETTERS 2015.

70 TZONOU-HERBST 2002, 309–310; TZONOU-HERBST 2009.

71 ASSANTE 2002, 27–30.

and were inspired to create their own version, adapting the concept to their own artistic style; however, supporting evidence is yet to be found. The Mesopotamian terracottas are considered to depict *hieros gamos* scenes, but this interpretation is difficult to adapt directly to the Mycenaean piece, especially without knowing its context and provenance.

## Summary

This paper presented an overview of the Mycenaean terracotta figurines in the Collection of Classical Antiquities of the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest. It sought to highlight the challenges concerning their archaeological context, provenance, and authenticity, as well as address the interpretation of this particular group of objects.

Many theories about the roles of these figurines have been put forward over the years, but a conclusive answer remains to be found. Currently, it is increasingly accepted that the figurines served different purposes and their role could change during their use-life. This is supported by the fact that they are found in various contexts, where their frequency of occurrence varies both within and beyond the Greek world, possibly due to differences and changes in function.

Since the Budapest figurines were all obtained from the antiquities market, information on their provenance and find context is either lacking or uncertain. Four of the five figurines (*Psi*, *Kourotrophos*, bovine, and the female sitting on a throne) fit into the existing typological framework, while the piece depicting a couple lying on a bed remains unique. The only parallel to the latter, cited by French, depicts not a couple but likely a child in a cradle. In light of the origin of the figurines and the uniqueness of the couple on the bed, the possibility of forgery cannot be ruled out. As the next step in their research, instrumental analyses—including a pXRF analysis—will be conducted, which will hopefully provide conclusive evidence regarding at least the authenticity of the figurines.

## Acknowledgement

I would like to express my gratitude towards Dr. Marianna Dági, head of the Collection of Classical Antiquities of the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest for her help that contributed this research.

## References

- ASSANTE, J. 2002: Sex, Magic and the Liminal Body in the Erotic Art and Texts of the Old Babylonian Period. In: Parpola, S. – Whithing, R. M. (eds): *Sex and gender in the ancient Near East proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2-6, 2001*. Helsinki.
- BARCHARD, D. 2006: The fearless and self-reliant servant. The life and career of Sir Alfred Biliotti (1833–1915). An Italian Levantine in British Service'. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Analotici* 48, 5–53.
- BLEGEN, C. W. 1937: *Prosymna. The Helladic Settlement Preceding the Argive Heraeum*. London.
- FRENCH, E. B. 1971: The Development of Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 66, 101–187. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0068245400019146>
- FRENCH, E. B. 1981: Well Built Mycenae: Fascicule 1. The excavations. In: Taylour, W. – French, E. B. – Wardle, K. A. (eds): *Well Built Mycenae: The Helleno-British Excavations Within the Citadel at Mycenae, 1959–1969*. Warminster.
- FURUMARK, A. 1941: *The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*. Stockholm.
- HÄGG, R. 1981: Official and Popular Cults in Mycenaean Greece. In: Hägg, R. – Marinatos, N. (eds): *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age: Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 12–13 May, 1980*. Athen, 35–39.
- MAJEWSKI, K. 1956: Une terre cuite du Héliadique récent au Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts (Késő-helladikus terrakotta a Szépművészeti Múzeumban). In: Szilágyi, J. Gy. – Kaposy, V. (eds): *Bulletin de Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 9, 5–11, 83–86.

- MARINATOS, Sp. 1928: Γοργόνες – Γοργόνεια. *Αρχαιολογική Έφημερίς* 66–67, 7–41.
- MAYER, M. 1892: Über mykenische Terrakotten. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 195–213.
- MYLONAS, G. E. 1966: *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*. Princeton, NJ.
- NILSSON, M. P. 1927: *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion*. Lund.
- OROSZLÁN, Z. 1930: *Az Országos Magyar Szépművészeti Múzeum Antik Terrakotta Gyűjteményének Katalógusa*. Budapest.
- OROSZLÁN, Z. – DOBROVITS, A. 1947: *Antik kiállítás. Vezető*. Budapest.
- PETROVIC, N. 2004: The significance of Mycenaean animal figurines abroad. In: Frizell, B. S. (ed.): *PECUS: Man and Animal in Antiquity. Proceeding of the Conference at the Swedish Institute in Rome, 9–12 September*. Rome, 252–258.
- PICARD, C. 1948: *Les Religions Préhelléniques (Crète et Mycènes)*. Paris.
- REICHEL, W. 1897: Die mykenische Todtenklage. *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 1–28.
- RENFREW, C. 1985.: *The archaeology of cult. The sanctuary at Phylakopi*. London.
- SCHALLIN, A.-L. 2004: Presenting the various types of terracotta bovine figurines from Late Bronze Age Asine. In: Santillo-Frizell, B. (ed.): *PECUS: Man and Animal in Antiquity. Proceeding of the Conference at the Swedish Institute in Rome, 9–12 September*. Rome, 259–264.
- SCHALLIN, A.-L. – PAKKANEN, P. 2009: Introduction. In: Schallin, A.-L. – Pakkanen, P. (eds) *Encounters with Mycenaean Figures and Figurines: Papers Presented at a Seminar at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 27–29 April 2001*. Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae – Series in 80 20. Stockholm, 9–13.
- SCHLIEMANN, H. 1878: *Mycenae: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns*. New York.
- SGOURITSA, N. P. 2018: The Mycenaean figurines revisited. In: Vavouranakis, G. – Kopanias, K. – Kanellopoulos, Ch. (eds): *Popular Religion and Ritual in Prehistoric and Ancient Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean*. Oxford, 63–84. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvndv50x.12>
- SZILÁGYI, J. Gy. 2002: *Antik művészet. Vezető az Antik Gyűjtemény állandó kiállításához*. A Szépművészeti Múzeum gyűjteményei 5. Budapest.
- TSOUNTAS, Chr. D. 1888: Άνασκαφαί τάφων ἐκ Μυκηνηῶν. *Αρχαιολογική Έφημερίς*, 119–180.
- TSOUNTAS, Chr. D. 1892: Ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου. *Αρχαιολογική Έφημερίς*, 1–26.
- TSOUNTAS, Chr. D. 1897: *The Mycenaean Age. A Study of the Monuments and Culture of Pre-Homeric Greece*. Boston–New York.
- TZONU-HERBST, I. 2002: *A contextual analysis of Mycenaean terracotta figurines*, PhD dissertation, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, OH.
- TZONU-HERBST, I. 2009: Trashing the Sacred: the use-life of Mycenaean figurines. In: Schallin, A.-L. – Pakkanen, P. (eds): *Encounters with Mycenaean Figures and Figurines: Papers Presented at a Seminar at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 27–29 April 2001*. Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae – Series in 80 20. Stockholm, 161–175.
- VAN LEUVEN, J. 1994: Tombs and Religion in Mycenaean Prosymna. *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* 8, 42–61.
- VETTERS, M. 2015: Contextualizing Mycenaean terracotta figurines – a ‘practice’ approach In: Huysecom, St. – Muller, A. (eds): *Figurines grecques en contexte. Présence muette dans le sanctuaire, la tombe et la maison*. Villeneuve d’Ascq, 337–359. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.septentrion.61980>
- WACE, A. J. B. 1949: *Mycenae. An Archaeological History and Guide*. Princeton, NJ.
- WEBER-HIDEN, I. 2002: The Stylistic Development of Mycenaean Terracotta Female Figurines. *Scripter Utgivna Av Svenska Institut i Athen*, 1–14.

