THE PERSIAN DESTRUCTION OF ATHENS
EVIDENCE FROM AGORA DEPOSITS

(Plates 81–84)

A PROBLEM of critical importance confronting all students of archaeological remains is the establishment of chronology.¹ Excavators in the field assign dates to the ruined foundations of ancient buildings on the basis of independently dated artifacts found in association with the architectural remains. Students of Greek sculpture and painting observe a sequence of developments in artistic style which suggests that a given work of art is earlier or later than another. Careful analysis of superimposed layers of stratigraphy reveals the likelihood that certain kinds of pottery and certain forms of ceramic decoration were used earlier or later than others. All these procedures, however, serve to construct sequences of artifacts datable only in relation to each other, and these objects can be assigned absolute dates only when the circumstances of their deposit can be brought into relation with known and dated events of Classical antiquity.

The need to establish such fixed points in the chronology of Athenian pottery was a guiding principle to the early excavators of the Athenian Agora. In the summer of 1932, in the second season of excavation, the discovery of an enormous mass of broken pottery appeared to provide just such a relation between artifacts and historical events. The pottery had been dumped into a deep well cut in bedrock, which has come to be known as the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft,² and among the dumped material of its upper fill were found fifteen ostraka, of which eight bore the names of men known to have been ostracized from Athens between 487 and 480 B.C.³ On the basis of this evidence, Eugene Vanderpool, in his publication of the deposit, proposed to date the pottery of the upper fill to the decade between 490 and 480 B.C., and he suggested further that the deposit was closed at the time of the Persian destruction of Athens in 480/79 (p. 266). Until recently, Vanderpool's conclusions have been widely accepted, and the upper fill of the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft seemed to provide a welcome fixed point in the chronology of Athenian pottery. Vanderpool's dating of the pottery has now come under heavy attack by the late E. D. Francis and Michael Vickers as a part of their far-flung campaign to lower the dates of all late Archaic Greek art by

¹ The conclusions presented in this study are due largely to skillful excavation, careful observation, and meticulous recording by no fewer than 12 colleagues and predecessors, who supervised the digging of the 21 deposits: John McK. Camp (Q 21:3), Margaret Crosby (D 17:10), Alison Dickey (L 5:2), Colin Edmonson (Q 20:1), Stella Miller-Collett (L 5:2), Henry S. Robinson (F 19:5), Susan I. Rotroff (L 5:2), Ione M. Shear (H 13:5), Dorothy B. Thompson (H 12:15), Homer A. Thompson (G 3:1, G 11:3, Q 12:3, R 12:4), Eugene Vanderpool (G 6:3, M 17:4, R 12:1), and Rodney S. Young (B 18:6, B 19:10, D 15:1, D 17:2, E 14:5, E 15:6, G 11:8). References to their observations as excavators are recorded in the field notebooks kept by them and stored in the Stoa of Attalos.

² Shear 1933, pp. 456–461; Vanderpool 1938; Vanderpool 1946.

³ Vanderpool 1946, pp. 271–275; see pp. 448–449 below.

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roughly fifty years. Their revised chronology has broad ramifications not only for the dating of pottery but also for the architectural history and urban development of Athens, since the remains of the buildings have without exception been dated by the associated pottery. For this reason it seems important to revisit the Agora once again in order to salvage a few of the pieces flung down by the maelstrom of Francis and Vickers.

The upper fill of the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft has heretofore been studied as an isolated deposit that appeared to contain internal evidence for absolute dating. The purpose of the present study is to place the material from that deposit in a broader context, where it takes its place as one of many closed deposits from the Agora, all of which are closely related both in their contents and in the circumstances of their burial. A series of no less than 21 deposits is here in question; they fall into two readily distinguishable categories, of which 16 (including the Rock-cut Shaft) had formed the fillings of wells, while 5 were pits or trenches filled with masses of broken pottery and other debris. The topographical distribution of the deposits is shown in Figure 1 on a plan of the area restored as of the late Archaic period, and the significance of their locations emerges at once. Not surprisingly, the 16 wells cluster about the periphery of the square: in the valley between the Areopagos and the Kolonos Agoraios; on the slopes of the two hills; and to the east of the Panathenaic Way. All these areas known to have been occupied by private houses and commercial establishments during much of the Classical period. On the other hand, the 5 pits of debris have all been found beneath or near the public thoroughfares surrounding the Agora to north, south, southwest, and northwest. The two wells G 11:3 and G 11:8, located side by side in a courtyard of Building F, the predecessor of the Tholos, supplied water to a building which probably had public functions during at least a part of its history. All the other wells, however, belonged without doubt to places of commerce and industry or to private households.

**The Stratigraphy of Wells**

As an archaeological phenomenon, wells and their various fillings present certain distinctive characteristics that enable the observant excavator to infer much about the history of their use and the circumstances of their abandonment. Material which fell into a well while it served as a source of water can usually be distinguished from material dumped in to fill up the shaft after the well ceased to supply water. Such fillings from the period of use are generally found at the bottom of the shaft; they consist predominantly of types of vessels convenient for drawing water; and the pots are often nearly complete or broken into a few large fragments. It will be obvious, moreover, that pots recovered intact must have sunk to the bottom when the well was still full of water. Only the lowest meter or two of the shaft, and

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4 Francis and Vickers 1988. For a convenient summary of the various thrusts of their campaign, together with criticism of other aspects, see Cook 1989; cf. also Amandry 1988. The title of their article implies that, after careful reexamination of material excavated in the 1930's and published in 1946, the authors, on a recent visit to the site, have discovered new evidence that justifies their revision of the chronology. Francis and Vickers did not consult either the original excavation records or the pottery that they propose to redate. To be sure, they state (pp. 151–152) that their conclusions are based only on published accounts of Agora material, but this is no way to redate pottery.

5 For aspects of the stratigraphy of wells, see *Agora* V, p. 123; *Agora* VIII, pp. 107–108; *Agora* XII, pp. 43–44; Camp 1977, pp. 175–184.
Fig. 1. Plan of the Agora, Late Archaic period, showing distribution of wells and debris pits
often less, is likely to yield fill of this sort; and its total absence from a great many wells is a sure sign that Athenian householders took pains to recover lost pots and to keep debris from contaminating the water supply.\(^6\)

By contrast, dumped fills are often many meters deep; they contain types of pottery, such as lekythoi and fine table wares, that are not useful for drawing water; and the pots are often smashed into small fragments scattered through the fill, so that joining pieces may be recovered from widely differing depths. Some dumped fills consist primarily of battered and isolated sherds which do not join together to reconstitute vessels anywhere near complete, a clear indication that the pots were broken and discarded before any of the pieces found their way into the well. Disused wells were convenient places to dispose of all manner of refuse, and the presence of foreign matter in the dumped fills often gives evidence of their final use. The bones of cattle or pigs (in quantity), olive pits, grape seeds, and the shells of shellfish suggest the disposal of raw garbage. When the shafts are clogged with tumbled mud bricks, broken roof tiles, or masses of stones from the demolition of rubble walls, one infers that some kind of damage may have befallen the building that the well served.

In a few instances, it is possible to explain how a well ceased to be a source of water and became a place for dumping rubbish. For the most part, the shafts of early wells were sunk directly in the greenish shale that forms the virgin bedrock in the whole area of the Agora, and only rarely was there a stone curbing at the top or a masonry lining throughout the depth of the shaft. Since the shale crumbles easily and is often treacherously soft, the sides sometimes caved in, filling the well with a massive tumble of sterile bedrock that effectively destroyed its usefulness as a source of water. In such cases, it is not surprising that the upper part of a shaft, above the collapsed bedrock walls, should contain filling that gives evidence of its dumped character. Indeed, the collapse of the well shaft was occasionally so massive that its excavation became dangerous and had to be abandoned before reaching the original ancient depth. Alternatively, certain wells, especially those to the east of the Panathenaic Way, were found to produce rather little water at the time of excavation. The discovery of dumped debris at the very bottom of one of these might suggest that the well had not yielded an abundant supply of water in antiquity and thus came early to be a receptacle for refuse.

A third general category in the stratigraphy of well contents is the supplementary fill occasionally encountered at the top of the shaft. The reason for its existence will be clearly understood by anyone who has tried to refill a deep pit with freshly dug earth. After a few years and some rainy winters, the new fill becomes compacted and sinks into the pit, so that more earth has to be thrown in to cover its mouth once again. Because a supplementary fill results from a natural process involving the passage of time, it almost always produces material somewhat later in date than the other contents of the well; but its date has no necessary bearing on the history of the use of the well or on the date of its original closing, which may have been many years earlier. It is the significance of the closing of a well which most needs to be emphasized, for it is easy to lose sight of this in an archaeological discussion of its contents. Without exception, wells were dug, at no little expenditure of effort, in order to tap a source of fresh water, a substance vital to the conduct of daily life in a notoriously dry country. The closing of a well choking off that source; for whatever reason the closing

\(^6\) Cf. *Agora* XII, p. 44.
transpired, it signals a disruption of some kind in the daily activities of those who drew their water from that well.

The stratigraphic characteristics just described apply to the group of 21 deposits here under discussion. The various fillings of the wells are noted in the deposit summaries and are illustrated in the section drawings (Figs. 5–10), where the relative depths and compositions of the various fills are presented graphically. The similar stratification in many of the wells and in all the pits of debris is the first indication that they are closely interrelated as a group. Only 6 of the 16 wells preserved any accumulation of material from their period of use, and in one of those (Q 21:3) the evidence was so slight that the excavator expressed uncertainty about the identification of the lowest layer of fill. On the other hand, all 21 deposits produced heavy dumped fills, like that of the Rock-cut Shaft, of which the deepest (R 12:4) was 11.00 m. of absolutely homogeneous material, plainly thrown into the open well shaft at one time. In 5 wells and all 5 pits of debris, the fill consisted of a single dump without stratigraphic subdivision, and in the wells fragments of pottery from widely varying depths were found to join each other. The other 11 wells all had dumped fills in the upper parts of the shaft, and in 6 cases the excavators were able to distinguish between upper and lower dumped fills. Of the wells with multiple fillings, only 3 showed a marked chronological difference between the upper and lower deposits: B 18:6 was a collapsed well of the Geometric period of which only the upper dumped fill is pertinent to this study. Similarly, the lower fill of G 6:3 (the Rock-cut Shaft) and the period-of-use fill of G 11:8 (the earlier well of Building F') produced significantly older material than the upper dumped fills. Three other wells (D 17:10, E 15:6, and H 12:15) had supplementary fillings in the topmost half meter of the shaft.

Some features of stratification, observed in only a few Agora deposits, nevertheless shed interesting light on the circumstances of the final use and closing of the well. In the lower dumped fill of R 12:1 was found a large quantity of animal bones, principally the skulls of oxen. That garbage from the slaughtering of animals should have accumulated in the lowest 4 meters of the shaft suggests a well which did not yield a copious supply of water and thus was put to other purposes. In two cases (B 18:6 and G 11:8), the soft bedrock walls had given way and filled the shafts with a mass of rubble that undoubtedly ended their use as wells and encouraged the dumping of debris in their upper shafts. Another well (D 17:10) collapsed so badly during the course of excavation that it was possible to clear the shaft only to a depth of 6.10 m. Three of the Agora deposits were recovered from unfinished well shafts which had been abandoned, for no apparent reason, by the original ancient well diggers: E 14:5, F 19:5, and M 17:4. The shafts had been sunk to depths of only 5.50 m., 3.05 m., and 2.50 m. respectively, but the excavator of F 19:5 noted specifically that the shaft was begun with the intention of digging a well since footholds were cut in the sides and that the bedrock was quite firm and suitable for the purpose.

Contents of the Deposits

The 21 closed deposits differ enormously in the quantities of material which compose their total recovered assemblages. The upper fills of G 6:3 (the Rock-cut Shaft) and well Q 12:3 are among the largest and richest deposits of pottery ever recovered in the sixty-year history of the excavation. The latter yielded no less than 506 inventoried objects, of which well over half are figured pottery, while the Rock-cut Shaft produced a total inventory of
452 items, with an additional 89 tins and 20 smaller containers of fragmentary pottery from its upper fill alone. At the other end of the scale, well D 17:10 yielded a total assemblage of 15 inventoried artifacts and 233 pottery fragments; only 4 pots and 243 fragments were recovered from well B 19:10; and the smallest of all the groups was that from pit Q 20:1 which comprised a total of 6 fragmentary pots and 11 miscellaneous objects. Between these two extremes, the other deposits fall roughly into three categories: four wells with inventories of somewhat over a hundred objects each; seven other groups ranging from 50 to 75 items; and eight groups which include no more than a dozen or two inventoried pieces. Among the smaller deposits, the catalogued pottery is by no means representative of the group as a whole, and for that reason the descriptions of the ten smallest groups, including all the pits of debris, are based upon examination of all fragments found in the deposit. In the case of the larger well groups, the range of shapes and types of pottery is more accurately represented by the inventoried items, and thus no attempt has been made to estimate the number of duplicates of each type now stored in tins of sherds, which often exceed a dozen or more for each well. Although this procedure skews any statistical conclusions based upon the actual number of pots of a given type spread across all the deposits, analysis of all the fragmentary material from the smaller deposits serves to illustrate more faithfully the range of shapes represented in each. This has the advantage that it emphasizes the homogeneous character of the 21 deposits in relation to each other. Moreover, it draws particular attention to the unusually fragmentary condition of much of the material: those deposits with the smallest inventories are obviously the ones which yielded the fewest joining fragments. It is important to understand also that many objects which have received inventory numbers are nevertheless only a small part of the original vessel, and this is especially true of the figured pottery. There can be no doubt that, in many instances, the pottery was subjected to heavy breakage before it came to be dumped into the wells and pits here under discussion.

The contents of the deposits can best be viewed in summary form in Tables 2, 3, and 4, which show the distribution of pottery by shape, divided into the four general categories of Attic black-figured pottery, red-figured pottery, plain black-glazed ware, and household ware, including both semiglazed jugs and lekanai as well as cooking-ware vessels. For each deposit, the number of pots of a given shape is shown, while the two columns at the right end of each table show the number of deposits in which that shape occurs and the total number of pots represented by the surviving material. It is, of course, this total number which has been drastically affected by the fact that the figures given for the ten smallest groups are based upon a count of all fragments in the total assemblage, whereas in the eleven large wells only the inventoried pottery has been counted. The figure is thus a minimum, not a realistic estimate of the total number of pots involved, and is included only to provide a general notion of which shapes occur most frequently. The numbers need also to be viewed with caution for the further reason that the proportion of figured pottery to black glazed is far

7 E 14:5, G 11:3, H 12:15, R 12:1. The inventory of each deposit is listed in the Deposit Summaries; see pp. 429–472 below.
9 B 18:6, D 17:2, G 3:1, G 11:8, H 13:5, L 5:2, M 17:4, Q 21:3.
10 The ten deposits for which the total assemblage of fragments has been examined and counted are indicated by a large dot in the bottom row of Table 3. The count of fragments is shown in the summary of each deposit.
### Table 1: Figured Pottery of the Same Painter, Class, or Group in More than One Deposit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Painter, Class, or Group</th>
<th>Deposit</th>
<th>Number Deposits</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black-Figure</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Class of Athens 581</td>
<td>2 1 2 1 1 3 14 1 3 1 3 210 2</td>
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<td>Manner of Haimon P.</td>
<td>1 2 2 2 1 46 1 3 2 16 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palmette-Lekythoi</td>
<td>1 1 1 5 2 5 2 7 1</td>
<td>25 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmette-Cups</td>
<td>1 2 13 1 5 3 1 1 27 8</td>
<td>21 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHC Group</td>
<td>1 3 3 1 7 4 1 1 13 6</td>
<td>12 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leafless Group</td>
<td>1 2 4 2 1 3 1</td>
<td>17 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Theseus P.</td>
<td>1 8 1 1 1 1</td>
<td>5 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pistias Class</td>
<td>1 1 1 1</td>
<td>4 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cock Group</td>
<td>5 1 1 2 4</td>
<td>12 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little-lion Class</td>
<td>12 1 3 1</td>
<td>15 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. of Elaious I</td>
<td>1 5 9</td>
<td>5 3</td>
</tr>
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<td>Gela P.</td>
<td>1 2 2</td>
<td>8 2</td>
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<td>Red-line P.</td>
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<td>3 2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Skyphoi, Class K2</td>
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<td>22 3</td>
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<td>Class of Vatican G.50</td>
<td>2 1 1</td>
<td>3 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dot-ivy Class</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>4 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Group, Ferrara T.800</td>
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<td>2 2</td>
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<td>Lindos Group</td>
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<td>3 2</td>
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<td>P. of Louvre F6</td>
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<td>Group, Agora P7891</td>
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<td>3 2</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Red-Figure</strong></td>
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<td>Manner of Epeleios P.</td>
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<td>Myson</td>
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<td>Heraion P.</td>
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<td>P. Agora Chairias Cups</td>
<td>2 4</td>
<td>6 2</td>
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<td>Euphratios <em>recalls</em></td>
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<td>Circle, Nikosthenes P.</td>
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<td>Unattributed RF</td>
<td>1 1 1 2 3 2 12 2 6 6 5 4 1</td>
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*Note: The table shows the frequency of each painter, class, or group found in more than one deposit. The deposits are listed in order of frequency.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shape</th>
<th>Deposit</th>
<th>Number of Deposits</th>
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<td>Amphora and Lid</td>
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<td>48 14</td>
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<td>Pelike</td>
<td>1 3 1 1</td>
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<td>Psykter</td>
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<td>Lebes Gamikos</td>
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<td>2 2</td>
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<td>Oinochoe</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olpe</td>
<td>4 1 2 1 1</td>
<td>11 6</td>
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<td>Skyphos</td>
<td>8 4 3 9 3 1 1 67 2 1 11 17 50 9 1 5</td>
<td>193 16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>1 2 1 9 4 17 1 3 3 8 2 24 7 1 5 1</td>
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<td>Phiale</td>
<td>1 1 3 2 1</td>
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<td>Plate</td>
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<td>Lekythos</td>
<td>6 3 1 8 7 2 5 3 8 104 3 3 2 50 3 35 246 1 8 1</td>
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<td>Lekanis and Lid</td>
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<td>Pyxis and Lid</td>
<td>1 1 3 1</td>
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<td>Thurible</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fragment (closed)</td>
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**TABLE 2: Distribution of Black-Figured Pottery by Shape**
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<td>Q 21: 3</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
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<td>One-handler</td>
<td>Skyphos</td>
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<td>M 17: 4</td>
<td>Shape</td>
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<tr>
<td>D 15: 1</td>
<td>Lekythos</td>
<td>Lid</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 19: 10</td>
<td>Lekythos</td>
<td>Lid</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 18: 6</td>
<td>Lekythos</td>
<td>Lid</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 3: Distribution of Black-Glazed Pottery by Shape
### TABLE 4: Distribution of Red-FIGured and Household Pottery by Shape

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shape</th>
<th>Total Pots</th>
<th>Number of Deposits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Red-Figure</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amphora</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelike</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krater</td>
<td>11 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oinochoe</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mug</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skyphos</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>64 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stemless</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup-skyphos</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lekythos</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>3 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragment (open)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragment (closed)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Household</strong></td>
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<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amphora, Table</td>
<td>1 1 1 2</td>
<td>18 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amphora, Storage</td>
<td>14 9 9 8 3 2 1 5 6 6 5 4 13 24 3 27 36 1 1 10 6</td>
<td>193 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pithos</td>
<td>2 1 6 1</td>
<td>1 2 20 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hydria</td>
<td>2 2 1 1 1 4 1 3 2 1 11 30 11</td>
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<td>Kados</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jug</td>
<td>4 2 2 6 2 2 2 3 2 10 4 5 28 5 3 2 1 83 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lekane</td>
<td>26 8 4 4 15 5 6 2 10 9 1 1 1 11 23 41 9 1 294 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tub</td>
<td>2 1 1 1</td>
<td>1 8 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louterion and Stand</td>
<td>1 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 1 1</td>
<td>1 11 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortar</td>
<td>1 3 1 2 2 3 1 8 1 6 2 30 11</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chytra</td>
<td>5 1 1 1 3 3 1 2 5 4 6 1 1 33 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griddle</td>
<td>1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 6 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (shapes in less than 5 deposits)</td>
<td>1 1 4 1 1 4 3 3 2 6 2 1 5 4 2 3 4 4 1 52 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>853</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
too high, while the proportion of household pottery to decorated pottery is far too low. Over the years, excavators have been more assiduous at collecting, restoring, and recording figured pottery than any other kind, while they were often content to leave many joining fragments of a black-glazed pot in the storage tins. On the other hand, the plain and coarse household wares which form the bulk of most excavated lots of pottery have been heavily selected in almost all cases, and the many unidentifiable wall fragments have been mostly discarded.

Despite this necessary caveat, the picture that emerges from the 21 deposits is one of extraordinary similarity. Close comparison of vessels of the same shape across all the groups reveals the striking conclusions that most of the deposits must have been buried at the same time and all the rest were closed within a very short period thereafter. The point of departure for this study was the upper dumped fill of the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft (G 6:3), and it will now be instructive to compare its contents with those of the other deposits as the clearest way of demonstrating their contemporaneity.

Since the greatest bulk of the material in most of the deposits undoubtedly originated in the china cupboards of Athenian households, it is not surprising that the black-glazed and household wares should greatly outnumber the figured pottery. Among both the black-glazed and the figured ware, however, it is interesting to observe the predominance of cups for drinking wine, both in the Rock-cut Shaft and in the material as a whole. Black-glazed skyphoi, cups, and cup-skyphoi were found in 17, 18, and 16 deposits respectively. Black-figured cups and skyphoi each occur in 16 of the 21 deposits, while there are red-figured cups in 14 deposits. Much more surprising is the fact that the type of vessel which occurs most frequently and in the largest numbers is the black-figured lekythos. The inventory of the Rock-cut Shaft includes 104 such lekythoi, and that of well Q 12:3 has 246; from both deposits there are fragments of many dozens, if not hundreds, more in the storage tins. That the lekythoi should so greatly outnumber all the rest of the black figure from these two wells has led previous students of the material to suspect that it derived in large part from the stock of local potter's shops. Although this may well be the case, the little oil flasks, usually associated with the burial of the dead and most frequently uncovered in cemeteries, nevertheless appear in all but one of the 21 deposits (Table 2). All 16 wells produced examples or fragments of black-figured lekythoi, but of the 499 specimens counted, only the three from well G 11:3 and a small scrap in black glaze (reused for a graffito) from E 15:6 were found in fill accumulated during the period of use. All the others came from dumped fills, and indeed the preponderance of these vessels, so inappropriate to the functioning of wells, is a clear indicator of the dumped character of much of the material.

A graphic demonstration that all 21 deposits are closely contemporary comes from analysis of the figured pottery not by shape but by the makers to whom the pieces have been attributed. Table 1 shows the distribution of black figure and red figure by painters, groups, or classes whose products have been found in more than one deposit. There are no less than 20 such multiple appearances in the black-figured assemblage and 7 in red figure. The Rock-cut Shaft produced sizeable groups of pottery from two related branches of a workshop which specialized in the mass production of small lekythoi and skyphoi, often with sketchy and hastily painted decoration. A group of 15 skyphoi and 31 lekythoi is attributed to the manner

of the Haimon Painter,\textsuperscript{12} whereas the workshop that manufactured lekythoi of the Class of Athens 581 left 14 of its products in the upper dump of the Rock-cut Shaft.\textsuperscript{13} Products of this workshop or of its related branches appear repeatedly, often side by side, in the 21 deposits. Of the great hoard of lekythoi in well Q 12:3, no fewer than 210 belong to the Class of Athens 581 or to one of its subgroups; 11 of these are Haemonian and one is perhaps by the painter himself. Three skyphoi, another lekythos, and a pyxis are also painted in the manner of the Haimon Painter. Lekythoi of the Class of Athens 581 occur in 15 deposits and 247 examples, including both varieties of the type, distinguished by their characteristic shoulder decoration. The Class of Athens 581, i, with hanging lotus buds on the shoulder and tongues above (Pl. 81:a), is represented by many fewer specimens, while the Class of Athens 581, ii, with rays on the shoulder and tongues above (Pl. 81:c), forms an overwhelming majority.\textsuperscript{14} The Haimon workshop was also at the height of its production when the contents of the 21 deposits were being formed, for a total of 77 pots or fragments in the manner of the Haimon Painter found their way into 11 deposits. As in the two groups just mentioned (G 6:3 [the Rock-cut Shaft] and Q 12:3), they are all shallow skyphoi, mainly of Ure’s Class K2 (Pl. 81:d), or tall, slender lekythoi of Haemonian type, with the foot in two degrees where it is preserved (Pl. 81:b).\textsuperscript{15}

Another variety of black-figured lekythos has attracted less scholarly interest because its decoration consists only of upright palmettes set on a chain of circles and circumscribed by arcs in added white.\textsuperscript{16} The decoration is so characteristic, however, that lekythoi of this type can be recognized even in tiny sherds, and it is interesting to observe that 9 of our deposits have produced 25 examples or sherds (Psls. 82, 83). Most of the palmette-lekythoi also belong to the Class of Athens 581, but in Table 1 they have been counted separately. As in the case of the figured lekythoi, examples of the second variety of the class, that with rays and tongues on the shoulder, greatly outnumber those of the Class of Athens 581, i. Among the lekythoi of the group with rays and tongues, there are some variations that have long been noted: some have a double palmette pattern with circles between,\textsuperscript{17} although the single upright ornament separated by lotus buds is far more common. Lekythoi with single palmettes normally have bold dots more or less centered in the circles beneath the floral ornament, but one of the two examples from well G 11:3\textsuperscript{18} and two fragments from H 13:5 have open circles without dots. One of the five pieces from the Rock-cut Shaft has been assigned to the Cock Group.\textsuperscript{19} Also the product of a different workshop is the single

\textsuperscript{12} Pp. 446–447 below. For the Haimon Painter and his associates, see \textit{ABL}, pp. 130–141, 241–249; \textit{ABV}, pp. 539–571; \textit{Paralipomena}, pp. 269–287; \textit{Agora} XXIII, pp. 95–96.

\textsuperscript{13} P. 446. For the Class of Athens 581, see \textit{ABL}, pp. 89–94; \textit{ABV}, pp. 487–506; \textit{Paralipomena}, pp. 222–246; \textit{Agora} XXIII, pp. 46–47.

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Agora} XXIII, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{15} For the skyphoi, see Ure 1927, p. 68; \textit{ABV}, pp. 568–571; \textit{Agora} XXIII, pp. 60–61. For the Haemonian lekythoi, see \textit{ABL}, p. 131; \textit{Paralipomena}, pp. 232–233; \textit{Agora} XXIII, p. 47.


\textsuperscript{17} P 16770 (G 6:3), p. 447 below (Pl. 82:k); P 24119 (Q 12:3), p. 464 below (Pl. 82:l); in the “feathery” style described in \textit{ABL}, pp. 185–186.

\textsuperscript{18} P 12766, p. 449 below (Pl. 82:j).

\textsuperscript{19} P 16767, \textit{ABV}, p. 471, no. 116; p. 447 below.
palmette-lekythos from well R 12:1 (Pl. 82:j), which has palmettes on the shoulder as well as on the body and a broad reserved band beneath the decoration.

Among the pottery from the Rock-cut Shaft is a class of 13 small cups (Pl. 82:a, b, d, e), whose black-figured decoration is limited to the handle zone filled with palmettes and lotus buds set on a chain of circles in a manner highly reminiscent of the palmette-lekythoi. Some have circumscribed arcs around the palmettes and added white for the buds between them, while the circles below sometimes have central dots in either black or white. The more carefully made examples also have white dots around the hearts of the palmettes. The 13 small cups are of various shapes. Some have plain rims, and some are concave, but all are glazed above the palmettes, and there is usually a narrow reserved band articulating the lower wall. Three palmette-cups of this type were found in well Q 12:3 (Pl. 82:c, f, i); fragments of 2 others come from pit G 3:1 (Pl. 83:c); and the assemblage from well M 17:4 includes fragments of 5 more (Pl. 83:d). In a debased sub-class of miniature palmette-cups, the palmettes have degenerated into black blobs; the buds between them have become dots or smears of glaze; and white dots are all that remains of the chains of circles beneath them. The decoration is so cursory and so hastily applied that the only compensation for its execrable quality will have been the advantages inherent in the mass production of inexpensive goods. Single examples of these miniature cups have turned up in four deposits; the first three cups are so similar that they must be the products of a single workshop (Pl. 82:g, h).

Four classes of black-figured pottery recur most frequently in the 21 deposits: lekythoi of the Class of Athens 581, skyphoi and lekythoi from the Haimon workshop, palmette-lekythoi, and palmette-cups. Examples of one or more of these classes appear in 18 deposits, as the figures in Table 1 show; moreover, two of the three remaining small deposits (Q 20:1, Q 21:3) are related to the other groups by close parallels with pots from well Q 12:3. A small lekythos from well Q 21:3 bears close resemblance to one near the Little-lion Class, with large palmettes and small figures on the body and with plump rays and small tongues on the shoulder. The smallest of the 21 deposits (Q 20:1) produced a miniature black-figured skyphos that has the same general kind of decoration as the palmette-cups (Pl. 83:e). In the handle zone is a row of alternating palmettes and single petals below a glazed rim, and a reserved band sets off the lower wall, which is pinched in sharply toward the foot. The piece is one of a small class of miniature skyphoi connected with the Pistias Class and is of importance here because it relates Q 20:1 to three of the other deposits in which miniatures of this class have also come to light. An example from Q 12:3 is likewise missing its foot and handles (Pl. 83:h). A better preserved one from the Rock-cut Shaft shows the full profile of the shape (Pl. 83:g); but a fragmentary rim from M 17:4 is recognizably a member of the same class (Pl. 83:f). The overall distribution of black-figured pottery thus shows a limited number of classes recurring repeatedly in 20 deposits.

20 P. 446 below; Vanderpool 1946, pp. 314–315.
21 P. 464 below; Roberts 1986, nos. 32–34.
22 P 31847 (B 19:10), P 12565 (G 11:3), P 20766 (R 12:1), P 24678 (R 12:4).
23 P 29364 (Q 21:3); cf. P 24546 = Agora XXIII, no. 1156; Paralipomena, p. 252; Roberts 1986, no. 306.
24 P 26230 = Paralipomena, p. 309; p. 468 below.
25 P 24570 = Roberts 1986, no. 53; p. 464 below.
26 P 16776 = Vanderpool 1946, no. 115; ABV, p. 628, no. 1; p. 446 below.
The assemblage of red-figured pottery presents some interesting differences from the black figure. Since the original excavators saved virtually every figured fragment, most of which eventually received inventory numbers, the total number of pots of a particular shape provides a much more reliable indication of the proportions in which they were deposited in antiquity. Thus the total numbers in the assemblage may be considered more realistic. Tables 2 and 4 show that 1,220 black-figured pots and 100 red-figured pots form the total body of figured material. Although excavators in Athens have long sensed that black figure enjoyed greater popularity in the place of its manufacture, the figured assemblage from the 21 deposits shows a discrepancy which is quite staggering: the black-figured pottery comprises 92.4 percent while the red-figured material is restricted to 7.6 percent of the figured assemblage. It cannot be thought that red figure was new and unfamiliar when the 21 deposits were closed because the pieces are scattered fairly evenly over 16 deposits, except for the two large groups of red figure from G 6:3 and Q 12:3. Noticeable also is the small incidence of pieces from the same workshop in different deposits. The greatest of such multiple appearances is 7 pots attributed to the Pithos Painter found in 3 different deposits (whereas black-figured lekythoi of the Class of Athens 581 were found in 15 deposits). Even so, the evidence of the red figure strengthens the conviction that the deposits are contemporary, because a conspicuous group of 6 red-figured cups, all works from the hand of the same artist, was divided between H 12:15 (2) and Q 12:3 (4).

Also in marked contrast with the black-figured pottery is the range of shapes. Red figure appears in only half the number of shapes as black figure and less than half the number in plain black glaze. Striking, too, is the difference in the distribution of shapes. The red-figured pottery found in the 21 deposits was clearly made for the symposium, as can be seen from the types of vessels occurring most frequently. Table 4 shows 64 examples of red-figured cups in 14 deposits and 11 examples of kraters in 7 deposits; this represents 75 percent of the red-figured assemblage, while all other shapes appear in only a few examples, many only once or twice.

For the purposes of the present study, it is of interest to notice where the red-figured material from the 21 deposits falls in relation to the overall development of red-figure vase painting. As a result of the large number of cups in the assemblage, the early cup painters are the group of artists best represented. By and large, they are not painters of the highest quality, as might be expected for material which originated in domestic contexts; nor are they the earliest pioneers of the red-figure technique. Rather, the style has undergone a development of a generation and more. Two cups by Epiktetos from Q 12:3 are late in the sequence of his work. Typical of the deposit material are the 7 cups by the Pithos Painter in E 15:6, G 6:3, and H 12:15 and 7 others by artists more or less closely related to him, possibly in the

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28 P 24110 = Roberts 1986, no. 22; ARV², p. 76, no. 82; P 24114 = Roberts 1986, no. 23; ARV², p. 76, no. 81.

29 From E 15:6: P 6636 = ARV², p. 140, no. 54; from G 6:3: P 1382 bis = Vanderpool 1946, no. 39; ARV², p. 139, no. 7; P 2579 = Vanderpool 1946, no. 45; ARV², p. 139, no. 18; P 16781 = Vanderpool 1946, no. 53; ARV², p. 140, no. 53; P 2765 = Vanderpool 1946, no. 56; ARV², p. 141, no. 68; P 2800 = Vanderpool 1946, no. 60; ARV², p. 140, no. 37; and from H 12:15: P 23125 = ARV², p. 139, no. 10.
same workshop, which link together D 15:1, G 6:3, and H 12:15.\(^{30}\) It is well to note, however, that a few pieces have been assigned to vase painters of the late Archaic group. Fragments of three column-kraters have been attributed to Myson (D 15:1, G 3:1),\(^{31}\) while a skyphos and a cup are painted in the manner of the Antiphon Painter (G 6:3) and in the manner of Douris (E 15:6).\(^{32}\) Also from E 15:6 is a single fragment of the once splendid calyx-krater by the Kleophrades Painter,\(^{33}\) of which 15 shattered scraps have come to light at various points along the street leading southwestward from the Tholos through the industrial district.

Examination of the black-glazed table ware and household pottery, in much the same way as of the black figure, reveals the unusually homogeneous character of the material. Several vessels for the service and consumption of food and drink appear in 16 or more deposits, in roughly the same proportions. Thus we plainly find ourselves at a moment in the development of Athenian pottery when the favored drinking vessel was the stemmed cup. Table 3 shows that 323 examples of cups are represented in 18 deposits, whereas the next largest group is the skyphoi of Corinthian type, which appear in 17 deposits but in numbers are only two-thirds of the cups.\(^{34}\) By contrast, the skyphoi of Attic type and the stemless cup, both of which were to enjoy such popularity at Athens during the Classical period, are found here in only 12 and 7 deposits respectively. If one observes, however, that nearly 70 percent of the stemless cups and 75 percent of the Attic skyphoi belong to a single deposit, H 13:5, there can be no doubt that the greatest production of these shapes still lay in the future when these 21 deposits were closed. A similar contrast is to be noted between the two varieties of one-handler. Thus the deposits clearly belong to the period when the banded one-handler was at the peak of its production, but the black one-handler, which would become the standard form of the shape throughout the Classical period, had only just begun.\(^{35}\) Nineteen deposits include 152 banded one-handlers, while the black-glazed version of the shape is found in only 8 deposits with 31 examples, of which 23 belong to H 13:5. It is interesting to observe the presence also of several other shapes that by the Classical period would virtually cease to be manufactured by Athenian potters. Most numerous are the sturdy cup-skyphoi, of which 195 examples appear in 16 deposits, but 125 little stemmed dishes and 85 banded oinochoai with round mouths have also been found in 17 and 16 deposits respectively.\(^{36}\) Both shapes would appear to be at the height of their fairly short-lived popularity.

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\(^{30}\) From D 15:1: P 11026 = ARV\(^2\), p. 143, no. 5, Heraion Painter; from G 6:3: P 2576 = Vanderpool 1946, no. 42; ARV\(^2\), p. 142, no. 2; P 2577 = Vanderpool 1946, no. 43; ARV\(^2\), p. 142, no. 3; P 2578 = Vanderpool 1946, no. 44; ARV\(^2\), p. 142, no. 1, Painter of Agora P 2578; P 2736 = Vanderpool 1946, no. 54; ARV\(^2\), p. 143, no. 6; P 2786 = Vanderpool 1946, no. 57; ARV\(^2\), p. 143, no. 21, Heraion Painter; and from H 12:15: P 23178 = ARV\(^2\), p. 142, no. 7, Group of Adria B300.

\(^{31}\) From D 15:1: P 10578 = ARV\(^2\), p. 242, no. 70; P 11025 = ARV\(^2\), p. 241, no. 53; and from G 3:1: P 14711 = ARV\(^2\), p. 240, no. 38.

\(^{32}\) From G 6:3, P 2787 = Vanderpool 1946, no. 58; ARV\(^2\), p. 347, no. 115; from E 15:6, P 6159 = ARV\(^2\), p. 448, no. 4.

\(^{33}\) P 6103 = ARV\(^2\), p. 185, no. 39; Ashmead 1966, p. 25, no. 4.

\(^{34}\) For cups of Type C, see Agora XII, pp. 91–92, 263–265; for skyphoi of Corinthian type, pp. 81–84, 256–259.

\(^{35}\) For banded and black one-handlers, see Agora XII, pp. 124–127, 280–290.

Among the household pottery (Table 4), the incidence of storage amphorae and their fragments in every deposit will be no cause for surprise. If these large, sturdy jars were no longer needed for storing wine or oil, they could conveniently be put to use for drawing water from wells. They vastly outnumber the vessels specifically designed for handling water: the hydria and kados together come to just over half the number of storage amphorae and occur in only half the deposits. The recovery of such water pots from wells is, of course, directly proportionate to the amount of fill allowed to accumulate during the period of use, which is only a small fraction of the excavated fill (pp. 384, 386 above). By far the most numerous of the household vessels are the semiglazed lekanai, of which 294 examples have been counted from 18 deposits. Since these large mixing bowls were made with a great variety of profiles for their rims and feet, it is easy to be sure when two isolated fragments can or cannot have belonged to the same vessel. Of the many wall fragments, most were not included in the count unless they joined pieces of rims or feet; thus the total of 294 lekanai should be regarded as a conservative estimate. Big, open bowls are obviously just as much out of place in wells as the black-figured lekythoi, not to mention such kitchen utensils as mortars, chytras, and griddles, of which mortars and chytras appear in about the same numbers as the hydrias. The message of the household pottery is as plain as that of the fine black-glazed table ware: the contents of most of the 21 deposits were formed by the breaking up of household goods and by their disposal after breakage in handy nearby wells, which their owners, for whatever reason, had abandoned as sources of water.

Nothing demonstrates more strikingly the chronological interrelationship of the 21 deposits than comparison of specific shapes of pottery among the several groups. Over and over again, the quest for comparanda for a particular piece brings one to examples of the same shape in one or more of the other deposits. Many of these similarities have been observed and published by other scholars; they are noted, together with many more from among the fragmentary material, in the deposit summaries (pp. 429–472 below), where the closest published parallel has been cited for all unpublished pots and fragments. In order to comprehend the complex network of interrelationships, it is convenient to set out in tabular form the comparanda for specific published examples in each of the most frequently recurring shapes.

Oinochoe, banded round-mouth

| E 14:5 | P 8864 = Agora XII, no. 148 | cf. P 11064 (D 15:1); 2 double handles (D 17:10); P 6643 (E 15:6); mouth/double handle (G 3:1); foot (G 11:8); 2 mouths/shoulders, foot (H 13:5); 2 feet, 3 mouths/shoulders, handle, wall (M 17:4) |

| G 11:3 | P 8866 = Agora XII, no. 149 | cf. mouth/shoulder/handle (M 17:4) |

| H 12:15 | P 12772 = Agora XII, no. 146 | a pair with P 12773 (G 11:3); cf. mouth/handle (B 19:10); P 12774, P 12787 (G 11:3); mouth, 3 handles (M 17:4) |

| R 12:1 | P 23186 = Agora XII, no. 150 | a pair with P 23187 (H 12:15); cf. P 31846 (H 13:5); P 25763–P 25766 (Q 12:3) |

| R 12:1 | P 20795 = Agora XII, no. 144 | cf. P 15936 (F 19:5); foot/handle (B 18:6); full profile (D 17:2); P 6549 (G 11:8); neck, shoulder, 4 feet (H 13:5) |

| P 20796 = Agora XII, no. 145 | cf. P 15937 (F 19:5); bottom (D17:2); 5 rims/necks, 2 handles, bottom (H 13:5) |

37 See the comparanda cited in the catalogue entries of Agora XII for each of the examples listed below.
THE PERSIAN DESTRUCTION OF ATHENS

CUP, TYPE C, CONCAVE LIP

E 15:6 P 6126 = Agora XII, no. 409 cf. P 8825 (E 14:5); 2 feet (D 17:2); stem (G 11:8)
P 6123 = Agora XII, no. 411 cf. P 11040 (D 15:1); P 23331 (H 12:15)
P 6120 = Agora XII, no. 412 cf. P 2802, P 2696, P 2733, P 2704, P 2705 (G 6:3); foot (B 19:10); stem (M 17:4); P 31367 (Q 12:3)

Q 12:3 P 24594 = Agora XII, no. 401 cf. rim, foot (L 5:2); foot (B 18:6); foot (D 17:10); 2 feet (M 17:4)
P 24597 = Agora XII, no. 408 cf. rim, 3 feet (B 19:10); rim (D 17:2); 2 rims (D 17:10); 4 rims (G 3:1); P 12782 (G 11:3); rim (G 11:8); P 23339 (H 12:15); 5 rims (H 13:5); 4 rims, foot (M 17:4)
P 24596 = Agora XII, no. 410 cf. 2 rims (B 19:10); 3 rims, foot (D 17:2); rim, 2 feet (D 17:10);

P 24596 = Agora XII, no. 410 cf. 2 rims (B 19:10); 3 rims, foot (D 17:2); rim, 2 feet (D 17:10);

R 12:1 P 20757 = Agora XII, no. 404 cf. P 6119, P 6125, P 6172, P 6630 (E 15:6); P 14950 (F 19:5);
P 27886 (H 13:5)

CUP, TYPE C, PLAIN RIM

Q 12:3 P 24600 = Agora XII, no. 417 cf. P 2649 (G 6:3); P 20759 (R 12:1); rim, reserved wall (D 17:10)
P 24601 = Agora XII, no. 420 cf. foot (B 18:6); rim/2 handles (D 17:2); foot (D 17:10); P 1306 close, P 2734 (G 6:3); P 5278 (G 11:8); P 27850, 3 feet (H 13:5); foot (L 5:2); 2 rims, foot (M 17:4); P 24602, P 24603 by the same potter (Q 12:3); P 20758 close, P 20788, P 20789, P 20792 (R 12:1)

CUP-SKYPHOS

E 14:5 P 8830 = Agora XII, no. 577 cf. P 8832 (E 14:5); P 24586, P 31017 (Q 12:3)
G 6:3 P 2615 = Agora XII, no. 573 cf. P 11035 (D 15:1); rim, 3 feet (G 3:1); foot (M 17:4)
Q 12:3 P 24583 = Agora XII, no. 568 cf. 2 feet (B 19:10); 2 rims (D 17:2); rim, foot (D 17:10); foot (G 3:1); P 2751 (G 6:3); 2 rims (G 11:8); 4 rims, 7 feet (H 13:5); 6 rims, 3 feet (M 17:4); P 20771 (R 12:1)
P 24111 = Agora XII, no. 575 cf. foot (B 18:6); foot (D 17:10); rim, foot (G 3:1); 2 rims, foot (G 11:8); 5 rims, 3 feet (H 13:5); 3 rims, foot (M 17:4)

P 24584 = Agora XII, no. 578 cf. rim (B 19:10); foot (D 17:10); 3 feet (G 3:1); foot (G 11:8); 2 rims, 2 feet (H 13:5); 2 feet (M 17:4)

ONE-HANDLER, BANDED

E 14:5 P 8823 = Agora XII, no. 728 cf. rim, foot (H 13:5); P 28781 (Q 21:3)
F 19:5 P 15933 = Agora XII, no. 733 cf. P 24621 (Q 12:3); foot (G 11:8)
G 11:3 P 12546 = Agora XII, no. 730 cf. very similar P 10751, P 11050, P 11051 (D 15:1)
H 12:15 P 23192 = Agora XII, no. 737 cf. 3 feet (B 19:10); similar P 8820 (E 14:5); P 1294, P 1385 (G 6:3); 6 feet (H 13:5); 2 rims, 6 feet (M 17:4); P 24619, P 24620 (Q 12:3); P 20775, P 20776 (R 12:1)
Q 12:3 P 24056 = Agora XII, no. 732 cf. P 20874 (D 17:10); 2 rims (G 3:1); P 1335 (G 6:3); 5 rims, 3 feet (H 13:5); 2 rims (M 17:4)
P 24063 = Agora XII, no. 734 cf. P 12568, P 12771 (G 11:3)
P 24631 = Agora XII, no. 735 cf. full profile, rim (B 18:6); 2 feet (B 19:10); foot (D 17:2); 2 feet (G 3:1); handle, 6 feet (H 13:5); 4 rims, 2 feet (M 17:4)

STEMMED DISH

D 17:2 P 20560 = Agora XII, 984 cf. foot/stem, 2 feet (D 17:10); P 2595 (G 6:3); foot (G 11:8)
E 14:5 P 7895 = Agora XII, no. 958 cf. by the same potter P 24604, P 24605 (Q 12:3); P 11037 (D 15:1); 5 rims, stem, foot (H 13:5); rim, foot (M 17:4)
The lists of comparanda illustrate the extent to which the pottery finds its closest parallels in other deposits among the 21. Examples of banded round-mouth oinochoai from all 16 deposits in which the shape occurs each compare most closely with one of six vessels in 4 of the wells. In 5 deposits, the pitchers turned up in pairs, footed and footless, as if they were purchased as sets. Cups of Type C from each of 18 deposits are similarly comparable with examples from only 3 of the wells. Stemmed dishes from all 17 deposits that produced them find their best parallels in 4 of the groups, while the discovery of a dish in E 14:5 made by the same potter as two in Q 12:3 again serves to strengthen the inference that the two deposits are very nearly contemporary. Cup-skyphoi, banded one-handlers, and household lekanai show many more variations in their shapes than the almost standardized cups and oinochoai, and their closest comparanda are thus more wide ranging. Nevertheless, cup-skyphoi from 13 deposits are best paralleled by four examples in wells E 14:5, G 6:3, and Q 12:3. Only 2 of the 19 deposits containing banded one-handlers are not represented among the comparanda listed above for that shape. The single wall fragment from L 5:2 preserves too little of the pot to permit more accurate comparison with others; thus only the one-handler from E 15:6 finds its closest parallel outside the 21 deposits. Among the lekanai, examples from 14 deposits are best compared to only five pieces from well Q 12:3 and the Rock-cut Shaft (G 6:3).

Three of the smaller deposits are conspicuously absent from the comparanda for the six shapes that occur most often. Tables 3 and 4, however, show that no example of any of these shapes was found in pit Q 20:1 or in the period-of-use fill of well R 12:4, which produced mostly water pots. Both of these deposits have already been shown to relate to the rest by way of their black-figured pottery. The connection of R 12:4 with the other deposits is greatly strengthened also by the black-glazed oinochoe of Shape 3 (chous) which compares closely
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with one from well H 12:15, another from G 11:3, and a third from Q 12:3. These pitchers, together with three more pieces from H 12:15, are among the earliest examples of a shape that would proliferate in the Classical period. The small group of pots from well Q 21:3 has been related to the other deposits only by the black-figured lekythos mentioned earlier (p. 395) and by the banded one-handler listed above (p. 399) that compares with one from well E 14:5. Among the inventoried objects from well Q 21:3 are also two saltcellars: one, with convex wall, finds a close parallel from well D 15:1, while the second, with echinus wall, is similar to one of the collection of saltcellars from the Rock-cut Shaft. Comparison of specific shapes throughout the assemblage as a whole thus reveals a tightly woven web of interrelationship which ties together all 21 deposits. In repeated instances, pottery is seen to have progressed to the same point in the development of the shape by the time the deposits were closed; this can only have happened if their contents were dumped into the wells and pits within a very short period of time.

Evidence for Destruction

The foregoing discussion has emphasized two stratigraphic characteristics shared by many of the wells and pits: the great preponderance of dumped fill in every deposit and the unusually fragmentary condition of much of the pottery. The contents of the deposits also included artifacts of other kinds that, like some of the pottery, have no natural place in the shafts of wells. The material in question can best be described as architectural debris and consists primarily of broken roof tiles, mud bricks, field stones of the size used for the construction of rubble walls, and some recognizable pieces of stone architecture, plainly broken up and discarded. Each occurrence of such debris has been noted in the deposit summaries (pp. 429–472 below), and its presence in 14 deposits is another characteristic feature which relates our groups to each other. Broken roof tiles formed a sufficiently large proportion of the assemblage in 11 cases so that a significant sampling of them was kept. The numbers available for study today vary widely from two inventoried pieces in well F 19:5 and eight fragments in pit D 17:2 to five tins from the Rock-cut Shaft. Since these homely articles are usually heavy and coarse, have frequently survived in awkward shapes and sizes, and often refuse to fit conveniently into storage containers, they are regularly among the first material to be discarded by excavators. The existing numbers of tile fragments in the 21 deposits should, therefore, be read to mean only that a great many were found. The excavator of well H 12:15 recorded a mass of stones and broken roof tiles comprising a depth of 1.15 m. of the upper dumped fill, while in H 13:5 the excavator described roof tiles in large numbers found all in one layer toward the bottom of the wide trench into which that deposit had been dumped.

Sun-dried mud brick that is exposed to water disintegrates into thick, viscous mud. When this is dumped together with stones removed from the rubble-masonry socles on which mud-brick walls were normally built, a distinctive combination of stones and sticky mud results.

38 P 24662 (R 12:4), cf. P 23194 = Agora XII, no. 109 (H 12:15); P 12543 (G 11:3); P 24122 (Q 12:3), all choes.
39 The other three choes from H 12:15: P 23190 = Agora XII, no. 106; P 23341 = Agora XII, no. 107; P 23191 = Agora XII, no. 108.
40 From Q 21:3: P 28780, cf. P 11042 = Agora XII, no. 890.
41 From Q 21:3: P 29362, cf. P 2597 = Agora XII, no. 899.
Rubble of this kind composed the whole lower layer of pit L 5:2; it filled the lower shaft of well Q 12:3 to a depth of 3.45 m.; and the excavator reported a packing of mud and stones 6.00 m. deep, virtually devoid of sherds, as the upper dumped fill of well G 11:3. In the lower dumped fill of well H 12:15, a layer 0.40 m. thick consisted entirely of large hunks of mud bricks which still partially retained their original squared form despite the plentiful water in the well. The deepest of the dumped fills, except for the Rock-cut Shaft, was that in well R 12:4. Here a solid packing of field stones filled the shaft for a depth of 11.00 m., of which the lowest 4.00 m. produced only a few scattered sherds.

From the pits of debris there came also broken pieces of more formal architecture. Pit G 3:1 produced three pieces of dressed marble blocks, one of which is quite possibly to be recognized as the top fillet of a marble metope; all three are heavily calcined by fire. In H 13:5 the excavator noted pieces of more than one unfluted poros column, together with a fragment of a stylobate block bearing the semicircular imprint of a column of small diameter at its joint edge. Also from this deposit came part of a fluted Doric column, a poros wall block, a much battered piece of a cornice block, and a molded fragment from the capital of a marble pedestal. The list of material found in pit L 5:2 (p. 460 below) shows 13 pieces of poros architecture, among which are fragments of two different Doric capitals, two dressed wall blocks, and several pieces, both large and small, of fluted Doric columns. The last items are of special importance because one of the Doric capitals and no fewer than six pieces of column shaft can be identified as belonging to the interior order of columns in the Stoa Basileios, which stood some fifty-five meters directly west of pit L 5:2. The broken pieces from that pit of debris are made from the same distinctive yellow poros stone as the lower stump of the southernmost interior column, which survives in situ in the stoa. Like the stoa column, the fragments from L 5:2 have only 16 shallow flutes, instead of the normal 20, and share the same slender diameter, 0.448 m. To the same category of broken and discarded material belongs the fine piece of an Archaic marble head found in pit Q 20:1. Preserved are the beard, mouth, and mustache of a male head, or possibly a herm, delicately executed and of sufficiently high quality to suggest that it might originally have stood on the Akropolis. What came to be buried in Q 20:1, however, can only be described as a shattered fragment. 42

That the odd bit of roof tile and a few small stones should turn up in a well shaft would be no cause for comment; indeed, their presence in a deposit would quite naturally be attributed to the merest accident. The vagaries of chance, however, will not satisfactorily explain the conditions encountered in the 21 deposits, where in repeated instances heavy dumped fills consisted of building stone, mud bricks, and layers of broken tiles. Moreover, it is still more difficult to suggest by what kind of accident standing stone columns and masonry walls are reduced to hunks of debris. Taken together, the collective evidence of the wells and pits implies that their contents derived not only from the breaking up of household goods, as inferred earlier from the fragmentary state of the pottery, but also from the destruction of the buildings themselves. Mud-brick and rubble walls, tiled roofs, and clay floors form the basic fabric of early domestic architecture; this should now be recognized as the most likely source for the heaps of debris which closed the deposits.

42 S 1997: see Thompson 1958, p. 154, pl. 43a.
Close examination of the dumped fills in the 16 wells leads to the startling conclusion that many of them were filled up quite deliberately so as to terminate their usefulness as sources of water. Several of their excavators described with care how the shafts were filled to various depths with loose masses of soft dug bedrock. In itself, the appearance of this kind of fill is not particularly significant, for the unlined shafts of early wells are sometimes found to be clogged with soft bedrock that collapsed from the sides of the well and blocked the water source. This is, in fact, just what happened to two of the wells, B 18:6 and G 11:8; in the latter instance, the collapse of the shaft deposited some 3.00 m. of sterile bedrock above the accumulation from the period of use of the well (Fig. 8). On the other hand, it is not so easy to explain deep dumped fills of dug bedrock in well shafts which upon excavation are found to be perfectly intact. In H 12:15 a layer 2.45 m. deep separated the lower dumped fill from the upper dumped fill (Fig. 7), and the excavator recorded that this dump consisted of nothing but crushed bedrock, without a single sherd or stone. The filling removed from well B 19:10 again consisted entirely of dug bedrock from top to bottom, without any stratigraphic change in a depth of 8.60 m. (Fig. 5). In this case, the small deposit of battered sherds was found at the top of the shaft extending down to a depth of 1.50 m.; the well produced only a scattering of sherds between $-1.50$ m. and $-4.20$ m.; nothing at all came from the lower half of the shaft. Another uniform filling of dug bedrock formed the upper dump of well Q 21:3 extending to a depth of 7.25 m. (Fig. 9); here the pottery deposit came mostly from the lower half of the dumped fill, and only a little over ten percent of the sherds was found in the upper half. The excavator of R 12:1 reported a filling of dug bedrock in the upper part of the shaft for a depth of 7.00 m., and although the dug bedrock produced practically no sherds, it sealed the large deposit of dumped pottery that filled the lowest 3.80 m. at the bottom of the well (Fig. 10). In each of these four wells, the bedrock walls of the shaft survived in excellent condition, and the excavators were even able to count and record the neat rows of footholds cut in the rock walls by the original ancient well diggers. It is thus out of the question here that collapsing walls caused many meters of bedrock to subside into the shafts, and we can only explain the deep fills of dug bedrock as having been intentionally shoveled in from the surface by people who wished to fill up the wells.

Much the same conclusion is to be drawn from two other wells where dumps of a different material were used to the same effect. In well E 15:6, a mass of pure clay, 1.50 m. deep, separated the period-of-use fill from the dumped fill in the upper shaft (Fig. 7). The clay was of dark buff color and thick, sticky consistency, pure but not refined, and mixed with plentiful cinders. The excavator’s impression was that the clay was a potter’s raw material which had been thrown out unused. Below the principal mass of clay, from $-7.50$ m. to $-8.50$ m., layers of pure clay alternated with layers of ordinary mud which produced quantities of sherds, although no sherds came from the clay itself. Stratigraphy of this kind would have formed if the well had been filled by people who shoveled alternately from a pile of clay and from a dump of broken pottery; but there is no way that a filling of this sort could have resulted without human agency. The upper shaft of D 17:10 was filled with a similar dump of potter’s clay, about 3.50 m. deep, and like the clay from E 15:6, it yielded only a handful of sherds and virtually no joining fragments (Fig. 6). The dumped clay rose high in the shaft to a point only 2.60 m. below the mouth of the well. Although nothing is known about the stratigraphy of the lower shaft because its clearing had to be abandoned at a depth of 6.10 m.
when the soft bedrock walls collapsed, nevertheless the well can scarcely have supplied water after the potter’s clay was thrown in.

If the deep fills of bedrock and potter’s clay are correctly interpreted as deliberate deposits, it becomes easier to understand layers of dug bedrock sealing the tops of three wells and one of the pits of debris. Dug bedrock to a depth of 1.40 m. filled the top of well D 17:10 (Fig. 6), and a similar fill formed a thick layer over the dump of rubble and architectural debris in pit L 5:2. In well G 11:8, the upper dumped fill consisted of dug bedrock with abundant signs of burning; as was true of some of the other bedrock fills, the highest 2.00 m. of the well produced very few sherds. Most of the pottery from the upper dumped fill was concentrated in a layer of mud, from −2.00 m. to −3.35 m., and this separated the dug bedrock at the top of the shaft from the deep, sterile mass which had fallen from the walls and put the well out of use (Fig. 8). The evidence of G 11:8 and of its neighbor and successor G 11:3 is particularly interesting. As noted earlier (p. 384 above), the two wells were located just over two meters apart in the western service court of Building F (Fig. 2). Both wells had deep accumulations from their periods of use, but the pottery from the lowest fill of G 11:8 was appreciably the earlier. After the collapse of its walls filled much of G 11:8, the shaft of G 11:3 was sunk a short distance away, and no doubt the experience with its predecessor suggested the laborious precaution of lining the new shaft from top to bottom with neat polygonal masonry. In due course, G 11:3 was closed by filling the upper 6.00 m. of its shaft with rubble and mud, which, as suggested above, is likely to have been debris from the destruction of a nearby building. The dug bedrock forming the upper dumped fill of G 11:8 was not confined to the top of the well shaft. The same fill, broken chunks of bedrock interspersed with reddish clay from disintegrated mud brick and with clear traces of burning, was spread in a thick layer over the whole area of the courtyard. This layer sealed the mouths of both wells to a depth of 0.30 m. and lay as deep as 0.45 m. further to the west; more important, it covered the ruined foundations of the small structure, designated H by the excavator, one corner of which projected between the two courtyard wells. The stratification of this area thus provides formal proof that when the two wells G 11:3 and G 11:8 were closed and sealed, the neighboring structure, one of the outbuildings of Building F, also lay in ruins.

The picture that has gradually emerged from the dumped fillings of the 21 wells and pits is one of extensive damage. We can still discern in the archaeological record signs of destruction which reached all quarters about the Agora. It touched private dwellings and their furnishings southwest of the market square and equally shops and houses east of the Panathenaic Way, as well as on the Kolonos to the west; it damaged public buildings along the west side; it left pits of debris to the north and northwest; and it closed courtyard wells on the slopes of the Areopagos to the south. Moreover, examination of the pottery deposits has shown that all this must have transpired within a very short period of time. Fully in keeping with these conclusions are certain aspects of several deposits, which combine to give an impression of hasty abandonment followed by subsequent dislocation.

43 For earlier discussion of the two wells G 11:8 and G 11:3, see Thompson 1940, pp. 25, 28–33.
44 The relation of well G 11:3 to the foundations of Building H is visible in the photograph in Thompson 1940, p. 26, fig. 20 (see also Fig. 2).
It has already been noted that three of the wells (E 14:5, F 19:5, and M 17:4) were, in fact, not wells at all but unfinished well shafts, begun but never completely dug in antiquity. There was no apparent reason for their abandonment, and in each case the rock walls appeared suitably firm and unlikely to cave in. In E 14:5, the well diggers stopped work at a depth of 5.50 m.; this was far too shallow for them to despair of the shaft producing water, for the water level in D 15:1, only 42 meters distant, was at a depth of 8.50 m. The digging of F 19:5 stopped at a depth of 3.05 m., and the abortive shaft was then filled with debris. Subsequently, however, another well shaft (F 19:4) was sunk just 10 meters away, probably in the same courtyard. Since water did not rise above a depth of 5.30 m. in that well, the diggers of F 19:5 had again not reached sufficient depth to tap the water source before abandoning their task. Much the same thing can be said for well M 17:4, which was sunk to a depth of only 2.50 m. before work stopped and the open pit was filled up with broken pottery. Deposit H 13:5 presents a similar impression of work abandoned and never resumed. The broken pottery, roof tiles, and architectural fragments of this deposit were dumped into a trench dug in bedrock beneath the street which passed the two extant boundary stones of the Agora and entered the public square at its southwest corner. This trench measures 1.90 m. in width and 1.30 m. in depth, and though not excavated for its full length, it was traced for a distance of at least 10 meters. The dimensions are close to those of the Great Drain of the Agora, and the excavated channel precisely aligns with the earliest section of that drain further north, where it traverses the west side of the square and debouches into the Eridanos River. The available evidence suggests that a major excavation project had been undertaken to extend the Great Drain southwards to the lowest slopes of the Areopagos. The work was interrupted before completion, and the excavated trench was then used as a place for dumping destruction debris. In the event, the extensions of the Great Drain followed different courses, southwestward through the valley of the industrial district and eastward across the southern part of the Agora.

The same odd sense of discontinuity comes from the position of certain wells with respect to the buildings around them. Because of the extremely ruinous condition of the private domestic architecture in districts adjacent to the Agora, it is possible to observe the relation of the wells to the houses in only five instances. In every one of these, however, the builders of the Classical period took no cognizance whatsoever of the location of Archaic wells in the designs of their houses. We should normally expect to find household wells in open courtyards or garden plots, but 5 of the 16 wells came to light beneath rooms or even walls of Classical houses, and their whereabouts were plainly unknown or of no concern to the builders. Thus well B 19:10 lay partially under a partition dividing two of the southern rooms of House C in the industrial district.45 Well B 18:6 was found under the floor of the west room of the neighboring House D.46 Well D 17:10 lay directly beneath the narrow central corridor of the Poros Building; the mouth of the well had been disturbed when a drain was set down into the clay floor of the corridor.47 The builders of the Classical house

45 See Young 1951, pp. 189, fig. 7; 208–209. The well lies partially under the east wall of Room 9.
46 Young 1951, pp. 144–145; 189, fig. 7; 218. The well lies under the middle of Room 6. Only the upper fill at the mouth of the well is of relevance, since the shaft itself dated to the Geometric period, cf. Agora VIII, p. 125.
47 Young 1951, pp. 136, fig. 1; 174.
beside a boundary stone of the Agora partly obstructed well H 12:15 with their interior walls,\textsuperscript{48} while the owner of a Classical house on the Areopagos covered well Q 21:3 with the paved floor of his andron.\textsuperscript{49} If a house should chance to be damaged or destroyed by some local accident or natural disaster, the owner might logically be expected to rebuild his dwelling as swiftly and economically as possible along much the same lines as it had been built previously. Yet in five specific cases, it appears that the Classical builders were free to build along totally different lines and made little or no use of preexisting walls, foundations, or building materials, as if they set their new structures upon a tabula rasa from which the Archaic predecessors had been quite literally swept away.

The evidence detailed above suggests that the 21 deposits came to be buried in connection with widespread destruction in and about the Agora. It needs to be emphasized also that discussion of this evidence has involved certain features of 20 deposits, many of which have been mentioned several times. Most striking of all, however, is the likelihood that no fewer than 10 of the 16 wells were intentionally put out of use and filled up with massive dumps of bedrock, clay, or architectural debris; the locations of at least half of these were forgotten or ignored when the householders of the Classical period came to rebuild their dwellings. It takes no little time or labor to sink a circular shaft some ten meters into bedrock; moreover, the resulting supply of water is essential to the conduct of life. Only pressed by the direst circumstances, one supposes, can Athenian householders have willingly espoused such wanton waste. The sealed and abandoned wells ought surely to signal a general horizon of destruction which considerably disrupted the city’s life.

**The Marathon Tumulus**

This study began as an attempt to reexamine the contents of the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft (G 6:3) and to place them in the context of contemporary deposits, the collective evidence of which must be taken into account if one would establish their proper place in the chronology of Athenian pottery. The foregoing discussion has sought to demonstrate a close interrelationship among 21 groups of pottery from the Agora and to define their relative position in the ceramic development. The moment has now come to consider in absolute terms the period of time within which the pottery was manufactured and the actual date at which it came to be dumped into wells and pits about the Agora. The accurate dating of archaeological artifacts is possible only when the occasion for their burial can be fixed with respect to dated events in the historical record. Fortunately, for the student of late Archaic Athenian pottery, just such a fixed point is established by the deposit of pottery buried beneath the great conical mound that rises above the plain of Marathon, marking to this day the tomb of the Athenian dead in the famous battle of 490 B.C.

The Marathon tumulus was partially excavated in 1890 and 1891 by archaeologists from the Greek General Ephorate of Antiquities. Wide trenches, cut deep toward the center of the mound, went to a depth of about 3 meters below the modern surface of the plain, where they exposed an artificial layer of sea sand.\textsuperscript{50} An area some 26 meters long and 6 meters wide was eventually cleared, and the same layer of sand extended under the undug part

\textsuperscript{48} Thompson 1954, pp. 51–54.

\textsuperscript{49} For the andron, see Shear 1973, pp. 152–153; the well appears on the plan, p. 149, fig. 5, under Room 5.

\textsuperscript{50} Mitsopoulos 1890, pp. 65–71; Staïs 1890, pp. 123–132, pl. Δ; Staïs 1893, pp. 46–63.
of the mound in all directions. Spread upon this surface was a layer, varying in thickness from 0.02 to 0.10 m., composed of ashes, charcoal, and human bones charred by fire; scattered in broken pieces among the bones was the group of black-figured lekythoi listed below (pp. 408-409).\(^{51}\) All remains of the funeral pyre and offerings were subsequently sealed beneath thick red clay as the tumulus was raised over the burial. Near the center of the mound, the excavators came upon a brick-lined trench, 10 meters long and 1 meter wide, running diagonally beneath the mound from north to south. This trench contained the charred bones of fowl and of sacrificial animals, as well as eggshells and ashes, all possibly the remains of a funeral meal.\(^{52}\) The smashed fragments of a few more black-figured pots were mixed with the burnt offerings in the trench, and just outside lay the early black-figured neck-amphora by Sophilos.\(^{53}\) Among the scattered bones and lekythoi there came to light also the Protoattic egg-shaped krater which contained the burnt bones of a separate cremation. The excavators conjectured that this might be the remains of one of the two Athenian generals,\(^{54}\) accorded the honor of separate cremation because of his rank, in which case we should have to suppose that his bones were laid to rest in an ancestral heirloom. While there is nothing inherently inconceivable in this view, the early pots might also represent earlier burials on the same site.\(^{55}\) For the purposes of the present study, that question is irrelevant. In the case of the burnt and broken lekythoi, however, their fragments spread among the ashes of a mass cremation, then sealed beneath a mound of earth over 12 meters high, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they were buried in 490 B.C.

For those who would revise the chronology of Athenian pottery so as to lower the dates by two decades and more, the evidence of the Marathon tumulus poses a difficult dilemma. If, on the one hand, the excavated mound does not cover the Athenian dead, then there was a second mass burial at the same site, not far removed in time. This second tomb, known to Thucydides, seen by Pausanias, and believed to be haunted at night by the dead themselves, was the famous polyandron where Athenianephebes offered crowns and sacrifices, and whose denizens the people of Marathon worshipped as heroes.\(^{56}\) This tomb, alas, has thus far escaped notice in modern times. What we have instead is another mass cremation of Athenian corpses buried in the fashion of Homeric heroes, but when and in what circumstances they came to be there cannot be explained without resort to free invention. If, on the other hand, the tumulus does indeed cover the Marathon warriors but the pottery is 25 years later than the battle, then the revisionist is constrained to argue that the mortal remains of Athens most heroic dead lay about in a field for 25 years before it seemed good to someone to scramble some appropriate lekythoi among their ashes and to heap up a proper mound. Such an improbable sequence of events can result only from manipulation of the evidence. A third and easier approach to the pottery from the Marathon tumulus is to ignore it altogether; Francis and Vickers make no mention of the pottery from the burial.

\(^{51}\) See Mitsopoulos 1890, p. 67; Staïs 1890, p. 130, pl. Δ; Staïs 1893, pp. 50–51; \textit{ABL}, p. 92.

\(^{52}\) Staïs 1893, p. 49, sketch plan at Γ; pp. 53–54.

\(^{53}\) Staïs 1893, p. 49, sketch plan at Δ; p. 55; \textit{ABV}, p. 38, no. 2.

\(^{54}\) Staïs 1890, p. 131.

\(^{55}\) Cf. \textit{ABL}, p. 92. Koumanoudes (1978) attempted to dissociate the existing tumulus from the battle of 490 B.C., but his arguments are unconvincing.

\(^{56}\) Thucydides 2.34.5; Pausanias 1.29.4, 32.3–4; \textit{IG II\textsuperscript{2}} 1006, line 69; cf. Pélékidis 1962, p. 253; \textit{ABL}, p. 91.
The assemblage of pottery recovered from the cremation is best taken at face value. In the case of an ordinary tomb in any excavated cemetery, the objects contained in a single burial are understood to be funerary offerings laid down with the dead at the time of interment, unless there is compelling evidence for some later disturbance. There being no such evidence at the Marathon mound, we should regard the pottery as the original offerings of surviving relatives, buried with the remains of the funeral pyre, no doubt within a few days of the battle, in the early autumn of 490 B.C.\(^57\) The tumulus is no ordinary tomb, however: the date of the battle provides a \textit{terminus ante quem} for the manufacture of the pottery and a fixed date for its deposit. It is just here that the assemblage from Marathon, and the lekythoi in particular, take on special relevance for this study of the Athenian deposits. The 37 published pieces from the Marathon tumulus are listed here together with their attributions and bibliographical references.\(^58\)

**Protoattic**

Egg-shaped krater

Athens, N.M. 1038 = CVA, pl. 11 [19]:7

**Black Figure**

Amphora (neck)  
N.M. 1036 = CVA, pl. 13 [21]:1, 2 Sophilos  
\textit{ABL}, p. 221, no. 1; \textit{AthMitt} 18, 1893, p. 52, no. 5

Hydria (kalpis)  
N.M. 1037 = CVA, pl. 14 [22]:1, 2 Nikoxenos Painter  
\textit{ABL}, p. 393, no. 18

Lekythos  
N.M. 1011 = CVA, pl. 11 [19]:9 Marathon Painter  
\textit{ABL}, p. 221, no. 1; \textit{AthMitt} 18, 1893, p. 52, no. 5

(Old Number 1892)

N.M. 1012 = CVA, pl. 11 [19]:3 Marathon Painter  
\textit{ABL}, p. 221, no. 10

N.M. 1013 = CVA, pl. 11 [19]:10 Marathon Painter  
\textit{ABL}, p. 221, no. 8

N.M. 1014 = CVA, pl. 11 [19]:8 Marathon Painter  
\textit{ABL}, p. 221, no. 9

N.M. 1015 = CVA, pl. 11 [19]:6 Marathon Painter  
\textit{ABL}, p. 222, no. 11

N.M. 1016 = CVA, pl. 10 [18]:16 Marathon Painter  
\textit{ABL}, p. 222, no. 14

N.M. 1017 = CVA, pl. 11 [19]:12 Class of Athens 581, ii  
\textit{ABL}, p. 498, no. 9

N.M. 1018 = CVA, pl. 10 [18]:14 Manner of Haimon Painter  
\textit{Paralipomena}, p. 233

Haemonian, Class of Athens 581, ii  
\textit{ABL}, p. 544, no. 148

N.M. 1019 = CVA, pl. 10 [18]:1  
Manner of Haimon Painter  
\textit{Paralipomena}, p. 233

N.M. 1020 = CVA, pl. 11 [19]:2  
Haemonian, Class of Athens 581, ii

N.M. 1021 = CVA, pl. 11 [19]:4  
\textit{ABL}, p. 542, no. 100

N.M. 1022 = CVA, pl. 10 [18]:9  
\textit{Paralipomena}, p. 233

N.M. 1023 = CVA, pl. 10 [18]:6

\(^57\) The victory at Marathon was celebrated on Boedromion 6, Plutarch, \textit{Mor.} 349E, 861F; \textit{Camill.} 19.5; see Mikalson 1975, p. 50. The date was sacred to Artemis Agrotera, and the vow to sacrifice she-goats to her for the Persian dead (Xenophon, \textit{Anab.} 3.2.12) may have been made then, because the decision to engage the Persians at Marathon happened to coincide with her festival. See Parke 1977, pp. 54–55. The battle itself was fought ten days later, just after the full moon (Herodotos 6.106, 120), and so on Boedromion 16 (= October 11); see Dinsmoor 1934, pp. 444–445. The year is given as the archonship of Phainippos = 490/89 in the \textit{Marmor Parium, FGrHist}, 239, ep. 48; Aristotle, \textit{Ath. Pol.} 22.3; Plutarch, \textit{Aristeid.} 5.7.

\(^58\) All \textit{CVA} references in the following list are \textit{CVA}, Athens 1 [Greece 1].
Unlike the earlier pieces which may have come from the families of the deceased, the 28 black-figured lekythoi were undoubtedly purchased together specifically for the funeral. They were painted by several different hands evidently associated with a single workshop. The author of 7 of these lekythoi was named the Marathon Painter, after the tumulus, by
C. H. E. Haspels, who first distinguished his hand and was able to attribute a number of other lekythoi to him. She also recognized a close stylistic affinity between the Marathon Painter and the hand that she called the Haimon Painter, and she pointed out the resemblances also to a large class of lekythoi manufactured by one workshop, the best examples of which were decorated by the Painter of Athens 581. Most of these lekythoi, including those by the Marathon Painter, were later subsumed under the broader category of the Class of Athens 581 by J. D. Beazley, who distinguished a variety of subgroups, one of which was painted by the associates of the Haimon Painter in his manner. No fewer than 8 lekythoi from the Marathon tumulus fall into this category, while 5 others, including 4 palmette-lekythoi, belong to the Class of Athens 581, ii. Almost half of the 499 black-figured lekythoi found in the Agora falls likewise in the Class of Athens 581, and specimens of this type of lekythos are represented in 15 of the 21 pottery deposits from our wells and pits (Table 1, 2). Moreover, the large collection of 210 examples from well Q 12:3 finds its closest parallels in the pots from Marathon. Both groups exhibit exactly the same stage of development; they were surely manufactured together during the first decade of the 5th century; and they were on sale in Athenian potters' shops in 490 B.C. Among the 21 pottery deposits from the Agora, the second largest group is the Haemonian lekythoi and skyphoi, of which 77 examples were found in 11 deposits; the 8 Haemonian lekythoi form the largest single group in the assemblage from Marathon. The 25 palmette-lekythoi from 9 of the 21 deposits, mostly in the Class of Athens 581, ii, also bear close resemblance to the 4 specimens from Marathon.

The lekythoi from Marathon thus provide a terminus ante quem of 490 B.C. for the manufacture of a great many similar vessels in the 21 Agora deposits. This chronological benchmark is of crucial importance for understanding the development of pottery in the early 5th century. Moreover, close comparison of the assemblage from Marathon with the groups from the Athenian Agora quickly leads to another interesting chronological conclusion: the lekythoi in Athens that find such close parallels in the Marathon cremation are by no means the latest pieces in the 21 Agora deposits. The pottery made and decorated in the Haimon workshop illustrates well the more advanced stage of development observable in the latest pieces among the Agora groups. Many lekythoi by the Haimon workshop from the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft (G 6:3) and all those from well Q 12:3 have the stout profile of the pots from Marathon. The shoulder is distinctly wider than the foot and slopes perceptibly upwards to the base of the neck, while the lower body tapers in gently to join the foot (Pl. 81:a, c). By contrast, the later Haemonian lekythoi from the Agora are tall, slender vessels, the shoulder rarely much wider than the foot and noticeably flatter than its predecessors. The upper wall is nearly cylindrical and may sometimes be slightly concave beneath the sharp angle of the shoulder; the lower wall is sometimes rounded in abruptly above the foot, which

60 For the Haimon Painter and his resemblance to the Marathon Painter, see ABL, pp. 93, 130–141, 241–247; for lekythoi near the Painter of Athens 581 and their relation to the Marathon Painter, see ABL, pp. 93, 224–225.
62 Compare P 2715+2722 = Vanderpool 1946, no. 148 = Agora XXIII, no. 968 (G 6:3) and P 24059 = Agora XXIII, no. 969 (Q 12:3) with Athens, N.M. 1024, 1025 = CVA, Athens I [Greece I], pl. 10 [18]:5 and 10 from Marathon.
is normally in two degrees (Pl. 81:b). The development of the shape is best seen in two lekythoi in the manner of the Haimon Painter from the Rock-cut Shaft (P 2715+2722 and P 2695),63 of which the former belongs in the first decade of the century and the latter in the second. One of the two palmette-lekythoi from well G 11:3 is close to the examples from Marathon, while the second shows the thin, straight-walled profile of the later version of the shape (Pl. 82:j).64 The lekythos in the manner of the Haimon Painter from the same well (P 12765) also has the slender profile of the 480's.65 Pairs of Haemonian lekythoi of the same shape were found in D 17:2 and E 15:6, and a single example of the type appeared in D 15:1 (Pl. 81:b).66

The style of the painting also shows the increasing effects of mass production on the quality of the decoration. If the later pots in the manner of the Haimon Painter from the Agora are compared with the Haemonian lekythoi from Marathon, the chronological development becomes clear. The drawing on the former is more sketchily executed; both human and animal anatomy are more cursorily rendered; the incisions are few and hasty. Female flesh is more often left black, and facial features are sometimes all but omitted. A heavy, black mass passes for drapery, often articulated with only two or three incised strokes to suggest folds. The painting of the Haimon workshop after the Marathon burial is best represented by the series of skyphoi from the Agora deposits. Three such skyphoi were found in wells Q 12:3 and H 12:15, while single examples occur in the assemblages from D 15:1, F 19:5, and R 12:1.67

Among the 12 skyphoi in the manner of the Haimon Painter from the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft (G 6:3), a few pieces, such as P 2699, show sufficient development to suggest the passage of some years; the same can be said for P 23333, found in well H 12:15.68 The cumulative evidence of the black-figured pottery, especially the lekythoi and skyphoi made by the Haimon workshop, points inexorably to a date for the closing of the 21 Agora deposits in the tumultuous year 480/79, in connection with the titanic sequence of events which left Athens in total ruins at the hands of Mardonios’ army.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE DEPOSITS

The general conclusion that the upper fill of the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft (G 6:3) and the 20 contemporary groups of pottery were all deposited as a result of the Persian destruction of Athens agrees well with the archaeological evidence so far reviewed: The pottery assemblage taken as a whole is remarkably homogeneous. The vast bulk of the

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63 See note 62 above and P 2695 = Vanderpool 1946, no. 147 = Agora XXIII, no. 1198.
65 Thompson 1940, fig. 23:b.
66 From D 17:2: P 18502 = Agora XXIII, no. 1225; P 18503 = Agora XXIII, no. 1226; p. 435 below. From E 15:6: P 6138 = Agora XXIII, no. 1192; P 6137 = Agora XXIII, no. 1211; p. 440 below. From D 15:1: P 10575 = Agora XXIII, no. 1197; p. 434 below.
68 For P 2699, see Vanderpool 1946, pl. 48:93; and for P 23333, see Agora XXIII, pl. 103.
material was manufactured over a period of not more than a generation; and reference to the
dated pottery from the burial at Marathon shows that the Athenian deposits were assembled
in large part during the thirty years before 490 B.C. The date at which any assemblage of
pottery was actually buried is naturally indicated by the latest pieces, which in almost all
instances form a small fraction of the whole. The latest pieces in each of the 21 groups
have been marked with an asterisk in the deposit summaries (pp. 429–472 below); they
comprise altogether not more than 8.2 per cent of the total body of material (Tables 1–4).
These, of course, are the critical pieces for determining when the wells and pits about the
Agora were filled and sealed. We have just seen that the black-figured lekythoi and skyphoi
from the Haimon workshop show a clear ceramic development beyond the pottery from
Marathon; thus the latest black figure in the Agora deposits cannot have been made before
the second decade of the 5th century. The same conclusion emerges from another body of
evidence which consists of thirty-six ostraka scattered in small numbers through 8 deposits, of
which fifteen were found in the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft (G 6:3). Since we are specifically
told that the law of ostracism was first applied in 487 B.C., it is obvious that the deposits
containing ostraka must have been closed after that date.

At the time of their discovery in 1932, the ostraka from the Rock-cut Shaft were a source
of great excitement to the excavators in the Athenian Agora, because eight bore the names of
Hipparchos, Megakles, and Aristeides, who are known to have been ostracized from Athens
in 487, 486, and ca. 482 respectively. Since this was the first important group of ostraka
found in the excavations and included the first ostraka to bear the names of men whose dates
of banishment were known, it was a natural assumption at the time that they were inscribed
and cast in the years in which the men were known to have been ostracized. Now that many
thousands have come to light, it is plain that this assumption is not by any means necessarily
correct. The early excavators may be forgiven, however, if their dating showed the zeal of
pioneers. It is equally incorrect to suppose with Francis and Vickers that “it is only the ‘closed
deposits’ [sic] from the Agora which prevent the vast quantities of Themistokles ostraca from
being connected with the period in the late 470s. . . .” Surely no one would now presume
to offer a precise date for any given ostrakon of Themistokles, who was certainly a prime
candidate for ostracism at any time from its inception to his own exile at the end of the 470’s.

Not all ostraka are of equal evidential value, however. It should be obvious that no
Athenian voter would waste his potsherder on someone who had already been ostracized
and was known to be living in exile; thus the known date of a man’s ostracism provides a terminus
ante quem for votes against him. Hipparchos, son of Charmos, was first to be ostracized and is
never heard of after the Persian Wars, thus his ostraka must date to the year 487 B.C. Even
if Megakles, son of Hippokrates, was ostracized twice, votes can hardly have been cast
against him between 486 and 480, when he was serving his period of exile. Xanthippos, son

69 Aristote (Ath. Pol. 22.3) says that the law was first put to use two years after the victory at Marathon, and so
in 488/7.
70 Hipparchos: Agora XXV, nos. 139, 140 = Vanderpool 1946, nos. 4, 10; Megakles: Agora XXV, nos. 633–
635 = Vanderpool 1946, nos. 1–3; Aristeides: Agora XXV, nos. 64–66 = Vanderpool 1946, nos. 12, 14, 15;
pp. 448, 449 below. For the dates, Aristotle, Ath. Pol. 22.4 (Hipparchos); 22.5 (Megakles); 22.7 (Aristeides).
71 Francis and Vickers 1988, p. 145
of Arriphrhon, is last known as general in 478, when he captured Sestos, and must be presumed dead shortly thereafter.\textsuperscript{73} It is highly improbable that any ostrakon were cast against him after his ostracism in 484. Aristeides, son of Lysimachos, is known to have been ostracized \textit{ca.} 482; votes may well have been cast against him in any previous year, but his ostraka are much less likely to date to the 470's, the years of his high repute as one of Athens' leading statesmen during the formative stages of the Delian Confederacy. Among the ostraka from the Rock-cut Shaft, the two of Hipparchos, the three of Megakles, and the three of Aristeides outweigh the evidence of the single ostrakon of Themistokles. The group of ten ostraka from well E 15:6 includes one of Hipparchos, two of Xanthippos, and one of Aristeides, against two of Themistokles;\textsuperscript{74} well D 15:1 produced five ostraka of Xanthippos and one of Themistokles.\textsuperscript{75} Deposits F 19:5 and G 3:1 each contained a single ostrakon of Megakles,\textsuperscript{76} and the meager assemblage from pit Q 20:1 included a single ostrakon of Xanthippos.\textsuperscript{77} Nothing prevents this entire group of 36 ostraka from being dated to the 480's, and nothing favors its being dated to the 470's. This is probably as much as can usefully be said about them in a discussion of chronology.

Three classes of evidence thus far examined all point to the Persian destruction of 480/79 as the most likely date for the closing of the 21 Agora deposits. Of the 16 wells, no fewer than 10 prove to have been put out of use by filling their shafts with masses of dug bedrock, destruction debris, and potter's clay. This in itself suggests a moment of comprehensive disruption in the life of the city. Nine deposits included in their assemblage of pottery black-fired lekythoi or skyphoi which had been painted in the Haimon workshop, and comparison with the Haemonian lekythoi buried at Marathon in 490 B.C. shows that the pots from the Agora were manufactured during the second decade of the century. Eight deposits produced ostraka which should have been inscribed, cast as ballots, discarded, and scattered between 487 and 480 B.C. Taken together, these three bodies of evidence pertain to 17 of the 21 wells and pits. The momentous events of 480/79 coincide well both with the physical characteristics of the stratigraphy and with the chronological indications offered by the pottery and ostraka. Moreover, as we shall see (pp. 416–417 below), the circumstances which caused the closing of the deposits also agree with well-known events in the immediate aftermath of the Persian invasion.

Close scrutiny of the latest pieces from each of the deposits reveals that they fall into two groups, of which the larger, consisting of 13 deposits, has no material more developed than the Haemonian lekythoi and skyphoi and no pottery necessarily later than the ostraka of the 480's. It is characteristic of the smaller group of 8 deposits\textsuperscript{78} that each one includes two or three pieces of black-glazed pottery for which it is difficult to find exact parallels among the other deposits, in that the shapes appear to be in transition, as if they were harbingers of

\textsuperscript{73} Herodotos 9.114–120, and cf. 7.33; Diodoros 11.37.5; Davies 1971, p. 456.

\textsuperscript{74} Hipparchos: \textit{Agora} XXV, no. 141; Xanthippos: \textit{Agora} XXV, nos. 1058, 1059; Aristeides: \textit{Agora} XXV, no. 67; Themistokles: \textit{Agora} XXV, nos. 974, 975; see pp. 440, 442 below.

\textsuperscript{75} Xanthippos: \textit{Agora} XXV, nos. 1060–1064; Themistokles: \textit{Agora} XXV, no. 987; see p. 435 below.

\textsuperscript{76} From F 19:5: P 15023 = \textit{Agora} XXV, no. 638; from G 3:1: P 14490 = \textit{Agora} XXV, no. 637; see pp. 443, 444 below. Both ostraka are published with incorrect proveniences in \textit{Agora} XXV, p. 95.

\textsuperscript{77} P 25979 = \textit{Agora} XXV, no. 1068.

\textsuperscript{78} B 18:6, G 3:1, G 11:3, G 11:8, H 13:5, L 5:2, M 17:4, Q 21:3.
a new generation of pottery manufacture. From the shallow upper dump of well B 18:6 came
the most developed cup of Type C with concave lip. Smaller and more delicate than its
predecessors, the cup, with its upward-sloping foot, forms the transition to the Vicups of the
470's and 460's. In fact, fragments of the earliest Vicups are also to be found in the deposits.
Single pieces in well D 15:1 and the Rock-cut Shaft suggest that the shape was invented just
before 480, but there were also two fragments from well B 18:6 and four from H 13:5. Stemless
cups appear only rarely in the 21 deposits (Table 3 above), but it is interesting to
observe one example from pit G 3:1 and 21 fragments from H 13:5 which find as their closest
parallel the earliest in the series of small Rheneia cups. Similarly, the stemless cup from
well Q 21:3 is closer to the first large stemless cup with inset lip than to any earlier versions of
the shape. Several one-handlers show a similar stage of development both in the banded
variety (G 11:8, H 13:5, and M 17:4) and also in black glaze (H 13:5, Q 21:3). Some with
heavy, torus ring feet and horseshoe handles and others in the varying profiles of their rims
also find their closest parallels in the 470's. The mouths of two globular lekythoi from
G 3:1 and H 13:5 show a clear advance in shape over the two examples from wells E 14:5 and
Q 12:3. The mouth has begun to flare at the top, the rim is rounded, and the upper
handle attachment is fixed below the drip ring. The clearest indication of changing styles
in pottery can be seen in the semiglazed household lekanai because of the large number of
examples in 18 deposits. The rims of these vessels are particularly characteristic; those of the
late Archaic period are tightly rolled and undercut, while those of the early Classical period
are broad and outcurving. Four deposits (B 18:6, G 3:1, H 13:5, and L 5:2) have produced
eighteen examples of a rim which is transitional between these two types, of which there is
only another single published specimen from the Agora. The same signal comes from the
appearance in H 13:5 of two distinctive flat bottoms and central tubes of deep askoi, a shape
of which there are no examples from the Agora in black glaze dating to the Archaic period.

The message from all this evidence is quite plain: 8 of the 21 deposits continued to
gather broken pottery and other debris for some years after the principal group of wells was
closed and sealed. It is of interest to note, however, that only two of these (G 11:3, Q 21:3) had
been functioning sources of water immediately before the Persian Wars. Wells B 18:6 and
G 11:8 had long since been put out of use by the collapse of their bedrock walls, and

79 P 19388 = Agora XII, no. 413.
80 See Agora XII, p. 93, note 32, and pp. 432, 457 below.
81 The fragmentary stemless cups from G 3:1 (p. 444 below) and H 13:5 (p. 457 below) compare most closely
with P 15015 = Agora XII, no. 456.
82 Compare P 28779 (Q 21:3) with P 16004 = Agora XII, no. 469.
83 For a banded fragment from H 13:5 (p. 457 below) and another from M 17:4 (p. 462 below), cf. Agora XII,
no. 738; for the banded fragment from G 11:8 (p. 452 below), cf. Agora XII, no. 741; for the black one-handler
from Q 21:3 (p. 468 below) and two fragments from H 13:5 (p. 457 below), cf. Agora XII, no. 748.
84 For the fragments from G 3:1 (p. 445 below) and H 13:5 (p. 458 below), cf. Agora XII, no. 1103.
85 For three rims from B 18:6 (p. 432 below), one rim each from G 3:1 (p. 445 below) and L 5:2 (p. 460
below), and thirteen rims from H 13:5 (p. 458 below), cf. Agora XII, no. 1788.
86 For the fragmentary deep askoi from H 13:5 (p. 458 below), cf. Agora XII, no. 1166, the earliest published
example from the Agora. The eighth deposit for which the closing date should be brought into the 470's is
well G 11:3, on the basis of the black-figured skyphos P 12769 (= Agora XXIII, no. 1542), connected with the
Laicitcut Group.
well M 17:4 was an unfinished shaft abandoned at a depth of 2.50 m. At the time when their dumped fillings were deposited, they differed little from G 3:1 and L 5:2, which were both shallow, amorphous pits; moreover, H 13:5, the abortive channel to extend the Great Drain, was unlike the others only in that it had a larger exposed area on the surface. All six were simply convenient places to dispose of the unsightly debris from the destruction of neighboring buildings. It was no doubt only the greater capacity of the long trench H 13:5 which caused it to fill more slowly and thus to have more material among the latest pieces than any of the others (41 fragments of a total 1,542).

Everything we know about the destruction of Athens from literary sources agrees perfectly with the chronological indications of the pottery from the Agora deposits. Herodotos’ account of the Persian occupation of Athens is detailed and specific with respect to the chronology of events. The battle of Salamis coincided with the great festival of the Eleusinian Mysteries in late Boedromion. Immediately after the defeat of the Persian navy, Xerxes departed for Asia, and Mardonios, in command of the army, withdrew from Athens to winter in Thessaly (8.11.3). The Athenians thereupon returned to their homes and received Mardonios’ messengers at Athens the following spring (8.136, 140 ff.). Later in the campaigning season of that year, Mardonios invaded Attica a second time, took Athens without opposition, and found the city deserted. Herodotos (9.3) notes particularly that ten months had elapsed between Xerxes’ capture of Athens the previous summer and Mardonios’ return early in the summer of 479 B.C. When he learned that the Peloponnesian forces were on the march, Mardonios withdrew from Attica in order to meet the combined armies of the Greek states on the Boiotian plain, where the terrain was more favorable for the Persian cavalry. It was only then, at their withdrawal from Athens in mid-summer 479 B.C., that the Persians destroyed the city:

\[
\text{πρὸν η τούς μὲτὰ Παυσανίου ἔς τὸν Ἱσθμὸν ἐσβαλέν, ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθηνάς, καὶ εἰ κοῦ τὶ ὅρθον ἢν τῶν τείχεων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἴρων, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχόσας.}
\]

Before Pausanias’ forces reached the Isthmos, he withdrew from the district, but he burned Athens first, and if anything at all was left standing of the walls, or the houses, or the temples, he hurled it down and reduced it to heaps of rubble. (Herodotos 9.13.2)

By the end of the campaigning season of 479 B.C., the Greek land forces had repulsed Mardonios’ army at Plataia, and the Greek navies had pursued the retreating Persian ships across the Aegean to fight another victorious engagement beneath the cliffs of Mt. Mycale. Thereafter, the Athenian contingent continued northward to Sestos on the Hellespont,

87 Herodotos (8.65) implies that the battle was fought a day or so after the great procession of the mystai to Eleusis, on Boedromion 19 (IG II² 1078, lines 18–21). Polyainos (3.11.2) dated it to Boedromion 20; Plutarch (Camill. 19.6) says “about the twenties” of Boedromion (cf. Phoc. 28; Schol. Aristophanes, Frogs 324; but Plutarch [Themist. 15] puts Dikaios’ vision on the day of the battle). See Mikalson 1975, p. 59; Deubner 1932, p. 72, note 2. The known solar eclipse of October 2, 480 B.C. caused the Spartan Kleombrotas to retreat from the Isthmos, apparently shortly after the battle (Herodotos 9.10), and provides the terminus ante quem. The most likely date is Boedromion 24 or 25 = September 27 or 28. See Busolt 1895, pp. 702, note 2; 704, note; cf. Dinsmoor 1934, pp. 443–444. The year is the archonship of Kalliades = 480/79: Herodotos 8.51; Marmor Parium, ForHist 239, ep. 51; Diodoros 11.1.

88 With Herodotos’ account, compare Diodoros 11.28.5–6.
where they besieged and captured the city and spent the winter of 479/8. Thucydides gives a succinct and vivid narrative of the situation at Athens immediately following the military campaigns of that year:

"Αθηναίων δὲ τὸ κοινὸν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξ τῆς χώρας ἀπῆλθον, διεκομίζοντο εὔθεις δὲν ὑπεξέθεντο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περιόρισαν κατασκευήν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνουκοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τείχη τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέα εὐθυκριά καὶ οὐκαί αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ ἐπεπάχεσαν, ὁλγαί δὲ περῆσαν, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνωσαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν.

Meanwhile the Athenian people, after the barbarians had departed from their country, at once began to carry over their children and women, and such property as survived, from the places where they had deposited them, and they prepared to rebuild the city and the walls. For only short stretches of the circuit wall had been left standing, and most of the houses were in ruins; though a few survived, in which the Persian nobles themselves were quartered. (Thucydides 1.89.3)

From the descriptions of Herodotus and Thucydides, it is clear that the Athenians returned home to a scene of utter devastation. Hardly a building in the city appears to have survived the destruction; moreover the Persians had intentionally demolished the city's circuit of fortifications, which left Athens indefensible and vulnerable to enemy attack. Both the Spartans and Themistokles at once recognized the critical importance of the Athenian fortifications. There follows in Thucydides' account (1.90–92) the series of diplomatic maneuvers whereby the Spartans sought to dupe the Athenians into leaving their city unfortified and Themistokles sought time to rebuild the walls of Athens. While Themistokles pursued his embassy of deception at Sparta, the Athenians at home were to devote all their efforts to reconstructing the fortifications, until the wall was of defensible height.

tειχίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημεῖ οὐκ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ γυναικαῖς καὶ παιδίσι, ψευδομένοις μητὶ ιδίου μητὶ δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος δὲν τις ώραλα ἔσται ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθαιροῦντας πάντα. . . . καὶ δῆλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἐτὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντωτῶν λίθων ύπόχειναι καὶ οὐ ἴδευσαμένων ἔστιν ἀλλ' ἓκαστὸν ποτὲ προσέφερον, πολλαὶ τε στήλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθων εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν.

The whole population of the city was to work on the walls, the Athenians themselves, their wives, and their children, sparing no building either private or public which might be of any use for the work but dismantling everything. . . . Even to this day the construction shows plainly that it was built in haste; for the foundations are laid of all kinds of stones, and in some places not even fitted together, but just as they handed each one to the builders; and many gravestones and worked blocks were put in with the rest. (Thucydides 1.90.3; 93.2)

Thucydides is quite explicit that what the Persians had reduced to piles of debris the Athenians themselves now ransacked for building stone in their haste to reconstruct the city's defenses. Although the historian states specifically that the wall was built in a short time (1.93.1), nevertheless Themistokles' delaying tactics at Sparta were protracted enough to become awkward (1.90.5). No matter how swiftly the wall arose, the period of diplomacy and
construction must have consumed several months of 478 B.C. In Thucydides’ narrative, these events are described prior to Aristeides’ adroit statesmanship, which enabled the Athenians to wrest the leadership of the Greek states away from the Spartans and which led directly to the first assessment of contributions for the continuation of the war (1.95–96). This last event is dated to the archonship of Timosthenes (478/7), in the third year after the battle of Salamis, presumably in the spring of 477 B.C. Thus nearly two years elapsed before the Athenians were free to undertake a systematic rebuilding of private houses and public buildings: the security of the city depended on erecting the walls first. Scavaging the ruins in haste for building stone, disposing of the useless debris, sweeping the wreckage of household belongings into any available hole in the ground, this is the process which created the dumped fills of smashed pottery and broken-up building materials in so many Agora deposits. Carried out over a period of several years, it also accounts for the scattering of pieces datable to the 470’s, when the greater part of the pottery by far was made and used before the invasion and was undoubtedly broken up in the summer of 479 B.C.

One aspect of the stratigraphy calls for further comment: the intentional filling of functioning wells, evidently for the purpose of terminating their use as sources of water. It is worth noting that Mardonios’ troops at Plataia blocked up the spring which provided water for all the Greek armed forces (Herodotos 9.49). This was plainly a deliberate tactic of warfare; attacking or besieging armies not infrequently resorted to such an attempt to destroy the enemy’s water supply. In this passage, Herodotos employs the verb συγγράννυμι to mean that they heaped up earth so as to choke off the Greeks’ flow of spring water. The verb occurs several times in Herodotos and in other authors specifically in the sense of spoiling the water supply, wells, or springs; it is used also to describe the filling up of deep pits, trenches, or the burying of corpses. The same verb appears in Herodotos’ description of the destruction of Athens (9.13), apparently in the more general sense of heaping up the burnt rubble of ruined buildings, but the Greek ear may possibly have heard also an allusion to the more specific usage of the verb to describe the closing of wells. The ten Athenian wells filled with dug bedrock, building debris, and potter’s clay were purposefully closed, but by whose hands it is, of course, impossible to say. The rampaging demolition squads of Mardonios’ army may well have done some of the work; or, since the Persians were known to have attacked the Greek water supply at Plataia later that summer, the returning Athenians may have feared a similar Persian tactic in the destruction of Athens. The sequel shows, however, that many an Athenian householder found it prudent to abandon his well to the rubbish of his ruined home.

89 For the same events, cf. Plutarch, Themist. 19.1–2. Diódoros (11.40) puts his account of Themistókles’ embassy and the rebuilding of the walls of Athens under the archonship of Timósthenes (478/7).
91 See e.g. Xenophon, Hell. 3.1.18.
92 With Herodotos 9.49, cf. 4.120, 140 and Xenophon, loc. cit., used of spoiling the water supply. For the same verb, referring to filling pits and trenches and to burying corpses, see Herodotos 1.68, 7.225; Plutarch, Alex. 77.6; Diódoros 19.107. For the meaning to heap up a road block, see Herodotos 8.71.
93 Cf. also 8.144.
THE DATES OF THE CIVIC BUILDINGS

The foregoing analysis of the ceramic assemblage which resulted from the Persian destruction of Athens now enables us to reconsider the chronology of the public buildings along the west side of the Agora. The dates at which the principal civic buildings were built have obvious bearing upon the architectural development of the market square; moreover, the dating of these buildings, like that of the pottery, has recently been questioned by the chronological revisionists. The dating of architectural monuments before the Classical period is notoriously fraught with difficulty. There is virtually no Archaic building of which the dating has not been subject to scholarly disagreement (if not to polemical controversy); this is precisely because of the lack of fixed points in the early history of Greek architecture. At Athens, the problem is compounded by the general horizon of destruction in 480/79. If a building was constructed before that date, the archaeological record ought to preserve some evidence of its destruction at the hands of the Persians, unless the literary accounts are greatly exaggerated. If an Archaic building is known to have existed in the Classical period, there should be some indication that it was subsequently rebuilt or replaced by a successor.

In the case of buildings which have been stripped down to their foundations and to which only occasionally can fragments of architectural superstructure be assigned, there is essentially only one source of information for the dates of their construction, use, alteration, and abandonment. These dates must be inferred from fragmentary pottery, buried by chance in layers of stratigraphy that have some specific physical relationship to the architectural remains; the latest pieces of pottery provide a terminus post quem for the building activity. The choice of stone, the style of construction, the tooling of the stonework, the use or lack of clamps and dowels, the reuse of older material, even the design of architectural members, all these criteria offer only the broadest approximation of chronology, and by no amount of special pleading do they acquire greater evidential value than the pottery. On this principle, the excavators assigned initial dates to all the architectural remains on the west side of the Agora. The dates of the buildings were all derived from the chronology of the associated pottery; it is a failure of method to alter those dates without a detailed reexamination of the pottery that provided the original chronology.

The public buildings here in question are three in number: the Stoa Basileios at the northwest entrance to the Agora, the Old Bouleuterion, and the complex of Building F under the Tholos. The last two, lying adjacent to each other at the southwest corner of the square (Fig. 2), are closely interrelated by the stratigraphy. The builders of the Old Bouleuterion set down heavy foundations of Akropolis limestone through the preexisting Archaic ground level, which had served Building F on the north and east (Figs. 3, 4, Sections A–D). They


96 For previous discussion of these buildings, see Shear 1971, pp. 243–255; Shear 1975, pp. 365–370 (Stoa Basileios); Thompson 1937, pp. 127–135 (Old Bouleuterion); Thompson 1940, pp. 15–39 (Complex of Building F).
then dumped masses of loose, gray, dug bedrock into the open square of the foundations to establish the floor level inside the building. Part of this original building fill chanced to survive at the southeast corner of the Bouleuterion, where it was protected by the later Ionic stoa of the Hellenistic Metroon. Here, the excavators were able to examine the earlier stratigraphy within the building in two places: a small test just inside the southern foundation (Fig. 3, Section B) and a larger trench, about 8 meters long, carried northward from the center line of the south room in the Hellenistic building for the full width of its porch (Fig. 3, Section A). The building fill proved to have been deposited in three distinct layers of crushed bedrock separated by stone chips and dust from the working of blocks of pale yellow poros. These working chips were spread to a depth of 0.02 m. over the whole area and had compacted into a smooth, firm surface.

The fragmentary pottery recovered from the three layers of building fill within the foundations is listed after the deposit summaries (H 10:7; pp. 472-473 below), and the assemblage presents an interesting contrast with that from the 21 deposits which we have come to recognize as characteristic of the Persian destruction. Although many of the deposits include a scattering of earlier material, mostly Protoattic, the early wares from the Old Bouleuterion comprise 383 fragments (35.5 percent of the total), and they range in date from Late Helladic down through Protogeometric, Late Geometric, and Protoattic to the early 6th century, with a handful of Protocorinthian and Corinthian. As in the 21 deposits, stemmed cups (36) outnumber skyphoi (27), and among the skyphoi, those of Corinthian type greatly

![Diagram of the Old Bouleuterion and Building F](image-url)
Fig. 3. A. East–west section, looking south, through porch of Hellenistic Metroon and Old Bouleuterion
B. North–south section, looking west, through Old Bouleuterion and Building F
Fig. 4. C. East-west section, looking north, through north wing of Building F
D. North-south section, looking west, through Building F
exceed those of Attic type (23 to 4). Most conspicuous is the absence of cups of Type C, the single most numerous shape in the black-glazed assemblage (Table 3 above) during the first two decades of the 5th century. There are only two fragments of Type C cups from the building fill, and pieces of 14 black-figured cups and 17 black-glazed fragments are a generation earlier than anything in the 21 deposits. With respect to the lower limit of the date, only 47 fragments out of a total of 1,086 can be dated to the last three decades of the 6th century, and 16 of these have been marked in the list as the latest pieces. Half of the latest pieces find close parallels among the 21 deposits. The foot of a banded oinochoe compares with one in well R 12:1, and the mouth of a hydria with one in well G 11:3. The two fragments of banded one-handlers are similar to two of the examples from well Q 12:3. Three feet of stemmed dishes find their best comparanda in wells Q 12:3 and E 14:5. The flanged rim of a lidded lekanis is finer and a bit earlier than the piece in well E 15:6. The rim of a kados is like one from G 11:3, and the rim of a semiglazed lekanis is comparable to an example from the Rock-cut Shaft (G 6:3). It should be emphasized, however, that all these comparisons are to vessels that belong to the great early mass, not to the latest fraction, of the pottery from the 21 Persian deposits. In fact, there is not a single sherd from the building fill of the Old Bouleuterion which needs to have been manufactured after 500 B.C.

Since the Old Bouleuterion was set close against the slope of the Kolonos Agoraios, it took considerable grading and filling to establish level ground in front of the principal southern façade of the building. At the southwest corner the natural bedrock was cut down and smoothed off to form the ground level, whereas at the southeast corner up to 0.70 m. of fill had to be dumped in to bring the grade up to the same point. That fill consisted once again of loose, crushed bedrock dumped directly over the earlier Archaic ground level to the required depth and carefully surfaced with 0.05 m. of clean, brown clay. The excavator described the ground level thus formed in front of the building as beautifully smooth and level and much trodden, more like an interior floor than an exterior grade.97 The distinctive filling of dug bedrock surfaced with clay was encountered at about the same elevation in various places between the Tholos and the Hellenistic Metroon: beneath the passage leading to the New Bouleuterion, below its Hellenistic Propylon, and in all four trenches opened up north of the Tholos in order to explore the northern rooms of its Archaic predecessor, Building F. This artificial filling, forming the ground level in front of the Old Bouleuterion, covered a maximum area extending 13.50 meters north to south and about 18 meters east to west. The ruins of the exterior north wall of Building F and all four rooms (A–D) of its north wing were found buried beneath this same filling, which stopped abruptly at the north face of the south wall of the wing (Figs. 3 and 4, Sections B, C, D). From this stratigraphic evidence, Homer Thompson correctly concluded, in his publication of the Archaic structures, that the builders of the Old Bouleuterion had created more space in front of its main façade by dismantling the north wing of Building F.98 Building F was thus the older building of the two and was superseded in part, but not completely, by the construction of the Bouleuterion.

Thompson's publication, however, does not sufficiently stress three important stratigraphic characteristics of the ground level in front of the Old Bouleuterion. Although smooth

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98 Thompson 1940, p. 27.
and hard in places to the north and east, over the western half of Room A and south of the Hellenistic Propylon (Fig. 2) the surface was described by the excavator as ill-defined and much disturbed, covered in this area by much ash and traces of burning. Most important, the excavator specifically described the surface of the bedrock layer as spread with chips of yellow poros with worked and finished surfaces, obviously from the breaking up of building blocks. The excavation records refer repeatedly to poros fragments with worked surfaces, some of them even stuccoed, a finish that was only applied to the completed masonry of standing buildings. Embedded in the same layer above Room A were large pieces of broken Archaic roof tiles and two Doric column capitals of poros stone, both of which had already been trimmed down for reuse before being discarded.99 Just south of the Hellenistic Propylon, there came to light a tumbled mass of broken poros building blocks, lying on the ancient ground level; although the fragments were quite rough and irregular, they were recognizably pieces of wall blocks. The fill of dug bedrock just south of the Old Bouleuterion (Fig. 3, Section B, layer 12100) included, as elsewhere, many working chips of poros stone, among them several with worked and polished surfaces. Most significant, however, are two fragments broken from finished Doric triglyphs, with slots at the sides for insertion of separate metopes. Two other fragments preserve the edges of thin metope panels of fine, hard, pale tan poros, and their fronts are surfaced with fine, white stucco. Although the evidence here described came to light in different parts of the area and was found at different times, even in different seasons, the excavator, who carefully recorded each occurrence of the working chips with finished surfaces and provided cross references to all the others, drew the inference, which is surely correct, that the reworking of old blocks indicated the building or rebuilding of a nearby structure.

With respect to the date at which poros building blocks were recut or broken up in front of the Bouleuterion, the fragmentary pottery from the dug-bedrock fill provides an interesting comparison with the 21 deposits previously examined.101 Like the pottery from the building fill within the foundations, the percentage of early material is unusually high, 381 fragments comprising 26.6 percent of the total. Of a total assemblage of 1,432 fragments in six separate

99 A 756, Doric capital: p.H. 0.254; p.W. 0.635; H. of abacus 0.122 m. The start of the shaft, as also two sides of the abacus with part of the echinus, was cut away in antiquity. Wear from traffic subsequently occurred on these cut surfaces. Profile of echinus flaring and almost straight. Soft yellow poros, no stucco remains.

A 757, Doric capital: p.H. 0.215; H. of abacus 0.11; W. of abacus 0.56 m. Less than half remains; the top of the shaft was cut away in antiquity. The whole is much worn and rubbed by traffic. Very flat echinus terminating in an almost vertical shoulder and angular neck. The mid part of the top of the abacus over a square ca. 0.42 m. on a side has a relieving surface 0.003 m. higher than the outer part. In the middle of the top is a rectangular cutting 0.075 m. deep; ca. 0.12 × 0.14 m. in plan. Soft yellow poros; no stucco remains.

100 Section B, it will be noted, extends to both north and south the section originally published by Thompson (1937, p. 131, fig. 71); he correctly emphasizes the significance of layer 12, the top surface of which formed the grade level in front of the Old Bouleuterion. That section has now been reproduced by Francis and Vickers (1988, p. 159, fig. 5); according to its caption it illustrates “the area between the Old Bouleuterion and the ‘Metroon,”’ and the authors reinterpret the stratigraphy there illustrated, which they state to be “just north of the Old Bouleuterion.” On the contrary, both their section and Figure 3, Section B show the stratigraphy just south of the Old Bouleuterion and the Hellenistic Metroon, as Thompson’s original caption clearly states. Francis and Vickers, having misplaced the section by 35 meters to the north, proposed new dates for all the layers, in order “to resolve the problems which arise from” Thompson’s section.

101 Deposit H 10–11:1, lower fill, pp. 473–475 below.
lots, 69 pieces can be dated to the last three decades of the 6th century, and 32 pieces to the first two decades of the 5th century. Most of the latter group find close parallels among the 21 Persian deposits: for example, two rims of black-figured palmette-cups are close to one from the Rock-cut Shaft (Pl. 82:d). In contrast to the pottery from the construction fill inside the foundations, one third of the latest pieces are rims of Type C cups; ten with concave lips and one with plain rim compare closely with two examples from well Q 12:3. A banded oinochoe is similar to one from well E 14:5; two rims of stemmed dishes are best paralleled by a pot from well Q 12:3; and five fragments of household kadoi find comparanda in well G 11:3. Nine fragments among the latest pieces must be dated in the decade 490–480 B.C. The foot of a cup-skýphos is more developed than the specimen from the Marathon tumulus\textsuperscript{102} and finds its best parallel in well Q 12:3. Two one-handlers, one banded and one black, compare with others in deposits H 12:15 and H 13:5. They must date shortly before the destruction of Athens, to judge from their place in the development of the shape, while four rims and two feet of household lekanai have profiles like those inscribed with ostraka of the 480’s.

Since the pottery was gathered from six separate places where the ground level for the Bouleuterion appeared, it is of interest to note an exact correlation between the condition of the hard ground surface and the date of the pottery. Without exception, the sherds datable to the 5th century were found above the rooms of Building F where the surface of the layer had been disturbed by building activity. Immediately south of the Bouleuterion (Fig. 3, Section B, layer 12) and beneath the Hellenistic Propylon, where the surface was a hard, level, clay floor, none of the pottery dates beyond the end of the 6th century. The stratification over Room B of Building F bears out this observation (Fig. 3, Section B, layer 2), for here the excavator encountered in two places a separate layer of poros working chips, with finished surfaces, above the ground level of the bedrock fill.\textsuperscript{103} Although these small patches of stratification yielded only 256 fragments, the chronological disposition of the latest pieces was the same as for the bedrock fill below: 13 pieces datable \textit{ca.} 500 B.C. and 8 sherds belonging to the first quarter of the 5th century. Especially notable among the last group are two concave lips of Type C cups, best paralleled by one of the latest cups in well Q 12:3, and two rims of black one-handlers, which, in relation to the development of the shape, should be placed near the time of the Persian destruction. Thus the physical characteristics of the stratigraphy combine with the chronological indications of the associated pottery to provide incontrovertible evidence for the early history of the Athenian Bouleuterion. Its foundations were laid and packed with construction debris in the years about 500 B.C. At the same time, the north wing of Building F was demolished in order to create a broad open court before the Council House, and the whole area was adjusted to the grade of the new building. That ground level was scrupulously maintained for twenty years, and so it was that the original surface came to be damaged and disturbed at the time of the destruction of the building in 479 B.C. The broken building blocks with finished surfaces show that the ruins were scavaged in 478 B.C. to provide stone for the fortifications, and the masses of working chips suggest that the building was subsequently rebuilt almost immediately to serve the functions of the Council.

\textsuperscript{102} Athens, N.M. 1041 = \textit{CVA}, Athens 1 [Greece 1], pl. 13 [21]:3, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 568.
\textsuperscript{103} Deposit H 10–11:1, upper fill, pp. 475–476 below.
The eventual fate of the southern part of Building F paralleled exactly the history of the Bouleuterion next door. That the colonnaded courtyard and the southern wing continued to be used after the northern rooms had been dismantled is shown by the successive floor levels. Whereas there were only two floors in Room A and a single floor in Rooms B, C, and D of the northern wing, the excavator was able to distinguish six superimposed habitation floors on the north side of the court and five in Room E of the southern wing (Fig. 4, Section D). The stratigraphy of Room E leaves no room for doubt that the southern part of the building sustained heavy damage sometime after the northern wing had been removed. The mud-brick superstructure of the walls was demolished to floor level, and when the southern exterior wall was subsequently reconstructed, the builders increased the width of its polygonal socle by 0.25 m. The northern long wall, separating the courtyard from the southern rooms, was likewise torn out to its lowest foundation, and the two highest clay floors of Room E passed without break across the line of the earlier wall. This disposition of the walls and floors of Room E shows clearly that the southern part of the building was severely damaged, then partially rebuilt and put back in use after the destruction. The excavator first detected the north wall of Room E as a trench, some 0.40 m. deep in places, from which most of the stonework of the wall socle had been robbed out (Fig. 4, Section D). The pillaging trench had been refilled with a mass of ashes and burnt debris tumbled together with disintegrated mud brick and many pieces of fallen clay plaster from the finished surface of the demolished wall. All this material had been sealed by the first of two clay floors belonging to the partially rebuilt southern wing of Building F.

Recovered also from the plundered wall trench was a small amount of broken pottery, the chronological indications of which agree well with other layers of the stratigraphic sequence in Building F. Although much the greater part of the 199 sherds consisted of unidentifiable wall fragments in black glaze or plain household ware, six pieces could be securely dated to the first two decades of the 5th century, and four of these to 490–480 B.C. Of special interest is the fragment of a black-figured lekythos by the Haimon Painter which has the narrow shoulder and slender, cylindrical upper body characteristic of his work in the decade after the Marathon burial. Similar in date is a black-figured plate which finds its best parallels from Attic sites other than the Agora. Pieces of a kados and jug of plain household ware probably came from the same cupboard as complete specimens from G 11:3, the later well of Building F, a few meters to the west. The feet of two semiglazed lekanai have profiles closely comparable to pieces inscribed with ostraka of the 480's. The evidence suggests a sequence of events analogous to that detected in so many of the well deposits studied above. The walls of Building F were demolished to the ground, and some were rebuilt soon after with raised floors inside the building, but a principal interior wall was heavily plundered and its trench filled with debris from cleaning up after the destruction. The pottery shows that this occurred at the same time as the wells behind the building, and elsewhere in the Agora, were closed and put out of use.

105 Deposit H 11:3, p. 477 below.
106 P 13266 = Agora XXIII, no. 1182.
107 Cf. Eleusis, inv. nos. 905+937 (for rim pattern); Athens, N.M. 11558 (for profile); Callipolitis-Feytmans 1974, p. 394, pl. 86:2; p. 397, fig. 71:12.
The history of Building F is precisely corroborated by the evidence of its southern annex, the long, narrow structure designated Building J (Fig. 2). Excavation beneath the small, central rooms revealed that the building had a relatively short life-span divided into two phases, before it suffered serious damage and after it underwent prompt reconstruction. Homer Thompson's brief published account of Building J rightly emphasizes the importance of the two superimposed floor levels and derives dates for the two phases of the building from the pottery found under each of the floors. From beneath the original clay floor came 793 fragments of which 185 (23.3 percent) ranged from Middle Helladic through the early 6th century. Of the latest pieces, 38 could be dated ca. 500 B.C., and 12 sherds descended beyond the turn of the century, early in the period 500-480. Among the latter group may be noted rim fragments of a black-figured cup, of a black-glazed pelike, and of a black-glazed mug. Two saltcellars are comparable to examples from the Rock-cut Shaft, while two rims and a foot of stemmed dishes are similar to a vessel from well Q 12:3. The pottery thus suggests a date for the construction of Building J just after the completion of the Old Bouleuterion, in the first years of the 5th century B.C.

The later raised floor of Building J was surfaced with fine, reddish clay, which covered a filling of miscellaneous debris including clay, gravel, fallen stones and mud bricks, and quantities of smashed pottery, conditions which are reminiscent of the dumped fills in the 21 Persian deposits. The assemblage of pottery consists of 1,028 fragments, of which 41 are datable to the first two decades of the 5th century, while the 21 latest pieces (see pp. 479-480 below) were made in the years ca. 480 B.C. Of particular interest is the foot of a black-figured skyphos for which the closest parallel is a skyphos in the manner of the Haimon Painter from well H 12:15. Closely contemporary is the foot of a black-glazed skyphos of Attic type. The shapes represented most frequently are the stemmed cups, of which 52 fragments are divided nearly equally between black figured and black glazed, and the black-figured lekythoi, 21 of which were counted in the lot, including 3 belonging to the Class of Athens 581, ii and 1 palmette-lekythos. Among the latest pieces are no fewer than 15 rims of Type C cups which bear closest resemblance to one of the latest cups of Type C from well Q 12:3. The rims of two cup-skyphoi are very similar to one from well E 14:5, and the foot of a banded one-handler is like the latest from well H 12:15. Particularly notable is the broad, down-curving rim of a household lekane of transitional type, close in profile to those from the pits of debris G 3:1, H 13:5, and L 5:2. The presence of a vessel of this type under the raised floor of Building J suggests, as in the debris pits, that the clean-up and rebuilding operations took place early in the 470's, two or three years after the destruction of the city.

The Old Bouleuterion and Building F, two important public buildings at the southwest corner of the Agora, prove to be closely interrelated stratigraphically. The characteristics of the stratigraphy leave no doubt that both sustained extensive damage at the same time and that both were subsequently rebuilt within a short period. The pottery assemblage associated with the construction, damage, and rebuilding of both the Old Bouleuterion and the complex of Building F ties the events of their history to the closing of the 21 wells and pits in the Agora. There can be no question that such widespread destruction should be ascribed to the

108 See Thompson 1940, pp. 34-38.
109 Deposit H 12:18, pp. 477-480 below.
Persian sack of Athens in 479 B.C.: the pottery offers not a single sherd to support a date for the original construction of the Old Bouleuterion in the late 460's, as the chronological revisionists have recently opined,\textsuperscript{110} and the history of 5th-century Athens offers no other occasion to explain such extensive destruction and rapid repair of public buildings.

Much the same picture emerges from the remains of the Stoa Basileios, but in this case the fabric of the structure has survived in better condition, so that pieces of its superstructure can be readily identified. The date of the original construction is indicated by two pieces of evidence. One of the 21 deposits already examined, pit L 5:2, was located beneath the surface of the Panathenaic Way some fifty-five meters directly east of the Stoa Basileios. The contents of the deposit include, among other architectural debris, six broken pieces of Doric columns and one fragmentary Doric capital, all of which belonged originally to the interior order of the stoa.\textsuperscript{111} The interior columns had an unusually narrow lower diameter, 0.448 m., and unusually slender proportions. They were made of a distinctive soft, yellow poros that was also used for other parts of the superstructure; the columns were carved with 16 shallow flutes and finished with fine, white stucco. In all three of these characteristics, dimensions, material, and finish, the fragments from L 5:2 are identical with the lower part of an interior column shaft still standing in the stoa.\textsuperscript{112} The discovery of these pieces in a pit of debris attributable to the Persian destruction provides formal proof that the Stoa Basileios was a building of late Archaic date, constructed some years at least before the Persian Wars.

The second line of evidence bearing on the date of construction consists of the ceramic material recovered from the building fill of the stoa. A detailed presentation of this material from the complex stratigraphy both inside and outside the building goes far beyond the scope of the present study and will form an important part of the definitive publication of the Stoa Basileios, which is now in preparation. For that reason, no comprehensive listing of the pottery from the stoa has been included here in the deposit summaries: rather a brief outline of the ceramic analysis will suggest the salient results and will usefully anticipate its complete documentation in the publication of the stoa.

Within the foundations of the stoa, the building fill formed two distinct layers, of which the lower, beginning at the level of the bottom of the stylobate, consisted of brown earth, red clay, and much dug bedrock. Throughout this fill were many working chips of poros, as well as larger hunks of the same soft, yellow stone used for all the superstructure. From the lower building fill, a total of 1,089 fragments of pottery was recovered, and the group as a whole bears significant resemblance to the pottery from the building fill within the foundations of the Old Bouleuterion. The incidence of early wares is once again strikingly high, 409 pieces or 37.6 percent of the total. The shape represented by the most examples (19) is again the stemmed cup, but of the 7 rims of Type C cups, only one is to be dated among the latest pieces. The 20 latest pieces bring the lower limit of the assemblage to ca. 500 B.C. Among these may be noted fragments of a black-figured krater and of 2 black-figured skyphoi. In black glaze are 5 skyphos rims of Attic type and pieces of a Type C cup, of a cup-skyphos, and of 3 stemmed dishes. Part of the original construction debris of the stoa was formed

\textsuperscript{110} See note 94 above.
\textsuperscript{111} Listed below, p. 460.
\textsuperscript{112} See Shear 1971, p. 244; pl. 48:a.
outside the building along its front step. Here a thin layer of compacted dust and chips from working yellow poros covered a deeper layer, as much as 0.25 m. in places, of poros chips mixed with earth, stones, and some dug bedrock. This layer also covered the footing trench along the krepidoma, likewise filled with poros chips, where it came to light under the north and south porches. The pottery from the layer of poros working chips consists of 303 fragments, of which the latest 11 pieces again suggest a lower limit of ca. 500 B.C. for the original construction of the building. Notable among the latest material are pieces of 3 skypoi of Attic type, of 6 stemmed dishes, and of a saltcellar.

That the Stoa Basileios incurred violent damage early in its history is manifest in the fabric of the building itself. Pieces of its interior columns were broken and buried in one of the pits of debris (L 5:2) closed just after the Persian destruction (see p. 402 above). That the damaged interior columns were replaced by others in the subsequent reconstruction is obvious from the foundations within the building. As originally built, the stoa had only two interior columns, the foundations for which were preserved below the floor level. As the building was reconstructed after the Persian Wars, the number of interior columns increased from two to four,\textsuperscript{113} ranged in a row along the central axis to support the ridge pole of the roof. Such major alteration to the principal roof supports cannot have been carried out unless the roof had been completely demolished. As foundations for three of the four new interior columns, the 5th-century builders reused partly worked Doric capitals, evidently discarded from some interrupted building project and now placed so that their recut abaci formed plinths beneath the columns in the stoa.

For the date of reconstruction, one might logically have turned to the upper layer of building fill within the stoa. The composition of this layer was in every way identical to the lower building fill, except that it contained heavy concentrations of poros working chips and stone dust around the four interior column plinths and clear evidence along the stylobate of the fluting and finishing of new columns to replace the damaged originals. The ceramic material from this layer shows that it was originally deposited when the building was first constructed, but the upper fill was disturbed not only by the builders who reconstructed the stoa after the Persian Wars but also by those who carried out various alterations in the last quarter of the 5th century. Thus, of a total of 823 fragments, the bulk of the pottery is late Archaic, while 23 pieces are datable ca. 500 B.C. A scattering of 24 fragments, however, from all parts of the upper building fill, descend through the whole of the 5th century in the following numbers: 1 piece from the first quarter; 4 pieces from the second quarter; 9 pieces from the third quarter; and 10 pieces from the fourth quarter. Clearly, this kind of evidence provides no information about the specific date for rebuilding the stoa after the Persian destruction. Fortunately, the stratigraphy in front of the building, and especially beneath the later south porch, provides more precise evidence for the post-Persian rebuilding. The layer of poros working chips from the original construction, referred to above, was everywhere covered by the careful surfacing of hard, pebbly red clay which formed the grade level in front of the stoa. This ground surface was maintained, throughout the first quarter of the 5th century, in much the same way as the ground level south of the Old Bouleuterion, and during this time no resurfacing of the grade was carried out. The first layer of earth allowed to

\textsuperscript{113} Shear 1971, loc. cit. and p. 245, fig. 1.
gather over the original ground level had a hard surface of distinctive red earth, in which many bits of broken pottery were embedded. Under the later south porch, this layer was found to cover the step of the stoa, and here its top surface was covered with poros chips and dust, plainly from the working of stone. Since the layer covered the step of the stoa, the working chips cannot be attributed to its original construction, for surely the original builders would have left the step free of debris. The working chips should then be assigned to the post-Persian rebuilding of the stoa, and the latest pottery in the layer should indicate the date of that event. The layer yielded 796 pottery fragments, of which 54 could be dated to the second quarter of the 5th century, with a lower limit ca. 460 B.C.

Once again the pattern of Archaic construction, severe damage, and subsequent rebuilding strikes a familiar chord. It is plain that the principal civic buildings on the west side of the Agora were all standing and in use by ca. 500 B.C., and all show signs of heavy damage in the conflagration which leveled the city in 479 B.C. In the archaeological record, the sequel shows the same priorities that the historical record describes. The ruins were first pillaged for building stone to construct the fortifications; thereafter, the Old Bouleuterion and parts of the complex of Building F were hastily rebuilt, no doubt to provide the city with a seat of government for the Council and magistrates. During the second quarter of the century, Athens gradually arose from the ashes of its Archaic past. By the late 460's, the Stoa Basileios had been rebuilt along its original lines, like the Bouleuterion, and the first new public buildings, the Tholos and the Stoa Poikile, took their places in the market square to herald the next generation in the architectural growth of the civic center. Such is the history of these monuments which emerges from the evidence of the stratigraphy and of the pottery buried in its layers; at all points the pottery is dated by comparison with the massive assemblage which gathered in wells and pits around the Agora as Athenians sought to dispose of the rubble of the Persian sack. This ceramic evidence offers no solace to those who would lower by forty years the dates of the Athenian civic buildings. Scholars who allow the evidence to shape their views will resolutely reject the lowered chronology.

DEPOSIT SUMMARIES

Closed deposits from the Agora are designated in series by the alphabetical and numerical coordinates of the 20-meter grid (see Fig. 1), so that B 18:6 means the sixth deposit excavated in grid square B 18. Depths of the wells are measured downwards from the highest preserved point of the shaft without regard to actual elevations. Deposits with multiple fills have been described from the bottom up, the lowest fill being first. For each fill of each deposit, the pottery has been listed separately by type (i.e., early ware, black figure, red figure, black glaze, and household) and then by shape, as much as possible in the order adopted in Agora XII. The number in parentheses following the name of each shape is the total number of individual examples of that shape represented in the assemblage. Often that number does not agree with the fragments listed after it because, among the more standardized shapes (e.g., round-mouth oinochoai, skyphoi, cups, and semiglazed lekanai), it is not always possible to be sure that the many handles and wall fragments each come from a different vessel.

Several conventions help to make the summaries as brief as possible while at the same time enabling the reader to relate otherwise intractable lists of inventory numbers and unpublished sherds to published pottery from the Agora. In fact, most of the figured pottery and many pieces of black-glazed and household wares have already received detailed publication elsewhere. In the following summaries, P 19319 = Agora XXIII, 1181
means that the black-figured lekythos with that inventory number has been fully described in the catalogue of Agora XXIII. P 31942, cf. Agora XXIII, 1516 means that the unpublished black-figured skyphos finds as its closest published parallel a similar one described in Agora XXIII. (The abbreviations RRCS and SGW are used for Vanderpool 1946 and Roberts 1986 respectively. Lamps are Howland Types [Agora IV].) Wherever unpublished fragments are sufficiently well preserved to make the identification, similar comparanda are cited. Fragments are listed as the part of the vessel preserved. 2 rims, cf. Agora XII, 401 means that rim fragments from two different cups compare to the published example. Rim, handle, foot, cf. Agora XII, 401 means that different parts of three cups are best paralleled by the same published piece. Rim/wall/handle (5 frags.) describes one pot of which several pieces, usually joining, happen to be preserved. The latest pieces or fragments in each deposit are preceded by an asterisk (*) before the entry in the lists.

WELLS AND PITS

B 18:6 Well

Section, Fig. 5

Diam. 1.20 m.; depth 5.80 m.; water at −2.75 m. Roughly cut into soft bedrock beneath the westernmost room of House D in the industrial district, Young 1951, pp. 144−145, 218; plan, p. 189, fig. 7.

1. Lower dumped fill, from −1.70 m. to −5.80 m. at bottom, consisting of fallen bedrock from collapsed upper part of shaft. A few sherds of the Geometric period from −1.70 m. to −3.00 m. No sherds from −3.00 m. to bottom.

Complete inventory: 2 pieces

EARLY WARE


2. Upper dumped fill, from top to −1.70 m., consisting of loose gravel dumped in to refill collapsed upper part of well shaft.

Total assemblage: 4 inventoried pieces; 343 fragments (Lot NN 888)

EARLY WARE

Protogeometric (4). Amphora: wall/handle; foot (2 frags.). Skyphos: rim; wall, open shape

Late Geometric (27). Amphora: 3 rims; shoulder; 3 vertical handles; 3 decorated walls; 3 banded walls.

Oinochoe: neck/handle; vertical strap handle; foot/lower wall (2 frags.); wall. Krater: decorated wall.

Skyphos: 2 rims, flat bottom, cf. Agora VIII, 131; 2 decorated walls; 2 banded walls; 2 glazed walls


Corinthian (2). Kotyle: rim. Pyxis: lid

Wall frags.: Archaic brown glaze and banded (10)

BLACK FIGURE

Amphora (3): rim, cf. Agora XXIII, 96; torus rim; wall

Krater, column- (1): wall

Oinochoe (1): shoulder, cf. Agora XXIII, 736


Cup (1): foot, cf. Agora XXIII, 1762

Lekythos (6): P 19319 = Agora XXIII, 1181; ABV, p. 523, no. 2, Athena Painter; wall, palmettes, cf. P 12766 (G 11:3); shoulder/wall; lower wall, patterned, white ground; shoulder/wall, Class of Athens 581, ii, cf. Agora XXIII, 948; foot, cf. Agora XXIII, 1022

Wall frag.: closed shape (1)
Fig. 5. Sections of Wells B 18:6, B 19:10, D 15:1, and D 15:2
BLACK GLAZE

Krater, column- (1): foot in two degrees, cf. *Agora* XII, 55
Oinochoe (5): heavy trefoil rim (3 frags.); 2 walls (1 in 2 frags., 1 in 3 frags.). Banded, round-mouth: ring foot/lower wall (6 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 144; strap handle (concave)
Skyphos, Corinthian type (4): wall; floor; flaring ring foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 309; miniature foot
Skyphos, Attic type (6): 2 rims (1 with horseshoe handle), cf. *Agora* XII, 338; 2 rims (1 with heavy horseshoe handle); *2 ring feet (1 in 2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 339; handle; lower wall
Cup (9): *P 19388 = Agora* XII, 413; foot (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 401; foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 420. Vicup: *rim (2 frags.), *foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 434; 4 handles
Phiale (1): top of omphalos, cf. *Agora* XII, 521
Cup-skyphos (7): inset concave rim, torus ring foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 572; ring foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 575; 2 lower walls, 2 handles
Saltcellar (1): concave wall/flat underside, cf. *Agora* XII, 926
Plate (1): ring foot/floor
Lekanis (4): lid rim (3 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 1232; lid (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 1229; flat top; concave rim/flat top (3 frags.)
Wall frags.: open shape (16), closed shape (3). Floors, open shape (2). Handle (1)

HOUSEHOLD

Household lekanis (1): ring foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 1551
Tub (2): projecting rim (2 frags.), heavy disk foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 1848
Wall frags.: plain (4). Handles (3). Disk foot (1)
Terracotta figurine (mold): T 2583
Pyramidal loomweights (5)
Roof tiles (2): heavy frags.
B 19:10 Well

Diam. 1.00 m.; depth 8.60 m.; water at -2.00 m. Shaft sunk in soft bedrock. Uniform dumped fill of bluish gray, dug bedrock from top to bottom.

Considerable amount of very fragmentary pottery from top to -1.50 m. Very few sherds from -1.50 m. to -4.20 m. From -4.20 m. to bottom, no sherds, no change of fill, no deposit from period of use.

Total assemblage: 4 inventoried pieces, 243 fragments (Lot NN 411)

**EARLY WARES**

*Protogeometric (2).* Skyphos walls

*Late Geometric (4).* 2 walls; 2 banded handles

**BLACK FIGURE**

Krater, volute- (1): P 18795 = *Agora* XXIII, 491

Cup (2). Siana cup: floor, cf. *CIV*, British Museum 2 (G.B. 2), pl. 8 [66], 2; *P* 31847, palmettes (Pl. 82: h) very close to P 12565 (G 11: 3); P 20776 (R 12: 1)

Lekythos (3): mouth/shoulder/wall (in 6 frags.), Class of Athens 581, ii; foot/lower body (3 frags.), Class of Athens 581, ii; lower wall.

**RED FIGURE**

Wall frag.: open shape

**BLACK GLAZE**

Amphora (1): neck

Psykter (2): disk feet/lower stems, cf. *Agora* XII, 38

Oinochoe (3): shoulder/round mouth (in 18 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 146; handle/trefoil mouth; foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 96

Skyphos, Corinthian type (6): rim, foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 310; 3 bell handles; lower wall (in 2 frags.), Corinthian fabric

Skyphos, Attic type (1): foot/floor (in 6 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 336

Cup (23): concave lip, 3 feet, cf. *Agora* XII, 408; *2* concave lips (1 in 3 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 410; *foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 412; foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 432; 4 stems/floors; 7 floors; 4 handles


One-handler, banded (8): 3 rims, cf. *Agora* XII, 726; 2 feet (1 in 2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 735; *3* feet, cf. *Agora* XII, 737


Thurible (1): P 18794 = *Agora* XII, 1355

Wall frags.: open shape (26), closed shape (16). Handles (6)

**HOUSEHOLD**

Table amphora (1): rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 1445


Hydria (2): horizontal handles, cooking ware

Kados (4): 2 feet (1 in 2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 1603; 2 handles; rim


Mortar (3): P 18796 = *Agora* XII, 1900; full profile, collar rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 1899; *rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 1901


Wall frags.: plain and coarse (20)
Lamp, Type 16A (1): rounded bottom

**D 15:1** (D 15:2) Well

Section, Fig. 5

Diam. 1.10 m.; depth 9.85 m.; water at -8.50 m. Shaft neatly cut in bedrock with footholds running down the north and south sides.

Upper dumped fill, from top to -6.50 m., of late Roman date. A Roman well (D 15:2) was subsequently dug beside D 15:1, less than a meter distant. Later the party wall between the two wells broke at two points: a hole, 0.60 m. high, at -3.70 m., and a larger hole, 1.50 m. high, at -8.00 m.

The Roman shaft (D 15:2) was lined with well tiles from -8.00 m. to -19.40 m. at bottom. After the tiles had been installed in the lower 6 meters or so of the shaft, but not yet high enough to cover the lower hole, a fall of loose earth occurred from the bottom of the earlier shaft into the deeper, later shaft, filling its lower part for a depth of 5.30 m. The sloping fill in the lower hole showed how it fell from one well to the other. After the fall, the lower hole in the party wall was partly blocked by a coarse Roman amphora (P 10678), found behind the highest preserved row of tiles.

Lower dumped fill, from -6.50 m. to -9.85 m. in D 15:1, and from -14.10 m. to -19.40 m. in D 15:2.

Many joins between the two parts of the dump.

Complete inventory: 70 pieces

**Black Figure**

Amphora (1): P 11071 = *Agora* XXIII, 205
Lebes gamikos (1): P 11032 = *Agora* XXIII, 517
Oinochoe (1): P 11030 = *Agora* XXIII, 741
Skyphos (4): *P 10674 = *Agora* XXIII, 1504, manner of Haimon Painter; P 11029 = *Agora* XXIII, 1583, CHC Group; P 11027 = *Agora* XXIII, 1590, CHC Group; P 11028 = *Agora* XXIII, 1591, CHC Group
Cup (1): P 11031 = *Agora* XXIII, 1776, Leafless Group: Caylus Painter
Lekythos (1): *P 10575 = *Agora* XXIII, 1197, manner of Haimon Painter (Pl. 81:b)
Miniature kantharos (1): P 11033 = *Hesperia* 31, 1962, p. 374, no. 17; pl. 113 (Boiotian)

**Red Figure**

Krater, column- (2): P 10578 = ARV², p. 242, no. 70, Myson; P 11025 = ARV², p. 241, no. 53, Myson
Cup (1): P 11026 = ARV², p. 143, no. 5, Heraion Painter

**Black Glaze**

Psykter (2): P 11047 = *Agora* XII, 39; P 11048 = *Agora* XII, 40
Olpe (2): P 10755, cf. *Agora* XII, 258, but unglazed; P 11045 = *Agora* XII, 266
Skyphos, Corinthian type (1): P 11036, cf. *Agora* XII, 310
Phiale (1): P 11049 = *Agora* XII, 520
Cup-skyphos (1): *P 11035, cf. *Agora* XII, 573
Saltcellar (3): P 11042 = *Agora* XII, 890, cf. P 2600 (G 6:3), P 12784 (G 11:3), P 23350 (H 12:15), P 28780 (Q 21:3); P 11043, cf. *Agora* XII, 890, a pair; P 11044 = *Agora* XII, 926, cf. P 2694 (G 6:3), P 27849 (H 13:5)
Plate (1): P 10677 = *Agora* XII, 1080
Lekanis, lid (1): P 11039 = *Agora* XII, 1232
Miniature (2): Hydria, P 10754 = *Agora* XII, 1391. Kothon, P 11034 = *Agora* XII, 1407
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HOUSEHOLD
Table amphora (1): P 10752 = Agora XII, 1470
Storage amphora (9): P 11024 = Agora XXV, 1063, shoulder, ostrakon of Xanthippos; P 11053 = Agora XXV, 1064, wall, ostrakon of Xanthippos; P 11066, cf. SGW, 441; P 11065, cf. SGW, 417 (Corinthian); P 11069, cf. SGW, 412 (Samian); P 11068 = Hesperia 25, 1956, p. 3, no. 2 (Chian); P 11067, cf. ibid.; SS 7616, SS 7803, stamped handles
Pithos (2): P 11061 = Agora XII, 1523; P 11059, cf. Agora XII, 1526
Household lekanis (1): P 11052 = Agora XII, 1549
Jug (2): P 11055 = Agora XII, 1654; P 10672 = Agora XXV, 987, banded wall, ostrakon of Themistokles
Askos (1): P 11054, cf. Agora XII, 1725
Lekane (4): P 10671, cf. Agora XII, 1784; P 11058, cf. Agora XII, 1781; P 11063 = Agora XII, 1782;
P 10756 = Agora XXV, 1062, wall, ostrakon of Xanthippos
Eskara (1): P 11057, cf. Agora XII, 2028
Coarse frags. (2): P 10749 = Agora XXV, 1060, ostrakon of Xanthippos; P 10750 = Agora XXV, 1061, ostrakon of Xanthippos
Wellhead (2): P 11060 = Hesperia 18, 1949, p. 126, no. 9; P 11062, cf. ibid.
Lamp, Type 16 B (1): L 3166
Bronze weight (3): B 492 = Agora X, BW2; B 495 = Agora X, BW1; B 497 = Agora X, BW3
Terracotta figurine (3): T 1549, T 1550, T 1580
Poros basin: ST 216
Spoon: BI 405

D 17:2 Pit
L. 1.05 m.; W. 0.55 m.; depth 0.60 to 0.70 m. Roughly rectangular cutting in bedrock containing a small deposit of broken pottery and other household rubbish. Pottery very fragmentary with few joining pieces.
Total assemblage: 9 inventoried pieces; 382 fragments (Lot OO 744)

EARLY WARE
Protogeometric (1). Amphora: wall

BLACK FIGURE
Oinochoe, trefoil (1): mouth/shoulder, cf. Agora XXIII, 736
Skyphos (3): foot, cf. Agora XXIII, 1516; wall; lower wall
Lekythos (8): *P 18502 = Agora XXIII, 1225, manner of Haimon Painter; *P 18503 = Agora XXIII, 1226, manner of Haimon Painter, a pair; P 18504 (Pl. 82:3), cf. RRCS, 182; Thompson 1940, p. 31, fig. 23:a; shoulder/wall (2 frags.), Class of Athens 581, ii, cf. Agora XXIII, 1022; shoulder, Class of Athens 581, ii, cf. Agora XXIII, 990; wall; mouth; lower wall

RED FIGURE
Cup (1): floor (figured tondo)

BLACK GLAZE
Krater (1): foot in two degrees
Oinochoe (19). Trefoil: mouth/handle (4 frags.); 2 necks. Banded, round-mouth: rim/handle/shoulder/foot (15 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 144; 3 rims (1 in 3 frags., 1 in 4 frags.); shoulder; 2 strap handles; 8 walls (1 in 14 frags., 1 in 10 frags., 1 in 4 frags., 1 in 2 frags.); flat bottom (3 frags.)
Olpe (3): mouth/wall/disk foot (10 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 261; neck; low strap handle
Skyphos, Corinthian type (8): 2 feet (1 in 3 frags.), lower wall, cf. Agora XII, 309; rim/bell handle (in 8 frags.), 2 rims (1 in 3 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 311; handle; rim/handle (miniature)
Skyphos, Attic type (1): P 20559, cf. Agora XII, 336
Skyphos, Subgeometric survival (3): flat bottom, projecting rim, handle, cf. Agora XII, 369
Cup (14): concave lip (4 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 408; 5 stems; stem/foot, foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 409; *3 concave lips (1 with handle, 1 in 2 frags.), *foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 410; concave lip (3 frags.), cf. SGW, 4; 6 concave lips; plain rim/2 handles (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 420; 3 handles; 13 walls


One-handler (5): rim, 2 feet (1 in 2 frags.), cf. SGW, 339; rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 731; foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 735; 4 walls

Saltcellar (8): 4 full profiles (2 a matched pair), rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 892; 3 full profiles, 2 rims, cf. *Agora* XII, 901; flat bottom

Stemmed dish (4): *P 20560 = Agora XII, 984; rim (3 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 983; rim (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 960; foot (3 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 973

Lekanis and lid (4): lid top; *broad knob, cf. *Agora* XII, 1234; top/wall/rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 1232; top Wall frags.: open shape (45), closed shape (22). Handles (6)

**HOUSEHOLD**


Pithos (1): heavy rim

Storage-bin (1): overhanging rim (3 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 1527

Hydria (1): rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 1594


Tub (1): full profile (2 frags.)

Louterion (1): molded rim


Walls frags.: plain and coarse (61)


Loomweights (2): pyramidal

Roof tiles (8)

**D 17:10 Well**

Section, Fig. 6

Diam. 1.50 m. Excavation abandoned at −6.10 m. because of the collapse of the rock walls. Water at −2.00 m.

Total assemblage: 15 inventoried pieces, 233 fragments (Lot OO 766)

1. Dumped fill, from −1.40 m. to −2.60 m., with a small amount of pottery but almost no joins. From −2.60 to −6.10 m., a mass of very adhesive, sticky potter’s clay with very few sherds.

**EARLY WARE**

**Protogeometric (1).** Skyphos: wall


**Protoattic (8).** Amphora: P 20873 = *Agora* VIII, 424; lower wall, banded wall. Kotyle: 2 banded walls, imitation Protocorinthian, cf. *Agora* VIII, 159; decorated wall (open shape); 2 banded walls (closed shape)

**BLACK FIGURE**

Amphora (4): P 20870 = *Agora* XXIII, 79; rim (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XXIII, 96; neck, very close to *Agora* XXIII, 209; shoulder
Dinos (1): rim/wall (4 frags.), cf. *Agora* XXIII, 610
Skyphos (9): P 20871 = *Agora* XXIII, 1649; 2 feet (1 in 2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1486; 2 rims (1 in 2 frags.); foot (2 frags.), CHC Group (?), cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1592; rim, foot, CHC Group (?), cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1597; 2 lower walls (1 in 2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1628
Cup (9): P 20869 = *Agora* XXIII, 1774, Leafless Group; rim, band cup, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1700; 2 figured walls; rim, 2 walls, Leafless Group, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1762; handle; wall, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1783
Lekythos (7): P 20872 = *Agora* XXIII, 1148; neck/shoulder (2 frags.), Class of Athens 581, i, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 899; lower body; 3 figured walls; white-ground wall, black patterned (4 frags.)
Plaque (1): P 20852 = *Agora* XXIII, 1945
Wall frags.: closed shape (10); lower wall (1)
RED FIGURE
Cup (1): P 20868, frag.

BLACK GLAZE
Pelike (1): rim, cf. Agora XII, 21
Psiyker (1): foot, two torus moldings, cf. Agora XII, 36
Oinochoe (2): double handles, cf. Agora XII, 148
Olpe (2): P 20849 = Agora X, LM7; cf. Agora XII, 266; flat bottom, cf. Agora XII, 260
Skyphos, Corinthian type (12): P 20850; frag.; foot, Corinthian import; 3 feet, cf. Agora XII, 306; foot, cf. Agora XII, 309; 2 feet, 2 lower walls, cf. Agora XII, 310; 2 bell handles
Skyphos, Attic type (1): foot, cf. Agora XII, 336
Skyphos, Subgeometric survival (8): rim/wall/handle (5 frags.), 2 rims, 3 flat bottoms (1 in 4 frags), cf. Agora XII, 369; *rim with dots, cf. Agora XII, 370; handle
Bowl (2): foot, cf. Agora XII, 809; foot, cf. Agora XII, 811
Saltcellar (2): full profile, cf. Agora XII, 921; concave wall/bottom, cf. Agora XII, 923
Plate (4): rims, 3 unglazed
Lekane (3): 2 flanged rims, one with handle attachment, cf. Agora XII, 1216; lid rim/top
Wall frags.: open shape (5). Rim (1)

HOUSEHOLD
Table amphora (1): neck, cf. Agora XII, 1445
Storage amphora (3): rim/neck (2 frags.), Samian, cf. SGW, 412; torus rim, East Greek, cf. SGW, 421; toe, Attic, cf. SGW, 418
Pithos (6): P 20875 = Agora XII, 1515; P 20876, cf. Agora XII, 1514; P 20877, cf. Agora XII, 1507; heavy rim (2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1521; 2 incised walls (1 in 3 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1507
Jug (2): trefoil mouth; narrow neck (2 frags.), cooking ware
Lekane (15): *rim, cf. Agora XII, 1760; *2 rims, cf. Agora XII, 1761; *rim, cf. Agora XII, 1765; *rim, cf. Agora XII, 1766; *ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 1767; *2 ring feet, cf. Agora XII, 1770; disk foot (2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1776; 2 rims, cf. Agora XII, 1784; rim (3 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1825; 2 banded walls; handle
Tub (2): heavy flat bottoms
Louterion, stand (1): P 20878 = Agora XII, 1856
Mortar (1): rim, cf. Agora XII, 1886
Wall frags.: plain (3); handle attachments (2)
Lamp (13). Type 16 B: 2 full profiles; 6 rims, 1 with nozzle (2 frags.); 3 nozzles; 2 bottoms (1 in 2 frags.)
Terracotta figurine: horse, frag.
Loomweights (4): pyramidal
Stone ball

2. From top to −1.40 m., dug bedrock fill containing only a few battered sherds.

3. Supplementary fill, a few centimeters at top of well.

RED FIGURE
E 14:5 Well
Diam. 0.995 m. (top); 0.58 m. (bottom); depth 5.50 m. Unfinished well shaft abandoned in antiquity. North and west sides cut in bedrock; south and east sides had built curbing of rough limestone blocks.
Heavy and homogeneous dumped fill uniform from top to bottom without stratification. A large proportion of the pottery relatively complete.
Complete inventory: 106 pieces

BLACK FIGURE
Pelike (1): P 8798 = Agora XXIII, 393
Lebes gamikos (1): P 7893+7897 = Agora XXIII, 516
Krater, calyx- (1): P 7896 = Agora XXIII, 506
Oinochoe (1): P 8800 = Agora XXIII, 538
Skyphos (3): P 8797 = Agora XXIII, 1569; P 8796 = Agora XXIII, 1581, CHC Group; P 7898 = Agora XXIII, 1620
Phiale (1): P 7888 = Agora XXIII, 1431
Lekythos (2): P 7891 = Agora XXIII, 921, Class of Athens 581, i; P 8795 = Agora XXIII, 933, Class of Athens 581, ii

RED FIGURE
Cup (4): P 7901 = ARV², p. 20, “recalls” Euphrontion; Hesperia 27, 1958, pl. 45:c; *P 7900 = SGW, pl. 5, same hand as P 24068, SGW; 27; P 8793, frag.; P 8794, frag.
Cup-skyphos (1): P 7899 = ARV², p. 455, no. 12, Ashby Painter

BLACK GLAZE
Psykter (1): P 8853 = Agora XII, 41, lid
Krater (1): P 8851, foot
Oinochoe (7): P 8864 = Agora XII, 148, cf. P 11064 (D 15:1), P 6643 (E 15:6); P 8865, cf. Agora XII, 148, footed; P 8867, cf. Agora XII, 149, footless, a pair; P 8866 = Agora XII, 149; P 8868 = Agora XII, 161, mushroom jug; P 8839 = Agora XII, 178; P 8841 = Agora XII, 179
Mug (1): P 8852, cf. Agora XII, 190
Olpe (9): P 8846 = Agora XII, 260; P 8849 = Agora XII, 261; P 8842, cf. Agora XII, 265; P 8843, cf. ibid.; P 8844, frag.; P 8845, frag.; P 8847 = Agora XII, 285; P 8848 = Agora XII, 287; P 8850 = Agora XII, 288
Skyphos, Corinthian type (5): P 8834 = Agora XII, 310 (Pl. 84:c), cf. P 11036 (D 15:1), P 24571–P 24573 (Q 12:3); P 20774 (R 12:1); P 8835, cf. Agora XII, 310; P 8836, cf. ibid.; P 8837 = Agora XII, 356; P 8802, Corinthian import
Bowl (1): P 7890 = Agora XII, 810
Saltcellar (3): P 8806, cf. Agora XII, 902; P 7892 = Agora XII, 925; P 8805, cf. ibid.
Stemmed dish (11): P 7895 = Agora XII, 958, cf. P 11037 (D 15:1) and by the same potter, P 24604, P 24605 (Q 12:3); P 7889 = Agora XII, 965; P 8813 = Agora XII, 966, cf. P 12791 (G 11:3), P 20762 (R 12:1); P 8811 = Agora XII, 978, cf. P 23335, P 23336 (H 12:15), P 31022 (Q 12:3); P 8812 = Agora XII, 979; P 8814 = Agora XII, 980; P 8816, cf. Agora XII, 986; P 8810 = Agora XII, 992; P 8807, cf. Agora XII, 994; P 8808 = Agora XII, 995; P 8809, cf. ibid.
Plate (3): P 7887 = Agora XII, 1003; P 8804 = Agora XII, 1004; P 8803, cf. ibid.
Lekythos (1): P 8838, cf. Agora XII, 1102
Lekanis (3): P 8817 = Agora XII, 1229, lid; P 8818, cf. *ibid.*; P 8854, rim frag.
Thurible (1): P 8815 = Agora XII, 1350

**HOUSEHOLD**

Jug (2): P 8873, cf. Agora XII, 1641; P 8840 = Agora XII, 1705
Cup (2): P 8856 = Agora XII, 1715, unglazed, two-handled; P 8855, cf. *ibid.*
P 7894 = Agora XXV, 609, rim, ostrakon of Kritias Leidou
Mortar (2): P 8860 = Agora XII, 1889; P 8861, cf. Agora XII, 1899
Chytra (3): P 8875 = Agora XII, 1943; P 8874 = Agora XII, 1944; P 8875 = Agora XII, 1945
Wall frag.: P 8857, graffito
Painted sherd: P 8801, Clazomenian
Lamp (4). Type 15: L 2701 = Agora IV, 88. Type 16 B: L 2447 = Agora IV, 104. Type 19 A: L 2700 = Agora IV, 151. Type 19 B: L 2446 = Agora IV, 141
Bone stylus (4): BI 291–BI 293, BI 319
Bronze arrowhead: B 367
Loomweight (2): MC 289, disk; MC 314, pyramidal

**E 15:6 Well**

Section, Fig. 7

Diam. 1.10 m.; depth 9.70 m.; water at −2.20 m. Shaft sunk in soft bedrock.
Complete inventory: 57 pieces

1. Period-of-use fill, from −8.50 m. to −9.70 m. at bottom. Fill of mud and stones, but containing few sherds; some evidence of water pots.

**BLACK GLAZE**

Oinochoe (1): P 6643, cf. Agora XII, 148
Cup-skyphos (1): P 6184, cf. Agora XII, 572
Lekythos (1): P 6201, graffito frag.

**HOUSEHOLD**

Table amphora (2): P 6175 = Sparkes 1962, pl. IV:5; cf. Agora XII, 1444; P 6644, cf. *ibid.*
Jug (2): P 6179 = Agora XII, 1695; P 6642, cf. *ibid.*

2. Dumped fill, from −0.50 m. to −8.50 m. Joins from top to bottom indicate that fill was dumped at one time. From −6.00 m. to −7.50 m., a mass of potter’s clay of dark buff color and thick sticky consistency, pure but not refined. Clay contained very few sherds. From −7.50 m. to −8.50 m., thin layers of clay without sherds alternated with layers of broken pottery and small stones.

**BLACK FIGURE**

Hydria (2): P 6635 = Agora XXIII, 651; P 6180 = Agora XXIII, 657, Red-line Painter
Lebes gamikos (1): P 6106 = Agora XXIII, 510, Painter of Louvre F6
Krater (1): P 6136 = Agora XXIII, 472
Skyphos (1): P 6177 = Agora XXIII, 1497, “recalls” Theseus Painter
Lekythos (5): P 6182 = Agora XXIII, 887, Class of Athens 581, i; P 6181 = Agora XXIII, 1127; *P 6138 = Agora XXIII, 1192, manner of Haimon Painter; *P 6137 = Agora XXIII, 1211, manner of Haimon Painter; P 6634, cf. ABL, pl. 36:5, Diosphos Painter, palmettes
Lekanis, lid (1): P 6178 = Agora XXIII, 1354

**RED FIGURE**

Cup (2): P 6159 = ARV², p. 448, no. 4, manner of Douris; P 6636 = ARV², p. 140, no. 54, Pithos Painter

**BLACK GLAZE**

Amphora (1): *P 6107 = Agora XXV, 1058, ostrakon of Xanthippos
Psykter (2): P 6639 = Agora XII, 37; P 6132, cf. *ibid.*
Fig. 7. Sections of Wells E 15:6 and H 12:15

THE PERSIAN DESTRUCTION OF ATHENS

E15:6

H12:15

SUPPL. FILL

SUPPL. FILL

-0.50

-1.25 Water

-2.20

-3.40

-6.00

-7.50

-8.50

-9.00

-9.70

-10 m

-9 m

-8 m

-7 m

-6 m

-5 m

-4 m

-3 m

-2 m

-1 m

0 m

-1 m

-2 m

-3 m

-4 m

-5 m

-6 m

-7 m

-8 m

-9 m

-10 m

-11 m

-12 m

DUMP FILL

UPPER DUMP FILL

LOWER DUMP FILL

POTTER'S CLAY (few sherds)

(no sherds in CLAY LAYERS, many sherds in between)

(few sherds)

STONES and GRAVEL

STONES and ROOF TILES

DUG BEDROCK (no sherds)

MUD BRICKS

13-23

24-26

1-2

POTTER'S (now she
ads)
Oinochoe (1): P 6638 = Agora XII, 99
Skyphos, Corinthian type (1): P 6135, miniature

Strainer (1): P 6640 = Agora XII, 528
Lekanis (1): P 6131 = Agora XII, 1217
Thurible (1): P 6637 = Agora XII, 1352

**HOUSEHOLD**
Storage amphora (1): P 6645
Household lekanis (1): P 6139 = Agora XXI, Fa 1, cf. Agora XII, 1549
Lekane (6): *P 6134 = Agora XXV, 141, ostrakon of Hipparchos, cf. Agora XII, 1758; P 6631, graffito; P 6140 = Agora XXV, 1131, ostrakon of Hippokrates (?); P 6133 = Agora XXV, 93, ostrakon of Boutalion; P 6118 = Agora XXV, 975, ostrakon of Themistokles; P 6629 = Agora XXV, 298, ostrakon of Hippokrates
Louterion (1): P 6641 = Agora XII, 1868
Funnel (2): P 6646 = Agora XII, 2005; P 6124 = Agora XII, 2006
Wall frags. (2): P 6117 = Agora XXV, 974, ostrakon of Themistokles; *P 6127 = Agora XXV, 67, ostrakon of Aristeides
Lamp (2). Type 19 var.: L 1897 = Agora IV, 146. Type 19 A: L 1959

3. Supplementary fill, from top to -0.50 m., with Hellenistic disturbance from setting of wall of Great Drain over well.

**BLACK FIGURE**
Amphora (2): P 6102 = Agora XXIII, 328, Painter of Munich 1519; P 6104 = Agora XXIII, 335

**RED FIGURE**
Krater, calyx- (1): P 6103 = ARV², p. 185, no. 39; Ashmead 1966, p. 25, pl. 9, Kleophrades Painter

**BLACK GLAZE**
One-handler, black (1): P 6632, graffito

**F 19:5 Well**
Diam. 0.85 m.; depth 3.05 m. Unfinished well shaft abandoned in antiquity and refilled with broken pottery and other debris. Cut in firm bedrock suitable for well sinking. Clearly begun with the intention of digging a well, since footholds were cut in opposite sides every 0.30 m. to 0.40 m.

Two distinct dumped fills with many sherd joins between them.

Complete inventory: 72 pieces

1. **Lower dumped fill, from -1.75 to -3.05**

**EARLY WARE**

**BLACK FIGURE**
Skyphos (1): *P 14946 = Agora XXIII, 1519, manner of Haimon Painter
Phiale (1): P 15922 = Agora XXIII, 1432
Lekythos (3): P 14945 = Agora XXIII, 871, Gela Painter; P 14951 = Agora XXIII, 929, Class of Athens 581, ii; P 14947 = Agora XXIII, 1144, frags.
THE PERSIAN DESTRUCTION OF ATHENS

RED FIGURE

Mug (1): P 15918 = ARV², p. 152, no. 2, “connected with Epeleios Painter”
Cup (1): P 14949, frag., tondo

BLACK GLAZE

Pelike (1): P 15935 = Agora XII, 22
Oinochoe (3): P 15936, cf. Agora XII, 144; P 15937, cf. Agora XII, 145; P 15934, Corinthian import
Mug (1): P 15919 = Agora XII, 190
Olpe (3): P 14952, cf. Agora XII, 255; *P 15929 = Agora XII, 267; *P 15928 = Agora XII, 268
Cup (1): P 14950, cf. Agora XII, 404
One-handler (1): P 15933 = Agora XII, 733, cf. P 24621 (Q 12:3)
Lekythos (1): P 15939, foot reused as stopper
Lekanis, lid (1): P 15917 = Agora XII, 1231
Kothon (1): P 15927, Corinthian

HOUSEHOLD

Lekane (1): P 15938, cf. Agora XII, 1783
Mortar (1): P 15940, cf. Agora XII, 1900
Coarse frag. (1): *P 15023 = Agora XXV, 638, ostrakon of Megakles
Lamp (3). Type 16 B: L 3722 = Agora IV, 99. Type 17 A: L 3968 = Agora IV, 120. Type 20: L 3723 = Agora IV, 150
Roof tile (2): A 1033, A 1034
Terracotta figurine (3): T 2000, T 2001, T 2171
Loomweight (1): MC 616
Flute frags. (?): BI 1504, BI 549
Pierced counter: P 15939
Marble basin frag.: ST 307

2. Upper dumped fill, from top to -1.75 m.

RED FIGURE


BLACK GLAZE

Skyphos, Subgeometric survival (1): *P 15904 = Agora XII, 370
One-handler, black (1): *P 15903, cf. Agora XII, 745
Saltcellar (2): *P 15905 = Agora XII, 843; P 15032, cf. Agora XII, 899

HOUSEHOLD

Storage amphora (5): P 15913, cf. Agora XII, 1500; P 15915, cf. Agora XII, 1502; P 15912, neck, Corinthian;
   P 15911, banded neck; SS 8845, stamped neck
Stand (1): P 15914 = Sparkes and Talcott 1959, fig. 13
Lekane (1): P 15909, cf. Agora XII, 1784
Tub (1): P 15916 = Agora XII, 1846
Mortar (1): P 15910 = Agora XII, 1891
Coarse sherd: P 15906, cut round as stopper
Spindle whorl (2): MC 613, MC 614
Loomweight (1): MC 615
Terracotta figurine (7): T 1993–T 1999
Pierced counter: P 15906; intrusive late Roman frag.: P 15907 (found above mouth)

G 3:1 Pit of debris
L. 2.00 m.; W. 2.00 m.; depth 0.80 m. Roughly square pit dug irregularly in bedrock. At top abundant traces of ash and burning. Dumped fill consisting of red earth with particles of burning; below this 0.05 m. to 0.15 m. of ash and charcoal at bottom.
Total assemblage: 16 inventoried pieces, 194 fragments (Lots MM 298–MM 301)

EARLY WARE
Protoattic (1). Decorated wall frag. (open shape)

BLACK FIGURE
Krater (5). Calyx-: *P 14490 = Agora XXV, 637 and = Agora XIV, pl. 38, ostrakon of Megakles. Column-:
2 shoulders (1 in 2 frags.), 2 lower walls, cf. Agora XXIII, 474; SGW, 70
Oinochoe (1): P 14661 = Agora XXIII, 775
Cup (4): wall, band cup, cf. Agora XXIII, 1708; 2 floors; wall (in 2 frags.), palmette zone (Pl. 83:c), cf. RRCs, 218
Wall frags.: open shape (3)

RED FIGURE
Krater, column- (2): P 14711 = ARV, p. 240, no. 38, Myson; P 14662, frag.
Cup (1): P 14663, frag.

BLACK GLAZE
Pelike (1): mouth/neck, cf. Agora XII, 22
Psyker (1): mouth, flanged, cf. Agora XII, 38
Krater, column- (1): rim/neck (6 frags.), cf. SGW, 71
Acrocup: *foot, cf. SGW, 21
Cup-skyphos (22): P 14664 = Agora XII, 569; P 14665, cf. Agora XII, 564; rim/handle attachment, cf. Agora XII, 563; 2 rims, 1 with handle, cf. Agora XII, 564; concave lip, foot, cf. Agora XII, 568; 2 rims, cf. Agora XII, 569; 2 rims (1 in 2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 572; *concave lip/handle (2 frags.), *3 feet, cf. Agora XII, 573; *concave rim,*foot, cf. Agora XII, 575; *3 feet, cf. Agora XII, 578; *offset rim, cf. SGW, 40; handle
One-handler, banded (8): full profile, 2 rims/handles, cf. Agora XII, 726; 2 rims, 1 with handle, cf. Agora XII, 732; 2 feet, cf. Agora XII, 735; floor
Bowl (1): foot, cf. Agora XII, 809
Plate (1): rim (unglazed); cf. for profile, Agora XII, 1006
Lekanis, lid (3): 2 rims/tops, knob, cf. Agora XII, 1229
Pyxis (1): P 14667, Corinthian
Wall frags.: open shape (3), closed shape (1)

HOUSEHOLD
Storage amphora (6): rim/handle, toe, East Greek, cf. SGW, 421; toe, cf. SGW, 423; toe, cf. SGW, 424; banded wall; wall, streaky brown glaze
Pithos (1): P 14670 = Agora XXI, L1, cf. Agora XII, 1507
Kados (1): mouth/neck, cf. Agora XII, 1610
Jug (3): handle, foot, cf. Agora XII, 1641; banded wall (3 frags.), non-Attic (?), cf. Agora XII, 1693
Lekane (10): P 14673, cf. Agora XII, 1779; P 14669, cf. Agora XII, 1801; *3 rims, 1 with handle, cf. Agora XII, 1760; *rim, cf. Agora XII, 1762; *foot, cf. Agora XII, 1770; *rim, cf. Agora XII, 1788; *2 rims (1 in 3 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1827; 3 banded walls
Louterion? (2): molded stand base (2 frags.); flat bottom/wall (2 frags.)
Eschara (1): P 14671 = Agora XII, 2028
Type 21 B: whole profile, cf. Agora IV, 165; flat bottom; 2 nozzles
Lots MM 302 + MM 303: Large frags. of tiles and pithoi (traces of burning on many): 7 Corinthian pan tiles; 2 Corinthian cover tiles; 2 Lakonian pan tiles; 1 Lakonian cover tile; 4 pithos rims; rim, large semiglazed krater
Lot MM 304: 4 lower mill stones; 11 upper mill stones
Lot MM 305: 3 frags. worked architectural marble (one is top fillet of metope?); 3 lower mill stones; 5 upper mill stones

G 6:3 Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft
L. 2.40 m.; W. 1.20 m. at top; depth 19.60 m. Shaft sunk in bedrock, probably intended as a well, but a cave-in not long after its digging destroyed its possible usefulness as a source of water. Thereafter it was used as a dump.

1. Lower dumped fill, from —12.00 m. to bottom at —19.50 m. Published in full: Vanderpool 1938, pp. 363–411.
   Complete inventory: 55 pieces (not listed, more than a generation older than the upper fill)

2. Upper dumped fill, from top to —12.00 m. All pieces published in full: RRCS, pp. 265–336.
   Complete inventory: 452 pieces

BLACK FIGURE
Amphora (3): P 2568 = Agora XXIII, 213; P 2788 = Agora XXIII, 222; P 1293 = Agora XXIII, 370
Pelike (3): P 2643 = Agora XXIII, 395, manner of Red-line Painter; P 2644, P 2645 = Agora XXIII, 396, manner of Red-line Painter; P 2755 = Agora XXIII, 397
Hydria (2): P 2642 = Agora XXIII, 660; P 2625 + 2658 = Agora XXIII, 663
Krater (4). Column-: P 2641 = Agora XXIII, 470, Rycroft Painter (?); P 2612 = Agora XXIII, 471; P 2571 = Agora XXIII, 479. Calyx-: P 2789 = Agora XXIII, 508
Louterion (1): P 2709 = Agora XXIII, 607
Oinochoe (10): P 2741 = Agora XXIII, 737, Painter of Rhodes Pelike; P 1331 = Agora XXIII, 747; P 1397+1558 = Agora XXIII, 756, Class of Vatican G 50; P 1559 = Agora XXIII, 758; P 1395 = Agora XXIII, 771; P 1396 = Agora XXIII, 773; P 1398 = Agora XXIII, 774; P 2627 = Agora XXIII, 781; P 2563 = Agora XXIII, 783; P 2684 = Agora XXIII, 784
Olpe (4): P 2700 = Agora XXIII, 682; P 2647 = Agora XXIII, 687; P 2646 = Agora XXIII, 688, Class of Vatican G 50; P 1557 = Agora XXIII, 689
Uncertain closed shape (1): P 2621 = Agora XXIII, 1902

Skyphos (67). Theseus Painter: P 1545 = Agora XXIII, 1484; P 1544 = Agora XXIII, 1486; P 1548 = Agora XXIII, 1487; P 1549 = Agora XXIII, 1488; P 1547 = Agora XXIII, 1489; P 1546 = Agora XXIII, 1490; P 1550+1551 = Agora XXIII, 1492; P 1533 = Agora XXIII, 1657. Painter of Rodin 1000: P 2768 = Agora XXIII, 1500. Near Diiosphos Painter: P 1552 = Agora XXIII, 1501. Manner of Haimon Painter: P 2742 = Agora XXIII, 1506; P 1360 = Agora XXIII, 1507; P 1364 = Agora XXIII, 1508; P 1362 = Agora XXIII, 1509; P 1361 = Agora XXIII, 1510; P 1363 = Agora XXIII, 1511; P 2769 = Agora XXIII, 1517; *P 2737 = Agora XXIII, 1521; P 1322 = Agora XXIII, 1523; *P 1368 = Agora XXIII, 1524; P 1369 = Agora XXIII, 1526; *P 2699 = Agora XXIII, 1531. Haemonian: P 2678+2680+2738+2791 = Agora XXIII, 1529; P 2790 = Agora XXIII, 1530; P 1392 = Agora XXIII, 1534. Compare Painter of Elaious I: *P 1370 = Agora XXIII, 1537; *P 2679 = Agora XXIII, 1538. Silhouette skyphos, Class K2 (?): P 2682 = Agora XXIII, 1543; P 2681 = Agora XXIII, 1544; P 1320 = Agora XXIII, 1545; P 1560 = Agora XXIII, 1546; P 1290 = Agora XXIII, 1547; P 1561 = Agora XXIII, 1548; P 1321 = Agora XXIII, 1549; P 1319 = Agora XXIII, 1550; P 2624 = Agora XXIII, 1551; P 1391 = Agora XXIII, 1552; P 2623 = Agora XXIII, 1553. Silhouette skyphos, Class K2: P 1359 = Agora XXIII, 1558; P 1270 = Agora XXIII, 1559; P 1367 = Agora XXIII, 1560; P 1365+1366 = Agora XXIII, 1561; P 2677 = Agora XXIII, 1562. Lindos Group: P 2743 = Agora XXIII, 1571; P 2744 = Agora XXIII, 1573. CHC Group: P 2711 = Agora XXIII, 1580; P 2712 = Agora XXIII, 1584; P 1339 = Agora XXIII, 1600; P 2713 = Agora XXIII, 1602; P 1394 = Agora XXIII, 1605; P 2714 = Agora XXIII, 1603 (?); P 1338 = Agora XXIII, 1604 (connected with Group). Connected with Dog Group: P 2731 = Agora XXIII, 1606; P 2710 = Agora XXIII, 1607; P 2614 = Agora XXIII, 1608. Pistias Class: P 1342 = Agora XXIII, 1614; P 1323 = Agora XXIII, 1617 (?); P 16776 (P1. 83-g) = ABV, p. 628, no. 1 (connected with Class). Unattributed: P 16766 = Agora XXIII, 1618; P 2587 = Agora XXIII, 1624; P 2730 = Agora XXIII, 1628; P 16779 = Agora XXIII, 1633; P 1393+2586 = Agora XXIII, 1639; P 2622 = Agora XXIII, 1645; P 1318 = Agora XXIII, 1646; P 2565 = Agora XXIII, 1650; P 1562 = Agora XXIII, 1651; P 2683 = Agora XXIII, 1652

Cup (17). Leafless Group: P 2770 = Agora XXIII, 1767; P 2613 = Agora XXIII, 1768; P 2570 = Agora XXIII, 1769. Painter of Nicosia C975 (?): P 1384 = Agora XXIII, 1825. Palmette-cups: P 1308 (Pl. 82-a): = RRCS, 218; P 1372 (Pl. 82-d): = RRCS, 219; P 1371 = RRCS, 220; P 1373 (Pl. 82-e): = RRCS, 221; P 1309 (Pl. 82-b): = RRCS, 222; P 1379 = RRCS, 223; P 1380 = RRCS, 224; P 2746 = RRCS, 225; P 1374; P 1375; P 1376; P 1377; P 1378

Phiale (3): P 1563 = Agora XXIII, 1433; P 2685 = RRCS, 298; P 2727 = RRCS, 299

Leukythos (104). Leagros Group: P 1276 = Agora XXIII, 819. Cock Group: P 1278 = Agora XXIII, 847; P 1302 = Agora XXIII, 852; P 2669 = Agora XXIII, 859; P 1312 = Agora XXIII, 860; P 2560 = Agora XXIII, 863. Gela Painter: P 1331 = Agora XXIII, 873; P 1269 = Agora XXIII, 874; P 2569 = Agora XXIII, 875; P 1343 = Agora XXIII, 876; P 2648 = Agora XXIII, 877. Class of Athens 581 (?): P 1555 = Agora XXIII, 926; P 1282 = Agora XXIII, 927; P 1303 = Agora XXIII, 930; P 1314 = Agora XXIII, 1124. Class of Athens 581: P 1346 = Agora XXIII, 934; P 2725 = Agora XXIII, 935; P 2724 = Agora XXIII, 936; P 2564 = Agora XXIII, 937; P 2626 = Agora XXIII, 1066; P 1288 = Agora XXIII, 1095; P 1315 = Agora XXIII, 1096; P 2561 = Agora XXIII, 1097; P 2793 = Agora XXIII, 1098; P 1311 = Agora XXIII, 1116. Little-lion Class: P 1266 = Agora XXIII, 1162; P 1357 = Agora XXIII, 1163; P 1354 = Agora XXIII, 1164; P 1277 = Agora XXIII, 1165; P 1284+1297 = Agora XXIII, 1166; P 1295 = Agora XXIII, 1167; P 1300 = Agora XXIII, 1168; P 1298 = Agora XXIII, 1169; P 2663 = Agora XXIII, 1170; P 1299 = Agora XXIII, 1171; P 1355 = Agora XXIII, 1172; P 16763 = Agora XXIII, 1173. Hound-and-Hare Group: P 1296 = Agora XXIII, 1177; P 1356 = Agora XXIII, 1178; P 1301 = Agora XXIII, 1179; P 1285 = Agora XXIII, 1180. Manner of Haimon Painter: P 2672 = Agora XXIII, 965; P 2715+2722 = Agora XXIII, 968; P 2675+2739 = Agora XXIII, 1189; P 2670 = Agora XXIII, 1191; P 1345 = Agora XXIII, 1193; P 2719 = Agora XXIII, 1194; P 2676 = Agora XXIII, 1195; P 2591 = Agora XXIII, 1196; P 2695 = Agora XXIII, 1198; P 2633+2671 =
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Agora XXIII, 1199; P 2720 = Agora XXIII, 1200; P 2717 = Agora XXIII, 1201; P 2716 = Agora XXIII, 1202; P 2673 = Agora XXIII, 1203; P 2718 = Agora XXIII, 1204; P 2562 = Agora XXIII, 1206; P 1399 = Agora XXIII, 1207; P 2721 = Agora XXIII, 1208; P 2661 = Agora XXIII, 1209; P 1289 = Agora XXIII, 1217; P 2664 = Agora XXIII, 1218; P 2592+2767 = Agora XXIII, 1222; P 2667 = Agora XXIII, 1223; P 2771 = Agora XXIII, 1224; P 2589 = Agora XXIII, 1229; P 1344 = Agora XXIII, 1231; P 1400 = Agora XXIII, 1232; P 2628 = Agora XXIII, 1233; P 2740 = Agora XXIII, 1234; P 2590 = Agora XXIII, 1236. Haemostomia: P 1553+2588 = Agora XXIII, 975. Unattributed: P 1286 = Agora XXIII, 867; P 1279 = Agora XXIII, 1128; P 1283 = Agora XXIII, 1130; P 1287 = Agora XXIII, 1131; P 1353 = Agora XXIII, 1132; P 1401 = Agora XXIII, 1133; P 2629 = Agora XXIII, 1134; P 2530 = Agora XXIII, 1135; P 2632 = Agora XXIII, 1136; P 2659 = Agora XXIII, 1137; P 2660 = Agora XXIII, 1138; P 2662 = Agora XXIII, 1139; P 2665 = Agora XXIII, 1140; P 1313 = Agora XXIII, 1238; P 1280 = Agora XXIII, 1239; P 1281 = Agora XXIII, 1240; P 1316 = Agora XXIII, 1241; P 1317 = Agora XXIII, 1242; P 1554 = Agora XXIII, 1243; P 2666 = Agora XXIII, 1244; P 2668 = Agora XXIII, 1245; P 2674 = Agora XXIII, 1246; P 2726+2792 = Agora XXIII, 1247; P 2793 = Agora XXIII, 1248; P 2794 = Agora XXIII, 1249; P 2801 = Agora XXIII, 1250; P 1556 = Agora XXIII, 1251. Palmette-kytho (Pl. 82k): P 16767 = RRCS, 181; P 1382 = RRCS, 182; P 16770 = RRCS, 183; P 1381; P 2572

Red Figure
Krater, column- (1): P 2619 = RRCS, 50
Oinochoe (1): P 2798 = RRCS, 59
Skyphos (3): P 2585 = RRCS, 48; P 2708 = RRCS, 53; P 2787 = RRCS, 58; ARV², p. 347, no. 115, manner of Antiphon Painter

Cup (23). Group of Acropolis 96: P 1272 = RRCS, 33; ARV², p. 105, no. 2; P 1273 = RRCS, 34; ARV², p. 105, no. 4; P 1274 = RRCS, 35; ARV², p. 105, no. 3; P 1275 = RRCS, 36; ARV², p. 105, “related”; P 1264 = RRCS, 31; ARV², p. 105, no. 1, cf. Group. Compare Painter of Louvre G36: P 1265 = RRCS, 32; ARV², p. 115, no. 2. Pithos Painter: P 1382 bis = RRCS, 39; ARV², p. 139, no. 7; P 2579 = RRCS, 45; ARV², p. 139, no. 18; P 16781 = RRCS, 55; ARV², p. 140, no. 53; P 2765 = RRCS, 56; ARV², p. 141, no. 68; P 2800 = RRCS, 60; ARV², p. 140, no. 37. Heraion Painter: P 2736 = RRCS, 54; ARV², p. 143, no. 6. Painter of Agora P 2578: P 2578 = RRCS, 44; ARV², p. 142, no. 1; P 2576 = RRCS, 42; ARV², p. 142, no. 2; P 2577 = RRCS, 43; ARV², p. 142, no. 3. Unattributed: P 1310 = RRCS, 37; P 1330 = RRCS, 38; P 2574 = RRCS, 40; P 2575 = RRCS, 41; P 2580 = RRCS, 46; P 2581 = RRCS, 47; P 2620 = RRCS, 51; P 2698 = RRCS, 52

Plate (1). Heraion Painter: P 2786 = RRCS, 57; ARV², p. 143, no. 21

Black Glaze
Amphora (2): P 1358 = RRCS, 268; P 1293 = RRCS, 269, lid
Pelike (1): P 1271 = RRCS, 267; cf. Agora XII, 22
Psykter (3): P 1324 = RRCS, 264; P 1324 bis = RRCS, 265; P 16771 = RRCS, 266
Oinochoe (2): P 2697 = RRCS, 310, Corinthian; P 2616 = RRCS, 311, Corinthian
Mug (1): P 2795 = Agora XII, 194

Olpe (2): P 1564 = Agora XII, 265; P 1406 = RRCS, 16; cf. Agora XII, 260

Skyphos, Corinthian type (6): P 1341 = RRCS, 312, Corinthian; P 2687 = RRCS, 313, Corinthian; P 2701 = RRCS, 314, Corinthian; P 1325 = RRCS, 243; cf. Agora XII, 311; P 1340 = RRCS, 244; cf. Agora XII, 311; P 2753 = RRCS, 245; cf. Agora XII, 311

Skyphos, Attic type (3): P 1326 = RRCS, 246; cf. Agora XII, 334; P 2732 = Agora XII, 338; P 2752 = Agora XII, 357

Skyphos, Subgeometric survival (1): P 16768 = RRCS, 251; cf. Agora XII, 369

Cup (18): P 1307 = Agora XII, 418; P 1267 = Agora XII, 419; P 1306 = RRCS, 227, cf. Agora XII, 420; P 2649 = RRCS, 229, cf. Agora XII, 417; P 1305 = RRCS, 230; P 2748 = RRCS, 231; P 2774 = RRCS, 232; *P 2802 = RRCS, 233, cf. Agora XII, 412; *P 2696 = RRCS, 234, cf. Agora XII, 412; *P 2733 = RRCS, 235, cf. Agora XII, 412; *P 2747 = RRCS, 236, Vicup, cf. for lip, Agora XII, 434, for foot, Agora XII, 439 and p. 93, note 32; P 2734 = Agora XXV, 561 and = RRCS, 8, cf. Agora XII, 420, ostrakon of
Kallixenos; P 2758 = Agora XXV, 562 and = RRCS, 9, ostrakon of Kallixenos; P 2759 = RRCS, 18, cf. Agora XII, 418; P 2639 = RRCS, 23, cf. Agora XII, 418; *P 2704 = RRCS, 24, cf. Agora XII, 412; *P 2705 = RRCS, 25, cf. Agora XII, 412; P 2735 = RRCS, 26, cf. Agora XII, 419

Stemless (6): P 16784 = Agora XII, 447; *P 2594 = Agora XII, 451; *P 2772 = RRCS, 239, cf. Agora XII, 453; P 2750 = RRCS, 240; P 16765 = RRCS, 241; P 2603 = RRCS, 278

Phiale (4): P 1390 = Agora XII, 519; P 1563 = RRCS, 297; P 2685 = RRCS, 298; P 2727 = RRCS, 299

Strainer (1): P 2566 = Agora XII, 527

Cup-skyphos (4): *P 2615 = Agora XII, 573; P 1350 = RRCS, 21, cf. Agora XII, 572; P 2751 = RRCS, 249, cf. Agora XII, 568; P 2610 = RRCS, 19, cf. Agora XII, 572


Bowl (2): P 1407 = RRCS, 22; P 2745 = RRCS, 296

Saltcellar (17): P 2634, cf. Agora XII, 901, P 8806 (E 14:5), P 14666 (G 3:1); P 2775 = Agora XII, 892; P 2597 = Agora XII, 899, cf. P 15032 (F 19:5), P 29362 (Q 21:3); P 2598+2688 = Agora XII, 901; P 2689 = Agora XII, 902; P 2600, cf. Agora XII, 890; P 2601 = RRCS, 283, cf. Agora XII, 902; P 2636, cf. Agora XII, 902; P 2637, cf. Agora XII, 902; P 2602+2690 = RRCS, 285, cf. Agora XII, 909; P 2558+2599 = RRCS, 286, cf. Agora XII, 891; P 2557 = Agora XII, 930; P 1403 = RRCS, 289, cf. Agora XII, 923; P 1332 = RRCS, 290, cf. Agora XII, 923; P 2694 = RRCS, 292, cf. Agora XII, 926; P 2691 = Agora XII, 939; P 2729 = Agora XII, 953


Plate (6): P 1349 = RRCS, 254; P 1387 = RRCS, 255; P 1388 = RRCS, 256; P 1389 = RRCS, 257; P 2573 = RRCS, 258; P 2606 = RRCS, 259

Lekythos (5): P 1347 = Agora XII, 1112; P 1291 = RRCS, 260; P 1292 = RRCS, 261; P 1402 = RRCS, 262; P 16782 = RRCS, 263

Lekanis (4): P 2756 = Agora XII, 1224; P 2754 = Agora XII, 1234, lid; P 16775 = Agora XII, 1318, lid; P 1348 = RRCS, 280, lid

Stand (1): P 16764 = RRCS, 277, cf. Agora XII, 1329

Thurible (1): P 16777 = RRCS, 300, cf. Agora XII, 1347, cover

Bell (2): P 2608 = Agora XII, 1365; P 2609 = RRCS, 302

Miniature (1): P 2728 = Agora XII, 1408

Ring (1): P 16778 = RRCS, 303

Household

Table amphora (1): P 16786 = Agora XII, 1441

Storage amphora (6): P 2776 = Agora XXV, 140 and = RRCS, 10, ostrakon of Hipparchos; P 2778 = Agora XXV, 64 and = RRCS, 12, ostrakon of Aristides; P 2779 = Agora XXV, 240 and = RRCS, 13, ostrakon of Hippocrates; P 2764 = RRCS, 27; P 2780 = RRCS, 28; SS 9628 = RRCS, 29, stamped handle

Storage Bin (1): P 2757 = Agora XII, 1527

Hydria (1): P 16780 = RRCS, 316

Jug (2): P 16787 = Agora XII, 1688; P 1333 = Agora XII, 1702

Lekane (9): P 2617 = Agora XXV, 633 and = Agora XII, 1766, ostrakon of Megakles; P 16773 = Agora XII, 1787, cf. P 25755 (Q 12:3); P 16772 = RRCS, 304; P 16785 = RRCS, 308, cf. Agora XII, 1789; P 16774 = Agora XII, 1826; P 16783 = RRCS, 307, cf. Agora XII, 1826; P 2650 = Agora XXV, 634 and = RRCS, 2, ostrakon of Megakles, cf. Agora XII, 1787; P 2651 = Agora XXV, 635 and = RRCS, 3, ostrakon of Megakles, cf. Agora XII, 1787; P 2777 = Agora XXV, 973 and = RRCS, 11, ostrakon of Themistokles, cf. Agora XII, 1787

Coarse wall frags. (5): P 2652 = Agora XXV, 139 and = RRCS, 4, ostrakon of Hipparchos; P 2653 = Agora XXV, 92 and = RRCS, 7, ostrakon of Boutalion; P 2703 = Agora XXV, 297 and = RRCS, 7,
ostrakon of Hippokrates; P 2797 = Agora XXV, 65 and = RRCS, 14, ostrakon of Aristeides; P 2799 = Agora XXV, 66 and = RRCS, 15, ostrakon of Aristeides

Roof tile, frag. (1): P 2702 = Agora XXV, 276 and = RRCS, 6, ostrakon of Hippokrates

Lamp (52): L 673; L 674; L 675 = RRCS, 330; L 676; L 677 = RRCS, 336; L 678 = RRCS, 343; L 679; L 680; L 681; L 683; L 684; L 685; L 686; L 687; L 688, cf. RRCS, 339; L 689, cf. RRCS, 339; L 690, cf. RRCS, 339; L 1176 = RRCS, 334; L 1177; L 1178; L 1179; L 1180; L 1181; L 1182; L 1183 = RRCS, 340; L 1184; L 1185 = RRCS, 331; L 1186 = RRCS, 342; L 1187 = RRCS, 344; L 1188 = RRCS, 328; L 1189 = RRCS, 350; L 1190 = RRCS, 338; L 1191 = RRCS, 332; L 1192 = RRCS, 335; L 1193; cf. RRCS, 337; L 1193 bis; cf. RRCS, 337; L 1194 = RRCS, 341; L 1195; L 1196 = RRCS, 329; L 1197; L 1198; L 1199; L 1200 = RRCS, 349; L 1201 = RRCS, 333; L 1202 = RRCS, 347; L 1203 = RRCS, 345; L 1204 = RRCS, 337; L 1205 = RRCS, 346; L 1206 = RRCS, 348; L 1207; L 1208, cf. RRCS, 337; L 4062, cf. RRCS, 337

Loomweight (11): MC 58, MC 651–MC 660

Spindle whorl (3): MC 59, 60; ST 48

Terracotta figurine (9): T 346–T 348, T 489; T 491–T 495

Bone stylus (6): BI 67–BI 72

Lots A 392–A 396: five tins of roof-tile frags.

G 11:3 Well

Section, Fig. 8
Diam. ca. 0.70 m.; 0.60 m. at mouth; depth 9.30 m.; water at −0.95 m. Shaft sunk in bedrock and curved with polygonal masonry from top to bottom.

The later well of Building F, predecessor of the Tholos: Thompson 1940, pp. 30–32; cf. Shear 1939, pp. 229–231, figs. 26, 27.

Complete inventory: 100 pieces

1. Period-of-use fill from −6.00 m. to −9.30 m. From −6.00 m. to −8.00 m., solid pottery, much of it complete. After a layer of sandy fill, from −8.00 m. to −8.70 m., pottery resumed in quantity to bottom.

BLACK FIGURE

Amphora (1): P 12752 = Agora XXIII, 116
Pelike (1): P 12561 = Agora XXIII, 391, Antimenean
Hydria (2): P 12777 = Agora XXIII, 653; P 12753 = Agora XXIII, 665, Painter of Half Palmettes
Oinochoe (3): P 12778 = Agora XXIII, 739; P 12779 = Agora XXIII, 776; P 12768 = Agora XXIII, 740
Skyphos (2): *P 12769 = Agora XXIII, 1542, connected with the Laincut Group; P 12790 = Agora XXIII, 1653
Cup (1): P 12565, debased palmettes, cf. P 20766 (R 12:1), closely similar (both Pl. 82:g)
Lekythos (3): *P 12765 = Agora XXIII, 1190, manner of Haimon Painter; Thompson 1940, fig. 23:b; P 12780 = Thompson 1940, fig. 23:a, palmettes (Pl. 82:j); *P 12766 = Thompson 1940, fig. 23:c, palmettes (Pl. 82:j)
Pyxis (1): P 12540 = Agora XXIII, 1275, Swan Group

RED FIGURE

Cup (1): P 12776, frag.
Small Bowl (1): P 12541, see Agora XII, p. 132, note 1

BLACK GLAZE

Amphora (1): P 12781 = Agora XII, 3
Pelike (5): P 12796 = Agora XII, 15; P 12571 = Agora XII, 16; P 12562, cf. ibid.; P 12551 = Agora XII, 19; P 12547 = Agora XII, 31, lid
Psykter (3): P 12544 = Agora XII, 38; P 12575 = Agora XII, 42, lid; P 12578 = Agora XII, 43, lid
Hydria (1): P 12539 = Agora XII, 45
Oinochoe (7): P 12577 = Agora XII, 97; P 12538 = Agora XII, 98; P 12543, cf. Agora XII, 109; P 12772 = Agora XII, 146; P 12773, cf. ibid., a pair; P 12774, cf. ibid.; P 12787, cf. ibid.
Fig. 8. Sections of Wells G 11:3 and G 11:8
2. Upper dumped fill, from top to -6.00 m., consisting entirely of tumbled field stones and thick mud, with very little pottery.

**Black Glaze**

Saltcellar (1): P 12536

**Household**


Ship’s eye (marble): A 3811

Among fragmentary pottery: 2 tins of roof-tile frags.; 1 tin of querns (Lots B 555–B 557)

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**G 11:8 Well**

**Section, Fig. 8**

Diam. ca. 0.95 m.; depth 8.95 m.; water level at -0.55 m. Shaft sunk in soft, greenish bedrock. Well put out of use by the collapse of the rock walls and replaced by well G 11:3.

Earlier well of Building F, predecessor of the Tholos, Thompson 1940, pp. 25, 28–30.

1. Period-of-use fill, from -5.95 m. to -8.95 m., consisting entirely of soft, crumbling bedrock fallen from the walls.

Complete inventory: 9 pieces
BLACK FIGURE
Amphora (1): P 6548 = Agora XXIII, 56, Painter of Louvre F6
Oinochoe (1): P 5463 = Agora XXIII, 735

BLACK GLAZE
Pelike (1): P 5459 = Agora XII, 24
Oinochoe (1): P 6549, cf. Agora XII, 144

HOUSEHOLD
Hydria (3): P 5461 = Agora XII, 1593; P 5460, cf. ibid.; P 5462, cf. ibid.
Kados (1): P 5457, cf. Agora XII, 1601
Jug (1): P 6550 = Agora XII, 1692, imported

2. From −2.80 m. to −5.95 m., a fill of collapsed bedrock from the walls of the shaft, which produced almost no sherds.

3. Upper dumped fill, from top to −3.35 m. Most of the broken pottery and debris found between −2.00 m. and −3.35 m. The highest 2.00 m. of the shaft filled with dug bedrock, which also covered the top of the well in a layer 0.30 m. thick. Dug bedrock produced very few sherds.

Total assemblage: 2 inventoried pieces; 368 fragments

EARLY WARE
Late Geometric (5). Amphora: rim, wall (decorated), glazed shoulder. Banded oinochoe: wall. Wall, closed shape

Corinthian (2). Kotyle: wall. Pyxis: wall/bottom

Wall frags. (17): banded and Archaic streaky brown glaze

BLACK FIGURE
Krater, column- (2): handle-plate; lower wall, rays
Skyphos (2): rim (2 frags.), palmettes, cf. for profile, SGW, 50; lower wall
Cup (3): plain rim; lower wall; foot, cf. Agora XXIII, 1762
Phiale (2): rim; wall
Lekythos (3): neck/handle; figured wall; low disk foot, Class of Athens 581, ii (?), cf. Agora XXIII, 922
Lekanis (1): lid top, band of ivy

Wall frags.: open shape (1), closed shape (3)

BLACK GLAZE
Amphora (4): rim/neck, foot, cf. Agora XII, 4; lower wall; rim
Pelike (2): torus mouth, cf. Agora XII, 22; strap handle/shoulder, cf. Agora XII, 21
Krater, column- (1): foot in two degrees, cf. Agora XII, 54
Oinochoe (2): trefoil mouth/high handle (2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 100; wall, foot, cf. Agora XII, 148
Olpe (4): walls, cf. Agora XII, 250

Skyphos, Corinthian type (12): 5 rims (1 with handle attachment), cf. Agora XII, 311; 5 walls; handle;
2 lower walls; 5 feet, cf. Agora XII, 309; *foot, cf. Agora XII, 313; miniature foot

Skyphos, Attic type (1): lower wall/foot, cf. Agora XII, 335


Cup (8): P 5278, cf. Agora XII, 420; *P 5279 = Agora XXV, 304, ostrakon of Hippokrates; cf. Agora XII, 422; 2 concave lips (1 in 2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 407; rim/handle (3 frags.), cf. SGW, 4; concave lip, cf. Agora XII, 408; 5 walls; 2 handles; stem, cf. Agora XII, 400; stem, cf. Agora XII, 409

Cup-skyphos (10): 2 rims, cf. Agora XII, 568; rim, cf. Agora XII, 569; rim, cf. Agora XII, 572; *2 rims (1 in 2 frags.), *foot, cf. Agora XII, 575; handle; wall; *foot (2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 578; foot, cf. SGW, 42; foot, cf. for profile, SGW, 48

One-handler, banded (3): bell handle, foot, cf. Agora XII, 733; *rim, cf. Agora XII, 741
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Lekanis (5): flanged rim, cf. Agora XII, 1217; flanged rim, foot, cf. Agora XII, 1216; flanged rim; ribbon handle; 2 lid rims
Miniature (1): unglazed cup
Wall frags: open shape (46), closed shape (18). Handles (9)

HOUSEHOLD
Storage amphora (4): walls, streaky brown glaze, cf. Agora XII, 1503
Hydria (1): projecting rim, cf. Agora XII, 1594
Jug (3): 2 rims (1 with neck); ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 1659
Lid (1): domed top (2 frags.), cooking ware
Wall frags.: plain and coarse (121). Rim (1). Handles (3)


H 12:15 Well

1. Period-of-use fill, from −11.60 m. to bottom at −12.25 m., consisting of brown mud.

BLACK FIGURE

Amphora (1): P 23200 = Agora XXIII, 209, cf. manner of Red-line Painter
Hydria (1): P 23197 = Agora XXIII, 658, associated with Red-line Painter
Olpe (1): P 23196 = Agora XXIII, 694, Dot-ivy Class
Skyphos (1): P 23198 = Agora XXIII, 1610, Group of Ferrara T:800
Cup (1): P 23199 = Agora XXIII, 1762, Leafless Group

BLACK GLAZE

Pelike (3): P 23320 = Agora XII, 20; P 23343, cf. ibid.; P 23176 = Agora XII, 21
Skyphos, Subgeometric survival (1): P 23193 = Agora XII, 369
Cup-skyphos (1): P 23327 = Agora XII, 570
One-handler, banded (1): *P 23192 (Pl. 84:G) = Agora XII, 737, cf. P 8820 (E 14:5), P 1294, P 1385 (G 6:3), P 24619, P 24620 (Q 12:3), P 20775, P 20776 (R 12:1)
Miniature (1): P 23195 = Agora XII, 1409

HOUSEHOLD

Table amphora (1): P 23185 = Agora XII, 1446
Hydria (1): P 23182 = Agora XII, 1595
Water jar (1): P 23183
Kados (1): P 23381 = Agora XII, 1608
Jug (5): P 23181 = Agora XII, 1641; P 23184 = Sparkes 1962, pl. VI:2; P 23179, cf. ibid.; P 23180, cf. ibid.; P 23177 = Agora XII, 1672
Chytra (2): P 23189, cf. Agora XII, 1934; P 23188 = Agora XII, 1935
4.54

Loras (1): P 23382
Lamp (1). Type 16 B: L 5076

2. Lower dumped fill, began at -7.30 m. and continued to -11.60 m., consisting of much broken pottery and stones. From -8.65 to -9.05 m., a mass of tumbled mud brics in large pieces.

**BLACK FIGURE**

Amphora (1): P 23164 = *Agora* XXIII, 97
Krater, column- (2): P 23169 = *Agora* XXIII, 477, 478; P 23170, Corinthian
Loutrophoros (1): P 23171 = *Agora* XXIII, 377
Skyphos (2): P 23174 = *Agora* XXIII, 1491, Theseus Painter; P 23175 = *Agora* XXIII, 1615, Pistias Class
Lekythos (1): P 23355 = *Agora* XXIII, 840, Cock Group

**RED FIGURE**

Krater, column- (1): P 23173, frags.
Cup (4): P 23172 = *ARV*², p. 111, "recalls" Hermaios Painter; Thompson 1954, pl. 15:e; P 23178 = *ARV*², p. 142, no. 7, Group of Adria B 300; Thompson 1954, pl. 15:f; P 23165 = *ARV*², p. 176, no. 2, Painter of *Agora* Chairias cups; Thompson 1954, pl. 15:e; cf. cups by the same painter in Q 12:3; P 23166 = Thompson 1954, pl. 15:d

**BLACK GLAZE**

Mug (1): P 23351, cf. *Agora* XII, 190
Skyphos, Subgeometric survival (1): P 23337, cf. *Agora* XII, 369
Cup (1): P 23363, cf. *Agora* XII, 432
Stemless (1): P 23353, cf. *Agora* XII, 446
Stemmed dish (1): P 23361
Plate (1): P 23348 = *Agora* XII, 1005
Miniature (1): P 23357 = *Agora* XII, 1436

**HOUSEHOLD**

Household lekanis (1): P 23345 = *Agora* XII, 1547
Lot MS 270: one tin of mud bricks

3. From -4.85 m. to -7.30 m., a dump consisting of nothing but crushed bedrock sludge and containing not a single sherd or stone.

4. Upper dumped fill, from -0.95 m. to -4.85 m. Fill consisted of stones and gravel to -1.55 m. Between -2.00 m. and -3.15 m., masses of stones and roof tiles; between -4.25 m. and -4.55 m., a concentration of wine jars.

**BLACK FIGURE**

Krater, column- (1): P 23153 = *Agora* XXIII, 475
Oinochoe (1): P 23342 = *Agora* XXIII, 757, Class of Vatican G.50
Cup (2): P 23332 = *Agora* XXIII, 1763, Leafless Group; P 23319
Lekythos (1): P 23155 = *Agora* XXIII, 931, Class of Athens 581, ii
Pyxis (1): P 23126, Late Corinthian II
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5. Supplementary fill, from top to —0.70 m., consisting of stones and gravel.

RED FIGURE
Krater, volute-? (1): P 23358, wall frag.

Cup (5): P 23125 = ARV², p. 139, no. 10, Pithos Painter; Thompson 1954, pl. 15g; P 23133 = ibid., pl. 15a; P 23146 = ARV², p. 176, no. 7, Painter of Agora Chairias cups; Thompson 1954, pl. 15f; P 23151 = ibid., pl. 15c; P 23330 = ibid., p. 53

BLACK GLAZED
Skyphos (1): P 23328, cf. Agora XII, 334

Cup (4): *P 23331, cf. Agora XII, 411; P 23329, cf. Agora XII, 408; P 23154 = Agora XII, 432; P 23365, frag.


One-handler (1): *P 23339 = Agora XII, 736

Bowl (1): P 23127, rim

Saltcellar (1): P 23121, cf. Agora XII, 923

Stemmed dish (6): P 23338 = Agora XII, 963; P 23122 = Agora XII, 970; P 23334, cf. Agora XII, 970; P 23335, cf. Agora XII, 978; P 23336, cf. ibid.; P 23123 = Agora XII, 977

Plate (2): P 23128 = Agora XII, 1002; P 23349, cf. Agora XII, 1005

Covered bowl (1): P 23344 = Agora XII, 1267

Miniature (2): P 23119 = Agora XII, 1410, chous; P 23326, skyphos

HOUSEHOLD


Storage-bin: P 23384 = Agora XII, 1544

Lekane (4): P 23359 = Agora XII, 1786; P 23380 = Agora XII, 1781, cf. P 11058 (D 15:1), P 24129 (Q 12:3);

P 23379, cf. Agora XII, 1784; P 23340, cf. Agora XII, 1790

Mortar (1): P 23383 = Agora XII, 1886

Lamp (7). Type 16 B: L 5098, L 5073, L 5072, L 5067. Type 19 A: L 5097. Type 19 B: L 5068. Type 20:

L 5074

Lot ΜΣ 262: one tin of roof-tile frags.

H 13:5 Trench
L. at south 1.40 m.; L. at middle 1.00 m.; L. at north 1.00 m.; W. 1.90 m.; depth 1.50 m. Trench dug in bedrock, in street beside Agora boundary stones beneath Road 6, probably for the unfinished southward continuation of the Great Drain.

Homogeneous dumped fill of broken pottery, roof tiles, and architectural debris.

Total assemblage: 29 inventoried pieces, 1,528 fragments (Lots ΜΣ 424–ΜΣ 427, ΜΣ 430–ΜΣ 433). Many sherds badly worn, battered, and burned.

EARLY WARE

Protogeometric (1). Skyphos: wall

Late Geometric (2). Amphora: wall; lug handle, hatched

BLACK FIGURE


Psykter (1): P 27885 = *Agora* XXIII, 398

Krater; column- (5): shoulder/handle attachment, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 474; neck; wall; 2 lower walls, rays

Dinos? (1): flat inturned rim

Loutereion (1): spout, glazed, ivy on sides


Cup (8): 3 walls/figure zones, banded lower wall, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1762; foot, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1769; 2 lower walls; floor, tondo


Stand (2): P 27839 a, c, d = *Agora* XXIII, 566; P 27839 b = *Agora* XXIII, 577

Closed shape, uncertain: P 27887 = *Agora* XXIII, 1894

Wall frags.: open shape (5), closed shape (12)

RED FIGURE

Amphora (2): P 27851, figured wall frag.


Skyphos? (1): figured wall

Cup (1): concave lip, offset inside, cf. *SGW*, 10

Lekythos (1): shoulder/upper wall, key to right, cf. *ABL*, pl. 22:4

Wall frag. (1)

BLACK GLAZE

Amphora (12): collared rim; 4 necks; 3 necks/shoulders, torus mouth, cf. *Agora* XII, 3; handle attachment; flaring rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 7; lid knob, cf. *Agora* XII, 10


Hydria (1): mouth/neck/handle attachment, cf. *Agora* XII, 45


rim, rim/wall, rim/handle, cf. *Agora* XII, 195; 2 strap handles; full profile, flat bottom, vertical wall/rim (2 frags.)


Skyphos, Corinthian type (105): rim/bell handle; 28 rims; 12 bell handles; 2 upper walls; 21 lower walls; 2 ring feet, cf. *Agora* XII, 306; 2 ring feet, cf. *Agora* XII, 309; 7 rims (in 6 frags., 4 in 2 frags.); 3 rims (in 2 frags., 1 in 7 frags.), 3 rims/bell handles, 3 ring feet/lower bodies (in 1 frags.), 12 ring feet (in 1 frags., 1 in 4 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 310; 3 rims (in 1 frags.), 4 rims/bell handles (in 1 frags.), 2 rims, 3 ring feet (in 1 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 311; *flaring ring foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 313; canted handle, ring foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 332; 3 miniature feet/walls (1 in 4 frags.)


Phiale (2): bowls (1 in 2 frags.), horizontal ribbing, cf. *Agora* XII, 520


Kantharos? (1): straight, flaring rim


Bowl? (1): plain rim


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Plate (7): full profile, cf. RRRS, 259; rim (2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1003; 2 rims, cf. Agora XII, 1006; 3 floors (1 in 2 frags.)
Lekane (3): 3 lower bodies; foot/door body, black, cf. Agora XII, 1115; shoulder to foot (2 frags.), cf. RRRS, 263. Globular body: shoulder/drip ring, rim, cf. Agora XII, 1102; *mouth/handle, cf. Agora XII, 1103
Askos, deep (2): *mouth/central tube/bottom (3 frags.), *central tube, cf. Agora XII, 1166
Lekanis (16): flanged rim (4 frags.), flanged rim/ribbon handle, ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 1216; 3 flanged rims (2 with ribbon handle attachments), cf. Agora XII, 1217; 2 lids, 1 banded, cf. Agora XII, 1215; 2 flanged rims; 2 lid rims (1 in 2 frags.); 3 lid tops; lid top (3 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1231; *lid, cf. Agora XII, 1234
Covered bowl (1): rim, flanged for lid, cf. Agora XII, 1266
Pyxis (4): P 27917 = Roberts 1978, p. 33, no. 2; lid top/wall, cf. ibid., p. 33, no. 3; lid knob, cf. Agora XII, 1286; flat lid
Wall frags.: open shape (68), closed shape (26). Rim (3). Handles (21). Floor, open shape (7)

Household
Table amphora (3): ring feet (1 in 3 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1455
Storage amphora (24): 3 rims (2 in 2 frags.), toe, Attic, cf. SGW, 418; rim (3 frags.), rim/neck, Chian, cf. SGW, 419; rim/handle, cf. SGW, 425; rim, toe, cf. SGW, 427; rim, cf. SGW, 429; ring toe, cf. SGW, 440; neck with tie-on rim, double handle (3 frags.); 3 handles; rim/handle; 2 necks/handles (1 in 2 frags.); shoulder; banded wall/handle; 3 walls; 2 toes
Pithos (1): flat rim/neck, cf. Agora XII, 1521
Household lekanis (2): P 27843 (lidless), cf. Agora XII, 1206 but semiglazed; flanged rim/ribbon handle, cf. for profile, Agora XII, 1549
Hydria (3): rims (2 in 2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1594
Kados (27): 2 flat rims, cf. Agora XII, 1601; 3 rims, shoulder, 9 ring feet (1 in 2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1603; 10 rims (1 in 2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1610; 5 handles
Jug (28): 3 ring feet, cf. Agora XII, 1612; 3 trefoil mouths (1 in 3 frags.), 3 ring feet, cf. Agora XII, 1641; round mouth, 2 ring feet, Agora XII, 1659; upper body (3 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1667; plain-ware handle, cf. Agora XII, 1670; plain-ware handle, cf. Agora XII, 1672; 2 ring feet, gray ware, cf. Agora XII, 1702; 2 handles; 9 banded walls (1 in 2 frags.)


Eschara (1): flat rim, spit rest (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 2030

Coarse frag. P 27844 = *Agora* XXI, D38

Wall frags. Plain and coarse (31): rims (4); handles (8). Banded: wall (1); ring foot (1)


Loomweight (4)

Spindle whorl (2): ST 758 and 1 uninventoried

Lead weight: IL 1501, IL 1502

Goat horn (1)

Terracotta figurine (5): T 3783–T 3785; 2 frags.

Water pipe (5): 2 rims; 3 walls (1 in 4 frags.)

Architectural debris: A 3644, marble pedestal capital; A 3645, unfluted poros column frag. The excavator also noted the following fragmentary pieces: 2 wall blocks; 4 poros columns (1 fluted); stylobate block; Doric cornice block; a solid layer of roof tiles near the bottom of the trench (A 3643 and 3 frags. kept)

Intrusions


Pyxis (1): lid (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 1293

Black-glazed floor, stamped decoration

Lamp (1): Type 42 D, moldmade bottom

**L 5:2** Pit of debris

L. ca. 5.00 m.; W. ca. 3.50 m.; depth 0.80 m. Amorphous pit dug in bedrock beneath the Panathenaic Way. Total assemblage: 15 inventoried pieces; 463 fragments

1. Layer of red clay from disintegrated mud bricks, mixed with large quantities of charcoal. Dumped fill contained masses of rubble, architectural fragments, worked and unworked pieces of poros and marble, stones, and roof tiles.

Total fragments: 439 (Lots BΓ 323, BΓ 681, BΓ 810)

**Early Ware**

*Middle Helladic* (3). Gray Minyan goblet: stem, handle attachment, wall

*Late Helladic III B* (3). Deep bowl: rim/wall. Kylix: stem, wall

*Protogeometric* (10). Rim; 5 walls. Skyphos: 2 feet, 2 handles


*Protoattic* (1). Decorated wall

Wall frags.: Archaic banded and brown glaze (68). Rim (1)

**Black Figure**

Oinochoe (1): ring foot, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 735

Cup (2): rim, band cup, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1700; flaring foot/lower wall, Siana cup, cf. for profile, *Agora* XXIII, 1678

Lekythos (2): *foot in two degrees/lower wall, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1188; mouth

Wall frags. (2)
BLACK GLAZE

Psykter (1): flanged rim, cf. Agora XII, 36
Krater, column (1): overhanging rim
Banded bowl (1): rim, cf. Agora XII, 64
Oinochoe (3): flaring ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 96; plain floor; low ring foot
Olpe (1): foot, cf. Agora XII, 240
Skyphos, Corinthian type (2): rim, foot, cf. Agora XII, 311
Skyphos, Attic type (1): *foot/lower wall (8 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 339 (frags. of same pot in Lot BΓ 680, see below)
Stemmed dish (1): rim, cf. Agora XII, 968
Wall frags. (16). Handles (3). Ring feet (3)

HOUSEHOLD

Storage amphora (3): neck/shoulder; 2 toes
Pithos (6): 4 rims, cf. Agora XII, 1520; 2 coarse rims
Kados (3): rim, 2 ring feet, cf. Agora XII, 1603
Lekane (20): *rim, cf. Agora XII, 1754; *3 rims, cf. Agora XII, 1758; *rim, cf. Agora XII, 1759; *rim, cf. Agora XII, 1761; *rim, cf. Agora XII, 1762; *2 rims, cf. Agora XII, 1765; *rim (2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1766; *2 high ring feet, cf. Agora XII, 1767; *ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 1768; *ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 1770; *foot, cf. Agora XII, 1778; *low disk foot, cf. Agora XII, 1779; *rim/wall/handle (10 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1788; *rim, cf. Agora XII, 1830; 2 rims (much broken); 12 banded wall frags.
Tub (1): rim, cf. Agora XII, 1847
Eschara (2): rim/handle attachment, cf. Agora XII, 2028; rim
Wall frags.: plain and coarse (105). Rims (6). Handles (32). Feet (2)
Water pipe (3): frags.
Roof tiles, mostly glazed (50)
Architectural debris: A 4585, poros wall block; A 4586, Doric capital; A 4592, poros wall block; A 4773, Doric column frag.; A 4774, Doric column frag.; A 4775, Doric column frag. From interior order of Stoa Basileios: A 4273, Doric capital; A 4494, A 4587, A 4588, A 4589, A 4590, A 4591, Doric column frags.
Marble table base: ST 828
Seal stone: J 157

2. Upper part of pit filled with a thick sloping layer of almost pure dug bedrock containing very few sherds.
Total fragments: 24 (Lots BΓ 680, BΓ 809)

EARLY WARE

Late Geometric (3). Rim, decorated wall, banded handle
Corinthian (1). Rim (imported fabric)
Archaic. Streaky brown glaze (1): rim; banded wall (1)

BLACK FIGURE

Lekythos (1): neck/shoulder, Class of Athens 581, ii, cf. Agora XXIII, 1037

BLACK GLAZE

Skyphos, Attic type: *rim/wall (4 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 339 (frags. of same pot in Lot BΓ 323, see above)
Cup (1): concave lip, cf. Agora XII, 401
Cup-skyphos (1): ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 572
One-handler (1): banded wall frag.
Wall frags. (4)

HOUSEHOLD

Mortar (1): *thickened rim, cf. Agora XII, 1901, 1902
Plain rim (1)

**M 17:4 Well**
Diam. 2.00 m.; depth 2.50 m. Unfinished well shaft, abandoned in antiquity and used as a dump.
Homogeneous dumped fill of very fragmentary pottery.
Total assemblage: 32 inventoried pieces, 1,318 fragments. (*Lots Φ 24–Φ 30*)

### EARLY WARE

*Protogeometric* (1). Skyphos: conical foot


### BLACK FIGURE

Amphora (20): P 9267 = *Agora* XXIII, 218; P 9270 = *Agora* XXIII, 108; P 9276 = *Agora* XXIII, 207; 2 rims, lower wall, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 96; echinus mouth, neck, 2 lower walls, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 209; neck/figured wall (8 frags.); 3 shoulders; 6 walls

Pelike (1): lower wall (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XXIII, 391

Hydria (5): P 9266 = *Agora* XXIII, 664; 2 flat rims (1 in 2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XXIII, 658; wall, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 644; triple vertical handle


Loutrophoros-hydria (1): rim, vertical handle (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XXII, 375

Oinochoe (3): P 9278 = *Agora* XXIII, 763; neck (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XXIII, 736; ring foot


Cup (24): P 9277 = *Agora* XXIII, 1714; P 9284 = *Agora* XXIII, 1824; P 9327 = *Agora* XXIII, 1839; concave lip, offset inside, cf. *SGW*, 10; rim, 3 walls, palmettes, cf. *SGW*, 32; wall (2 frags.), palmettes (Pl. 83:d), very close to *SGW*, 34; rim, lip cup, offset inside, cf. for profile, *Agora* XII, 406; rim (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1762; figured wall, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1784; 12 figured walls

Phiale (10): rim, cf. for shape, *Agora* XXIII, 1429; 2 rims; 3 floors, glazed inside; 3 floors, figured inside; omphalos

Lekythos (35). Little-lion Class: shoulder, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1172, 1173. Class of Athens 581, i: shoulder (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XXIII, 908. Class of Athens 581, i: shoulder (3 frags.), cf. *Agora* XXIII, 990; shoulder (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1015. 2 walls, palmettes (Pl. 83:b), cf. *RRCS*, 182; 2 mouths; 2 shoulders, rays; 2 shoulders (1 in 2 frags.), buds; 3 decorated shoulders; 3 walls (1 in 2 frags.); patterned (white ground); 3 mouths; 7 figured walls; 5 lower bodies (1 banded in 6 frags.); 2 disk feet

Lekanis, lid (3): rim/figured top, cf. for profile, *Agora* XXIII, 1382; small knob; figured top


Kothon (1): miniature rim

Uncertain, open shape (1): P 9269 = *Agora* XXIII, 1925

Wall frags.: open shape (105), closed shape (87)

### RED FIGURE

Cup (3): P 9271 = *ARV*², p. 913, no. 114, Painter of Bologna 417; P 9281 = *ARV*², p. 133, no. 9, wider circle of Nikosthenes Painter; P 9282 = *ARV*², p. 868, no. 41, Tarquinia Painter

Wall frags.: open shape (3), closed shape (2)
**Black Glaze**

Pelike (13): mouth/handle, ring foot/lower wall (4 frags.), 2 mouths/necks, cf. *Agora* XII, 15; 2 mouths, 2 ring feet, cf. *Agora* XII, 19; neck; shoulder; 3 handles; heavy strap handle; lower wall

Psyktter (2): 2 disk feet (1 in 2 frags.), cf. for profile, *Agora* XII, 38

Hydria (1): horizontal handle, cf. *Agora* XII, 45

Krater, column- (3): foot in two degrees, cf. *Agora* XII, 54; 2 overhanging rims (1 in 2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 58


Skyphos, Corinthian type (39): 2 ring feet, bell handle, cf. *Agora* XII, 306; 2 ring feet (1 in 3 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 309; 6 ring feet (2 in 2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 310; 3 rims, lower wall, cf. *Agora* XII, 311; 5 rims; 5 bell handles; 6 walls; 49 lower walls; ring foot; 5 miniature feet; rim, foot, Corinthian

Skyphos, Attic type (6): rim, 3 ring feet, cf. *Agora* XII, 336; *rim (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 339; horseshoe handle

Skyphos, Subgeometric survival (10): 5 rims (1 in 2 frags.), 2 flat bottoms/lower walls, cf. *Agora* XII, 369; *rim with dots, cf. *Agora* XII, 370; 2 flat bottoms


Phiala (3): P 9274 = *Agora* XII, 521; ribbed wall, cf. *Agora* XII, 520; omphalos, cf. *Agora* XII, 521


Bowl (1): rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 777


Plate (14): full profile (2 frags.), rim, cf. SGW, 327; unglazed floor, cf. SGW, 328; rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 1004; 2 rims, cf. *Agora* XII, 1006; P 10862, Corinthian; 5 floors; 2 floors/ring feet
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Lekanis (12): rim/ribbon handle, cf. *Agora* XII, 1211; flanged rim, 2 ring feet, cf. *Agora* XII, 1216; flanged rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 1217; lid rim, banded; 2 lid knobs, cf. *Agora* XII, 1231; *3 lid tops (1 in 2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 1234; lid top; 3 lid rims; wall/ribbon handle, 3 ribbon handles, Corinthian

Covered bowl (4): 3 flanged rims, cf. *Agora* XII, 1268; lid knob

Pyxis (2): lid knob, cf. *Agora* XII, 1286; flat bottom/vertical wall, Corinthian

Kothon (2): shoulder/inturned rim, 2 walls, Corinthian, cf. for profile, *Agora* XII, 1339; inturned rim, raised ring, Corinthian


Wall frags.: open shape (102), closed shape (58). Rims (2). Handles (16). Ring foot (1); resting surface (1)

**HOUSEHOLD**

Table amphora (3): rim/handle (2 frags.), 3 ring feet, cf. *Agora* XII, 1445


Kados (7): 2 rims, ring foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 1603; rim, ring foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 1610; 2 handles

Jug (5): handle, cf. *Agora* XII, 1659; banded wall (2 frags.); high strap handle; double handle/round mouth (bucchero); low ring foot


Louteron (1): molded rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 1876


Baby's commode (1): P 31849, cf. *Agora* VIII, 600; Thompson 1948, pl. 65:2, 3

Wall frags.: plain and coarse (36). Rim (2). Handles (3)


Roof tile, frag. (1)

Terracotta figurine (2): T 1344; animal frag.

Spindle whorl: MC 324

Marble basin: rim
Intrusion (from later contamination of dumped fill before sifting)

Late Roman red ware, stamped medallion

Q 12:3 Stoa Gutter Well

Section, Fig 9

Diam. 1.20 m.; depth 9.70 m.; water at −8.00 m. Cut through bedrock beneath the gutter of the Stoa of Attalos. Footholds cut at regular intervals in the north and south sides. See Thompson 1955, pp. 62–66; SGW, passim.

Heavy dumped fill from top to bottom. Mouth contained a few field stones and mud, then silt to −3.00 m. From −3.00 m. to −6.25 m., brown mud and broken pottery in large fragments. From −6.25 m. to −9.70 m. at bottom, mud mixed with masses of field stones, great quantities of pottery.

Complete inventory: 506 pieces

Black Figure

Amphora (3): P 24643 = Agora XXIII, 102; P 24645 = Agora XXIII, 216; P 31029 = SGW, 324

Hydria (1): P 24644 = Agora XXIII, 643; SGW, 321

Krater (4). Column-: P 24123 = Agora XXIII, 474; SGW, 70. Calyx-: P 30096 = SGW, 68; P 31013 = Agora XXIII, 507; SGW, 69; P 31014 = Agora XXIII, 509

Oinochoe (2): P 24557 = Agora XXIII, 743; SGW, 73; P 31024 = SGW, 72

Olpe (2): P 30998 = SGW, 82; P 31001 = SGW, 83

Skyphos (9): P 24560 = SGW, 51, workshop of Theseus Painter; P 24577 = Agora XXIII, 1582; SGW, 52, CHC Group; P 24578 = Agora XXIII, 1525; SGW, 46, manner of Haimon Painter; P 24579 = Agora XXIII, 1527; SGW, 47, manner of Haimon Painter; P 24580 = Agora XXIII, 1564; SGW, 48, Class K2; P 24581 = Agora XXIII, 1565; SGW, 49, Class K2; P 24582 = Agora XXIII, 1566; SGW, 50, Class K2; P 31016 = Agora XXIII, 1513, manner of Haimon Painter; P 24570 (Pl. 83:h) = SGW, 53, palmette, connected with Pistias Class

Cup (7): P 24117 = Agora XXIII, 1761; SGW, 31, Leafless Group; P 24591 (Pl. 82:f) = SGW, 33, palmette; P 24592 (Pl. 82:c) = SGW, 32, palmette; P 24593 (Pl. 82:i) = SGW, 34, palmette; P 31005 = Agora XXIII, 1758; P 31027 = SGW, 30; P 31030 = Agora XXIII, 1836

Phiale? (1): P 31023 = SGW, 320

Plate (2): P 24565 = SGW, 327; P 24566 = SGW, 326


Lekanis (1): P 31031 = Agora XXIII, 1328; SGW, 367

Pyxis (1): P 24555 = Agora XXIII, 1286; SGW, 333, manner of Haimon Painter

Stand (1): P 24646 = Agora XXIII, 552; SGW, 372

Mastos (1): P 24556 = SGW, 63

Kothon (1): P 31028 = SGW, 330

Thurible (1): P 31015, cf. Agora XII, 1351

Red Figure

Cup (15): *P 24068 = SGW, 27; ARV², p. 153, “resembles” manner of Epeleios Painter; *P 24101 = SGW, 26; ARV², p. 151, no. 60, manner of Epeleios Painter; P 24102 = SGW, 9; ARV², p. 176, no. 1, Painter of Agora Chairias Cups; *P 24103 = SGW, 28; ARV², p. 106, no. 1, Painter of Bologna 433; *P 24110 = SGW, 22; ARV², p. 76, no. 82, Epiktetos; *P 24113 = SGW 25; ARV², p. 213, no. 242, Gorgos Potter; *P 24114 = SGW, 23; ARV², p. 76, no. 81, Epiktetos; P 24115 = SGW, 24; ARV², p. 176, no. 3, Painter of Agora Chairias Cups; P 24116 = SGW, 14; ARV², p. 176, no. 6, Painter of Agora Chairias Cups;
Fig. 9. Sections of Wells Q 12:3 and Q 21:3
Chairias Cups; P 24131 = SGW, 2; ARV², p. 76, no. 80, Epiktetos; P 24315 = SGW, 29; ARV², p. 176, no. 4, Painter of Agora Chairias Cups; P 31007, frag.; P 31008, frag.; P 31009, frag.; P 31018 = SGW, 10, “recalls” Euphronios

Lekythos (2): P 24061 = SGW, 318; ARV², p. 131, “akin to” Nikosthenes Painter; P 31000 = SGW, 319

**BLACK GLAZE**

Pelike (1): P 24640, cf. Agora XII, 15

Psykter (3): P 24641 = Agora XII, 36; SGW, 67; P 24642 = Agora XII, 35; SGW, 66; P 31002 = SGW, 65

Krater, column- (1): P 31019 = SGW, 71

Large bowl (1): P 25759 = Agora XII, 66; SGW, 382

Oinochoe (6): P 24058 = SGW, 81, miniature; P 24122 = SGW, 80, cf. Agora XII, 109. Round-mouth:

P 25763 = SGW, 74, cf. Agora XII, 150; P 25764 = SGW, 75, cf. Agora XII, 150; P 25765 = SGW, 76, cf. Agora XII, 150; P 25766 = SGW, 77, cf. Agora XII, 150

Mug (1): P 24688 = Agora XII, 196; SGW, 64

Olpe (10). Banded: P 24053 = Agora XII, 257; SGW, 88; P 24099 = Agora XII, 258; SGW, 87; P 24100 = Agora XII, 259; SGW, 86; P 24118 = SGW, 84, cf. Agora XII, 259; P 24634 = SGW, 85, cf. Agora XII, 259.

Black: *P 24054 = SGW, 90, cf. Agora XII, 271; P 24098 = Agora XII, 276; *P 24635 = Agora XII, 271; SGW, 91; P 24636 = Agora XII, 289; SGW, 89; P 24637, cf. Agora XII, 266

Skyphos, Corinthian type (5): P 24559 = SGW, 61, import; P 24571 = SGW, 54, cf. Agora XII, 310; P 24572 = SGW, 56, cf. Agora XII, 310; P 24573 = SGW, 55, cf. Agora XII, 310; P 24689 = SGW, 60, cf. Agora XII, 360

Skyphos, Subgeometric survival (2): P 24574 = SGW, 57, cf. Agora XII, 369; P 24575 = Agora XII, 377

Cup (16): P 24120 = SGW, 4, cf. Agora XII, 407; P 24594 = Agora XII, 401; SGW, 1; P 24595 = Agora XII, 407; SGW, 3; *P 24596 = Agora XII, 410; SGW, 7; cf. P 8826 (E 14:5); P 24597 = Agora XII, 408; SGW, 5; cf. P 12782 (G 11:3), P 23329 (H 12:15); P 24598 = SGW, 6, cf. Agora XII, 408; P 24599 = SGW, 8, cf. Agora XII, 408; P 24600 = Agora XII, 417; SGW, 15; cf. P 2649 (G 6:3), P 20759 (R 12:1); P 24601 (Pl. 84:f) = Agora XII, 420; SGW, 11; cf. P 1306, P 2734 (G 6:3), P 5278 (G 11:8), P 27850 (H 13:5), P 20758, P 20788, P 20789, P 20792 (R 12:1); P 24602 = SGW, 12, cf. Agora XII, 420 by the same potter; P 24603 = SGW, 13, cf. Agora XII, 420 by the same potter; *P 31293 = SGW, 20, cf. Agora XII, 440; *P 31294 = SGW, 21, cf. Agora XII, 440; *P 31367, cf. Agora XII, 412; P 31025, frag.; P 31026, frag.

Stemless (4): P 24587 = Agora XII, 446; SGW, 16; P 24588 = Agora XII, 448; SGW, 17; P 24589 = Agora XII, 449; SGW, 19; P 31032 = SGW, 18, cf. Agora XII, 453

Cup-skyphos (12): *P 24111 = Agora XII, 575; SGW, 38; P 24561 = SGW, 37, cf. Agora XII, 568; P 24583 (Pl. 84:e) = Agora XII, 568; SGW, 36; cf. P 2751 (G 6:3), P 20771 (R 12:1); *P 24584 = Agora XII, 578; SGW, 41; *P 24585 = SGW, 42, cf. Agora XII, 576; *P 24586 = SGW, 40, cf. Agora XII, 577; P 24590, cf. Agora XII, 568; P 24618 = Agora XII, 566; SGW, 39; *P 31017 = SGW, 35, cf. Agora XII, 577; *P 31364 = SGW, 43, cf. Agora XII, 578; P 31365 = SGW, 44, cf. Agora XII, 568; *P 31366, cf. Agora XII, 575

Kantharos (1): P 24062 = Agora XII, 627; SGW, 62

One-handled, banded (17): P 24056 = Agora XII, 732; SGW, 338; cf. P 20874 (D 17:10), P 1335 (G 6:3); P 24063 = Agora XII, 734; SGW, 348; cf. P 12568, P 12771 (G 11:3); *P 24619 = SGW, 350, cf. Agora XII, 737; *P 24620 = SGW, 349, cf. Agora XII, 737; P 24621 = SGW, 339, cf. Agora XII, 733; P 24622 = Agora XII, 726; SGW, 334; P 24623 = Agora XII, 724; SGW, 336; P 24624 = Agora XII, 725; SGW, 335; P 24625 = SGW, 337, cf. Agora XII, 727; P 24626 = SGW, 341; same potter as Agora XII, 735; P 24627 = SGW, 345; close to Agora XII, 735; P 24628 = SGW, 346; close to Agora XII, 735; P 24629 = SGW, 342; same potter as Agora XII, 735; P 24630 = SGW, 343; same potter as Agora XII, 735; P 24631 = Agora XII, 735; SGW, 340; P 24632 = SGW, 344; same potter as Agora XII, 735; P 24633 = Agora XII, 731; SGW, 347

Bowl (2): P 24617 = Agora XII, 811; SGW, 371; P 24562, foot frag.

Saltcellar (4): P 24064 = Agora XII, 891; SGW, 364; cf. P 2538+2599 (G 6:3); P 24568 = SGW, 366, cf. Agora XII, 924; P 24276, cf. Agora XII, 924; P 31069 = Agora XII, 924; SGW, 365
Stemmed dish (16): P 24604 = SGW, 359, cf. Agora XII, 958; P 24605 = SGW, 358, cf. Agora XII, 958; P 24606 = Agora XII, 959; SGW, 354; P 24607 = Agora XII, 960; SGW, 360; P 24608 = SGW, 361, cf. Agora XII, 960; P 24609 = Agora XII, 983; P 24610 = Agora XII, 974; SGW, 351; cf. P 11038 (D 15:1), P 2596 (G 6:3); P 24611 = Agora XII, 976; SGW, 353; cf. P 12767 (G 11:3); P 24612 (Pl. 84:i) = Agora XII, 973; SGW, 362; cf. P 12574 (G 11:3); P 24613 = SGW, 363; same potter as Agora XII, 973; P 24614 = Agora XII, 968; SGW, 352; P 24615 = Agora XII, 988; SGW, 357; P 24057 = Agora XII, 994; SGW, 355; cf. P 8807 (E 14:5), P 1405 (G 6:3); P 246066 = Agora XII, 993; SGW, 356; P 31020, cf. Agora XII, 960; P 31022, cf. Agora XII, 978

Plate (1): P 24564 = SGW, 328

Lekythos (10): P 24532 = Agora XII, 1114; P 24543, disk foot; P 24551 = Agora XII, 1116; SGW, 309; P 24549 = SGW, 307, cf. Agora XII, 1116; P 24550 = SGW, 308, cf. Agora XII, 1116; P 24552 = Agora XII, 1115; SGW, 310; P 24553 = SGW, 311, cf. Agora XII, 1116; P 24554 = SGW, 312, cf. Agora XII, 1116; P 24687 = Agora XII, 1102; SGW, 93; P 24639 = SGW, 92

Lekanis (3): P 24121 = Agora XII, 1216; SGW, 368; P 24563 = Agora XII, 1230; P 31011, frag.

Covered bowl (2): P 24112 = Agora XII, 1268; SGW, 369; P 24616 = Agora XII, 1268

Lid (1): P 31006, frag.

Pyxis (4): P 24558 = SGW, 331, Corinthian; P 31012 = SGW, 332, Corinthian; P 24050 = Agora XII, 1306; P 30997, knob, cf. Agora XII, 1286

Stand (1): P 24567 = Agora XII, 1328; SGW, 323

Miniature (4), Skyphos: P 24065 = Agora XII, 1377; SGW, 58; P 24576 = Agora XII, 1393; SGW, 45; P 31004 = SGW, 59. Kothon: P 24125 = SGW, 329, Corinthian

Household

Storage amphora (36). Attic: P 24882 = SGW, 418. Corinthian A: P 24881 = SGW, 414. Corinthian B: P 24126 = SGW, 415; P 24879 = SGW, 416; P 24880 = SGW, 417. Samian: P 24869 = SGW, 412; P 24870 = SGW, 413. Lesbian: P 24875 = SGW, 408; P 24876 = SGW, 410; P 24877 = SGW, 409; P 24878 = SGW, 411. Chian: P 24873 = SGW, 419; P 24874 = SGW, 420. East Greek: P 24871 = SGW, 421; P 24872 = SGW, 422. P 24883 = SGW, 435; P 24884 = SGW, 440; P 24885 = SGW, 441; P 24886 = SGW, 442; P 24887 = SGW, 423; P 24888 = SGW, 426; P 24889 = SGW, 429; P 24890 = SGW, 428; P 24891 = SGW, 427; P 24892 = SGW, 425; P 24893 = SGW, 424; P 24894 = SGW, 431; P 24895 = SGW, 430; P 24896 = SGW, 433; P 24897 = SGW, 432; P 24898 = SGW, 436; P 24899 = SGW, 437; P 24900 = SGW, 438; P 24901 = SGW, 439; P 24902 = SGW, 443; P 24903 = SGW, 434

Hydria (2): P 25769 = Agora XII, 1594; SGW, 322; P 24128 = Agora XII, 1580; SGW, 323

Kados (1): P 25770 = SGW, 325

Jug (3): P 25767 = Agora XII, 1670; SGW, 78; P 25768, cf. Agora XII, 1669; P 24638 = Agora XII, 1701; SGW, 79

Askos (1): P 24127 = Agora XII, 1725; SGW, 394

Lekane (9): P 25760 = Agora XII, 1740; SGW, 381; P 24124 = Agora XII, 1789; SGW, 376; cf. P 16785 (G 6:3); P 24129, cf. Agora XII, 1781; P 25755 = SGW, 380, cf. Agora XII, 1787; P 25756 (Pl. 84:h) = Agora XII, 1784; SGW, 374; cf. P 10671 (D 15:1), P 8871, P 8872 (E 14:5), P 15909 (F 19:5), P 23379 (H 12:15), P 20797 (R 12:1); P 25757 = Agora XII, 1825; SGW, 378; P 25758 = SGW, 379, cf. Agora XII, 1825; P 25779 = SGW, 377; P 25780 = SGW, 375

Mortar (2): P 25761 = Agora XII, 1899; SGW, 389; P 25762 = Agora XII, 1895; SGW, 390


Cooking-bell (1): P 25778 = Agora XII, 2021; SGW, 387

Lamp (11). Type 5 var.: L 5191 = SGW, 403. Type 16 B: L 5151 = SGW, 400; L 5153 = SGW, 398; L 5154 = SGW, 399; L 5156 = SGW, 395; L 5193 = SGW, 401. Type 17 A: L 5152 = SGW, 402. Type 19 A: L 5195 = SGW, 404. Type 21 A: L 5194 = SGW, 405
Roof tiles: A 2476 = SGW, 407, cover tile; A 2516 = SGW, 406, antefix; Lot ΣA 511: one tin of roof-tile frags.
Loomweight (2): MC 1332 = SGW, 391; MC 1333 = SGW, 392
Spindle whorl: MC 1334 = SGW, 393

Q.20:1 Pit of debris
Dumped fill containing a small amount of broken pottery and other debris.
Total assemblage: 17 inventoried pieces

Black Figure
Skyphos, miniature (1): P 26230 (Pl. 83:e) = Paralipomena, p. 309, palmette, connected with Pistias Class, cf. P 24570 (Q 12:3); SGW, 53
Cup (1): P 26231 = Agora XXIII, 1729
Stand (1): P 25977 = Agora XXIII, 562

Red Figure
Krater, volute- (1): P 25978+28759 = Thompson 1958, p. 158, pl. 45:b

Black Glaze
Saltcellar (1): P 26229, cf. for profile, Agora XII, 954

Household
Storage amphora (1): *P 25979 = Agora XXV, 1068, ostrakon of Xanthippos
Loomweight: MC 1022
Bone finial: BI 758
Terracotta figurine (8): T 3530–T 3537
Bearded Archaic marble head: S 1997

Q.21:3 Well
Diam. 1.10 m.; depth 8.50 m.; water at −3.55 m. Cut through bedrock beneath the andron of a Classical house. Footholds down one side only.
Complete inventory: 8 pieces
1. Lower fill, possibly period of use, mud from −8.30 m. to −8.50 m.

Black Glaze
One-handler, banded (1): P 28781, cf. Agora XII, 728
Saltcellar (1): P 28780, cf. Agora XII, 890

2. Lower dumped fill, mud from −7.25 m. to −8.30 m., practically no sherds.

Household
Storage amphora (1): P 28782, cf. SGW, 411, toe reused as paint pot for miltos

3. Upper dumped fill, solid dug bedrock from top to −7.25 m. Few scattered sherds only from top to −4.25 m. All inventoried pieces found between −4.25 m. and −4.50 m.

Black Figure

Black Glaze
Stemless (1): *P 28779, cf. Agora XII, 469
One-handler, black (1): *P 29363, cf. Agora XII, 748, but profile closer to SGW, 339 (banded)
Saltcellar (1): P 29362, cf. Agora XII, 899
Terracotta figurine: T 4017
R 12:1 Well

Section, Fig. 10

Diam. ca. 1.00 m.; depth 10.80 m. Neatly cut in greenish clay bedrock for full depth. Footholds at regular intervals in the northeast and southwest sides, 22 on each side, the lowest 1.20 m. from bottom.

1. Lower dumped fill (−7.00 m. to −10.80 at bottom). A heavy, homogeneous fill of pottery, including a quantity of animal bones, mostly skulls of oxen. On many of these the horns had been sawn off sharply near the base; the freshness of the sawn surface suggested that this had been done at the time of slaughtering rather than while the animal was still alive.

Complete inventory: 104 pieces

EARLY WARE


BLACK FIGURE

Amphora (1): Lid, P 20780 = Agora XXIII, 372


Cup (5). Leafless Group: P 20737 = Agora XXIII, 1764; P 20738 = Agora XXIII, 1771; P 20739 = Agora XXIII, 1772. Haimon Group, Painter of Elaious I: P 20740 = Agora XXIII, 1830. P 20766, debased palmettes, cf. P 12565 (G 11:3) (Pl. 82g)

Lekythos (8). Cock Group: P 20749 = Agora XXIII, 844; P 20747 = Agora XXIII, 845; P 20746 = Agora XXIII, 849; P 20748 = Agora XXIII, 862. P 20751 = Agora XXIII, 1147. Class of Athens 581, ii: P 20752 = Agora XXIII, 1031; P 20753 = Agora XXIII, 1074. P 20750, palmette (Pl. 82j)

Plaque (1): P 20754 = Agora XXIII, 1942

RED FIGURE

Cup (1): P 20736 = ARV², p. 174, no. 29, Ambrosios Painter

BLACK GLAZE

Pelike (4): P 20785 = Agora XXI, F38, cf. Agora XII, 19; P 20790 = Agora XXI, F35; P 20791 = Agora XXI, F40; P 20781 = Agora XII, 29, lid

Oinochoe (2): P 20795 (Pl. 84:a) = Agora XII, 144, cf. P 15936 (F 19:5), P 6549 (G 11:8); P 20796 (Pl. 84:b) = Agora XII, 145, a pair, cf. P 15937 (F 19:5)

Skyphos, Corinthian type (1): P 20774, cf. Agora XII, 310

Skyphos, Attic type (2): *P 20772, cf. Agora XII, 339; *P 20773, cf. ibid., a pair

Cup (7): P 20757 = Agora XII, 404; P 20757 = Agora XXI, F33; cf. P 6119, p. 6125, P 6127, P 6630 (E 15:6), P 14950 (F 19:5); P 20758, cf. Agora XII, 420; P 20787 = Agora XXI, C7; P 20788 = Agora XXI, F34, cf. Agora XII, 420; P 20789 = Agora XXI, F39, cf. Agora XII, 420; P 20792 = Agora XXI, F41, cf. Agora XII, 420; P 20759, cf. Agora XII, 417

Cup-skyphos (1): P 20771, cf. Agora XII, 568

One-handled, banded (2): *P 20775, cf. Agora XII, 737; *P 20776, cf. Agora XII, 737

Saltcellar (2): P 20767, cf. Agora XII, 923; P 20768 = Agora XXI, F37, cf. Agora XII, 923

Stemmed dish (6): P 20762, cf. Agora XII, 966; P 20763 = Agora XII, 969; P 20760 = Agora XII, 972; P 20761 = Agora XII, 986; Agora XXI, F36; cf. P 8816 (E 14:5); P 20764, cf. Agora XII, 987; P 20765 = Agora XII, 990


Lekanis (2): P 20769 = Agora XII, 1214; P 20770, cf. Agora XII, 1226, lid

Thurible (3): P 20782 = Agora XII, 1346, lid; P 20783 = Agora XII, 1351; P 20784 = Agora XII, 1353

HOUSEHOLD

Table amphora (2): P 20794 = Agora XII, 1455; P 20811, cf. Agora XII, 1480

Fig. 10. Sections of Wells R 12:1 and R 12:4
THE PERSIAN DESTRUCTION OF ATHENS

Pithos (1): P 20815, cf. Agora XII, 1526
Hydria (2): P 20799 = Agora XII, 1582; P 20800, cf. Agora XII, 1594
Jug (2): P 20786 = Agora XII, 1665; P 20798 = Agora XII, 1696
Askos (2): P 20812 = Agora XII, 1723; P 20793, cf. Agora XII, 1726
Leke (1): P 20797, cf. Agora XII, 1784
Tub (1): P 20814, cf. Agora XII, 1846
Chytra (1): P 20813 = Agora XII, 1926
Lamp (6). Type 16 B: L 4729 = Agora IV, 49. Type 16 B: L 4724, L 4725, L 4726. Type 19 A: L 4727+4730.
   Type 21 var.: L 4728 = Agora IV, 189
Spindle whorl: MC 826
Loomweight (10): MC 827–MC 836
Round stand: MC 837
Round clay object (2): MC 838, MC 839
Terracotta figurine (3): T 3028–T 3030
Lot ΣA 157: one tin of roof-tile frags.

2. Upper dumped fill (top to −7.00 m.) contained nothing but dug bedrock, with no sherds.

R 12:4 Well
Section, Fig. 10
Diam. 1.20 m. (top); 1.10 m. (bottom); depth 13.25 m. Sides of shaft clean cut with 2 rows of footholds.
Very little inflow of water. See Thompson 1956, pp. 62–64, with a selection of the contents, pls. 21, 22.
Complete inventory: 53 pieces

1. Period-of-use fill from −11.00 m. to −13.25 m., mud, masses of pottery, especially water pots, of which many are complete. No evidence for stratification within period of use.

Black Figure
Amphora (2): P 24679 = Agora XXIII, 96; P 24677 = Agora XXIII, 181
Hydria (1): *P 24680 = Agora XXIII, 652
Oinochoe (2): P 24681 = Agora XXIII, 753; P 24675 = Agora XXIII, 754, near Painter of Villa Giulia M.482
Olpe (1): P 24673 = Agora XXIII, 681, Amasis Painter
Cup (1): *P 24678 palmette (Pl. 82:g), cf. RRCS, 222

Black Glaze
Pelike (1): P 24674 = Agora XII, 14
Olpe (1): P 24671 = Agora XII, 255

Household
Storage amphora (4): P 24920, cf. SGW, 441; P 24917, cf. SGW, 411, Lesbian; P 24915, cf. ibid., toe
ground out as funnel; P 24918, cf. Agora XII, 1502
Pithos (1): P 24921, rim used as wellhead
Hydria (11): P 24909 = Agora XII, 1581; P 24916 = Agora XII, 1584; P 24910 = Thompson 1956, p. 63,
pl. 22:c, f; P 24663, cf. Agora XII, 1595; P 24664, cf. Agora XII, 1594; P 24924, cf. ibid.; P 24927;
P 24928; P 24929; P 24926; P 24925
Kados (1): P 24668 = Agora XII, 1601; P 24912 = Thompson 1956, p. 63, pl. 22:d; P 24666 = Thompson
1958, pl. 47:d; P 24930 = Agora XII, 1602; P 24665, cf. Agora XII, 1601; P 24669, cf. ibid.; P 24670,
Strainer (1): P 24914 = Agora XII, 1648
2. Upper dumped fill from top to −11.00 m. A solid packing of field stones and rubble. Small amounts of much battered pottery from top to −4.50 m. From −4.50 m. to −7.00 m., a few scattered sherds. From −7.00 m. to −11.00 m., solid stones, little earth, less pottery.

**BLACK FIGURE**

- Lekythos (1): *P 24904 = Agora XXIII, 864
- Lekanis (1): lid, P 24906 = Agora XXIII, 1365
- Closed pot (1): P 24905 frag.

**HOUSEHOLD**

- Storage amphora (2): P 24907, Chian frag.; P 24908, handle frag.
- Pithos (1): P 24919 = Agora XII, 1509
- Lamp (1). Type 12 A: L 5214
- Terracotta figurine (5): T 3403–T 3407
- Wellhead (1): A 2565, frag.

**ARCHAIC BUILDING FILLS**

**H 10:7 Old Bouleuterion, construction fill**

Test trenches at the south end of the porch of the Hellenistic Metroon inside the southeast corner of the Old Bouleuterion. Three layers, homogeneous in context, composed of dug bedrock fill, separated by distinct layers of poros working chips. In the lowest layer the dug bedrock was mixed with viscous red earth (Layers 1–3, Section A, Fig. 3).

Total assemblage: 7 inventoried pieces; 1,086 fragments (Lots E 274, E 275, E 283, E 284)

**EARLY WARE**

- Late Helladic III A (3). Kylix: stem; horizontal strap handle; decorated wall
- Protogeometric (5). Skyphos: conical foot; 4 decorated walls
- Protocorinthian (5). Kotyle: banded wall; 2 lower walls, rays. Bowl: rim; disk foot
- East Greek (2). Walls (white slip, added red)
- Wall frags.: Archaic brown glaze (164); banded (59); banded rim (1); banded handles (2); banded bases (2)

**BLACK FIGURE**

- Amphora (3): P 2394 = Agora XXIII, 348; *shoulder, cf. Agora XXIII, 215; neck
- Oinochoe (1): P 2395 = Agora XXIII, 706
THE PERSIAN DESTRUCTION OF ATHENS

Plate (1): rim/floor
Lekythos (1): figured wall
Wall frags.: figured (6)

BLACK GLAZE
Hydria (1): *torus mouth, cf. Agora XII, 45
Oinochoe (4): trefoil rim; 2 ring feet, cf. Agora XII, 90; ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 144
Kalathos (1): full profile, cf. Agora XII, 299
Skyphos, Corinthian type (23): ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 305; rim/handle, cf. Agora XII, 308; lower wall, 6 ring feet, cf. Agora XII, 309; 3 rims, lower wall/floor, cf. Agora XII, 310; 2 rims, wall, ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 311; 5 walls; 5 lower walls; bell handle
Skyphos, Attic type (4): rim/handle attachment, cf. Agora XII, 335; *2 rims (1 in 2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 336; bell handle
One-handler, banded (2): *rim/handle attachment, cf. Agora XII, 734; *ring foot/floor, cf. Agora XII, 735
Stemmed dish (3): *foot, cf. Agora XII, 958; *2 feet, cf. Agora XII, 968
Lekanis (7): 2 rims, rim/handle attachment, disk foot, cf. Agora XII, 1211; flanged rim, cf. Agora XII, 1216; *flanged rim, finer than Agora XII, 1217; lid, top, cf. Agora XII, 1229
Wall frags.: open shape (90), closed shape (55). Rims (3). Handles (8). Ring feet (4)

HOUSEHOLD
Storage amphora (8): 4 rims, cf. Agora XII, 1502; projecting rim/handle; rim; neck; handle
Pithos (1): rim
Storage bin (3): projecting rims
Jug (3): trefoil rim; rim/handle, ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 1640; flat bottom
Lekane (21): 2 rims (1 in 2 frags.), ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 1753; *rim, cf. Agora XII, 1758; 3 rims, handle, 6 ring feet, cf. Agora XII, 1784; *rim, cf. Agora XII, 1787; rim, cf. Agora XII, 1825; echinus foot, cf. Agora XII, 1839; 22 walls; handle attachment; 4 handles
Basin (1): flat bottom, cf. Agora XII, 1847
Mortar (2): P 1928 = Agora XII, 1873; rim/wall, cf. Agora XII, 1891
Tub (1): heavy thickened rim
Loomweight (1)
Lamp (3). Type 5: nozzle, cf. Agora IV, 35. Type 13: 2 rims, cf. L 3600
Roof tile (7)
Terracotta figurine (3): T 479, T 480, horse; dedicatory shield frag.
2 pieces of poros working chips with worked surfaces: one piece has red and blue paint on adjacent surfaces, used as test piece.

H 10–11:1 Old Bouleuterion, grading fill
Layer of dug bedrock, reddish earth, poros working chips, architectural debris, and chips from reworking poros blocks, dumped in to raise the ground level south of the Old Bouleuterion and overlying the north rooms of Building F (Sections B, C, D, Figs. 3, 4).
1. Lower fill: surface at top is firm floor; level with original ground level south of Bouleuterion.
Total fragments: 1,432 (Lots Z 194, Z 204, Z 205, Z 407, Z 610, B 204, B 205)

**EARLY WARE**

**Protoattic** (12). Amphora: shoulder. Skyphos: rim; wall; conical foot. Lekythos: shoulder (2 frags); 7 decorated walls


**Corinthian** (11): Cup: rim. Kotyle: foot, wall, handle; 7 decorated walls

Wall frags.: Archaic brown glaze and banded (456). Ring foot (1)

**BLACK FIGURE**


Krater, column- (7): rim, rim/neck, cf. Agora XXIII, 436; rim, cf. Agora XXIII, 461; 2 walls; lower wall; heavy echinus foot (4 frags.), cf. Richter and Milne 1935, fig. 49

Stand (1): wall, rosettes, cf. Agora XXIII, 550

Cup (20): 6 rims, stem/foot, cf. Agora XXIII, 1685; 2 rims, foot/stem, cf. Agora XXIII, 1697; rim, wall, stem, cf. Agora XXIII, 1700; *2 rims, palmette-cups, cf. RRCS, 219; 5 walls

Kotyon (1): rim, rays

Wall frags., figured: open shape (14), closed shape (13)

**RED FIGURE**

Wall frag.: closed shape (1)

**BLACK GLAZE**

Pelike (1): ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 14

Hydria? (1): vertical handle


Mushroom jug (1): *carinated wall, cf. Agora XII, 161


Skyphos, Corinthian type (41): P 5878, wall, graffito; 4 rims, 1 with bell handle, cf. Agora XII, 305; ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 306; bell handle, 4 ring feet, cf. Agora XII, 309; 4 rims, 3 with handle, wall, 2 handles, 7 ring feet, cf. Agora XII, 310; 5 rims, 2 ring feet, cf. Agora XII, 311; wall; 8 handles


Stemmed dish (3): foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 968; *2 rims, cf. *Agora* XII, 973


Lekythos (1): wall/handle, cf. *Agora* XII, 1099


Pyxis? (1): rim

Thurible (2): 2 lids, rim/fenestrated wall, cf. *Agora* XII, 1345

Wall frags.: open shape (152), closed shape (87). Handles (16). Disk foot (1); foot (1)

**Household**


Pithos (9): incised wall, cf. *Agora* XII, 1507; 5 rims, cf. for profile, *Agora* XII, 1524; 2 walls; heavy rim; heavy wall/bottom


Chytra (3): rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 1924; rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 1926; handle

Wall frags.: plain and coarse (362). Rims (6). Neck (1). Handles (24). Bottom (1). Ring foot (1)


Roof tiles (6)

Loomweight (1)

Iron nail (1)

Terracotta figurine (11): frags. of horses

Architectural debris: A 756, A 757, poros Doric capitals (reworked). 2 Doric triglyph frags.: edge of outside femur and metope slot, visible surfaces finished smooth. 2 Doric metope frags.: fine, hard, pale tan poros, edge and corner, fronts surfaced with fine white stucco, other surfaces finished smooth. Wall block frag.: finished edge, one surface polished smooth, adjacent surface worked with toothed chisel. Wall block corner: 3 adjacent surfaces worked with toothed chisel. 6 frags. soft yellow poros chips with one roughly worked surface. Frag. yellow poros, one surface worked with toothed chisel. Frag. fine, hard, pale tan poros with one roughly worked surface. Frag. pale tan poros, one surface worked with toothed chisel. 26 frags. of soft yellow poros. Frag. of Pentelic marble (Lot B 205)

2. Upper fill: Layer of firm-packed reddish earth, 0.10 m. thick, preserved in two patches above original ground level of Old Bouleuterion. Mixed in fill were chips of yellow poros with worked surfaces from breaking up poros blocks (Sections B, C, Figs. 3, 4).

Total fragments: 256 (Lots Z 193, Z 406)
**EARLY WARE**

*Late Geometric* (1). Decorated wall

*Protoattic* (1). Kotyle: rim, cf. *Agora* VIII, 163

*Corinthian* (1). Wall

Wall frags.: Archaic brown glaze and banded (13)

**RED FIGURE**

Cup (1): figured floor, tondo

**BLACK GLAZE**

Psykter (1): upper wall

Hydria (1): torus mouth, cf. *Agora* XII, 45


Skyphos, Corinthian type (3): rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 311; rim; upper wall/bell handle


Skyphos, Subgeometric survival (1): rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 369

Cup (11): 4 concave lips, cf. *Agora* XII, 401; *2 concave lips, cf. *Agora* XII, 410; wall/handle panel; 3 handles (1 in 2 frags.); floor

Cup-skyphos (4): 2 rims, cf. *Agora* XII, 564; *2 rims, cf. *Agora* XII, 569


Kothon (1): incurving upper wall, cf. *Agora* XII, 1339

Wall frags.: open shape (48), closed shape (4). Handles (3)

**HOUSEHOLD**

Kados (1): *ring foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 1610

Lekane (7): walls


Wall frags.: plain and coarse (76). Handles (4)

Loomweight (1)

Roof tiles (2)

Frag. of yellow poros, finished edge and face, with fine white stucco

**INTRUSIONS**

Lots Z 193, Z 194, Z 406: Two late trenches from pillaging Archaic walls (Section B, Fig. 3) caused intrusive material to be found in earlier layers.

*Late Roman.* Wheel-ridged wall frags. (27); floor (1); rims (4); handle (1)

*Hellenistic.* High ring foot; rouletted floor

Kantharos (1): reeded wall/handle

Cup-kantharos (1): rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 684

Bolsal (3): foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 554; foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 557; lower wall

One handler (1): handle, cf. *Agora* XII, 769

Bowl (2): rim (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 828; high ring foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 808

Plate (1): rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 1058

Saucer (2): rilled rim; rim, pyre type

Lot Z 204: A deep late pit above Room A of Building F disturbed the layer of dug bedrock.

*Late Roman.* Wheel-ridged wall (1)

*Hellenistic.* Molded bowl, wall (1)

Kantharos (1): molded rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 700
Lots B 204, Z 610: A trench left by removal of a drain channel disturbed the layer of dug bedrock between the Old Bouleuterion and Building F (Section B, Fig. 3).

Kantheros (1): molded rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 700

Lekythos (1): shoulder, white ground, cf. Richter and Milne 1935, fig. 97

Squat lekythos (1): foot/wall, impressed palmettes, cf. *Agora* XII, 1132

**H 11:3** Building F, pillaging fill

Fill from plundered trench left by removal of the south wall of the courtyard of Building F (see Thompson 1940, pp. 27–28). The fill consisted of a mass of ash and burnt debris with many fragments of fallen clay wall plaster, to a depth of 0.40 m. above the surviving stones of the wall socle (Section D, Fig. 4).

Total assemblage: 2 inventoried pieces; 199 fragments (Lot Z 485)

**EARLY WARE**


Wall frags.: Archaic banded and brown glaze (17)

**BLACK FIGURE**

Skyphos (1): concave rim, cf. *Agora* XXIII, 1597


Lekythos (2): *P 13266 = Agora XXIII, 1182, Haimon Painter; lower wall, bands

**BLACK GLAZE**

Pelike (1): mouth (glazed, neck reserved), cf. *Agora* XII, 13

Olpe (1): rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 250

Skyphos, Corinthian type (1): rim, cf. *Agora* XII, 305

Cup (1): concave lip, cf. *Agora* XII, 401

Wall frags.: open shape (5), closed shape (10). Handles (2)

**HOUSEHOLD**

Pithos (1): heavy rim (2 frags.)

Kados (1): *ring foot, cf. Agora* XII, 1603

Jug (1): *shoulder, banded (4 frags.), cf. Agora* XII, 1612


Chytra (2): vertical rim, flanged inside (6 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 1944; rim (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 1924

Wall frags.: plain and coarse (74). Rims (3). Handles (3)

Roof tiles (16)

Spindle whorl: MC 505

Terracotta figurine (1): horse

13 large pieces of burnt clay wall plaster

**H 12:18** Building J, floor packings

Two layers of fill beneath the two superimposed floors of Building J (see Thompson 1940, pp. 37–38).

1. A layer of firmly packed earth and clay, 0.10 m. to 0.20 m. thick, beneath the original hard-packed clay floor.

Total assemblage: 2 inventoried pieces, 793 fragments (Lot Z 454)
Early Ware
Middle Helladic (1). Goblet: stem, yellow Minyan
Phaleron cup: rim/handle, cf. Agora VIII, 181. Rim; 5 decorated walls; 3 banded walls; glazed wall; 3 banded handles
Corinthian (3). Cup: foot/lower wall. Kotyle: foot, wall
Wall frags.: Archaic brown glaze and banded (131)

Black Figure
Amphora (1): neck (2 frags.), cf. Agora XXIII, 213
Skyphos (1): rim (3 frags.), cf. Agora XXIII, 1588
Plate (1): P 12235 = Agora XXIII, 1418
Lekythos (1): shoulder, cf. Agora XXIII, 827
Pyxis (1): lid rim (3 frags.)
Wall frags.: figured (10)

Red Figure (?)
Cup (2): concave lip, offset inside (2 frags.), cf. SGW, 2; concave lip, sharply offset inside, cf. SGW, 10

Black Glaze
Amphora (1): shoulder, cf. Agora XII, 3
Pelike (3): *rim, cf. Agora XII, 18; 2 strap handles, cf. Agora XII, 16
Skyphos, Corinthian type (9): wall, ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 306; rim, lower wall, ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 309; 2 rims; bell handle; flaring rim, cf. Agora XII, 331
Skyphos, Subgeometric survival (6): rim, cf. Agora XII, 368; 5 rims (1 in 3 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 369
Cup-skyphos (7): rim, ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 564; 2 rims, ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 568; ring foot, cf. SGW, 43; wall/handle
One-handler, banded (8): beveled foot (2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 727; 4 ring feet, cf. SGW, 339; 2 floors; wall Saltcellar (3): *wall/bottom, cf. Agora XII, 901; *wall/bottom (2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 909; flat bottom
Lekanis (8): 2 rims, cf. Agora XII, 1211; 2 flanged rims (1 in 2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1213; 2 lid rims (1 in 2 frags.); 2 lid tops
Pyxis (2): flanged rim; lid rim
Thurible (1): molded stem
Miniature, unglazed bottom
Wall frags.: open shape (81), closed shape (44). Handles (10)
THE PERSIAN DESTRUCTION OF ATHENS

HOUSEHOLD
Storage amphora (5): 2 rims, toe, cf. Agora XII, 1502; handle; 5 walls, streaky brown glaze
Pithos (1): heavy wall
Jug (1): rim/handle, cf. Agora XII, 1641
Lekane (6): ring foot (2 frags.), cf. Agora XII, 1745; rim (2 frags.), ring foot, cf. Agora XII, 1784; 2 ring feet, cf. Agora XII, 1825; 9 walls
Chytra (3): rim, cf. Agora XII, 1922; 2 rims, cf. Agora XII, 1924
Strainer (1): pierced floor (3 frags.)
Wall frags.: plain and coarse (213). Rims (10). Bottoms (10). Handles (18)
Water pipe (2): large pipe (21 frags.); small pipe (8 frags.)
Lamp (7). Type 16 B: rim, cf. Agora IV, 96. Type 19 A: full profile (2 frags.), cf. Agora IV, 131; 4 bottoms; nozzle
Loomweight (1)
Terracotta figurine (1): horse (3 frags.)

A layer of miscellaneous debris, including clay, gravel, fallen stones, and mud bricks mixed with much broken pottery, between original floor and raised second floor.
Total assemblage: 6 inventoried pieces; 1,028 fragments (Lot Z 453)

EARLY WARE
Protogeometric (2). Decorated walls
Protoattic (2). Plate: rim, cf. Agora VIII, 119; decorated wall
Corinthian (5). Banded rim (2 frags.); 2 rims; wall; handle
Wall frags.: Archaic brown glaze and banded (41)

BLACK FIGURE
Amphora (3): wall, 2 lower walls
Krater, column- (4): neck; 3 walls
Cup (25): rim, cf. Agora XXIII, 1685; rim, cf. Agora XXIII, 1697; 4 rims, cf. Agora XXIII, 1708; 13 figured walls (1 in 3 frags.); handle; floor; 2 stems; rim/wall, palmette-cup, cf. SGW, 34
Lekane (1): lid rim
Figured walls (5)

BLACK GLAZE
Psyker (1): flanged rim, cf. Agora XII, 38
Skyphos, Corinthian type (12): 11 rims, 2 with handle attachments, cf. Agora XII, 310; rim, cf. Agora XII, 331
Skyphos, Subgeometric survival (5): 3 rims, 2 flat bottoms (1 in 2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 369


Stemless (6): rims, cf. *Agora* XII, 446


Saltcellar (1): rim (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 901


Plate (2): rim, foot/floor, cf. *SGW*, 327

Lekanis, lid (3): top, cf. *Agora* XII, 1226; top/knob attachment; rim

Amphoriskos (1): foot, cf. *Agora* XII, 1147

Pyxis (1): rim (2 frags.)

Wall frags.: open shape (182), closed shape (48). Rim (1). Handles (38)

**HOUSEHOLD**

Hydria (1): rim (2 frags.), cf. *Agora* XII, 1592


Stand (2): large, coarse (2 frags.); small

Wall frags.: plain and coarse (361). Rims (21). Handles (18). Feet (64)

Water pipe (5)

Lamp (7). Type 15: L 3327 = *Agora* IV, 87. Type 16 B: 3 rims; 2 nozzles. Type 19 A: L 3694 = *Agora* IV, 132

Roof tiles (11)

Loomweight (2): MC 459, pyramidal

Spindle whorl (1): MC 460

Lead mending clamp

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54 Soudias Street
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a. P 24055 (Q 12:3), Class of Athens 581, i

b. P 10575 (D 15:1), Manner of the Haimon Painter

c. P 24060 (Q 12:3), Class of Athens 581, ii

d. P 23321 (H 12:15), Near the Haimon Painter

Black-figured lekythoi and skyphos (1:2)

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PLATE 82

a. P 1308 (G 6:3)  
b. P 1309 (G 6:3)  
c. P 24592 (Q 12:3)  
d. P 1372 (G 6:3)  
e. P 1373 (G 6:3)  
f. P 24591 (Q 12:3)  
g. P 24678 (R 12:4), P 12565 (G 11:3), P 20766 (R 12:1)  
h. P 31847 (B 19:10)  
i. P 24593 (Q 12:3)  
j. P 18504 (D 17:2), P 12766 (G 11:3), P 12780 (G 11:3), P 20750 (R 12:1)  
k. P 1381, P 1382, P 16770, P 16767, P 2572 (G 6:3)  

Black-figured palmette-cups and palmette-leythoi (1:4)

l. P 24119, P 24530, P 24531 (Q 12:3)  
m. P 24526, P 24527, P 24528, P 24529 (Q 12:3)  

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a. H 13:5 (Lot MΣ 431)

b. G 3:1 (Lot MM 298), left; M 17:4 (Lot Φ 29), center, right

c. G 3:1 (Lot MM 298)

d. M 17:4 (Lot Φ 26)

Fragments of palmette-leythoi and palmette-cups (1:2)

e. P 26230 (Q 20:1)

f. M 17:4 (Lot Φ 29)

g. P 16776 (G 6:3)

h. P 24570 (Q 12:3)

Miniature skyphoi connected with the Pistias Class (1:2)

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PLATE 84

a. P 20795 (R 12:1)

b. P 20796 (R 12:1)

Oinochoe, banded round-mouth (a, b)

Black-glazed table ware and household pottery (1:4)

c. Skyphos, Corinthian type: P 8834 (E 14:5)

d. Cup, Type C, concave lip: P 6123 (E 15:6)

e. Cup-skyphos: P 24583 (Q 12:3)

f. Cup, Type C, plain rim: P 24601 (Q 12:3)

g. One-handler, banded:
P 23192 (H 12:15)

h. Lekane: P 25756 (Q 12:3)

i. Stemmed dish: P 24612 (Q 12:3)

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