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The Persian and Carthaginian Invasions of 480 B.C.E. and the Beginning of the Classical Style: Part 1, The Stratigraphy, Chronology, and Significance of the Acropolis Deposits

ANDREW STEWART

Abstract

This study, in three parts, addresses the problem of the beginning of the classical style—the so-called Severe Style—from an archaeological perspective, focusing on those sculptures found or allegedly found in Persian destruction contexts or directly associated with the Persian and Carthaginian invasions. Part 1, the present article, reexamines the 19th-century excavations of the Acropolis and argues that the style almost certainly did not predate the Persian invasion of 480–479 B.C.E. The only deposit that appears to be pure *Perserschutt* (uncontaminated destruction debris from the Persian sack) contained only archaic material. The remaining deposits are all later construction fills for the Kimonian/Periklean fortification project of ca. 467–430. The 15 Severe Style sculptures found in them can be shown to postdate the Athenian reoccupation of the citadel by as much as 40 years. Parts 2 and 3 will appear in forthcoming issues of the *AJA*. Part 2 reexamines deposits from elsewhere in Athens and Attica, in the Aphaia sanctuary at Aigina, and on Sicily, with similar results. Part 3 summarizes current theories about the origins and meaning of the Severe Style; examines the trend toward austerity in Late Archaic Greece, suggesting that the Tyrannicides of Kritios and Nesiotes (477/6) indeed inaugurated the Severe Style; and proposes that the theory that it was somehow occasioned by the Greek victories of 480–479 is worth reconsidering.*

INTRODUCTION

Almost 40 years ago, Ridgway catalogued the most prominent traits of the Early Classical or Severe Style as follows:[1]

> 1. A certain simplicity or severity of forms, visible in both facial features and the treatment of drapery; a heaviness of traits in open contrast to the lighter features of archaic sculpture; a feeling for the tectonics of the human body which conceives of each figure as composed of certain basic structural sections, as contrasted with the lack of articulation and the emphasis on outlines in archaic statuary. More especially, in the human face the eyelids acquire volume, often appearing as thick rims around the eyes, and chins become particularly heavy; cloth also is made to look heavier and "doughy."
>
> The Severe period owes its name to this most evident of all its traits. Contrary to the decorative approach of archaic sculptors, who multiplied details and fractioned into a variety of patterns the basic unity of single garments, Severe artists proceeded as if by a process of elimination, thereby focusing emphasis on the few elements retained. From this point of view the term Severe describes the style more accurately than the terms

*This study, begun in the summer of 2003 and to be published in three parts in the *AJA*, was occasioned by Cambridge University Press' invitation to replace Pollitt (1972), and thus to confront—as Pollitt had done—the problem of the origins of the classical style. I decided to start by investigating the stratigraphy and context pottery of the Acropolis and of the Aphaia sanctuary at Aigina in order to test whether the Early Classical (or Severe Style) sculptures found there necessarily predated the Persian invasion of 480. I am most grateful to all who have helped me en route, particularly Roza Proskynetopoulou and Vassilis Barkas (National Museum), Alexander Mantis and Christina Vlassopoulou (Acropolis Ephoria and Museum), and Elena Partida (Delphi Ephoria) for enabling me to autopsy the material in their care; Elizabeth Langridge, John Oakley, and Alan Shapiro for verifying the dates of many of the ceramics; and Brunilde Ridgway and Catherine Keesling for their sympathetic and helpful critiques of the manuscript. I also must thank Erin Babnik, Judith Binder, Nancy Bookidis, Robert Bridges, Lynn Cunningham, Allen Estes, Jeffrey Hurwit, Nancy Klein, Astrid Lindenlauf, Kathleen Lynch, Alexander Mantis, Margaret Miles, Penelope Minchin-Garvin, Richard Neer, Maria Pilali, Susan Rotroff, Philip Saperstein, T. Leslie Shear, Anne Stewart, and Natalia Vogeikoff for their assistance on particular points and/or with obtaining photographs. I must also acknowledge the ever-helpful staffs of the Doe Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and the Blegen Library at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Lecture audiences in Athens, Berlin, Christchurch, and Heidelberg also contributed helpful comments and suggestions. Last but not least, I owe a literal debt of gratitude to the American Council of Learned Societies for awarding me a generous sabbatical grant in 2007 to complete this study.

[1] Ridgway 1970, 8–11.

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transitional or early classical, which stress continuity rather than difference.[2]

2. A change in drapery, readily apparent in two forms: (a) a shift from Ionic to Doric fashions; (b) a change in the treatment of the folds . . . so that the final effect resembles corrugated iron.

3. A change in subject matter. One aspect of this phenomenon is an increase in *characterization* [emphasis original]. The basic Kouros type now becomes sharply differentiated into either Apollo or a human being, and the difference no longer rests on the attributes held by the statue. Apollo is recognizable not only through a certain grandeur or *ethos* (one of those intangible elements in Greek art which are so difficult to pinpoint but with which one has inevitably to reckon), but mostly because he now wears his hair long while the contemporary athlete has his short. . . .

4. Interest in emotion. The increase in characterization, with its potential for narrative, is obviously accompanied by an interest in the mechanics of expression. The range goes from quiet brooding to worried forethought to physical distress, and ends with the uncontrollable muscular distortions of death . . .

5. Interest in motion. Emotions or physical distress are usually dependent upon strain or action. Characterization has led to narrative. Thus traits 3 and 4 combine to produce a series of "statues in motion." This feature is not wholly dependent upon the demand for athletic sculpture nor can it be considered a total innovation of the Severe period since figures in action had already appeared during the archaic phase. . . .[3]

6. The predominant use of bronze.

The origins of this style—and thus arguably of Western art itself—have been debated intensely since Winckelmann. In part 1 of his 1764 masterpiece, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, he linked the style (the "high style" of Pheidias and Polykleitos) with the Greek attainment of "full enlightenment and freedom."[4] In part 2, he attributed the entire package to the impact of the Persian wars, particularly the events of 480–479 and their consequences—namely, the tabula rasa conditions that Xerxes' invasion created at Athens and the Panhellenic euphoria that followed its repulse.[5]

By and large, scholars accepted this thesis until the results of Kavvadias' excavation of the Acropolis (1885–1889) became generally known, especially the apparently clear evidence of a Persian destruction stratum (*Perserschutt*) loaded with broken sculptures and vases. Ross' discovery in 1835 and 1836 of a burnt lens south of the Parthenon that he identified as *Perserschutt* had made little impact, since it yielded no sculptures and only two red-figure vases.[6]

In one of the first textbooks to be published after Kavvadias' discoveries, Gardner outlined a new orthodoxy.[7] Although his account of the social "background" to the classical style was largely an updated version of Winckelmann's (mediated through a number of 19th-century German publications, particularly Brunn's influential *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler*),[8] he included a discussion of the Persian destructions, the Acropolis deposits, and key pieces found in them, including the Euthydikos kore and the torso attributed to it (figs. 1, 2) and the Blond Boy (fig. 3).

Because of their find circumstances, Gardner placed these figures before the critical watershed of 480, concluding that "a simpler and severer style becomes prevalent in Athens at the beginning of the fifth century."[9] In other words, the first phase of the classical style—and this may be the earliest use in English of the word "severe" to describe it—could now be shown to predate the Persian invasions and thus logically could not have been caused by them. Gardner did

[2] The term "transitional" perhaps better describes the naturalistic "turn" in some works of ca. 510–480 that immediately preceded the beginning of the Severe Style because it not only represents a clear departure from the archaic but also serves as the basis both for the lively poses of Severe Style figures and the ruthless "process of elimination" (Ridgway's apt term) of minor forms that they have undergone.

[3] Preferring a more restrictive definition of contrapposto, Ridgway (1970, 31–2, 61, 63) makes no mention of it as such; but she does, of course, discuss the revolutionary new "musing" pose of the Kritios Boy and other figures—the so-called Attic stance (her trait no. 4). Other scholars, however (Germans in particular), are far less inhibited (see, e.g., Fuchs 1969, 47–51; Borbein 1989; 2002, 9–11; Stewart 1990, 133–36; Rolley 1994, 339–40; Walter-Karydi 2001). Best defined as a balanced asymmetry about a central axis, contrapposto is qualitatively different from the explosive action poses of Late Archaic bronzes and figures in relief, such as those of Euthymides' Munich amphora, the Ballplayer base, and the Acropolis bronze athletes (Niemeyer 1964; Boardman 1975, fig. 33.2; Mattusch 1988, fig. 5.15; Stewart 1990, figs. 138–42; Boardman 1991a, fig. 242; Rolley 1994, figs. 233, 234, 336), though the right-hand ballplayer on the base might be an ancestor (infra n. 55).

[4] Winckelmann 1764, 224.

[5] Winckelmann 1764, 130–32, 224, 319, 324–26; 2006, 186–91, 232–33, 303–5. Winckelmann did not mention the simultaneous Carthaginian invasion of Sicily and its equally devastating defeat by the Syracusans and their allies. I will discuss current theories on the beginning of the Severe Style in part 3 of this study. Here, for clarity, I address solely the key literature on the Acropolis deposits and their chronology.

[6] Ross 1855, 1:105–9, 138–42, pls. 8–10. Ross (1855, 2:330–31) used these vases to reopen an old debate as to whether the technique preceded or postdated 480.

[7] Gardner 1896.

[8] Brunn 1857–1859.

[9] Gardner 1896, 189.

Fig. 1. Torso and head of a kore (AkrM 686; cat. no. 6) (H. Wagner; © DAI Athens, neg. Akropolis 1673).

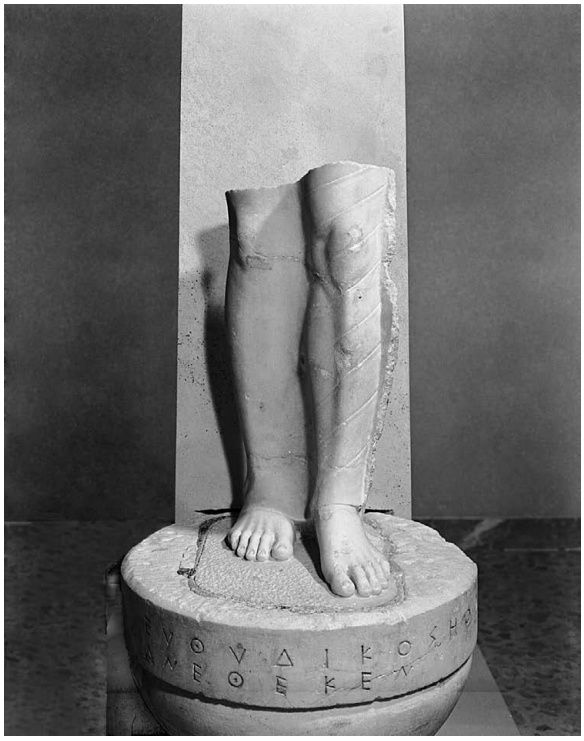

Fig. 2. Legs of a kore dedicated by Euthydikos (AkrM 609; cat. no. 6) (courtesy the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; Alison Frantz Photographic Collection).

not attempt to reconcile these potentially conflicting observations but merely juxtaposed them.[10]

Some scholars urged caution, noting that Kavvadias' excavations were poorly conducted and published, and that many key pieces were found in fills of uncertain date and composition behind the Acropolis' South (Kimonian) Wall of ca. 467–450 (the Blond Boy and Kritios Boy included).[11] Yet by and large, this new orthodoxy prevailed for a century, until the publication of Hurwit's path-breaking article on the Kritios Boy in 1989. Indeed, in some quarters it still holds.[12]

Hurwit's thorough discussion of the discovery of the Kritios Boy (fig. 4)—and his demonstration that the famous photograph showing him (still headless)

[10] Gardner 1896, 90, 189–90, 212–16; Winckelmann had used the word *streng* to describe the High Classical style of Pheidias and Polykleitos, and the term did not migrate to the work of the previous generation until 1837 (Kramer 1837, 101; Ridgway 1970, 3). Gardner failed to appreciate the significance of the Kritios Boy, perhaps because when it was found in 1865, it was headless, and from 1880 to 1888, it bore a somewhat later head (AkrM 699; see fig. 20) on its shoulders (see Hurwit 1989, 52–5, fig. 8).

[11] For Kavvadias' excavations, see Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906; Bundgaard 1974 (an indispensable resource). Lindenlauf (1997, 97, 100, 102, 105) lists the skeptics, who include Langlotz (1920, 99), in his authoritative study of Late Archaic–Early Classical ceramic and sculptural chronology. For Kimon's use of the spoils of the Battle of Eurymedon (ca. 467) to build the South Wall, see Nep. *Cimon* 2.5; Plut. *Vit. Cim.* 13.6; cf. *Vit. Luc.* 44.5; Paus. 1.28.3. See, e.g., Ridgway (1970, 31) on Angelitos' Athena, the Propylaia kore, and the Kritios Boy: "One must assume that the Periklean building program was removing early classical dedications that were in the way or that statues destroyed by the Persians were still lying around in 438 B.C. . . . The mixed fill of the finding spot for both the Kritian Boy and Angelitos' Athena, if not valid as positive evidence for a post-Persian date, is at least valid as negative evidence, in being mixed and thus not closely datable." Robertson (1975, 172) notes that the South Wall is Kimonian and that in its fills, "some pieces of sculpture which may, and a very few which stylistically must, date from this intervening time [i.e., 479–449] were found, showing that though the temples were not rebuilt some dedications were made." Unfortunately, no further documentation on any of these sculptures exists beyond that recorded on their object cards, which I am grateful to Proskynetopoulou and Vlassopoulou for allowing me to study when necessary; the cards' comments on find circumstances were published long ago (de Ridder 1896; Dickins 1912).

[12] Hurwit 1989; cf., e.g., Boardman (1996, 133), still advocating a pre-Persian date. Some have attempted to finesse the problem of the Kritios Boy's context by arguing that it was made before 480 but repaired and re-erected after 479 (Hurwit 1989, 61 n. 67); in fact, it was intentionally beheaded.

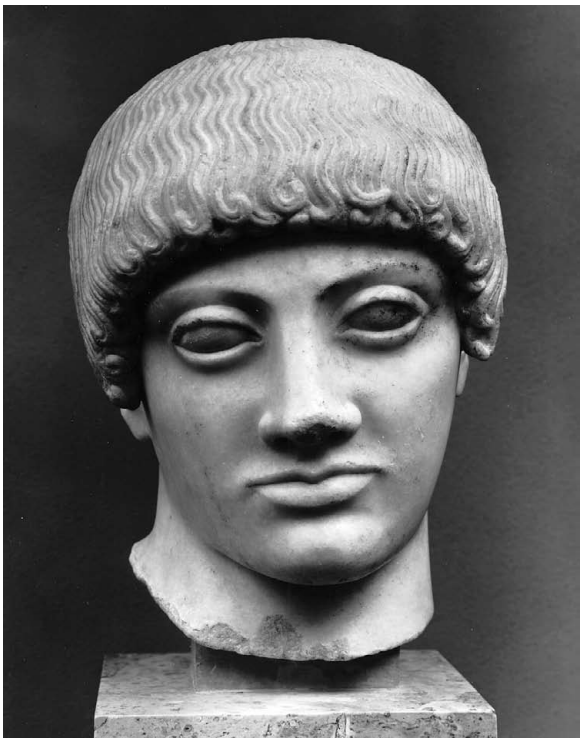

Fig. 3. The Blond Boy (AkrM 689; cat. no. 8) (G. Hellner; © DAI Athens, neg. 1972/2944).

piled alongside the Moschophoros, the head of the Athena from the Gigantomachy pediment, and Angelitos' Athena (fig. 5) is a picturesque medley of no archaeological value—tipped the balance toward a post-479 date for the statue. En route, Hurwit noted some other Severe Style sculptures that could accompany it but did not argue the case in detail. He repeated these opinions in his comprehensive study of the Acropolis, published in 1999, and in a student edition published in 2004.[13]

Nevertheless, two recent, extensive discussions of the *Perserschutt* have remained skeptical, arguing that find circumstances alone cannot settle the issue.[14] Ending her study with four key "transitional" pieces (Angelitos' Athena, the Kritios Boy, the Blond Boy, and a torso [fig. 6] often attributed to the Blond Boy), Lindenlauf concluded that although none of them could be securely provenanced to the *Perserschutt* itself, the dates of all of them should remain ca. 480. Steskal added three more (the Euthydikos kore and the Propylaia kore [fig. 7], and a little kore head [AkrM 640]),[15] affirming this date for all but the Athena. Athena's reappearance on a red-figure oinochoe of ca. 460 in New York (fig. 8)[16] seemed to him to point clearly to post-Persian manufacture. But in the end, he concluded that a date ca. 480 was the only safe bet for her as well.[17]

THE ARGUMENT

Taking up this challenge, the current article and part 2 of the study focus on those sculptures either found or allegedly found in Persian destruction contexts or directly associated with the Persian and Carthaginian invasions. Essentially, I argue the following:

1. The Acropolis deposits offer strong circumstantial evidence that the 19 Severe Style sculptures found on the citadel postdate the Persian destructions, and thus the Severe Style itself is a post-Persian creation. (A catalogue of these sculptures appears in the appendix.)
2. The finds from deposits in the Agora, Kerameikos, Eleusis, and Sounion either support this conclusion or at least do not contradict it.
3. The stratigraphy of the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina also supports this conclusion.
4. The sculpture from the Sicilian temples apparently erected to celebrate the Carthaginian defeat also supports this conclusion, as does the evidence of contemporary Syracusan coins.
5. Other evidence ranging from the above-mentioned oinochoe in New York to the copies of the Tyrannicides supports this conclusion.

In sum, when all the evidence is reviewed together, the factual and circumstantial case for the beginning of the Severe Style after the events of 480–479 seems overwhelming. Accordingly, part 3 reconsiders the theory that the style was somehow occasioned, at least in part, by those events.

In this article, stylistic dates and sequences for the sculptures and vase paintings in question are approximate only. Especially in a period of experiment and rapid change, differences in style do not translate readily into differences in date, and pieces that

[13] Hurwit 1999, 2004. See Hurwit (1989, 64–5) for probable companions; see also Hurwit 1999, 147; 2004, 53–4; endorsed by Holloway 1995; Ridgway 1995, 2004; cf. Tölle-Kastenbein 1983 (working from different premises but arriving at a similar result).

[14] Lindenlauf 1997; Steskal 2004.

[15] AkrM = Acropolis Museum inventory number.

[16] Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 08.258.25; *ARV*², 776, no. 3: "somewhat recalls the Deepdene Painter"; *Beazley Addenda* 287; *Paralipomena* 416.

[17] Steskal 2004, 217–30; see also Richter and Hall 1936, 114, pl. 88, cat. no. 84 (for the oinochoe); Lindenlauf 1997, 95–104.

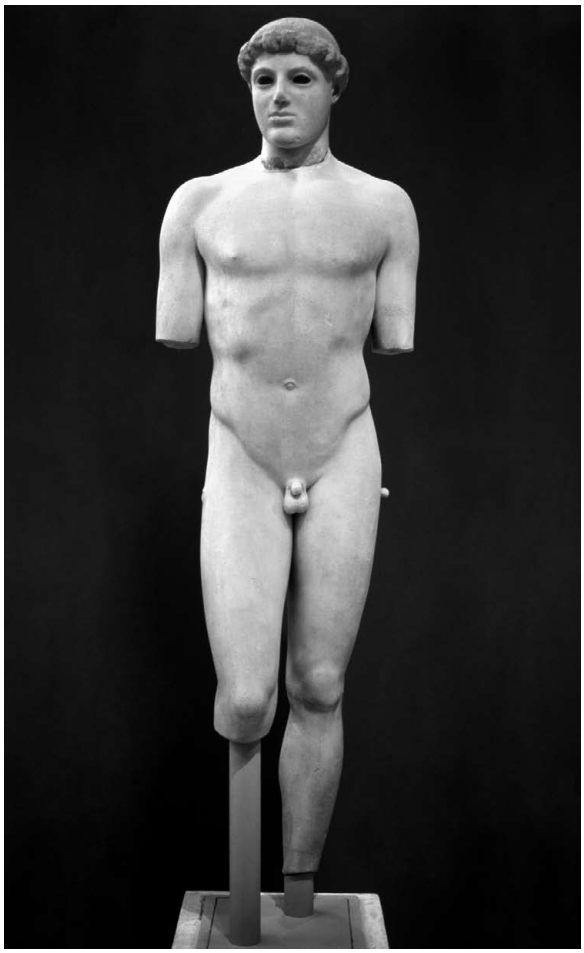

Fig. 4. The Kritios Boy (AkrM 698; cat. no. 10) (courtesy J. Hurwit).

Fig. 5. Athena dedicated by Angelitos and signed by Euenor (AkrM 140; cat. no. 1) (G. Hellner; © DAI Athens, neg. 1975/448).

look contemporaneous may not be so. Dates are thus handy metaphors for charting stylistic change, not its inevitable or even most likely consequence. Thus, all dates suggested for individual pieces should be taken *cum grano salis*. They either reflect consensus—where it exists and does not conflict with the results of this study—or (in the case of the sculptures) my personal preference, taking into account the thrust of the present argument and its consequences for Greek sculptural chronology.

As to the archaeological context—the Acropolis fills—so much has been written about it that another contribution might seem superfluous, even hybristic.[18] Yet there is still room for a reappraisal, particularly of the eastern and southern deposits. For this, it is convenient to follow in Kavvadias' footsteps, clockwise around the top of the citadel.

THE NORTHERN DEPOSITS

Lindenlauf's discussion of the backfill of the Acropolis' North Wall and its surrounding deposits is for the most part exemplary, so only a few points need be noted here.[19]

First, it is now clear that the only properly sealed deposit on this side of the citadel was the celebrated "kore pit" to the northwest of the Erechtheion, discovered by

[18] Indispensible are Kavvadias 1886, 1888; Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906; Bundgaard 1974, 1976; Lindenlauf 1997; Steskal 2004.

[19] Lindenlauf 1997, 70–4.

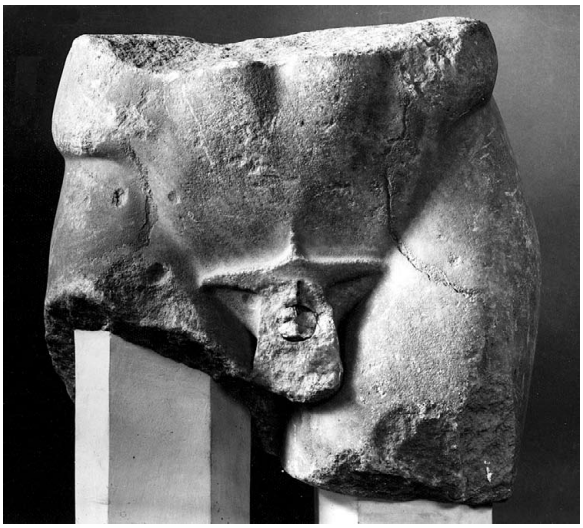

Fig. 6. Male torso fragment attributed to the Blond Boy (AkrM 6478; cat. no. 14) (H. Wagner; © DAI Athens, neg. 1975/543).

Kavvadias in February 1886.[20] Stratified in three layers and sealed by a layer of clay and stones, it is a backfill against this section of the North Wall. Unfortunately, of the 14 korai mentioned in Kavvadias' preliminary report, only nine are now identifiable with certainty: AkrM 670, AkrM 672, AkrM 673, AkrM 677, AkrM 678, AkrM 680–82, and the Nike AkrM 690.[21] One more kore (AkrM 671) was found built into the wall itself.[22] All the korai are ripe archaic, though none looks particularly late in the series.[23] If Raubitschek's plausible

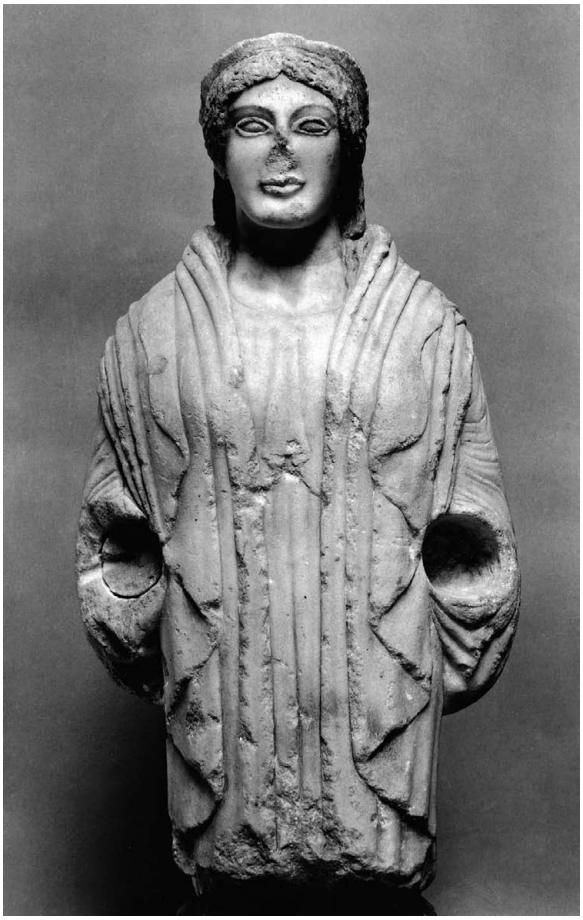

Fig. 7. The Propylaia kore (AkrM 688; cat. no. 7) (H. Wagner; © DAI Athens, neg. Akropolis 1652).

[20] 5–6 February (24–25 January in the Julian calendar, in use in Greece at the time): Kavvadias 1886, figs. 1, 2 (plan and section); Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906, cols. 23–30, figs. 1, 2 (plan and section); cf. Bundgaard 1974, 11–14 (narrative and discussion of the find, with fig.); Lindenlauf 1997, 70–1, pl. 7; Karakasi 2003, 130–31, fig. 21; Steskal 2004, 49–52, figs. 14, 15.

[21] Kavvadias 1886, cols. 137–38; Dickins 1912; cf. Bundgaard 1974, 11–14 (excluding the Peplos kore [AkrM 679], wrongly attributed to this deposit by Dickins); Lindenlauf 1997, 70 n. 179. Langlotz (Schrader 1939, 8, 33 n. 4) added AkrM 669, AkrM 671, AkrM 674, AkrM 676, AkrM 679, AkrM 684, and AkrM 685, misunderstanding Kourouniotis (1906, col. 66) to indicate that all the korai illustrated in that book were found in this deposit. AkrM 670: Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 35–6, pls. 65–7; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 8, pls. 14–16; Brouskari 1974, 70–1, figs. 131–32. AkrM 672: Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 35, 37, pls. 68, 69; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 42, pl. 59. AkrM 673: Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 35–6, pls. 62–4; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 51, pls. 16, 74, 75; Brouskari 1974, 63–4, figs. 114–15. AkrM 678: Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 21–2, pls. 34, 35; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 10, pls. 20, 21. AkrM 680: Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 33–4, pls. 54, 55; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 45, pls. 68, 69; Brouskari 1974, 73 (with wrong provenance), figs. 138, 139. AkrM 681: Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 31–3, pls. 51–3, 124; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 38, pls. 50, 52, 109; Brouskari 1974, 78–9, figs. 152, 153. AkrM 682: Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 27–8, pls. 40–3; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 41, pls. 53–6; Brouskari 1974, 67–8 (with wrong provenance), fig. 124. AkrM 690: *IG* 1^3 784; Dickins 1912, 250–53; Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, pl. 120; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 77, pls. 91, 92; Raubitschek 1949, cat. no. 13; Brouskari 1974, 125 (with wrong provenance), figs. 239, 240; Tölle-Kastenbein 1983, 581; Economakis 1994, 174, 178 (new fragments, reconstruction by Korres, and probable location); Trianti 1998, figs. 166, 167; Hurwit 1999, 130–31, fig. 105 (Korres' reconstruction); Kissas 2000, cat. no. B154, figs. 254–58; Brinkmann 2003, cat. no. 111; Keesling 2003, 53–4; Steskal 2004, 175, fig. 79.

[22] AkrM 671: Wolters 1886, 451–52; Stais 1887, col. 31; Dickins 1912, 207–9; Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 30, pls. 42, 43; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 14, pls. 25, 26; Brouskari 1974, 74, figs. 140, 141; Bundgaard 1974, 14, pl. 57 ("agalma"); Lindenlauf 1997, 73. No Severe Style sculptures were found in the North Wall.

[23] Karakasi (2003, 161, table 10), in the latest study of the Acropolis korai, dates the entire cache (excluding AkrM 690, which is outside her purview) to before 510. For the most part, however, she follows Payne's and/or Langlotz's dates (in Schrader 1939), ignoring the down-dating of key comparanda such as the Old Temple (Gigantomachy) pediment pro-

identification of AkrM 690 as Kallimachos' Nike (or Iris) holds, it was dedicated after Marathon. In any case, it seems to be the latest of the group stylistically.[24] Two small bronze Athena Promachoi (NM Br. 6457, NM Br. 6458) also may be associated with this deposit.[25]

Kavvadias also found at least five inscriptions in this deposit, four of which are sufficiently well preserved to merit discussion.[26] Again, all are clearly archaic. They include the bases of a scribe (AkrM 629) and of Antenor's kore (AkrM 681); a base dedicated by Kiron and signed by Euenor that Raubitschek associated with the feet and other fragments of a very late archaic kore (AkrM 318+344+497), perhaps unwisely; and a dedication of bronze statuettes by Onesimos, son of Smikythos, and (in another hand) by Onesimos' son Theodoros. If Onesimos is the Late Archaic vase painter of that name, either he made the addition on his son's behalf when he was still a minor or Theodoros himself added it just before 480, for there are no signs of a repair or any other indication that he did so after the sack.[27]

The deposit also yielded a coin hoard and much pottery. As eventually published by Svoronos (fig. 9), the hoard is somewhat problematic. It comprises fewer coins than Kavvadias lists (only 54, instead of 62 or 65), it includes two more tetradrachms and two more "wheeled" obols, and it illustrates among the tetradrachms a wreathed Athenian one of ca. 460 (see fig. 9[54]) that not only postdates the others by 20 years but also is the only unburnt coin in the group.[28]

Fig. 8. Attic red-figure oinochoe, showing a worshiper at a statue of Athena, attributed to the Group of Berlin 2145 (© The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund 1908, 08.258.25).

posed by Stähler (1972) and on other grounds by the present author (Stewart 1990, 129–30) and accepted, e.g., by Tölle-Kastenbein (1983, 579–80 n. 52) and by Childs (1994) in his exhaustive study of the temple's chronology. I would now put its sculptures even later, ca. 500. Even so, none of the korai looks much later than ca. 500.

[24] Raubitschek 1949, 18–20, cat. no. 13.

[25] NM Br. = National Museum of Athens inventory number. Studniczka (1887, cols. 138–42) remarked that they were found together early in 1886 to the northwest of the Erechtheion, which certainly fits the location of the kore pit (*LIMC* 2, s.v. "Athena," cat. nos. 136, 137, pl. 719; de Ridder 1896, cat. no. 782, fig. 289 [with wrong provenance]; cat. no. 781, fig. 288; Niemeyer 1964, 11, 13, 16, pls. 2, 3, 10, 34b). In the present display in the National Museum, NM Br. 6458 has been reunited with its base, NM Br. 6949 (attributed by Studniczka), which bears a dedication in archaic Attic script by Menekle[i]des (*IG* 1^3 530; Studniczka 1887, fig. 4). Niemeyer (1964) dates NM Br. 6457 to ca. 500 and NM Br. 6458 to the early 490s; both dates may be up to a decade too high.

[26] Kavvadias 1886, cols. 79–82.

[27] Scribe (AkrM 629): *IG* 1^3 618; Raubitschek 1949, cat. no. 6; Kissas 2000, cat. no. B152, fig. 53; Trianti 1998, figs. 211–13 (adding a cast of his head in Paris and a section of his cranium in the Acropolis Museum); Hurwit 1999, 59, fig. 43; Brinkmann 2003, cat. no. 66. Antenor's kore: *IG* 1^3 628; Raubitschek 1949, cat. no. 197; Kissas 2000, cat. no. B45, figs. 110, 111 (leaving the association with the statue open). Kiron's dedication: *IG* 1^3 787; Raubitschek 1949, cat. no. 14; Kissas 2000, cat. no. B171, with n. 446 (rejecting the association, since the cutting is too small and shallow [only 1 cm deep], suggesting a bronze statuette). Onesimos' dedication: *IG* 1^3 699; Raubitschek 1949, cat. no. 217; Kissas 2000, cat. no. B52, figs. 124, 125; Keesling 2005, 401–3. For Onesimos the vase painter, see *ARV*^{2}, 313, 318–30; *Beazley Addenda* 106–8; *Paralipomena* 358–61; Boardman 1975, 133–34, figs. 224–35; Neer 2002, 192–93. A pupil of Euphronios and active from ca. 505–500 (a cup apparently in his mature style was found in the Marathon tumulus [Neer 2002, 193, fig. 192]), he was quite old enough by the late 480s to have sired a son who could supplement his gift. Both Lindenlauf and Steskal omit these inscriptions and associated figures entirely.

[28] Svoronos 1926, pl. 3, nos. 1–54; see also Kavvadias 1886, col. 78 n. 1 (provenancing the hoard to the uppermost level of the fill, with the best-preserved korai, and listing 37 tetradrachms, 2 drachms, and 23 obols, of which 8 were wheeled Wappenmünzen); Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906, cols. 29–30 (35 tetradrachms, 2 drachms, and 28 obols, of which 8 were wheeled Wappenmünzen); Noe 1937, cat. no. 96. On the wreathed tetradrachm, see Kraay 1962, 417–18 (ca. 450); Starr 1970, 59, 62–3, pl. 18, no. 181 (period Vb [ca. 450]); Bundgaard 1974, 30 n. 38 (remarking critically on its supposed context); Kroll 1993, 5–6 (ca. 460).

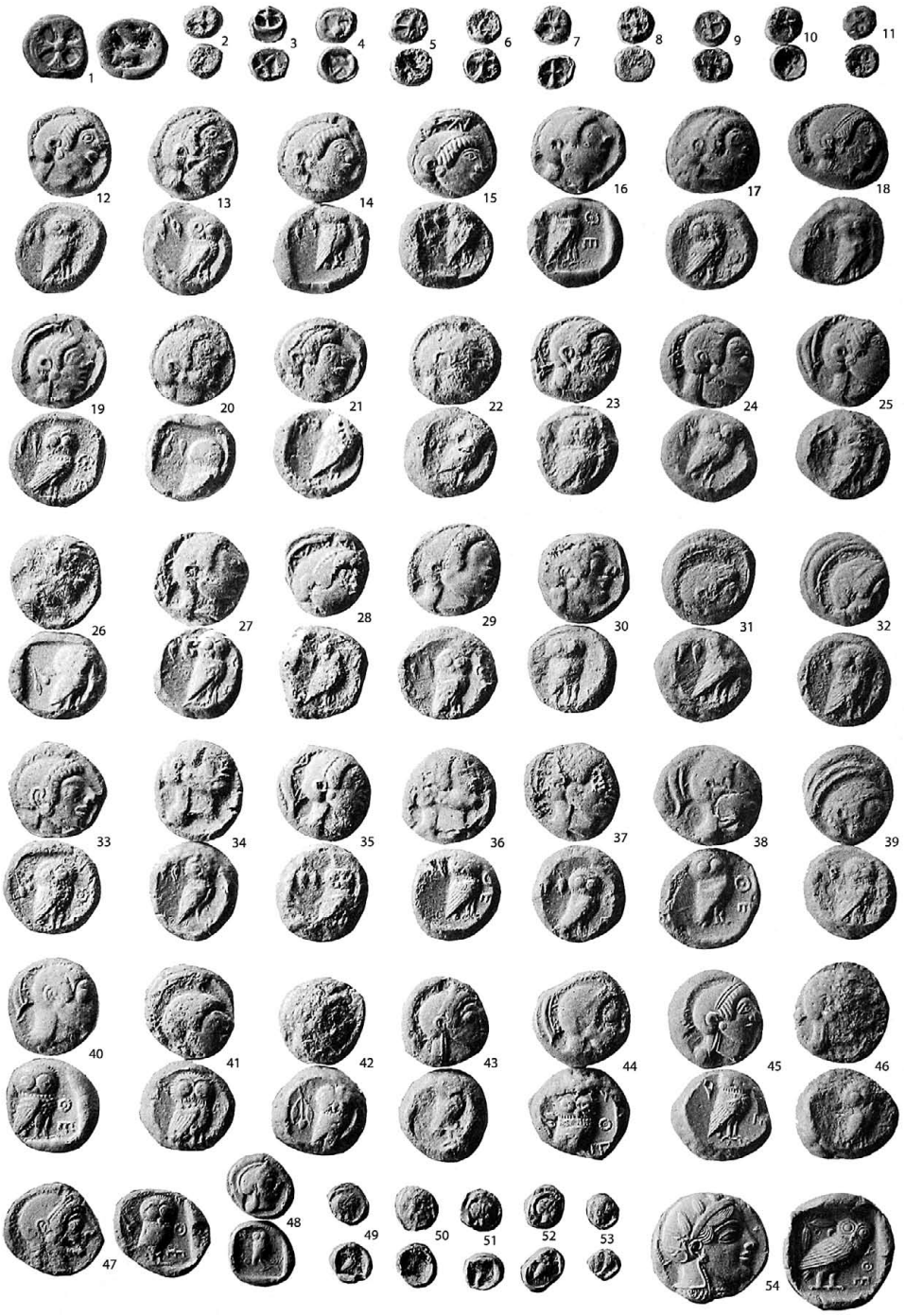

Fig. 9. Coin hoard from the "kore pit" on the north side of the Acropolis (Svoronos 1926, pl. 3).

Clearly, then, not only were Kavvadias' notes imperfect (as so often) but also, in the next four decades, some of the coins vanished, and one intrusive specimen crept into the tray. Yet excluding this intrusive coin, the ensemble turns out to be remarkably homogeneous: one wheeled drachma of the archaic Wappenmünz type (see fig. 9[1]), 10 wheeled obols of Wappenmünz type (see fig. 9[2–11]), 36 "barbarous" (i.e., crude) owl tetradrachms (see fig. 9[12–47]), one "barbarous" owl drachma (see fig. 9[48]), and five "barbarous" owl obols (see fig. 9[49–53]). The Wappenmünzen are Peisistratid, and the "barbarous" owls, all

in pristine condition beneath the fire damage, now are universally dated to 483–480, when Themistokles' proposal to use the new bonanza of Laurion silver to build a fleet was adopted by the Athenian assembly, and every engraver in town, competent or not, had to be pressed into service at the mint.[29]

Unfortunately, of the mass of pottery in this deposit, only one vase, a red-figure loutrophoros of ca. 500–490 "related to Phintias, and might be late work of his,"[30] can now be identified, but this only reinforces the evidence of the sculptures, inscriptions, and coins that this cache—perhaps alone of all those on the Acropolis—probably is pure *Perserschutt* and dates to the early 470s.[31] Significantly, the identifiable finds in it include no Severe Style work at all.

In fact, only four Severe Style sculptures were found on the northern side of the Acropolis, all of them in other locations: a marble torso of an archer (AkrM 599; fig. 10), a marble head of a youth or (more likely) a woman (AkrM 634; figs. 11, 12),[32] a bronze head of a warrior (NM Br. 6446; fig. 13), and the little bronze Athena Promachos dedicated by Meleso (NM Br. 6447; fig. 14).

The archer (see fig. 10) is not recorded in any contemporary report of the Acropolis excavations. Its date of discovery and provenance are given only in Kavvadias' 1894 guidebook to the Athenian museums;[33] if these are to be trusted (not a foregone conclusion, as we have seen), it could have come from anywhere along the entire North Wall.

Fortunately, however, there is no dispute about the archer's date. On the traditional chronology, it is universally placed ca. 470–460; the later date is preferable if (as the present study argues) the Severe Style begins after the Persian sack, not before it. The massive damage that it has suffered—its head, all four limbs,

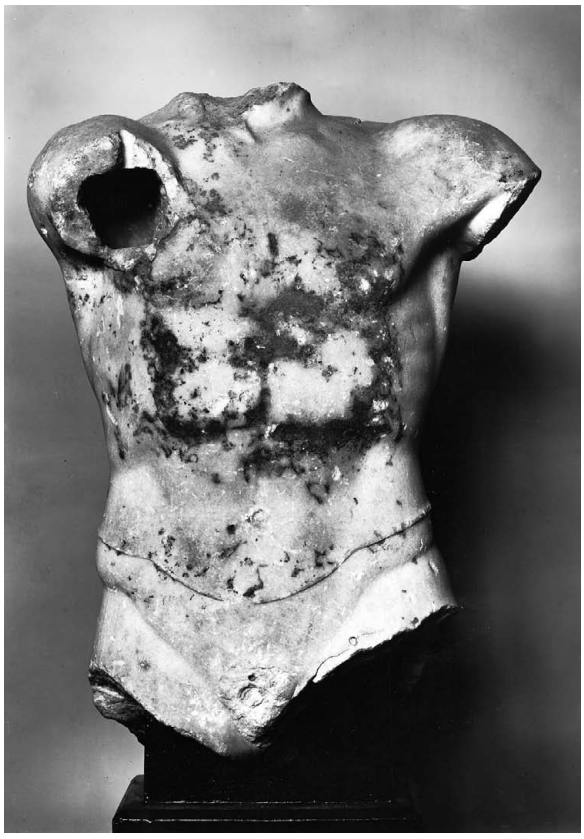

Fig. 10. Torso of an archer (AkrM 599; cat. no. 2) (W. Hege; © DAI Athens, neg. Hege 803).

[29] Hdt. 7.144; Plut. *Vit. Them.* 4.1–2; cf. Starr 1970, 3–5 (Seltman series E); Kroll 1993, 5. Lindenlauf (1997, 71 nn. 187, 193) notes the hoard's existence but remarks only that if the wreathed tetradrachm (no. 54) could be shown to belong, it would date the North Wall; Steskal (2004, 64–5) needlessly dismisses it because of these discrepancies.

[30] *ARV*², 25, no. 1; Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, 2:cat. no. 636, pls. 50, 51. According to Kavvadias, the rest of this vase was found under the poros layer to the east of the Parthenon. In a thoughtful reconsideration of the entire chronology of early red-figure vase painting, Neer (2002, 202–4) has proposed that a general discrepancy of up to two decades in the dates conventionally assigned to the black-figure and red-figure pottery found in the Agora *Perserschutt* deposits published by Shear (1993) requires us to rethink the chronology of early red-figure, specifically to extend the careers of the "pioneers" somewhat and to lower the dates of the generation that succeeded them. In a lecture given in Athens in fall 2006, Susan Rotroff tentatively proposed that these discrepancies might even require us to lower the date of the invention of red-figure from ca. 525/520 to ca. 515/510 (I thank her for generously sharing the text of her lecture with me). Since these proposals are quite explosive, and the latter (a revival of a late 19th-century idea [Langlotz 1920, 4]) is unpublished, I have continued to use the traditional chronology in the present article. Obviously, though, one revised along these lines can only strengthen my case.

[31] Those who wish to down-date the North Wall to the 460s or even later have to reckon with this evidence, especially given the clearly later material in the backfill of the Kimonian-Periklean South Wall, which definitely dates to these years. On the phasing and date of the North Wall, see Korres 2002, 180–81, fig. 1. Korres (2002, 184) shows that the entire North Wall is Themistoklean, with the possible exception of the uppermost western section (ε) by the Northwest Building (I), and that the section backfilled by the kore deposit (δ) was built first. Investigation of the wall's fabric has yielded nine inscriptions: *IG* I³ 619, 645, 649, 692, 728, 756, 798, 813, 820; Raubitschek 1949, nos. 9, 24, 40, 52, 55, 91, 258, 269 (but not his nos. 44, 93). All of them seem archaic, and none of them contradicts an early date for its construction.

[32] Its sex is not entirely certain. Against the majority view, Vlassopoulou and I think that its striking similarity to the Propylaia kore (see fig. 7) in modeling and "feel" suggests that it is female: a kore or an Athena?

[33] Kavvadias 1894, 105, no. 599.

Fig. 11. Head of a woman (AkrM 634; cat. no. 3) (H. Wagner; © DAI Athens, neg. Akropolis 1393).

Fig. 12. Rear view of a head (AkrM 634; cat. no. 3), showing the stepped cutting and dowel holes. The lower hole, on the break, is ancient; the one above it and to its right is modern.

Fig. 13. Bronze head of a warrior (NM Br. 6446; cat. no. 15) (H. Wagner; © DAI Athens, neg. NM 3374).

penis, and most of its quiver are missing—shows that such damage cannot be used as an irrefutable sign of Persian vandalism, and its pristine, polished surface shows that lack of weathering is no guarantee of manufacture just before the Persian sack. Presumably part of a victory monument, it must have stood on the Acropolis for only a short time before its removal during the Periklean building program. Perhaps it was in the way of the Erechtheion or one of the other Periklean buildings erected on the north side of the citadel during the Peloponnesian War.

The (probably) female head (see figs. 11, 12) was made at the beginning of the Severe Style; Graef's observation in 1890 that it looks somewhat like the Kritios Boy (see fig. 4) still holds good today.[34] But as Langlotz saw, it is even closer to the head of the Propylaia kore (see fig. 7), from which it cannot be far removed in date.[35] Its eyelids, however, are a little thicker and differently shaped, portending those of the Blond Boy (see fig. 3) and AkrM 644 (fig. 15). Its back bears a stepped cutting and a horizontal dowel hole on the break of the neck (see fig. 12); carefully described and

[34] Graef 1890, 20, no. 5.

[35] See Schrader 1939, pl. 32; verified by direct comparison in the (conveniently closed) old Acropolis Museum in July 2007.

sketched by Langlotz, they are best explained not as preparations for attachment to a relief but as evidence of an ancient repair.[36] Traces of red paint may be seen between its lips, and a small area under its right eye has been lightly reworked with chisel and rasp but not repolished.

Various explanations suggest themselves. Either the piece belongs to a statue whose head received a new back after the Persian sack, or (more likely, given the Persians' propensity to destroy the faces of the statues they vandalized) it is itself secondary, carved in the 470s to rehabilitate one such vandalized statue. In this case, its reworked cheek might be tertiary: an (abandoned) attempt to repair accidental damage after installation. Its context would not contradict any of this, for the fill in this area was mixed fifth century B.C.E. and Byzantine, and several of the pieces mentioned in the reports were found in a Byzantine wall.[37]

It is worth remarking at this point that neither of these pieces shows any sign of burning (i.e., calcination from direct exposure to heat over about 825°C, which turns the marble yellow then red, or blackening of the surface from contact with burning wood and consequent absorption of carbon into the stone's crystalline structure). This may seem unremarkable given the dates proposed for them, but except for AkrM 644 (see fig. 15), which is clearly also a repair, none of the Severe Style marbles discussed in this article shows any such sign, despite repeated assertions to the contrary.[38] By no means would such damage necessarily be indicative of a pre-Persian date for the piece in question, for Ross found clear evidence of a (presumably accidental) mid fifth-century fire of some magnitude in his Acropolis excavations of 1835–1836.

The bronze warrior (see fig. 13), whose cranium is smoothed and doweled evidently for the addition of a helmet, was found in the fill of the Northwest Building. This building is either Themistoklean or Kimonian, so the terminus ante quem for its fill is ca. 460.[39] This head reminds us that by the post-Persian period, bronze—not marble—had become the sculptural material par excellence, on the Acropolis at least. As will be discussed in part 2 of this study, its date hinges on that for the east pediment of the Temple of Aphaia at Aigina. To anticipate, it should belong ca. 475–470.

Fig. 14. Bronze statuette of Athena Promachos dedicated by Meleso (NM Br. 6447; cat. no. 16) (E.-M. Czakó; © DAI Athens, neg. NM 4742).

Struck off its body (of which no trace was ever found), this head may exemplify a phenomenon discussed by Houser: the peacetime decapitation of monumental votive bronzes earmarked for removal,

[36] The lower dowel hole (Schrader 1939, fig. 94D), drilled into the "riser" of the step at the break of the neck (Schrader 1939, fig. 94C), is 4 mm wide x 2 cm deep. Above and to the right of it, also in the "riser" of the step, is a second dowel, absent from Schrader's (1939, fig. 94) drawing; measuring 3 cm deep x 6 mm in diameter, it was drilled in modern times for the mount, now removed, pictured on the piece's object card in the Acropolis archives. Finally, above these two, in the "tread" of the step (wdth. 2 cm, depth 3.2 cm) (Schrader 1939, fig. 94A), a vertical dowel hole of the same 4 mm diameter as the first one has been started, off-center, then stopped at a depth of only 2 mm (Schrader 1939, fig. 94B). Evidently, the ancient restorer first thought of securing his repair with a vertical dowel through the crown of the head, and then abandoned it for a horizontal one through the nape of the neck.

[37] Bundgaard 1974, 15–16.

[38] Reviewed critically by Lindenlauf (1997, 87–9) and very thoroughly and skeptically by Steskal 2004, 165–75, figs. 60–78.

[39] See Hurwit 1999, 198, fig. 171; 315, cat. no. 10 (with bibliography) (Periklean, after Tanoulas 1992, 210); but see Korres 1997b (Kimonian, contra Tanoulas 1992); Korres 2002, 181, 186 (Themistoklean or Kimonian).

Fig. 15. Head of an athlete (AkrM 644; cat. no. 4) (W. Hege; © DAI Athens, neg. Hege 1382).

the burial of their heads inside the sanctuary, and the melting down of their bodies for reuse.[40] This phenomenon occurs in sanctuaries that were never sacked or pillaged, such as at Olympia (three examples); on the Acropolis, it may also explain the bronze head of a youth found in the southeastern deposits (NM Br. 6590; fig. 16), as well as several of the marble ones, the Blond Boy and Kritios Boy included. The Persians surely would have melted down any large-scale bronzes they found (and by 480 there were many on the Acropolis) in order to manufacture weapons, rather than going to the trouble of decapitating them and leaving their heads lying on the ground. Conversely, the total absence of such large-scale archaic bronzes from the Acropolis deposits supports the contention that these two Severe Style ones are indeed post-Persian.

Finally, Meleso's Athena (see fig. 14) has a Severe Style head but canonically Late Archaic drapery, the same combination as the Propylaia kore; though on the latter, the modeling of the folds is fully Severe (see fig. 7). In his original publication, Studniczka compared her with the Athena head from the east pediment of the Temple of Aphaia at Aigina, which (as mentioned above) should date to ca. 475, and Niemeyer dated her shortly after the Tyrannicides. All in all, a date in the mid to late 470s seems reasonable.[41]

In addition, the lower legs of a very late archaic kore attached to a base dedicated by Euthydikos (AkrM 609; see fig. 2) were found in 1886 or 1887 near the Erechtheion. In the latter year, Winter attributed them to a well-known kore torso (AkrM 686; see fig. 1), found in 1882 east of the Parthenon. Although there is no physical join (the statue's lower torso and thighs are missing), AkrM 686's left hand held up her skirt, as did AkrM 609's, and the marble and treatment of the hands, feet, and surfaces seem compatible. Moreover, all but one of the five major breaks run at the same angle, suggesting similar foliations in the marble. Yet

Fig. 16. Small bronze head of a youth (NM Br. 6590; cat. no. 18) (E.-M. Czakó; © DAI Athens, neg. NM 4947).

[40] Autopsy of the head indicates that it had been struck off its body from behind, breaking at the soldered join to the neck, of which small pieces remain on the outside of the flat joining surface and a larger, triangular piece at the front. For such decapitated heads in sanctuaries, see Houser (1988), citing both this head and NM Br. 6590 (cat. no. 18). As it happens, the Aiginetan sculptor Onatas worked on the Acropolis during this period, making a bronze equestrian statuette sometime in the early fifth century (*IG* 1^3 773; Raubitschek 1949, cat. no. 236; Kissas 2000, cat. no. B99, figs. 201, 202; Keesling 2003, 80, 90, 111).

[41] Studniczka 1887, cols. 142–47; Niemeyer 1964, 14, 21.

a cast of the statue on sale in Athens (fig. 17), with the missing thighs and lower torso completed by the sculptor Stelios Triantis, shows that the legs seem a little too wide for the body—the reverse of what most of the Acropolis korai would lead one to expect.[42]

Whether one believes this association or not, however, it is clear that traditional religious life resumed in the northern part of the citadel after the Athenian reoccupation, including dedications of warriors, korai, and statuettes of Athena Promachos. Building and backfilling the North Wall (a task that required the importation of at least 10,000 m^3 of fill; fig. 18)[43] must have impacted the area significantly, and later clearing operations for construction along the north side, including but not limited to the Northwest Building and the Erechtheion, no doubt caused much disruption also. Presumably, the four sculptures listed above (see figs. 10–14) were inadvertently damaged during these campaigns and then reverently buried in the usual fashion within the sanctuary.

Fig. 17. Cast of kore AkrM 686 (cat. no. 6), completed by Stelios Triantis (courtesy James Logie Memorial Collection, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand).

THE SOUTHEASTERN DEPOSITS

In 1887, Kavvadias began to excavate the southeastern corner of the citadel, completing the work begun by Pervanoglu, Evstratiadis, and others during the previous quarter-century. In assessing the results, it is important to remember that (1) the Kimonian South Wall and its Periklean capping, including the 7 m wide summit, extends around the eastern corner of the Acropolis to the present-day Belvedere at its northeastern corner, an added distance of 65 m; (2) like the North Wall, this one was built from the inside; and (3) this entire area also was backfilled after its construction (see fig. 18).[44]

The wall itself consumed an impressive 20,000 m^3 of stone and its backfill required a stupendous 40,000–45,000 m^3 of earth and rubble—far more material than the Acropolis itself could have supplied.[45] Most of it must have been carted up from the lower city. This, in turn, accounts for the ostraka, erotica, and white-ground funerary lekythoi found when Kavvadias excavated it and urges caution as to the original location and purpose of any uninscribed fragment of architecture, sculpture, or pot found in it.[46] These op-

[42] Euthydikos kore (cat. no. 6): *IG* 1^3 758; Winter 1887, 216; Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 40–2, pls. 87.1, 88; Schrader 1939, 37, fig. 42; Raubitschek 1949, cat. no. 56; Brouskari 1974, 127–28, fig. 243; Kissas 2000, B163, figs. 279, 280; Brinkmann 2003, cat. no. 107; Keesling 2003, 3–4, 134–36, figs. 1, 2, 38. Anne Stewart tells me, however, that over the years, the students in her College Year in Athens (CYA) sculpture class (held in the museum) have mostly rejected the association, and so does she. A lecture audience at the British School of Archaeology at Athens on 10 April 2008 generally concurred. The cast was made apparently in the 1970s by the sculptor Stelios Triantis and Ismene Trianti; it is offered for sale by TAP (the Archaeological Receipts Fund) in Athens as item no. 047. For what seems to be a slightly later dedication by Euthydikos, found in 1879 near the Erechtheion, see *IG* 1^3 837; Raubitschek 1949, cat. no. 294. Its right foot was advanced, so perhaps it was not a canonical archaic kore but a peplophoros. Raubitschek (1949, 315–16) compares its letter forms to those of Angelitos' Athena, which suggests a date ca. 470.

[43] Kolbe 1936, 33–5, 47; Lindenlauf 1997, 25.

[44] On the construction and phasing of the South Wall, see Korres 2004, 274–81, figs. 283–85.

[45] Kolbe 1936, 33–5, 47 (40,000 m^3 of fill); followed by Lindenlauf 1997, 25; Korres 2004, 278–79, table 12 (40,000 m^3 "not including the material from the Parthenon's predecessors"; 20,000 m^3 of stone in the South and East Walls combined).

[46] See Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, 1:cat. nos. 1639, 1669, 1684, 1685, pl. 85 (erotica); 2:cat. nos. 849–60, pl. 75 (lekythoi); 2:cat. nos. 1313–15, 1323, pl. 92 (ostraka). Some of the poros buildings represented on the Acropolis by only a few blocks probably also should be counted among the intruders (N. Klein, pers. comm. 2007).

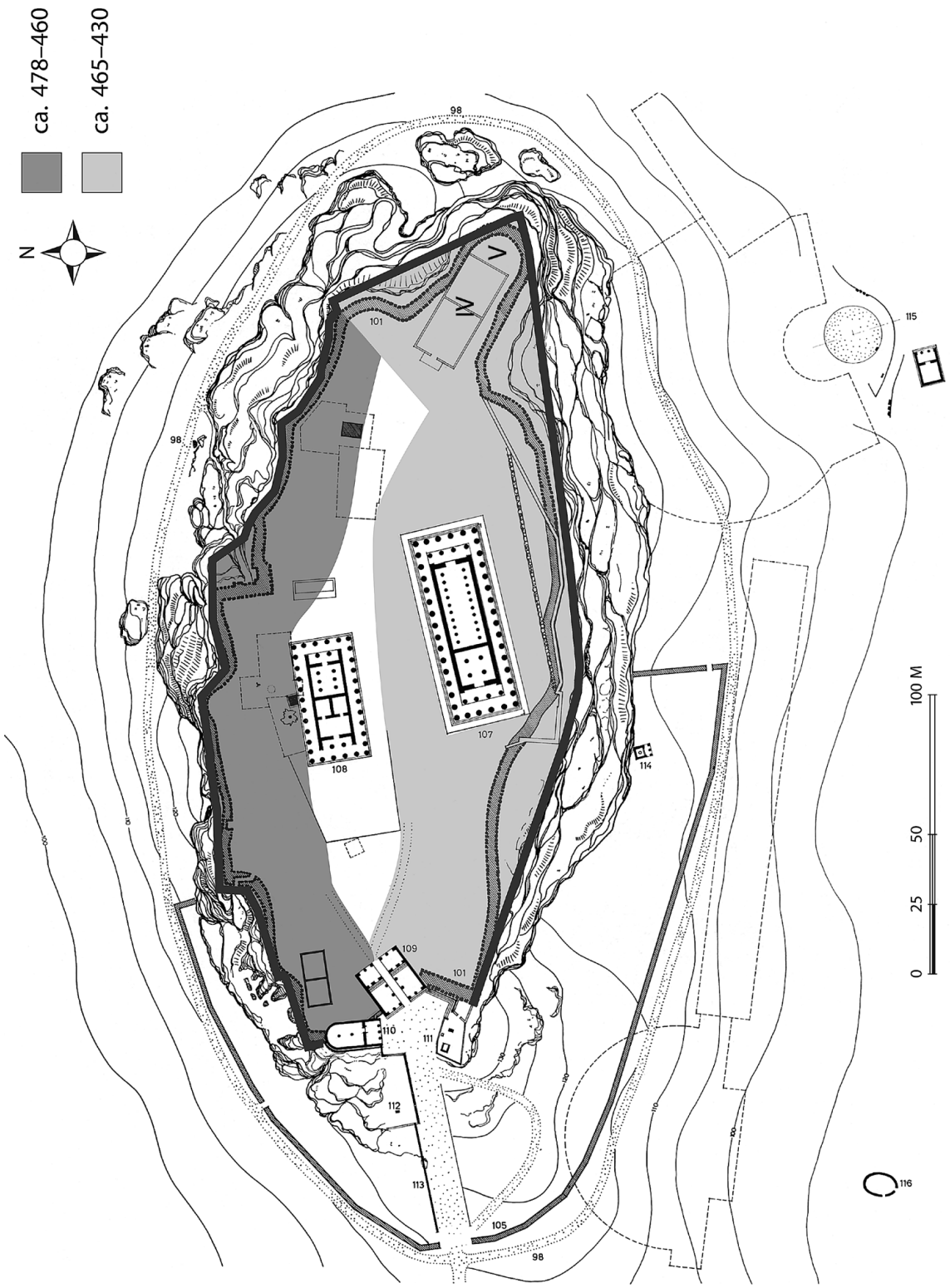

Fig. 18. Plan of the Acropolis, showing approximate area affected by the post-Persian fortification project (drawing by E. Babnik; modified from Travlos 1971, fig. 71).

erations must have caused massive disruption to the entire southern half of the citadel for decades, necessitating the relocation, destruction, and/or burial of everything that stood in the area—sculptural dedications included.

Unfortunately, the stratigraphic situation in the large, roughly triangular zone at the extreme eastern end of the citadel and enclosed by these eastern walls is most unclear. When the Acropolis Museum was built, during 1863–1874, few records were kept of the area excavated to receive it, and in 1888, when Kavvadias came to dig what was left, the only individual stratum that he could discern was prehistoric, enclosed by the southeastern tongue of the Mycenaean citadel wall and present in pockets against its southern part. Importantly, though, he remarked that none of the fills looked like Persian destruction deposits (i.e., like the kore pit he had recently excavated on the north side).[47]

Probably, then, the post-Mycenaean strata that Kavvadias excavated were mostly Kimonian and (in the upper levels) Periklean backfill. The enigmatic Buildings IV and V at the extreme eastern angle of the citadel (see fig. 18), in and around which many sculptures were discovered in 1864 and 1888, were Periklean and Kimonian, respectively. Building IV was constructed on the demolished remains of Building V, whose southwestern part overlay a square room that yielded, among other things, the base of the Moschophoros built into its west wall (its northwestern part sat upon "untouched earth").[48] Presumably, then, this square room was post-Persian (Themistoklean?) in date. This, in turn, both provides a reasonable terminus post quem for Buildings V and IV (respectively) and explains the northwest–southeast orientation of the whole complex within the projecting "tongue" of the Mycenaean wall, which continued to fortify the Acropolis until the beginning of the Kimonian project, shortly after 467.

Seven Severe Style sculptures (of marble, unless otherwise stated) were recovered from the fills in this large triangular zone: Angelitos' Athena, a small head of an athlete (AkrM 657; fig. 19), the Blond Boy, the Kritios Boy, a second head of a youth (AkrM 699; fig. 20), a small bronze head of a youth (NM Br. 6590; see fig. 16), and (probably) a male torso fragment (AkrM 6478; see fig. 6). Of these, Raubitschek famously associated the Athena (see fig. 5)—the earliest preserved statue to wear a peplos—with a fragmentary column dedication by Angelitos, signed by the sculptor Euenor. He dated it to the 470s both on epigraphic grounds and because the type reappears on a number of post-Persian red-figure vases (see, e.g., fig. 8).[49] But some still prefer to date it before 480 on the grounds that it could have been repaired and re-erected after the sack. On the chronology advocated here, a date ca. 475–470 seems reasonable, especially given Keesling's pertinent observation that a lost bronze Athena signed by Kritios and Nesiotes adopted the same pose and might have been Euenor's source of inspiration.[50] Bronze, it will be recalled, largely eclipses marble on the Acropolis after ca. 480, and Euenor was perhaps a follower rather than a leader.

Euenor also made two korai whose bases survive and whose inscriptions look earlier than that of Angelitos' Athena; he thus emerges as a true denizen of the transition from archaic to classical.[51] This lowered chronology also brings him closer in date to the great painter Parrhasios son of Euenor (active ca. 440–390), though the gap is still quite wide and any association between the two must therefore remain tentative.[52]

The Kritios Boy (see fig. 4), as Hurwit has shown, should postdate 479. Its head has been carefully chiseled off its body, presumably in order to bury it separately.[53] As Hurwit notes, it thoroughly deserves its nickname, given its striking similarity to the head of Harmodios in New York, copied from Kritios' and Nesiotes' Tyrannicides of 477/6.[54] Since the latter group was a state commission, a pioneering secular monument, and a tour de force of bronze sculpture, it seems

[47] Kavvadias 1888, 104–5. For a narrative of Kavvadias' work in this area, see Bundgaard 1974, 16–17. For a discussion of the excavations from 1863 onward, see Hurwit 1989, 45–55.

[48] Moschophoros (AkrM 624): Dickins 1912, 159 (with earlier bibliography); Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 1–3, pls. 2, 3; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 409, pls. 153, 154; cf. Brouskari 1974, 40–1, figs. 57, 58; for the base's precise findspot, see Bundgaard 1974, pl. 128, lower right ("basis"); for the stratigraphy and construction sequence, see Bundgaard 1976, 76 (with references).

[49] Keesling (pers. comm. 2007) has verified the association in situ, and having studied the pieces myself, I concur. The statue's head has been removed cleanly (the break is level and sharp-edged) with two or three chisel strokes made from the right. Other red-figure versions: (1) *ARV*², 529, no. 12 (Alkimachos Painter, ca. 470); Raubitschek 1939–1940, pl. 12, fig. 42; (2) *ARV*², 601, no. 22 (Niobid Painter, ca. 460; in profile); (3) *ARV*², 776, no. 3 ("recalls the Deepdene Painter," ca. 470–460); (4) *ARV*², 1110, no. 41 (Nausicaa Painter, ca. 460–450).

[50] Raubitschek 1949, cat. no. 160; Keesling 2000; 2003, 127.

[51] *IG* 1³ 786–87; Raubitschek 1949, cat. nos. 23, 14, respectively. Kissas (2000 n. 446) dissociates the second of these and kore AkrM 318+344+497 (supra n. 27).

[52] See, e.g., Raubitschek 1949, 497.

[53] On this practice, see Houser 1988. The break across the statue's right lower leg, however, has been carefully anathyrosed. According to Dimitris Marasiotis, the master mason of the Acropolis Museum, this is 19th-century restoration work.

[54] Hurwit 1989, esp. 78–80, figs. 24, 25.

Fig. 19. Small head of an athlete (AkrM 657; cat. no. 5) (H. Wagner; © DAI Athens, neg. Akropolis 906B).

acceptable to date the Kritios Boy just after it, ca. 475–470. This statue signals the advent in extant sculpture of the classic "musing" or "brooding" pose, long considered a sine qua non of the classical style.[55]

The bronze youth (see fig. 16), a miniature masterpiece, should belong with them. A large bruise at the bottom of its ponytail and a dent in the corresponding area at the nape of the neck shows that like the "Aeginetan" head (NM Br. 6446; see fig. 13), it was also struck off its body from behind; but since its head and torso were cast in one piece, the break is jagged and rough. The little head of an athlete (AkrM 657; see fig. 19) is identified as such by its thick headband and cauliflowered ears. It sports a couple of dozen holes for bronze locks around its hairline. Except for the break on its left side where it met its background, it is carved completely in the round; yet no high reliefs of this kind are known from the archaic Acropolis. It somewhat resembles the similarly drilled head of a dying warrior from the east pediment of the temple of Aphaia at Aigina, carved ca. 475, and may belong around that time or a little later. Presumably, it comes from a half-life-sized votive relief like the one found on the south slope of the Acropolis and attributed to the Brauronion by Despinis.[56]

The Blond Boy, a later work by the sculptor of the kore AkrM 686 (see fig. 1), may postdate the Kritios Boy also, at ca. 470. Broken cleanly from its body (to which the torso fragment AkrM 6478 [see fig. 6] may not belong, since it seems to be about 10% too small), the Blond Boy shows no sign of any other damage. Soon after its discovery, it was attributed to the sculptor of the Apollo from the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, and although one may question the attribution itself, time has done nothing to lessen the force of the comparison.[57] Since this temple was not

[55] On this pose and contrapposto in general, see supra n. 3. Though its absolute chronology remains problematic, its invention need not have been contemporary with the beginning of the Severe Style itself: the two are logically independent. At first sight, the Marathon base alongside the Athenian treasury at Delphi suggests that it was already current ca. 485, but the stances are Polykleitan (Audiat 1933, pl. 26; Bommelaer 1991, 134, fig. 48; Amandry 1998, figs. 3, 4 [verified in spring 2008]), so the base blocks cannot predate ca. 450. Like, perhaps, the Athenian stone column at Marathon, did they replace an earlier wooden tropaion, now deteriorated beyond redemption? The base of the colossal Salaminian Apollo at Delphi, however, apparently commissioned immediately after the battle (Hdt. 8.121–22; Paus. 10.14.5; Jacquemin and Laroche 1988; Bommelaer 1991, 169–70, fig. 71), shows that he was indeed poised contrappostically; pace Bommelaer (1991, 169), he was no kouros but employed the simple engaged leg/relaxed leg antithesis of, e.g., the Kritios Boy (the so-called Attic stance; see fig. 4). Other examples include the Omphalos and Kassel Apollos (Fuchs 1969, figs. 59, 60, 72; Stewart 1990, figs. 285, 286, 312; Boardman 1991b, figs. 66–8; Rolley 1994, figs. 9, 353–55) and Leagros' statue in the Agora, now convincingly dissociated from the pre-Persian Altar of the Twelve Gods and assigned to the 470s or early 460s (Gadbery 1992, 453, 471–72, 474, fig. 4; cf. Holloway 1995, 47 n. 21; Camp 2001, 32–5, fig. 31, 261; Ridgway 2004, 605 n. 35). On the prehistory of the pose in vase painting, see Langlotz 1920, 107–8; see also Boardman 1975, figs. 24.3 (Euphronios), 129.1, 135.3 (Kleophrades Painter), 140, 151 (Berlin Painter). In their Tyrannicides of 477/6 (Fuchs 1969, figs. 374, 375; Stewart 1990, fig. 227; Boardman 1991b, fig. 3; Rolley 1994, figs. 338, 339), Kritios and Nesiotes applied the contrappostic principle to figures in action, advancing far beyond the simple engaged/relaxed leg antithesis of the "Attic stance": Harmodios' engaged right arm and leg are flexed, and his relaxed left arm and leg are straight, whereas Aristogeiton's limbs are arranged chiastically, anticipating Polykleitos' Doryphoros. For contrapposto's later history, see Bühler (2002), to which add Nauman's (2000) absurdist exercise video, *Walk With Contrapposto* (first released in 1968).

[56] Ridgway 1970, fig. 10; Ohly 1976, pl. 37. AkrM 657's right eye is damaged—almost as if it has been intentionally blinded—but its left eye, though unfinished, is intact. Marasiotis observes that since the scoring looks fresh, this damage may be accidental and recent, either inflicted during excavation or just after it. For the south slope relief (AkrM 13529), see Despinis 1987, pls. 58–60.

[57] Wolters 1887, 266; Sophoulis 1888, col. 82. Stewart tells me that her CYA sculpture students also mostly reject the association of torso and head, as does she.

begun until ca. 470, the Apollo cannot belong much before 460, which creates a gaping two-decade chasm between the two sculptures if the Blond Boy really is pre-Persian.

Instead, its discovery "almost on the bedrock, in a deposit that seems to be non-*Perserschutt*"[58] not only shows that this part of the rock lay bare until well after the Persian sack but also suggests that all seven sculptures were (accidental?) casualties of the massive clearances and building operations necessitated by the construction of the South Wall and East Wall under Kimon and Perikles. There is, in other words, no reason archaeologically to date any of them before 480, and much cause to date them later.

This conclusion is confirmed by AkrM 699 (see fig. 20), which is universally recognized as High Classical, Pheidian, and contemporary either with the Parthenon metopes of 447–442 or—perhaps better—with the frieze of 442–438.[59] After it was finished (its eyes are painted), its ears, hair, and headband were crudely cut down, perhaps to receive a helmet, then repolished. For some reason, it was then discarded. The latest of all the pieces found in this area, it dates its accompanying fill, and thus the completion of this section of the South Wall, to the 440s or later.

In addition, there is a Late Archaic Nike (AkrM 694). Found in this area perhaps with the head of the Kritios Boy, it bears extensive traces of repair, and its drapery in front has been recut in the new Severe Style.[60] Some have conjectured that it was an acroterion of the Old Temple of Athena, damaged by the Persians during 480–479 and refurbished and re-erected above the temple's opisthodomos when it was fixed up after the sack to serve as a (presumably temporary) state treasury. Since Xenophon tells us that the Old Temple of Athena burned in 406/5,[61] the Nike was either discarded earlier and buried in the Kimonian/Periklean backfills or was dumped there after the building's demolition and the transfer of its treasures to the rear room (opisthodomos) of the Parthenon.[62] The lack of any sign of burning on it might suggest the former, but since no records were kept of the exact find-circumstances, we shall never know for sure.

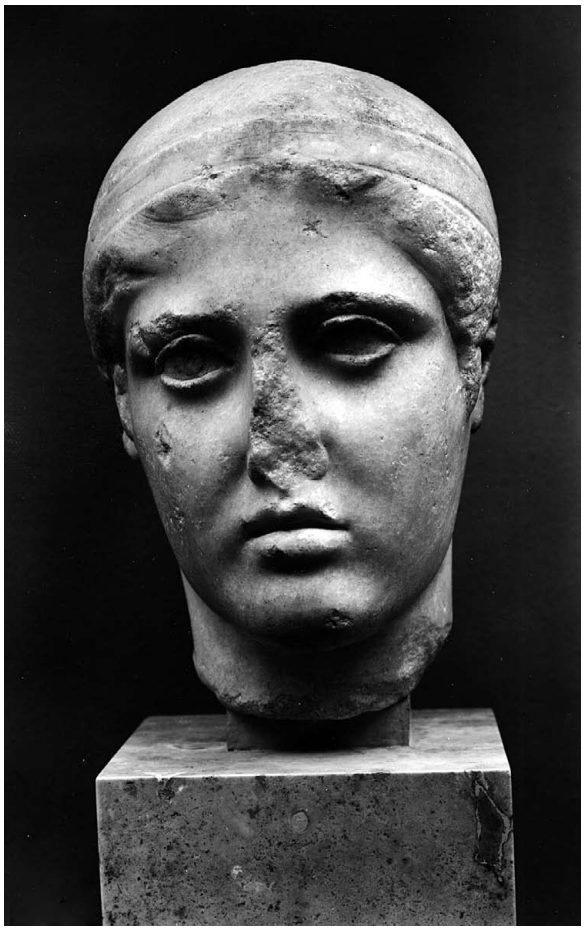

Fig. 20. Head of a youth (AkrM 699; cat. no. 11) (G. Hellner; © DAI Athens, 1972/2946).

THE DEPOSITS DIRECTLY TO THE EAST OF THE PARTHENON

In 1882/1883, Evstratiadis had dug a trench to the northwest of the northwestern corner of the new museum's courtyard, penetrating as deep as 5.8 m to bedrock in places and terminating to the south of Wall S7.[63] In his report on this excavation, Mylonas describes a threefold stratification, unfortunately compromised by numerous pits. First was topsoil, with some Christian and later finds; second, a layer of marble chips and

[58] Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906, cols. 33–4.

[59] As Vlassopoulou informs me (pers. comm. 2007), an observation made by Katherine Schwab.

[60] Nike (AkrM 694): Kavvadias 1888, 104; Dickins 1912, 257–58; Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 54, pls. 119.3, 119.4; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 67, pl. 90; Brouskari 1974, 66 (misleadingly calling her "early severe"), fig. 199; Frel 1982, 207, cat. no. 13 (repairs); Hurwit 1989, 55; Ridgway 1993, 151–52, 463 n. 11.3; Trianti 1998, fig. 57.

[61] Xen. *Mem.* 1.6.1.

[62] See Linders 2007.

[63] For this wall, see Bundgaard 1974, 10, fig. 28, pls. 115, 116. It looks very much like Wall S2, the single-faced, somewhat crude retaining wall of Acropolis limestone built parallel to the south of the earlier Parthenon's podium in the 480s (see fig. 23) and perhaps buttressed a transport lane for the latter project.

building stones; and third, a rich deposit of poros and marble sculptures, bronzes, vases, and inscriptions. He interpreted this third level as *Perserschutt* used to level the area to the east of the Parthenon, which was then covered by the temple's working chips.[64] As will now be evident, however, it must be part of the Kimonian or even Periklean backfill against the South Wall.

Among the spectacular finds in the poros deposit near and to the south of Wall S7 were the Hydra and Red Triton pediments (AkrM 1, AkrM 2) and many marbles, including the lunging giant, fragments of the seated giant, and a torso fragment of the Athena from the Gigantomachy pediment (AkrM 631), two sphinxes (AkrM 630, AkrM 632), the pig relief (AkrM 581), the Theseus (AkrM 145), and several korai (AkrM 668, AkrM 676, AkrM 683, AkrM 684, AkrM 686).

Of these sculptures, the pig relief and the kore AkrM 686 (cat. no. 6) have always been problematic. The relief is universally recognized as archaizing, archaistic, or sub-archaic. Payne called it "unlike any other sculpture on the Akropolis" in style and "excessively mannered";[65] Schuchhardt aptly compared it with the work of the Pan Painter, who was active ca. 480–460, but he dated it to the 480s even so; Brouskari put it even earlier, in the 490s; Ridgway sees it as "lingering archaic" and puts it in the 470s.[66] On the chronology advocated here, this final suggestion seems eminently reasonable.

As for the kore AkrM 686 (see fig. 1), whether it belongs with Euthydikos' dedication and the feet of AkrM 609 (see fig. 2), it, too, fits awkwardly into the 480s. An early work by the sculptor of the Blond Boy and perhaps the Olympia Apollo, it is usually thought to predate the Propylaia kore and the Kritios Boy and thus to be the harbinger of the Severe Style on the Acropolis. The latest monograph on the korai groups it with several Late Archaic korai and the Propylaia kore in a kind of sculptural logjam, "ca. 480,"[67] immediately before the Persian sack, and Steskal seems to agree; Ridgway, however, groups it with the pig relief and by implication puts it into the 470s.[68] I also prefer the early to mid 470s, just after the Athenian reoccupation; the Kritios Boy comes next, ca. 475–470, the Blond Boy ca. 470, and the Apollo ca. 460.

Whereas all the other korai are battered about the face or decapitated or both, AkrM 686 is intact. No Persian, it seems, sought to make it dumb, to blind it, to prevent it from smelling and hearing, or indeed to decapitate it altogether. First, the torso and legs (if the latter belong) show no signs of damage beyond the breaks caused presumably by the fall. (One recalls that the statue stood on a column, which must have not only made it very hard to move but also greatly increased the damage when it fell.) Second, the supposed signs of burning on the hair at the back are nothing of the sort. As figure 21 shows, they stop short at the hairband and its hanging ends, so must be the remains of color.[69] And third, since all the statue's confederates plausibly can be assigned to the 470s or later, why not she?

In August 1886, Kavvadias extended Evstratiadis' trench to the east front of the podium of the Parthenon, where he found that the stratification reported by Mylonas had changed somewhat.[70] He eventually discerned no fewer than four layers: topsoil (layer 1); a stratum of earth, marble chips, and some fragments of marble sculpture, particularly pieces of korai (including the head of AkrM 675) and a lion spout from the Old Temple of Athena (layer 2); a poros layer rich in building and sculpture fragments (layer 3; fig. 22); and immediately above bedrock, a stratum of earth that yielded very few finds (layer 4)—he mentions only a bronze griffin head and no pottery. Layer 2 looked somewhat like the northern deposits he had recently dug; layer 3 was a kind of embankment about 10 m wide with sloping eastern and (later) southern sides, piled up against the temple podium; and layer 4, soon dubbed the "black earth," was a preexisting humus layer that covered this part of the rock.[71]

For our purposes, Kavvadias' most important finds during this brief campaign were five red-figure sherds. Two years later, he showed them to Graef and Wolters when they joined the excavation team as pottery

[64] Mylonas 1883, 34.

[65] Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 49.

[66] Pig relief: Dickins 1912, 118–20; Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 48–9, pl. 126.1; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 424, pl. 175; Brouskari 1974, 52–3, fig. 94; Ridgway 1993, 451–53, fig. 148; Trianti 1998, fig. 225; Hurwit 1999, 58, fig. 42; Brinkmann 2003, cat. no. 43; Keesling 2003, 119–20, fig. 29.

[67] Karakasi 2003.

[68] Ridgway 1993, 451; Karakasi 2003, 161, table 10; Steskal 2004, 225–27. On its relation to the Blond Boy and the Apollo, see the long discussion by Kleine 1973, 125–29. Though Hurwit (1989, 63–5; 1999, 147; 2004, 53–4) puts the Blond Boy in the 470s, he makes no mention of AkrM 686, by implication leaving her in the 480s.

[69] Supposed signs of burning (not visible in Payne's or Schrader's photographs): Dickins 1912, 242; Schrader 1939, 77; Lindenlauf 1997, 88; Brinkmann 2003, cat. no. 107: "Auf dem Nackenhaar finden sich schwarze Pigmentreste; es könnte sich um umgewandeltes Zinnober (Metazinnober) oder auch am Brandspuren halten"; Steskal 2004, 165–66, 171 (skeptical), fig. 72.

[70] Bundgaard 1974, 12, pl. 116 (narrative and plan); cf. Kavvadias 1888, 10–11 for the strata.

[71] Kavvadias 1888, 10–12, 43–4. His layer 4 was presumably a continuation of the "black earth" that he subsequently found to the south of the Parthenon (see fig. 26[9, 10]).

consultants, claiming that he had found all but the first of them under the poros layer 3. The red-figure finds included:[72]

1. II.75, pl. 5: *ARV*², 80, no. 1 (bears "some resemblance to Epiktetos"); ca. 500.
2. II.636 (fr.), pls. 50, 51: *ARV*², 25, no. 1 ("related to Phintias, and might be late work of his"); ca. 500–490.
3. II.806, pl. 72: *ARV*², 240, no. 42 (signed by Myson); ca. 490–480.
4. II.814d, pl. 74: *ARV*², 260, no. 9 (Syriskos Painter); ca. 480–470.
5. II.936b, pl. 78: unattributed; ca. 490–480.

Now (to anticipate) it can be shown that the poros layer (layer 3) dates to the 480s. Yet II.814d, if it really came from under this layer, would date it to ca. 470 or later, which is impossible. So one can only surmise that Kavvadias was mistaken about the context of II.814d, he confused his notes again, or he found it either at the edge of the poros layer, 10 m or so east of the Parthenon (see fig. 22), or in one of the numerous pits that Mylonas had reported in the area.[73] As for the fragment II.636: this was found to join with other fragments Kavvadias had discovered earlier in the year in the kore pit on the north side.

In January 1888, Kavvadias resumed excavation to the south of this trench and Evstratiadis' old trench, working toward the South Wall.[74]

In the third, poros layer, he found the Hera and Herakles from the Introduction Pediment (AkrM 9), fragments of the Bluebeard and Herakles/Triton groups (AkrM 35, AkrM 36), the Olive Tree Pediment (AkrM 52), and a superb bronze statuette of a kouros with holes in its hands for jumping weights (NM Br. 6445). Usually dated to the 490s and stylistically close to the marble Rayet head in Copenhagen, this jumper shows once again that occasional disposal of freestanding dedications, even new ones, was not confined to the aftermath of the Persian sack but took place even in the Archaic period.[75] Finally, beyond the poros layer to the east, Kavvadias discovered a red-figure sherd and a marble tile right on the surface of the rock, confirming that there, too, the latter lay bare until at least the dawn of the fifth century and perhaps later.[76]

In April, Kavvadias dug a trench for the retaining wall for the museum courtyard, finding a griffin head and a bronze statuette of a dolphin rider (cat. no. 19), this time of the developed Severe Style. Probably an adjunct to a bronze vessel, it belongs in the second quarter of the fifth century. Yet again, it shows that some Early Classical offerings fell victim to the Acropolis fortification project perhaps only a decade or two after they were dedicated.

Fig. 21. Back of the head of kore AkrM 686 (cat. no. 6), showing traces of color above, below, and beside the hairband.

THE DEPOSITS SOUTH OF THE PARTHENON

All discussion of the stratigraphy of these deposits ultimately rests upon eight publications, of which four are partial section drawings: (1) Ross' illustration of Schaubert's measured north–south section of 1836 at the southeastern corner of the Parthenon (fig. 23);[77]

[72] Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, vol. 2.

[73] Mylonas 1883, col. 34; cf. Bundgaard 1974 n. 73.

[74] Dörpfeld 1888, 107–8; Kavvadias 1888, 10–11; Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906, cols. 35–8. See Bundgaard (1974, 17–19) for a narrative and analysis.

[75] Jumper (NM Br. 6445): Dörpfeld 1888, 108; Kavvadias 1888, 44; de Ridder 1896, cat. no. 740, pls. 3, 4; Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906, cols. 37–8; Niemeyer 1964, 24–5, pls. 17–19; Bundgaard 1974, pl. 107.2 ("bronce Agalma [stehende Jüngling]"); Stewart 1990, figs. 136, 137 (juxtaposed with the Rayet head).

[76] Kavvadias 1888, 43–4.

[77] Ross 1855, 88, pl. 5.4.

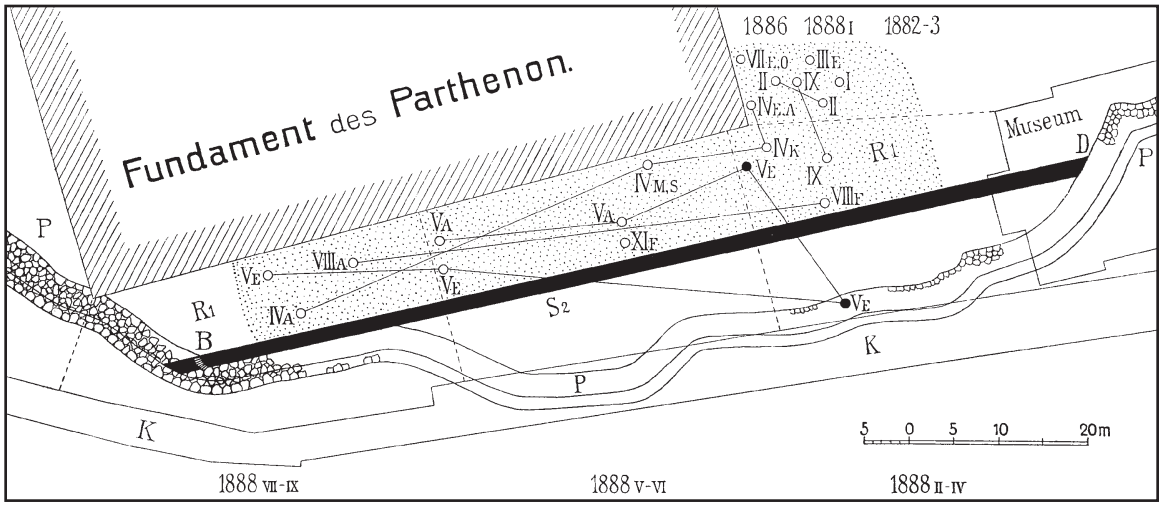

Fig. 22. Plan of the "poros deposit" (so-called *Tyrannenschutt*) against the southern and eastern sides of the Parthenon podium: *K*, Acropolis south citadel wall; *P*, Mycenaean citadel wall. Roman numerals give the findspots of the major poros fragments (Heberdey 1919, fig. 3).

(2) Ziller's two sections of 1864 at the same place and opposite the fourth column from the east;[78] (3) Kawerau's section of 1888, supplementing Schaubert's to bedrock between the Parthenon's podium and Wall S2 (fig. 24);[79] (4) Kavvadias' narrative of his 1888 excavations;[80] (5) Kawerau's plan of the area in Kavvadias' final report of 1906 (fig. 25);[81] (6) Kawerau's east–west section of the "black earth" under Wall S2 drawn for Graef and Langlotz's monumental publication of the pottery;[82] (7) Bundgaard's indispensable 1974 publication and analysis of Kawerau's notes, drawings, and photographs;[83] and (8) Bundgaard's 1976 montage of Schaubert's and Kawerau's sections, which provides the basis for figure 26.[84]

All other published sections are derivative, often incorporating evidence from farther west, and some are imaginative reconstructions that in places are highly problematic.[85] Yet determining the correct stratigraphy and dates of these deposits is crucial to understanding the history of the Acropolis ca. 500–450 and thus to the question at hand.

A schematic rendering of these strata at the southeast corner of the Parthenon appears in figure 26, and a modified genealogy of them can be seen in figure 27; a stratigraphic concordance with earlier studies is given in table 1.[86] Those familiar with these sources will notice a "new" wall, here labeled S6. Mentioned by Kavvadias[87] and sketched and photographed by Kawerau, but omitted by Dörpfeld[88] and by Kavvadias and Kawerau,[89] it was rediscovered by Bundgaard[90] in Kawerau's photographs and drawings, though later on, Bundgaard[91] put it in two different places, directly above

[78] Ziller 1865, Beilage B; reproduced in Bundgaard 1974, pl. 227.

[79] Bundgaard 1974, 19–20, pl. 153.1.

[80] Kavvadias 1888, 30–2, 43–5, 54, 81–3.

[81] Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906, pls. Z'–E'.

[82] Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, 1:xvii, fig. 2 ("schwarze Erde"); reproduced in Bundgaard 1974, pl. 222.1.

[83] Bundgaard 1974, 19–20, pl. 153.1.

[84] Bundgaard 1976, 79–82, fig. 44 pl. C(iv) (montage of Schaubert and Kawerau). No record exists of the section below Schaubert's to the south of Wall S2 (see fig. 26[X]). I have added deposit 5, the spill against the wall, on the authority of Kawerau's photographs (Bundgaard 1974, figs. 36, 37, 41, 42, 52, 53) and of Dörpfeld (1902, 394, figs. 2, 3), who witnessed the excavation. As for the stratigraphy farther west (in particular, at the center of the Parthenon's south side), no complete trustworthy sections can be reconstructed from Kawerau's partial section drawings and photographs of this material. I am grateful to T. Leslie Shear (pers. comm. 2006) for sharing his opinions on this material and its problems, though he will certainly disagree with some of my conclusions.

[85] E.g., Dörpfeld 1902, 394, figs. 2, 3; Dinsmoor 1934, 410, fig. 1; Kolbe 1936, 52, fig. 40; Lindenlauf 1997, pl. 1.1; Steskal 2004, 36, fig. 7.

[86] This is not a standard Harris matrix (see Harris 1989, 34–9, 109–13, 125–26, figs. 9–12, 52) but a much-modified version used on the Hebrew University-University of California, Berkeley, excavations at Dor in Israel. See Sharon (1995, 16–20, fig. 2.5) for an explanation of some of the modifications.

[87] Kavvadias 1888.

[88] Dörpfeld 1902.

[89] Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906.

[90] Bundgaard 1974, 19 (naming it Wall S[3]B), figs. 40, 42, pl. 149.4.

[91] Bundgaard 1976, 74 (renaming it Wall S6), pls. A (misplaced), C(iv).

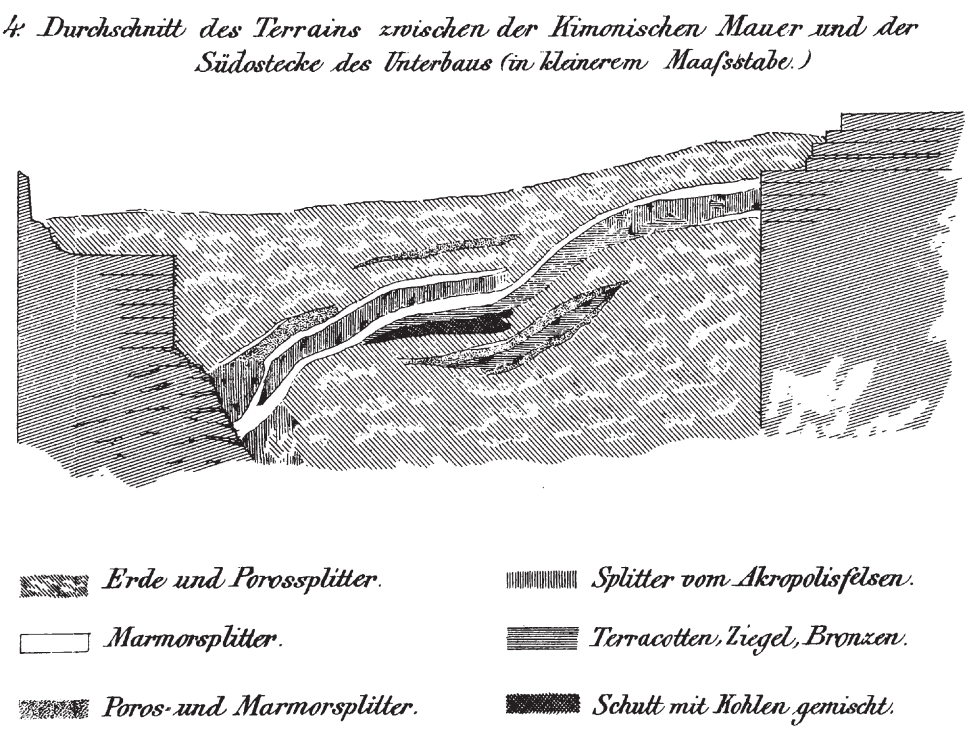

Fig. 23. Schaubert's north–south section (1836) at the southeastern corner of the Parthenon (Ross 1855, pl. 5.4).

Wall S3 in his plan and somewhat to the north of it in his section drawing. Since, as Bundgaard saw, it accounts for a curious "bump" in Schaubert's section at the latter point (see fig. 23), its position in his section drawing is followed here.[92]

As to dates: the pottery recorded by Graef and Wolters in 1888 and published in a monumental compilation of 1909–1933 is critical.[93] Often neglected or even summarily dismissed in the scholarship, it resolves several longstanding cruxes at a stroke. Finally, Korres' recent reappraisal of the retaining walls S2–4 and of the construction phases of the South Wall offers a further key to the area's many enigmas.[94]

From a chronological standpoint, the next-to-lowest layers (the "black earth"; see fig. 26[9, 10]) are the most important, for they produced sherds that date every deposit above them to after ca. 490.

The 2–3 m thick "black earth" rested on the bedrock and on the Bronze Age accumulation (see fig. 26[11]) behind the Mycenaean (or "Pelasgian") wall: it extended from this wall to the podium of the Parthenon (and of the Older Parthenon). Along its northern side, it was cut by deposit 8, which is probably the foundation trench for the Older Parthenon, since it contained pieces of poros and chips of Acropolis limestone (see fig. 24 [with Kawerau's note]). Accumulated naturally over the centuries and held back by the Mycenaean wall, this stratum actually consisted of two separate humus layers: a dense lower one (see fig. 26[10]), which contained only Mycenaean and some Geomet-

[92] Wall S6: Kavvadias 1888, 82 (May: the findspot for drapery fragments from the Athena of the Gigantomachy pediment [AkrM 631]); supra nn. 90, 91. This wall also escaped the notice of Lindenlauf (1997) and Steskal (2004).

[93] Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933. Dismissed, e.g., by Lindenlauf (1997, 56, 65–6, 68) and Steskal (2004, 152–53, 249, 251), both put off, in part, by Dinsmoor's (1934) heroic but unwise attempt to assign many of the unstratified sherds to particular deposits based on their date of discovery. Kolbe (1936, 46) and Bundgaard (1974, 21) succinctly demolished this idea by observing that Kavvadias dug vertically, not horizontally, sometimes slicing through two or three strata per day. The sherds, published in Graef and Langlotz (1909–1933), fall into three groups: (1) unprovenanced (the majority), (2) those tentatively assigned to particular deposits, and (3) those recorded upon discovery as coming from particular deposits. The second group obviously cannot be relied upon and will not be included here, but to jettison the last category is to throw the baby out with the bathwater. Even though almost none of the sherds comes from properly sealed contexts, their cumulative testimony is consistent and impressive.

[94] Korres 2004, 272–81, figs. 283–85.

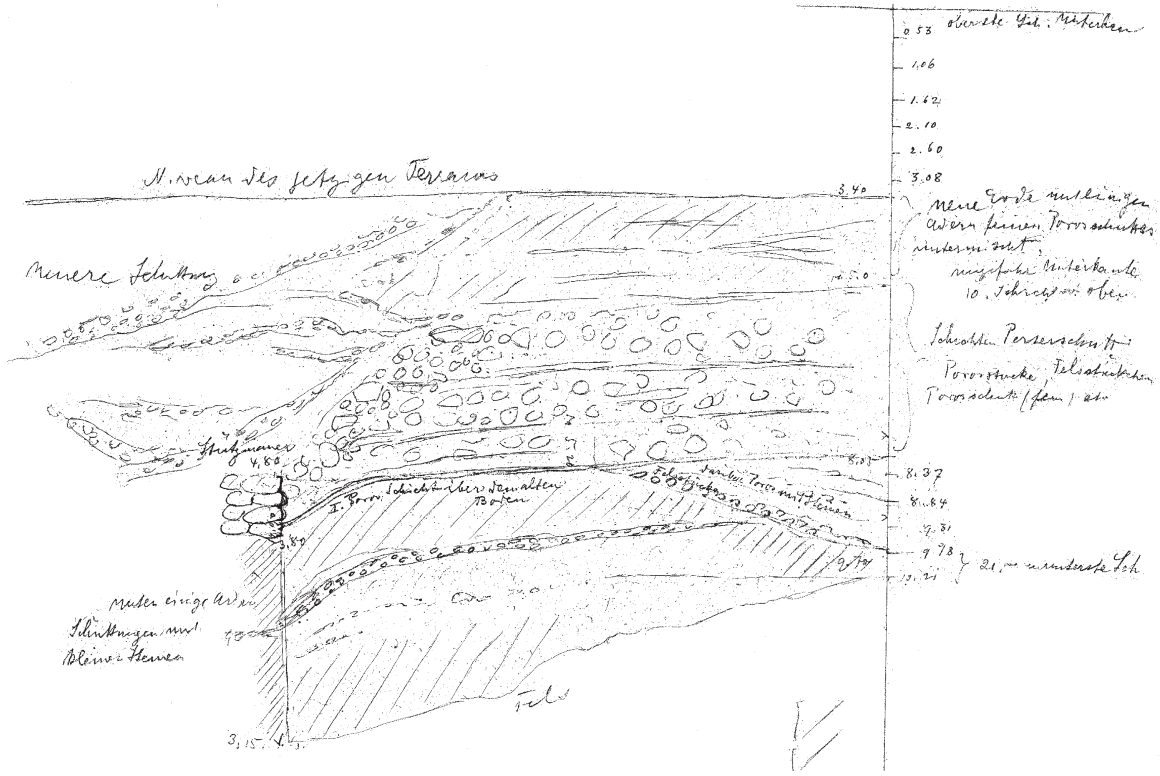

Fig. 24. Kawerau's north–south section (1888) of the material below that recorded by Schaubert between the Parthenon podium and Wall S2, seen at center left between elevations 4.80 and 3.80. Kawerau's notes read: "Durchschnitt der Schichtung gegen Westen gesehen; Photogr. no. 81. Oberste Sch. Unterbau; Niveau des jetzigen Terrains 3.40; neue Erde mit einige Adern feinen Porosschuttes untermischt; neuere Schüttung; ungefähr Unterkante 10. Schicht von oben; Schichten Perserschutt- Porosstücke, Felsstückchen, Porosschutt (fein), etc.; Stützmauer 4.80; I Porosschicht über den alten Boden; Felsstücke darüber Poros mit Steinen; 21. u unterste Sch; Unten einige anderen Schüttungen mit kleiner Steinen; Fels" (Section of the stratification facing west; photo no. 81. Uppermost course of podium; present ground level 3.40; fresh earth mixed with some lenses of fine poros deposits; more recent deposit; approximate lower level of 10th course from top; Persian destruction strata—poros pieces, rock chips, poros deposit (thin), etc.; retaining wall 4.80; 1st poros stratum above the ancient ground level; rock fragments with poros and stones above; 21st and lowest courses; below, some other deposits with small stones; rock) (Bundgaard 1974, pl. 153.1).

ric sherds, and a looser upper one (see fig. 26[9]), presumably washed down from higher up the slope, which produced some Geometric sherds, black-figure, and a few red-figure ones.[95] Chips of poros and Acropolis limestone, presumably construction debris from an archaic building or buildings higher up the slope, appeared low down in the upper layer (see fig. 26[9]), which also yielded the broken feet of a so-far-unidentifiable archaic kore, proving yet again that accidents happened throughout the history of the site.[96]

The latest of the black-figure ceramics recorded from this upper layer are listed below:[97]

[95] The ever-alert Ross (1855, 1:89) had noted the "black earth" by the southwest corner of the Parthenon in 1835, where he found it to be 2.4–2.8 m thick. For Kavvadias' excavation of it, see Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, 1:col. xvii, fig. 2 (Kawerau's east–west section under S2 at 13 m east of the Parthenon, drawn on 15 June 1888); reproduced in Bundgaard 1974, pl. 222.1. The caption to Graef's figure, however, is contradicted by Kavvadias' statement (quoted in Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, 1:col. xix) that the lower portion of the "black earth" contained not only Mycenaean sherds but also some Geometric ones. Bundgaard (1974, 15) mistakenly characterizes both layers as wash (cf. Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, 1:col. xiv).

[96] Sections: Bundgaard 1974, 20 (where the latter section is wrongly dismissed as an armchair abstraction), pls. 153.1, 222; for the chips, see Bundgaard 1974, 20, pls. 153.1, 159, 160 (with Kawerau's annotation). Kore: Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, 1:cat. no. 622a (with n.) (a black-figure krater fragment of ca. 530–520 found with her).

[97] Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, vol. 1.

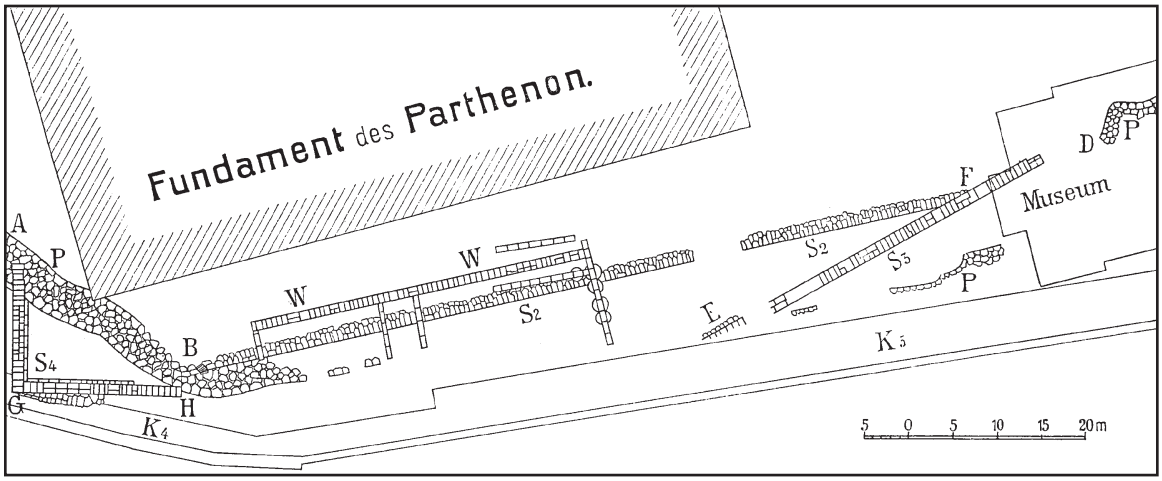

Fig. 25. Plan of the walls on the south side of the Parthenon: *K3, K4*, Acropolis south citadel wall; *P*, Mycenaean citadel wall; *W*, north wall of Building VI (Heberdey 1919, fig. 189).

1. I.1835, pl. 87: unattributed; ca. 500?
2. I.1994, pl. 90: *ABV*, 654 (unattributed); early fifth century.
3. I.2482: unattributed; end of sixth century.
4. I.2570b, pl. 107: *ABV*, 353 ("somewhat recalls the Rycroft Painter's plaque Athens Acr. 2560"); ca. 500.
5. I.2582, pl. 109: unattributed; end of sixth century.

The red-figure ceramics included:[98]

1. II.238: cup foot dedicated by Smikros, found under Wall S2; ca. 510–490.
2. II.262, pl. 14: unattributed; early fifth century?
3. II.456, pl. 38: unattributed; ca. 510–500.

Whereas the "black earth" clearly was a stratified accumulation spanning the Mycenaean, Geometric, and Archaic periods, the V-shaped deposit cutting it along its north side (see fig. 26[8]) must be the fill of the great podium's foundation trench. A single red-figure sherd, found "at the south side of the Parthenon in the lowest earth layer above the living rock"[99] may be from the bottom of this fill or from the "black earth" itself.[100] In either case, it dates the podium to after ca. 490.

The foundations of Wall S2, a low, polygonal wall whose southern face alone was dressed, were embedded into the "black earth" about 12 m from the podium's southern face and ran almost parallel to it. It rested on the Mycenaean citadel wall at its western and eastern ends, cutting off that wall's central part as it bulged to the south (see fig. 25[P]). The cup foot dedicated by Smikros (II.238) was found directly under it.

Wall S2 was clearly a retaining wall. It buttressed the bottom of a tall embankment composed of at least two superimposed deposits (see fig. 26[6, 7]). Ross had removed much of deposit 6, its upper part, during 1835–1836 (see fig. 24, "Niveau des jetzigen Terrains," at level 3.40 below the top of the podium); in antiquity, some of it had spilled over Wall S2, forming a third deposit (deposit 5) to the south of the wall. Yet enough remained of deposit 6 at the temple's southeast corner for Ziller to excavate and draw its section to a height of more than 7 m above bedrock, corresponding to the podium's 17th foundation course.[101]

Of this embankment, deposit 7, the so-called poros deposit, or *Tyrannenschutt* (as it erroneously came to be called on the theory that the Peisistratids had created it),[102] was a continuation of the poros layer that Kavvadias had found in 1886 piled against the podium's east side, described above (see fig. 22, stippled area). As Kawerau's section (see fig. 24) shows, it consisted

[98] Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, vol. 2.

[99] Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, 2:78, cat. no. 731.

[100] Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, 2:pl. 58 (II.731: unattributed, ca. 490); 2:col. vi (in sector A); cf. Kolbe (1936, 43–4, 46), though his list of finds from the "black earth" and this foundation trench is unreliable and includes some interlopers. I thank Oakley, Shapiro, and Langridge for independently verifying this date.

[101] Ziller 1865, Beilage B; reproduced in Bundgaard 1974, 10, 19, pl. 227 (with fold-out "Key Map," no. 227, for their locations along the Parthenon's podium).

[102] See Dickins (1912, 9) for the coinage and Heberdey (1919, 3–9) for its canonization in the literature.

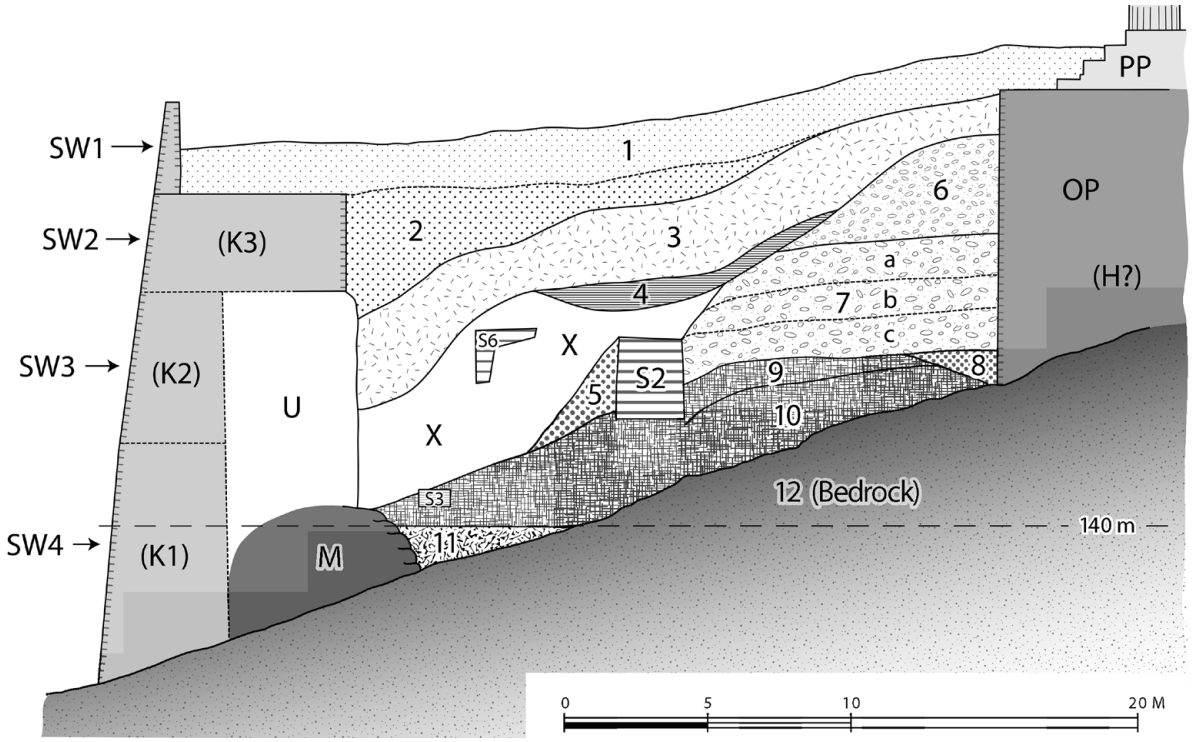

Fig. 26. Schematic reconstruction of the stratigraphy between the southeast corner of the Parthenon and the Acropolis South Wall: *H?*, Hekatompedon?; *K1–3*, South Citadel Wall, traditional, supposedly Kimonian, phasing; *M*, Mycenaean wall; *OP*, Older Parthenon; *PP*, Periklean Parthenon; *S2*, *S3*, *S6*, retaining walls; *SW1–4*, South (Periklean/Kimonian) Citadel Wall; *U*, unexcavated; *X*, unknown (drawing by E. Babnik; adapted from Bundgaard 1976, pl. C[iv]).

of three thick substrata, each comprising alternating layers of earth mixed with poros debris, Acropolis limestone chips, and Piraeus limestone working chips from the podium. This embankment wrapped around the podium's southeast corner, continued along its south side, and ended at the Mycenaean wall a few meters from the podium's southwest corner.

This deposit contained the poros "H" architecture and associated sculpture (most famously, more fragments of the Bluebeard, Herakles/Triton, and Lion/Lioness pedimental groups), now universally assigned to a large, peripteral Doric temple of ca. 560; the body of a kore (AkrM 675) whose head Kavvadias had found to the east in 1886; and a small bronze athlete (NM Br. 6614). The kore is from the late sixth century, the athlete from the early fifth century, and their context shows that they, too, were discarded and buried (for whatever reason) before the Persian sack.[103]

Clearly, then, in accordance with standard Greek practice, the masons first hacked away the rock to prepare a bedding for each foundation course, swept the chips away downhill, laid the course, dressed it from end to end, piled earth and debris against it to raise the embankment to match, and finally swept the whole area clean in preparation for the next course. They then repeated the entire sequence until the podium was finished, each time eating a little more into the rocky slope to the north. In section, the result looks like a layer cake, with alternating thick strata of earth and debris laid against each course and thin ones of working chips that more or less reach the joints between the courses. Ziller's and Kawerau's character-

[103] For narrative, see Dörpfeld 1888, 107–8; Kavvadias 1888, 101–5. Kore (AkrM 675): Kavvadias 1888, 102; Wolters 1888, 227; Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 31, pls. 49, 50; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 43, pls. 60, 61; Brouskari 1974, 65, figs. 116, 117. Athlete (NM Br. 6614): Kavvadias 1888, 82; de Ridder 1896, cat. no. 750 (doubting the provenance, but the heights tally), figs. 257, 258; Niemeyer 1964, 26, pls. 21, 35b (comparing it to the Rayet head but—perhaps misled by its naturalism, which recalls the Ballplayer base and Aristodikos—dating it to "the decade after Salamis").

izations of deposit 6 (see fig. 24, caption) show that the supply of poros architectural and sculptural debris apparently ran out after the embankment attained a height of about 4 m.

The purpose of this operation is clear and was recognized by its excavators. The terrace thus created, gradually rising together with the podium, served as an access road, staging area, and work surface and neatly dispensed with the need for expensive wooden scaffolding until construction of the temple itself began.[104]

The embankment (deposits 6, 7) also yielded numerous black- and red-figure sherds, only a few of which were properly registered.[105] Its stratification, described above, proves beyond doubt that they were deposited as the podium was being built, and thus predate it. The latest of the black-figure sherds included:[106]

1. I.1164, pl. 68: unattributed; early fifth century.
2. I.1165, pl. 68: unattributed; early fifth century.
3. I.1994, pl. 90: *ABV*, 654 (a "late cup" attributed to the painter of North Slope R159); ca. 490.
4. I.2028, pl. 88: *ABV*, 643, no. 158 ("Leafless Group"); ca. 500–480.
5. I.2038, pl. 89: *ABV*, 642, no. 130 ("Leafless Group"); ca. 500–480.
6. I.2045, pl. 90: *ABV*, 642, no. 147 ("Leafless Group"); ca. 500–480.
7. I.2046, pl. 90: *ABV*, 635, no. 43 ("Leafless Group"); ca. 500–480.
8. I.2047, pl. 90: *ABV*, 635, no. 45 ("Leafless Group"); ca. 500–480.
9. I.2048, pl. 90: *ABV*, 635, no. 44 ("Leafless Group"); ca. 500–480.[107]

The red-figure sherds included:[108]

1. II.45, pl. 3: *ARV*^{2}, 62, no. 81 ("Oltos, developed style, middle and late"); ca. 500.

Together, the architecture, sculpture, and ceramics recovered from this embankment seem to indicate that this sixth-century "H" temple stood on the site of the new podium, perhaps toward its eastern end, and its construction presumably occasioned the working chips found low down in the upper layer of the "black earth" (deposit 9). Apparently this temple was demolished in the early 480s to make way for the podium itself.[109]

In addition to shattering the old theory of a *Tyrannenschutt* (an undocumented Peisistratid demolition campaign in the 520s or 510s), this scenario concurs (1) with the now generally accepted dating of the Older Parthenon to the immediate aftermath of the Battle of Marathon in 490, (2) with the reuse of two of the "H" metopes for the notoriously problematic Hekatompedon inscription of 485/4 (*IG* 1^3 4), and (3) with the reuse of several more of these metopes in the Old Propylaia, built during these very years and destroyed by the Persians (along with so much else) in 480.[110]

Although the monumental and beautifully chiseled text of *IG* 1^3 4 obviously intends to prescribe for all time what was and was not permitted in the sanctuary, its provisions would have acquired particular force during this extended period of disruption. Sacred laws, it seems, often were drafted to deal with such uncertainties.[111] If the "H" temple and its successor, the Older Parthenon, are indeed to be identified with the Hekatompedon of the inscription (and later with the Parthenon itself),[112] its prohibition against throwing the excrement from the entrails of sacrificed animals into any part of the building makes perfect sense when one recalls that the whole area had become one vast construction site, and thus a natural dumping ground for garbage of this kind.[113] As for its notorious mention of "the *oikemata* [within?] the Hekatompedon,"

[104] Dörpfeld 1888, 432; Kavvadias 1888, 31; cf. Holloway 1995, 44–5 (succinctly demolishing other conjectures).

[105] Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, 1:cols. xvii–xix (4–7 June 1888, during which "die mit den Parthenonfundment gleichzeitigen Schichten [Porosabfälle] abgegraben und bis zum Felsen alles aufgedeckt"); 2:col. vi. Although Graef and Wolters did not note whether individual sherds came from this poros deposit or the "black earth" below, this does not matter for our present purposes, which is to establish a terminus post quem for these terraces.

[106] Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, vol. 1.

[107] For the date of the Leafless Group, see, e.g., Moore and Philippides 1986, 96, cat. nos. 1761–65, 1767, 1768, 1833; Shear 1993, 389–91, table 1.

[108] Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, vol. 2.

[109] Dinsmoor 1947, 117–18, 147–48; for convenient summaries of the controversy, see Korres 1997a; Hurwit 1999, 107–12. The podium is about four times the presumed area of the "H" temple, which explains the presence of yet more Acropolis limestone chips in the embankment (see fig. 26[6, 7]). As to the theory that the "H" architecture originally stood on the Old Temple foundations (between the Parthenon and Erechtheion), this now seems even less likely, since the Old Temple itself must have been begun by ca. 500. Its Gigantomachy pediment, though often dated too early, cannot be much later than this—if at all.

[110] The Hekatompedon inscription's bibliography is vast (see, most recently, Stroud 2004 [strongly advocating the traditional position]). For the metopes in the Old Propylaia, see Dörpfeld 1902, 406 (identification); Dinsmoor 1980, 22–7, pls. 10, 23, 24.

[111] Lupu 2005, 9–109, esp. 24–5, 107–9. I thank Keesling for the reference.

[112] *IG* 1^3 317–42 (from 434/3); cf., e.g., Plut. *Vit. Per.* 13; Harris 1995, 2–8; cf. 104–200 (with references); Linders 2007.

[113] *IG* 1^3 4, lines 10–11: "με δ' ἀν]ὰ πᾶν τὸ hε/κατομπ[έδ]ον μεδ' ὄνθο[ν] ἐγβ[αλῆν." On the meaning of ὄνθος, see Németh (1994 [repr. Németh 1997], refining LSJ, s.v. "dung" [reference kindly supplied by Keesling]), though his translation of the passage as "it is forbidden to clean the intestines of sacrificial animals within a certain area and beside the Hekatompedon" should read "[it is forbidden] also to dump the excrement from the entrails of sacrificed animals anywhere inside the entire Hekatompedon."

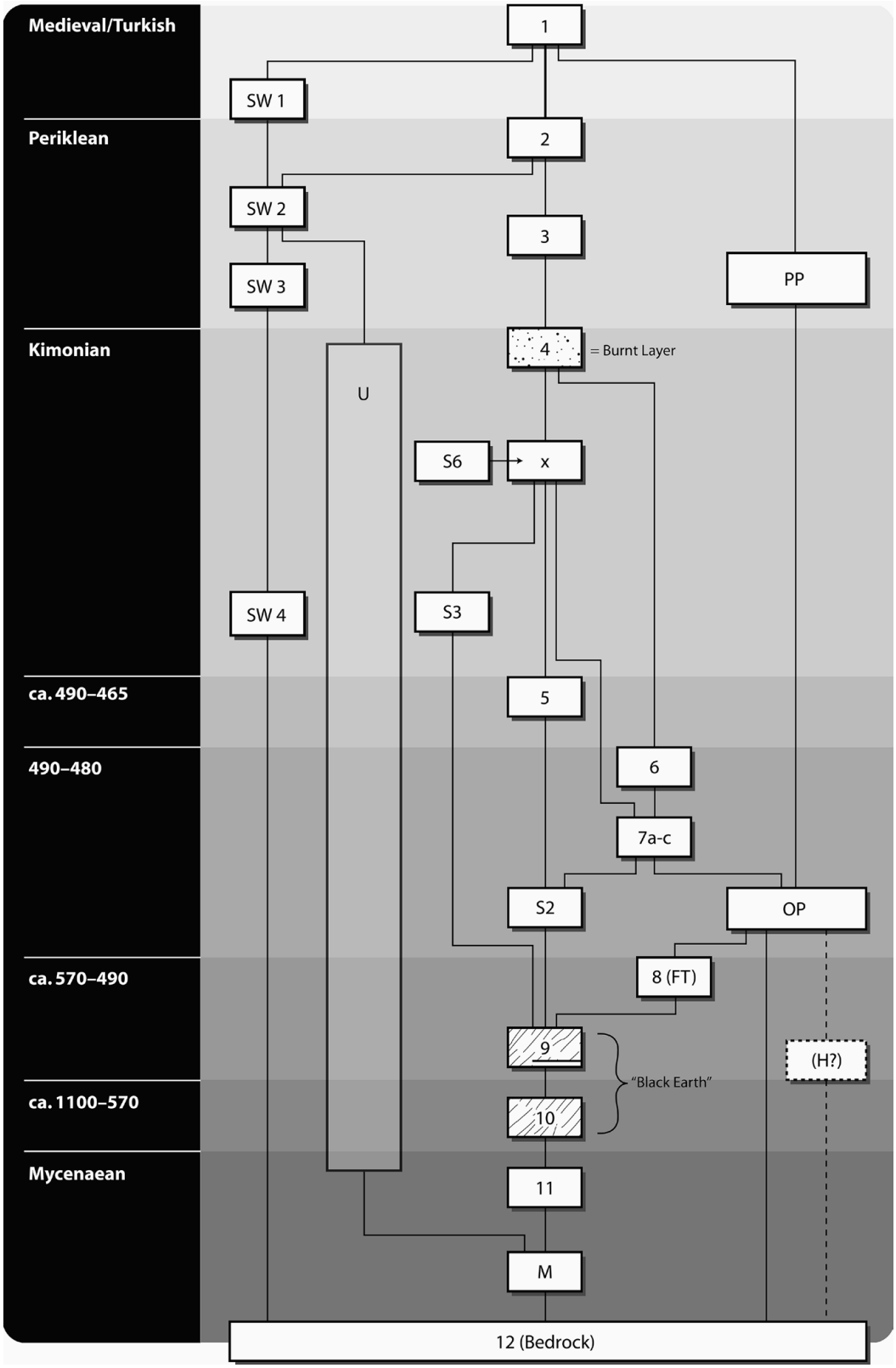

Fig. 27. Modified genealogy of the stratigraphy of the Acropolis at the southeast corner of the Parthenon: *FT*, foundation trench; *H?*, Hekatompedon?; *M*, Mycenaean wall; *OP*, Older Parthenon; *PP*, Periklean Parthenon; *S2*, *S3*, *S6*, retaining walls; *SW1–4*, South (Periklean/Kimonian) Citadel Wall; *U*, unexcavated; *X*, unknown (drawing by A. Estes, A. Stewart, and E. Babnik).

Table 1. Stratigraphical Concordance of Layers, Deposits, and Walls Between the Southeast Corner of the Parthenon and the Acropolis South (Kimonian) Wall.

	Steskal 2004	Lindenlauf 1997	Bundgaard 1974
1	SE[a] I	X	–
2	SE I	X	(a)
3	SE I	VIII, IX	(a)
4	SE VIII	–	(a)
5	SE II	–	(b)
6	SE II	VII	(b)
7a–c	SE IIIa/b	IVa–c	(b)
8	SE IV	II	(b)
9	SE Va	Ib	(c)
10	SE Vb	Ib	(c)
11	SE Vb	Ia	(d)
X[b]	SE VI, VIII	III, VI	(a), (b)
U[c]	SE I, VI	III	(a), (b)
S2	S2	S2	S2
S3	S3	S3	S3
S6	–	–	S[3]B, S6 (1976)
M[d]	P	–	P

[a] SE = "stratigraphische Einheit"
[b] X = unknown
[c] U = unexcavated
[d] M = Mycenaean wall

perhaps temporary strong-rooms were erected on the new podium for secure storage, replacing the demolished rear rooms of the "H" temple's cella.[114]

This terminates our discussion of the pre-Persian deposits and walls on the south side of the Acropolis. All the fills above and to the south of them are post-Persian. They are best explained (like the poros layers, the so-called *Tyrannenschutt*) not as destruction deposits but as construction fills. I turn now to the great Kimonian/Periklean South Wall of ca. 467–430 (SW4–2; see figs. 23–6).[115]

The upper part of this wall (SW3) and its wide summit (SW2, which sits on the wall's unexcavated backfill [U] and extends ca. 4 m north of SW3) should be Periklean. Schaubert's section (see fig. 23) shows that a deposit including thin layers of marble chips (deposit 3), presumably from the construction of the Parthenon (447–438), extended into this backfill (deposit U) under the wide summit (SW2) at the level of the wall's second stage (SW3), proving that the two are contemporary. The wide summit itself (SW2) and its backfill (deposit 2) should therefore belong to the 430s.[116]

[114] Lolling's restoration of *IG* 1^3 4, lines 17–18 of "τὰ οἰκεμάτα/[τὰ ἐν τôι hεκατ]ομπέδοι" seems the only one that is grammatically possible.

[115] E.g., Holloway 1995, 45.

[116] In 1835 and 1836, Ross removed most of this backfill to a depth of 3.40 m below the temple's euthynteria when he leveled the area from the Parthenon's podium across to the top of SW2 (Ross 1855, 1:89–101; cf. Bundgaard 1974, 1920, pl. 153.1; see fig. 24 herein, with Kawerau's note to that effect). On the construction and phasing of the South Wall, see Korres (2004, 272–81, figs. 283–85), which correlate with fig. 26 as follows: SW2, Korres stage 15; SW3, Korres stage 10 and perhaps also 7; SW4, Korres stages 7 (perhaps), 4, and 1. The assignment of Korres stage 7 is problematic because the unexcavated fill (U) below SW2 masks the junction of fill 3 with the South Wall.

The wall's parapet (SW1) and its backfill (deposit 1), which by Ross' time had reached the Parthenon's second step, were medieval and Turkish.

Between the marble-chip deposit (deposit 3) and the pre-Persian fills (deposits 6, 7, X), and floating above Wall S2, Ross found a lens (deposit 4) that greatly interested him, since along with a few marble chips, it contained a quantity of burnt material, including (allegedly) the roof beams of at least two buildings. To him, this looked suspiciously like *Perserschutt*.[117] Below it was an unburnt lens containing bronzes, ceramics, and other objects, covered by a thin layer of marble chips. No section was ever drawn of the material below this lens (deposit 4) and to the south of Wall S2, including Wall S6; for that reason, the stratigraphic position of Wall S6 is unclear and the fill on figure 26 is labeled X. Forty meters west, where the wide summit ended, Kavvadias excavated the fill back to the South Wall proper and found that it consisted of horizontal layers serving as construction terraces for stages SW4–3.[118] To this day, the material (deposit U) under the wide summit (SW2) remains the only untouched deposit of fill on the entire Acropolis, unless the early excavators left a few pockets of it under the museum.

Of the material that Ross recovered from the burnt deposit (deposit 4), he published only three pieces: an archaic gorgon antefix, a red-figure owl skyphos, and a red-figure plate.[119] Johnson used the presumed *Perserschutt* context of the owl skyphos to date his earliest group of owl skyphoi to ca. 490, but a year or two later, he found some earlier examples of the type. Commenting that "except for the Akropolis example, all discoverable indications point to a post-Persian date for the skyphoi," he then redated "the mass" of them to ca. 475–425.[120] Current scholarship, ignoring the chronological problem apparently posed by Ross' find, places them all within this range.[121] As for the plate, it belongs in the middle of the Brygos Painter's career, which is currently dated to ca. 500–475.[122]

In fact, this lens of burnt material (deposit 4) is unlikely to be *Perserschutt*, since it seems to sit in part on the (presumably) Kimonian deposit X and floats above Wall S6. As Bundgaard noted, the violent Athenian winter and summer rainstorms make it most unlikely that burnt debris from the Persian sack sat untouched in the open for this length of time, so an accidental fire seems the best explanation for it. Since the lens underlies the Parthenon's working chips, however, Bundgaard's own (overprecise) date for it of ca. 446–438 seems somewhat late.[123]

As for Walls S3, S4, and S6 (see figs. 25, 26), the first of which cut Wall S2 and, like S2, also rested on the "black earth," clearly these were built at about the same time and for the same purpose. Unlike S2, S3 and S4 were ashlar, but like S2, both of them were dressed on their outer (southern) faces only. Wall S6 was far cruder and looks like a hurried solution to some temporary problem. As Korres has recently argued for S3 and S4, surely all of them supported terraces and ramps for the transport of the thousands of blocks of the South Wall's lowest and middle courses (SW4–3) around the southwestern and southeastern corners of the podium of the Older Parthenon and its half-finished, now ruined temple, and down the slope of the hill.[124]

The first stages of this great fortification project (SW4) included three of the "H" temple's massive limestone architraves, earmarked for the great wall's lower courses. Then, as the wall rose (SW4–3), it was progressively backfilled in the fashion described earlier, course by course (see fig. 26[U]; and presumably deposits X and 3). Next, Building VI (see fig. 25[W]) was constructed on and at the center of this terracing, in part from the damaged column drums of the Older Parthenon. If this building is the *ergasterion* mentioned in the Parthenon inscriptions, it should date to the early 440s. Finally, presumably after 438 and the completion of the Parthenon, the wall's wide summit (SW2) was built, and the entire area between it and the temple was progressively backfilled as usual (deposit 2; see figs. 23, 24), creating a gentle slope down to the wall from the temple podium.[125] The reuse of

[117] Ross 1855, 1:105–9, 138–42, pls. 8–10; Bundgaard (1976, 79–80) attributes it to a "casual fire" of 446–438.

[118] See Kawerau's sketch in Graef and Langlotz 1909–1932, 1:col. xxix, fig. 4; Bundgaard 1974, 25, figs. 50, 59–61, pls. 160.1, 163.2, 187.

[119] Owl skyphos (Ross 1855, 1:140–42, pl. 9; reproduced in Dinsmoor 1934, 420, fig. 5 [center]; Johnson 1951, 99 [Group 1, cat. no. 11]; cf. 1955, 120; Neer 2002, 193; Steskal 2004, 44. Red-figure plate: *ARV*^{2}, 385, no. 229 (Brygos Painter); Ross 1855, 1:140–42, pl. 10; Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, cat. no. 20, pl. 1; reproduced in Dinsmoor 1934, 418, fig. 4; Neer 2002, 193; Steskal 2004, 44–5, fig. 12.

[120] Johnson 1955, 123.

[121] Boardman 1989, 39. Given Ross' (1855, 1:140–42; 2:330–31) interest in the beginning of red-figure, which presciently he placed before the Persian sack, it is unlikely that this deposit contained any later examples than these or he would have reported them. As late as 1888, some pundits still believed that it began after the sack (see Bundgaard 1974, 20).

[122] Langlotz (1920, 99) uses its supposed context in the *Perserschutt* as a cornerstone of his chronology; c.f., e.g., Cambitoglou 1968, 37, pl. 8.1. Boardman (1989, 136) dates the Brygos Painter to ca. 495–475.

[123] Bundgaard 1976, 79–80.

[124] Korres 2004, 272–78, figs. 283–85 (placing S4 shortly after S3, in his phase 5).

[125] Korres 2004, 280–81.

drums from the Older Parthenon in Wall S4 supports this Kimonian date for it and S3, as does the latest pottery recovered from S4's backfill:[126]

1. II.305, pl. 19: *ARV*², 441, no. 183: Douris, late, ca. 460.
2. II.761, pl. 66: *ARV*², 256, no. 4: Copenhagen Painter, ca. 470.
3. II.831: unattributed; ca. 470 (Langlotz).

Of these, II.761 was found deep in the fill, making it hard to dismiss.[127]

As for the contents of the backfills (deposits 2–4, X) above and to the south of the poros deposit, although most of the pottery is pre-Persian in date, a significant number of sherds are not. These pieces again demonstrate that the backfills are by no means pure *Perserschutt* and that this vast construction project was not completed until ca. 450 or (probably) later:[128]

1. II.262, pl. 14: unattributed; ca. 480–450.
2. II.315, pl. 19: *ARV*², 459, no. 11 (Makron); ca. 480–470.[129]
3. II.355, pls. 25, 26: *ARV*², 828, no. 29 (Stieglitz Painter); ca. 470–460.
4. II.439, pls. 35, 36: *ARV*², 860, no. 2 (Pistoxenos Painter); ca. 470–460.
5. II.638, pl. 52: unattributed; ca. 470.
6. II.738, pl. 62: *ARV*², 227, no. 15 (Eucharides Painter); ca. 480–470.
7. II.761, pl. 66: *ARV*², 256, no. 4 (Copenhagen Painter); ca. 470.
8. II.1019, pl. 79: *ARV*², 1110, no. 50 (Nausicaa Painter); ca. 470–460.

Several of these sherds were found deep in the fills near the South Wall, and Ross' removal in 1835 and 1836 of all post-Periklean material (layer 1) on this side of the Parthenon ensures that the rest were not deposited later. Ross' work also helps to explain the lack of ceramics dateable between 450 and 430. In leveling the area from the top of the South Wall's wide summit (SW2) across to the podium, 3.40 m below the Parthenon's euthynteria (see fig. 24 [with Kawerau's note]), he removed much of the Periklean backfill (deposit 2) as well.

A mid fifth-century inscription also appeared in these fills, near the South Wall, and a drum from the Older Parthenon sat part way down the slope of the embankment (see fig. 26[6, 7]). Either the Persians toppled it or (more likely) Iktinos' workers did so when they cleared the podium in 448 to begin work on the Parthenon.[130]

As for sculpture, despite the now-lowered date of the embankment (layers 6, 7) to the 480s, its excavation in 1888 yielded not one fragment of Severe Style work. The fills above and around it (deposits 2–4, X) produced only a single bronze Athena statuette (NM Br. 6454; cat. no. 17), and Building VI (see fig. 25[W]) yielded but one marble relief, the famous "Mourning" Athena (AkrM 695; cat. no. 9; fig. 28).

The unfortunately headless statuette is clearly indebted to Angelitos' Athena (see fig. 5), or another like it (Kritios' bronze one?), and so should be dated to ca. 470. As for the "Mourning" Athena, which had been built into the north wall of Building VI, we have seen that the construction of this building was the penultimate project in the area, either just preceding the Parthenon (begun in 447) or contemporary with it. As Ridgway aptly remarks, it looks like a partially reversed replica of Angelitos' statue in relief.[131]

Nobody dates the "Mourning" Athena earlier than ca. 470, and when it was made, this whole area was one vast building site, so it must have stood somewhere else. Since the relief shows damage consistent with being toppled over (it is broken across at neck level, chipped at the top right, and missing most of its left forearm), was it accidentally knocked over during the 460s or 450s, when the podium's entire periphery to the west, north, and east was turned into a series of access roads for the endless procession of oxcarts hauling wall blocks and earthen fills for the South Wall (see fig. 18)?

The few remaining sculptures from these fills (deposits 2–4, X) were all archaic, as were those excavated to the west of the Parthenon, in the Chalkotheke and Brauronion.[132] Since the latter yielded no clean *Perserschutt* either, this terminates our discussion of the

[126] Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933.

[127] But not for Lindenlauf (1997, 68), who wanted to make S4 a construction terrace for the Older Parthenon itself.

[128] Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933.

[129] Included on the authority of Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933, 2:cat. no. 325 (giving its context as *Perserschutt*); I omit Graef and Langlotz (1909–1933) II.1051 (Mikion, ca. 450: *ARV*², 1341) because its context is unclear, and it could have been deposited at any time.

[130] Inscription: *IG* I³ 1401 (presumably from the Periklean backfill); Dörpfeld 1888, 110; Kavvadias 1888, 44–5. Drum: Kavvadias 1888, 125; Bundgaard 1974, 22, pl. 162 (dating the fills above it to after 448).

[131] Ridgway 1970, 48.

[132] See Kavvadias 1888, 12, 181, 219; Wolters 1888, 438–40. The list includes AkrM 142 (Athena), AkrM 592 (perirrhanterion), AkrM 621 (male head), AkrM 622 (Hermes), AkrM 623 (rider), AkrM 685 (kore), AkrM 691 (Nike), AkrM 701 (Gorgoneion), AkrM 702 (Hermes and Nymphs relief), and AkrM 1340 (a horse's head from a votive relief, found by Ross in 1835).

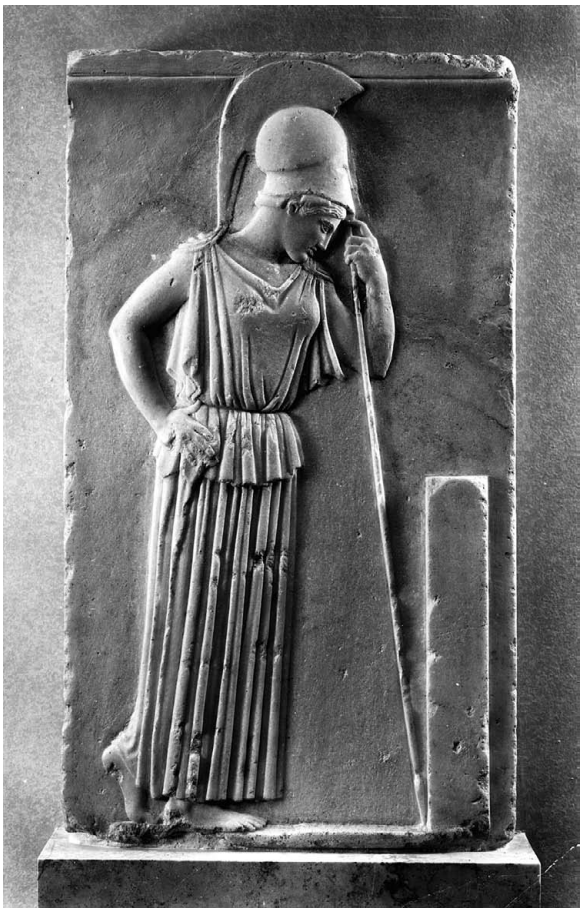

Fig. 28. "Mourning" Athena relief (AkrM 695; cat. no. 9) (G. Hellner; © DAI Athens, neg. 1972/2999).

Acropolis deposits proper. There remain some strays, however.

THE RESIDUE

In addition, four Severe Style marbles were found elsewhere on the Acropolis or are housed in the Acropolis museum but are unprovenanced: the small head of an athlete (AkrM 644; cat no. 4), the Propylaia kore (AkrM 688; cat no. 7), the bottom part of a relief of a woman (AkrM 1350; cat no. 12), and a large but very battered head of a woman (AkrM 3718; cat. no. 13).

AkrM 644 (see fig. 15), whose findspot is unknown, is a repair. The underside of its neck is not broken but roughly flattened with the point; the edge of this pointed surface is chipped all round, as if it has been roughly removed from its body. It is also exceedingly summary: its hair is uncarved, its tainia rough, and its ears vestigial. Probably, then, like AkrM 634 (see fig. 11), it was made after the Athenian reoccupation of the citadel in 479 to refurbish a statue defaced but not otherwise severely damaged in the Persian sack, or (if it is later than this) one damaged in the building operations of the 470s on the north side of the Acropolis. A large, apparently burnt patch on its forehead (now cleaned off) shows that such blemishes are by no means irrefutable evidence of Persian vandalism. Its heavy-lidded eyes recall the Blond Boy's (see fig. 3), though in its structure, modeling, and facial expression, it resembles Youth Q from the west pediment at Olympia.[133] Later, at some undetermined time, it too was discarded.

The Propylaia kore, found under the Propylaia along with some black-figure sherds, perhaps also was beheaded, if the different findspots of its head and body are any guide. Often dated after 480, it is generally acknowledged to be slightly later than AkrM 686 (cat. no. 6); Langlotz aptly illustrated its head above that of AkrM 634 (see fig. 11), which it slightly predates stylistically. A date ca. 475–470 seems reasonable.

The relief fragment is among the finest such pieces on the Acropolis. Dickins' observation that it resembles and slightly predates the Esquiline stele, a work probably of the 460s, has been generally accepted in the literature.[134] Broken from a life-sized votive relief, presumably representing Athena, and unweathered, it perhaps suffered a similar fate to the "Mourning" Athena.

Finally, the large head (cat. no. 13) is a ruin, its face disintegrated in a way that bespeaks long exposure to the elements either in antiquity or later. Its eyes were inlaid like the Kritios Boy's (see fig. 4), and its hair is very finely and elaborately carved. Schuchhardt's conjecture that it comes from a cult image or large votive statue of ca. 460 seems reasonable. It could have been destroyed and buried at any time up to the end of antiquity.

CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions emerge from this study:

1. The kore pit to the northwest of the Erechtheion discovered by Kavvadias in February 1886 yielded the only true *Perserschutt* on the Acropolis, and all of it is archaic.
2. The totality of the evidence from the stratigraphy, architecture, pottery, and sculpture of the

[133] Ridgway 1970, fig. 29; Stewart 1990, fig. 272; Boardman 1991b, fig. 21.6 (the optimum view for the comparison); Rolley 1994, fig. 403.

[134] Dickins 1912, 281. For the Esquiline stele, see Lippold 1950, 94 n. 3 (referencing earlier literature); Lullies 1955, figs. 5, 6; Bol 2004, fig. 56.

Table 2. Chronology of the Acropolis, ca. 510–460 B.C.E.

Date	North Side	South Side	General
510 B.C.E.	Old Temple begun	–	Kleisthenic constitution adopted; Spartan and Boeotian invasions defeated
500 B.C.E.	Old Temple pediments; Gigantomachy, etc.	–	–
490 B.C.E.	–	Hekatompedon demolished, except for oikemata; Wall S2, podium, and colonnade of Older Parthenon built; strata 8, 7, and 6 deposited	Battle of Marathon; Hekatompedon inscription[a]
480–479 B.C.E.	Persian sack	Persian sack	Persian sack
478 B.C.E.	North Wall begun; kore pit filled	–	Euthydikos kore;[b] Propylaia kore;[c] Kritios Boy;[d] Bronze warrior;[e] Angelitos' Athena[f]
470 B.C.E.	–	South (Kimonian) Wall (SW4) begun; Walls S3, S4, S6 built; fills 5, X, 4, and U deposited	Blond Boy;[g] Battle of Eurymedon; "Mourning" Athena[h]

[a] *IG* 13 4
[b] Cat no. 6
[c] Cat no. 7
[d] Cat no. 10
[e] Cat no. 15
[f] Cat no. 1
[g] Cat no. 8
[h] Cat no. 9

Acropolis deposits supports the theory that the Severe Style began (just) after the Persian sack, and nowhere contradicts it. A tentative revised chronology for it is given in table 2.

3. The massive building projects that began in 489 and continued, particularly after 479, to ca. 430, at one time or another involved most of the surface of the citadel, and would have required the destruction or removal of all repaired or post-Persian dedications in the affected areas. Probably, then, most of the 19 Severe Style sculptures catalogued here were casualties of these projects.
4. Marbles, being fragile, heavy, and hard to move once anchored into their bases, are very vulnerable to breakage during such operations. Top-heavy column dedications such as Euthydikos' (see fig. 2) are particularly delicate. Bronzes are less so, which may explain why only one life-sized bronze head (see fig. 13), one half-life-sized bronze head (see fig. 16), and three bronze statuettes (see, e.g., fig. 14) appear in this catalogue, even though bronze largely eclipsed marble as a sculptural medium on the site during this period.

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Appendix: Catalogue of Severe Style Sculpture Found on the Acropolis

MARBLES

Catalogue Number: 1 (see fig. 5).
Inventory Number: AkrM 140.
Description: Statuette of Athena.
Findspot: Found in 1864 in the excavations for the Acropolis Museum, in the fill of Building IV (or Building V, below it), together with the Moschophoros (AkrM 624) and the Athena head from the Gigantomachy pediment (AkrM 631). Connected with a dedication to Athena by Angelitos, signed by Euenor.
References: *IG* 1^3 788; Gerhard 1864, col. 234(a) (report by Postolakkas); Dickins 1912, 93–5; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 5, pls. 9–11; Raubitschek 1939–1940, 31–6, figs. 36–43; 1949, cat. no. 22 (Angelitos' dedication); Ridgway 1970, 29–31, 33, 38, fig. 39; Brouskari 1974, 248–49, fig. 248; Hurwit 1989, 47–8, 65; 1999, 149–50, fig. 29; 2004, 53, fig. 48; Lindenlauf 1997, 95–7; Trianti 1998, fig. 251; Kissas 2000, B172, figs. 303–5; Keesling 2003, 127–30, fig. 31; Steskal 2004, 220–21, fig. 84. Keesling (2000) proposes that it may have echoed a lost bronze Athena on a base signed by Kritios and Nesiotes probably after 480 (Raubitschek 1949, cat. no. 160).

Catalogue Number: 2 (see fig. 10).
Inventory Number: AkrM 599.
Description: Torso of an archer.
Findspot: Supposedly found in 1886 by the North Wall.
References: Kavvadias 1894, 105 (findspot); Dickins 1912, 133–34 (findspot); Schrader 1939, cat. no. 307, figs. 198–201 (hands and quiver fragments), pls. 130, 131; Brouskari 1974, 128–29, fig. 246; Hurwit 1989, 65; 1999, 147; Trianti 1998, fig. 247; Brinkmann 2003, cat. no. 51.

Catalogue Number: 3 (see figs. 11, 12).
Inventory Number: AkrM 634.
Description: Head of a woman.
Findspot: Found in spring 1887 east of the Erechtheion.
References: Petersen 1887, 145 (east of the Erechtheion, with four korai, two horses, and other finds); Dickins 1912, 179–80 (northwest of the Erechtheion); Schrader 1939, cat. no. 110, fig. 94 (sketch of joining surfaces), pl. 32; Brouskari 1974, 98 (southwest of the Erechtheion), fig. 185; Bundgaard 1974, 15 (east of the Erechtheion, near the Turkish "tholos"); Hurwit 1989, 65 (mistakenly alleging that it was found with Angelitos' Athena); Trianti 1998, fig. 190.

Catalogue Number: 4 (see fig. 15).
Inventory Number: AkrM 644; on loan to the Museum of the Olympics at Olympia.
Description: Small head of an athlete.
Findspot: Unknown.
References: Dickins 1912, 186–87; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 325, pl. 152 (Schuchhardt); Brouskari 1974, 100, fig. 192; Hurwit 1989, 65; 1999, 147; Trianti 1998, fig. 186.

Catalogue Number: 5 (see fig. 19).
Inventory Number: AkrM 657.
Description: Small head of an athlete from a high relief.
Findspot: Found in 1865 or 1866 in the excavations for the museum, together with or near the Kritios Boy.
References: Dickins 1912, 194–95; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 324, pl. 152; Hurwit 1989, 52 n. 31 (findspot); 1999, 147.

Catalogue Number: 6 (see fig. 1).
Inventory Number: AkrM 686.
Description: Torso and head of a kore.
Findspot: Found in 1882–1883 by Evstratiadis near Wall S7 and attributed by Winter (1887, 216–21) to the lower legs of a kore dedicated by Euthydikos (see fig. 2).
References: Mylonas 1883, cat. nos. 1–26 (misprinting no. 25 [AkrM 686] as no. 26). For its association with the Euthydikos kore, see Winter 1887, 216–21; cf. Dickins 1912, 241–44; Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 40–2, pls. 84–8; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 37, pls. 45–9; Raubitschek 1949, cat. no. 56; Ridgway 1970, 19, 57; Brouskari 1974, 127–28, figs. 242–43; Bundgaard 1974, 10; Ridgway 1993, 451, fig. 72; Trianti 1998, figs. 155–58; Hurwit 1999, 21, 136, 147, fig. 19; Brinkmann 2003, cat. no. 107; Keesling 2003, 3; Steskal 2004, 171, 225–27, figs. 71, 72.

Catalogue Number: 7 (see fig. 7).
Inventory Number: AkrM 688.
Description: The Propylaia kore.
Findspot: Head found before 1885 (probably during Stamatakis' 1882 excavations in the Propylaia); body found in 1889 under the Propylaia.
References: Kavvadias 1889, 85, 106 (found with black-figure sherds in the building's foundation trenches); Dickins 1912, 247–48; Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 40 n. 2, pl. 89; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 21, pls. 30–2; Ridgway 1970, 31, 34–5, 38, fig. 46; Brouskari 1974, 128, figs. 244–45; Bundgaard 1974, 27; Hurwit 1989, 65; 1999, 146, fig. 116; Trianti 1998, figs. 160, 161; Brinkmann 2003, cat. no. 109; Keesling 2003, 143; Steskal 2004, 168, 223–25, figs. 61, 62.

Catalogue Number: 8 (see fig. 3).
Inventory Number: AkrM 689.
Description: The Blond Boy.
Findspot: Found in September 1887 on bedrock at the northeast corner of the museum in the fill of Building IV (or Building V, below it).

References: Wolters 1887, 266 (associating it with a nonjoining torso fragment [AkrM 6478; cat. no. 14]); Kavvadias 1888, 81 (report by Sophoulis); Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906, cols. 33–4 (erroneously giving the findspot as the northwest corner of the museum); Dickins 1912, 248–50; Payne and Mackworth-Young 1936, 45, pls. 113–15; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 302, pls. 125, 126; Ridgway 1970, 56–60, figs. 72, 74; Brouskari 1974, 123 (erroneously attributing the head to the *Perserschutt*), fig. 234; Bundgaard 1974, 17; Hurwit 1989, 63, 65; 1999, 147, fig. 118; 2004, 53, fig. 47; Lindenlauf 1997, 101–3; Trianti 1998, figs. 240–45; Brinkmann 2003, cat. no. 110; Steskal 2004, 222–23, fig. 85.

Catalogue Number: 9 (see fig. 28).
Inventory Number: AkrM 695.
Description: "Mourning" Athena relief.
Findspot: Found in June 1888 in the north wall of Building VI. A document relief (*IG* 1^3 126) appeared nearby; a surface find presumably from one of the demolished Turkish houses in the area, it is of no help stratigraphically.
References: Kavvadias 1888, 103, 123; Wolters 1888, 224; Dickins 1912, 258–61; Ridgway 1970, 48–9, fig. 69; Brouskari 1974, 123–24, fig. 237; Bundgaard 1974, 21–2, pl. 160.2 (findspot); Hurwit 1989, 62, 64–5; 1999, 150, fig. 121; 2004, 53–4, fig. 49; Jung 1995; Trianti 1998, figs. 249, 250; Brinkmann 2003, cat. no. 115. Frel (1972, 74) interprets some tool marks by the left heel as signs of repair, but after examining them, I disagree. For the document relief (the upper part of the Samos decree of 405/4 [AkrM 1333]), see Kavvadias 1888, 123–25, fig. 2; Wolters 1888, 224; Brouskari 1974, 188–89, fig. 377.

Catalogue Number: 10 (see fig. 4).
Inventory Number: AkrM 698.
Description: The Kritios Boy.
Findspot: Body found during 1865–1866 excavations for the Acropolis Museum, together with or near the archaic scribe (AkrM 629), a head of a youth (AkrM 657; cat. no. 5), a second head of a youth (AkrM 699; cat. no. 11), which was set atop the Kritios Boy's body from 1880 to 1888, and a small bronze head of a youth (NM Br. 6590; cat. no. 18). Head found in 1888 between the museum and the South Wall, perhaps together with a Nike acroterion (AkrM 694).
References: Pervanoglu 1867, cols. 75–6 (body); Kavvadias 1888, 104 (head); Wolters 1888, 226–27 (the join); Dickins 1912, 264–66; Payne 1936, 44–5, pls. 109–12; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 299, pls. 120–23; Ridgway 1970, 31–3, 38, figs. 41, 43, 44; Brouskari 1974, 124–25, fig. 238; Hurwit 1989; 1999, 147, fig. 117; 2004, 53, fig. 46; Lindenlauf 1997, 98–9; Trianti 1998, figs. 236–39; Steskal 2004, 218–19.

Catalogue Number: 11 (see fig. 20).
Inventory Number: AkrM 699.
Description: Head of a youth.
Findspot: Found in the 1865–1866 excavations for the Acropolis Museum, together with or near the Kritios Boy (cat. no. 10), and erroneously set on his shoulders from 1880 to 1888.
References: Dickins 1912, 266–67; Schrader 1939, 247; Brouskari 1974, 131, fig. 252; Hurwit 1989, 52, 62, 65; Trianti 1998, fig. 252.

Catalogue Number: 12.
Inventory Number: AkrM 1350.
Description: Bottom part of a relief of a woman.
Findspot: Unknown.
References: Dickins 1912, 280–81; Payne 1936, 50, pl. 126.1; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 433, fig. 358; Brouskari 1974, 83, fig. 161; Brinkmann 2003, cat. no. 121.

Catalogue Number: 13.
Inventory Number: AkrM 3718.
Description: Head of a woman.
Findspot: Unknown.
References: Furtwängler 1881, 185–87, pl. 7.1; Schrader 1939, cat. no. 117, pl. 105; Hurwit 1989, 65.

Catalogue Number: 14 (see fig. 6).
Inventory Number: AkrM 6478.
Description: Male torso fragment.
Findspot: Found probably by Ludwig Ross in 1836, east of the Parthenon.
References: Wolters 1887, 266 (associating it with the nonjoining head of the Blond Boy): "found by the North Wall in 1886"; Graef 1890, 21–2, cat. no. 7 (connecting AkrM 6478 with a torso described by Ross 1855, 1: 114); Bieber 1912, 151–52, pls. 9, 10.1 (detailed discussion of findspot; agreeing with Graef); Dickins 1912, 250 (dismissing the association with the Blond Boy); Payne 1936, 46; Schrader 1939, 198, pl. 127: "find-spot uncertain"; Brouskari 1974, 123, fig. 235; Lindenlauf 1997, 104; Steskal 2004, 167 n. 510 (dismissing both the association with the Blond Boy and, correctly, the allegation by Bieber and others that the piece shows signs of burning), 172, fig. 76.

BRONZES

Catalogue Number: 15 (see fig. 13).
Inventory Number: NM Br. 6446.
Description: Bronze "Aeginetan" head of a warrior.
Findspot: Found in July 1886, northeast of the Propylaia in the fill of Building I (the Northwest Building).
References: Kavvadias 1886, col. 136; Sophoulis 1887; de Ridder 1896, cat. no. 768, figs. 276, 277; Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906, col. 32; Bundgaard 1974, 12; Mattusch 1988, 91–4, fig. 5.2; Keesling 2003, 196, fig. 64.

Catalogue Number: 16 (see fig. 14).
Inventory Number: NM Br. 6447.
Description: Bronze statuette of Athena Promachos, dedicated by Meleso.
Findspot: Found in May 1887 to the east of the Erechtheion.
References: *IG* 1^3 540; *LIMC* 2, s.v. "Athena," cat. no. 146, pl. 720; Petersen 1887, 142; Studniczka 1887, cols. 142–47, fig. 4, pl. 7; de Ridder 1896, cat. no. 796, fig. 302; Niemeyer 1964, 14, 21, pl. 34a (dated to the 470s, soon after the Tyrannicides); Bundgaard 1974, 14–15; Mattusch 1988, 169, fig. 7.5: "of approximately mid fifth-century date"; Hurwit 1999, 24, fig. 22; Keesling 2003, 81–2, 141–42, fig. 22.

Catalogue Number: 17.
Inventory Number: NM Br. 6454.
Description: Bronze Athena statuette.
Findspot: Found between the poros layer 7 and the South Wall in May 1888.
References: Kavvadias 1888, 83; de Ridder 1896, cat. no. 788, fig. 294; Niemeyer 1964, 14 (dating it to after 479), 22–3, pls. 12–14.

Catalogue Number: 18 (see fig. 16).
Inventory Number: NM Br. 6590.
Description: Small bronze head of a youth.
Findspot: Found during the 1865–1866 excavations for the Acropolis Museum, together with or near the Kritios Boy.
References: Pervanoglu 1867, col. 75; de Ridder 1896, cat. no. 767, figs. 274, 275, pl. 6; Ridgway 1970, 41, no. 11; Mattusch 1988, 94–5, fig. 5.5; Hurwit 1989, 51–2 n. 30 (discussion of the findspot and other bibliography), 74, fig. 30; 1999, 147, fig. 120.

Catalogue Number: 19.
Inventory Number: NM Br. 6626.
Description: Dolphin rider.
Findspot: Found in 1888 in the Kimonian/Periklean fills near the South Wall.
References: Dörpfeld 1888, 108; Kavvadias 1888, 54; de Ridder 1896, cat. no. 755, fig. 263; Niemeyer 1964, 14, pl. 32c–e.

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