

Sulla and the Pirates

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Enormous strides have been made in the dating of Hellenistic pottery in recent years, but serious problems remain. One of these is in the chronology of the very end of the period, the 1st-century transition from a Hellenistic to a Roman ceramic template. Various factors contribute to the intransigence of the problem: the small number of fixed points, the scholarly division of the period between specialists in Greek and Roman ceramics, and the nature of the pottery itself. Relatively low production standards for many manufacturing centers, combined with the use of moulds, make it difficult – perhaps impossible – to track ceramic development in stages less than a generation in duration. This paper attempts to wrest some landmarks for ceramic development through examination of pottery associated with fixed points of the first third of the century, and at the same time implicitly explores the question of whether or not one can, in fact, distinguish between late Hellenistic ceramics in increments as small as 20 years.

Both Athens and Delos preserve deposits that can be related to dated events of the 1st century. On Delos, debris from the abandonment or destruction of houses and other structures is probably the result of one of two attacks, that of Mithridates' general Archelaus in 88, or that of the pirate Athenodoros in 69 BC. At Athens, one group of cistern and well fills can be associated with the destruction by Sulla in 86, another with post-Sullan cleanup that took place some decades after the sack. In what follows, I review the available evidence for the dates of the various deposits with the aim of assigning each to either an earlier group (86/88) or a later one (ca. 75/69), and then examine the pottery assemblages in an attempt to determine what, if any, significant differences can be observed among the contents of deposits associated with the two different dates and places.

The project faces serious challenges, not the least of which are the methods by which the material was recovered and the incomplete state of its publication. Rarely – if ever – has every object from a relevant excavation been recovered and retained. Most of the Agora deposits were excavated in the 1930s and their contents have been weeded with a Draconian hand, leaving us only a small percentage of the original finds, which we can only hope is representative of the original contents. A similar process operated on Delos; furthermore, most of the excavations there have received only preliminary publication, which, again, may or may not include a truly representative sample of the finds. Full information about datable materials such as coins

and stamped amphora handles is not always available, and find spots of the published objects are not always specified. Even in the case of the fuller presentation of material from the *insula* of the Maison des Comédiens, detailed stratigraphic information is lacking. The following comments, then, are of necessity based on lacunose data; they will remain provisional until such time as fuller publication has taken place.¹

The evidence

I rely on two forms of evidence for assigning a deposit to the earlier or later group: the datable contents of the deposits (chiefly coins and stamped amphora handles) and the stratigraphical relationship of superposed deposits. Deposits with objects manufactured later than 88/86 are assigned to the later group. In the case of pairs of deposits, one clearly laid down earlier than the other on stratigraphical grounds, I assign the lower to the earlier group and the upper to the later group – even if confirmation from coins and stamped amphora handles is lacking. The results of this classification, and a summary of the evidence, are laid out in Tables 1 and 2.

The inadequacy of both of these criteria is obvious. Many unrecorded events resulted in the accumulation of debris, so a pair of strata in no way requires the interpretation I force upon it. The chronology of the coins and amphora handles is rarely uncontested, and even when it is, these objects can provide only a *terminus post quem*, not a date of deposit. The smaller the collection of “datable” objects, the less the chance that objects close to the destruction date will happen to occur among them. In some or even many cases, deposits in the later group may consist largely of material made before 88/86. With all these caveats, my sorting of the deposits may seem indefensibly ham-fisted. I defend it, however, not as a means of getting at some “truth” of the depositional sequence and the archaeological history of the sites, but as a heuristic exercise that may, with luck, point to shapes and wares that may repay further attention in the future.

Athens

In 88 BC, Athens made the bad political decision to ally herself with Mithridates in his war against Rome. In response, the Roman general Sulla besieged the city, breaching the walls on the first of March in 86. Although Sulla did not put Athens to the torch, he gave his men leave to plunder the city, and loss of life is said to have been very great.² Archaeological investigation has uncovered repeated evidence of late Hellenistic destruction probably to be credited to Sulla’s men.³ Although a review of all the various strata that have been associated with the Sullan sack would be instructive, I concentrate here on caches of material around the agora, mostly in wells and cisterns, earmarked as likely Sullan debris by Athenian coins and Knidian stamped amphora handles.

	Latest amphora handles	Latest coins	Other evidence	References
ATHENS				
B 22:4 lower fill	VIA (Kleupolis)	var 97: 87/6		Rotroff 1997, 439
E 6:2 upper fill (?)	VIB (Euphragoras II)	var 100: 130-90		Rotroff 2006a, 351-352; Rotroff 1983, 281-282
F 13:3	VIB (Andromenes, Hermon)	var 103: 140s		Rotroff 2006a, 356
G 13:8	VIB (Agias, Aristokrates)	var 99: 130-90		Rotroff 1997, 454
H 16:2	none	var 97: 87/6		Hayes 2008, 299
M 20:1 middle fill	VIB (Agias, Andromenes, Aristodamos, Hermon, Pisinós)	var 99: 130-90		Rotroff 2006a, 365; Rotroff 2000
N 19:1 middle fill	VIB (Euphragoras II)	var 97: 87/6		Rotroff 2006a, 367
O 17:5	none	var 97: 87/6		Rotroff 2006a, 370
DELOS				
<i>Taberna vinaria</i> pits below floor	VIA (Sosiphron)	no information	Below floor deposit	Hatzidakis 1997
Street deposits layer Δ	VIB (Aristodamos, Euphragoras III, Dionysios)	no information	Below layer Γ	Zapheirou & Hatzidakis 1994.
Building F/ NIII pit below floor	no information	no information	Below floor deposits	Hatzidakis 2000, 116-7
Oil press installation	none legible	none legible	Sequence of installation and abandonment	Brun & Brunet 1997, 586-589

Table 1: Earlier deposits at Athens (86 BCE) and Delos (88 BCE)

Notes: Amphora handles are Knidian: Roman numerals and letters refer to Grace's periods; names in parentheses are those of eponyms.

"var" refers to Kroll's varieties; see Kroll 1993.

	Latest amphora handles	Latest coins	Other evidence	References
ATHENS				
Fills of ca. 75				
C 8:1	VIC (Euboulos II)	4 th c		Rotroff 1997, 439
G 14:2 upper fill	VIC (Euboulos II)	none		Rotroff 2006a, 359
M 23:1	VIC (Apollonidas, Damokritos)	var 131: mid 80s-70s		Rotroff 2006a, 366
N 20:4	VIB (Agias, Hermon)	vars 115 [127, 128]: late 80s		Rotroff 2006a, 368
Fills with later 1 st c.-objects				
B 22:4 upper fill	VIB (Aristainos, Pisinios)	var 158: ca. 20-10	Pergamene sigillata, thin-walled and thorn ware frr (Hayes 2008, nos. 757, 1502, 1573)	Rotroff 1997, 439
D 11:4 lower fill	VIB (Aristainos)	none	Mottled Oliver, Type 56 lamp thorn ware frr	Rotroff 2006a, 348
D 12:2	VII	var 119: late 70s	W sigillata frr thorn ware fr	Rotroff 2006a, 348-349
E 14:3 middle fill	VIB (Andromenes, Aristokrates, Hermon, Pisinios)	vars 127 128 131 133 135: mid 80s-70s 154: mid 20s-19	W sigillata fr (Hayes 2008, no. 643), Type 54C lamp	Rotroff 2006a, 353-354
F 19:3	VIB (Andromenes, Aristodamos, Aristokrates, Euphragoras, Hermon, Pisinios)	4 th c	Pompeian red ware (Hayes 2008, no. 1819), ESB	Rotroff 2006a, 357
Q 17:9	VIB (Agias, Hermon)	none	Early Roman pottery (gray ware, sigillata)	Rotroff 1997, 470
T 27:1	VIB (Agias, Andromenes, Aristainos, Aristodemus, Dionysios, Hermon, Euphragoras, Pisinios)	vars 97: 87/86 152: 25-20		

DELOS				
Maison des Sceaux	VIB or C (Hermophantos) {1 pair}	Artemis/plemochoe hoard (var 104)		Peignard 1997; Siebert 2001, 131-141
Maison de l'Épée	VIC (Apollonides) {1}	no information	Debris under floor	Siebert 1987, 636
Insula of the Maison des Bijoux	no information	Hoard with coin of ca. 90/89 Hoard with coin of ca. 95/94	Ship graffito plastered, covered by staircase	Hackens & Lévy 1965; Lévy 1968
Insula of the Maison des Comédiens	VIB or C (Hermophantos) {1 pair} VIC (Apollonidas, Damokritos II, Theupompos) {4} VII {3} Will 13 {1-2}	Artemis/plemochoe (var 104) {60}; wheat or poppy reverse (vars 132 133 135 136) {62}; Triarius {1-3} later coins of Kos and Ephesos {2}		Bruneau <i>et al.</i> 1970
Well in the Maison du Lac	none	Artemis/plemochoe (var. 104) {2}		Hatzidakis 1994
<i>Taberna vinaria</i> floor deposit	none?	Roman coin (cf. Bruneau et al. 1970, F 408) 95 or 89	Above floor	Hatzidakis 1997
Building F/ NIII floor deposit	no information	no information	Above floor	Hatzidakis 2000
Street deposits layer Γ	VIB (Agias, Pisinós)	no information	Above layer Δ	Zapheirópoulou and Hatzidakis 1994.
Oil press abandonment	none	var 110: 130-90	Sequence of installation and abandonment	Brun & Brunet 1997, 589-96

Table 2: Later deposits at Athens (ca. 75-1 BC) and Delos (69 BC)

Notes: Amphora handles are Knidian; Roman numerals and letters refer to Grace's periods; names in parentheses are those of eponyms.

"var" refers to Kroll's varieties; see Kroll 1993.

Numbers in curly brackets refer to the numbers of amphorae or coins of a particular type.

The coins are those of the last issue of the bronze Fulminating Zeus series, unmistakably associated with the political events of the time by the star between crescents displayed prominently on the reverse, a Pontic symbol that the bronze coinage shares with gold and silver issues of 87/86.⁴ The amphorae are Knidian jars of Virginia Grace's period VIB, the second phase of the so-called *duoviri* period, dated by her to the decade 97-88.⁵ If we accept Grace's chronology, Knidian handles of *duoviri* period B, and absence of those of the subsequent period C (which she dated ca. 85-78), are the second hallmark of a Sullan deposit at Athens. Grace's phasing depends in part on eponym-fabricant pairs, but also on the appearance (or not) of Knidian stamps in precisely the deposits under discussion here; the circularity of the exercise is obvious. For the purposes of this paper, however, I accept Grace's chronology, a critique of which is beyond the scope of my investigation.⁶

Eight deposits at the Agora contain either the star-and-crescent coins or Knidian amphorae of period VIB, but lack any indication of a later date of discard (see Table 1).⁷ It is a working hypothesis, then, that objects in these deposits were made and used before March 1, 86, broken on that date, and discarded shortly thereafter. These "pure Sullan" contexts are distinguished from another set of deposits that, while they contain the earmark coins and amphora handles, also contain evidence that they were shoveled out of sight somewhat later: Knidian handles of *duoviri* period VIC (ca. 85-78 BC) or VII (second quarter of the 1st century?), coins dated to the post-Sullan era, or a few fragments of pottery wares and forms – like western sigillata or type 56 lamps – of clearly later date. Four of these were probably buried within 10 or 20 years of the sack, while a second and larger group contains material dating later in the century (Table 2).⁸ In both cases, however, their contents are closely similar to those of the first set of deposits, and they may be dominated by Sullan debris that had lain almost undisturbed for as much as several generations before final discard. Nonetheless, the presence of recognizably late material, even in very small amounts, signals the possibility that other objects too may date after 86, and these have therefore been consigned to the second group.

Delos

Delos sustained no less than three attacks in 88 and another two decades later.⁹ In 88, Athenian forces occupied Delos briefly in an attempt to bind the island to Mithridates' cause before the pro-Roman faction under the leadership of Orbius returned and drove them out. The loyalists, in turn, were decisively overcome by the superior forces of Mithridates' general, Archelaus. This last was a major catastrophe; Appian puts the number of civilian casualties at 20,000, most of them Italians, women and children were enslaved, and the city was pillaged and razed. He may exaggerate, but the event was surely of a magnitude to have left its mark in the archaeological record. By 69, however, the island had sufficiently recovered to attract the attention of pirates. For this

second attack we are dependent on the meager account of Phlegon of Tralles, writing in the Hadrianic era.¹⁰ He reports that marauders under the leadership of one Athenodoros enslaved the Delians and damaged the sacred images. Order was finally restored by the Roman legate Gaius Triarius, who for future defense constructed a wall, parts of which survive today. This was too much for the Delian businessman; those who survived soon moved their operations elsewhere. Although the island continued to be inhabited throughout the Roman era and into early Byzantine times, the heyday of Delos was over.

Over the last 40 years, excavations of both French and Greek archaeologists have recovered an extensive inventory of deposits, often in buildings that have suffered significant damage that is most likely attributable to one or another of these incursions. In 1968 and again in 1970, Philippe Bruneau wrote eloquently about the unlikelihood of distinguishing between debris from the earlier and the later attacks,¹¹ and there is no doubt that it is an exercise fraught with peril. A younger generation, however, has been less shy of the question. French scholars now date the destruction of two *insulae* and a house in the northerly Skardhana quarter with confidence to 69. Following their lead, Panayiotis Hatzidakis has identified debris from the same event in several other structures and has assigned debris choking a nearby roadway to the earlier attack of 88. There are also a number of sites where earlier and later debris can be distinguished on stratigraphical grounds, inviting association with the two destructions.

*Maison des Sceaux, Maison de l'Épée, insulae of the
Maison des Bronzes and Maison des Bijoux*

Published opinion unanimously associates the destruction of the Maison des Sceaux and the two *insulae* to its east with the pirate attack of 69. The Maison des Sceaux was destroyed by a violent fire that collapsed its second floor into its foundations and left the site choked with debris, including the portrait busts of the owners and 16,000 seals of their business archive, and forming what Gérard Siebert has characterized as “un dépôt clos d'un exceptionnel intérêt... parfaitement daté par les circonstances historiques.”¹² Siebert published an architectural study in 2001, advancing a destruction date of 69 without equivocation, but also without full presentation of the evidence.¹³ Some of the more spectacular finds – such as the eponymous jewelry and seals – have been published, but for the coins and stamped amphora handles most relevant to the question at hand we are dependent on partial and preliminary reports. The pottery is known chiefly from summaries extracted by Annette Peignard-Giros from her 1993 dissertation.¹⁴ As currently published, that evidence is not as unequivocal as Siebert implies, and much is open to alternate interpretations.

Sixty-one stamped handles, along with close to 90 (unstamped?) complete amphorae, are reported from the Maison des Sceaux.¹⁵ All but two of the ca. 38 Knidian stamps (the most closely datable class) date before 88, but the two

exceptions are offered as evidence for a destruction in 69: a pair probably from a single jar of the year of the eponym Hermophantos, which Jean-Yves Empereur dates to the period 85-78.¹⁶ Virginia Grace, however, was uncertain whether to assign this eponym to her pre-88 period B or to her later period C. Although no stamp bearing his name has been found in undisturbed Sullan debris, it does appear on jars made by four fabricants who made amphorae stamped by eponyms dating before 88.¹⁷ It seems, then, that this pair of handles cannot be invoked with full confidence as evidence of a 69 destruction. A handle that has been assigned to period C with more assurance, however, was found in the adjacent Maison de l'Épée.¹⁸ Although only one room of this house was investigated, it too suffered violent damage by fire, presumably the same conflagration that ravaged its neighbor to the east. Excavators also uncovered what Siebert interprets as traces of an earlier destruction in the form of debris under the floor of this house.¹⁹

Possible support for a destruction in 69 comes from the neighboring *insula* of the Maison des Bijoux, where several graffiti – including pictures of boats – defaced the original plastered wall surface of a courtyard and adjacent room in House II of the *insula*. Boat graffiti are a well-known phenomenon on Delos; 75 have been documented and, since they appear on the stuccoed interior walls of houses, it has been suggested that they are the works of sailors billeted in the houses in the wake of one of the early 1st-century invasions.²⁰ The graffiti in House II have been whitewashed over and one of them partially obscured by a small staircase built against the wall. This seems to require the scenario of an occupation and then a recovery before the final abandonment of the house. The graffiti artists, then, would be members of Mithridates' forces; returning homeowners would have painted the graffiti over and built the stairway before the final onslaught of the pirates.²¹ This is plausible, but given the complexity of attacks and counterattacks in 88, it is not inescapable.²² Furthermore, evidence of both architecture and pottery attests that some parts of the *insula* were reoccupied after 69;²³ clearly its later history was complex and there may have been other occasions for the creation and subsequent painting over of the graffiti.

The many bronze coins found throughout the excavation have not been published.²⁴ We do, however, have information about three hoards or lost purses found here and, while they do not contradict a destruction date in 69, they do present a puzzle. The largest hoard, found in a small hole that had been dug into the floor of Oecus E of House II in the *insula* of the Maison des Bijoux, contained a spectacular collection of jewelry along with 5 Rhodian *staters* and 59 Athenian *tetradrachms*.²⁵ The coins exhibit little wear, and the latest of the *tetradrachms* dates to 90/89, according to the low chronology of Otto Mørkholm.²⁶ Another, smaller hoard of jewelry, found within the burnt debris in a small room (AE) of House VI of the same *insula*, contained a single Athenian coin, again unworn, and dated ca. 95/94 by the same chronology.²⁷ These dates would accord beautifully with a destruction in 88 BC, but are

surprising if the house was destroyed nearly 20 years later. A less impressive group of coins, probably a lost purse, was found within the debris of the Maison des Sceaux and must be contemporary with its destruction. It contained about 50 Athenian bronze coins featuring the head of Artemis on the obverse and a *plemochoe* on the reverse.²⁸ Coins of the Artemis/*plemochoe* issue (Kroll's variety 104) are common on Delos and were probably minted specifically for use on the island. John Kroll places them within the span ca. 140-90,²⁹ a dating that presents us with yet another group of coins too early for its context. Siebert argues, however, that in this case the context should date the coins, and the Artemis/*plemochoe* issue should be redated to the years after 88. We will have occasion to return to these coins below.

The single amphora handle securely assigned to period VIC in the Maison de l'Épée requires a destruction dating later than 88, at least for the single excavated room of that house. Given the close architectural connection between the two buildings, it is likely that the Maison des Sceaux shared the same fate, a consideration that inclines me to place this material in the later group – though not without some misgivings. The early dates of the silver hoards in the associated *insulae*, the seemingly early date of the bronze purse in the Maison des Sceaux, along with the absence of any certainly late examples among the amphorae reported to date, have to throw some doubt on an association with the destruction of 69. It may be, though, that the amphora assemblage simply reflects the overall rarity of post-88 Knidian stamps, both on Delos and elsewhere, symptomatic of a sharp decline in Knidian wine export in the wake of the first Mithridatic war. Only seven handles certainly of periods VIC and VII were found among the 173 Knidian handles in the *insula* of the Maison des Comédiens, a number amounting to 4 % of the total; perhaps it is only by chance that they are missing from the much smaller collection (38 Knidian handles) reported from the Maison des Sceaux. For the purposes of this paper, then, I place the Maison des Sceaux among the later deposits. This decision has further implications for other deposits, particularly the well in the Maison du Lac, and I will return to it at the end of my text.

Insula of the Maison des Comédiens

The only site associated with the 1st-century destructions that has received something like full publication is the *insula* of the Maison des Comédiens: the three houses of the *insula* proper, the surrounding streets, and poorly preserved structures to the north. In the 27th volume of *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, Philippe Bruneau and his colleagues presented both the architecture and a large sample of the finds, with lengthy chapters on amphorae, coins, and ceramics. While pottery was abundant, most was fragmentary,³⁰ and over half of it was found in the surrounding streets rather than in the houses themselves. This and other evidence indicates that the *insula* was not destroyed in one fell swoop, but rather abandoned and its contents subsequently scavenged, while

the nearby streets served as a dumping ground. Bruneau dated this abandonment to 88,³¹ but the datable finds make it clear that considerable activity took place on the site later, in the form of both reoccupation and scavenging.

Knidian jars dominate the large amphora collection.³² They are heavily concentrated in period VIB, the decade before the incursion of Mithridates' forces, but at least eight and possibly as many as eleven are later. Four date within Grace's period VIC (ca. 85-78),³³ and two more, naming the eponym Hermophantos and his associated *duoviri*³⁴ (familiar from the Maison des Sceaux), may date to either period B or C. Even later are three belonging to period VII of the second quarter of the 1st century, possibly dating after the second sack;³⁵ and one or two of the Latin stamps are at least as late as the middle of the 1st century.³⁶ Unfortunately, the publication gives no information about the stratigraphy; therefore we do not know whether these handles were found deep within the fill over the house or near its surface, that is, whether they are likely to represent part of the household inventory or are instead evidence of post-abandonment activity.

Over 500 legible coins, most of them bronze, were recovered and a complete catalogue was published by Tony Hackens.³⁷ A handful are without any doubt later than 88. At least one and perhaps three were issued by Gaius Valerius Triarius, who took control of the island after the piratical raid of 69 and may have minted these coins to pay soldiers engaged in constructing his defense wall. A coin of Kos dates ca. 88-50, and the latest is a coin of Ephesos, issued ca. 48-27.³⁸ Although details concerning specific find spot and stratigraphy are lacking, we must assume these are the losses of individuals walking across, working in, or scavenging the abandoned site.

The Athenian coins, however, shed more light on the date of the abandonment assemblage as a whole. They account for about 75 % of the corpus, all of which Hackens was inclined to date before 88. He called attention to several related issues bearing the head of Apollo on the obverse and spikes of wheat and poppy heads on the reverse, noting that these were well represented in the *insula* itself (56 were found there), while only six were found in the poorly preserved buildings to the north. In explanation, Hackens suggested that the house had been abandoned in 88, at a time when those coins were in common use, and that activity in the northern buildings was later, when those issues had largely ceased to circulate.³⁹ Kroll, however, now places the wheat/poppy issues in the period ca. 85-70 on the basis of both technical and iconographical arguments.⁴⁰ It seems, then, that there is a considerable collection of post-88 coins in the *insula* of the Maison des Comédiens. The downdating also reverses the scenario described above: the northern buildings must have been abandoned in 88 and hence did not accumulate the later coinage, while the *insula* continued in use, or at least was frequently visited by scavengers careless of their pocket-change.

The excavation also recovered 60 coins of the Artemis/*plemochoe* issue (Kroll variety 104) that formed the sole content of the lost purse in the Maison des

Sceaux discussed above. Here too there is a bias towards the *insula*, with 42 found there as opposed to 18 to the north. If the Maison des Sceaux was destroyed in 69, and the lost-purse contained contemporary coins – that is, if we accept Siebert's suggested downdating of this issue into the post-Sullan period – these coins would add to the evidence for substantial activity in the *insula* of the Maison des Comédiens after the Mithridatic attack of 88.

In any event, whether the house was abandoned in 88 or later, the coins and amphora handles tell us that later material is also present, and we must accept the later date as a *terminus* for the assemblage as a whole. The Maison des Comédiens and its associated structures must therefore be placed in our later group.

Well in the Maison du Lac

In 1988, Panaiotis Hatzidakis of the Greek Archaeological Service excavated a well in the courtyard of the Maison du Lac, north of the Sacred Lake and east of the Skardhana *insulae*, and subsequently published 27 ceramic vessels and lamps from the small deposit it contained.⁴¹ Because of the proximity of the house to the Skardhana *insulae*, Hatzidakis associated the destruction, and the pottery in the well, with the piratical attack of 69.⁴² No stamped amphorae are reported, but the eight legible coins include two of the Artemis/*plemochoe* issue (Kroll's variety 104) familiar from the Maison des Sceaux hoard.⁴³ If these are to be dated after 88, they would associate the deposit with our later group.

Sites with two stratigraphically distinct deposits

The taberna vinaria

In 1991 the Greek Archaeological Service excavated a small building near the Agora of the Italians, its floors covered by a rich deposit of complete pottery. In a preliminary report, Hatzidakis identified the structure as a wine shop catering to the tastes of Italian residents of the neighborhood.⁴⁴ He distinguished two stratigraphically discrete groups of material: fill sealed under the floors, which he associated with an earlier destruction in 88, and debris lying on the floors, which he ascribed to the attack of 69.⁴⁵ In accordance with the criteria set out above, I follow that dating here, although it lacks support from coins and amphora handles. No post-Sullan issues have been identified among the ca. 300 coins in the floor deposit,⁴⁶ and the latest of the nine amphora stamps published from the earlier fill is a Knidian handle of period VIA (eponym Sosiphron, i.e., no later than ca. 98). No stamps are mentioned among the ca. 30 amphorae of the final deposit, which are dominated by Italian amphorae of Lamboglia Form 2.⁴⁷ Hatzidakis presents about 50 representative vessels, mostly from the floor deposit, and an extensive analysis of the mouldmade bowls from both assemblages.

Building F/NIII

A similar stratigraphic situation occurs slightly to the south, where Hatzidakis investigated four rooms of a building that had been partially excavated in the 1920s. The 10-20 cm of fill that remained on the floors was rich in pottery, which the excavator associated with the 69 destruction. A pit under the floor of one room contained further material, which he regarded as evidence of clean-up after the attack of 88.⁴⁸ No information about coins or amphora handles has been published. A sample of about 50 vessels provides an overview of the floor assemblage, but apparently includes little or no material from the sub-floor deposit.⁴⁹

The Street north of the Avenue of the Lions (henceforth, the Street Deposits).

The Archaeological Service has also explored a stretch of the street running north from the Terrace of the Lions, one block south of the Skardhana *insulae*.⁵⁰ The excavators distinguished four layers, the lowest two rich in pottery. The uppermost of the latter (Layer Γ), 60 cm thick, showed evidence of burning and contained both pottery and bricks. Among the 18 amphora stamps are four of Knidian period VIB and a Latin stamp naming GLAU(CIA), paralleled in the insula of the Maison des Comédiens and dated a bit before 86 by Elizabeth Will.⁵¹ The lower stratum (Layer Δ) was equally thick and rich in ceramics but unburnt. Stamped amphora handles total 56, here too with the latest Knidian dating in period VIB.⁵² Representative ceramics from both layers have been published, along with a figure illustrating shapes present in each. The excavators associate the upper layer with the destruction of 88 and identify the lower layer with accumulation previous to the attack. The amphora handles support their conclusions, for none date later than 88. In accordance with the criteria that I have set out above, however, I associate the lower layer with the 88 destruction and the upper one with 69. Note, in support of this, that many objects from the lower layer appear to be relatively complete, more so than one would expect in a gradual accumulation in the street of a thriving city.

The oil press

A final relevant site is an oil press that was inserted into a house in the Theater district to the south of the Sanctuary.⁵³ Recent careful exploration of the site by the French and full publication of the largely fragmentary ceramics is of interest in the present context, even if neither coins nor amphora handles help in the dating. Here, as above, the excavators were able to distinguish between two chronologically discrete phases: the installation of the press, which they conjecture may have taken place after the incursion of 88, when some houses seem to have been degraded; and its abandonment, probably in 69 or later.⁵⁴

Discussion

Several factors complicate comparison between the two chronological groups outlined above. Evidence for the earlier group is clearer at Athens, while on Delos the lion's share of the material falls into the later group. Thus we are largely restricted to the comparison of earlier deposits in Athens with later ones on Delos, and the question arises as to whether any differences between them are a function of time or of place. As an Athenian *klerouchy*, Delos undoubtedly had close commercial ties with Athens, and ships must have passed between the two on a regular basis. Although Attic pottery is apparently not abundant on Delos, its recurring presence there shows that ceramics were shipped from Athens to the island, and it is a logical assumption that trade went the other way as well. Caution is in order, however, for there are demonstrably some things for which Athens did not offer a market. For example, Delos received enormous numbers of mouldmade bowls from manufacturers in Ionia, but almost never sent them on to Athens, where local products presumably met the demand for decorated drinking cups.⁵⁵ With this caveat in mind, let us examine some of the differences, both those between Athens and Delos, and those between earlier and later deposits.

Fine wares

West Slope ware

West Slope ware is well represented in the pure Sullan debris of Athens but rare in the Delian deposits. Bruneau remarks on the limited representation of West Slope ware in the *insula* of the Maison des Comédiens, comments borne out by his catalogue, which mostly describes single tiny wall fragments, many of them Attic.⁵⁶ The published record of the Maison des Sceaux suggests the same; Peignard illustrates a single fragment of an Attic reversible lid.⁵⁷ Nine small fragments from perhaps two Attic West Slope table amphorae are illustrated from the lowest layer of the Street Deposits.⁵⁸ Fragments are mentioned among the contents of one of the eight *pithoi* that contained abandonment debris of the Oil Press,⁵⁹ but West Slope was absent (at least in quantities worthy of mention) in the well in the Maison du Lac, the *taberna vinaria*, Building F/NIII, and the upper layer (Γ) of the Street Deposits. Evidence at Athens suggests that manufacture of Athenian West Slope after the Sullan sack was reduced to reversible lids in the late West Slope style known as Mottled Oliver, apparently produced for local rituals of the Isis cult.⁶⁰ It is therefore to be expected that little of the ware would appear in the later Delian contexts, since it was no longer in production. It is also likely, however, that little of the ware was exported from Athens, even in earlier times.

Eastern sigillata A

There is a marked difference between Delos and Athens in the representation of Eastern sigillata A. Two plates of Atlante Form 2 found in the significantly pre-Sullan Group E at the Agora attest that ESA was being imported to Athens well before the Sullan sack (Fig. 1.1-2).⁶¹ From Sullan debris, however, there are only a Form 3 plate and three uninventoried fragments in cistern M 20:1 (Fig. 1.3),⁶² a Form 4 plate in cistern H 16:2 (Fig. 1.4),⁶³ and possibly fragments of two plates and a bowl (Forms 4, 6, and 20) if, as Hayes maintains, they should be associated with the middle fill of cistern N 19:1 (Figs. 1.5-7).⁶⁴ Larger numbers (at least 11) and a greater variety of forms (3, 4, 6, 21, 22A) occur in the four deposits with slightly post-Sullan coins or amphora handles (C 8:1,

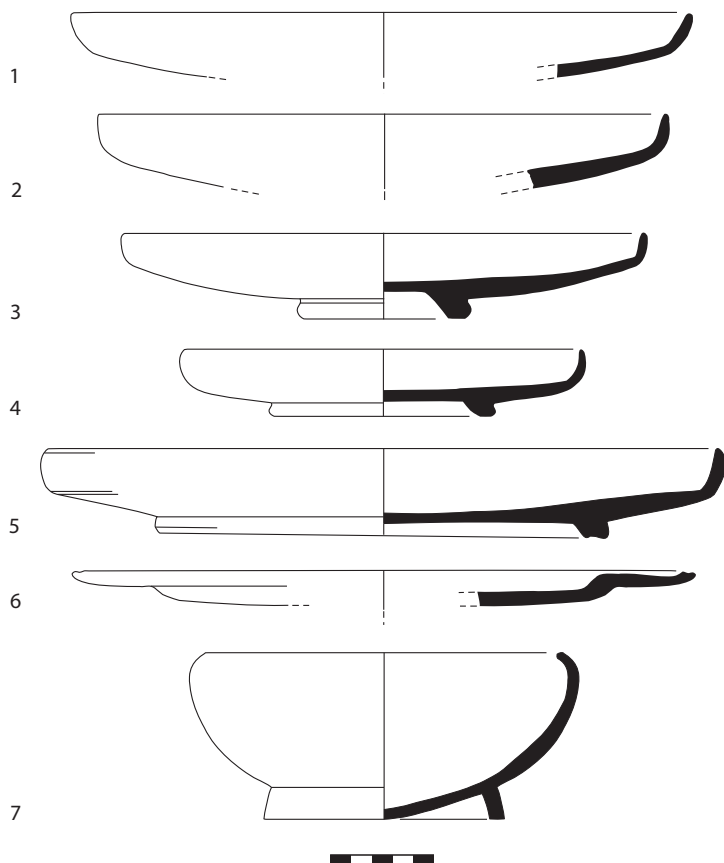


Fig. 1. Pre-Sullan ESA from the Athenian Agora. 1, 2. P 3424, P 3423 (deposit F 15:2=Group E). 3. P 9031 (deposit M 20:1). 4. P 793 (deposit H 16:2). 5-7. P 11851, P 11850, P 9667 (deposit N 19:1, middle fill?). Drawing: author.

M 23:1, upper fill of G 14:2, N 20:4)⁶⁵ and the representation continues to grow throughout the 1st century (note the large amount of ESA in Henry Robinson's Group F).⁶⁶ The picture is different on Delos. Although Bruneau published only a few pieces of ESA from the *insula* of the Maison des Comédiens, he described the ware as "surabondante" throughout the excavation.⁶⁷ Thirty-six plates and bowls were recovered from the destruction debris of the Maison des Sceaux.⁶⁸ The small collection of pottery in the well in the Maison du Lac includes examples of Forms 4 and 22.⁶⁹ The upper layer (Γ) of the Street Deposits contained at least four plates of Form 4 (one with black slip) as well as bowls of Forms 22 and 23,⁷⁰ while only one ESA plate of Form 4 is mentioned from the lower deposit.⁷¹ No ESA is associated with the installation of the Oil Press, but examples of Forms 4A and 22A, along with additional fragments, were found among the abandonment debris.⁷² No ESA was found in the floor deposit of the *taberna vinaria*, but the ware was better represented in the pits beneath the floor, reversing the pattern observed above.⁷³ Examples of what are probably ESA plates of Forms 3 and 4 and bowls of Forms 22 and 23 are illustrated from building F/NIPI.⁷⁴

John Hayes, in his survey of ESA at the Athenian Agora, remarks that, except on Delos, the ware is not found in quantity outside its Levantine homeland until after 50 BC.⁷⁵ It may be that the two well-dated collections at Athens and Delos bracket the generation during which this expansion began, a bit earlier than the date Hayes proposes. The beginnings of export are documented at Athens before 100 but the process was still not firmly established in 86. Trade in full swing is "caught in the act" 17 years later by the Delian destruction, although it may not become clear for another 20 years or so in the more diffuse archaeological records elsewhere.

Proto-ESB

One of the surprising claims for the Delian deposits is the identification of fragments of what appears to be Eastern Sigillata B, a ware unknown elsewhere until late in the century. Bruneau found about a dozen in the *insula* of the Maison des Comédiens and published three (Fig. 2.1-3).⁷⁶ From his description, the fabric of these fragments sounds very much like ESB. The forms, however, are not those that are familiar elsewhere, but rather resemble those of the early repertoire of Eastern Sigillata A. Bruneau therefore identified them as the first stages of ESB production ("samien ancien", the label Proto-ESB has recently been suggested by Hayes),⁷⁷ before the ware was revolutionized under the influence of Roman models. He insisted that the fragments were not late intrusions and remarked that more examples were found in the *insula* to the south (presumably the *insula* of the Maison des Bronzes).⁷⁸

Additional examples of what appears to be this same ware, like ESB in fabric but not in forms, have been found more recently on Delos: a plate in the well in the Maison du Lac (Fig. 2.4),⁷⁹ and another in the destruction debris

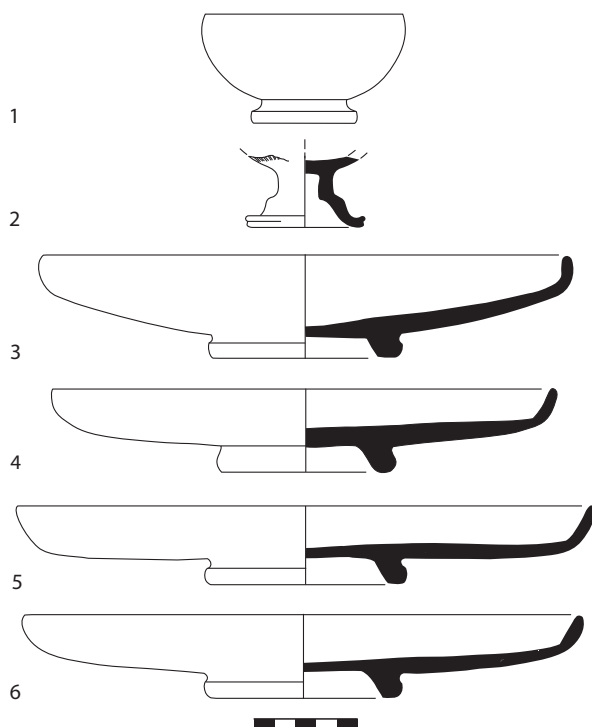


Fig. 2. Proto-ESB. 1-3. Delos, Maison des Comédiens (after Bruneau 1970, fig. 126 and pl. 42). 4. Delos, Taberna vinaria (after Hatzidakis 1997, pl. 228.δ). 5. Delos, Maison du Lac (after Hatzidakis 1994, fig. 6:2). 6. Athens, Agora P 8018, (deposit E 6:2, upper fill). Drawing: author.

of the *taberna vinaria* (Fig. 2.5).⁸⁰ It has not been noted in the Delian deposits associated with the 88 destruction, but something similar was found in a late Hellenistic cistern fill in Athens (Fig. 2.6).⁸¹ When it was unearthed, in 1936, the plate was identified as “Samian”, the old name for ESB, although its shape approximates Form 3 of ESA. The fabric is hard, micaceous and somewhat friable, but the color redder than ESB,⁸² though how it compares to the pieces on Delos I do not know. When I published it, in 1983, I thought it might be Pergamene (which I now doubt), and John Hayes has suggested (in unpublished annotations of Agora records) that the piece is perhaps local Attic. Whatever its origin, it may be another example of the red ware described above from Delian deposits.⁸³

The plate was found in a loose, dark filling that had been thrown into the neck of the cistern and slid down the sides of an earlier fill that lay in a hard-packed cone below. The evidence for its date, like so much in this study, is ambiguous. The contents included a dozen inventoried pieces of pottery and a storage tin full of fine-ware fragments, a Knidian amphora and a stamped amphora handle, and a coin. The amphora, largely complete, dates in the term of the eponym Euphragoras II, of period VIB, and the coin is of Kroll's variety 100, dated by him to 130-90; together they suggest a Sullan date, and so the deposit has been dated in print. Reexamination of the pottery instigated by the present study confirms that most is pre-Sullan, with the forms

and black gloss typical of late 2nd- to early 1st-century Athenian production. Two items, however, could be later: a banded fishplate with parallels in the *insula* of the Maison des Comédiens, and a small rim fragment of an unclassified red ware.⁸⁴ If, as these pieces hint, there may be some later objects in the deposit, perhaps the introduction of Proto-ESB can be pinpointed to the years between 88 and 69.

Pergamene sigillata

Pergamene sigillata is very rare in early 1st-century Athens. Two small pieces of a form N 37 cup (Fig. 3.4) came to light in the problematical upper fill of cistern E 6:2, discussed above, and a fragment of a skyphos foot was found in cistern N 20:4 of the immediately post-Sullan group.⁸⁵ Numbers remain very modest but increase as the century progresses.⁸⁶ The ware is far better represented at Delos, appearing with regularity in deposits I have associated with the destruction of 69. Bruneau published a dozen pieces from the *insula* of the Maison des Comédiens, exhibiting considerable variety in shape and decoration,⁸⁷ and material from the Maison des Sceaux includes a plate and 15 bowls.⁸⁸ Two well-preserved Pergamene vessels were found in the upper layer (Γ) of the Street Deposits. One is a skyphos with a spreading foot, vertical wall, and rotelle handles.⁸⁹ In the profile of the body and the form of the foot and the handles, it is closely similar to Meyer-Schlichtmann's form S 3, the origins of which he places in the second quarter of the 1st century, but the plain rim resembles that of the earlier form S1, part of the original repertoire of the ware that arose in the second half of the 2nd century.⁹⁰ This conjunction of comparisons suggests that the cup may stand at the transition between the two forms. The decoration, incised florals with hatched leaves bordered above and below by rows of white dots, associates it with cups that Doris Behr dates late in the sequence of West Slope skyphoi, but before the middle of the 1st century.⁹¹ This vessel has an exact twin in the floor deposit of Building F/NIIL, where it is joined by a second but undecorated Pergamene kantharos more closely conforming to form S 1.⁹²

The second Pergamene vessel in Layer Γ of the Street deposits (Fig. 3.2) has the globular body, strongly concave rim, and tiny raised base characteristic of Meyer-Schlichtmann's form N 37 (Fig. 3.1).⁹³ The Delian cup is larger than the Pergamene example but otherwise closely similar. Several fragments of the same shape have come to light in sondages within the *insula* of the Maison des Bijoux.⁹⁴ A related but more elaborate cup from the *insula* of the Maison des Comédiens shares the globular body but has a stem instead of a raised base, a moulded lip instead of a plain one, and is decorated with rouletting on the upper wall (Fig. 3.3).⁹⁵ Gerhild Hübner identifies it as an imitation of Pergamene rather than the real thing,⁹⁶ although its bicolor black and red firing is typical of Pergamene products. In Athens, two small fragments of a cup of form N 37 were found in the upper fill of cistern E 6:1 – a supposedly Sullan

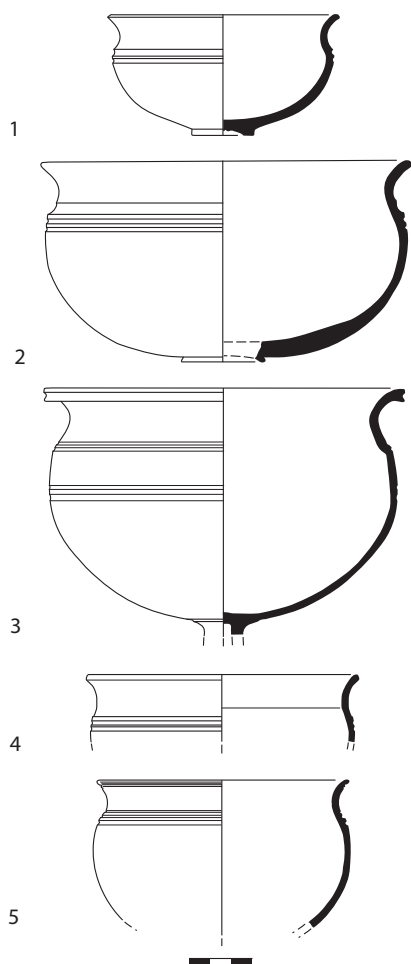


Fig. 3. Cups of form N 37 and related forms.

1. Pergamon (after Meyer-Schlichtmann 1993, pl. 13, no. 179). 2. Delos, Street Deposits, layer Γ (after Zappeiropoulos and Hatzidakis 1994, pl. 193). 3. Delos, Maison des Comédiens (after Bruneau 1970, fig. 125). 4, 5. Athens, Agora P 35883 and P 11684 (deposits E 6:2, upper fill; M-N 18:1). Drawing: author.

deposit, the date of which was questioned above; it may be part of a later element there (P 35883, Fig. 3.4). An imitation of the form, with a dull orange color coat that could never be confused with Pergamene, was found in an Athenian deposit laid down around 50 BC (Fig. 3.5).⁹⁷ Meyer-Schlichtmann dated the beginning of form N 37 in the second quarter of the 1st century. The contexts cited above would support and narrow that date, hinting at a post-Sullan but pre-piratical date for the introduction of this shape. Perhaps we cannot be so precise, but it is interesting that fragments have been found in other contexts with termini in the 80s or 70s: a rim fragment perhaps of form N 37 at Troy in a deposit dated to about 85 BC; and a close parallel for the more elaborate chalice of the *insula* of the Maison des Comédiens at Tel Anafa, a site abandoned around 80 or a little later.⁹⁸

The only Delian deposit of the early group in which Pergamene sigillata has been reported is the lowest layer of the Street Deposits (Layer Δ). It is a low, broad skyphos with an angular profile and a ring foot and decorated with a simple West Slope motif. The closest parallel at Pergamon is Meyer-Schlichtmann's form S 7, a cup that is wider and shallower and almost always without decoration. He places it among the original, 2nd-century repertoire of Pergamene sigillata.⁹⁹

The disparity between Athens and Delos in the matter of Pergamene sigillata and appliqué might be explained as a matter of taste or the result of the vagaries of trading patterns. It might also be, however, that (like ESA), Pergamene sigillata was not exported in

significant numbers until after 86, by which time Athens, impoverished by the Sullan sack, did not constitute a lucrative market.

Plain wares

Piriform lagynos

Three Delian deposits include an unusual plain-ware lagynos with a high shoulder and a body tapering down to a narrow foot. A complete example was found in the Maison des Sceaux and fragmentary vessels come from the well in the Maison du Lac and the abandonment deposit of the Oil Press (Fig. 4).¹⁰⁰ Noting the absence of this form from Mithridatic contexts, Hatzidakis has suggested that it post-dates 88, and he sees the form as ancestral to the micaceous water jar. A remarkable concentration of similar lagynoi has been unearthed in a well on the island of Lesbos, which may point to the origins of the vessel.¹⁰¹ Excavators there speculate that the well was filled in the wake of destructions during the Mithridatic wars, and the pottery is closely comparable to that in the Delian deposits.¹⁰² The Lesbian find also supports the conjectured relationship between the piriform lagynos and the micaceous water jar, for the well

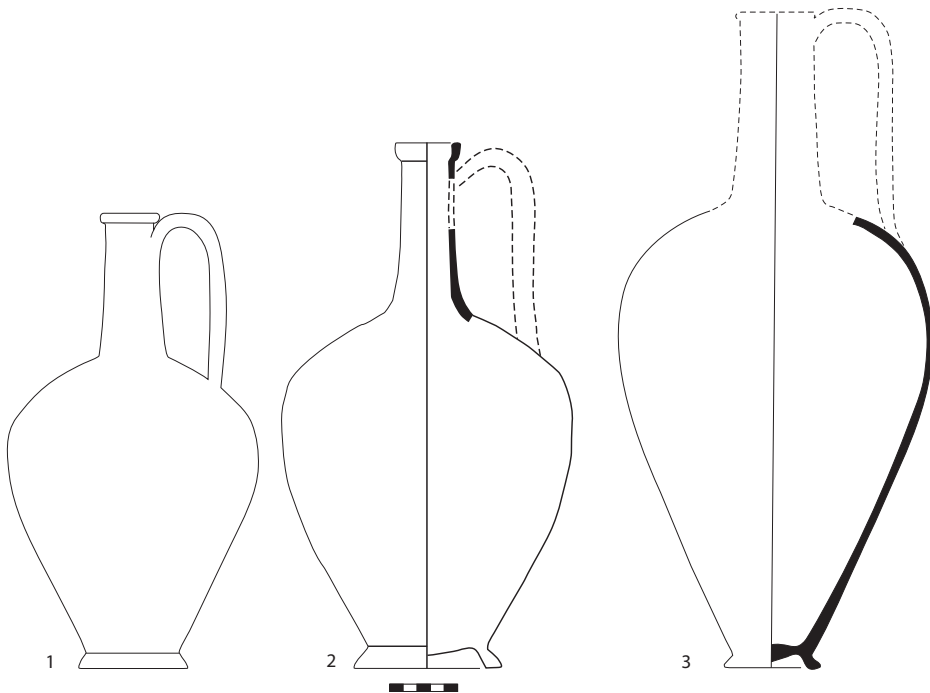


Fig. 4. Piriform lagynos. 1. Delos, Maison des Sceaux (after Peignard 1997, pl. 232.e). 2. Delos, oil press (after Brun and Brunet 1997, fig. 17.1). 3. Delos, Maison du Lac (after Hatzidakis 1994, fig. 17). Drawing: author.

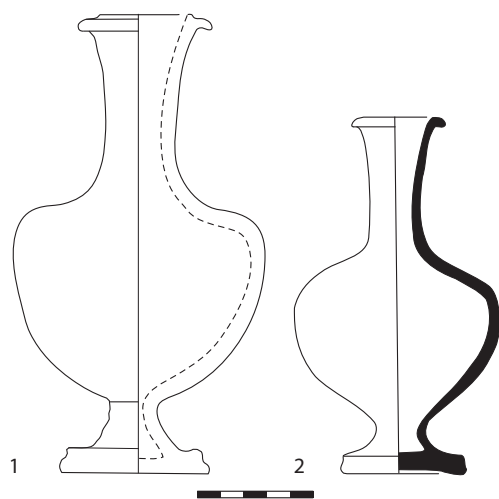


Fig. 5. Pedestal unguentarium. 1. Delos, Street Deposits, layer Γ (after Zappeiropoulou and Hatzidakis 1994, pl. 198). 2. Delos, Maison des Comédiens (after Bruneau 1970, pl. 47).

produced two jars with the short neck and arched handle typical of the latter shape.¹⁰³

Pedestal unguentarium

Most of the unguentaria reported from the Delian deposits are the thin fusiform variety well known from late Hellenistic deposits elsewhere, but Bruneau publishes two oil bottles of different design from the *insula* of the Maison des Comédiens.¹⁰⁴ Both are plump and remarkably large (H. 16 and 19 cm), with a pronounced shoulder, one with a low stem and a wide, moulded foot (Fig. 5.1), the other with a higher stem that runs directly into the body and a plainer but also wide foot. The unguentaria

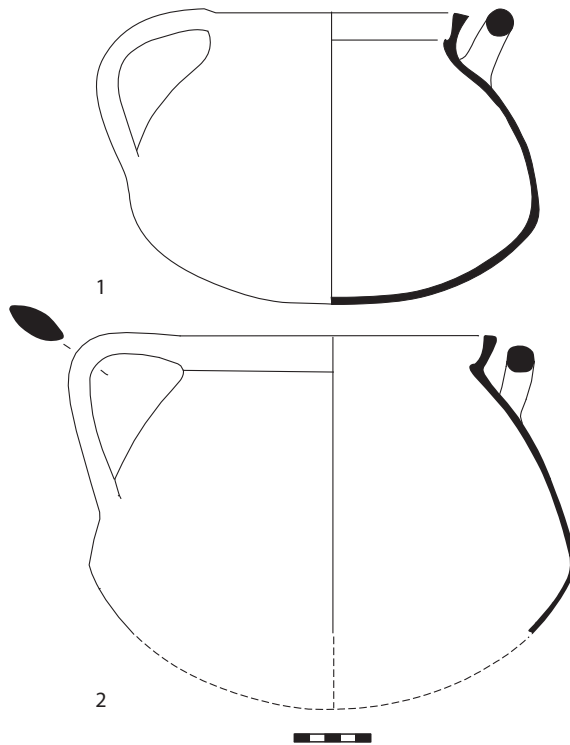
were found in the kitchen-latrine complex (rooms AI and AI') of the House of the Tritons, with 46 catalogued finds, one of the richest contexts in the *insula*. A Knidian amphora stamp of period VII and a late Latin stamp document post-88 and even post-69 activity there,¹⁰⁵ but Bruneau notes 20 more of the first unguentarium shape and two more of the second; it was clearly a recurrent item in the *insula*. A large pedestal unguentarium is also represented in the upper Layer (Γ) of the Street Deposits (Fig. 5.2), while unguentaria from the lower layer Δ belong to the fusiform type,¹⁰⁶ and it is possible that the pedestal design constitutes a new development in the years after 88.

Cooking ware

Form 7 chytra

Every once in a while a potter makes a striking improvement to an age-old shape. This is the case with the globular, lidded *chytra* that had been a staple of the Greek kitchen since the 5th century. Throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods this shape had been supplied with two upwardly-canted horizontal handles.¹⁰⁷ Towards the end of that span, however, one of those handles was replaced with a vertical strap handle, a clever innovation that made it easier to pour off the liquid contents of the stewpot. The form was clearly current on Delos at the time of the 69 destruction. Two were found in the *insula* of the Maison des Comédiens¹⁰⁸ and one is reported from Building F/NIII (Fig. 6.1).¹⁰⁹ A stewpot from the abandonment of the Oil Press, al-

Fig. 6. Form 7 chytra. 1.
 Delos, Building F/NIΠ (after
 Hatzidakis 2004, pl. 320.4). 2.
 Athens, Agora P 4362 (deposit
 M 23:1).



though of a different form, borrows the concept of the horizontal and vertical handle.¹¹⁰ If we turn to Athens, we find this innovation only in post-Sullan contexts. The earliest instance there comes from a cistern of the post-Sullan group (Fig. 6.2),¹¹¹ but the form is found more frequently in deposits of the late 1st century and later.¹¹² This may be another innovation that first becomes visible during the years between 86 and 69.

Conclusion

An exercise such as I have attempted here can never be conclusive; it can only generate hypotheses to be tested when more data become available. Without a doubt, chronological groupings different from those sketched above are both possible and defensible. In Athens, the dismissal of a few later sherds as “intrusive” would place more deposits in the earlier, Sullan group. On Delos, a strict dependence upon coins and stamped amphora handles, dated according to their currently accepted chronologies, would associate only the Skardhana *insulae* with the destruction of 69. Or, following the hint of the coin hoards and dismissing the evidential value a single pair of Knidian amphora handles with an uncertain chronology, one could place the destruction of the Maison des Sceaux in 88 as well. This would allow the Artemis/*plemochoe* coins to retain

their pre-Sullan date, thus removing the evidence that associates the well in the Maison du Lac with the destruction of 69. In such an arrangement, almost all differences between later and earlier Delian groups would disappear, since most of my hypothetical late markers are present either in the Maison des Sceaux (abundant ESA and Pergamene *sigillata*, piriform lagynoi) or in the well in the Maison du Lac (Proto-ESB), and fragments of Pergamene *sigillata*. N 37 cups have been found in sondages in the Maison des Bijoux. Only the pedestal unguentarium and the Form 7 chytra would survive as possible post-Mithridatic types, possibly to disappear as such when the Delian material is published more fully. In short, the pottery of the two groups would show no significant variation, and we would have to conclude that 19 years is indeed too short a span to register clearly in the late Hellenistic archaeological record, and consequently that Bruneau was correct when he asserted that archaeological evidence does not suffice to sort out the various destructions on Delos.

I confess that I had hoped for a clearer outcome when I took it upon myself to challenge that assertion. The only contribution that this interim assessment can offer is to draw attention to the difficulties that remain to be resolved, and to stimulate further examination of a small corpus of forms that may — or may not — have been introduced in the years between 88 and 69.

Notes

- 1 At the 8th Scientific Meeting on Hellenistic Pottery, held in Ioannina in May of 2009, Henryk Meyza and Annette Peignard-Giros reported on their continuing study of the pottery from the Skardhana houses and the Maison des Stucs on Delos. A clearer picture may be expected to emerge when their work has been published. I am grateful to Annette Peignard-Giros for reading and commenting upon an earlier version of this paper and for making the text of her Ioannina paper available to me in advance of publication.
- 2 Three ancient authors describe the events: Plutarch, *Sulla* 13-14; Appian, *Mith.* 30-39; Pausanias 1.20.5-7.
- 3 For a fuller account of archaeological testimony to the damage, see Hoff 1997; Rotroff 1997, 34-36.
- 4 Kroll 1993, 66, 74, variety 97; Svoronos 1923-1926, pl. 81.45-48.
- 5 For discussions of the Knidian chronology of this period, see Grace & Pétropoulakou 1970, 321-323; Grace 1985, 31-35, with a list of eponyms assigned to the three phases of the *duoviri* period on 35.
- 6 An alternative schema published by Nikolai Jefremow (Jefremow 1995, 76-80) proposes that Knidian stamping came to a decisive end in 88 BC. In that case, Knidian stamps are obviously of no utility in distinguishing between deposits of 88, 86, and 69. More recently, Mark Lawall has pointed to the small number of eponyms documented for the preceding period V, which may call for adjustment that would have an impact on the dating of the *duoviri* period (Lawall 2002, 319).
- 7 B 22:4 lower fill, E 6:2 upper fill, F 13:3, G 13:8, H 16:2, M 20:1 middle fill, N 19:1 middle fill, O 17:5. Grace and Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou (1970, 321) also counts as Sullan F 19:3 and T 27:1. The former, however, contains some Roman pottery,

- and the latter had a late 1st-century coin in its upper layers (and almost no fine pottery). They are therefore excluded from the list of “pure” Sullan deposits above.
- 8 C 8:1, upper fill of G 14:2, M 23:1, and N 20:4 (with objects dating in the 80s and 70s). A date of deposit (or disturbance) in the second half of the 1st century is indicated for B 22:4, lower fill of D 4:1, D 12:2, middle fill of E 14:3, F 19:3, Q 17:9, and T 27:1. For another such deposit, see Vogeikoff-Brogan 2000.
 - 9 The chief ancient sources are Poseidonios *apud* Athenaios 5.214d-215d, Strabo 10.5.4, Appian, *Mith.* 28, and Pausanias 3.23.3-4, the latter three conveniently collected in Bruneau 1968, 671-673. See Baslez 1982 for discussion of the historical events.
 - 10 Jacoby, *FGrHist* 257 F 12: 13.
 - 11 Bruneau 1968, 673-679; Bruneau 1970a, 424-426.
 - 12 Siebert 2001, 93. Monika Trümper, however, points to evidence for some disturbance and scavenging (Trümper 2005, 360-362). For the portraits, see Hermary et al. 1996, 218; Daux 1969, 1042-1043, fig. 22; Siebert 1975, 721, fig. 5. The extreme degree of damage suggests deliberate mutilation, but Hermary et. al ascribe it to the heat of the fire. For the seals, see Boussac 1998.
 - 13 Siebert 2001, 134-138.
 - 14 Peignard 1997; Peignard-Giros 2000.
 - 15 Siebert (2001, 141) gives a figure of 41 stamped amphora handles from the western section of the house; details provided by J.-Y. Empereur for 20 more from the eastern section are published in Siebert 1988, 761-762, figs. 24-29, with complete amphorae in place pictured in figs. 20, 22, 23. A more complete study apparently exists in an unpublished manuscript by Empereur (Siebert 2001, 10). Siebert puts the total of whole amphorae at about 75 from the western section and 13 from the eastern section of the house.
 - 16 Siebert 2001, 141: inv. TD 7457 and TD 7460 (Knidian types 105 and 1511).
 - 17 Grace & Pétropoulakou 1970, 322, 334 under E98; Grace 1985, 35 (where he is assigned to period VI B?).
 - 18 Siebert 1987, 636, Fig. 15, inv. TD 8008, naming *duoviri* of the term of Apollonidas II. For this eponym, see Grace & Pétropoulakou 1970, 322, 340-341, under E 132. Annette Peignard-Giros informs me that the handle is that of a complete amphora found on the floor.
 - 19 Siebert 1987, 638-641; Siebert 2001, 94, 136. Peignard-Giros, however, expresses doubt about this interpretation, noting that some of the pottery in this feature protruded above the floor of the house (pers. comm. June 2009).
 - 20 Basch 1987, 371-385.
 - 21 Daux 1965, 984-987; Siebert 2001, 26.
 - 22 As Bruneau also points out (Bruneau 1968, 678). Another possible support for destruction in 69 is offered by four seal impressions from the Maison des Sceaux. They bear the inscription DOLABEL, indicating that owner was a member of the prominent Roman family of the Cornelii Dolabellae. One of these is known to have passed though Delos on his way to take up a proconsulship in Cilicia in 80 BC (Boussac 1998, 317). Given the size of the family, however, there is no way to be sure that he was owner of this particular seal.
 - 23 Siebert 2001, 41, 53, 146; details concerning ceramics were presented by Peignard-Giros at the 8th Conference on Hellenistic Pottery, Ioannina, May 2009.
 - 24 Daux 1969, 1042 mentions about 1200 bronze coins found in the Skardhana excavations in 1968 alone, giving an indication of the numbers of coins involved.

- 25 Hackens & Lévy 1965, 503-534; for the circumstances of the find, see 503-504 and fig. 1.
- 26 The latest coins are Hackens & Lévy 1965, 511, nos. 58, 59, naming the magistrates Xenokles and Harmoxenos III, with seated Roma as symbol. For the date, see Mørkholm 1984, 32, issue 75.
- 27 Lévy 1968, 524-525, naming the magistrates Xenokles and Harmoxenos I, serpent symbol; Mørkholm 1984, 32, issue 70. As far as I am aware, no details have been published about a collection of 13 Athenian *tetradrachms*, perhaps a lost purse, found on the floor of the *oecus* (room EF) of House II of the insula of the Maison des Bronzes (Bruneau 1968, 678, note 6, 684; Daux 1968 1109, 1122; apparently Thompson et al. 1973, no. 334).
- 28 Siebert 1976, 813, figs. 21, 22; Siebert 2001, 135.
- 29 Kroll 1993, 69, 77; Svoronos 1923-1926, pl. 106.76-81.
- 30 Bruneau 1970, 239-240. If, as he says, Bruneau limited his publication to the best preserved and most characteristic pieces, there must have been very little complete material. Only 25 complete vessels are published from the *insula* itself, several of these small shapes not easily broken (e.g., unguentaria, medicine vials, amphoriskoi), and about the same amount in the streets to the west and south.
- 31 Bruneau 1970a, 424-427.
- 32 285 stamped amphorae are published by Virginia Grace and Maria Pétropoulakou (1970, Greek stamps) and Elizabeth Will (1970, Latin stamps), 173 of them Knidian (Grace & Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 317-353). As published, most are fragmentary and none in a state anywhere near complete (although it is likely that no attempt was made to mend shattered but complete amphorae). In addition, 13 complete but apparently unstamped jars of Lamboglia Form 2 have been published (Bruneau 1970b, 253, D 120-D 132).
- 33 Grace & Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 333-334, 340-341, 352, E 96, E 132, E 133, E 196, of the terms of the eponyms Apollonidas (paralleled in the Maison de l'Épée), Damokritos II, and Theupompos.
- 34 Grace & Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 334, E 98, E 99.
- 35 Grace & Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 354, E 220-E 222.
- 36 Will 1970, 384, 386, E'24 and probably E' 25.
- 37 Hackens 1970, 387-419.
- 38 Coins of Triarius: Hackens 1970, 391, F 176 and probably F 177, and perhaps 389, F 34; see Kroll 1993, 250, variety 830 on this coinage. Coin of Kos: Hackens 1970, 403, F 491; and of Ephesos: 401, F 467.
- 39 Hackens 1970, 417-419; find-spots (broadly defined) of the Athenian coins are summarized in tabular form on 409.
- 40 Kroll 1993, 82-83, 100-101 varieties 132, 133, 135, 136; Svoronos 1923-1926, pl. 107.12-14, 16-23). Kroll's conclusions have recently been questioned by Anne Destrooper-Georgiades, who prefers the pre-88 date on the basis of relative wear of coins found in the Delos 1910 hoard (Destrooper-Georgiades 2001, 150, note 4). Kroll remains convinced of the post-Sullan dating, stressing the thick, chunky shape of the coins, which distinguish them from pre-Sullan issues (Kroll, pers. comm. Nov. 2008).
- 41 Hatzidakis 1994.
- 42 Hatzidakis 1994, 47.
- 43 Hatzidakis 1994, 66-69, nos. 33, 34.

- 44 Hatzidakis 1997; for additional illustrations of some of the finds, see Hatzidakis 2003, 271-273, figs. 450-454, 459.
- 45 Hatzidakis 1997, 293, fig. 2.
- 46 About 180 bronze coins on the floor, mostly Athenian small change, and another 120 of greater variety and worth, interpreted as the savings of the proprietress, probably fallen from the upper floor (Hatzidakis 1997, 306). Hatzidakis illustrates but does not describe any of the Athenian coins (Hatzidakis 1997, pl. 230.a, b; Hatzidakis 2003, 272, fig. 452). They are apparently in very poor condition, but one appears to be of Kroll's variety 108 (Kroll 1993, 79, dated ca. 140-90; Svoronos 1923-1926, pl. 107.60-69).
- 47 Hatzidakis 1997, 294-302.
- 48 Hatzidakis 2000, 116-117.
- 49 Hatzidakis 2000; Hatzidakis 2003, 262, 269, 271, figs. 411, 443, 450 bottom.
- 50 Zappeiropoulou & Hatzidakis 1994.
- 51 Zappeiropoulou & Hatzidakis 1994, 238-239. The latest Knidian handles from Layer Γ name the fabricant Dioskouridas and *duoviri* of the terms of Agias and Pisinon. For the Latin stamp cf. Will 1970, 385, E'10.
- 52 Four in the terms of Euphragoras III, Aristodamos, and Dionysios, and three naming the fabricant Dioskouridas (Zappeiropoulou & Hatzidakis 1994, 239).
- 53 Brun & Brunet 1997.
- 54 Brun & Brunet 1997, 589, 596.
- 55 Rotroff 1982, 42.
- 56 Bruneau 1970b, 239, note 3; 250-251, D 73-D 95, pl. 44.
- 57 Peignard 1997, 312, pl. 233.c.
- 58 Zappeiropoulou & Hatzidakis 1994, 248, pl. 200. β .
- 59 Brun & Brunet 1997, 592, in pithos 3.
- 60 Rotroff 1997, 43-45.
- 61 Thompson 1934, 422, E 151, E 152, figs. 110, 116=Hayes 2008, 124, nos. 2, 3, Fig. 1 (P 3424, P 3423). Group E lacks handles of the *duoviri* period and was certainly laid down before the end of the 2nd century. For a summary of the dating evidence and further bibliography, see Rotroff 2006a, 356 under F 15:2. For ESA forms I use the classification of Hayes in *Atlante II* of the *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica* [Hayes 1985b]).
- 62 Hayes 2008, 125, no. 9, Fig. 1 (P 9031).
- 63 Hayes 2008, 127, no. 30, Fig. 2 (P 793).
- 64 Hayes 2008, 126, 130, 131-132, nos. 18, 69, 82, figs. 2, 3 (P 11581, P 11850, P 9667). The stratigraphy of N 19:1 (the upper fill of which constitutes Robinson's Group F) is problematical. The excavator labeled the upper 2.15 m. as the upper fill (deposited in the early 1st century AD), assigning material from a depth of 2.15 to 5.10 m. to the middle fill (apparently Sullan debris). Analysis of the pottery by G. Roger Edwards subsequently assigned the upper 3.90 m. of the contents to the upper fill; this interpretation was adopted by Robinson in his publication (Robinson 1959, 10). Fragments of the three ESA vessels in question were found between 1.60 and 3.80 m. (Robinson's and Edwards' upper fill) but Hayes assigns them to the Sullan middle fill. He also places his no. 32 in the middle fill, although it was found at a depth of 1.15-1.70, unquestionably in the upper fill (despite its early form).
- 65 Hayes 2008, 124-125, 127, 130, 132, nos. 7, 31, 70, 87, 89, 90, figs. 1-4, as well as P 20537 (not published) and uninventoried fragments.
- 66 Robinson 1959, 11-12, F 1- F 14, pls. 1, 60.

- 67 Bruneau 1970b, 245-246, D 43-D 49, fig. 126, pl. 42 (Forms 4, 22A, 23, and rare form a). It was also found in small quantities in sondages below the floor, suggesting that it was reaching the island before the early 1st century (Hayes 2008, 19, note 46); Bruneau dates the construction of the *insula* in the last quarter of the 2nd century 1970, 423-424).
- 68 Peignard 1997, 312, 315, pl. 234.b, d right (Forms 2A, 3, 4, 22, 23)
- 69 Hatzidakis 1994, 52-53, nos. 1, 2, figs. 5, 6:1.
- 70 Zappeiropoulou & Hatzidakis 1994, 247, fig. 1, pls. 190.β-ε, 192.β, γ, 193.α. Hayes 2008, 14, note 10 refers to another black-slipped ESA plate found at Delos.
- 71 Zappeiropoulou & Hatzidakis 1994, 248, pl. 190.α.
- 72 Brun & Brunet 1997, 592, in *pithoi* 3, 4, and 5.
- 73 Hatzidakis 1997, 305; a Form 22 cup from this deposit is perhaps illustrated in Hatzidakis 1994, 51-52, no. 1, fig. 5.
- 74 Hatzidakis 2000, 120, fig. 3:26, 27, 42-45; fine ware is mentioned only in passing (129).
- 75 Hayes 2008, 19.
- 76 Bruneau 1970b, 247, D 50-D 52, fig. 126, pl. 42. Hayes, drawing on the notes of Henry Robinson, who visited Delos in 1966, lists 6 more plates from the same excavation and a bowl found elsewhere on the island (Hayes 2008, 31, note 5).
- 77 Hayes 2008, 31, note 6.
- 78 A summary of material from sondages in the Maison des Bijoux, which Annette Peignard-Giros kindly shared with me in June of 2009, lists about half a dozen fragments of this ware.
- 79 Hatzidakis 1994, 53-55, no. 3, fig. 6:2.
- 80 Hatzidakis 1997, 305, pl. 228.δ. See also ESB of this shape found at Ephesos, though in a much later context (Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991, 99, H 1, H 2, pl. 116).
- 81 Rotroff 1983, 297, no. 104, pl. 61 (P 8018), from the upper fill of cistern E 6:2 (Retroff 1983, 281-282).
- 82 The Munsell reading for the clay is 2.5YR 5/6, and for the gloss 2.5YR 4/8.
- 83 From Hayes' note and from the fact that he excludes it from his recent publication of Roman fine-ware imports (Hayes 2008), I take it that he would not agree. He points to only one possible example of proto ESB at the Agora, an appliqué fragment (Hayes 2008, 31, 40, 161, no. 431, fig. 14, pl. 19, which he calls "Ephesian(?) red-gloss ware with appliqués" and dates in the second half (?) of the 1st century.
- 84 The fishplate (Retroff 1983, 297, no. 105, pl. 61) is paralleled by Bruneau et al. 1970b, 249, D 68, D 69, pl. 43 and at the Agora in a post-Sullan deposit (Retroff 1997, 418, no. 1718, Fig. 102, pl. 136, upper fill of N 19:1, depth 2.70 m). The red-ware fragment (P 35884) is a cup or small bowl with a vertical wall and sharply outturned rim; I have not located a close parallel for the form, but the highly lustrous glaze resembles that of *sigillatas* of the early Roman period.
- 85 Retroff 1997, 409, no. 1655, fig. 98=Hayes 2008, 195, no. 745, fig. 23 (P 12100).
- 86 From later 1st century deposits (D 11:4, E 14:3, and the upper fill of B 22:4): Retroff 1997, 408-409, nos. 1650, 1654, 1656, 1659, 1660, figs. 98, 99, pls. 131, 132; Hayes 2008, 196-197, nos. 746, 755, 757, fig. 23, pl. 44. See Hayes 2008. 196-197 for the sprinkling of other 1st century BC examples.
- 87 Bruneau 1970b, 242-245, D 31-D 42, Fig. 125, pls. 41, 42: as far as can be determined from photographs, examples of Meyer-Schlichtmann's Forms S 1, S 2, S 8, and a variant of Form N 37 (see Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988, 63-65, 69-70, 111-112), and Hübner's Forms 6 or 7 and 10 (Hübner 1993, figs. 10, 14).
- 88 Peignard 1997, 312, 315, pl. 234.d left. Interestingly, the plate has a maker's stamp

- (ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟ) paralleled on an unpublished plate at the Agora of local, Athenian manufacture (P 26557 from post-Sullan deposit Q 17:9).
- 89 Zappeiropoulou & Hatzidakis 1994, 244, 247, pl. 195.γ.
 - 90 Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988, 63-65, pl. 7.
 - 91 Behr 1988, 134, nos. 32-35, figs. 9, 10, pl. 14; for the date, see 129. See also Schäfer 1968, 58, 60, D 30, pl. 11, dated to the mid-2nd century but with little supporting evidence.
 - 92 Hatzidakis 2000, 120, fig. 3:28, 31.
 - 93 Zappeiropoulou & Hatzidakis 1994, 246-247, fig. 1, pl. 193.β; Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988, 111-112, pl. 13.
 - 94 Peignard-Giros, pers. comm., June 2009.
 - 95 Bruneau 1970b, 245, D 39, fig. 125, pl. 42.
 - 96 Hübner 1993, 51, note 3.
 - 97 Rotroff 1997, 415, no. 1700, fig. 101, pl. 135 (P 11684). Neither coins nor amphora handles assist in the dating of the deposit (M-N 18:1). A mid-1st-century date is based on ESA, thin-walled ware, and a Type 54 A lamp (Rotroff 2000, 367). The shape also appears in a cistern at Pantikapaion, unfortunately without published means of independent dating, though much of the pottery dates to the 2nd-early 1st century (Tolstikov & Zhuravlev 2004, 273-275, pl. 99.7, red slip but the ware is not specified). Cf. also Crowfoot et al. 1957, 344, no. 9, fig. 83, the upper part of a bowl apparently of the same form, in an unidentified red ware.
 - 98 Tekkök-Biçken 1996, 43, A 75, fig. 14 (Troy); Slane 1997, 357, no. 495, pls. 30, 53 (Tel Anafa).
 - 99 Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988, 68, pl. 8; Behr 1983, 132, no. 26, fig. 8; Schäfer 1968, 60, D 31, pls. 9, 10 (with West Slope decoration).
 - 100 Peignard 1997, 311, pl. 232.e; Hatzidakis 1994, 62-65, no. 25, fig. 17; Brun & Brunet 1997, 592, fig. 17.1. A similar neck comes from the installation deposit, but it could belong to *lagynos* of normal shape (589, fig. 12.12).
 - 101 Kombou & Ralli 1997, 242, pl. 159.δ, 160:α, β; see 246 for the date of the deposit.
 - 102 Some of the other pottery in the well offers close comparanda to pottery in the later Delian deposits: a *chytra* with cylindrical neck and rope handle (Kombou & Ralli 1997, pl. 157.α; cf. Peignard 1997, pl. 231.e from the Maison des Sceaux); Pergamene West Slope fragments with incised decoration (Kombou & Ralli 1997, pl. 162.γ; cf. Zappeiropoulou & Hatzidakis 1994, pl. 195.γ from the upper layer of the Street Deposits and Hatzidakis 2000, 120, fig. 3.31 from building F/NIII).
 - 103 Kombou & Ralli 1997, 242, pls. 160.δ, 161.α. Cf. Robinson 1959, 17, F 66, pl. 2. Kombou & Ralli remark (246) on the high mica content of the local ceramics.
 - 104 Bruneau 1970b, 255, D 165, D 166, pl. 47.
 - 105 Grace & Savvatiannou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 354, E 222 (Knidian period VII, perhaps second quarter of 1st century); 386, E' 24, mid-1st century.
 - 106 Zappeiropoulou & Hatzidakis 1994, 247, fig. 1, pl. 198.δ, 202.α (layer Γ), pl. 198.α-γ, στ and 202 (layer Δ). Something similar is pictured from the Maison de l'Hermès (Marcadé 1953, 602, B 7356, Fig. 99.b).
 - 107 E.g., Rotroff 2006a, 173-174, Chytra Form 5.
 - 108 Bruneau 1970, 258, D 212, D 213, pl. 48.
 - 109 Hatzidakis 2000, 120, Fig. 3.18, pl. 75.β.3; others are illustrated in Hatzidakis 2004, pls. 315.α, 320.4.
 - 110 Brun & Brunet 1997, 592, Fig. 16.
 - 111 Rotroff 2006a, 175, 308, no. 606, Fig. 77, pl. 65 from cistern M 23:1 (P 4362).
 - 112 E.g., Robinson 1959, 19, F 84, F 85, pls. 3, 72.