

# A HELLENISTIC ARSENAL IN ATHENS

(PLATES 49 AND 50)

*To Dorothy Burr Thompson and Homer A. Thompson,  
excavators of the Arsenal*

AS THE SPECTATOR stands today in front of the temple of Hephaistos and surveys the Agora of Athens spread below to the east, the line of the Stoa of Attalos draws the eye in a southerly direction to rest upon the Periclean structures that crown the Akropolis; but one is almost sure to neglect, with good reason, what lies to the immediate left, north of the Hephaisteion precinct on Kolonos Agoraios. For there, at a level approximately two meters below the ground level of the Hephaisteion, lies a large, open area of rectangular shape, dotted with depressions and openings for cisterns, wells, and pits of various periods, and marked by rough, sometimes jagged protuberances of the living rock. It is an area which presents to the observer, even one attempting in good faith to discern ancient remains there, no clearly recognizable evidence for the outlines of a building, much less an impression of its full extent. Nonetheless, this is the site of one of the larger structures of Hellenistic Athens (Pl. 49:a).

In plan, the building was a long rectangle oriented northwest-southeast, measuring *ca.* 44.40 × 17.62 m. on the outer sides of the foundations. Two rows of eight columns divided the interior into three aisles of approximately equal width. The building faced northwestward onto an ancient road and was presumably entered through a single doorway in its west end (see below, p. 240). Rock-cut foundation trenches give us a sure picture of the basic plan, but blocks remain in place only at the southeast and northwest corners and in the cutting for one interior pier. No fragments from the superstructure have been recognized.

## THE EXCAVATIONS AND THE STRUCTURAL REMAINS

This large structure, which will be called for the present the Hellenistic Building, extends over four sections of the Agora Excavations (A, KK, ΛΛ, OE), although the greater part of it lies within Section KK, together with the precinct of Hephaistos (see plan, Fig. 1; Pl. 49:a).<sup>1</sup> The part of this section north of the Hephaisteion was excavated in 1936 under

<sup>1</sup> In studying the many puzzling aspects of this building, I have taken advantage of the knowledge, generously shared, of many colleagues. Greatest thanks go to Homer A. Thompson, who has given direction and encouragement from the start; to T. Leslie Shear, Jr. and John McK. Camp II, Director and Assistant Director, respectively, of the Agora Excavations, whose permission and assistance made my work in Athens possible and whose advice and comments sharpened my archaeological and historical perspectives; to Dorothy B. Thompson, who was chief excavator of the building and willingly called upon her memories of her work in the 1930's; to William B. Dinsmoor, Jr., Architect of the Agora Excavations, whose expertise and patience have given incalculable aid; and to Susan I. Rotroff, who never tired of sorting dusty sherds and discussing the complexities of Hellenistic pottery. Others, moreover, discussed the project with me on more than one occasion: I thank Charles R. Beye, Judith Binder, Daniel J. Geagan, Virginia R. Grace, Evelyn B. Harrison, Caroline Houser, David R. Jordan, Mabel L. Lang, James R. McCredie, Robin F. Rhodes, and Eugene Vanderpool. Not all the above agree with all my conclusions; none of them shares responsibility for whatever faults exist.

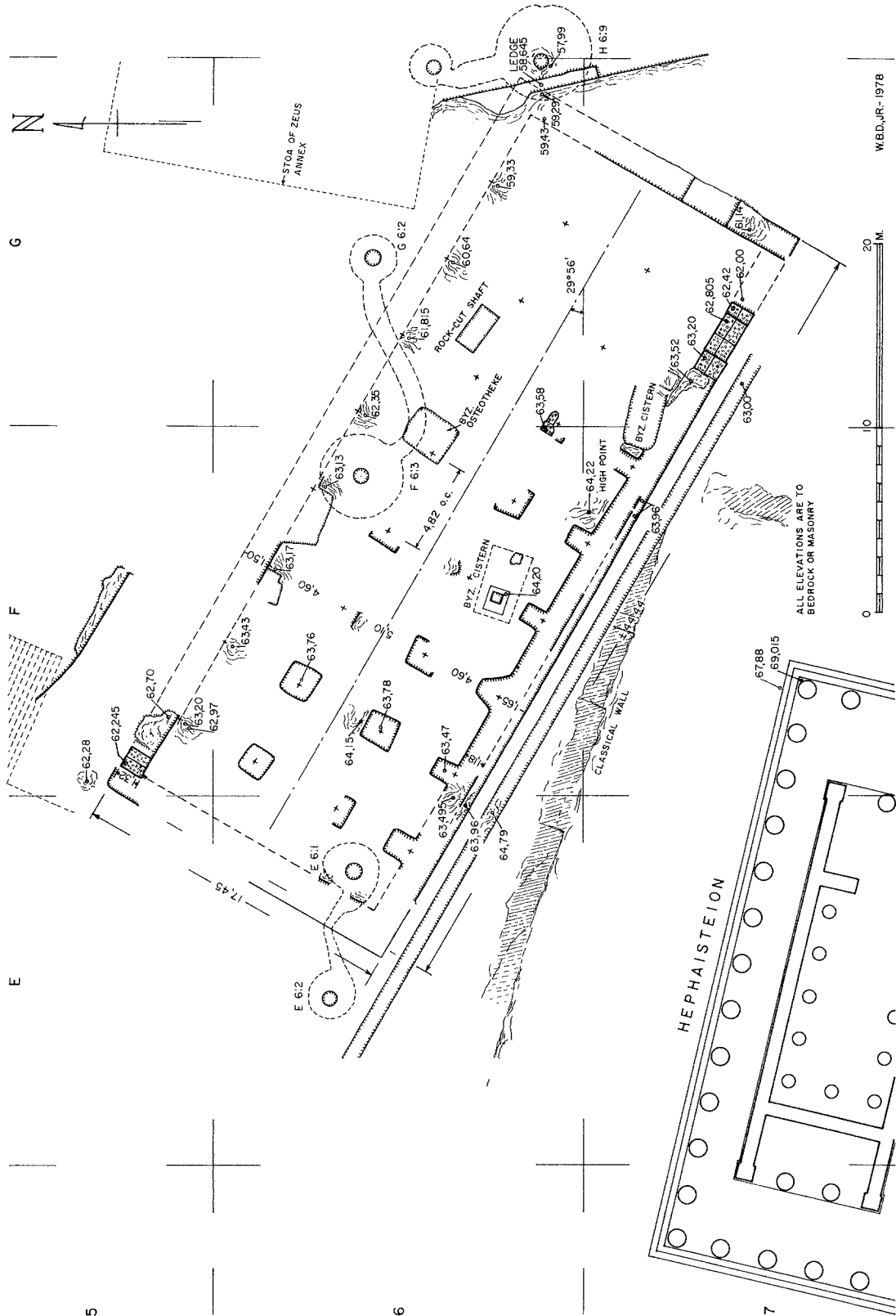


FIG. 1. Plan of the Hellenistic Building northeast of the Hephaisteion

the direction of Dorothy Burr Thompson and further in 1937 by Homer A. Thompson.<sup>2</sup> The entire area had been badly pillaged and many times rebuilt. Excavation produced the tenuous remains of Roman and Byzantine houses, wells, and cisterns, as well as later traces of the Turkish and modern periods. In exploring the Hellenistic Building, the excavators removed the remains of later periods and exposed the cuttings for the Hellenistic foundations. The bedding for the long north wall was almost entirely cut away by later construction. Only at the extreme west, where the north wall joined the west wall, and at a position approximately 14.50 m. from the west end, is there certain evidence for the north foundation trench. At the northwest corner itself, foundation blocks remain *in situ*. Of the shorter end walls at east and west, the remains are similarly scanty. The east wall is entirely gone except for the cutting for its footing trench toward the southeast corner; the corner itself (at arrow in Pl. 49:a), although it now lies under the visitors' path leading to the Hephaisteion, was visible at the time of excavation. The west wall is shown by a cutting for its trench visible in two places in the living rock toward the south end. It was badly hacked out in Byzantine times, as indicated by late Byzantine sherds found in the filling over it. Bedrock falls away to the north where, at the extreme northern end, no trace of the trench survives, owing again to later pillaging.

The best evidence for the nature of the foundations proved to be along the south side, where, toward the southeastern corner, the best preserved blocks can still be seen (Pl. 50,

The photographs are the work of Craig A. Mauzy, whom I also thank. Finally, gratitude is owed to Lucy W. Krystallis and to Helen H. Townsend, Secretaries of the Excavations; to the American Philosophical Society for a grant to defray costs of architectural and photographic services; to Vassar College for the use of funds, granted by Elizabeth Pierce Blegen, class of 1910, that facilitated my research in Athens; and to Nancy Winter, Librarian of the American School of Classical Studies. A paper dealing with the subject of this article was presented at the annual meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America in Boston, December 29, 1979 (abstract in *AJA* 83, 1980, p. 227).

Works frequently cited in this article are abbreviated as follows:

*The Athenian Agora*

- Agora III = R. E. Wycherley, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton 1957  
 Agora XI = E. B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton 1965  
 Agora XII = B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery of 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.*, Princeton 1970  
 Agora XIV = H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972  
 Coulton, = J. J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*, Oxford 1976  
*Greek Stoa*  
 Ferguson = W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens, An Historical Essay*, New York 1911  
 Habicht = C. Habicht, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (*Vestigia* 30), Munich 1979  
*Kerameikos* X = W. Hoepfner et al., *Kerameikos, X, Das Pompeion und seine Nachfolgerbauten*, Berlin 1976  
 Pritchett and Meritt = W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, Cambridge, Mass. 1940  
 Shear, *Kallias* = T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia*, Suppl. XVII, *Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C.*, Princeton 1978

<sup>2</sup> The primary tools of research for the parts of this article dealing with the remains of the building and its environs have been the Agora Excavation Notebooks kept by the excavators, Dorothy Burr Thompson and Homer A. Thompson, in the campaigns of 1936 and 1937. Rather than refer to the notebooks throughout, the most important page references I give here, since they constitute bibliography not readily available to the reader: Agora Notebooks A VI, pp. 994–996, IX, pp. 1746–1755; KK V, pp. 893–906, VIII, pp. 1563–1564, IX, pp. 1623–1633, 1672–1678, XII, pp. 2332–2333; ΛΛ VII, pp. 1328–1334; MM IV, p. 775.

left). Here, the cutting consisted of a broad lower trench bordered on the south by a step-like cutting (Pl. 49:b, c).

The presence of a step or "bench" cutting in conjunction with foundation trenches is a feature not unknown in Greek construction. It can be found, for example, in the southern foundation trench of the temple of Poseidon at Isthmia.<sup>3</sup> The "ledge" increases in width from east to west in order to rectify an inaccurate layout of the foundation, which was wider at the west end than at the east. The excavator of the temple states that the second course of the foundations would have projected beyond the lowest course to rest upon the ledge; this corrective measure was taken only after the first, lowest, course had been laid.

Another example of this phenomenon is the step or "channel" cut into bedrock in conjunction with the foundations of the Old Bouleuterion in the Athenian Agora.<sup>4</sup> In this case a sharp downward slope in the bedrock from west to east necessitated the step to receive the second course of blocks.

In the case of the Hellenistic Building, the bedrock is at a level only somewhat lower toward the east end than toward the west. The ledge begins 8.80 m. from the east end of the building on the south side; the heavy conglomerate foundation blocks still in place at the east end of the southern foundation extend to the line of the southern extremity of the step cutting. The most plausible interpretation of this evidence in my view is that, as at Isthmia, the stonemason corrected an orientation that was off by some centimeters in a northwesterly direction; to do this, he created the step cutting to align the foundations in an orientation slightly more east-west and laid the second course of blocks (at the point 8.80 m. from the east end) upon it. Otherwise, we should expect the step to continue in a uniform manner to the southeastern corner of the building.

The foundation blocks which remain are of a reddish, hard conglomerate of good quality. They are in decided contrast to the softer, crumbly red conglomerate used in the foundations of the Middle Stoa, constructed in the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>5</sup> The possible significance of this good conglomerate in determining the use of the building will be discussed below (p. 249).

A distinctive feature of the wall beddings, clearly seen along the south wall, is the presence of cuttings for interior buttresses or pilasters (Pl. 49:d). These are set 4.82 m. apart on centers and are somewhat more than a meter square. Only the six westernmost are preserved; the two easternmost are lacking, presumably owing to the marked downward slope in the bedrock level toward the east. Buttresses existed, of course, in these two eastern positions, but it would not have been necessary to cut into the rock for their beddings. The lower level of bedrock to the north would similarly explain the absence of such cuttings for the interior buttresses that assuredly existed there along the north wall, opposite their counterparts on the south.

The interior of the structure has cuttings for two rows of piers, also 4.82 m. apart on centers, forming three aisles. There were eight of these cuttings, approximately 1.70 m.

<sup>3</sup> O. Broneer, *Isthmia, I, Temple of Poseidon*, Princeton 1971, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> H. A. Thompson, "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia* 6, 1937, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Agora XIV*, pp. 66-67. The foundations of the Temple of Apollo Patroos (p. 137) and of the Stoa of Attalos (p. 104) are also of red conglomerate, in both cases a softer variety than that under consideration.

square, in each row. The distance between rows is approximately 5.10 m. on centers, the aisle width less by roughly the diameter of the columns. At the eastern end of the building, where bedrock slopes quite steeply away, there are no traces of cuttings for the interior piers which must have existed in the first and second positions from the east in the southern row and in the first, second, and third positions of the northern row.

It is noteworthy that the building was equipped with two cistern systems, carefully built and situated. One, the "Egyptian Cistern"<sup>6</sup> (Agora Deposits E 6:1 and E 6:2), was located at the southwest corner of the building. It had one chamber outside the structure to the west and another just inside it to the east, joined by a crooked passage twisting from west to south, the western chamber being thus slightly to the north of the other.<sup>7</sup> The plan and position of this system strongly suggest that it was introduced, probably soon after the Hellenistic Building was erected, for the collection of water at its southwest corner. The intimate relationship between the cistern system and the building makes it quite certain that both were constructed at the same time. The contents of the second cistern system which served the building have long been known from their publication as Group C by Homer Thompson (Agora Deposit G 6:2).<sup>8</sup> Here also, at the center of the north side of the building, were two chambers, an inner and an outer. The eastern (outer) chamber, situated to the northeast of the other, was somewhat smaller than its indoor mate. The system, like the one at the southwest, was constructed with care and presumably was introduced in the original program of building.

The excavators also discovered, at the northeast corner of the Hellenistic Building, a large, cavernous cistern, also with two chambers, which was given the nickname "the Cave" (Fig. 3). It is of vital importance in dating the construction of the building (see below, p. 252), as it was put out of use at that time, thereby providing a *terminus post quem*.<sup>9</sup>

Excavation south of the building exposed the remains of the bedding for a wall, roughly parallel to the south side of the Hellenistic Building: toward the east, wall and building came very slightly closer together. The wall trench was well defined at a point 6.00 m. west of the southeast corner of the building and ran eastward a distance of approximately 3.00 m. At this point, the space between the wall and the south side of the building was only 0.50 m., and further traces were obliterated by construction of a Roman house. The width of the wall trench averaged 0.80 m. The line of this wall is now obscured by the present retaining wall of the Hephaisteion precinct, built in its trench in the course of landscaping the Agora (Fig. 2).<sup>10</sup> The partially preserved section of wall was built of field stones, crushed Akropolis limestone, and fragmentary poros building blocks imbedded in a sandy brown mortar. This mortar or stucco may indicate that the wall was rebuilt at some time after the destruction of the Hellenistic Building.

<sup>6</sup> So called because fragments of Egyptian faience were found in it. For a detailed description and analysis of the contents, see S. I. Rotroff, "Three Cistern Systems on the Kolonos Agoraios," pp. 257–297 below.

<sup>7</sup> Detailed measurements of this and the other cisterns associated with the building are given in the Rotroff article cited in the preceding note.

<sup>8</sup> H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3, 1934, pp. 345–369; cf. Rotroff, pp. 276–278 below.

<sup>9</sup> For a detailed description and analysis of the contents of the Cave Cistern, see Rotroff, pp. 258–276.

<sup>10</sup> *Agora* XIV, pp. 228, 233.

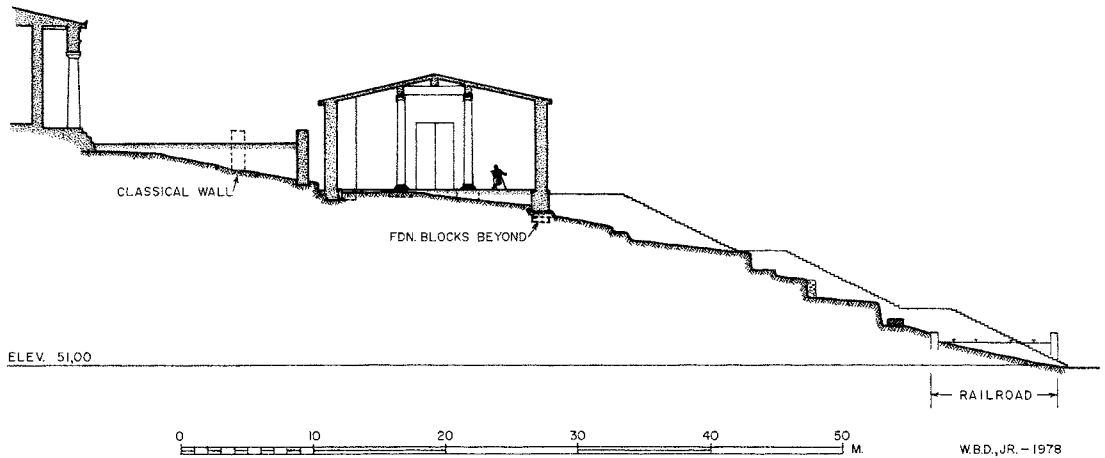


FIG. 2. North-south section through the Hellenistic Arsenal, looking west

### RESTORATION OF THE BUILDING

It has been suggested in earlier publications that the Hellenistic Building was most probably an arsenal.<sup>11</sup> The chief reason was that its plan, with four solid walls and three interior aisles formed by a double row of interior columns, resembled that of the Naval Arsenal in the Peiraeus designed by Philo in the mid-4th century,<sup>12</sup> although that building had a wider center aisle. We shall concern ourselves here with the physical details of the restoration of the structure, leaving for the moment discussion of its identification as an arsenal (see pp. 245–248 below).

The similarity of the plan of our building to that which can be reconstructed for the arsenal in the Peiraeus is striking. Specifications (*syngraphai*) for the Naval Arsenal are preserved in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1668 (347/6 B.C.). The design is spelled out, as are details about the lower parts of the structure, such as the size of orthostate blocks (line 64), the doors and their fittings (lines 59–60), and so on. As W. B. Dinsmoor observed, “although the building no longer exists . . . the description of it given in the specifications . . . is so clear and distinct that we know more about its construction than if actual remains, rather than the inscription, had

<sup>11</sup> *Agora XIV*, pp. 80–81. For other references to this building, see A. Rumpf, “Der Westrand der Agora zu Athen,” *JdI* 53, 1938, pp. 117–124, who believed it was the Royal Stoa; R. E. Wycherley, “The Stoa Basileios,” *JHS* 60, 1940, pp. 95–96; *idem*, “The North-West Stoa of the Athenian Agora,” *JHS* 68, 1948, p. 152; A. K. Orlandos, *Ἡ Ἐνδόστεγος παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῆς μεσογειακῆς λεκάνης I*, Athens 1954, pp. 64–67, note 1 and p. 66, fig. 39:a, who also associated the building with the Royal Stoa; G. Roger Edwards, “Panathenaics of Hellenistic and Roman Times,” *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 334–337, to be discussed below.

<sup>12</sup> W. Dörpfeld, “Die Skeuothek des Philon,” *AthMitt* 8, 1883, pp. 147–164; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London 1950, pp. 241–242; J. A. Bundgaard, *Mnesicles, A Greek Architect at Work*, Copenhagen 1957, pp. 117–132; A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, Harmondsworth 1957, pp. 260–261; K. Jeppesen, *Paradeigmata: Three Mid-Fourth Century Main Works of Hellenic Architecture Reconsidered*, Aarhus 1958, pp. 69–101; E. Lorenzen, *The Arsenal at Piraeus Designed by Philo and Reconstructed after his Description*, Copenhagen 1964; J. J. Coulton, *Greek Architects at Work*, London 1977, pp. 54–55, 57.

been found."<sup>13</sup> This statement has a certain poignancy for us in investigating the building on Kolonos Agoraios, where there are actual remains, but meager ones, and no inscription.

The building in the Peiraieus measured 405 × 55 Doric feet (D.F.) on the outer sides of the walls, or 400 × 50 D.F. internally, leaving a wall thickness of 2½ D.F. The dimensions of our building are 44.40 × 17.62 m., measured on the foundation. Using a Doric foot of 0.32677 m. and assuming the wall thickness to have been 3 Doric feet, which works better with our foundation width, we can convert all the pertinent measurements of the Hellenistic Building into Doric feet:<sup>14</sup>

Wall thickness (not including buttress)	0.98 m. = 3 D.F.
Over-all length of building	43.787 m. = 134 D.F.
Over-all width of building	16.992 m. = 52 D.F.
Longitudinal column spacing	4.82 m. = 14¾ D.F.
Transverse column spacing	5.065 m. = 15½ D.F.
Longitudinal column-to-wall spacing	4.044 m. = 12¾ D.F.
Transverse column-to-wall spacing (not including buttress)	4.983 m. = 15¼ D.F.

The exterior width of 52 D.F. for our building is quite close to that of the Peiraieus arsenal; we should not expect an exact duplication of specifications, even if the latter had not been constructed in the previous century. The similarity in width, however, is suggestive of an attempt to emulate, in general terms at least, the building in the Peiraieus. The size of the site on the Kolonos Agoraios precluded the possibility of approaching its length, which was more than twice as great.

The walls of our building most probably had an orthostate course of poros blocks upon which rested upper walls of mud brick. These walls, despite their massive thickness,<sup>15</sup> were not substantial enough to support the joists of timber which would have been laid upon them as the major elements of roofing (the standard gabled roof would have been used), and so the buttresses or pilasters of stone (again, presumably poros) were added to strengthen the construction.<sup>16</sup> Interior buttresses were found also in the granary at Morgantina, but

<sup>13</sup> Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

<sup>14</sup> I thank W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr. who worked out these conversions to Doric feet.

<sup>15</sup> This massiveness is not out of the ordinary in Greek construction; the (marble) orthostates of the Pinakothekē on the Akropolis are 0.88 m. thick; see Travlos, pp. 482–483, 491. The stone orthostates of the Pompeion are 0.73 m. thick; see *Kerameikos* X, pp. 66–67, Abb. 87. Nevertheless, the reconstruction of the upper walls at the full width of the foundations is not universally accepted: H. A. Thompson, e.g., finds the thickness excessive.

<sup>16</sup> This arrangement is a common procedure; cf. Coulton, *Greek Stoa*, pp. 141–142: "The last three buildings [the Middle Stoa at Thermon, the Stoa at Kassope, the East Stoa of the Gymnasium at Olympia] almost certainly had mud brick walls above a stone socle, and buttresses seem to have been considered necessary to stiffen this rather flexible material." At Athens, we may cite the mud-brick walls above orthostates of stone in the Odeion of Perikles (see W. Dörpfeld, "Die verschiedenen Odeion in Athen," *AthMitt* 17, 1892, pp. 252–260, with further bibliography in Travlos, p. 387) and the similar technique used in the Pompeion (see *Kerameikos* X, p. 108). South Stoa I in the Athenian Agora had mud-brick walls, and some of the bricks were found still *in situ*; see H. A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1953," *Hesperia* 23, 1954, p. 40. For other instances of the use of mud-brick walls above a stone socle, see R. Martin, *Manuel d'architecture grecque*, I, *Matériaux et techniques*, Paris 1965, e.g. p. 50: ". . . certaines parties du gymnase à Epidaure [et] de la palestra à Olympie avaient des murs en briques crues sur socles de pierres, le plus souvent d'orthostates."

there “their function can hardly have been exclusively structural.”<sup>17</sup> We may imagine that such a combination of uses, that is, both structural and for the creation of niches or interior compartments, existed in the Hellenistic Building. There can be no doubt that a sturdy structure was required, and the interior buttresses helped make it so. But they also of necessity divided the interior, that is, the part of it along the north and south walls, into regular compartments of a sort well suited for organized storage.

With regard to the restoration of mud-brick upper walls, it must be admitted candidly that the excavators did not find the masses of tumbled or dissolved bricks that one might normally have expected. The thorough pillaging, however, and repeated rebuilding on the site doubtless explain this lack of evidence (see p. 254 below and footnote 84). If the walls had been of stone, there should presumably have been a Doric frieze crowning them, as with the arsenal in the Peiraieus, but no fragments of such have come to light, nor any other material from the superstructure. The exact nature of the windows in the building cannot be determined, but they were undoubtedly small and set high in the walls.

The interior pier cuttings had conglomerate blocks set into them, as we know from the fragmentary block which remains in the southern row in the third position from the east. Set upon that foundation would most probably have been a base of poros, the bottom part of which would have been covered by a hard-packed, earthen floor.<sup>18</sup> Although a stone floor existed in the Naval Arsenal, that structure was built in the mid-4th century under more prosperous circumstances; in the austere time of our building, a floor of packed earth, more common at any period, is rather to be expected.<sup>19</sup>

The door of the building must have been in the western wall. It would not have been convenient (or even possible) to approach the structure from the Agora, both because of the decided difference in levels and because of the presence of the Stoa of Zeus and the Temple of Apollo Patroos. A western entrance would have provided access from a road which ran behind the Temple of Hephaistos and slight traces of which were observed by the excavators west of our building. This road was reached by a stairway leading up from the Sacred Way, to the north.<sup>20</sup>

The technical details of building walls of brick are found in A. K. Orlandos, *Τὰ ὑλικά δομῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλληνῶν* I, Athens 1955, pp. 74–86.

<sup>17</sup> E. Sjöqvist, “Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando) 1959, Preliminary Report IV,” *AJA* 64, 1960, p. 130. For other interior buttresses, cf. P. Bernard, *Fouilles d’Ai Khanoum* I, Paris 1973, p. 115]and pl. 54.

<sup>18</sup> A good parallel for this may be found in the South Stoa of the Argive Heraion; W. Vollgraff, “Fouilles d’Argos,” *BCH* 31, 1907, pp. 173–176, with further bibliography in Coulton, *Greek Stoa*, p. 217.

<sup>19</sup> As Coulton observes of stoas of the time, with specific reference to internal colonnades, “The earth floor would be packed in behind the stylobate and between the base-slabs, which were presumably left standing slightly proud of it, so that the straight edges were visible . . .” (*Greek Stoa*, p. 146).

<sup>20</sup> The present writer believes that there was indeed such a stairway, contrary to the view of John Travlos, who placed a small temple dedicated to Aphrodite Ourania in this position (Travlos, p. 79; cf. *Agora* XIV, p. 142, note 127). Harrison (*Agora* XI, pp. 138–139) believes that a female herm found near this site does not represent Aphrodite, as Travlos maintained, but rather Artemis or Hekate. We are told by Pausanias (1.14.7) that there was a temple of Aphrodite Ourania near the Hephaisteion, at least in Roman times, but there is no firm evidence to put the temple just here; in fact, the excavators believed that conglomerate blocks which Travlos took to be part of the temple foundations were instead the underpinnings of a stairway of considerable proportions. A conglomerate block on the north side of the railway cutting found in the excavations of 1939 was identified as part of the stair foundation, and this is matched on the south side of the tracks by the stairway



The bedding trench for the north wall of the building, as mentioned above, has been extensively robbed by later construction, except at the northwest corner and at one place in the western half. There are no cuttings preserved in the bedrock for interior buttresses to match those along the south wall. Two cuttings exist, but in positions only roughly in line with those on the opposite wall (i.e. the third and fourth positions from the west); careful measurement reveals that they are not in proper alignment, as can be seen on the actual-state plan (Fig. 1), and thus must belong to construction unrelated to the Hellenistic Building. Excavation of the north foundation trench brought to light a dark destruction fill that yielded a few sherds of the 4th to 5th centuries after Christ; this may perhaps be associated with the two cuttings.

At the northwest corner, the inner face of the bedding trench running east from the two foundation blocks *in situ* is cut into bedrock and allows no chance of there having been a buttress cutting in the first position; no trace whatever exists there. It does not follow that a different method of construction was employed: the identical width of the north and south foundations argues strongly for a similar reconstruction. A glance at the section (Fig. 2) will reveal that the level of bedrock is, throughout most of the length of the northern side of the building, over a meter lower than at the southern side. What was required on the north was an over-all raising of the interior of the building. The foundations for the northern buttresses, as for the interior columns toward the eastern ends of both rows, would have rested on a rubble packing of which no trace remains.<sup>21</sup>

Along the south side of the building, between it and the wall running parallel to it, we may suppose the existence of a gutter designed to carry off water from the roof and the

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itself. Excavated in 1937, it was composed of three north-south rows of single blocks set 9.52 m. apart between which was thrown extensive packing of stones, broken tiles, conglomerate fragments, and limestone scraps laid in rows. Its date can best be assigned to the first half of the 3rd century B.C. on the basis of the Hellenistic pottery (Lot ΛΛ 75) found in the filling under it. A much earlier stair may have preceded it, although excavation provided no clear picture of its width or of the nature of its surface. It may have been a simple path up over the bedrock. A krater base of the 6th century B.C. (Lot ΛΛ 76) was found in a hole in bedrock under the Hellenistic stair. In any event, the stair ascended the northern slope of Kolonos Agoraios, where it met a roadway at the northwest corner of the Hellenistic Building, the foundation of which may well have been partially exposed at that point. See now, *The Athenian Agora, a Short Guide* (Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book No. 16), 2nd ed., Princeton 1983, fig. 6.

<sup>21</sup> On July 9, 1979 limited excavation was conducted on the south side of the Hellenistic Building at the position of the second interior buttress from the east. Our purpose was to examine the bedrock at that point, now covered by backfill and the normal accumulation of the years, in hopes of discovering evidence, or lack thereof, for a cutting for the buttress. The result was, strictly speaking, inconclusive, for we found no discernible cutting in the extremely irregular surface of the friable stone. This suggests, however, that a fugitive packing of rubble, as suggested above, was laid directly on the bedrock surface and that the buttress was in turn set on the rubble. Although it was common practice in Greek construction to dress bedrock before laying any foundation, we can report that in this case such was not done. On July 12, 1979 excavation on the north side of the building, at the position of the first buttress from the west, produced similar results. The rock surface south of the foundation bedding trench was very irregular, and no buttress cutting as such came to light. Again, we may imagine a packing of rubble, now lost. The author wishes to thank both W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., for his invaluable advice in the field, and Spyros Spyropoulos, who wielded pick, shovel, and brush with his accustomed care and skill. A parallel to this sort of construction exists in the great Stoa at Samothrace; see J. R. McCredie, "Samothrace: Preliminary Report on the Campaigns of 1962-1964," *Hesperia* 34, 1965, pp. 103-104, pl. 29.

precinct of Hephaistos, presumably into the southwest cistern system (the Egyptian Cistern). Such a drain would have had to be banked upward at the east end in order to facilitate the flow of water to the west.<sup>22</sup>

### THE SETTING OF THE BUILDING

West of the temenos of Hephaistos, in the course of the excavations of 1936, there was discovered a roadway or "street". It was paved, or packed, with Persian destruction filling and therefore antedates construction of the Temple of Hephaistos.<sup>23</sup> It led southward to the Pnyx and northward to the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios and the great stair which descended the slope of the hill to the Sacred Way. Excavation immediately west of the Hellenistic Building produced only the most shadowy traces of it, but this is not surprising, given the general and repeated devastation of the area. It seems clear that our building faced onto this road, which determined its orientation.

Immediately to the south of the Hellenistic Building was the temenos of the Hephaisteion. Dorothy Thompson<sup>24</sup> has discussed in detail the insertion into the precinct of a system of planting on three sides of the temple (south, west, and north) that created a formal garden. As part of this project, Kolonos Agoraios was graded so that the area might have a more uniform surface. Examination of the earliest pottery from the garden disclosed mold-made relief-ware bowls of high quality, the upper date of which is now put at *ca.* 225 B.C.<sup>25</sup> (Lots KK 148ff.). It was thought at the time of excavation and study of the garden that the wall which runs parallel to the south side of the Hellenistic Building was built at the same time as the planting of the garden and that it defined an expanded temenos. This dating now seems quite unlikely, as the parallel wall was presumably built along with the Hellenistic Building. Moreover, there is no real evidence for returns at east and west. The asymmetrical expansion of the precinct of Hephaistos is now to be dated earlier and did not accompany the garden planting.

There remains a problem about the relationship of the original precinct wall, the wall parallel to our building, and the south wall of the building itself. Why was the parallel wall built? It would be appropriate in a situation such as this to construct a wall intended to ward off moisture which would naturally seep down from south to north against the south wall of the building. The almost exactly parallel alignment would seem to favor this suggestion. The evidence for the north and south ends of the wall is flimsy, moreover, and we must not assume that a new, larger precinct is bounded by it. It was probably a freestanding wall, not a terrace wall, although an expanded terrace is not absolutely precluded. Water from the roof of the building would have been carried westward by a gutter in the narrow passage (see above, pp. 241–242).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the drains of the north colonnade of the Square Peristyle, *Agora XIV*, p. 61, and of private houses, *ibid.*, p. 176.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the Persian destruction filling in the rock-cut shaft on the site of the Hellenistic Building: E. Vanderpool, "The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft," *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 363–411 (lower fill) and *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 265–336 (upper fill).

<sup>24</sup> D. B. Thompson, "The Garden of Hephaistos," *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 396–425.

<sup>25</sup> S. I. Rotroff, *The Athenian Agora, XXII, Hellenistic Pottery. Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls*, Princeton 1982, p. 33.

Difficulties remain. It is clear from the plan that the original precinct wall and the Hellenistic Building could have co-existed, in a manner not unlike that of the Stoa of Zeus and the Stoa Basileios which almost converge, at different orientations and levels.<sup>26</sup> The parallel wall, however, could not have been carefully bonded into the temenos wall, since it runs right through it, on an angle. Perhaps the temenos wall was dismantled at this point to allow for the freestanding wall parallel to the new building. No firm statement can be made on this question, and re-examination of the evidence in the field is not possible because of modern landscaping.

Whatever the explanation, one thing seems certain, assuming the presence of the drain: the space between the south side of the building and the parallel wall was left open and was not filled with earth to be retained by the building, although buttressed walls of buildings can be used as retaining walls, as the back walls of South Stoa I in the Athenian Agora and of the South Stoa of the Argive Heraion attest.<sup>27</sup> This use of buttresses is far from essential, however, as we know from the Hellenistic South Stoa II in the Athenian Agora, where a normal, unbuttressed (although massive) wall retains the fill which had been dumped over the stylobate level of South Stoa I to the south.<sup>28</sup> The use of the buttresses as structural elements of the building remains the logical explanation for their presence.

The Cave Cistern (see p. 237 above) served what was presumably a domestic structure to the east of the Hellenistic Building, set on a level terrace on the edge of Kolonos Agoraios.

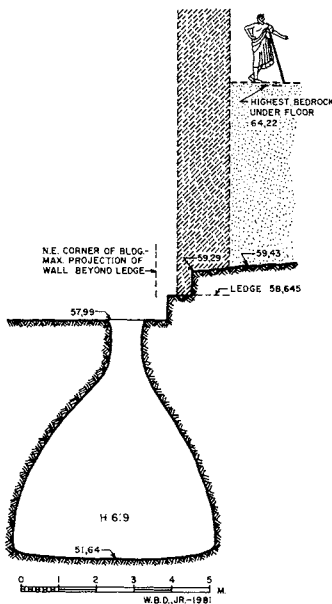


FIG. 3. Section through the Cave Cistern, near the corner of the Hellenistic Arsenal, looking south

<sup>26</sup> See *Agora XIV*, p. 83, and pl. 6; cf. T. L. Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1970," *Hesperia* 40, 1971, p. 243. Close proximity is also evident in the case of the Stoa of Attalos and the Hadrianic Basilica; *Agora XIV*, pp. 23, 71, 234, and pl. 8.

<sup>27</sup> *Agora XIV*, pp. 74–78, and P. Amandry, "Observations sur les monuments de l'Héraion d'Argos," *Hesperia* 21, 1952, pp. 254–261 and fig. 20.

<sup>28</sup> *Agora XIV*, p. 68.

A ledge cut into bedrock, still visible, marks the line of this house (Pl. 50, right).<sup>29</sup> The northeast corner of the Hellenistic Building lies over the site of the dwelling (Fig. 3), which must have been demolished to make way for it.

## THE CHRONOLOGY AND USE OF THE BUILDING

### EVIDENCE OF THE FINDS

A dearth of tangible evidence from the building itself makes the ceramic evidence even more significant in assigning a date of construction. The pottery deposit from the Cave Cistern (Deposit H 6:9) is now dated from *ca.* 290 down to the 260's. Two coins are associated with this deposit, A-998 and A-1117. The former, an Athenian bronze, second quarter 3rd century B.C., with a Corinthian-helmeted Athena on the obverse, and owl-and-wreath symbol on the reverse, cannot be given a precise date. J. H. Kroll states, "these owl-with-symbol issues could date from the 260s, in which case they would have begun very soon after the two-owl Variety I and would have been terminated by the outcome of the Chremonidean War in 263/262."<sup>30</sup> Later in the same article, however (Table 2, p. 149), he decides on a date in the 250's. There is clearly much doubt regarding the date of these issues, as Kroll notes.<sup>31</sup> The latter coin is described in the Field Notebook as "Illegible Greek or 5th–6th C. A.D." The numismatic evidence is thus not conclusive. We can say only that a date in the early 260's is possible for the legible coin and that such a date accords well with the date of the pottery.<sup>32</sup> Of filling from the foundation trenches that could be expected to give better evidence, there is very little. What there is comes from an undisturbed context around the foundations toward the eastern end of the south side (Lots KK 360–364). There was also a small mass of filling between the south wall of the building and the parallel wall south of it (Lot A 461), at a level beneath that of the drain we restore for the building. The pottery recovered from these areas is early 3rd century (although after *ca.* 290 B.C.) in date and compatible with the deposit from the Cave Cistern. All the pertinent ceramic evidence thus supports our proposed date of construction in the 270's to 260's. A more precise date will be offered presently (p. 252 below).

To the difficult question of why the Hellenistic Building was constructed when it was, we must admit that no ready or obvious answer presents itself. The first half of the 3rd century B.C. at Athens was a time of turmoil and trouble. It is not our purpose here to investigate the many complexities involved in interpreting this period (that is done elsewhere, by T. Leslie Shear, Jr. and by Christian Habicht<sup>33</sup>), but mention ought to be made of the general picture inasmuch as it affects Athenian building programs.

<sup>29</sup> The ledge is clearly shown in *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pl. 1, and p. 397, fig. 1.

<sup>30</sup> J. H. Kroll, "A Chronology of Early Athenian Bronze Coinage, ca. 350–250 B.C.," *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology, Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson*, Wetteren 1979, pp. 139–154, esp. p. 144.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149: "As with most working archaeological chronologies, [the chronology] is speculative and approximate in many particulars and will doubtless be refined, if not corrected, as new hoards come to light . . ."

<sup>32</sup> The date assigned to the pottery deposit in *Agora XII*, p. 392 (310–290 B.C.) is now revised; see below, Rotroff, pp. 275–276.

<sup>33</sup> Shear, *passim*; Habicht, pp. 22–33, *et passim*; cf. H. Heinen, *Historia*, Einzelschriften 20, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Geschichte des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden 1972.

Apart from our structure there is no evidence for any new building or any repairs to existing buildings in the Agora during the first half of the 3rd century.<sup>34</sup> Owing to the blockade of Athens by Demetrios Poliorketes and the subsequent capitulation in 295, followed by the revolt in 286, dire shortages of food and general disruption<sup>35</sup> left funds for new construction in short supply and along with them the means of organizing public works.<sup>36</sup> Not many years later, in the Chremonidean War (267–263/2 B.C.), the city was forced to surrender when food shortages again beset the populace.<sup>37</sup> If one considers this half century of upheaval, it should not seem surprising that a beleaguered state would be forced to cut back on construction of public buildings. Now, however, the Hellenistic Building, its date of construction set tentatively in the 270's to 260's, becomes one of only three known exceptions (of any size) to this cessation of construction in Athens,<sup>38</sup> apart from the Mouseion fort of Demetrios<sup>39</sup> and the stoa, begun previously, at Eleusis. We may ask why this major exception was made.

#### IDENTIFICATION AS AN ARSENAL

The ground plan of the Hellenistic Building suggests strongly that it was an arsenal (see above, pp. 238–239). Moreover, its proximity both to the Temple of Hephaistos, the armorer-god, and to various metalworking establishments in the vicinity suggests that this would be a convenient place to build an arsenal, for the storage of arms and armor, since they were manufactured close by.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Agora XIV*, p. 21. A possible exception would seem to be the addition of a porch to the New Bouleuterion and of a Propylon; see H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, *The Tholos and Its Predecessors*, Princeton 1940, pp. 87, 154, and fig. 63. A black-glazed kantharos (P 2404) from undisturbed fill in the foundation trench of the Porch (see H. A. Thompson, "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia* 6, 1937, p. 165, and fig. 98:a) is now dated to around the end of the 4th century B.C. Construction could therefore be dated to the early 3rd century, but it is doubtful that it would have been so late as the end of the first quarter of the century.

<sup>35</sup> Plutarch, *Demetrios*, 34, 46. Cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 653, lines 23–24 and *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 654, lines 25–30 for references to grain shipments; see also, Ferguson, pp. 134–135. Cf. Stella G. Miller, "Menon's Cistern," *Hesperia* 43, 1974, p. 209 and Shear, pp. 61–73.

<sup>36</sup> Cf., however, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1682, a contract for public work on a stoa at Eleusis dated Mounichion 4, 284 B.C. Some parts of the work are to be completed before the end of the archonship of Diotimos. See Shear, p. 85. This decree shows, as Shear points out, that Eleusis was back in the hands of an independent Athens by this date.

<sup>37</sup> Pausanias, I.11.1 and II.6.6; W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, Oxford 1913, pp. 267–290; Ferguson, pp. 178–187; Habicht, pp. 108–112.

<sup>38</sup> The date of the Square Peristyle (for which see *Agora XIV*, pp. 56–61) may be a little later than previously supposed, owing to a revision in the date of pottery and coins found in its filling, and it may come down into the first quarter of the 3rd century (although not very far): Lots Σ A 94, 95, 194, 353, 354, 452–454, 478. Very possibly a conception of Lykourgos, work on it was interrupted or sloppily brought to conclusion, no doubt as a result of the political and economic vicissitudes of the times.

<sup>39</sup> Plutarch, *Demetrios*, 34; see H. A. Thompson and R. L. Scranton, "Stoas and City Walls on the Pnyx," *Hesperia* 12, 1943, p. 331.

<sup>40</sup> It has been suggested that an ironworking shop of the mid-4th century B.C. at the north foot of Kolonos Agoraios belonged to an armorer (Agora Deposit E 2:3); C. C. Mattusch, "Bronze- and Ironworking in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 357–358; cf. D. B. Thompson, "Mater Caelaturae," *Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 289–293. When this shop was in operation, our building had yet to be constructed, but the general area continued to be, as it certainly was in the 4th century, the center of Athenian metalworking, whether in

The suggestion has been made<sup>41</sup> that certain lead tokens found in a mid-3rd-century well deposit from in front of the Stoa Basileios come, despite the relative propinquity of their findspot to the Hellenistic Building, not from it but rather from the Hipparcheion, whose assumed location is even closer to the well. That is, these armor tokens are specifically and exclusively connected with the outfitting of cavalrymen, who stand quite apart from the rank-and-file infantrymen in Athenian military organization. One cannot but observe that this part of Athens is the area of the military, be it cavalry or infantry. The Sacred Way leads directly to the Dipylon (the gate a focus for enemy attack), and a stair up the hillside provided ready access to the door in the west end of the Hellenistic Building.

The date of construction we have proposed on the basis of the pottery deposits puts no obstacle in the path of the identification of the Hellenistic building as an arsenal, for we should expect, in times of uncertainty engendered by external threats to political stability and autonomy, a desire to augment and re-order the defenses of state. There was little money available for new construction or anything else, so that when a large building of this plan in a prominent location is brought into being, it seems sensible to suppose that it is military and defensive in nature.

But if this is so in general terms, when, more precisely, might an arsenal have been built and under whose auspices? The first quarter of the 3rd century at Athens was a period dominated by the machinations of Demetrios Poliorketes. As long as he was in control, it is unlikely that sufficient time and money could have been found for so large a new building, much less the organization necessary to direct its construction. Moreover, what board, what official would have overseen such a project at such a time? The confusion attendant upon Lachares' usurpation of the tyranny in 295 B.C., followed by Demetrios' siege of Athens the following year, the capitulation of Athens, and the introduction of an oligarchic government, set the pattern for events at Athens for the next decade. These events culminated in the revolt against the Macedonians in the spring of 286.<sup>42</sup> The death of Demetrios in 283 and accession of his son, Antigonos Gonatas, led to a few more years of unrest and uncertainty. Only in 278, when the Great Panathenaia were celebrated for the first time since Athens had been freed from Demetrios, did conditions favor at least a semblance of political and social stability. Antigonos' treatment of Athens was in decided contrast to that of his father and was, indeed, benevolent by comparison.

Was the Hellenistic Arsenal (as we propose to call it) put up during a time of Athenian freedom, sometime in the years following 278? There is no inscription or other literary reference to help us here, neither as testimony for the date of construction of the arsenal, nor even for the existence of an arsenal as such at Athens.<sup>43</sup>

bronze or iron. Cf. an "Industrial Foundry" of the 4th century (Deposit E 6:5, Mattusch, *op. cit.*, p. 356) just to the southwest of the position of our building. Also noteworthy are two cuttings (Deposit F 5:5-6) of the 4th to 3rd centuries to the northwest of the Hellenistic Building that contained iron waste, tiles, and casting molds: Mattusch, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

<sup>41</sup> J. H. Kroll, "Some Athenian Armor Tokens," *Hesperia* 46, 1977, p. 145. This deposit also included many inscribed lead tablets of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. from a cavalry archive; cf. *idem*, "An Archive of the Athenian Cavalry," *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 83-140.

<sup>42</sup> See Shear, pp. 61-73, and for the chronology, pp. 98-100. On the date of the revolt, however, cf. Habicht, pp. 45-62.

<sup>43</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. *ὄπλοθήκη*, armory, seems normally to refer to small display cases or chests for weapons of

The structure at Athens that most closely fits our definition of an arsenal is the Chalkotheke on the Akropolis.<sup>44</sup> Unmentioned in the extant writings of ancient authors, it is, however, well documented in epigraphical sources. Inscriptions of the 4th century, beginning in 385 B.C. (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1414, lines 38–49), present inventories of objects stored in the building under the supervision of the Treasurers of Athena and provide important evidence for the many types of bronze and other metal objects which were kept on the Akropolis.

The nature of the majority of bronze votive offerings to Athena stored in the Chalkotheke in the 4th century need not concern us, but as the century wore on, there emerged a change in the number and kinds of articles placed for safekeeping in the building. For the middle of the century we discover the listing of more types of arms and armor: shields, helmets, and other pieces of equipment, including catapults, are mentioned *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1438b, of 353/2 B.C. and *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1440b, of 350/49. Storage of military equipment in the Chalkotheke continues through the second half of the 4th century, but then the Chalkotheke inventory lists stop. We may be sure that some form of this storage continued, on the Akropolis or elsewhere, but not until the large building on Kolonos Agoraios appears can we with any assurance point to a location. We may perhaps imagine that the 50,000 missiles and many weapons and pieces of armor that Lykourgos is said to have taken *εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν* (Pseudo-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 852c) were stored in the Chalkotheke. But if such large numbers are accurate, even carefully planned wall storage was probably insufficient to accommodate them all, and it is not inconceivable that other Akropolis buildings provided room. It seems doubtful, however, that even at this time the Akropolis was the primary place of storage of everyday military paraphernalia. In case of sudden mobilization it would have been far more efficient to assemble troops in the lower town and to allot arms and armor there. We know from Andokides<sup>45</sup> that at the time of the mutilation of the herms in 415 B.C. the Boule ordered the Strategoi to announce that the Athenians living in the city should take up their arms and go into the Agora (. . . *ἰέναι εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὄπλα λαβόντας*). Thus we may assume the Agora to have been the normal marshaling place in the last quarter of the 5th century and suppose that it continued to be thereafter, at least in times of emergency.<sup>46</sup>

Special reserves may indeed have been kept on the Akropolis, but the sacred nature of the sanctuary, together with a location inherently awkward for speedy organization of equipment, argues against its being the site of the only or even the principal arsenal. The

various kinds. In this regard, cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 958, line 29: *δεδοσθαι δὲ αὐτῶι κ[αὶ] τόπον ἀν[α]θέσει τῆς δπλοθήκης ἐν τῆ|στοαῖ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου*. Cf. *Agora III*, p. 47. Also: *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 963, line 5 and *OGIS* 339, lines 79–82. In the 6th century B.C., we are told, the Athenians, persuaded by Peisistratos to disarm themselves, laid down their weapons in the Theseion (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 15.4); cf. Polyainos, 1.21.2, where the arms are deposited in the shrine of Agraulos. But one cannot, of course, infer that either of these was regularly an arsenal. On the Theseion, see H. A. Thompson, "Odeion of Agrippa or Sanctuary of Theseus?" *RA*, ser. 6, 1, 1961, pp. 1–3; cf. *idem*, "Activity in the Athenian Agora 1960–1965," *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 40–48.

<sup>44</sup> I am grateful for the opportunity to consult L. LaFollette, *The So-Called Chalkotheke on the Athenian Acropolis*, unpublished senior thesis, Harvard University 1977, which deals with several aspects of the Chalkotheke.

<sup>45</sup> *De Mysteriis*, 45, of 399 B.C. Cf. *Agora III*, no. 133.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque*, Paris 1951, p. 285: "Une forme très curieuse prise par ces marchés extérieurs, établis en terrain neutre, est celle des centres de ravitaillement organisés par les armées en campagnes près des populations indigènes."

large building on Kolonos Agoraios dated here roughly to the period of the 270's to 260's, would seem to be the culmination of the other, less well planned arrangements for storage below the Akropolis, not the building which first introduced such provisions.

#### THE OFFICE OF THE MILITARY TREASURER IN THE 3RD CENTURY B.C.

Evidence of a possible political connection may allow us to hazard a more precise date for the construction of an arsenal. *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1534a, a part of the Asklepieion inventory which covers the years from 322/1 to 292/1, also mentions the Military Treasurer.<sup>47</sup> For our purposes, the thorny problems of 3rd-century chronology are significant insofar as they affect an understanding of the role played by the Military Treasurer in the political procedures of Athens. The history of the office of *tamias* dates back to 347/6 B.C., when it was introduced for the first time.<sup>48</sup> The reform of Athenian government in 322/1 brought about the abolition of the office; the democracy of 307 restored it, and in 305/4 we know that large sums were raised and administered by this office in concert with the Areopagus.<sup>49</sup> A decree of 302 B.C. names the Military Treasurer as the official who will pay for the stele;<sup>50</sup> three other inscriptions (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 806, 809, and *Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 44–45, no. 12) which refer to the *tamias* are dated to ca. 300 B.C.<sup>51</sup> We see, therefore, that the end of the 4th century and the first decade of the 3rd saw a resurgence in the activity of this official.

Thereafter, there is no evidence that the Military Treasurer disbursed funds for state expenses until the reference to him in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 674 of 273/2 B.C. This is hardly surprising, since the period of Macedonian domination at Athens is not apt to have been one in which the head of a military fund would flourish. It is rather to be expected that the office would be put into abeyance, its operations curtailed, as the lack of references to it suggests. By 273/2, however, ten years after the death of Demetrios in 283 B.C.<sup>52</sup> and in a period of relative independence under his successor Antigonos, it would seem appropriate for the office to have been restored, particularly since the Athenian state now found itself in circumstances stable enough both politically and (perhaps more important) financially to allow a systematic method of supervising military equipment. A period of cessation of hostilities after years of

<sup>47</sup> Pritchett and Meritt (pp. 35, 56–73) have shown that this list was incorrectly dated to 276/5 on the basis of the archon Euboulos, whose name was restored using an E which is now read as I (Euboulos is in any case now assigned to 274/3). For this and other reasons, including early 3rd-century letter forms, Pritchett and Merritt move the inventory back to the earlier time, assuming that the list for the period from 291 to 271/0 is at present lost. Cf. footnote 49 below. This view, now generally accepted (cf. Heinen, *op. cit.* [footnote 33 above], pp. 106–107; also W. W. Tarn, review of Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, *CR* 56, 1942, pp. 84–85), overturns the assertion of Dinsmoor (W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge, Mass. 1931, p. 163) that the inventories recorded on front and back of a single stele are consecutive (*viz.*, *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1534a and 1534b).

<sup>48</sup> J. Sundwall, *Ἀττικὴ ταμιακὴ ἐπιγραφή*, *Ἀρχ* Ἐφ, 1909, p. 207; *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 505.

<sup>49</sup> The office may have been abolished a year or two earlier, as no Military Treasurer is mentioned from 323/2 to 307 B.C. That the democracy of 307 restored it is inferred from *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1492b, which provides the record for 305/4 (lines 123 and 130). If there was no office of Military Treasurer between 322/1 and 307, the date of the reference in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1534a is more closely limited to the period between 307 and 292/1, but this possibility does not affect the subsequent gap from 292/1 to 273/2.

<sup>50</sup> E. Schweigert, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 9, 1940, no. 45, pp. 348–351.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*; *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 806 and 809 were previously dated to ca. 230 B.C.

<sup>52</sup> See Shear, p. 86, note 235.



hardship brought about by foreign domination is a time to organize defenses. If we may assume a restored Military Treasurer, we may go one step further and postulate the need of a building suitably large and outfitted for his expanded activities.<sup>53</sup> We may now adjust our tentative date and propose that the Hellenistic Arsenal was built in or soon after 272 B.C. as a direct consequence of the return to prominence of the *ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν* and was meant to serve as his headquarters and the center of the various operations overseen by him. Its ground plan was doubtless inspired by that of the Naval Arsenal in the Peiraieus, for one of its primary purposes was presumably to serve as the Athenian State Arsenal. Such a program implies both storage and security, so that we may imagine that arms and armor, plus other military equipment, found their places here, as may have also certain monetary funds, given that the *tamias* dispensed his monies for expenses not solely military in nature. The fine, hard conglomerate of the foundations would suggest that the builders were concerned about the structural strength needed for monetary and military storage.

#### STORES SUPERVISED BY THE MILITARY TREASURER

Provision for stores other than military equipment is not incompatible with our identification. G. Roger Edwards,<sup>54</sup> in his analysis of Panathenaic amphoras from the Agora Excavations, suggests that the Military Treasurer used our building, in part to deal with Panathenaic amphoras and oil. He points to the fact that the names of eponymous archons inscribed on these amphoras serve to date them only until 312/1 B.C. (the archonship of Polemon), after which year the archon's name ceases to be used, presumably because the archon no longer handled the sacred oil. We know from Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians* (49.3), written in the 320's, that the Military Treasurer, working with the Boule, at that time supervised the manufacture of the Golden Nikai and other matters relating to the Panathenaia: *καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως τῶν Νικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς τὰ Παναθήναια συνεπιμελείται* (*sc. ἡ βουλῆ*) *μετὰ τοῦ ταμίου τῶν στρατιωτικῶν*.<sup>55</sup> The same document reports that the archon was in charge of turning over the prize oil, once it had been collected, to the Treasurers on the Akropolis, who in turn passed it on to the ten *athlothetai*, whose duty it was to arrange the amphoras, fill them with oil, and award them to the victors in the games.

Under Demetrios of Phaleron the ten *athlothetai* were replaced by one or more *agonothetai*.<sup>56</sup> Edwards suggests that, as the archon no longer handled the sacred oil after 310, the Military Treasurer (restored in 307) may have assumed that duty. This idea makes good sense, the more especially because the *tamias* had already been closely associated with the Panathenaia (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 49.3). We know this also from *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1493, of 334/3,

<sup>53</sup> It may be also that the invasions of the Gauls into Macedon and central Greece influenced the construction of an arsenal at Athens. Repulsed at Delphi in 279, the Gauls under Brennos retreated and were defeated by Antigonos Gonatas at Lysimacheia in 278/7 B.C. This victory brought great prestige to Antigonos and could have paved the way for expansion of arms at Athens. For the defeat of the Gauls at Delphi, see *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 398 and H. Pomtow, "Hippokrates und die Asklepiaden in Delphi," *Klio* 15, 1918, pp. 332-333. On the invasions and their consequences, see G. Nachtergaele, *Les galates en Grèce et les Sotéria de Delphes*, Brussels 1977, *passim*, and for the chronology, pp. 174-175.

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.* (footnote 11 above), pp. 320-349.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. S. Dow, "Panathenaic Amphorae from the Hellenistic Period," *Hesperia* 5, 1936, p. 57.

<sup>56</sup> Ferguson, pp. 55-57 and 57, note 2.

which authorizes the Military Treasurer to pay for gold used to make the Nikai and other Panathenaic equipment. Further, the *tamias*, together with the *apodektai* and the *trapezites*, provides funds for public works at Eleusis in 329/8 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1672, line 40). The suggestion that the Military Treasurer oversaw storage of Panathenaic oil is given further credence by the fact that when an official name appears once again on Panathenaics, in 247/6, it is that of the Military Treasurer.<sup>57</sup>

The history we have briefly traced of the office of Military Treasurer, with its disappearances and reappearances, illustrates the complicated nature of official finances at Athens in the 3rd century B.C. There was no single central bank or treasury authorized to administer Athenian financial transactions. Rather, a group of treasuries or funds received and disbursed payments in what seems to us an inconsistent and ever changing manner. Various officials of one kind or another were at different times involved in these fiscal dealings (e.g. the *epistatai*, the *teichopoioi*, the *trieropoioi*, the *tamias* of the Demos, and, more vaguely, *ὁ* or *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*). In all of this, the *ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν* can be observed to have played a telling role, now alone,<sup>58</sup> now in conjunction with others,<sup>59</sup> but one that certainly would have warranted an appropriate building in which he might co-ordinate his financial responsibilities with the several other duties he performed. As Henri Francotte observes, "*La caisse du tamias est devenue l'une des principales, sinon même la principale, de l'État.*"<sup>60</sup> We must resist the temptation, however, of supposing that the Military Treasurer controlled a State Bank;<sup>61</sup> the evidence points to there being not one but several funds in the 3rd century, although of these, his may have been at times the most important.<sup>62</sup>

Edwards further proposes that because there is a concentration of Panathenaic fragments on the slope of Kolonos Agoraios,<sup>63</sup> one of the uses of the Hellenistic Arsenal as the headquarters of the Military Treasurer may have been as a kind of depot for the collection and allocation of oil and the storage of amphoras. The evidence lends strong support to this argument.

#### THE RELATION OF THE HELLENISTIC ARSENAL TO THE POMPEION

The Pompeion,<sup>64</sup> the large, early 4th-century building between the Dipylon and the Sacred Gate, had an unusual plan encompassing a peristyle court with propylon and banquet rooms. It was situated where the Panathenaic processions had been marshaled from

<sup>57</sup> See *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 791 and Dow, *op. cit.* (footnote 55 above), p. 57, on the name of the *tamias* Eurykleides, son of Mikion, on a Panathenaic fragment from the Agora (P 109). Cf. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.* (footnote 47 above), pp. 203–204, on the increasing importance of the Military Treasurer in the latter part of the 3rd century. Cf. also W. Peek, "Heilige Gesetze," *AthMitt* 66, 1941, p. 192.

<sup>58</sup> E.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 856, line 16, of the last quarter of the 3rd century.

<sup>59</sup> E.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 786, line 36, of ca. 229/8, in which he oversees payment for the stele with *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*.

<sup>60</sup> H. Francotte, *Les finances des cités grecques*, Paris 1909, p. 231.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. G. Busolt and N. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, Munich 1926, p. 1146.

<sup>62</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1013, of the end of the 2nd century, the well-known decree concerning weights and measures, refers to a *δημόσια τράπεζα* (line 4). It is not known what fund (or building) is designated by this cryptic reference, but it is not out of the question to advance our structure as a candidate, at least in the 2nd century. In the 3rd century there is no reason to believe that a State Bank existed.

<sup>63</sup> Of 49 fragments of the Hellenistic period found in the Agora excavations, 20 come from Kolonos Agoraios: Edwards, *op. cit.* (footnote 11 above), p. 334.

<sup>64</sup> See *Kerameikos* X, *passim*, and for plan, p. 137.

early times.<sup>65</sup> It has been assumed from the large numbers of Panathenaic amphora fragments found in and near the Pompeion that the vessels were stored there, presumably in the banquet rooms.<sup>66</sup> Given the masses of fragments discovered, this is a reasonable, although not demonstrable, assumption: thousands of ostraka have also been found at the Dipylon, but the proceedings for ostracism took place in the Agora. It is noteworthy, however, that most of the fragments discovered at the Pompeion are not of amphoras which had held oil<sup>67</sup> but apparently of empty vessels kept in storage before, perhaps immediately before, the start of the procession and then filled with oil on the Akropolis. The few fragments exhibiting traces of oil may be imagined to derive from amphoras brought down from the Akropolis following the sacred ceremonies there, for we are told that elaborate feasting and celebration occurred in the Kerameikos after the conclusion of those events.<sup>68</sup> Proud victors in the contests may have brought their prize vases, or one of them, with them to the feast, and occasional breakage would not be an unexpected result. Be that as it may, the sacred Attic olive oil does not seem to have been kept at the Pompeion, or, at any rate, not in large quantities. A more likely storage place is the Hellenistic Arsenal, as Edwards suggests.<sup>69</sup>

Furthermore, the banquet rooms of the Pompeion were not well designed for purposes of storage, except insofar as any securable room can be used for such a purpose, and indeed we have no other examples of banquet rooms being so used. The large warehouselike arsenal on Kolonos Agoraios, on the other hand, is clearly intended for storage. It was here, we have argued, that the Military Treasurer, who supervised Panathenaic supplies, had his headquarters. It may be that the Hellenistic Arsenal was used in connection with, or perhaps instead of, the Pompeion in the 3rd century for storage of these supplies, particularly of oil.

After the Pompeion had been in use for many years it was in need of, and received, major repairs. From the copious ceramic evidence, the work is dated to the early 3rd century.<sup>70</sup> The repairs to the Pompeion must have caused extensive interruption to the functions of the building, a circumstance that may well have a direct connection with the building of the Hellenistic Arsenal; the new structure could have assumed the role of storage place for both amphoras and oil at a time when it was inconvenient and unsafe to keep them in a building under renovation. Our proposed date of *ca.* 272 B.C. for the building on Kolonos Agoraios coincides well with Hoepfner's date for the Pompeion repairs, and we may imagine, too, that once the storage of the vessels in the Hellenistic Arsenal had begun, there would be no reason to curtail it after the repairs to the Pompeion had been completed, even if some storage of amphoras was resumed there as well.

<sup>65</sup> Thucydides, vi.57.

<sup>66</sup> *Kerameikos* X, pp. 126–128.

<sup>67</sup> J. Frel (*Kerameikos* X, p. 238).

<sup>68</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 334. The inscription records that the meat is to be apportioned to the people ἐν|[Κεραμεικῶ]ι. It could be argued that this refers not to the Kerameikos but to the Agora, where there was certainly more room for a festival which must have drawn thousands of celebrants. But that interpretation fails to take into account the huge numbers of Panathenaic fragments from the Dipylon area, and so it seems better to accept the traditional view that the festivities occurred there.

<sup>69</sup> Edwards, *op. cit.* (footnote 11 above), p. 336.

<sup>70</sup> *Kerameikos* X, p. 138.

### THE DATE OF THE HELLENISTIC ARSENAL

Our present study leads to a conclusion about the Hellenistic Arsenal that differs from Edwards' in one important respect: the date of construction. The pottery from the contemporaneous Cave Cistern system (Agora Deposit H 6:9; see Rotroff, pp. 261–275 below), which at the time of Edwards' study had been assigned a date between 310 and 290 B.C., is now dated to the early 3rd century, from *ca.* 290 to the 260's. This new chronology in itself would preclude a date of construction coinciding with the presumed increased powers of the Military Treasurer under the restored democracy at the end of the 4th century. What is more, the marked uncertainties of life at Athens militate against the erection of a major building (but cf. footnote 35 above) until, as we have argued, after 278, when a situation of relative normalcy prevailed. Moreover, in 273/2, as *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 764 attests, the Military Treasurer came back into prominence after two decades in eclipse.

It seems probable, therefore, that the Hellenistic Arsenal was built about 272 B.C. The arguments may be summarized as follows: 1) The Military Treasurer, who already had important duties with regard to the Panathenaia, was restored to his responsibilities as head of an important state treasury and could well have needed a large building to accommodate his work. 2) For the first time since the end of the 4th century there was a kind of tranquility. 3) A building for storage of arms and armor manufactured near by<sup>71</sup> and of Panathenaic supplies<sup>72</sup> (both under the aegis of the Military Treasurer) was especially needed while the Pompeion was under repair. 4) The pottery deposit which dates the structure is well suited to our suggested chronology.

On this last point, a word is in order on the date assigned to the Cave Cistern deposit. If, in fact, the date of the pottery and the one legible coin is as late as the 260's,<sup>73</sup> our proposed date of *ca.* 272 B.C. can still be justified, on the grounds that the cistern was kept open during construction and was not finally sealed until after the structure had been completed. Specific, unqualified statements about the dates of pottery and coins from this period cannot at present be made; although the chronology of the period is being adjusted as new evidence is studied and incorporated into the larger picture, further refinement will result from future research.

### THE LATER HISTORY OF THE BUILDING

Throughout much of the history of the building the two cistern systems serving the Hellenistic Arsenal were in use simultaneously (see p. 237 above and Rotroff, p. 257 below). For a structure of this size, two sources of water seem none too many, for public buildings at Athens, even those much smaller than ours, are characterized by the presence of a

<sup>71</sup> Although most of the evidence for the working of bronze and iron is of the 4th century B.C. (cf. Mattusch, *loc. cit.* [footnote 40 above]), some is of the early 3rd century, and it seems likely that such activity continued on and around Kolonos Agoraios. A large piece of iron slag came from the Egyptian Cistern (Agora Deposits E 6:1 and E 6:2) of the Hellenistic Arsenal (cf. Rotroff, pp. 278–282 below).

<sup>72</sup> What might be called "multi-purpose" buildings are, to be sure, characteristic of the Hellenistic period, as in the case of stoas and theaters. Cf. the *siroi* at Eleusis: G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, p. 150.

<sup>73</sup> See footnotes 30 and 31 above for reference to the tentative and approximate nature of the coin's date, a situation which obtains also with the pottery.

supply of water. For example, the Square Peristyle,<sup>74</sup> built not long before the Arsenal, had a cistern (Agora Deposit Q 9–10:1) in its south colonnade, meant, presumably, to serve the thirsty jurors who probably congregated there. Water was made available in the Heliaia<sup>75</sup> for the water clock, as it was in the building to the southwest of the Tholos that is thought to be the Strategeion.<sup>76</sup> Many cisterns, wells, and fountains served the public at large.<sup>77</sup> Cisterns, in part because of persistent drought which caused wells to dry up, were also more numerous than wells: “. . . the 30 wells which were in use in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. are matched by no fewer than 64 cisterns in use during the same time.”<sup>78</sup>

A supply of water would have been of paramount importance for a storage building which housed arms and armor. Equipment brought to the arsenal for storage would have had to be cleaned before it was put away or hung. Metal objects were doubtless oiled after they had been washed, or at least were thoroughly dried, lest they be attacked by rust. We find a good parallel in the cisterns, used in the Hellenistic arsenals at Pergamon, which collected rainwater from the roof, as did the Athenian examples, and also had two chambers, one inner and one outer.<sup>79</sup>

The northern and southwestern cistern systems were introduced as part of the original building program. That the northeast Cave Cistern System fell into disuse in the second quarter of the 2nd century is known from the pottery deposit found in it (Agora Deposits F 6:3 and G 6:2).

In the case of the southwest cistern system (Egyptian: Agora Deposits E 6:1 and E 6:2), there seem to be two separate fills, a lower, dated between *ca.* 150 and 110 B.C., and an upper or supplemental, dated after the turn of the century.<sup>80</sup> The cistern system seems to have gone out of use completely at the time the building was destroyed, or soon thereafter. The obvious occasion for this destruction and filling is the invasion of Athens by Sulla's forces in 86 B.C.; a Pentelic marble equine foot,<sup>81</sup> found in the fill and associated by Thompson with the Hephaisteion, may provide evidence to substantiate this occasion and date.

The history of the last quarter of the 2nd century at Athens is more obscure than that of the periods preceding and following it.<sup>82</sup> In the 2nd century, the prominence of Delos as a focus of Athenian attention and the ever increasing power of Rome over Athens are phenomena which in some measure would have affected the uses to which the Hellenistic Arsenal was put. It is not feasible, however, to pinpoint specific events which might have wrought changes in our building and its operation. All we can state with assurance is that in

<sup>74</sup> *Agora XIV*, pp. 60–61.

<sup>75</sup> *Agora XIV*, pp. 64–65.

<sup>76</sup> *Agora XIV*, p. 73.

<sup>77</sup> *Agora XIV*, p. 201.

<sup>78</sup> J. McK. Camp II, *The Water Supply of Ancient Athens*, diss. Princeton University 1977, p. 174.

<sup>79</sup> A. von Szalay and E. Boehringer, *Altortümer von Pergamon*, X, *Die hellenistischen Arsenale*, Berlin 1937, p. 8.

<sup>80</sup> See Rotroff, pp. 281–282 below.

<sup>81</sup> Inv. no. S785; H. A. Thompson, “The Pedimental Sculpture of the Hephaisteion,” *Hesperia* 18, 1949, p. 234, and pl. 52; cf. fig. 1, p. 232, where the letters D and E should be transposed. Cf. E. B. Harrison (“The West Pediment of the Temple of Hephaistos,” *AJA* 60, 1956, p. 178) who states that the marble is Parian and assigns the hoof to a representation of the centauroomachy in the west pediment.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Ferguson, p. 415.

the second quarter of the 2nd century the Cave Cistern system was abandoned, although its companion system at the southwest corner continued in use, after an initial filling in the latter part of the 2nd century, until the arsenal was taken down. More limited facilities for the storage of water do not necessarily compel us to suppose that storage of arms was curtailed, or that there were any other major changes; water, even if not stored, could still be supplied from the roof. If the duties of the Military Treasurer had grown to such an extent that he needed more room to fulfil them, or if indeed the arsenal had become, under his aegis, the *demosia trapeza*, there is no way at present of knowing.

Most probably the structure continued to play a variety of roles as the Hellenistic period progressed. When the men of Sulla, bent on destruction, burst into Athens in 86 B.C. at the so-called Heptachalkon between the Peiraeus Gate and the Dipylon (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 14.1) and made their way toward the Agora, the Hellenistic Arsenal, conveniently reached by a stair leading to it from the Sacred Way, would have stood as a massive yet vulnerable symbol of former Athenian might and wealth. Its thick buttresses would have availed it little under the onslaught, the ferocity of which is well documented both by the literary sources and by physical remains. The uppermost filling in the southwest cistern system attests this destruction. The excavator of the building states that some of the hard conglomerate foundation blocks were torn out in this attack. The thorough pillaging of state armaments and demolition of the building which stored them would set a vivid example of Roman superiority.<sup>83</sup> It is noteworthy that Sullan destruction occurred primarily at the southern end of the Agora,<sup>84</sup> so that the Arsenal becomes a geographically isolated case.

That the occasion for the destruction of the Hellenistic Arsenal was the Sullan invasion of Athens finds further proof in the destruction fill over the step of the south foundations and, in places, over the main foundation trench itself. When the step was excavated, a distinctive packing rested on it that kept its vertical face as the destruction debris over the pillaged main trench was dug clean and separate from it. But study of the pottery from both

<sup>83</sup> The total lack of fragments of superstructure has necessitated a theoretical restoration of the arsenal, although the stone (*poros*) orthostates and upper walls of brick are characteristic of the age and of the building type, as discussed above. A single, tantalizing *sima* roof-tile fragment (A 891) preserving its full front width of 0.55 m. was discovered in the Agora Excavations in a Late Roman well in the southeast part of the area (T. L. Shear, "The Campaign of 1938," *Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 214–215, fig. 12). On it (where it could not have been seen) is painted a dedication to Hephaistos: *ἱερὰ* [Ἡφ]αίστου. Shear suggested that the lettering is late Hellenistic. In discussing the topography of the Hephaisteion, E. B. Harrison ("Alkamenēs' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion: Part II, Iconography and Style," *AJA* 81, 1977, p. 424) asks whether this tile could have come from the Hellenistic Building, which may have been, in her view, the site of the Hephaisteion itself. It seems doubtful that the Temple of Hephaistos stood on the site of our arsenal and that cult statues from a demolished earlier temple were placed in the new structure; such a large, buttressed building as this one may have had more than a single use, but a temple seems a remote possibility as one of them. Moreover, it does not seem possible that the Hellenistic foundations obscure earlier ones for a more canonical temple. They are cut into bedrock, and there is virtually no associated pottery dated earlier than the Hellenistic period. A roof tile such as the one described could, however, have come from an arsenal: Hephaistos is, after all, the god of arms and armor, so that a storehouse of weapons, especially one adjacent to the Hephaisteion precinct, is a most appropriate building to bear a roof tile with a dedication to him. Proof for this suggestion remains beyond our grasp, however, and the findspot of the tile, far distant from our building, together with its rather small size, make the connection tenuous in the extreme.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. *Agora XIV*, p. 23.

fills now shows that there is virtually no difference in date and that there were fragments of roof tiles, mostly of the Corinthian type (which we should expect for this building), and coarse wares along with masses of late Hellenistic pottery (Group E, Deposit F 15:2) in both;<sup>85</sup> in addition, there were pieces of crumbly mortar or stucco. This material presumably came from the upper walls of the arsenal, the mud brick of which would have been given several coats of it.

Destruction filling over the lowest part of foundations is mixed with and contaminated by intrusions from later periods. Sherds of the 4th and 5th centuries after Christ were found in one section of the lowest levels. This inconsistency in the filling of the foundation trenches suggests that for a period of some centuries the long southern wall suffered losses, now here, now there, at the hands of zealous seekers of building blocks.

The excavators did note working chips of conglomerate, field stones, Akropolis limestone, and a sandy brown mortar in a small preserved section of the parallel south wall, and it appears that this wall was rebuilt at some time after the Sullan deprecation, probably soon after, if we may assume that the mortar derives from the stucco applied to the upper walls of the arsenal.

It would seem, then, that the Hellenistic Arsenal, like other structures destroyed in the Sullan sack, was used as a source of building materials for a lengthy period.<sup>86</sup> We may note in this regard that the annex added in the Roman period to the Stoa of Zeus is not in the center of the back (west) wall of the stoa, but slightly to the north of center. This possibly means that the builders of the annex were forced to accept an off-center position in order to avoid the remains of the great arsenal.<sup>87</sup>

The lack of evidence for burning (which one would expect in an attack such as that of the Sullan forces) supports the view that the Roman army wanted the massive timbers for use in their siege operations against the Akropolis and so dismantled the building rather than burn it. At the Odeion of Perikles the situation was different: to prevent the timbers of that large edifice from falling into Roman hands, Athenian citizens themselves razed it (Appian, *Mithridates*, 38).<sup>88</sup>

The fine quality of the conglomerate used for the foundation blocks would have made them desirable for the construction of sturdy walls in other buildings. Another possible use for them may be found in examining a passage in Dio Cassius (42.14).<sup>89</sup> In the year 48 B.C., 38 years after the Sullan destruction, we are told that Caesar sent Calenus to Greece, where

<sup>85</sup> See H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3, 1934, p. 394. Two stamped amphora handles, both of Knidian manufacture, come from the filling. The first, stamped with a boukranion, is in Grace's KT 366 category, which begins in the second half of the 2nd century B.C., although this example appears to be late and is thus dated in the last quarter (cf. V. R. Grace and M. Savvatiadou-Petropoulakou, "Les timbres amphoriques grecs," *Expédition archéologique de Délos XXVII*, Paris 1970, pp. 327-328); the other, depicting a lion, is of similar date. Together, they seem quite appropriate components of Sullan debris.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. *Agora XIV*, pp. 80-81. The stoas along the Panathenaic Road between the Kerameikos and the Agora made use of materials from the Sullan destruction, as did the Market of Caesar and Augustus; *Agora XIV*, p. 81, note 237.

<sup>87</sup> See *Agora XIV*, p. 102, and pl. 8.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Travlos, p. 387.

<sup>89</sup> I thank Judith Binder for directing me to this reference.

he captured the Peiraieus, owing to its being without walls (. . . καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἄτε καὶ ἀτείχιστον ὄντα). But Athens he did not take, although he inflicted great damage on its territory (καίπερ πλείστα τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κακώσας) until the inhabitants surrendered voluntarily upon the defeat of Pompey. Why did he not take Athens? Can we infer that an unwalled Peiraieus is being contrasted with a walled Athens, and that sometime between 86 and 48 the Athenians had repaired the damage done to their circuit by Sulla? It may be proposed, therefore, that the damaged wall between the Peiraeus Gate and the Dipylon had been restored between 86 and 48 B.C. and that no better or more conveniently situated source of building materials existed than the solid foundations of the Hellenistic Arsenal.

The few stones of the foundations that remain today somehow survived the ravages of the ages. They are significant witnesses, for they offer testimony to the existence of a large civic building. Their small number is in keeping with the elusive character of our much pillaged structure, just as their size and quality give one of the few physical clues we have to the nature of this noteworthy building.

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a. Site of the Hellenistic Arsenal (southeast corner at arrow)



b. Southern foundation trench, looking southeast



c. Southern foundation trench, looking northwest



d. Cuttings for buttresses at west end of southern foundation.  
Mouth of eastern chamber of Egyptian Cistern in left foreground.



Blocks at east end of southern foundation trench, looking northwest

ROBERT L. POUNDER: A HELLENISTIC ARSENAL IN ATHENS



The Cave Cistern, entrance to south chamber (north chamber outside photograph at lower left)

SUSAN I. ROTROFF: THREE CISTERN SYSTEMS ON THE KOLONOS AGORAIS