

THE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE HEPHAISTEION

(PLATES 33–34)

IN 421/0 the Athenians voted to reorganize the cult of Hephaistos and Athena Hephaisteia and provided that their decree (*I.G.*, I², 84) be inscribed and set up ἐν τοῖς ἡιερόις. Presumably the inscription was placed in the Hephaisteion. Three of the four fragments known of this decree have been built into a stele (*E.M.* 6597), and the fourth has been lost.¹ Apart from a moulding at the top (0.07 m. high and 0.155 m. thick), the stele is now 0.68 m. high and originally may have been much taller. Its original width can be estimated at *ca.* 0.69 m., for twenty-one letters occupy 0.23 m., and the decree was inscribed with sixty-one letter spaces plus margins. The thickness of the stone tapers from 0.138 m. at the top of the inscribed surface to 0.147 m. at the lowest point of the preserved portion.

I suggest that there was another similar inscription in the Hephaisteion, namely the accounts of the preparation of the cult statues for the temple (*I.G.*, I², 370/1). Its date, subject matter, provenance, and dimensions associate it with the decree reorganizing the cult. In 421/0 work began on a pair of statues for the Hephaisteion and continued until 416/5, at which time a record of receipts and expenditures for the project was inscribed.² Thus we have two inscriptions concerned with the cult of Hephaistos from the same years. The fragments of these inscriptions were all found in the same vicinity: three pieces of the cult decree were found near the Church of Kapnikarea and the fourth in the excavation of the Church of Agios Demetrios.³ One fragment of the accounts was discovered in this excavation, one near the Kapnikarea, and the third near Odos Adrianou.⁴

The final link between the two inscriptions is their overall size. Previous editors have thought that the accounts were inscribed on two separate stones since the extant fragments are of a different thickness.⁵ In examining the inscription, however, I noted that they taper both in width and thickness, and further study has shown that we are dealing with only one stone.

¹ St. Koumanoudes, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1883, p. 170.

² *I.G.*, I², 370/371. The entire inscription (except for the totals in *I.G.*, I², 371, line 24) was engraved at one time, at the end of the work, and not at intervals during its progress. I am greatly indebted to Donald Laing, who was very generous with his time and good advice in the attempt to determine the original dimensions of this stele.

³ K. S. Pittakys, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, no. 3232; Koumanoudes, *loc. cit.* The ancient building on this site is believed to have been the Diogeneion.

⁴ K. S. Pittakys, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, no. 3763; U. Koehler, *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.*, XXXVII, 1865, p. 315; A. Wilhelm, *Anz. Akad. Wis. Wien*, LIX, 1922, pp. 43–44. Note that the reference in the *Editio Minor* to this last article is incorrect; it should be the *Anzeiger*, not the *Sitzungsberichte*, of the Vienna Academy.

⁵ Thus the stones appear under two numbers in the *Editio Maior* (*I.G.*, I, 318 and 319) and in the *Editio Minor* (*I. G.*, I², 370/371); cf. also Koehler and Wilhelm, *loc. cit.*

Fragment I (E.M. 6664; *I.G.*, I, 318 = *I.G.*, I², 370 A, Frag. I and 371, B) preserves the left and top edges (Pl. 33); fragment II (E.M. 12384; *S.E.G.* II, 3 = *I.G.*, I², 370 A, Frag. II) the right and top edges (Pl. 34, a), fragment III (E.M. 6699; *I.G.*, I, 319 = *I.G.*, I², 371, Frag. III) the right and bottom edges (Pl. 34, b).⁶ Thus we have the upper left-hand, upper right-hand, and lower right-hand corners. The fragments do not join. The original back of all three is preserved. The left lateral face of I (Pl. 33, a) is inscribed, but the right lateral face of II and III is not.

Although the taper in the thickness of the stone can be seen with the eye, it is so slight that it is difficult to measure precisely. Several years ago I tried measuring at intervals of 15 cm. of height and found a difference of 1 mm. in thickness for each such interval. More recently Donald Laing and I tried it again with intervals of 20 cm. and again found a difference of 1 mm. in thickness for each of these larger intervals. As a result we decided that the best method was to lay a straight edge over the stones and to adjust the distance between the upper and lower ones until we reached the best fit.⁷

First we placed fragments I and II side by side on their backs with a gap between them in such a way that eighteen letters *across the lacuna* measured the same as eighteen letters on fragment I. We aligned the original top of these fragments with a straight edge and then did the same with the right edge of fragments II and III. Next, keeping the right edge of fragment III in its proper alignment, we maneuvered the stone until a straight stick would lie flat on fragments I and III and also on fragments II and III. With the stones in this position we placed straight edges along both the left edge and the right edge and measured the distance between them both across the top of fragments I and II and the bottom of fragment III.

In this way we obtained the following measurements, which we feel are approximately the original dimensions of the stone: height 1.36 m.; width at the top 0.78 m.; width at the bottom 0.815 m.; thickness at the top 0.127 m., thickness at the bottom 0.137 m.⁸ Thus the taper in thickness is 1 mm. for approximately 0.136 m. in height, or 7 mm. per meter.⁹ The taper in width is 1 mm. for approximately 4 cm. in height,

⁶ A portion of the original right edge has been removed in the preparation of a simple Byzantine moulding.

⁷ The fact that the original back of all three fragments is smooth makes this possible.

⁸ This is actually the thickness 0.007 m. from the bottom. From this point to the bottom the stone was left rough to form a *werksoll* and is much thicker.

⁹ W. B. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XVII, 1913, pp. 376-377 and *A.J.A.*, XXVII, 1923, pp. 318-319, has established the rate of taper in other fifth century building accounts as follows:

	Rate of taper
Hephaisteion accounts	7 mm. per meter of height
Propylaia accounts (<i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 363-367)	68 mm. per meter of height
Nike temple decrees and accounts (<i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 24/25 and 88/89)	27 mm. per meter of height
Parthenon accounts (<i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 339-353)	none
Erechtheion accounts (<i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 372-374)	none

or 25 mm. per meter.¹⁰ If we take the mid-point of the thickness (0.131-0.132 m.), we find that the ratio of height to width to thickness is 10:6:1, which is normal for a fifth-century stele.¹¹

We have, then, in the accounts and the cult decree two tapering inscriptions of about the same size. This completes the case for associating the two inscriptions and for locating them in the Hephaisteion.¹²

I turn now to the content of the accounts. The obverse face may be regarded as having five sections (from top to bottom as follows): the heading (*I.G.*, I², 370, lines 1-4); the receipts (lines 5-18); the expenditures (*I.G.*, I², 371, lines 1-23); a vacant area;¹³ and a rough-picked area, a *werkzoll*, at the foot of the stone. I measured the height of these sections as follows:

heading	— complete	0.17 m.
receipts	— complete?	0.145 m.
expenditures	— incomplete	0.285 m.
vacant area	— complete	0.14 m.
<i>werkzoll</i>	— complete	0.07 m.

The receipts seem to be complete, but the mason may have left a blank space between this section and the expenditures. Including any such unscribed portion, the expenditures filled about 0.835 m. Since the vertical stoichedon pattern here is 0.0125 m., we can estimate about sixty-seven lines of expenditures. The list of expenditures originally covered most of the lower half of the stele in four columns, as follows:¹⁴

[I]	[II]	III	IV
numerals	items	numerals	items
lost		partially preserved	
		on fragment III	

Column IV (including the right margin of the stone) is 0.313 m. wide. Since the original width of the stele in the middle can be estimated at 0.80 m., there must have been two columns of items and two of numerals. If we assume the same width for

¹⁰ We obtained the same result by using a square at the top left-hand corner, where the width tapers 5 mm. in 40 cm. of height. The right corner was too poorly preserved to use a square, but by positing the identical taper on the right side we have 1 cm. taper in 40 cm. of height. When W. K. Pritchett (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 239) used this method in studying the First Attic Stele, he obtained a taper of 2 mm. in 40 cm. of height at the top right-hand corner.

¹¹ Cf. D. W. Bradeen, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 201, note 75, and W. E. Thompson, *Phoenix*, XVIII, 1964, pp. 262-264.

¹² The *werkzoll* at the bottom of *I.G.*, I², 370/371 shows that it was set up in a stele-socket.

¹³ The totals in *I.G.*, I², 371, line 24 were cut in this vacant area in large, untidy letters, presumably after the stone had been erected.

¹⁴ The same arrangement is found in the Propylaia accounts; cf. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XVII, 1913, pp. 371-398. In our inscription it means that there were originally 2 x 67 lines of expenditures.

both columns II and IV, we can reckon the width of each column of numerals at 0.087 m. The expenditures are continued on the left lateral face in non-columnar fashion.

This lateral face is so badly preserved that Koehler could make little of it.¹⁵ After prolonged study I have managed to extract enough sense from it to see that it continues the expenditures from the front face, which confirms the conclusion that we are dealing with one stone. I offer the following text:¹⁶

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 13

- 1-5 five lines eroded
 [...]σε..σ̣ ΟΟΟ [...]

 [...]λ.....εσ[...]

 [...] τὸ ἀγάλμα[τ]

 [ε...]κομίσασι[.]

 10 [...]ο[κ]ομίσασι

 [...]ογ καὶ τὸν α

 [...]ισθέντον Η

 [.ικ]ριῶσι καὶ με

 [τα]ίροσι τὰ ἱκρι

 15 [απε]ρ[ι] τὸ ἀγάλ[μα]

 [τ]ε[μ]ισθὸς ἡν[πορ]

 [γ]οῖς κατ' ἐμέρ[αν]

 [...]ΔΔΔ††† ||| / [...]

 [μιο]σθὸ[ς] ἀπόπ[αχς]

 20 [κλίμ]ακε ποιέ[σα]

 [ντι ἐ]ν ἡοῖν ἐ[σ]ε[γ]

 [έσθεν τὸ ἀγάλμα]

 [τε]

 traces

¹⁵ See above, note 4.

¹⁶ I have adopted a new numbering since there is enough space at the top of the stone for five lines of text. That area is now so eroded that we cannot be sure whether it was ever inscribed. A line of thirteen letters is indicated by the certain restorations of lines 15-17, 19, and 20. Lines 6 and 7 have not yet been deciphered; there are simply too many contradictory traces. In line 6 after epsilon we have a triangular letter followed by a centered vertical. In this context the best reading seems to be [ἡδ̣ προ]σεμισθόθ[ε] (cf. *I.G.*, I², 371, line 11 and *I.G.*, I², 374 lines 127-128, [ἡδ̣ π]ροσεμισθ[όσαμεν]). Perhaps it is even possible to see the bottom of all four strokes of mu. At any rate, this reading agrees with the principal traces on the stone. As for line 7 I can only report the main traces of the first three letters: we seem to have part of both strokes of a lambda, followed by a triangle and then a hasta at the left of the stoichos. The traces of the next three letters are too ambiguous even to describe. This is the type of inscription, however, where once given a clue to the meaning one can readily separate the false from the true traces, so additional progress is still possible in these lines.

The last item on the front face is *χούλα ἐονέθε τὸ κλίμακε ποιῆσαι, ἐν ἡοῖν τ[ὸ] ἀγάλματε ἐσεγέσ[θ]εν (κ)αὶ ἐφ' ὃν ἡοι λίθοι ἐσεκομίζοντο ἡοι ἐς τὸ βάθρον, καὶ φάρχσαι τὸ βάθρον τοῖν ἀγαλμάτοιν καὶ τὰς θύρας, καὶ ἱκριῶσαι περὶ τὸ ἀγάλματε καὶ κλίμακε πρὸς τὰ ἱκρια*, which Austin translates as follows:¹⁷ “Wood was bought to make the frames in which the statues were brought in and those on which the stones for the pedestal were carried in, and to fence in the pedestal of the statues and the doors, and to make scaffolding around the statues and ladders up to the scaffold-platforms.” On the lateral face we find payments for “the helpers who set up the scaffolding around the statues and removed it”¹⁸ after the completion of the work and for “the man who made the frames on which the statues were brought in.”

The new readings also allow us to get some idea of the original arrangement of items on this face. In the first place the sums of money were not listed in a separate column, as on the front face. Secondly, they seem to follow rather than precede the wording of an entry, for the sum in line 18 (at least 93 drachmai) is too great for the carpentry work in lines 19-23. We can also distinguish two types of payments, both familiar from other building accounts, viz., daily wages (*κατ' ἐμέραν*)¹⁹ and piecework rates (*ἀπόπαχς*).²⁰ Finally, two, and possibly three, entries are clear: lines 13-18 and lines 19-23 form distinct units, and since line 12 ends in eta or kappa,²¹ we may have a numeral (one hundred drachmai) indicating the end of still another entry.

WESLEY E. THOMPSON

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
DAVIS

¹⁷ *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, p. 289.

¹⁸ Cf. the index to *I.G.*, I², s.v. *ἡυπο(ν)ργός*; I restore *με[τα]ίροσι* on the basis of Euripides, *Iph. Taur.*, line 1157.

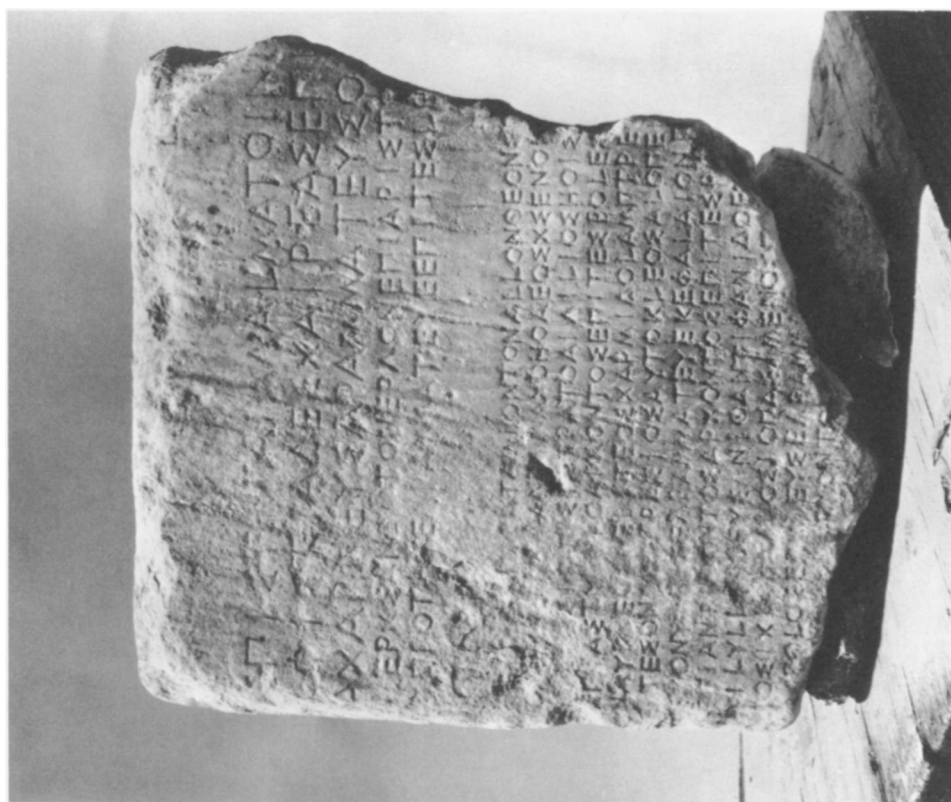
¹⁹ *I.G.*, I², 373, lines 54, 70, and 249; *I.G.*, I², 374, line 82; *S.E.G.*, X, 243, col. I, line 19 and col. II, line 62.

²⁰ *S.E.G.*, X, 243, col. II, lines 40 and 63, col. III, line 46.

²¹ Only the left vertical is preserved.

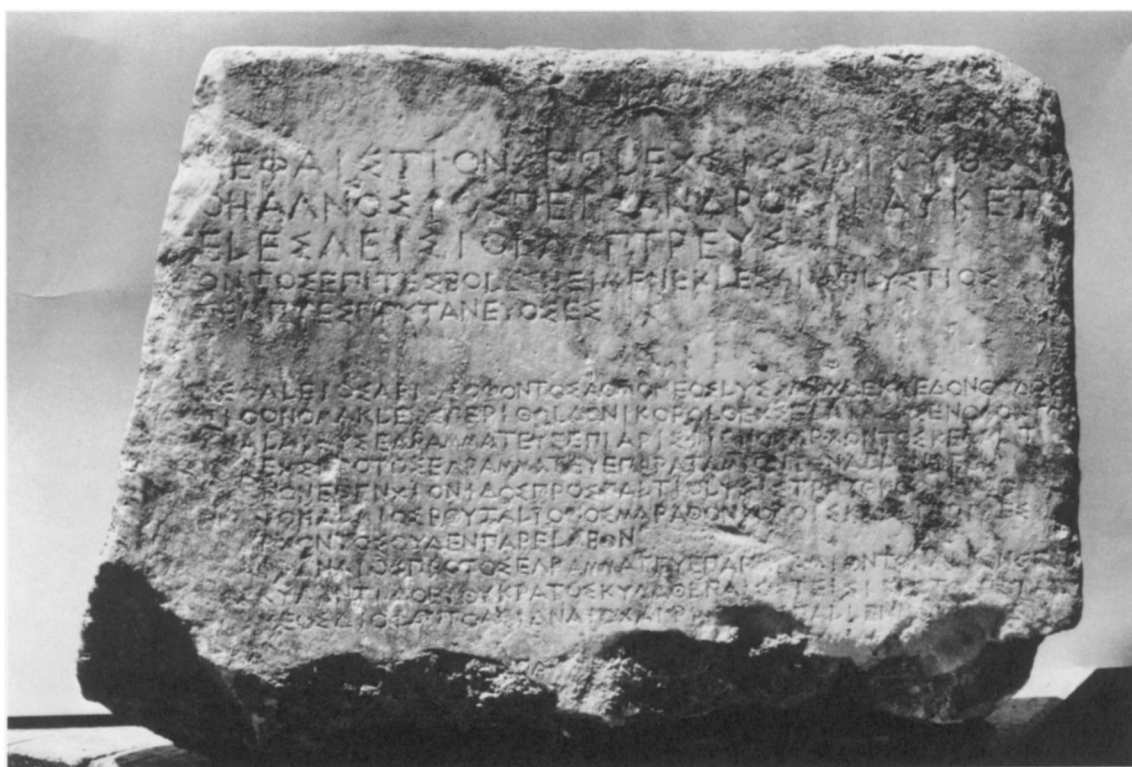


a. I.G., I², 371 B (E.M. 6664, Left Side)

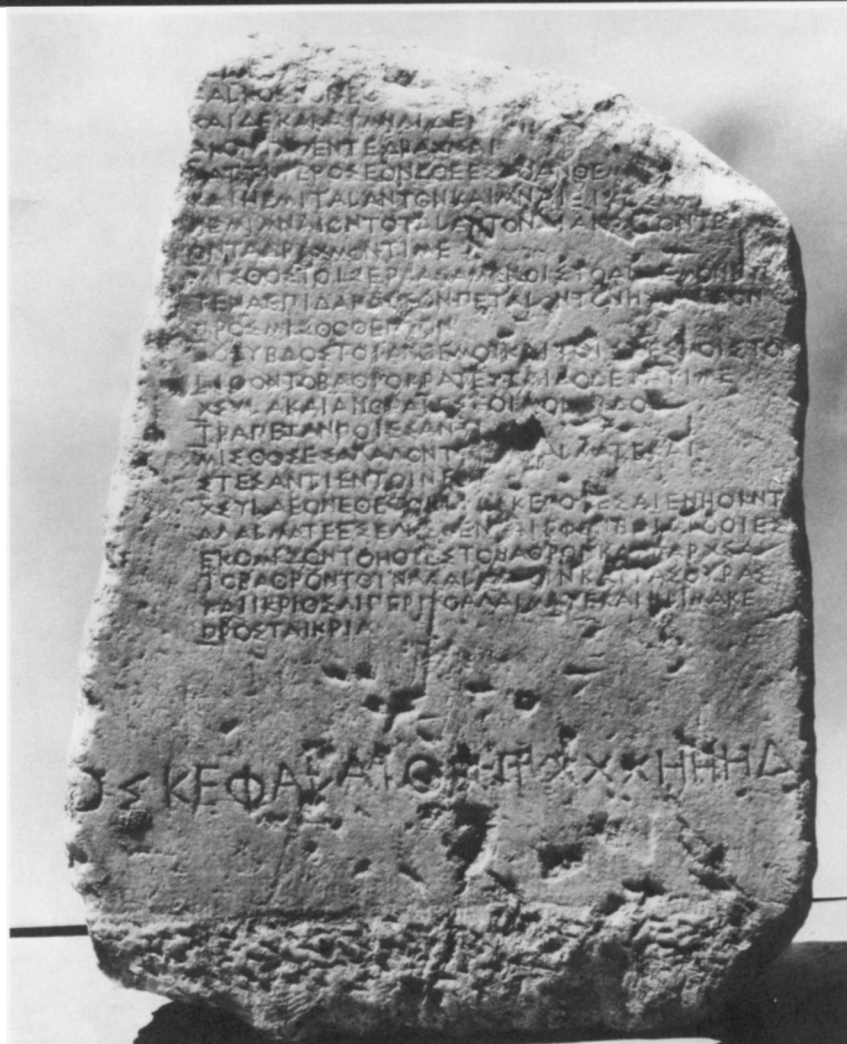


b. I.G., I², 370 A, Frag. I (E.M. 6664, Front)

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a. *I.G.*, I², 370 A,
Frag. II (E.M. 12384)



b. *I.G.*, I², 371, Frag. III (E.M. 6699)