

NIKOKRATES OF KOLONOS, METALWORKER TO THE PARTHENON TREASURERS

(PLATE 88)

To the memory of Isabelle K. Raubitschek

IN THE INVENTORY LIST of the Treasurers of Athena for the year 319/8 B.C. (*IG* II², 1471 A), the name Nikokrates of Kolonos, a metalworker, appears in a line which is visible on the stone but has been overlooked by the editors of *IG*. The missing line should have appeared between the printed lines 12 and 13; it will here be called line 12a.¹ The text for lines 10–15 of Column I (including the unpublished line 12a) follows, with conjectural restorations.

IG II², 1471 A

- 10 [.¹¹ φιάλαι χρυσαῖ, ἀς ἐποήσαντο τα-
 11 [μίαι οἱ ἐπὶ Νεαίχμου] ἄρχοντος ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων
 12 [ων ἀ ἀνεκόμισεν Ἄρχι]ππος ἄρχων ἑκατοστῇ[ν ἐ-]
 12a [φ' αἷς ἐπιγέγραπται] Νικοκράτης ἐκ Κολων[ν]οῦ [ἐ-]
 13 [πόησεν τρεῖς ἐφ' αἷς] τὸ Σ, σταθμὸν Π^Π Δ[Δ]Δ[Δ]||[. .].
 14 [φιάλαι χρυσαῖ τρεῖς] ἀς Ἀρχεφ[ω]ν Ἐρχιεὺς [ἐπό-]
 15 [ησεν, ἐφ' αἷς τὸ Τ, στα]θμὸν Π^Π [.¹⁵]

The stoichedon pattern has been restored here with 36 letters per line.

Line 10: The bracket in the word χρυσαῖ has been moved back one letter space since the rho is clearly visible on the stone.

Line 11: Neaichmos (320/19 B.C.) is restored as archon because Archippos (321/0) collected the money for making the phialai. Other options would be Apollodoros (319/8), altering the length of the line from 36 to 39 letter spaces, or Archippos (321/0), although this would make the reference to him in line 12 redundant.

Line 12: Three spaces from the end of the line, the top half of the vertical strokes of the eta is visible on the stone; the bracket has been moved one space to the right. The restoration of line 12 is based on *IG* II², 1492 B, lines 100 and 132, with the form ἀνεκόμισεν borrowed from *IG* II², 1492 B, lines 126 and 135.

¹ Athens, E.M. 7891. The inscription was first published as *IG* II, 721. Because *IG* did not print this line, this text was not included in Johannes Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* II, Berlin 1903, no. 10914, p. 138, where Nikokrates of Kolonos is said to appear in five inscriptions. *IG* II², 1470 was omitted because it was not yet discovered. Kirchner's text in *IG* II² was apparently not based on careful restudy of the stone. The missing line is visible in squeezes made by the author in October 1987, and in the photograph published here for the first time courtesy of Tameion Archaialogikon Poron and the Epigraphical Museum.

Thanks are due to the Director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, K. Peppas-Delmouzou, and her assistant, Z. Karapa-Molisani, for permission to study and republish these inscriptions. I am grateful to C. Habicht for allowing me to study the squeezes of these inscriptions in the collection of the School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey. In addition, I would like to thank W. R. Ammerman and the U. S. Educational Foundation in Greece for facilitating a Fulbright grant for 1987/88 to study in Athens, and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for Associate Membership for 1987/88. S. Aleshire, J. McK. Camp II, E. Cline, G. Reger, T. L. Shear, Jr., and R. S. Stroud read the manuscript at various stages, and I am grateful for their helpful comments. In particular I wish to thank Professor Shear for his assistance in the restoration of *IG* II², 1471 A and Professor Stroud for confirming my readings from the squeeze.

Line 12a: Only a quarter of the dotted omicron survives at the top right of the letter space; the interior surface of the circle is rough. Of the final upsilon only the upper left slanted stroke is visible.

Line 13: The entire outer pi of the symbol for fifty is visible; the brackets which appear in *IG* are here replaced with a dot. Both dotted deltas preserve the apex; the lower halves of the letters are eroded.

In editing *IG* II, 721, line 13, Koehler suggested either ἄρχον]τος or τὸ Σ. The first option, to restore [πότησεν ἐπὶ --- ἄρχον]τος, leaves only one letter space for the name of the archon in a line of 36 letter spaces. In favor of the second option is the fact that phialai numbered O and Π are mentioned in lines 6–7 while another numbered P is presumably to be restored in lines 8–9.

Gold phialai usually weigh between 140 and 200 drachmas in the inventory lists of the Parthenon treasures. In *IG* II², 1443, lines 130–131, a single gold phiale weighs 199 drachmas and 2 obols. The restoration of τρεῖς agrees with the total weight preserved here, since 593 drachmas divided by three renders an average weight of 197 drachmas each.

Line 14: In both lines 13 and 14 the text of *IG* II² should have an additional letter space at the end of the line.

Line 15: The first number should be changed to 500, since the ghost of the outer pi is visible around the well-preserved H. The second number is more likely to be 50 than 5, but only the outer pi is visible, and so the symbol is dotted.

Lines 10–15 may be translated as follows:

Golden [phialai], which [the Treasurers] made in the archonship [of Neaichmos] from the one-hundredth part of the money which [Archi]ppos [collected] as archon, [on which is inscribed] “Nikokrates of Kolonos [made it”. The three labeled] Sigma, weight: 593 drachmas. [Three gold phialai] which Archephon of Erchia [made, which are labeled Tau], weight: 550. . . .

The newly restored line provides the name of the craftsman who was commissioned by the treasurers to make the golden phialai.

Given that “only a small proportion of the craftsmen in the ancient world is known to us even by name, let alone in any more detail,”² any new information for even one craftsman should be carefully considered. We know Nikokrates of Kolonos from seven inventory lists of the Parthenon treasures and one account of the Treasurers of Athens of the last half of the 4th century B.C. The inscriptions show that Nikokrates was hired by the Treasurers to make vessels for the Parthenon, and for over twenty years was entrusted with gold and silver dedications to be melted and re-fashioned by his hand. Further, his name was either inscribed on or associated with over twenty-six such vessels, a privilege not often given.³

² A. Burford, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society*, London 1972, p. 27.

³ Few other craftsmen are mentioned by name in the inventory lists as makers of silver and gold vessels. Diomedon made three silver hydriai, according to *IG* II², 1469, line 6 (320/19); Archephon of Erchia is mentioned in two inventories, in *IG* II², 1469, line 22 as the maker of one silver hydria and in *IG* II², 1471, line 14 (319/8) as the maker of phialai; -es of Gargettos manufactured an oinochoe, according to *IG* II², 1470, line 14 (ca. 320 B.C.). In *IG* II², 1496, an account of the treasurers for 334/3–331/0, a few craftsmen are listed as having received payments for contracts: Mus of Hermos, Kratippos of Ol[ynthos], -machos (a metec) living in Peiraeus, and Ephialtes of Ankyle. Only the last is listed in J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* I, Berlin 1901: no. 6158, p. 400. The names of these craftsmen do not appear in the inventory lists with the vessels they made. This may be due to the state of preservation of the lists, or perhaps even if they did receive payments for

The earliest reference to Nikokrates of Kolonos is found in the accounts of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods for the years 334/3–331/0 B.C. *IG II*², 1496 is a record of payments made to craftsmen under contract to manufacture metal objects under the Lykourgan reforms.⁴ In lines 214–217 the treasurers made a payment of indeterminate size for unspecified work to [Νι]κοκράτης Νι[κ . . .], “Nikokrates son of Nik . . .”, under the heading [μισ]θὸς τοῖς ἐρ[γασαμένοις], “contract payments to craftsmen”.⁵

Nikokrates of Kolonos next appears in an inventory list of the treasures kept in the Parthenon (*IG II*², 1469 A, lines 12–26). The inscription states that the treasurers in the archonship of Neaichmos (320/19) ordered Nikokrates to make five silver hydriai from the silver phialai dedicated by freedmen.⁶ Each hydria is identified in the inventory list by a Greek letter label. Whether it was inscribed directly on the vessel or attached in some permanent way is unclear, although the phrase τούτου κόλλα which follows each entry may refer to the inscribed metal tag which was attached to the vessel.⁷

In the text given here, the following letters are shown without brackets, since they are visible on the stone: *Line 13*: The nu in ἐποιήσαντο. *Line 14*: The alpha and rho of ἄρχοντος. *Line 17*: The omicron in τὸ Δ. *Line 20*: The phi in ἐφ’. *Line 22*: The word ἦν is preserved on the stone. *Line 23*: All the numerical signs are visible on the stone. *Line 24*: The omicron in τὸ Θ. Ἦν is clearly visible on the stone. *Line 25*: The sigma and kappa in -άτης ἐκ; the omicron, omega, and nu in Κολωνοῦ and the first epsilon in ἐποίησεν. *Line 26*: The brackets have been removed from all numbers, as well as from the upsilon and tau of τούτων, since they can all be seen on the stone.

The entry in the inventory for the hydriai made by Nikokrates follows:

*IG II*², 1469 A

- 12 [ῬΔΔ . . τούτων] κόλλα Η · Ὑδρίαι
13 [ἀργυραῖ πέντε], ἄς ἐ[π]οι[ή]σ[α]ντο τ-
14 [αμίαι οἱ ἐπ]ὶ Νεαί[χ]μου ἄρχοντ-

their work in 332/1, their names were not inscribed on or associated with the vessels they produced, and so the inventory lists did not record their names. *IG II*², 1495 lists payments by the treasurers to three men identified as goldsmiths (χρυσωτής): Kittos (lines 3–9), Herakleiodoros (lines 11–19), and Platon (line 21). Kittos may be identified with a Kittos called χαλκεύ in *IG II*², 1554, line 10, who dedicated a silver phiale ca. 330 B.C.

⁴ For discussion of these inscriptions as epigraphical evidence for the melting down of votives in the Parthenon under the reforms of Lykourgos, see W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*, Cambridge 1932, pp. 122–127; A. M. Woodward, “Treasure-records from the Athenian Agora,” *Hesperia* 25, 1956 (pp. 79–121), p. 102; *idem*, “Apousia,” *NumChron* 11, 1951, pp. 109–111. See also *IG II*², 333, 457, 1493–1496; [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.* 852B. C. J. Schwenk presents a comprehensive overview of the reforms in *Athens in the Age of Alexander: The Dated Laws and Decrees of the “Lykourgan Era”, 338–322 B.C.*, Chicago 1985.

⁵ This is the only place where his patronymic appears.

⁶ One of the most common dedications to Athena was the phiale, or libation bowl. The numerous smaller phialai stored in the cella of the Parthenon were converted into larger hydriai (water jugs), presumably in order to consolidate the inventory. *IG II*², 1553–1578, *catologi paterarum argentearum*, are lists of names of those who dedicated phialai ca. 330 B.C. The lists provide information for each dedicant: his name, his former owner’s name and owner’s demotic where appropriate, his present residence, and frequently his occupation (e.g. Kittos the goldsmith in footnote 3 above). See D. M. Lewis, “Dedications of Phialai at Athens,” *Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 368–380.

⁷ For a discussion of letter labels, including those used in the treasury lists, see M. N. Tod, “Letter-labels in Greek Inscriptions,” *BSA* 49, 1954, pp. 1–8. The word κόλλα usually means glue, or possibly solder or flux.

15 [ος ἐκ τῶν φ]ιαλῶν τῶν [ἐ]ξελευθ[ε]-
 16 [ρικῶν, ἄς] Νικοκράτ[ης] ἐκ Κ[ο]λωνο-
 17 [ὑ ἐποίη]σεν· ἐφ' ἥι τὸ Δ, σταθμὸν ὕ
 18 [ΧΗΗΗΗΠ^α]ΔΔΗΗ· τούτου κόλλ ΗΗ·
 19 [ἐφ' εἰ τὸ] Ε, σταθμὸν ΧΗΗΗΗΠ^αΔΔΔΠ·
 20 [τούτου] κολλ ΗΗ· ἐφ' εἰ τὸ Ζ, σταθ-
 21 [μὸν Χ]ΗΗΗΗΠ^αΔΔΔ[Η]Η[Η] τούτου κόλλα
 22 [ΗΗ]· ἐφ' εἰ [τὸ] Η, ἥν Ἀ[ρχ]ε[φ]ῶν Ἐρχι
 23 [ἐποί]ησ(ε, σ)ταθμὸν ΧΗΗΗΗΠ^αΔΔΠΗΗ·
 24 [τούτ]ου κόλλα Η [Η· ἐφ]' εἰ [τ]ὸ [Θ], ἥν Ν-
 25 [ικοκρ]άτης ἐκ Κολωνοῦ ἐποίησεν,
 26 [σταθμὸν] ΧΗΗΗΗΔΔ[.] τούτου κόλ-
 27 [λα²⁴.....]

... [Five silver] hydriai which the [treasurers] in the archonship of Neaichmos made [from the] phialai of freedmen, [which] Nikokrates of Kolonos [made]: The one which is labeled Delta, weight: 1474 drachmas, its tag: 3 drachmas. [The one labeled] Epsilon, weight: 1485 drachmas; [its] tag: 4 drachmas. The one labeled Zeta, weight: 1483 drachmas; its tag: 4 drachmas. The one labeled Eta, which Archephon of Erchia [made], weight: 1479 drachmas; its tag: 4 drachmas. [The one labeled Theta], which Nikokrates of Kolonos made, weight: 1420 drachmas; its tag:

....

Line 13: πέντε is restored in line 13 by G. Reger (personal communication) since he rightly noted that five hydriai labeled Δ, Ε, Ζ, Η, Θ follow the heading.

Associated with *IG* II², 1469 A is a fragment first published by N. Kyparissis and W. Peek, *SEG* XIX, 130.⁸ Nikokrates of Kolonos is named in line 8, with four phialai following in lines 9–13. The break of undetermined length between the end of line 8 and the beginning of line 9 may disassociate Nikokrates from the phialai which follow. If, however, the fragment belongs to the upper left portion of *IG* II², 1469 A, col. I, then the stoichedon pattern may be restored for *SEG* XIX, 130 with 24 letter spaces per line. This would alter the restorations provided by Kyparissis and Peek. A conjectural restoration of *SEG* XIX, 130 based on a stoichedon line of 24 letters follows:⁹

SEG XIX, 130

1 σταθμὸν Π^α [.....¹⁶.....]
 2 στέφανος ἀριστείου Ἀθηνᾶς Ν]-
 3 ίκης ὁ ἀνατεθ[εῖς ἐπὶ¹⁰.....]
 4 ἄρχοντος ἐφ' ᾧ τ[ὸ . σταθμὸν ΗΗ]
 5 Π^αΔΔΔΔΠ^αΗΗ ὕ φιάλ[αι, τᾶσδε προ]-
 6 σπαρ<έ>δοσαν Δρομο[κλείδης Γα]-

⁸ "Attische Urkunden," *AM* 66, 1941 (pp. 218–239), pp. 235–237, no. 6, pl. 77:2.

⁹ I was unable to study the stone and cannot confirm that *IG* II², 1469 A and *SEG* XIX, 130 do belong together.

- 7 ρ<γ>ήττιος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐ[τοῦ, ἄs N]-
 8 [ικ]οκράτης ἐκ Κολωνοῦ [ἐποίησ]-
 9 [εν]· φι<ά>λη ἐφ' εἶ τὸ Α, σταθ[μὸν ΗΗ, κ]-
 10 [όλλ]α ΓΗΗ[]· φιάλη ἐ[φ' εἶ τὸ :Β:],
 11 [στα]θ[μ]ὸν ΗΗΔΔΔΔΓΗ[]· φιάλη]
 12 [ἐφ' εἶ τὸ Γ, σταθμὸν[ν¹⁰]
 13 [φιάλ]η ἐφ' εἶ τὸ [Δ, σταθμὸν . . .⁵ . .]

Weight: 50 [---]. A crown, [a dedication to Athena] Nike, which was set up in the archonship [of ---], which is labeled [---, weight: 2]99 drachmas. [These] phialai were handed over by Dromo[kleides] of Gargettos¹⁰ and his synarchons, [which] Nikokrates of Kolonos [made]. A phiale labeled Alpha, weight: [200]. Its tag: 8 drachmas, 4 obols. A phiale [labeled :Beta:], weight: 246 drachmas, [4 obols. A phiale labeled Gamma, weight: [. . . .¹⁰] A phiale labeled [Delta, weight: . . .⁵ . .]

The weight given phiale Beta in lines 10–11, between 246 drachmas, 4 obols and 249 drachmas, 1 obol, suggests that these are large gold phialai, or else miniature silver ones.

IG II², 1470, an inventory list assigned to *ca.* 320 B.C., names Nikokrates three times within the first thirteen lines.¹¹ The surface of the stone from line 1 to line 6 is coarsely worn and friable. Line 4 contains the first three letters of the name Nikokrates, according to Kirchner's text. While these letters may originally have been visible on the stone, they cannot now be confirmed by either squeeze or autopsy. Since the text is not certain, the first reference to Nikokrates will not be considered here. The second and third references (lines 7–11 and 11–13) are secure and attribute silver pinakes (votive plaques) to Nikokrates of Kolonos. Note that these pinakes were not necessarily manufactured in the year of this inventory. In addition to the name of the craftsman, each pinax was probably inscribed with the name of the archon for the year in which it was made, since line 8 reads -ου ἄρχοντος, preserving the end of the name of an archon.

IG II², 1470, lines 7–13

- 7 [. . . πίν]α[κ]ες ἀ[ρ]γ[υρ]οῖ Λ [-----]
 8 [. . . .⁷ . . .]ου ἄρχοντος [-----]
 9 [. . . .⁵ . . . Νι]κοκρ[άτης] ἐκ Κ[ολωνοῦ ἐπόησεν ---]
 10 [. . . .⁷ . . .]ΓΗΗ, δν Διομέδ[ων⁹ . . . ἐπόησεν]
 11 [. . . σταθ]μὸν ΧΧΗΓ· πίνα[ξ] [-----]
 12 [Νικοκρά]της ἐκ Κολωνοῦ [ἐπόησεν -----]
 13 [. . . . τού]του κόλλα Η· οἶν[οχό] [-----]

¹⁰ Dromokleides may be a misspelling of Demokleides, the archon for 316/5. Kyparissis and Peek rule out the identification of this Dromokleides with the Treasurer of the same name in the year 404/3 (*IG* II², 1370, line 7). S. Charitonides would prefer Dromokleus; see "The First Half of a Bouleutic List of the Fourth Century B.C.," *Hesperia* 30, 1961 (pp. 30–57), p. 42. J. Tréheux comments on the verb προσπαρέδοσαν in "Études sur les Inventaires Attiques," *Études d'archéologie classique* 3, 1965, p. 60, note 2. See also D. Peppas-Delmousou, "Autour des inventaires de Brauron," *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque*, Geneva 1988 (pp. 323–346), pp. 335–336.

¹¹ The inventory number given for *IG* II², 1470 should be corrected from "nr. societ. archaeol. 3762" to "Athens, E.M. 5254a".

IG II², 1471 A, the text with the restored line discussed above, is next in chronological order, dating to the following year, 319/8. The phialai attributed to Nikokrates were manufactured by using a special fund of gold, perhaps a tax of one per cent, collected in the year Archippos was archon (321/0). The inclusion of the source of the gold in the inventory list is an unusual feature.

Nikokrates was hired again in 318/7 to make two more objects for the Parthenon, as shown by the inventory list for the following year, *IG* II², 1474 B, lines 14–22.¹² A pinax and a chernibeion (wash basin) were both inscribed with the names of the deity, the craftsman, and the archon for the year in which they were made.

IG II², 1474 B, lines 14–22

14 [. . . : πίν]αξ ἀργυροῦ[s], ἐ[φ' ὧι] ἐπιγέγρα-
 15 [απτα]ι ἱερὸς Ἀθηνᾶς Π[ολι]άδος, Νικ-
 16 [οκρά]της ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ Ἀρχίππου ῥ-
 17 [αμ]νουσίου ἄρχοντος : σταθμὸν : Χ
 18 [.]ΗΗΗΔ : χερνιβείον ἀργυροῦν, ἐφ' [ῶ]-
 19 [ι] ἐπιγέγραπται ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Πολ-
 20 [ι]άδος, Νικ[ο]κράτης ἐποίησεν ἐπ[ὶ] Ἀ-
 21 [ρ]χίππου [ῥαμνο]υσίου ἄρχοντος· σ[τ]-
 22 [αθ]μὸν [:⁸ . . . :]

A silver plaque on which is inscribed “sacred to Athena Polias, Nikokrates made [it] in the archonship of Archippos of Rhamnous”. Weight: Χ . ΗΗΗΔ; a silver wash basin on which is inscribed “sacred to Athena Polias, Nikokrates made [it] in the archonship of Archippos of Rhamnous”. Weight:⁸

As a vase shape, the chernibeion is relatively rare in the inventory of the Parthenon. Since most of the vessels manufactured by Nikokrates seem to be hydriai of uniform weight, it is assumed that the treasurers commissioned these vessels in order to consolidate the inventories. The chernibeion, on the other hand, may have been commissioned because the treasurers needed a new wash basin for ceremonies.

IG II², 1480 A is an inventory list which may date to 313/2 B.C.¹³ In this year the treasurers ordered Nikokrates to make an object, the name of which is not preserved, from the phialai of freedmen. The object is preceded in the list by an oinochoe and is followed by two gold crowns. Since the phialai which freedmen dedicated were made of silver, the object must have been silver, not gold. It is more likely that Nikokrates made a second oinochoe of silver than a third gold crown. Lines 9 and 10 each have 38 letter spaces, which establishes the length of the stoichedon line. The ten letter spaces available at the beginning of line 8 perfectly suit a restoration of an oinochoe.¹⁴ In addition to the oinochoe, the archon year can also

¹² Note that in *IG* II², 1474 B, line 16, the bracket at the beginning of the line should be moved back two letter spaces, since the tau and the eta are clearly visible on the stone. These corrections are based on autopsy in February 1988 in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens and on squeezes made by the author.

¹³ See D. M. Lewis, “The Last Inventories of Athena,” *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque*, Geneva 1988 (pp. 297–308), p. 298, note 7.

¹⁴ The first two letters of line 10 must be changed from ᾶς to ῆν to agree with the feminine singular oinochoe restored in line 8.

be restored, providing the date for this inventory list. A line length of 38 letters leaves six letters at the end of line 8 for the name of the archon, with three letters of his name running on to the beginning of line 9. The archon for 314/3 was Nikodoros. As the inscription was assigned to this date on other grounds, the name fits these spaces very appropriately.

The conjectural restoration for *IG* II², 1480 A, lines 8–11, follows:¹⁵

- 8 [οἶνοχόη ἦν ἐ]ποιήσαν{ν}το ταμί[αι οἱ ἐπὶ Νικοδώ-]
 9 [ρου ἄρχοντος] ἐκ τῶν φιαλῶν τῶν [ἐξελευθερικῶν],
 10 [ἦν Νικοκρά]της ἐκ Κολωνοῦ ἐπο[ίησεν, ἐφ' εἰ τὸ : . :],
 11 [σταθμὸν : Χ]ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΓΗΗ; τοῦ[του κόλλα –]

An oinochoe, which the treasurers [in the archonship of Nikodoros] made from the phialai of the [freedmen], which Nikokrates of Kolonos made, the one labeled ---; weight: 1438 drachmas. . . .

The inventory *IG* II², 1492 A lists at least seven vessels made by Nikokrates of Kolonos.¹⁶ Six hydriai are listed consecutively in lines 17–35. The first is made of gold (lines 17–20) and is inscribed “sacred to Artemis Brauronia, Nikokrates of Kolonos made it”. The next five hydriai in the inventory are all made of silver. Lines 17–35 read,

[A gold hydria on which is inscribed “sacred to] Artemis Brauronia, [Nikokrates] of Kolonos made it”. Weight: . . . ΔΔ. Number of [golden] hydriai . . . weight of golden hydriai: (2440 or 2390) drachmas. A silver hydria on which is inscribed “sacred to Asklepios, Nikokrates of Kolonos made it”. Weight: [1004 drachmas]. A silver hydria [on which] is inscribed “sacred [to Asklepios], Nikokrates of Kolonos made it”. Weight: 1000 drachmas. A [silver] hydria, [labeled Gamma, on which] is inscribed “sacred to Asklepios, Nikokrates of Kolonos made it”. Weight 1004 drachmas, 2 obols. A silver hydria, labeled Delta, on which is inscribed “Nikokrates [of] Kolonos made it”. Weight: 1437 drachmas. A silver hydria, labeled Epsilon, on which is inscribed “sacred to Asklepios, Nikokrates made it, archon Simonides”. [Weight: 1050 drachmas.] Total number of silver hydriai: five; weight: 5495 drachmas and 2 obols.¹⁷

¹⁵ In line 8 I have replaced <N> with {N} in accordance with the revised Leiden conventions in editing. See S. Dow, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Scholarly Aids*, 2, *Conventions in Editing*, Durham, N.C. 1969, pp. 2, 11–12.

A parallel for the subordinate clause with the re-use of the verb *ποιέω* can be seen in *IG* II², 1469, lines 12–17.

¹⁶ I plan to republish this inscription separately, since so many letters can be seen which were not included in *IG* II². Only the lines pertaining to Nikokrates will be discussed here; it should be noted that the first 16 lines contain far more letters than the text published as *IG* II², 1492 A. In addition, lines 34–44 can be restored following *IG* II², 1474 B, lines 8–19. Two lines are visible below line 44 in Column I. The new text is based on autopsy in November 1987 and February 1988. The white marble stele is coated in places with a tenacious brown sediment, probably lime, which has filled up many of the letters. The result is that while a squeeze of this stele is very difficult to read, the stone when wet is relatively legible, the brown letters contrasting sharply with the white stone background.

¹⁷ Note that although the letter labels here correspond to those used above in *IG* II², 1469, they cannot refer to the same silver hydriai since the weights disagree completely. Each vessel carried a multitude of identifying marks, namely a letter label in addition to an inscription naming the deity, the maker, and the archon year.

Ferguson dated this inscription (*IG* II², 1492 A) to the year 305/4.¹⁸ The archonship of Simonides dates only hydria Epsilon securely to 311/10, but the others may have been made in that year as well. Appearing after the hydriai are the same pinax and chernibeion manufactured by Nikokrates listed in *IG* II², 1474 B. Lines 37–44 may be restored on the basis of *IG* II², 1474 B of 318/17.¹⁹

Nikokrates also made a silver ἐσχαρίς, a hearth or brazier, according to lines 70–73 of *IG* II², 1492 A. The text offered by Kirchner reads ἐσχάρ[αι] ἀργυ[ραῖ] . . .] with plural endings. Inspection of the stone, however, reveals an iota and a sigma in the sixth and seventh letter spaces, yielding the singular form ἐσχάρις entirely preserved. A single incense burner is also indicated by the weight, which must fall between 500 and 990 drachmas.²⁰ The vessel was inscribed, “---- dedicated, Nikokrates of Kolonos made [it]”.

IG II², 1492, lines 70–73

70 ἐσχαρίς ἀργυ[ρᾱ¹⁰ . . . ἐφ’ ἥι]
 71 ἐπιγέγραπτα[ι¹⁶]
 72 ἀνέθηκεν. Νικο[κράτης ἐκ Κολωνοῦ ἐ]-
 73 [π]οίησεν. στα[Ϝ].⁹ . . . φιάλαι ἀρ]-

From these seven inscriptions a picture emerges of an Attic smith who worked for the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods over the course of 23 years, at least from 334/3 to 311/10. Five fragments of lists for 320/19–318/7 (*IG* II², 1469, 1470, 1471, 1474, and *SEG* XIX, 130) show Nikokrates employed in three consecutive years. He worked in gold and silver, creating a variety of ritual vessel shapes, including the hydria, pinax, oinochoe, chernibeion, escharis, and phiale. His name was either inscribed on or associated with at least twenty-six vessels.²¹

Nikokrates was one of only a few metalworkers mentioned by name in the inventory lists of the Parthenon.²² Yet the question remains, why would the name of Nikokrates of Kolonos be inscribed on the inventory lists far more often than that of anyone else? It is possible that the name of Nikokrates is mentioned simply to identify and distinguish his vessels from those of others. The signature associated with a vase might have been recorded in the inventory list to help identify the specific vessel which was being inventoried. For purposes of identification, however, a letter label would work just as well. As can be seen in *IG* II², 1469 A, the name Nikokrates is listed in the inventories even for vessels upon which

¹⁸ W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*, Cambridge, Mass. 1932, p. 125.

¹⁹ This will be demonstrated in my re-editing of *IG* II², 1492 A in “The Inventory Lists of the Parthenon Treasures” (dissertation in preparation, Princeton University).

²⁰ Ten letter spaces are available for the weight. The first space is filled by the symbol for 500, so that the weight cannot exceed 1000 drachmas. With nine spaces following, the maximum number would be ϜΗΗΗΗϜΔΔΔΔ, or 990. For comparison, this ἐσχαρίς must be smaller than a hydria, given that most silver hydriai weigh 1475 drachmas. It may have been a small tray for carrying coals or a small tripodal hearth for a burnt offering.

²¹ The total number of vessels can be tabulated as follows: *IG* II², 1471 A: 3 phialai. *IG* II², 1469 A: 5 hydriai. *SEG* XIX, 130: 4 phialai. *IG* II², 1470: 3 or more pinakes. *IG* II², 1474 B: 1 pinax, 1 chernibeion. *IG* II², 1480 A: 1 oinochoe. *IG* II², 1492 A: 1 gold hydria, 5 silver hydriai, 1 escharis.

²² See above, footnote 3.

letter labels had been placed. Thus his name is mentioned even when it does not appear as a principal identifying mark on the vessel.

It is possible that Nikokrates and the other craftsmen mentioned in the inventory lists were following the long tradition by which an artist signed his work and that the inventory lists merely record this fact. As early as the 7th century B.C., votives were inscribed with the names of the dedicant and the craftsman.²³ The formula for an artistic signature is similar to the phrase used throughout these inscriptions, as for example in *IG II*², 1492 A, lines 70–73: “— — — dedicated, Nikokrates of Kolonos made [it]”. In cases such as this one, the inventory lists expressly state that the signature was actually inscribed on the vessel.²⁴ But in the case of *IG II*², 1480 A, the archon year and letter label by themselves identify the hydria, and the phrase “Nikokrates made it” is superfluous information which may not even have been written on the vase at all.²⁵ Thus, the purpose of recording the name of a craftsman in the inventory lists may not have been simply to report a signature visible on the object.

The most probable interpretation for any appearance of Nikokrates in the inventory lists is that it was a sign of honor. In *IG II*², 1496, line 216, Nikokrates is listed as a recipient of a contract.²⁶ Contracts were often awarded on the basis of competition, and the winners were often announced through publication of their contracts. Whether there was an actual competition among metalworkers for this particular job or not, the selection of metalworkers was competitive, and according to the inventory lists, Nikokrates was chosen frequently. The treasurers apparently granted him a double honor: first, they allowed his signature to remain associated with his vessel; second, they inscribed his name in the inventory lists. The inventories usually describe objects as succinctly as possible. To include additional information such as the name of the maker of the vessel, when they were already using letter labels, deity identifications, and archon dates to identify the vessels, suggests that the inclusion of the craftsman’s name was significant. The newly restored line 12a from *IG II*², 1471, together with restorations and investigation of the seven other inscriptions which name Nikokrates of Kolonos, shows that this man was an important metalworker, under contract to serve the Treasurers of Athena and to contribute to the treasures kept in the cella of the Parthenon.

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²³ See for example *IG XII* 5, 2, p. xxiv; L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, p. 304, no. 3, “Euthykartides dedicated me, the Naxian made me”. Jeffery dates this inscription to the 7th century B.C.

²⁴ The phrase ἐφ’ ἧ ἐπιγράφεται makes this clear. When ἐφ’ ἧ τὸ : : is used, however, the letter label may be attached as a tag of some sort.

²⁵ See also *IG II*², 1469 A discussed above, pp. 331–332.

²⁶ The contract was probably for a silver vessel of some sort, since line 224 is a heading for silver pinakes, and the word hydria appears in line 230.



IG II², 1471 A (E.M. 7891)

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