

The Ancient Greek Secretary

A study of secretaries in Athens and the Peloponnese

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13	Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the first century AD.	318
14	Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the second century AD.	319
15	Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the third century AD.	320
16	Graffito on a small lekane.	352

Abbreviations

ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i> . London.
AD	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον</i> . (1915 —). Athens.
Ag. or Agora	<i>The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> . Princeton, NJ. 15 = Meritt, B. D., & Traill, J. S. (1974). <i>Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors</i> . 16 = Woodhead, A. G. (1997). <i>Inscriptions: The Decrees</i> .
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> . New York, NY.
AJPh	<i>American Journal of Philology</i> . Baltimore, MD.
AncW	<i>Ancient World</i> . Chicago, IL.
AR	<i>Archaeological Reports</i> . London.
Ath. Pol.	<i>Athenaion Politeia</i> .
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> . Athens.
BE	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> . Paris.
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i> . London.
Buck	Buck, C. D. (1955). <i>The Greek Dialects</i> . London.
CID	<i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes</i> . (1977 —). Paris.
CIG	Boeckh, A. (1828-1877). <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . Berlin.
Clinton, Sacred Officials	Clinton, K. (1974). "The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries," <i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i> . 64: 3. Philadelphia, PA.
Corinth 8,1	Meritt, B. D. (ed.) (1931). <i>Corinth VIII,1. The Greek Inscriptions 1896-1927</i> . Cambridge, MA.
Corinth 8,2	West, A. B. (ed.) (1931). <i>Corinth VIII,2. The Latin Inscriptions 1896-1926</i> . Princeton, NJ.
Corinth 8,3	Kent, J. H. (ed.) (1966). <i>Corinth VIII,3. The Inscriptions 1926-1950</i> . Princeton, NJ.
CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i> . Chicago, IL.
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i> . London.
Dinsmoor	Dinsmoor, W. B. (1931). <i>The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age</i> . Cambridge, MA.
Emprunt	Migeotte, L. (1984). <i>L'emprunt publique dans les cités Grecques: recueil des documents et analyse critique</i> . Québec.
Ephesos	McCabe, D. F. (1991). <i>Ephesos Inscriptions, Texts and List</i> . The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia, Packard Humanities Institute CD #6. Princeton, NJ. Vol. IV nos. 1001-1445 = Engelmann, H., Knibbe, D. and Merkelbach, R. (eds.) (1980). <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> .
FD	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> . (1909 —). Paris.
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i> . Duke, Durham, N.C.
Hesp. or Hesperia	<i>Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> . Athens.

Historia	<i>Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte</i> . Erfurt.
HSPh	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i> . Harvard, MA.
ID	Plassart, A., Couprie, J., Durrbach, F., Roussel, P. & Launey, M. (1926-1950). <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> . 7 vols. Paris.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . (1877 —). Berlin.
I.Magn	Kern, O. (1900). <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> . Berlin.
IPArk	Thür, G. & Taeuber, H. (1994). <i>Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien</i> . Vienna.
I.Patras	Rizakis, A. D. (1995). <i>Achaïe II – la cité de Patras: épigraphie et histoire</i> . Athens.
ISE	<i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche</i> . I = Moretti, L. (1967). <i>Attica, Peloponneso, Beozia</i> . Florencia. III = Canali de Rossi, F. (2002). <i>Decreti per ambasciatori greci al senato</i> . Roma.
IvO	Dittenberger, W. & Purgold, K. (1896). <i>Die Inschriften von Olympia</i> . Berlin.
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> . London.
Kayser, AI	Kayser, F. (1994). <i>Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (I^{er}-III^e s. apr. J.-C.)</i> . Cairo.
Klio	<i>Klio</i> . Berlin.
LGPN	Fraser, P. M. & Matthews, E. (eds.), <i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> . Vol. I = Fraser, P. M. & Matthews, E. (eds.) (1987). <i>The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica</i> . London. Vol. II = Osborne, M. J. & Byrne, S. G. (eds.) (1994). <i>Attica</i> . Oxford. Vol. IIIA = Fraser, P. M. & Matthews, E. (eds.) (1997). <i>The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia</i> . Oxford. Vol. IIIB = Fraser, P. M. & Matthews, E. (eds) (2000). <i>Central Greece</i> . Oxford.
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., Scott, R. & Jones, H. S. (1968 [9 th edn.]). <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . Oxford.
Magnesia	McCabe, D. F. (1991). <i>Magnesia Inscriptions. Texts and List</i> . The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia, Packard Humanities Institute CD #6. Princeton, NJ. Includes I.Magn.
MDAI(A)	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i> . Istanbul.
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome</i> . Rome.
Mnemosyne	<i>Mnemosyne: A Journal of Classical Studies</i> . Amsterdam.
Nomima	Van Effenterre, H. & Ruzé, F. (1994). <i>Nomima – d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec</i> . Rome.
OCD	Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. (1996 [3 rd edn.]). <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . Oxford.
Orph.	Abel, E. (1885). <i>Orphica</i> . Leipzig.
Peek, Asklepieion	Peek, W. (1969). <i>Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros. Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Band 60, Heft 2</i> . Berlin.
Peek NI	Peek, W. (1972). <i>Neue Inschriften aus Epidauros. Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Band 63, Heft 5</i> . Berlin.

P.Oxy	Grenfell, B. P., Hunt, A. S. <i>et al.</i> (1898 —). <i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> . 1— . London.
Prose sur pierre	Bernand, A. (1992). <i>La Prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine</i> . 2 vols. Paris.
P.Teb	Grenfell, B. P., Hunt, A. S. <i>et al.</i> (1902-1938, 1976). <i>The Tebtunis Papyri</i> . 3 vols. in 4. London.
REA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i> . Bordeaux.
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i> . Bordeaux.
Reinmuth, EI	Reinmuth, O. W. (1971). <i>The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.</i> Leiden.
Schwenk	Schwenk, C. J. (1985). <i>Athens in the Age of Alexander: The Dated Laws & Decrees of "the Lykourgan era" 338-322 B.C.</i> Chicago, IL.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> . Vols 1-57. Amsterdam.
SIG ³	Dittenberger, W. (ed.) (1915-24 [3 rd edn.]). <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> . 4 vols. Leipzig.
TAPhA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i> . Philadelphia, PA.
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> . Vienna. V (2) = Hermann, P. (1989). <i>Tituli Lydiae: Regio septentrionalis ad occidentem vergens</i> .
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> . Bonn.

Abstract

This thesis explores the roles played by secretaries in Athens and the Peloponnese.

Secretaries are present in some form in all documents produced by the Athenian boule. They are often named as the writer of a stele, or their existence is inferred from the existence of the document itself. However, little is known about the daily duties of these individuals, as the means of writing and setting up of inscriptions is limited to brief, epigraphic formulae lacking in procedural detail, and any other information about an office is confined to passing references in ancient authors and bald statements in ancient lexic. These issues are even more pronounced in the Peloponnese, where the existence of a secretary can be limited to a single word – his job title or designation – in an inscription, and many unique types of Peloponnesian secretary are absent from ancient historical works and lexic altogether.

This thesis takes both a quantitative, and analytical approach to the question 'what does it mean to be a secretary in ancient Greece?'. It examines all sources from Athens and the Peloponnese which refer to any type of secretary, or specify that an officer is to write something (i.e. perform some or all of the duties of a secretary). It categorises secretaries using various criteria (such as their activities, the duration of their appointment and collegial environment, and their public profile), and thus provides a catalogue of characteristics and duties which fall under the remit of the secretary. Using these criteria, these offices are analysed both geographically and chronologically, to illustrate how the work of the secretary could differ from location to location, and over time.

This thesis constitutes the first comprehensive work on the secretaries of Athens in over one hundred years, and the first work of its kind on the secretaries of the Peloponnese.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Background to this thesis

This thesis explores the question ‘what does it mean to be a secretary in ancient Greece?’

This question is not as straightforward as might be initially thought. Throughout the ancient Greek world, the term ‘secretary’ can be applied to many different offices, known by a variety of different titles or ‘designations’. Some of these offices are known from one polis, or one source only. The most frequently-occurring of these designations is *grammateus* (γραμματεύς) singular, *grammateis* (γραμματεῖς) plural. This term appears in literary and epigraphic sources from Athens from the mid sixth century BC onwards,¹ in sources from Delos from the fifth century BC onwards,² and in sources from the Peloponnese from the fourth century BC onwards.³

In general terms, secretaries were the officers who wrote official documents which could be passed to stonecutters for ‘publication’ on stelai.⁴ They could also carry out other administrative tasks, such as keeping accounts⁵ or maintaining treasury inventories.⁶ Some officers carried out a wide range of duties, while others performed a limited range of functions, which may or may not have led them to become specialists.⁷ Much of our evidence for the daily duties of secretaries comes from epigraphic formulae – the one or two lines present in many inscriptions which direct a specific officer or officers to write and set up a text, and which occasionally also include additional details, such as the location for the stele, or the source of the funds to be used to cover the expenses.⁸ However, these formulae omit details such as how an inscription is to be created and by whom, or how an inventory is to be updated.

The number of secretaries per polis fluctuated over time, with no gradual increase in numbers. Some poleis had markedly more secretaries than they had previously had (Sparta) or fewer (Athens) after the rise of the Roman empire. If one statement holds true for the

¹ IG I³ 508 (562-558 BC) A5-B6; IG I³ 509 (c.550 BC?) 2-3; Aeschin. 2.46 (343 BC); Th. 7.10.1 (5C BC).

² ID 42 (341/0 BC) 1-8.

³ Epidauros: IG IV², 1 68 (302 BC) 79, 81.

⁴ For the process of publication, see page 27.

⁵ See page 90.

⁶ See page 54.

⁷ See pages 27 and 244 for examples of specialism implied by a secretary’s designation.

⁸ E.g. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλει λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει. *And the grammateus of the boule is to write up this decree on a stone stele and set it up on the acropolis.* See example on page 106.

ancient Greek world as a whole, it is that there was no unity – no common factors in the utilisation of secretaries, numbers and forms of documents that they produced, or other duties that they performed. Additionally, from the fifth century BC in Athens⁹ and from the fourth century BC in the Peloponnese,¹⁰ a small but significant number of documents were written by officers who were not secretaries. Therefore from these dates, secretaries did not have skills that were not also possessed by others.

This thesis explores how the functionaries who wrote official documents varied from polis to polis, and over time. It attempts to provide a complete catalogue of secretarial offices from Athens and the Peloponnese, some of which are known from one or two instances only.¹¹ It is by no means a complete catalogue of secretarial offices in the ancient Greek world. Particularly interesting areas not covered are Egypt¹² and Delphi,¹³ both of which merit studies in their own right.

There is a great deal more evidence from Athens than from elsewhere; however, officials made use of writing in the Peloponnese from the sixth century BC onwards: no later, and possibly earlier, than in Athens.¹⁴ These early documents can be complex, serve a multitude of purposes, and have their own, distinct styles.

The form of government should also be taken into consideration. Governments in Athens and the various city-states of the Peloponnese could be democratic or oligarchic, and the extent to which a government was oligarchic could influence the way in which it expressed itself through written documents – both in terms of the number and type of secretaries it employed, and in terms of epigraphic output. Other poleis such as Sparta were limited in epigraphic output by tradition as much as by deliberate policy. There are no hard and fast

⁹ The *tamias* in IGI³ 4 (485/4 BC) B3-4 & 23-25.

¹⁰ See, e.g. the *epimeletes* in IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 16-18, page 188.

¹¹ Some designations are known from epigraphic evidence only (including papyri), some from literary sources only. All epigraphic sources are listed in Appendix A. Terms not included are those words not attested with straightforward reference to the activity of a professional secretary in Athens or the Peloponnese, e.g.: *apographeus* (ἀπογραφεύς) 'registrar': the verb *apographeo* is used to denote depositions made by Agoratus in Lys. 13:30-33, but *apographeus* is not attested as an agent noun in Athens; *grammatikos* (γραμματικός): 'grammarian' (Plu. *Sol.* 1.1); *grammatokuphon* (γραμματοκύφων): 'purer over records,' a nickname (D. 18.209.2; Yunis (2001) 227); and *logographeus* (λογογραφεύς) 'speech-writer' or historian (Aeschin. 1.94). (See 'What is a secretary?' on page 21.)

¹² Terms that occur in Egypt only: *amphodogrammateus* (ἀμφοδογραμματεύς) (e.g. *P.Oxy.* 1119.4.6); *komogrammateus* (κωμογραμματεύς) (e.g. *Prose sur pierre* (48BC) 31-34); *prokomogrammateus* (προκωμογραμματεύς) (e.g. *P.Teb.* 793 ii 2.1); *topogrammateus* (τοπογραμματεύς) (e.g. *Prose sur pierre* (48BC) 31-34); *hypomnematographos* (ὑπομνηματογράφος) (e.g. Kayser, *AI* 23 (3CAD) 5 and *Str. Geographica* 17.1.12.19).

¹³ Of particular interest are the *archigrammateus* (ἀρχιγραμματεύς) (e.g. *FD III* 1:209 (undated) 3); *grammateus of the Delphic Amphictyons* (ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων) (e.g. *FD III* 1:553 (225-175 BC) 7-8); *grammateus of the hieromnaimones* (γραμματεὺς τῶν ἱερομνημόνων) (e.g. *CID* 4:33 (undated) 20-21) and *grammatistas* (γραμματιστάς) (e.g. *CID* 2:31 (end 4C BC) 49 & 88-89).

¹⁴ *IvO* 2 (before 580 BC) 1-9. See page 208.

rules that can be applied to all governments and situations, but it is wrong to say that secretarial activity was by definition a democratic form of administration.

What is a secretary?

The term 'secretary' is here used to denote any clerical officer working for or on behalf of an official body (such as a *boule*), a group of officials, or a single official, whose duties are administrative and include but are not limited to the recording of information in written form for that body or person. The duties of the office are frequently assumed to be *primarily* concerned with recording information in writing, though this may not always be the case.¹⁵

A connection with writing is implied by the etymology of the agent nouns used. The vast majority of secretaries have designations derived from the verb *grapho* (γράφω, write) or one of its compounds. For example, the agent nouns *grapheus* (γραφεύς), *anagrapheus* (ἀναγραφεύς), *antigraphheus* (ἀντιγραφεύς) and *syngrapheus* (συγγραφεύς) are formed directly from *grapho* and its compounds in *ana-*, *anti-* and *syn-*, respectively.¹⁶ In the same way, in the Peloponnese, *gropheus* (γροφεύς) is formed from the verbal root of the verb *gropho* (γρόφω), the Doric form of *grapho*, with the same agent-noun suffix *-eus*.¹⁷

It is also ultimately from *grapho* that the much more common designation *grammateus* is formed. However, *grammateus* is a secondary (denominative) formation, derived from the stem (*grammat-*) of the noun *gramma* (γράμμα, pl. *grammata*, γράμματα 'writing(s)'), *gramma* itself being a primary derivative of *grapho*.

In several dialects, the verb *grammatisko* (γραμματίζω, again derived from the noun *gramma*) is attested in the sense 'act as secretary' (instead of or in addition to *grammateuo*, γραμματεύω). It is from this verb that we find derived, in the fourth and third centuries BC, in Corinthian and Achaian dialects, the agent noun *grammatistas* (γραμματιστάς) instead of the more usual *grammateus*.¹⁸

There is also, however, a very small subset of secretaries whose designations are not formed from *grapho*. These officers are classed as secretaries either because their designations are

¹⁵ See page 239 for a summary of these other duties.

¹⁶ Though NB *syngrapheus* can mean both secretary and historian in different contexts. For Thucydides' use of *συγγράφειν* (*suggraphein*), see Hornblower (1991) 5. See also I.Patras 364 (mid 2CAD) 14, which honours a *syngrapheus* who was a historian.

¹⁷ In the Doric and Arcadian dialects, *gropheus* is attested for 'secretary' from the late sixth century BC until the second century BC, at which point the designation *gropheus* falls out of use altogether, with different poleis adopting the designation *grammateus* at different times. See the maps on pages 313-316. See also the Arcadian *graphes* (γραφής) on page 196. Unlike *grapho*, for *gropho*, we find attested neither verbal compounds (such as *apogropho* or *anagropho*) nor nominal derivatives (such as *apographeus* or *anagropheus*).

¹⁸ Buck (1955) 126 note 4. See e.g. page 126-126.

included in lists of secretaries being honoured,¹⁹ or because they demonstrably perform some of the duties of secretaries, such as storing or transporting documents.²⁰ In these cases, the line between secretary and administrator or clerk is blurred.

The connection between these officers and the act of writing is explicit when these officers are frequently (but not always) the subject of verbs also formed from *grapho*; for instance when the *grammateus of the boule* is directed to write up (ἀναγράφω, *anagrapho*) decisions of the boule.²¹

The secretary could carry out a range of duties. In epigraphic evidence, he was the officer who was most often instructed to record in writing laws, decrees and other decisions.²² He was also responsible for the recording and public display of any and all other information deemed worthy of permanent record, such as honours, registers of *prytaneis*, lists of members of associations, and financial accounts. Evidence suggests that some *grammateis* could be involved in the management of archives,²³ or carry out other, more specialised functions such as accounting,²⁴ or reading out documents in public for the body for which they work.²⁵ These duties could either be in addition to, or instead of, other administrative duties.²⁶

With a wide range of potential duties, it is difficult to ascertain the precise duties performed by specific individuals, given the terse information provided by ancient sources. One cannot assume that there was (for example) a core set of duties that singled a person out as being a *grammateus*, or that any one *grammateus* performed the same duties as any other *grammateus*. However, a quantitative analysis of all instances of each designation allows one to draw much firmer conclusions.

The verbs used to denote writing are significant when assessing the duties carried out by secretaries, and are summarised on pages 27 and 244. I have attempted throughout to

¹⁹ See *secretary in charge of decrees*, *secretary for that which cannot be mentioned* and *secretary for the laws* on page 72.

²⁰ The *katalogeus* (καταλογεύς), page 102, *katalogos boulas* (κατάλογος βουλᾶς), page 147 and *katakoos* (κατακόος), page 184.

²¹ See n.8.

²² E.g. as with the *grammateus of the boule* in Athens, page 51.

²³ Ferguson (1898) 31; Sickinger (1999) 114-138. See e.g. page 54.

²⁴ It is in the management of financial accounts that the duties of the *grammateus* most closely overlap with those of other officers, in this case, treasurers (*tamiai*). Some secretaries appear to be solely concerned with the recording of financial information, such as the *antigrapheus*, page 49.

²⁵ See pages 65 and 93.

²⁶ It is highly unlikely that *grammateis* were also stonecutters, but instead acted as intermediaries between official bodies and stonecutters to ensure that texts were inscribed correctly and in a timely manner. This seems to have been primarily for practical reasons: some stonecutters also worked on the decorative aspects of the stone and were accomplished at both these tasks (page 347), while secretaries were required to interpret or transport documents to and from archives (e.g. page 162), for which they needed to remain close to other officers and administrative buildings.

translate each verb in the same way each time, taking into account any nuances of meaning implied by compounds of *grapho*. Hence *ana+grapho* (ἀναγράφω): write up (for public display), *anti+grapho* (ἀντιγράφω): copy, and *pros+grapho* (προσγράφω): write in addition.²⁷ Prefixes are also significant when applied to the designations of secretaries: see next section.

Linguistic issues: vocabulary, grammatical forms and syntactic context

Designations

Designations of secretaries appear in one or more forms:

- Nouns, which most often take the agent noun suffix *-eus* (-εύς), e.g. *grammateus*, *katalogeus* (καταλογεύς) and the Doric and Arcado-Cyprian form *gropheus*. The Arcadian form of *grapheus*, *graphes* (γραφής), is found in Tegea.²⁸
- The Corinthian and Achaian agent noun *grammatistas*.²⁹
- The agent nouns *anagrapheus*, *antigrapheus*, *syngrapheus* etc., formed directly from the compounds of *grapho* in *ana-*, *anti-*, *syn-*, etc.³⁰ The prefix may indicate the type of duties carried out by the secretary; for example, the *antigrapheus* as ‘copy-clerk’.
- Nouns formed from *grammateus*, such as *syngrammateus* (συγγραμματοεύς) and *hypogrammateus* (ὑπογραμματοεύς).³¹ The prefix may indicate an aspect of the office; for example the *hypogrammateus* as ‘under-secretary’.
- In the Peloponnese, agent nouns may also take the suffix *-os* (-ος), and be compounded with a noun suggesting specialisation,³² for example: *dogmatographos* (δογματογράφος),³³ *nomographos* (νομογράφος),³⁴ *stalographos* (σταλογγράφος).³⁵

²⁷ In some places this literal approach has not been appropriate, and in these cases I have given an alternative translation, taking into account the context.

²⁸ Buck (1955) 91-2, especially §111.4. See page 196.

²⁹ See pages 21, 126 and 212-214.

³⁰ For *anagrapheus* see page 37; *antigrapheus*, page 49; *syngrapheus*, page 74. The nouns are derived from the compound verbs; they are not prefixed to *grapheus* itself.

³¹ For *syngrammateus*, see page 74; for *hypogrammateus*, page 77.

³² I understand ‘specialisation’ to mean that an official works on a subset of the *available* duties, rather than works on a limited range of duties, which comprise the entire range of duties offered by a particular body.

³³ See page 156.

³⁴ See e.g. page 226.

³⁵ See page 189.

Designations can also be composed of noun phrases, for example:

- Single agent nouns accompanied by a word or phrase in the genitive, such as *grammateus of the polemarch* (γραμματεὺς τοῦ πολεμάρχου), *gropheus of the polemarchs* (γροφεὺς πολεμάρχων), or *katalogos boulas* (κατάλογος βουλᾶς).³⁶ This is frequently taken to indicate membership of a body, but need not always be the case.
- Agent nouns accompanied by a word or phrase in the dative, such as *grammateus for the board* (γραμματεὺς τῇ ἀρχῇ) or *gropheus for the Eighty* (γροφεὺς τοῖς ὀγδοηκοσθεῦσι). The reasons for this are unclear, but may indicate that the secretary worked for a body but was not a member of it. Alternatively, this may be a feature of the dialect (particularly in the case of Arcadian, see page 191).

Participial forms can also be used, typically in the aorist. For example:

- *grammateusas* (γραμματεύσας) in Athens from the end of the fourth century BC onwards,³⁷ and
- *grammateusas* (γραμματεύσας) and *gropheusas* (γροφεύσας) in the Peloponnese from 146 BC onwards.³⁸

In addition to designations that are nouns, or participles formed from nouns, certain Athenian designations lack a head noun altogether, and comprise instead a prepositional phrase. In these instances, we must supply the definite article and (presumably) the noun *grammateus* based on context, as is the case with the *secretary in charge of decrees* ([ὁ] ἐνὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα), *secretary for that which cannot be mentioned* ([ὁ] ἐνὶ τὸ ἀπόρητον), *secretary for the laws* ([ὁ] ἐνὶ τοὺς νόμους)³⁹ and *secretary in attendance* or 'at the platform' ([ὁ] περὶ τὸ βῆμα).⁴⁰

'Informal' designations also occur in relation to those who write in unofficial contexts, such as *ho grapsas* (ὁ γράψας), dative *toi grapsanti* ([τῷ] γράψαντι, 'the one who did the writing') in Athens and Delos.⁴¹

³⁶ For the *katalogos boulas*, see page 147.

³⁷ IG II² 537 (end 4C BC) 4.

³⁸ E.g. IG IV 606 (Roman Imp.) 1-5, page 135. These forms are usually found in honorific inscriptions.

³⁹ See page 72.

⁴⁰ See page 56.

⁴¹ See page 347.

Grammatical context

Secretaries occur in several specific grammatical contexts, most frequently:

- As part of an epigraphic formula which comprises the secretary plus verb (usually in an accusative + infinitive construction), and where the object is usually a decree (ψήφισμα) or law (νόμος). This may be followed by a second clause, specifying the location in which the text is to be set up. (E.g. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλει λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει. *And the grammateus of the boule is to write up this decree on a stone stele and set it up on the acropolis.*)
- As part of a prepositional phrase which constitutes the dating formula, where the eponymous archon⁴² is usually identified using *epi* (ἐπί) + genitive. In these phrases, the designation and name of the secretary can be given either before or after that of the archon, or the secretary can himself be eponymous, either instead of, or in addition to, the archon.⁴³ The dating formula is then often followed by an enactment formula (e.g. ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ).
- *Personal name* + ἐγραμμάτευσ (was *grammateus*) in the dating formula to indicate the Athenian *grammateus of the boule*.⁴⁴ This officer is identified as the *grammateus of the boule* through the inclusion of the full designation later in the text, and/or the context. (A decree was enacted by the boule; it contains the information that X was *grammateus*; therefore X was *grammateus* of the boule.)

For example, the following text comprises extracts from three late fifth-century BC Athenian decrees written on the same stele. We infer that all three *grammateis* (underlined) were *grammateis of the boule* as the decrees were enacted by the boule.

(1) Κηφισοφῶν Παιανιεὺς | ἐγραμμάτευσ. | Σαμίσις ὅσοι μετὰ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων
ἐγένοντο. | ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Κεκροπὶς ἐπρυτάνευσ, Πόλυμνις Εὐώνυμεὺς |
ἐγραμμάτευσ, Ἀλεξίας ἥρχε, Νικοφῶν Ἀθμονεὺς ἐπεστάτει·

...

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς μετὰ τῶν | [στρατηγῶν
ἐσθήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ κατα]θεῖναι ἐς πόλιν, τὸς δὲ ἑλλήνων]οταμίας | [δῶναι τὸ ἀργύριον·
ἀναγράψαι δ' ἐς Σάμῳ κατὰ ταῦτα τέ[λε]σι [τοῖς ἐκέ]νων. | (2) [ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ
δήμῳ· Πανδ]ιονίς ἐπρυτάνευσ, Ἀγύρριος Κ[ολλυτ]εὺς | ἐγραμμάτευσ...

...

⁴² The magistrate whose name (and year in office) was used to identify the year.

⁴³ See throughout this thesis, but especially pages 48, 62 and 222.

⁴⁴ Also very occasionally ἐγραμμάτευσ + *personal name*, as in IG II² 1077 on page 56.

(3) [ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Ἐρεχθίδης ἐπρυτάνευεν, Κηφισοφῶν Πα[ια]νιεύ[ς] | [ἐγραμμάτευσεν...]⁴⁵

Kephisophon of Paiania was grammateus. For all the Samians who stood with the people of the Athenians. It was decreed by the boule and the demos: Kekropis held the prytany, Polumnis of Euonymon was grammateus, Alexias was archon, Nikophon of Athmon was president.

...

And the grammateus of the boule [is to write up this decree] with the [strategoi on a stone stele, and] set it up on the acropolis, and the hellenotamiai [are to provide the money. And (the Samians) are to write it up at] Samos in the same way, at their own expense. (Here begins the second decree) [It was decreed by the boule and the demos:] Pandionis held the prytany, Agyrrhius of Kollytos [was grammateus...

...

(Third decree) [It was decreed by the] boule and the demos, Erechtheis held the prytany, Kephisophon of Paiania [was grammateus...]⁴⁶

In the first decree, the *grammateus of the boule* is identified both by the full designation *grammateus of the boule*, and by *egrammateus* (ἐγραμμάτευσεν). The Athenian *grammateus of the boule* (but no other officers) may be referred to in two or more ways, even within the same inscription.

The two named *grammateis* in the first decree can be accounted for as follows: the first *grammateus* was the secretary in office when the decree was inscribed; the second *grammateus* was the secretary in office when the decree was passed, a few weeks earlier. Therefore the *grammateus of the boule* at the start of the second paragraph above is the *grammateus* named in the first line.

Athens only had one *grammateus of the boule* at any one time (see page 51). The number of *grammateis* on this stele is accounted for by the short term of office of the *grammateus of the boule* in the period before 367/6 BC: a single prytany, or 35-39 days. Each decree on this stele was enacted in a different prytany.

Two or more secretaries may be included in the same inscription, and here the use of *grammateus + name of body* may assist in differentiating between these officers (see example on page 72). Designations are usually predicative, and therefore almost always given without a definite article.

⁴⁵ IG II² 1 (405/4 BC) 1-6, 38-42, 56-57.

⁴⁶ Fornara (1983) 196-198 No.166.

Verbs used for the writing of stelai

A large part of the daily activities of secretaries consisted of writing documents which were needed for a short time only, and were therefore not inscribed. Since these documents are not preserved, our evidence for the daily duties of secretaries comes primarily from epigraphic formulae; i.e. duties attested in stelai.

The verbs of which a secretary is the subject are important in understanding the duties that he performed. However, there are certain problems in interpreting this evidence, as the earliest (sixth, and early-fifth century) inscriptions containing secretaries do not make the secretary the subject of any verb at all. Instances of secretary + verb occur from the fifth century BC in Athens,⁴⁷ and the third century BC in the Peloponnese.⁴⁸ However, throughout the period covered by this thesis, certain types of document (such as registers of magistrates) continue to omit verbs.

The verb most frequently associated with the creation of an inscription is *anagrapho* (ἀναγράφω). This is generally translated as 'to engrave and set up publicly,' 'to write up,' or 'to place on record'. From the fourth century BC in Athens,⁴⁹ and the third century BC in the Peloponnese,⁵⁰ this verb is often part of an epigraphic formula, which is included with little variation from the third century BC onwards.

The process of 'publication' on stelai

The frequent inclusion of *anagrapho* suggests that this verb was generally understood to encompass both the acts of writing, and inscribing the text. Occasionally, the verb denoting the setting up of the text⁵¹ may be absent, and in these cases, *anagrapho* could also imply the setting up or public display of an inscription.⁵² In effect, *anagrapho* is used to indicate several stages in the *process* of creating (or 'publishing') an inscription. This process is typically carried out by more than one person.

⁴⁷ IG I³ 10 (469-450 BC) 3, 5-6, 22-27.

⁴⁸ IG V,1 7 (3C BC?) 1-2.

⁴⁹ E.g. IG II² 410 (c.330 BC) 37-39, page 35.

⁵⁰ E.g. IG IV 679 (late 3-2C BC) 23-31, page 149.

⁵¹ Usually ἵστημι or τίθημι and its cognates; see e.g. IG II² 1 (405/4 BC) 1-6, 38-42, 56-57 on page 25.

⁵² E.g. IG II² 238 (338/7 BC) 14-17: ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισις[μα τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν εἰς στήλην λιθίην] And the grammateus of the boule is to write up this decree on a stone stele on the acropolis.

Allowing for variation depending on context, this process can be illustrated in a very general way as follows:

1. One or more officials decide to record information, and this information is written down (i.e. drafted) onto unspecified temporary media, and approved (e.g. by the demos).⁵³
2. The text to be inscribed is given to a stonecutter, who creates the inscription. The stonecutter is paid for the work (usually by the treasurer) on completion of the stele.⁵⁴
3. The completed inscription is set up by unspecified individuals, often in a location already noted in the text.⁵⁵

Anagrapho can therefore refer to either steps one and two, or all three steps of the above process, depending on whether the epigraphic formula also includes a verb for the setting up of the text.

Other verbs such as *grapho*⁵⁶ and *epigrapho* (ἐπιγράφω)⁵⁷ can also occasionally be used to indicate writing on a stele, but are used so infrequently it is unlikely that any process was implied.⁵⁸ Similarly, a range of verbs can also be used for the (simpler) task of writing on other media, without any process implied. For example, a whitened board (σανὶς λευκή or νίναξ) can be written up (ἀναγράφω)⁵⁹ or scratched on or inscribed (καταγράφω).⁶⁰

Sources

Of necessity, I have analysed evidence from the Peloponnese and Athens in different ways. Evidence from the Peloponnese is relatively scarce and almost entirely epigraphic, and so I have attempted to include all available sources. For Athens, which provides an abundance of both epigraphic and literary evidence, I have drawn upon only a selection of the available material, with examples chosen to illustrate the range of duties that could be performed, and the designations found. Since much of the evidence from Athens has already been discussed in some detail, I also make greater use of secondary sources in this chapter.

⁵³ Represented in epigraphic formulae by a phrase such as ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ in IG II² 1 (405/4 BC) 56-57 on page 25.

⁵⁴ The handing of the text to the stonecutter is undocumented. The creation of the inscription by the stonecutter is inferred from epigraphic formulae for the writing up of the text, which may include the cost for the stele and its inscription. See, e.g. IG II² 120 (353/2 BC) 13-19 on page 55.

⁵⁵ E.g. as in IG II² 1 (405/4 BC) 38-42 on page 25.

⁵⁶ E.g. IG II² 1188 (mid 4C BC) 31-33.

⁵⁷ E.g. IG II² 223 (343/2 BC) B4-6.

⁵⁸ There are no known epigraphic formulae for writing on bronze (see e.g. page 199).

⁵⁹ IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 124-5: ἀναγράφαντα ἐν σανιδί[ωι λευκῷ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ] ὧι τῆς Λητοῦς.

⁶⁰ IG I³ 386 (408/7 BC) 161: σανίδια ἐν οἱ[ῇ]ς τὸς μύστας κ[αταγ]ράφ[ουσι]

Epigraphic evidence

Some documents, especially from the Peloponnese, cannot be securely dated, or are dated to the nearest century only. This has made the drawing of some conclusions tentative. In these instances, I have attempted to illustrate any changes that could be made to our conclusions, if the tolerance in the dating of these texts were pushed to the limit in either direction. Instances of particularly fragmentary material have been flagged.

While there is a wealth of recent, relevant secondary scholarship,⁶¹ the most recent dedicated monographs on this subject are Ferguson (1898) and Brillant (1911), both of whom write solely about Athens. A great deal of work has been carried out on their sources in the intervening years, and much new evidence found. This work is therefore able to survey this subject afresh, and draws many new conclusions, some of which contradict earlier views. This is the first comprehensive study of secretaries of the Peloponnese.⁶²

A procedural point to note: this study raises and addresses questions about attested secretarial activity, rather than about epigraphic habit.⁶³ A large number of texts contain instructions that something is to be written, but do not assign specific officer(s) to this task. I have used for my evidence only those inscriptions that either:

- 1) contain the designation of a secretary (an officer whose designation is typically formed from *grapho* or one of its compounds: see 'What is a Secretary?' on page 21), or
- 2) specifically direct *any* officer to write something (where an officer or officers are the subjects of *grapho* or a compound), or
- 3) refer to officers who have been designated 'secretary' in earlier scholarship on this subject, sometimes for reasons which remain unclear.⁶⁴

Literary sources

While this thesis is primarily a study led by the availability (or otherwise) of epigraphic evidence, one should not underestimate the importance of literary sources, which provide us with many details and much of the context for ancient magistracies, such as the duration of an office, the way that an officer was elected, the duties he performed, and the ways in which secretaries interacted with other officers.⁶⁵ A disadvantage of literary sources, however,

⁶¹ Such as S. Lambert's series of papers *Athenian State Laws and Decrees 352/1-322/1*, published in *ZPE*.

⁶² I also include a discussion of the secretaries of Delos in Appendix D.

⁶³ On the significance of epigraphic habit, see e.g. Hansen (1989) 98-101, Hedrick (1999) 387-408, Liddel (2010).

⁶⁴ The *katalogos boulas*, page 147, and *katakoos*, page 184, fall into this category.

⁶⁵ See, e.g., the evidence provided by Harpocration for the *syngrapheus*, page 76.

is that some early offices in existence for a short period do not occur in literary sources at all, such as the *syngrammateus*.⁶⁶ There is also little literary evidence for the geographically and chronologically widespread but lowly office of *hypogrammateus*.⁶⁷ Literary sources are also far more likely to record Athenian designations. Of the many Peloponnesian terms covered in this work, only the *gropheus* occurs in literary sources, and in ancient lexica is glossed solely as ζωγράφος – ‘painter’, with no reference to its other meaning of ‘secretary’.⁶⁸

Just as some designations are found in epigraphic evidence and not in literary sources, so other designations are found in literary evidence and not in epigraphic sources. Examples include the *diagrapheus* (διαγραφεύς)⁶⁹ and *epigrapheus* (ἐπιγραφεύς),⁷⁰ who registered property, and the *katalogeus*, who enrolled citizens.⁷¹ This could be attributed to their writing mostly on temporary media, an inference we also consider for various secretaries of the boule and demos, who were honoured, but are not known from their written works.⁷²

The single most significant literary source for secretaries in Athens is the *Athenaion Politeia*. This provides evidence for several of the secretaries attached to the boule and demos in the second half of the fourth century BC, and also shows them in conjunction with other officers of the boule and demos. Of almost equal importance are the legal speeches of Lysias, which provide invaluable evidence for the *anagrapheus of the laws* (ἀναγραφεύς τῶν νόμων), the *katalogeus*, and the only surviving Athenian reference to an *epigrapheus*.⁷³

The speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes are also useful for their references to Aeschines’ time as *grammateus of the boule and the demos* (γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου), and to the *grammateus* of the court,⁷⁴ although they should be examined carefully for rhetorical bias. Similarly, the term *grammateus* also occasionally occurs in comedy, where it needs to be treated with caution.⁷⁵

⁶⁶ See page 74.

⁶⁷ Lys. 30.29 is one of the few exceptions. Many references to *hypogrammateis* are for rhetorical purposes, to discredit officers who hold other offices. See pages 77 and 165.

⁶⁸ Hsch. *Lexicon* γ.937 1. and *ibid* ε.4688 1 defines both γραφεύς and ἐπιγραφεύς as ζωγράφος. Suid. *Lexicon* γ.436 1 defines γραφεύς as ὁ ζωγράφος, ὃς τοῖς νεκροῖσι ζωγραφεῖ τὰς ληκύθους. *The painter. He who paints the oil-flasks for the dead.*

⁶⁹ Hyp. *Orat.* fr.152.2; see page 102.

⁷⁰ Harp. *Words Used by the Ten Orators* 122.5: ἐπιγραφέας, citing Lys. fr.342.5 (Carey (2007) fr.102). See page 102.

⁷¹ *Ath. Pol.* 49.2; [Lys.] 20.13; see page 102.

⁷² See *secretary in charge of decrees, secretary for that which cannot be mentioned and secretary for the laws* on page 72.

⁷³ See the designation subsections for these Lysias references.

⁷⁴ E.g. Aeschin. 3.25.1; D. 22.38.3.

⁷⁵ E.g. Ar. *Clouds* 770.

Also significant are various lexica, particularly that of the second-century AD grammarian Julius Pollux who provides entries for *antigraphheus*, *grammateus*, *grammateus kata prytaneian* (γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν) and *grapheus*,⁷⁶ and who bases his evidence on earlier sources, some of which are now lost.

Ancient writers occasionally mention secretaries, but do not provide much in the way of contextual information. For example, Polybius refers to *grammateis* of the Achaian League and *grammateis* in Macedonia, but does not tell us what they did while in office, or how they did it.⁷⁷ Similar problems occur when trying to understand the roles of *grammateis* in writers such as Xenophon,⁷⁸ Plutarch,⁷⁹ and Diodorus Siculus.⁸⁰

Additionally, ancient writers may use incorrect official designations, and may even deliberately avoid them for literary effect. For example, Thucydides refers to the Athenian officer who reads Nicias' letter to the Athenians as the *grammateus of the polis* (ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῆς πόλεως).⁸¹ However, this term is otherwise unknown in Athens, and the officer who reads to the boule is instead known as the *grammateus of the boule and the demos* (page 64). The designation *grammateus of the polis* is, however, found in several other locations, including Delos,⁸² Delphi⁸³ and Caria (in Asia Minor).⁸⁴

The structure of this thesis

This thesis explores the roles of secretaries in Athens and the Peloponnese.⁸⁵ Each region is discussed separately, in its own chapter.⁸⁶ The secretaries of Athens are arranged alphabetically within functional groupings, i.e. sections for secretaries of the boule and demos, treasury officers, etc. The secretaries of the Peloponnese (which provides comparatively little evidence for political organisation) are grouped alphabetically by designation under the polis in which they were active.

⁷⁶ See the designation subsections for these Pollux references. The Suda is also important for its definitions of these designations, and for its definition of *katalogeus*.

⁷⁷ Plb. 2.43.1-2; 18.1, page 222.

⁷⁸ E.g. X. *Hell.* 7.1.37.

⁷⁹ E.g. Plu. *Pel.* 7.3: *grammateus of the polemarchs*, page 89.

⁸⁰ E.g. D.S. *Hist.* 1.91.4, 15.52.5.

⁸¹ Th. 7.10, page 65.

⁸² E.g. IG XI,2 162 (278 BC) A1-4, page 334.

⁸³ E.g. FD III 6:48 (20-46 AD) 12.

⁸⁴ E.g. Magnesia 217 (198-217 AD) 8-10.

⁸⁵ I define the Peloponnese in the same way as IG: i.e., the peninsula including the Isthmus of Corinth, and excluding the Megarid.

⁸⁶ See also Appendix D page 322 for secretaries of Delos. This chapter is organised in the same way as the Athens chapter.

Chapter	Sub-region	Polis	Body	Designation
(2) Athens:		Athens	boule and demos	<i>anagrapheus</i> <i>antigrapheus</i> <i>grammateus</i> etc...
			treasury officers demes	<i>grammateus</i> <i>grammateus</i> <i>demarch</i> etc...
			etc...	etc...
(3) Peloponnese:	Corinthia	Corinth		<i>grammatistas</i> <i>grammateus</i> <i>grammateus</i>
	Argolis	Sicyon Argos		<i>artunas</i> <i>grammateus</i> <i>gropheus</i>
		Epidauros		<i>grammateus</i> <i>gropheus</i> <i>katalogos boulas</i> etc....
	etc..	etc...		

There are two exceptions to this format. Where two or three small Peloponnesian poleis in a single sub-region each produce one or two surviving inscriptions only, I have combined data from these poleis and indicated the origin of each text, to save space. Evidence from the Hellenic League and Achaian Leagues (i.e. related to several poleis) is given at the end of the Peloponnese chapter.

Each Peloponnesian region section can be read independently of the other sections, and concludes with a summary of the designations found in that region as a whole.

Throughout this thesis, each office is analysed as follows:

1. **Designation:** The official title of an officer, which may include evidence for the body with which he worked (such as a boule or *synedrion*).
2. **Activities:** In this location, what did this officer do?
 - a. Writing: What sort of documents did this officer write, how, and on what media? Did he have any financial or accounting duties?
 - b. Reading: Did this officer read out documents, and if so, to whom?
 - c. Stonecutting: Was this officer also the stonecutter?
 - d. Extraordinary functions: Did this officer ever perform any extraordinary functions, such as enrolling citizens?
3. **Further particulars** (attributes of the office): How was this officer appointed? Were there any qualifications or financial requirements? For how long was he in office? Was he a member of the body for which he worked? What do we know about the officer's working environment?

4. **Other attributes** (attributes of individuals): What do we know about the career and public profile of specific officers? Did they receive any honours? Did officers ever subvert the terms of their office, or were they ever accused of exceeding their authority?

In some cases, it has not always been possible to place information within the appropriate section, due to its close association with information that belongs in another category. I have attempted to provide appropriate cross-references for all instances where this occurs.

The secretaries of Athens and the Peloponnese are compared and collectively analysed in Chapter 4, using the above criteria.

Translation and transliteration conventions

I have tried throughout to be sensitive to dialect forms of designations, whilst acknowledging differences in the ways that designations are phrased. Hence (e.g.) *grammateus of the boule* (γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς), but (Doric) *gropheus of the bola* (γροφεὺς τῆς βωλᾶς) at Sicyon, and *gropheus bolas* (γροφεὺς βωλᾶς) at Argos and Epidauros.

All instances of the Athenian *grammateus of the boule* (γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς and γραμματεὺς τέξ βολέξ) have been transliterated as *grammateus of the boule*, as this is the conventional spelling.

I have omitted macrons in my transliteration of texts for ease of reading. Square brackets in English translations indicate restored words no longer extant in the Greek.

Chapter 2 – Athens

Overview

Evidence for officers who wrote the laws, decrees and other documents in Athens dates from the middle of the sixth century BC onwards. The earliest officer associated with these duties is the *grammateus* (γραμματεὺς) of the pre-Kleisthenic council.⁸⁷ *Grammateis* are also present in the earliest decrees of the boule and demos (see page 52),⁸⁸ and remain the officers most frequently associated with any form of document that is displayed publicly.

Other secretaries of the Athenian boule are attested from the middle of the fifth century BC onwards, such as the *syngrammateus* (συγγραμματεὺς, page 74) and *syngrapheus* (page 74), whose offices were in existence for a short period only, and the *anagrapheus of the laws* (ἀναγραφεὺς τῶν νόμων),⁸⁹ who was commissioned for an indefinite period to draft new laws by reference to old ones (see page 38). Towards the end of the fifth century BC, we also see the first appearance of the *hypogrammateus* (ὑπογραμματεὺς) or under-secretary (page 77); an officer who is known from various contexts until the third century AD, but for whom we have no evidence of writing at all.⁹⁰

The earliest inscriptions do not make specific officers the subject of verbs of writing or epigraphic formulae, and so we must infer the duties of early *grammateis* from later texts.⁹¹ The first officer for whom we have this evidence is the *grammateus of the boule* (γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς) in the middle of the fifth century BC (see page 51).⁹²

It is from the use of these verbs that we learn of secretaries and other officers both at polis-level and sub-polis level writing and setting up inscriptions from the fifth century BC onwards. For example, in the mid-fifth century BC, the *grammateus* of the *hellenotamiai* (γραμματεὺς) was involved in the administration of the treasuries of the Delian League (page 86),⁹³ while from the end of the century, decrees could also be written and set up by

⁸⁷ IG I³ 508 (562-558 BC) A5-B6: —c.5—[ι]ας ἐ[γ]ρα[μ]μάτευε — ; IG I³ 509 (c.550 BC?) 2-3: *vac* — ἐ[γ]ρα[μ]μάτε[ι]τε.

⁸⁸ E.g. IG I³ 5 (c.500 BC) 1.

⁸⁹ Lys. 30.2, page 38.

⁹⁰ With the possible exception of Antiph. 6.49 (who also calls the *grammateus of the thesmothetai* a *hypogrammateus*, Antiph. 6.35), there are no instances where a *hypogrammateus* is the subject of a verb of writing.

⁹¹ We can be reasonably confident that the duties of secretaries in this period do not substantially differ from those of later secretaries, based on an examination of the range of duties undertaken between the fourth century BC and third century AD. These duties are summarised on pages 235-241. For information on verbs of writing, see page 27.

⁹² For example IG I³ 193 (450-435 BC) 3-4 (see n.205).

⁹³ E.g. IG I³ 34 (448/7 BC) 43-44.

epimeletai of phylai (sg. *epimeletes* ἐπιμελητής, page 109),⁹⁴ predating the evidence for a *grammateus* of a phyle by approximately 75 years.⁹⁵

The same formulaic language is frequently used to describe work carried out by secretaries and other officers. For example, *tamiai* (treasurers, sg. *tamias* ταμίας) in the deme of Aixone were directed to write up an honorific inscription as follows:

... ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε τοὺς ταμίαις ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ...⁹⁶

... and the treasurers are also to write up this decree on a stone stele, and set it up in the theatre...

This is the same formulaic language used to describe the work of the *grammateus* of the *boule*, for example in this instruction from seventeen years before:

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ [σ]τήσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ Διονύσου⁹⁷

The *grammateus* of the *boule* is to write up this decree on a stone stele and set it up in the theatre of Dionysos.

The assigning of these duties to officers other than secretaries (albeit in a small percentage of inscriptions) is significant, in that it shows us that from the earliest decrees that contain these instructions, these duties are not confined to one type of officer. Therefore the writing, inscribing and displaying of texts publicly was not a specialised function. Neither can writing be considered a marginalised activity specific to officers of the *boule* and *demos*, when texts were written by officers as diverse as a priest in the deme of Dekeleia,⁹⁸ and the *grammateus* of the *epimeletai* of the trading place.⁹⁹

In epigraphic sources, the amount of evidence pertaining to *any* officer who is to write a text is usually limited to formulaic phrases such as that above, which note that a text is to be written and set up in a given location. On rare occasions, we may also be given information such as the need for a second stele in another location, or information about the amount of money allocated to the work and who is paying for it, both of which provide background on the social and political context. Additional information on these officers and procedures

⁹⁴ IG II² 1138 (c.403/2 BC) 7-9.

⁹⁵ IG II² 1158 (after mid 4C BC) 9-12.

⁹⁶ SEG 36:186 (313/2 BC) 10-11. See also IG II² 1176 (c.360 BC) 2-6, 18-21, page 105.

⁹⁷ IG II² 410 (c.330 BC) 37-39.

⁹⁸ IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 64-68, page 106.

⁹⁹ [D.] 58.8, page 101.

related to the creation of texts can be gathered from the remainder of the text (and others like it), and from literary sources such as the *Athenaion Politeia*.

From the fifth century BC onwards, most secretaries were officers of the boule and demos, or secretaries of other polis-level bodies, with the greatest number of designations known from the middle of the fourth to the middle of the second century BC (see Table 13 on pages 290-296). Some boards such as the *hellenotamiai* (and their *grammateis*) (page 86) were abolished at the end of the fifth century BC, while other, later, minor offices such as the *secretary in charge of decrees* ([ὁ] ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα) and *secretary for the laws* ([ὁ] ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους) also appear in inscriptions for a limited period only (page 72), from which we infer that these offices were also abolished. Secretaries of demes, phylai and phratries are known from the fourth century BC onwards,¹⁰⁰ the most frequently-occurring of these being the *grammateus for life* of the ephebes (γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου, page 111).

The duties of some secretaries changed over time. The *grammateus of the boule and the demos* (γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, page 64) noted in the *Ath. Pol.* 54.5 as the secretary whose primary function was reading out the proceedings of the boule and demos, could also be directed to write up inscriptions from the start of the third century BC.¹⁰¹ Other officers may have worked only on certain types of document, such as the *antigraphus* (ἀντιγραφεύς, page 49) who worked on financial documents of the boule and demos. Other secretaries such as the *secretary in charge of decrees* and *secretary for the laws* (page 72) are known from honorific inscriptions only, and their precise functions remain uncertain; however, we infer from their designations that they assisted in the drafting of decrees and laws which were later inscribed.

In many cases, it is difficult to tell whether the same type of duties were undertaken by the various secretaries of the boule and demos, since we possess only a small amount of definitive information for many offices, and the definitions of these offices are imprecise.¹⁰² It is also possible that each secretary was called upon to perform a range of functions, some of which were required more frequently than others. For example, documents describing inter-state arbitration were required far less often than honorific inscriptions, while the re-codification of Solon's law was intended to be a 'one-off' occurrence.

¹⁰⁰ SEG 23:78 (361/0 BC) 22; Jones (1999) 178-181, 189.

¹⁰¹ E.g. IG II² 652 (c.290/89 BC) 33-35: ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε | [τὸ ψηφισμ]α τὸν γραμματέα τῆς β[ουλῆς] καὶ τοῦ δή[[μου καὶ στ]ῆσαι ἐν ἀκ[ρ]οπόλει...

¹⁰² For example, the earliest encyclopaedic definition of the *grammateus kata prytaneian* (otherwise known as the *grammateus of the boule*) is in Poll. *Onom.* 8.98 (2CAD), written when the office was still in existence. Pollux incorrectly states that the office is chosen by show of hands, while *Ath. Pol.* 54.3, written approximately 500 years earlier, states that the office was previously chosen by show of hands, but is now chosen by lot. See page 57.

The structure of this chapter

This chapter is divided into the following sections:

- Secretaries of the boule and demos;
- Other officers of the boule and demos;
- Treasury officers and secretaries;
- Secretaries of archons;
- Secretaries of other polis-level bodies;
- Other officers of the polis;
- Secretaries and other officers of demes;
- Officers of phratries;
- Secretaries and other officers of phylai;
- Secretaries of the ephebes;
- Secretaries and other officers of religious associations of Attica.

Designations are listed alphabetically within each section. Within each designation, information is set out in the categories described on page 32. Offices that have more than one designation (such as the *grammateus of the boule* / *grammateus kata prytaneian*, page 51) are discussed as one office, with dates for each variation set out in the text.

A table showing chronological information for all offices can be found in Appendix A pages 290-296.

Secretaries of the boule and demos

ἀναγραφεὺς (*anagrapheus*)

A special commission of *anagrapheis* ('recorders') or office of *anagrapheus* was in existence for much of the period from the end of the fifth century BC until the start of the first century BC.¹⁰³

This commission or office had three distinct phases, and the functions carried out by the *anagrapheus* in each phase are so dissimilar that it is more accurate to say that a single designation was applied to three, separate offices.

- In the period **410 – 399/8 BC**, a special commission of *anagrapheis of the laws* (ἀναγραφεῖς τῶν νόμων) was set up to revise the laws of Drakon and Solon.¹⁰⁴ See below.

¹⁰³ Earliest: IG I³ 104 (409/8 BC) 5-6. Latest: Ag.15:261 (95/4 BC) 45, 58.

¹⁰⁴ IG I³ 104 (409/8 BC). Clinton (1982) 28.

- In **337/6 – 321/0, 319/8 – 294/3 BC** and **292/1 – 95/4 BC**, *anagrapheis* appear to have played a minor role. They appear in honorific texts only, in which they are honoured by the prytaneis along with various other officers. See page 46.
- In **321/20 to 319/18 BC** and **294/3 – 292/1 BC**, democracy in Athens was limited. During more oligarchic periods, *anagrapheis* performed some of the duties of the *grammateis of the boule* (see page 47).

ἀναγραφεὺς τῶν νόμων (*anagrapheus of the laws*)

A commission of *anagrapheis of the laws* (ἀναγραφεῖς τῶν νόμων) was created in 410 BC to revise the laws of Drakon and Solon.¹⁰⁵ This body of laws included laws that were no longer enforced,¹⁰⁶ and laws which had become out of date in terms of the words used, monetary values included, and subsequent laws enacted.¹⁰⁷ Additionally, the oligarchic revolution of 411 BC (when the assembly was persuaded to vote itself out of existence) meant that the status of some of the existing laws was now uncertain.¹⁰⁸

The first period of codification of the revised laws started in 411 BC, during the few months of the Five Thousand, a reduced (and therefore somewhat oligarchic) electorate.¹⁰⁹ The Five Thousand are said to have elected a special commission of one hundred men to write up their constitution:¹¹⁰

οἱ μὲν οὖν αἰρεθέντες ταῦτα συνέγραψαν. κυρωθέντων δὲ τούτων, εἶλοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι τοὺς ἀναγράφοντας τὴν πολιτείαν ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας.¹¹¹

So those selected drafted these proposals; and these being ratified, the Five Thousand elected a hundred of their members as a committee to write up the constitution.

It is not known whether this body of one hundred men were officially known as *anagrapheis*, or whether the *anagrapheis* comprised a subset of this group.¹¹² The meaning of the verb

¹⁰⁵ IGI³ 104 (409/8 BC) 5-6 (the law on homicide). Lys. 30.2. And. 1.83 provides a date of 410 BC for the year in which Teisamenos proposed the decree by which the laws of Solon and Draco were to be revised.

¹⁰⁶ *Ath. Pol.* 8.3.

¹⁰⁷ Clinton (1982) 28, 30; Gallia (2004) 454; MacDowell (1978) 47; Oliver & Dow (1935) 7; Stroud (1968) 20-21, 24; Stroud (1979) 6-10.

¹⁰⁸ Todd (1996b) 125-6.

¹⁰⁹ Rhodes (1972b) 124; de Ste Croix (1956) 1-4. A great deal about the Five Thousand is contested, including the precise number of the electorate ([Lys.] 20.16), and whether or not this body was limited to those of hoplite status and above.

¹¹⁰ This passage is closely linked with the (possibly fictitious) constitutional documents in *Ath. Pol.* 29.2-30.3.

¹¹¹ *Ath. Pol.* 30.1.

anagrapho (ἀναγράφω), which has been used as an indicator of the officer responsible,¹¹³ is also problematic in that it is often the only verb used to denote the entire process of writing an official text, from the initial draft to the cutting of the text on stelai, no matter which officers are charged with these duties (see page 27).

The government by Five Thousand was replaced by full democracy in 410 BC,¹¹⁴ and the majority of work on the law-code was carried out under this government. Work was temporarily suspended during the year of The Thirty (404 BC), another oligarchic period of government, and recommenced in 403/2 BC, when democracy was restored.¹¹⁵

Our understanding of the process of codification is obfuscated by mutually-exclusive statements in our two main primary sources. *Ath. Pol.* 30.1 states that the Five Thousand predate the Four Hundred (a more oligarchic body); Thucydides 8.92 states that the Five Thousand did not exist until after the fall of the Four Hundred. Of the two, *Ath. Pol.* 30.1 is probably erroneous as it is unlikely that the larger body was followed by the smaller.¹¹⁶ Additionally, the writing of a 'moderate' oligarchic constitution and re-codification of laws commenced under the Five Thousand is unlikely to have continued uninterrupted under the (more oligarchic) Four Hundred, and still allow (e.g.) the revised homicide law of Solon and Dracon to be republished after approval by a democratic boule and ekklesia the following year (409/8 BC).

Activities

Our evidence for the activities of the *anagrapheis of the laws* comes primarily from the forensic speech Lysias 30, *Against Nikomachos*, which was intended to secure a conviction against Nikomachos (one of the *anagrapheis of the laws*),¹¹⁷ and the revised homicide law (IG I³ 104), which notes a board of *anagrapheis of the laws* but does not name any of them:

τὸ[ν] | Δράκοντος νόμον τὸν περὶ τὸ φό[ν]ο ἀναγρα[φ]σά[ν]τον οἱ ἀναγραφ[ε]ῖς τῶν
νόμων παραλαμβάντες παρὰ τὸ β[α]σ[ι]λέ[ος] μετ[ὰ] τὸ γραμμ[α]τέο[ι]ς τέξ βουλεύς
ἐστέλει λιθίνει καὶ κατ[τ]α[θ]έντ[ον] πρόσ[θε]ν[ι] τέξ στο|ᾶς τέξ βασιλείας¹¹⁸

¹¹² IG I³ 104 (409/8 BC) 5-6. The revised homicide law (page 40) simply says *anagrapheis* plural, and does not provide any names. Teisamenos son of Mechanion, mentioned with Nikomachos in Lys. 30.28, is the proposer of the decree in And. 1.83, and not another *anagrapheus*.

¹¹³ E.g. in Todd (1996b) 108-110.

¹¹⁴ Rhodes (1972b) 116-118.

¹¹⁵ Lys. 30.4, 29; Todd (1996b) 102-3.

¹¹⁶ See also [Lys.] 20.16; de Ste Croix (1956) for the arguments for both cases, and Todd (2000) 217-219, 222.

¹¹⁷ Lys. 30.1.

¹¹⁸ IG I³ 104 (409/8 BC) 4-6. See also Arnaoutoglou (1998) 71-72; Fornara (1983) 18-20 No.15; Meiggs & Lewis (1989) 264-7; Stroud (1968) 5-7.

Let the anagrapheis of the laws write up the law of Draco concerning homicide on a stone stele, after receiving it from the basileus, jointly with the grammateus of the boule, and let them place it in front of the stoa of the basileus.

The homicide law was to be given to the *anagrapheis* by the *basileus*¹¹⁹ and the *grammateus of the boule*.¹²⁰ Neither officer then appears to play any further part in the proceedings. It is possible that both acted in a supervisory capacity; however, there is no evidence for this.

The names of Nikomachos and his co-*anagrapheis* do not appear on any stelai. Nikomachos had two periods in office: 410–404 BC, and (after The Thirty), 403/2–400/399 BC.¹²¹ The homicide law was set up in 409/8 BC,¹²² during Nikomachos' first period in office, and it is this date alone which has led scholars to connect Nikomachos with the homicide law.

Based on the dates of Nikomachos' office, between 410 and 399 BC, Nikomachos and the other *anagrapheis* also appear to have worked on revisions to a naval law,¹²³ a stele containing older regulations about the powers of the boule,¹²⁴ and revisions to the Athenian sacrificial calendar, which Lysias states Nikomachos completed during his second period in office.¹²⁵ The *anagrapheis* were not supposed to create new laws, and this task instead fell to the *syngrapheis* (page 74).¹²⁶

The verb *anagrapho* in the above example cannot be rendered accurately into English: neither 'write up' or 'transcribe' encompass the range of tasks required. The context instead indicates that Nikomachos and his fellow *anagrapheis* were to take documents written by other people, combine them in a lucid way and update them as necessity dictated, and have the resulting document(s) inscribed on stelai. If *anagrapho* can be taken to have a wide

¹¹⁹ *Ath. Pol.* 57.2. One of the duties of the *basileus* archon was to preside over homicide cases.

¹²⁰ IG I³ 104 (409/8 BC) 5-7. It is not clear whether the *grammateus of the boule* is jointly responsible for this text. It is also not clear whether παραλαβόντες παρὰ refers simply to the passing on of this information, or also to its finding.

¹²¹ Lys. 30.3-4; Todd (1996b) 102-3.

¹²² IG I³ 104 (409/8 BC) 4-6.

¹²³ IG I³ 236 (410-404). Shear (2011) 78: "A naval law concerning hanging and wooden equipment of *triereis* (warships) and the obligations of out-going *trierarchoi* to their successors."

¹²⁴ IG I³ 105 (c.409 BC); Sickinger (1999) 103.

¹²⁵ Lambert (2002a) 353-355. One side of the Athenian sacrificial calendar uses Attic script, which was not used for official purposes after 403/2 BC; the other side uses Ionic. Therefore it may be that the first side was inscribed during Nikomachos' first period in office, and the later side during his second term. Lys. 30.17-25 only notes that Nikomachos worked on this document during his second period in office; however, it suits Lysias' aims better to suggest that Nikomachos completed only one document in six years. See also Clinton (1982) 30, 35; Shear (2011) 86-87; Todd (1996b) 127-8.

¹²⁶ Clinton (1982) 28; Meiggs & Lewis (1989) 265.

range of potential meanings, it may then also follow that the range of potential duties of the *anagrapheis of the laws* were also wide and poorly-defined.¹²⁷

The means by which laws were revised is not known. Revision is likely to have included gathering information from various locations, and/or copying texts that could not be moved. Documents were stored in many locations until the end of the fifth century BC, and stelai were also set up in several places.¹²⁸ This lack of centralised storage is likely to have influenced the time that this work took to complete.

A central archive was established in the Metroön c.404 BC,¹²⁹ and it is tempting to suggest that recodification by *anagrapheis* and the creation of the archive were connected; however, there is no direct evidence for this.¹³⁰ *Ath. Pol.* 35.2 notes that immediately prior to this (in the year of The Thirty, 404 BC), 'such of the ordinances of Solon that were of doubtful purport' (τῶν Σόλωνος θεσμῶν ὅσοι διαμφισβητήσεις ἔσχον) were removed from the Areopagus. While this reflects the policies of The Thirty, who appear to have attempted to revise the laws themselves,¹³¹ it may also be significant in ascertaining the level of recodification that had by this time taken place.

During the period 403/2–400/399 BC, further revisions were made to the laws.¹³² The new democracy also decided to review the codification which had occurred during the previous democratic government. Once again, several *anagrapheis* were elected to do this, at least one of whom, Nikomachos, had been involved in the previous revisions to the laws.¹³³

In his second period in office, Nikomachos was to revise (*anagraphein*) the Athenian sacrificial calendar;¹³⁴ work which he may have started during his previous term in office.¹³⁵

If Nikomachos had previously worked on this text, it would have made sense to take advantage of this prior knowledge (or expertise) to complete the work in as short a time as

¹²⁷ The charges laid against Nikomachos (page 44) also help illustrate the wide range of uses of *anagrapho*. In *Lys.* 30.4, Nikomachos is accused of writing up (*anegrapsen*, ἀνέγραψεν) for four years instead of thirty days during his first period in office, and of exceeding his authority in the texts he had to write up (*anagrapsein*, ἀναγράφειν), i.e. exerting more 'editorial control' over this work than the speaker considered appropriate. *Anagrapho* is also used in *Ath. Pol.* 30.1 and 32.1 for writing a *politeia*. See also Rhodes (1991) 91-92; Todd (1996b) 108.

¹²⁸ *Ath. Pol.* 35.2; Liddel (2003) 79-93; Sickinger (1999) 93, 95; Todd (1996b) 123-4.

¹²⁹ Sickinger (1999) 109-110; Thomas (1989) 39, 73-79; Todd (1996b) 123. Boegehold (1972) 30 suggests slightly earlier, in 409-405 BC. In any case, there was no central archive at the start of Nikomachos' first term in office.

¹³⁰ Boegehold (1972) 29; Sickinger (1999) 103, 105, 113.

¹³¹ *Ath. Pol.* 35.1; *D.S.* 14.4.2; *X. Hell.* 2.3.11, 2.3.51. Krentz (1982) 61-2.

¹³² *And.* 1.81-82; 1.87. Clinton (1982) 30-31; Maidment (1953) 407.

¹³³ *Lys.* 30.1, 30.4, 30.19, 30.29.

¹³⁴ *Lys.* 30.17-25.

¹³⁵ Lambert (2002a) 354-355. See n.125.

possible. Prior knowledge of these texts may have permitted *anagrapheis* a certain amount of editorial control over the phrasing of these laws, without the need to consult others. Conversely, it is this potential for expertise which made Nikomachos and his fellow-*anagrapheis* potentially untrustworthy, as it provided them with the means to use this knowledge for personal gain.¹³⁶ Whether or not this actually happened is a matter for conjecture (see Other Attributes on page 44).

By stating that Nikomachos worked only on the sacrificial calendar in his second term, Lysias may be implying that he had been given a more limited set of duties;¹³⁷ however, the Athenian sacrificial calendar was a complex and extremely important document, listing sacrifices to be made throughout the year and the deities that these sacrifices were to be made to. It also included details such as the numbers and types of animals to be sacrificed, and the funds to be provided for them.¹³⁸ Immediately after a prolonged war, Athens may have needed to revisit levels of expenditure on such sacrifices,¹³⁹ and it is changes of this nature that Lysias accuses Nikomachos of making on his own authority (see page 44). Nikomachos may also have needed to review the dates of newer sacrifices, to ensure that they did not coincide with other, older sacrifices and/or festivals, and provide celebrants with sufficient time to travel from one event to another.¹⁴⁰

Further Particulars

The commission of 100 men, who either comprised the *anagrapheis of the laws* or from whom the *anagrapheis* were chosen were elected by show of hands.¹⁴¹ Those who revised the law took a daily wage until such time as work was completed.¹⁴² Nikomachos' two terms as *anagrapheus of the laws* (six years and four years, respectively), suggest that this commission was to be disbanded once work had been completed.¹⁴³ As such, *anagrapheis of the laws* did not serve for the same period as the *grammateus of the boule*, who served for

¹³⁶ Todd (1996b) 115: "Nikomachos is powerful because he is an expert; and yet his expertise is (ironically) at the same time his weakness: the expert, particularly the expert upstart, is both dangerously isolated and therefore hated." See also Todd (1996b) 116; 130-1.

¹³⁷ Lys. 30.4; Todd (1996b) 110.

¹³⁸ The remaining Athenian calendar is extremely fragmentary (see Lambert 2002a). For better-preserved, fourth-century calendars, see Ferguson (1938) and Lambert (2000).

¹³⁹ Dow (1968) 180-181. The amount of money and offerings available for sacrifices would depend on factors such as the current wealth of the polis, and environmental conditions, which would affect the crops produced and number of livestock born.

¹⁴⁰ As suggested for the Salaminioi by Ferguson (1938) 24-25.

¹⁴¹ *Ath. Pol.* 30.1, page 38.

¹⁴² Lys. 30.2. See also n.154.

¹⁴³ Lys. 30.2-4; Rhodes (1991) 89; Todd (1996b) 102-103; 110.

a prytany.¹⁴⁴ The commission also differed from democratic boards of officers in that it was possible to be appointed twice into the same office.¹⁴⁵

The working environment of the *anagrapheis of the laws* may have changed for Nikomachos' second period in office (403/2–400/399 BC), when an extraordinary board of *nomothetai* were elected, and the existing laws reviewed:

ἐπειδὴ δὲ βουλὴν τε ἀπεκληρώσατε νομοθέτας τε εἴλεσθε, εὐρίσκοντες τῶν νόμων τῶν τε Σόλωνος καὶ τῶν Δράκοντος πολλοὺς ὄντας οἷς πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔνοχοι ἦσαν τῶν πρότερον ἔνεκα γενομένων, ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσαντες ἐβουλευσασθε περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐψηφίσασθε, δοκιμάσαντες πάντας τοὺς νόμους, εἴτ' ἀναγράψαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τούτους τῶν νόμων οἱ ἂν δοκιμασθῶσι.¹⁴⁶

However, after you had chosen a boule by lot and elected nomothetai, you began to discover that there were many of the laws of Solon and Draco under which many citizens were liable, owing to previous events. You therefore held an assembly to discuss them (i.e. the laws), and decreed that all the laws should be reviewed and that whichever were approved were to be written up in the stoa.

An inserted (and probably fabricated¹⁴⁷) decree quoted in Andokides' *On the Mysteries* notes that 500 *nomothetai* ('law-givers') were elected by 'the demesmen' (οἱ δημόται) at this time, and were themselves connected with revisions to the laws of Solon and Draco.¹⁴⁸ This text appears to be both inauthentic and misleading, as nowhere else are this extraordinary board of *nomothetai* directly connected with revisions to the laws.¹⁴⁹ It may be that the *nomothetai* instead carried out functions previously undertaken by the *syngrapheis*, a board for which we have no evidence from this time onwards (page 74).

Other Attributes

If the public perception of *anagrapheis* was influenced by the case of Nikomachos, there is no evidence for this. The name Nikomachos – but not his official designation – appears in

¹⁴⁴ See page 52.

¹⁴⁵ Holding the same office two or more times (or for periods of over a year) is generally associated with oligarchic governments. This is implied, but not overtly stated in (e.g.) Arist. *Pol.* 1317b-1318a, Hdt. 3.81 and Ps. X. *Ath. Pol.* 1.3. Holding office for extended periods was thought to provide officers with the opportunity to establish a power base from which it was possible to exert influence: see Moore (1975) 25; Todd (1996b) 113.

¹⁴⁶ And. 1.82.

¹⁴⁷ Canevaro & Harris (2012) 114-115.

¹⁴⁸ And. 1.83-84: *such additions as are needed shall be inscribed on boards by the following nomothetai.*

¹⁴⁹ Canevaro & Harris (2012) 113-115; Maidment (1953) 403, 405; MacDowell (1962) 121-125; Oliver & Dow (1935) 7-10.

Aristophanes' *Frogs*, written after Nikomachos' first period in office, but before his second, and therefore also before the speech written by Lysias:¹⁵⁰

καὶ δὲς τουτὶ Κλεοφῶντι φέρων καὶ τουτουσὶ τοῖσι πορισταῖς, Μύρμηκί θ' ὁμοῦ καὶ Νικομάχῳ τόδε δ' Ἀρχενόμῳ.¹⁵¹

*And take this (a knife) and give it to Kleophon, and these (nooses) to the tax commissioners, and here's one for Myrmex and another for Nikomachos; and this (a bowl of hemlock) is for Archenomos.*¹⁵²

We assume that Kleophon was the demagogue, and that this is the same Nikomachos. The other two persons are otherwise unknown.

Nikomachos was accused of exceeding his authority in various ways, although we know little of the formal charge.¹⁵³ In Nikomachos' defence, each charge can also be read as the action necessary in order to bring these documents up-to-date, or can be explained away by the extraordinary nature of this office, which gave it both an unspecified duration, and a daily wage as compensation.¹⁵⁴

His crimes as alleged in Lysias 30 are as follows. During his first period in office, Nikomachos was to 'write up the laws of Solon within four months' (τεττάρων μηνῶν ἀναγράψαι τοὺς νόμους τοὺς Σόλωνος), but instead took six years.¹⁵⁵ During his second period in office, he took four years instead of thirty days.¹⁵⁶ These charges can perhaps be taken as rhetorical exaggeration on the part of the speaker. It is also possible that the initial time allowed was calculated by people who were unaware of the amount of work required, and therefore that Nikomachos took longer through no fault of his own. Elsewhere, specified time limits are very rare.¹⁵⁷ Additionally, while the initial commission of *anagrapheis of the laws* may have been intended to be for a fixed period, there is no indication that there was a fixed period in office for Nikomachos' second term.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁰ Aristophanes *Frogs* was first performed in early 405 BC. Dover (1993) 2.

¹⁵¹ Ar. *Frogs* 1504-1507.

¹⁵² Barrett (1964) 211. The items in parentheses are suggested (quite plausibly) by Barrett.

¹⁵³ Lys. 30.1-6. Todd (1996b) 108.

¹⁵⁴ Todd (1996b) 109, 131. In noting that Nikomachos 'received payment on a daily basis' (Lys. 30.2: καθ' ἐκάστην δὲ ἡμέραν ἀργύριον λαμβάνων), the speaker implies that Nikomachos took bribes for perverting the written law, rather than taking a daily wage.

¹⁵⁵ Lys. 30.2.

¹⁵⁶ Lys. 30.4.

¹⁵⁷ Time limits of ten days are attested in the mid fourth century BC (page 59), but four months and one month are unparalleled. (Thirty days is specified in the inserted (probably fabricated) decree And. 1.83-4.)

¹⁵⁸ Lys. 30.2, 30.4.

Lysias states that Nikomachos 'added some laws and erased others' (τοὺς μὲν ἐνέγραψε τοὺς δὲ ἐξήλειπεν),¹⁵⁹ giving the impression that Nikomachos worked independently of any other authority, and exceeded his own authority. However, 'adding and erasing' was part of the revision process, which included reviewing laws, and removing ordinances that were no longer in force.¹⁶⁰ Additionally, it is unclear how Nikomachos' work could have been distinguished from the work of the other *anagrapheis*, and why other *anagrapheis of the laws* were not similarly charged.¹⁶¹ The accusations instead take advantage of fears arising from the previous particularly unstable period of Athenian government, and the Athenian fear of experts.¹⁶²

Nikomachos was also charged with adding sacrifices to the sacrificial calendar, and thereby increasing public expenditure:¹⁶³

σὺ δέ, ὦ Νικόμαχε, τούτων τάναντία πεποίηκας· ἀναγράψας γὰρ πλείω τῶν προσταχθέντων αἴτιος γεγένησαι τὰ προσιόντα χρήματα εἰς ταῦτα μὲν ἀναλίσκεσθαι, ἐν δὲ ταῖς πατρίοις θυσίαις ἐπιλείπειν.¹⁶⁴

But you, Nikomachos, have done the opposite of this: by writing up a greater number than had been ordained you have caused the public revenue to be expended on these, and hence to be deficient for our ancestral offerings.

The speaker implies that the calendar should be kept in its previous form in order to maintain expenditure at the previous rate for sacrifices of longer standing.¹⁶⁵ However, these changes also fall under the remit of 'bringing the calendar up-to-date', with monetary amounts adjusted to take account of several other factors (see page 41).

Nikomachos is also charged with refusing to hand over the laws he has compiled and updated,¹⁶⁶ and failure to submit his accounts for examination (a process undergone by all

¹⁵⁹ Lys. 30.2. A similar phrase occurs in 30.5.

¹⁶⁰ And. 1.82 (page 43), with 1.76.

¹⁶¹ Suggestions that other *anagrapheis of the laws* are considered similarly guilty are at 30.25: οὔτοι δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν νόμων ἀναγραφῇ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν δῶρα λαμβάνοντες... 'these men, taking bribes for the version that they made of our laws'.

¹⁶² See page 41 and n.136.

¹⁶³ Lys. 30.17-22.

¹⁶⁴ Lys. 30.19. The verb used to denote editing or updating is also *anagrapho*.

¹⁶⁵ Realistically, there is no way that this could have been construed as for personal gain. The implication is that Nikomachos is impious (in contrast the speaker's piety, 30.19). This is not explicitly stated, however, and the word used instead is 'temple-robber' (ἱερόσυλος, 30.21).

¹⁶⁶ Lys. 30.3.

Athenian officials at the end of their term in office).¹⁶⁷ However, we are also told that he did in fact submit these accounts when the city was overtaken by 'disasters' (i.e. in 405/4 BC).¹⁶⁸

The fifth- and fourth-century office of *anagrapheus of the laws* was markedly different from the office of *anagrapheus* which came afterwards. The successors of *anagrapheis of the laws* appear to have been the *nomothetai*, rather than the later *anagrapheis*.¹⁶⁹ With the exception of two brief periods of oligarchic government, the later office of *anagrapheus* was much more limited in scope (see below).

ἀναγραφεὺς (*anagrapheus*)

337/6 – 321/0, 319/8 – 294/3, and 292/1 – 95/4 BC

There is no surviving evidence for *anagrapheis* in the period 399/8 – 338/7. The first surviving evidence for *anagrapheis* in the fourth century BC is from 337/6.¹⁷⁰

Further particulars

From 337/6 BC, during democratic periods of government, the office of *anagrapheus* was most probably an annual and elected office,¹⁷¹ and as such, it would not have been possible for the same person to be elected in successive years in the same capacity.

Honours for these officers (always in the singular) suggest that during these periods, there was only one *anagrapheus* in office at any one time. Additionally, an absence of this designation from the epigraphic record at the start of the third century BC suggests that the office may have been temporarily abolished.¹⁷²

Other attributes

All inscriptions containing an *anagrapheus* in the periods 337/6 – 321/0, 319/8 – 294/3 and 292/1 – 95/4 BC are texts in which an *anagrapheus* is honoured by the prytaneis. In the majority of cases, the *anagrapheus* is honoured alongside various other secretaries such as the *grammateus kata prytaneian* (*grammateus of the boule*) and *grammateus of the boule and the demos*.¹⁷³ On one occasion, the *anagrapheus* is honoured individually.¹⁷⁴ This

¹⁶⁷ Lys. 30.4-5; Dow (1960) 271-2; Todd (1996b) 103-4, 107.

¹⁶⁸ Lys. 30.3; Todd (1996b) 109.

¹⁶⁹ Dow (1963a) 38-39.

¹⁷⁰ IG II² 244 (337/6 BC) 54-5.

¹⁷¹ Ferguson (1898) 40-41; O'Sullivan (2009) 29; Rhodes (1972a) 140. There is some slight evidence that selection methods for some offices changed from sortition to election during the period 321/20-319/1 BC, however, it is not known whether these changes applied to *anagrapheis*.

¹⁷² Ferguson (1911) 32, believed that the office of *anagrapheus* was abolished in 319/18 BC; however there are several decrees after this date, until as late as 95/4 BC (Ag.15:261 58).

¹⁷³ E.g. IG II² 1700 (335/4 BC) 213-17; Ag.15:261 (95/4 BC) 45, 58.

example constitutes one of only two surviving instances where an Athenian secretary is honoured alone:¹⁷⁵

ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἀναγραφεὺς Καλλικρα[τ]ίδης καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἐπιμεμέλητ[ι] τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ [α][ι] πρυτανεῖαι αὐτὸν ἔστεφανώκασιν κα[ι] τ[ῶν] ἄλλα ἄρχει καλῶς καὶ δικαίως...¹⁷⁶

Since the anagrapheus Kallikratides has rightly and in a just manner taken care of the writing up of the documents and the prytaneis have crowned him, and he holds office well and justly with regards to other things...

This inscription is also significant in that it is the only surviving text from Athens where a secretary is categorically honoured for some aspect of his work. Unfortunately, the text does not provide any detail on what ‘the writing up of the documents’ (τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῶν γραμμάτων) may have been.

Kallikrates was awarded a crown worth 500 drachmas, which he was entitled to once he had submitted his accounts.¹⁷⁷

These texts provide no additional evidence for the duties of *anagrapheis*; however, if the frequent inclusion of the same group of secretaries in collective, honorific decrees can be taken as an indicator of collegial environment, the *anagrapheus* worked alongside a number of other secretaries from c.330 BC onwards.

Honours also record a group known as *aeisitoi*, i.e. those who were ‘always fed’ or maintained at public cost in the Prytaneion. Secretaries of various designations could be part of this group (see example on page 80), but while the *anagrapheus* could be honoured by the *aeisitoi*, he does not appear to have ever been one of them.¹⁷⁸

321/20 to 319/18 BC and 294/3 – 292/1 BC

Further particulars

From 321/0 to 319/18 BC, an oligarchic form of government temporarily replaced the democracy, and an officer known as the *anagrapheus* replaced the *grammateus of the boule*

¹⁷⁴ IG II² 415 (330/29 BC) 12-16, 22-27 (SEG 32:72); Lambert (2004) 89 prefers to date this text to 340-325 BC. See also Dow (1963a) 39-40; Walbank (1982) 44.

¹⁷⁵ The other example is honours for the *grammateus kata prytaneian* of 337/6 BC: see Schwenk 9 (335/4 BC) 1-21 on page 62. This is in contrast to the Peloponnese, which provides several examples of this type.

¹⁷⁶ IG II² 415 (330/29 BC) 12-16.

¹⁷⁷ IG II² 415 (330/29 BC) 25-27: ...καὶ στεφαν[ω]σάι αὐ[τὸν] τὸ [ν] χρ[υ]σοῦ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ :Ρ:: | [δραχμῶν] ἐπε[ιδὴ] ἂν τὰς εὐθύνας δῶι. ...and crown him with a gold crown (worth) 500 drachmas, when he has submitted his accounts (given euthyna).

¹⁷⁸ The *anagrapheus* honoured by the *aeisitoi*: Ag.15:261 (95/4 BC) 45, 58. There are several alternative spellings for *aeisitoi*, e.g. IG II² 678 42: αἰσιτοί. See also Dow (1937) 22-24.

in publishing the decrees of the boule and demos.¹⁷⁹ Oliver suggests that the prominence of the *anagrapheus* in these years indicates a 'symbolic move away from the *auctoritas* of the boule'; one which coincides with an increase in the prominence of the *ekklesia*.¹⁸⁰

This *anagrapheus* could be the eponymous secretary for the year in decrees.¹⁸¹ In approximately half of the decrees where the prescript survives, the *anagrapheus* is recorded immediately before the eponymous archon, in the nominative. In the other half, he is recorded immediately after the archon, as part of the dating formula.¹⁸²

ἀναγραφεὺς Ἀρχέδικος Ν]αυκρ[ίτ][ο]υ Λαμπτρεύς. [ἐπὶ Νεαί]χμου ἄρχ[ο][ν]τος
ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀν[τιοχ]ίδος πένητ[η][ς π]ρυτανείας, ἥ[ι Ν]ικόδημος Ἀναφ[λύ]σ[τιος]
ἐγρα[μμάτ]ευε[ν]. ... ἔδοξεν τῷ [δῆμῳ].¹⁸³

Anagrapheus Archedikos son of Naukritos of Lamptrai. In the archonship of Neaichmos, during the fifth prytany, that of Antiochis, for which Nikodemos of Anaphlystos was grammateus. ...It was decreed by the [demos:...]

Archedikos is the *anagrapheus* in eleven surviving decrees from the year 320/19 BC: extremely prolific in comparison with the surviving evidence for other secretaries.¹⁸⁴

Archedikos was a supporter of Macedon,¹⁸⁵ and also had a career as a comic poet.¹⁸⁶ The *anagrapheus* of the preceding year (321/20 BC), Thrasykles, was also pro-Macedon, and in 314/3 BC, was the proposer of an honorific decree for Macedonians.¹⁸⁷

In the two years in which an *anagrapheus* replaced the *grammateus of the boule*, *anagrapheis* can be shown in conjunction with secretaries referred to simply as *grammateis*. (In the above example, Nikodemos is *grammateus* for the prytany of Antiochis.) This '*grammateus* for the prytany of...' was the *grammateus* drawn from the tribe serving as *prytaneis*.¹⁸⁸ (See page 69.)

A lack of collective honours for secretaries in these years means that we have little evidence for the collegial environment of the *anagrapheus* at this time. It is unclear whether some of

¹⁷⁹ Dow (1963a) 40.

¹⁸⁰ Oliver (2003) 46, 49-51.

¹⁸¹ E.g. Ag.16:100[2] (320/19 BC) 1-2.

¹⁸² O'Sullivan (2009) 28.

¹⁸³ IG II² 381 (320/19 BC) 1-10. Meritt (1961a) 113-114. The year is intercalary, with 59 days in the first two months, and 39 days in the first prytany.

¹⁸⁴ See Appendix A page 254 for the relevant texts (underlined). For the substantially-higher number of inscriptions in the period 307-301 BC, see Hedrick (2000b) and Dow (1963a) 44-53.

¹⁸⁵ O'Sullivan (2009) 29; IG II² 402 (322-319) 1-7.

¹⁸⁶ O'Sullivan (2009) 29.

¹⁸⁷ Ag. 16 97[1] (321/20 BC) 2-3; IG II² 450 (314/3 BC) 9-10.

¹⁸⁸ Dow (1963a) 40.

the more minor offices were temporarily abolished, or whether the offices were simply not recorded.

Other attributes

The *anagrapheis* only attained a degree of prominence in the years in which Athens had more oligarchic forms of government. When democracy was restored, the office of *grammateus of the boule* was restored to its previous position,¹⁸⁹ and the office of *anagrapheus* again became a minor one.¹⁹⁰ In 294/3–292/1 BC, during the ‘dictatorship’ of Olympiodoros and in the following year, the *anagrapheus* once more replaced the *grammateus of the boule* as eponymous secretary.¹⁹¹

ἀντιγραφεύς (*antigrapheus*)

Activities

The *antigrapheus* (ἀντιγραφεύς), ‘checking-clerk’ or ‘copying-clerk’, is known from the fourth century BC to the third century AD,¹⁹² and was responsible for the boule’s accounts, which he presented to the boule as a report at the end of every prytany:

Πρότερον μὲν τοίνυν, ὧς Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντιγραφεύς ἦν χειροτονητὸς τῇ πόλει, ὃς καθ’ ἐκάστην πρυτανεῖαν ἀπελογίζετο τὰς προσόδους τῷ δήμῳ.¹⁹³

In earlier times, fellow citizens, the antigrapheus was elected by the polis, who every prytany made to the people a report of the revenues.

Harpocration, drawing from a now lost section of the *Athenaion Politeia*, suggests that there may have been two of these officers, one for the boule, and one for internal administration (διοίκησις):

Ἀντιγραφεύς: ὁ καθιστάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν καταβαλλόντων τινὰ τῇ πόλει χρήματα, ὥστε ἀντιγράφεσθαι ταῦτα· Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ’ Ἀνδροτίωνος καὶ Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος. διπτοὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀντιγραφεῖς, ὁ μὲν τῆς διοικήσεως, ὃς φησι Φιλόχορος, ὁ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ Ferguson (1898) 40–42. IG II² 374 (after 319/8 BC) 19–22.

¹⁹⁰ Ag.15:58 (305/4 BC) 83–84.

¹⁹¹ Dow (1963a) 40–41; Henry (1977) 50; Rhodes (1972a) 140. E.g. Dinsmoor 7 (293/2 BC) 1–2.

¹⁹² Earliest: IG II² 1740 (388/7 BC) 53–6. Latest: IG II² 1077 (209/10 AD) 96.

¹⁹³ Aeschin. 3.25 (330 BC).

¹⁹⁴ Harp. *Words Used by the Ten Orators* 35.4 (1–2 CAD) refers to four sources when describing the *antigrapheis*: Demosthenes (22.70 & 24.178), Aeschines (3.25 above), Philokhoros (3C BC) and a lost fragment of the *Ath. Pol.* See also Poll. 8.98.5 – 8.99.3 (2 CAD) (page 50 and n.196). The *antigrapheus* in both passages of Demosthenes is connected with the collection of taxes. Dickey (2007) 94, 96.

Antigrapheus: The one appointed in charge of those who pay any money to the state. Demosthenes in the speech against Androtion and Aeschines in that against Ctesiphon. And there were two antigraphais, one for internal administration, as Philokhoros says, and one for the boule, as Aristotle wrote in the Athenaion Politeia.

There is no surviving epigraphic evidence to support the claim that there were two *antigraphais*. Since there is no indication that ‘internal administration’ was in any way separate from management of boule accounts, Philokhoros’ *antigrapheus* for internal administration may be the same officer as Aristotle’s *antigrapheus* for the boule. In the approximately 100 inscriptions which include an *antigrapheus*, there is only ever one per inscription. Additionally, it would be most unusual, in a situation where many secretaries were honoured collectively, to always omit one of the *antigraphais*. The inference that there was only one *antigrapheus* is also supported by the form of the designation. In other circumstances where two secretaries worked together, their designations differed (e.g. the *grammateus of the boule* and the *grammateus of the boule and the demos*; the *grammateus* and *syngrammateus of the epistatai*, etc). There is no epigraphic evidence for (e.g.) an *antigrapheus of the boule* or *antigrapheus for internal administration*.

Antigraphais may have stored their work in the Metroön:

ἀντιγραφεὺς Ἡφαί[στος —c.16—]Ι[ος κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Μητροῶν] | κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ...¹⁹⁵

Hephaistos was antigrapheus ... —[i]os was set up at the Metroön] according to the decree...

Further Particulars

As with the *grammateus of the boule* (page 51), the officer’s method of selection appears to have changed during the office’s existence:

ἀντιγραφεὺς πρότερον μὲν αἵρετὸς αὖθις δὲ κληρωτὸς ἦν, καὶ πάντα ἀντεγράφετο παρακαθήμενος τῇ βουλῇ.¹⁹⁶

Previously the antigrapheus was elected, but later was chosen by lot, and was involved in all of the boule’s accounts.

¹⁹⁵ SEG 15:104 (127/6 BC) 104-105. The restoration of Metroön in line 104 is based upon an identical (but also fragmentary) formula in a second decree on this stele (117-118): ἀντιγραφεὺς Ἡφαίστος — c.18—ιος κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Μητροῶν | [κατὰ τὸ ψήφι]σμα. The text is too fragmentary to complete either phrase. Rhodes (1972a) 238-9; Oliver & Dow (1935) 71, 74-75, 79.

¹⁹⁶ Poll. *Onom.* 8.98.5 – 8.99.3 (2CAD). The paragraph continues: δύο δ’ ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ὁ δὲ τῆς διοικήσεως; *And there were two of them, one of the boule, and another for internal administration, mirroring the information provided by Harpocration.*

We do not know what is meant by 'previously', but this is likely to have been before 367/6 BC (see page 61).

Other Attributes

Like many other officials, the *antigrapheus* held office for a year. Most references to the *antigrapheus* are in decrees in which this secretary is honoured as *aeisitos*, along with other officers, after their year in office.¹⁹⁷

The *antigrapheus* does not appear to have achieved any degree of prominence; however, in three surviving inscriptions from the middle of the second century BC, the *antigrapheus* Demokrates from the deme Kydathenaion immediately follows the *grammateus* in the prescript.¹⁹⁸ The reasons for this are unclear.

Raubitschek suggests that a slave replaced the office of *antigrapheus* in the fourth century BC. Unfortunately, there is not sufficient evidence to prove this.¹⁹⁹

γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς (*grammateus of the boule*)

The office of *grammateus of the boule* is known from the sixth century BC to the third century AD. During this time, the duration of the office changed, as did the way in which the officer was appointed (see page 59). There is no evidence for changes to the duties of the *grammateus of the boule*, however, with the possible exception of reading out documents in public, not attested before the end of the first century AD (see [ho] *peri to bema* on page 56).

The *grammateus of the boule* was known by several different designations, some of which were in use only at certain times:

- γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*), see below.
- γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς (*grammateus of the boule*), see page 52.
- γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν (*grammateus kata prytaneian*), see page 53.
- [ὁ] περὶ τὸ βῆμα ([ho] *peri to bema*) see page 56.

¹⁹⁷ Ferguson (1898) 67, 69. See examples on pages 71-72 and 80. For more on the *aeisitoi*, see page 47 and the Glossary.

¹⁹⁸ IG II² 967 (aft. 150 BC) 2-3; Ag.15:238 (145/4 BC) 2-3; Ag.15:239 (145/4 BC) fr.a-b 2-4, c.13-14.

¹⁹⁹ Rhodes (1972a) 142. Raubitschek (1942) 305-306 examines Ag.15:37 (343/2 BC) and compares it with IG II² 1747 (c.350 BC) and IG II² 1740 (before 388/7 BC). Raubitschek argues that by examining the officials present in a specific type of inscription – *dedications* made by the prytaneis – one can ascertain which secretarial offices were in existence at the time. His premise is that, since there were only two fourth-century inscriptions (as far as he was aware) 'of this type' that contain an official in addition to a *grammateus*, where one contains an *antigrapheus* (IG II² 1740 (before 388/7 BC) 55-56) and another contains a *hyperetes* (Ag.15:37 (343/2 BC) 4), the latter must have replaced the former. Raubitschek both ignores the possibility that specific inscriptions may not contain all of the secretaries for that year, and omits to mention that Ag.15:37 contains only the last four lines of the text.

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

From the mid-sixth century BC, the *grammateus* of the pre-Kleisthenic council was referred to simply as *grammateus* (γραμματεὺς).²⁰⁰ This designation was also used for the *grammateus* of the boule prior to c.450 BC. From the middle to the end of the fifth century BC, when the *grammateus* of the boule served for a prytany only, the first *grammateus* in the tribal cycle could additionally be identified by the phrase *was first grammateus* (πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευσ).²⁰¹ This phrase differentiated the *grammateus* of the boule at the start of the year from the *grammateus* currently in office.

The first *grammateus* could be included as part of the ἐνί + genitive dating clause containing the eponymous archon:

ἐπ' Ἀφ]σεύδος ἄρχοντος κ|[αὶ τὲς βολεῖς ἡ]εῖ Κριτιά]δες πρῶτος ἐγραμμ[άτευσ νν
ἔδοχσεν τῇ βο]λῇ καὶ τοῖ δέμοι· Ἀ|[καμαντὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Χ]αρίας ἐγραμμάτευ|[ε..²⁰²

*In the archonship of Aphseudos and [the boule in which Kritiades] was first grammateus, [it was resolved by the] boule and the demos, [Akamantis held the prytany,] Charias was grammateus.*²⁰³

Including the first *grammateus* as part of the ἐνί clause containing the archon may have assisted in the dating of a decree. Additionally, many of the documents containing *was first grammateus* are treasury documents, recording financial transactions between the Athenian boule and *hellenotamiai* (the Athenian chief financial officers of the Delian League). This phrase may therefore also have helped distinguish the *grammateus* of the boule from the *grammateus* of the *hellenotamiai*, or the *grammateus* of the treasurers of Athena and the other gods. See example on page 88.

The *grammateus* of the boule could be known by either the designation *grammateus* or one of the following designations until the early third century AD.²⁰⁴

γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς (*grammateus of the boule*)

From 450 BC, the *grammateus* (of the boule) could also be known by the longer designation *grammateus of the boule*.²⁰⁵ Spelt in the Attic alphabet until the end of the fifth century BC

²⁰⁰ Earliest surviving datable inscriptions: IGI³ 508 (562-558 BC) A5-B6: —c.5—ί]ας ἐ|γρα[μάτευσ — ; IGI³ 509 (c.550 BC?) 2-3: vac — ἐγ]ραμμάτε|υσ.

²⁰¹ Earliest e.g. IGI³ 450 (447/6–433/2 BC) 410-416; latest: IGI³ 316 (407/6 BC) 64-67. There is no *deuteros grammateus*, etc. For *grammateis* serving for a prytany, see page 59.

²⁰² IGI³ 53 (433/2 BC) 4-8.

²⁰³ Translation: Dillon & Garland (1994) 243-4 §8.28.

²⁰⁴ Latest surviving datable inscription: IGI² 1078 (c.220 AD) 2.

²⁰⁵ E.g. IGI³ 193 (450-435 BC) 3-4: [ἀναγραφάτο] ἡ γραμματεὺς ἡ τὲς βολεῖς ἐν στέ]ι|[λει λιθίνει καὶ θέ]το ἐμ πόλει. *Let the grammateus of the boule write it up on a stone stele and set it up in Athens.*

(γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς), the designation γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς was used in this form until the first century BC. From the first century BC onwards, the title was written without the article: γραμματεὺς βουλῆς.²⁰⁶

The designation may have been lengthened from γραμματεὺς to γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς in order to distinguish the *grammateus of the boule* from the *grammateus* of the *hellenotamiai*, who had moved their administration from Delos to Athens only a few years earlier.²⁰⁷ (See example on page 86).

γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν (*grammateus kata prytaneian*)

In c.367/6 BC, the office of *grammateus of the boule* became an annual one (see page 60). From this date, the *grammateus of the boule* could be referred to either as *grammateus of the boule*, or *grammateus kata prytaneian* (γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν), that is, secretary serving 'prytany-by-prytany' (i.e. for a whole cycle of prytanies).²⁰⁸ This designation is used *only* for the *grammateus* for the whole year (ten prytanies), and is *never* used for the secretary for a single prytany (who is referred to only as *grammateus* or *grammateus of the boule*, see above).

The argument for the identification of the *grammateus kata prytaneian* with the *grammateus of the boule* is as follows:

- The duties attested for the *grammateus of the boule* before 367/6 BC are the same as those ascribed to the *grammateus kata prytaneian* in *Ath. Pol.* 54.3 (page 57). No secretary in the *Ath. Pol.* is referred to as the *grammateus of the boule*.
- Both designations can be used for the eponymous secretary.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ The earliest epigraphic evidence for the longer designation *grammateus of the boule* (γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς) is IG I³ 27 (c.450/49 BC) 8-9, though the *grammateus* was clearly working with the *boule* prior to this (e.g. IG I³ 5 (c.500 BC) 1). The earliest instance spelt γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς is IG I³ 103 (410/9 BC) 11, the latest is IG II² 1061 (1C BC) 16. The latest instance of *grammateus (of the) boule* (i.e. without the article) is Ag.15:454 (204/5 AD) 4-5.

²⁰⁷ The dating of the tribute lists places the move of the treasury from Delos to 454 BC.

²⁰⁸ E.g. IG II² 124 (357/6 BC) 1-3. Ferguson (1898) 36. In support of this interpretation of κατὰ πρυτανείαν, Ferguson cites the phrases καθ' ἡμέραν 'day after day', and κατὰ μῆνα, 'month after month'. This conflicts with the interpretation given in *LSJ*; namely that κατὰ πρυτανείαν refers to 'by presidencies', i.e. every 35 or 36 days, or any public office held by rotation for given periods. See also Rhodes (1972a) 134-7, who summarises the argument that *grammateus kata prytaneian* is synonymous with *grammateus of the boule*.

²⁰⁹ Rhodes (1972a) 135-7. In SEG 19:129 (352/1 BC) 13-14, a stele is set up in front of the Chalkotheke by Philokedes in 353/3 BC. Philokedes is very probably the eponymous *grammateus* in both IG II² 138 3 & 139 3-4 (353/2 BC), and this stele is almost certainly the one which the *grammateus of the boule* is directed to set up in IG II² 120 (353/2 BC) 13-19. To show that the eponymous secretary could also be known by the designation *grammateus kata prytaneian*, Rhodes notes IG II² 223 (343/2 BC) C.1-2: [γραμματ]ε[ύ]ς κατὰ π[ρυτ]ανείαν· | Κλεόστρατος Τιμοσθένους Αἰγίλιεύς, with IG II² 224 (also 343/2 BC) 2: ἡ Κλεόστρατος Τιμοσθένους Αἰ[γίλιεύς] ἐγραμμάτευεν. From this, he declares both titles to be synonymous. See also IG II² 225 (343/2 BC) 4-5; Ferguson (1898) 9, 11, 34-5; Rhodes (1993) 599-600.

- The designations *grammateus of the boule* and *grammateus kata prytaneian* can both be used for the secretary who writes and sets up decrees on behalf of the boule and demos.²¹⁰ The terms are used interchangeably in epigraphic formulae for the officer who is responsible for writing up and having inscribed most of the public documents of the boule and demos until the late second century AD, with a rapid shift in favour of the designation *grammateus kata prytaneian* (see Table 14 on page 297). By the end of the fourth century BC, the term *grammateus of the boule* had almost fallen out of use altogether, although there is clearly still a boule secretary.
- Of the several thousand Athenian inscriptions which record a *grammateus* (of the boule), there are only two instances where both the designation *grammateus of the boule* and *grammateus kata prytaneian* occur in the same text (four if you include instances where designations have been entirely restored).²¹¹

The argument against the synonymous nature of these offices is based on the interpretation of IG II² 120, the decree on the inventory of treasures in the Chalkotheke, below, where both designations occur within the space of four lines.²¹² Neither designation has a personal name attached, and neither can be Eukles the *demosios* (public slave). The argument against is simply that, if both designations occur within a few lines of each other, they must be different offices; however, this inscription is also unusual in terms of the other officers it contains, and the verbs used to describe the writing of texts.

...παραγγῆλαι δὲ τοὺς πρυτάν[ε]ις καὶ Ε[ὐκλ]εῖ τῷ δημοσίῳ ἥκειν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν
 γρα[φόμε]νον τ[ὸ] ἐν τῇ χαλκοθήκῃ. καὶ ἐπειδὴν τὸ οἶκημα ἀ[ν]οιχθεὶ ἐξετάζεν κατὰ
 ἔθνος ἕκαστα καὶ ἐπιγράφεν τ[ὸν] ἀριθμὸν, ἀντιγράφεσθαι δὲ τὸν γραμματέα τὸν
 κατὰ πρυτανείαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους γραμματ[ε]ῆς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις
 γράμμασιν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐξετασθῇ πάντα κ[αὶ] ἀναγραφῇ, τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς

²¹⁰ Compare e.g. IG II² 107 (368/7 BC) 7, 18-20 with e.g. IG II² 788 (235/4 BC) 7, 26-8.

²¹¹ The earliest of these, IG II² 120 (353/2 BC) 13-19, is covered in some detail on pages 54-55. The remaining inscription(s) are lists of *prytaneis* from the late second or early third centuries AD. IG II² 1789 (c.175 AD) (=Ag. 15.454) 4-7: [γραμμ]ατεὺς βουλῆς | — — — ξ' Ἐλευθέρου | [γραμμ]ατεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν | [Εὐκ]αρπὸς Θεογ[ένους] is a seven-line fragment. The line length allowed for *grammateus kata prytaneian* indicates that there is space for at least another eight letters after *grammateus boules*, which would easily allow for the designation of another secretary, the *grammateus of the boule and the demos*. Entirely-restored are Ag. 15.410 (c.185/6 AD) 7, 11 and SEG 26:157 (203/4 AD) 3, 6 (Ag. 15.414 with restoration suggested by Follet (1976) 309-310). Unfortunately, the same *man* is never referred to using both designations. The issue is complicated by the way in which personal names are included in inscription formulae. When a text contains a secretary in the prescript (-*egrammateue*), and the *grammateus of the boule* is referred to as *grammateus of the boule*, the personal name of the secretary (where given) is the same for both instances. When a *grammateus* occurs in the prescript and the *grammateus of the boule* is referred to as *grammateus kata prytaneian*, only one of these two designations has a personal name attached.

²¹² IG II² 120 (353/2 BC) 13-19. For a summary of this argument, see Rhodes (1972a) 136-7. See also Schulthess (1912) 1707-80, who argues that during this period, duties were divided between two secretaries.

ἀναγράψαντα [έν] στήλῃ λιθίνῃ στήσαι ἔμπροσθεν τῆς χαλκοθήκῃ[ς]. || [ές] δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τοὺς ταμίας [τῇ][ς] βουλῆς : ΔΔΔ : [δρ]αχμὰς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλ[ισ][κο]μένων τῇ βουλῇ. ποιήσασθαι δὲ τὸν γραμματέα τ[ῆς] | [β]ουλῆς ἀντίγραφα ἐκ τῶν στηλῶν τὰ ἀναγεγραμμένα [πε]||ρὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ χαλκοθήκῃ.²¹³

And the prytaneis are also to instruct Eukles the demosios to come to the acropolis to write down the objects that are in the Chalkotheke. Whenever the chamber is opened, he (Eukles) is to examine each particular (object) by nationality and write down the number, and the grammateus kata prytaneian and the other secretaries in charge of state documents are to make their own copy. And when all (the calculations) have been reviewed and transcribed, the grammateus of the boule is to write them up on a stone stele and set it up in front of the Chalkotheke. And for the writing up of the stele, the treasurers of the boule are to provide 30 drachmas from the decree funds of the boule. And the grammateus of the boule is to make transcripts of the things written on the stele that pertain to the (treasures) in the Chalkotheke.

The inscription contains duties that are otherwise unattested for secretaries of the boule and demos and public slaves. The *demosios* is to first create a list of the objects in the Chalkotheke (see page 81). The *grammateus kata prytaneian* is then to work with the *demosios* and the other secretaries in charge of state documents to create a second list of these treasures. Both lists are presumably to be organised by the nationality of the donors. Once the lists are complete and have been reviewed, the *grammateus of the boule* is to write them up on a stele, and from the version of the text that is on the stele, make *further* lists of the treasures contained in the Chalkotheke.²¹⁴ The procedure also calls for several other secretaries (designations unknown) to check the contents of the Chalkotheke.²¹⁵

The procedure is curious in that the Chalkotheke treasures are documented three times. The first copy is made by the *demosios*, the second, by the *grammateus kata prytaneian* and the 'other secretaries,' and the third, by the *grammateus of the boule*. It is possible that two or more lists could have been used against each other, to check the accuracy of the lists and the stele.

While it is theoretically possible that the *grammateus kata prytaneian* and the *grammateus* of the boule were different officials, this seems to add an unnecessary level of complexity to an already complex procedure. There is no reason to assume that two different types of

²¹³ IG II²120 (353/2 BC) 13-19.

²¹⁴ Ferguson (1898) 10. For further examples of secretaries documenting the contents of treasuries, see Appendix D, page 322.

²¹⁵ The imprecise phrase *the other secretaries in charge of state documents* (lines 16-17) is unprecedented, and could refer to any number of other secretaries, including the *grammateus of the boule* and the *demos*, and the *antigraphus*, who was primarily associated with the accounts of the boule and demos. The phrase is unlikely to refer to *hypogrammateis*, as they were not 'in charge' of anything.

secretary were required to create lists, and the final check consists of the *grammateus of the boule* checking that his own copy has been rendered accurately by the stonecutter. The switch of title part-way through this inscription instead seems to be far more likely due to imprecision, at a time when both designations were used equally, rather than indicating that these were two separate offices.

[ὁ] περὶ τὸ βῆμα ([*ho*] *peri to bema*, secretary ‘in attendance’ or ‘at the platform’)

From the end of the first century AD to the start of the third century AD, the *grammateus of the boule* could also be referred to as [ὁ] περὶ τὸ βῆμα ([*ho*] *peri to bema*), without the preceding word ‘*grammateus*’.²¹⁶ For example in the following text, Rhodos, the *grammateus* in the prescript, is also designated *peri to bema* in a list of *aeisitoi* (αἴσιτοι, those maintained at public cost during meals held at the Athenian Prytaneion), later in the text.

ἐγραμμάτευσεν Ῥόδων Καλλίστου Μαραθ[θώνιος].

...

αἴσιτοι·

...

γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Ἀριστόβουλος Ἀττικοῦ Ἀναγυράσιος

περὶ τὸ βῆμα Ῥόδων Καλλίστου Μαραθ.²¹⁷

Rhodon son of Kallistos from Marathon was grammateus.

...

aeisitoi:

...

grammateus of the boule and demos: Aristoboulos son of Attikos from Anagyrous

peri to bema: Rhodon son of Kallistos from Marathon.

See also the examples on pages 71 and 80.

There are two possible interpretations of this designation. It could refer to the secretary ‘in attendance’, and be an honorific title. *Peri to bema* was used to denote the *grammateus of the boule* only in inscriptions where honours were bestowed upon Athenian councillors, and in no other context (such as in epigraphic formulae).²¹⁸ In the majority of cases, the *peri to bema* is also one of the *aeisitoi*.²¹⁹ Alternatively, the word *bema* (meaning rostrum or

²¹⁶ Earliest: Ag.15:312 (96/97 AD) 43-44. Latest: IG II² 1077 (209/10 AD) III.50. Brillant (1911) 95-96; Ferguson (1898) 65; Rhodes (1972a) 141; Rhodes (1993) 600.

²¹⁷ IG II² 1077 (209/10 AD) 2-3, III.38, III.47-50.

²¹⁸ While the *grammateus of the boule* continues to publish decrees at this time, the designation used is *grammateus kata prytaneian* rather than *peri to bema*. E.g. IG II² 1062 (mid. 1CBC) 6-8.

²¹⁹ I count 41 inscriptions, dating from the end of the first to the start of the third century AD, that contain the term *peri to bema* (see page 281 for a selection). The majority are 2CAD, and in 26/41, the *peri to bema* is one of the *aeisitoi*. In none of these texts does *peri to bema* have a definite article.

speaking platform) could indicate that this secretary stood at the platform.²²⁰ One reason for standing at the platform could be to read documents out in public.²²¹ If this was the case, the *grammateus of the boule* would be associated with a duty that had previously been the duty of the *grammateus of the boule and the demos* alone (page 65). This would suggest an expansion of the responsibilities of the *grammateus of the boule*.

Three other secretaries have prepositional titles of this kind: [ὁ] ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα (*secretary in charge of decrees*), [ὁ] ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρητον (*secretary for that which cannot be mentioned*), and [ὁ] ἐνὶ τοῖς νόμοις (*secretary for the laws*). See page 72 for more information.

Activities

The *grammateus of the boule* was the officer who recorded the laws, decrees and decisions of the boule. This included an abbreviated version of legislation originally proposed by others (i.e. passages prefaced with '<personal name> εἶπεν').²²² He also recorded any other information deemed worthy of permanent record, such as honours bestowed,²²³ and financial accounts.²²⁴ Much of this information was written on temporary media only. This could be either displayed publicly,²²⁵ or stored in archives²²⁶ managed by a *demosios* (public slave, page 81).

Some of the duties ascribed to the *grammateus of the boule* (here, *grammateus kata prytaneian*) are described in *Ath. Pol.* 54.3:

κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν καλούμενον, ὃς τῶν γραμμάτων ἐστὶ κύριος, καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ γινόμενα φυλάττει, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἀντιγράφεται καὶ παρακάθεται τῇ βουλῇ. πρότερον μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἦν χειροτονητός, καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ πιστοτάτους ἐχειροτόνου. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς στήλαις πρὸς ταῖς συμμαχίαις καὶ προξενίαις καὶ πολιτείαις οὗτος ἀναγράφεται. νῦν δὲ γέγονε κληρωτός.²²⁷

They also appoint by lot a grammateus, the one called kata prytaneian, who is in charge of the documents,²²⁸ and is keeper of the decrees that are passed, and sees

²²⁰ For the use of '*peri to bema*', see, e.g. Aeschin. 2.71; Plu. *Pericles* 11.2.

²²¹ Geagan (1967) 107 uses the literal translation, 'the man about the rostrum'.

²²² MacDowell (1978) 48-49; Osborne (2010) 64-68.

²²³ E.g. IG II² 26 (394-387 BC) 1-8 on page 62.

²²⁴ E.g. the list containing the contents of the Chalkotheke, page 54.

²²⁵ Stroud (1979) 3-4. E.g. the *axones* used to display the law on homicide.

²²⁶ Ferguson (1898) 30-31; Sickinger (1999) 5.

²²⁷ *Ath. Pol.* 54.3. Rhodes (1993) 599-603. Rhodes (1993) 601 suggests that the official writing τᾶλλα πάντα ἀντιγράφεται was actually the *demosios*. See page 81.

²²⁸ Alternatively, 'is authoritative in matters of documents'.

to the recording of everything else, and attends meetings of the boule. Formerly this officer was elected by show of hands, and the most distinguished and trustworthy men used to be elected, for this officer's name is written up on the stelai for the alliances and appointments to proxenies²²⁹ and grants of citizenship; but now it has been made an office elected by lot.

As the officer 'in charge of the documents' this secretary was the most prominent of the Athenian secretaries, supervising the transcription of all documents, and working with other secretaries in a supervisory capacity. In attending all meetings of the boule, the *grammateus* would have been present at the preliminary discussion of all decrees.

Copies of texts written by the *grammateus of the boule* and set up in Athens could also be set up in other locations. For example, on Delos, references to the *grammateus of the boule* almost always (if not always) refer to the *grammateus of the boule* at Athens.²³⁰

The *grammateus of the boule* was not the person who inscribed the stone.²³¹ In the fifth century, this may have been because this kind of manual labour was not seen to be appropriate for a *pentakosiomedimnos*,²³² however, from the mid fourth century, officers were chosen from all classes,²³³ and yet evidence still does not suggest that the *grammateus of the boule* was ever the stonecutter. The reasons for this may be purely practical. The stonecutter would have required training, and the *grammateus of the boule* may not have had either the time available, or the practical expertise, to write or inscribe all of the texts required.²³⁴

Instead, the *grammateus of the boule* acted as an intermediary between an official body (and the proposers of decrees) and the stonecutter(s) to ensure that texts were inscribed correctly, and within any imposed time constraints.²³⁵ He was most often the officer ultimately responsible for the setting up of a text in a public place,²³⁶ and on rare occasions

²²⁹ The proxenos hosted foreign ambassadors at his own expense, and would use any personal connections to promote good relations or alliances between cities.

²³⁰ Three Delian inscriptions contain the designation *grammateus of the boule*: ID 88 (368, 362 BC) 20-25, 31-37; ID 502 (297 BC) A25-30; ID 1522 (98-117 AD) 19-21. The first is the Delian copy of an Athenian proxy decree, to be written up by the *grammateus of the boule* at Athens and the *grammateus of the amphictyons* at Delos (a position filled by an Athenian man). In the second text it is impossible to tell the origin of the *grammateus*, and the officer serves only as one of several witnesses. In the third text, the *grammateus* is the recipient of a copy of a Delian decree. See page 327.

²³¹ I have found no evidence from Athens which has both <stonecutter + personal name> and <*grammateus* + personal name>. See Appendix F page 347 for more information on stonecutters.

²³² For boule officials chosen from the *pentakosiomedimnoi*, see *Ath. Pol.* 7.3-8.1, 47.1; Hansen (1999) 30. While 'the other offices' (τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς) are clearly chosen from the *pentakosiomedimnoi*, the *grammateus* is not singled out for special mention.

²³³ *Ath. Pol.* 31.2; Rhodes (1972a) 135.

²³⁴ It is unclear why the *grammateis* of other, smaller, groups do not appear to be stonecutters.

²³⁵ See n.241. For the process of creating an inscription, see page 27.

²³⁶ E.g. IG II² 410 (c.330 BC) 37-39, page 35.

he might update an oath,²³⁷ or correct a phrase in an already published decree.²³⁸ He may also have been the officer who ensured that the payment for the text was delivered from the *tamias* (treasurer) to the stonecutter, as the treasurer and secretary are often mentioned together in epigraphic formulae.²³⁹

The *grammateus of the boule* is not attested in the reading out of laws and decrees of the boule and demos in public until the first century AD, and even here the identification with this task is uncertain (see [ho] *peri to bema* on page 56). From the fourth century BC to the third century AD, this appears to have been primarily the responsibility of the *grammateus of the boule and the demos* (see page 64).²⁴⁰

A handful of proxeny or honorific decrees from the middle of the fourth century BC specify that the *grammateus of the boule* is required to complete his work 'within ten days'.²⁴¹ All but one of these texts²⁴² specify that the decree is to be on a stone stele, allowing little time for the drafting, cutting, and final setting up of the text. Time constraints (of any duration) are not attested for any other Athenian officers.

Further particulars

From the fifth century until 368/7 BC, the *grammateus of the boule* served for one prytany only. This secretary was probably also a member of the boule.²⁴³ As a member of the boule,

²³⁷ Meiggs & Lewis (1989) 111-117. The *grammateus* could bring a bouleutic oath up to date: No.45 (450-446 BC) 12: προσγράψαι δὲ πρὸς τὸν ὄρκον [τ]ὸν τῆς βουλῆς τὸν γραμματέα τὸν τῆς [βουλῆς εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν τα]δί... Rhodes (1972a) 134-5.

²³⁸ IG I³ 101 (410/09 BC), SEG 12:37; Meritt & Andrewes (1951) 201-3, 207-8. Two decrees on the same stele. The second decree (47-64) issues corrections to the first (1-46). 7-8: ...[ὅτι ἄποικοι ὄντες Θασίον] [καὶ πολιο]ρκόμενοι [ὑπ'] αὐτοῦ καὶ Πελο[πον]νησίον... ...that, being colonists of the Thasians and being besieged by them and the Peloponnesians... is corrected as follows: 58-59: ἐς δὲ τὸ φσέφισμα τὸ πρό[τερον] ἐ[πανορθόσαι] τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς : καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ μεταγρ[άφ]σαι ἀντὶ τῆς ἀποικί[ας] τῆς Θασί[ων] ὅτι συνδιεπολέμεσαν τὸν πόλεμον μετὰ Ἀθηναίων. And the *grammateus of the boule* is to amend the earlier decree; and to correct it, where before it said 'the colony of the Thasians' to write 'because they fought through the war with the Athenians'. See also Rhodes (1972a) 139.

²³⁹ E.g. IG II² 53 (after 387/6 BC) 5-9.

²⁴⁰ The reading out of documents in law courts was the responsibility of the *grammateus* who worked in the lawcourts, who has no known longer official designation. See page 93.

²⁴¹ The reason for this is not known, and it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty why the direction appears in 13 surviving decrees from a c.50-year period, and not others. IG II² 141 (376/5 BC) 12-14: τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀναγραφάτω ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βολῆς | ἐστίλῃ λιθίνῃ δέκα ἡμερῶν. Also: IG II² 149 (before 355 BC) 17-23; IG II² 130 (355/4 BC) 15-19; IG II² 133 (355/4 BC) 14-20; SEG 39:75 (352/2 BC) 9-13; IG II² 206 (349/8 BC) 28-34; SEG 45:59 (c.345 BC) 4-7; IG II² 287 (before 336/5 BC) 12-16; IG II² 253 (336/5 BC) 4-10 (fragmentary); IG II² 289 (before 336/5 BC) 8-11; IG II² 274 (336/5 BC) 1-3; IG II² 278 (336/5 BC) 10-12; Ag.16:95[2] (322/1 BC) 18-21.

²⁴² IG II² 206 (349/8 BC) 28-34.

²⁴³ Rhodes (1972a) 134-6. To support this view, Rhodes examines two decrees on the same stele, IG II² 1.ii 41-42 (403/2 BC) and IG II² 1.iii (405/4 BC) 56-57, which were written in different prytanies of the same year. In IG II² 1.ii, Cephisophon is the proposer of a probouleumatic decree, and is therefore a member of the boule. The prytany is Pandionis and the secretary is Agyrrius. In IG II² 1.iii, the proposer of the decree is Eu--, the prytany is Erechtheis, and Cephisophon is now secretary. It is this

the secretary was also a member of the tribe 'in prytany'. There were therefore ten secretaries a year (one per prytany), one from each of the ten tribes.²⁴⁴ In the second half of the fifth century BC, the *grammateus of the boule* was elected by show of hands,²⁴⁵ and the order in which the tribes served was chosen by lot.²⁴⁶

There were perhaps 36-40 (or more) items debated in the ekklesia per prytany, each one of which might lead to the passing of several decrees.²⁴⁷ Few decrees which were passed would be inscribed, but it was still possible for a *grammateus* serving for a prytany to organise the inscribing on stone and setting up in public of several decrees during his period in office.²⁴⁸

The office of *grammateus of the boule* became an annual one in 367/6 BC.²⁴⁹ The last year for which secretaries serving for one prytany only are attested is 368/7 BC;²⁵⁰ the first year for which secretaries serving for a year is attested is 363/2 BC.²⁵¹ It has been suggested that the change in the duration of this office from a prytany to a year may indicate awareness that the duties of the *grammateus of the boule* could not be completed in a single prytany.²⁵² However, this change in office did not occur in isolation: the *Ath. Pol.* notes that other officers now also served for a year (for reasons which remain unclear).²⁵³

From this point onwards, the *grammateus of the boule* ceased to be drawn from the members of the boule,²⁵⁴ and could also be known by the designation *grammateus kata prytaneian* (see page 53). At approximately the same time that the duration and

connection with the boule that leads Rhodes to conclude both that Cephisophon continued to be a member of the boule while he was secretary. See also Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 12-17.

²⁴⁴ Ferguson (1898) 14-19 examined evidence from 456-363 BC, noting the tribe 'in prytany', and the name, deme, and tribe of the secretary. His assessment was that for these years, the tribe of the secretary always differed from the tribe 'in prytany'.

²⁴⁵ *Ath. Pol.* 54.3 (page 57), 55.1.

²⁴⁶ Henry (1977) 19-20.

²⁴⁷ Hansen (1989) 98-105. It was also possible for several proposals to be passed as one decree, or no decree to be passed, and there instead be a debate. Hansen assumes an average of one decree passed per item on the agenda.

²⁴⁸ Hansen (1989) 98, 104-105 estimates c.500 attested decrees inscribed in the period 355-322 BC, making an average of 1.5 per prytany, approximately 300 of which survive (0.9 per prytany). However, see also Develin (1989) 85, where a secretary in 446/5 BC is responsible for several decrees.

²⁴⁹ *Ath. Pol.* 31.2 (n.253); Rhodes (1972a) 135-6.

²⁵⁰ IG II² 107 (368/7 BC) 4-5.

²⁵¹ IG II² 109 1-5, IG II² 110 2-6, and IG II² 111 2-4, all 363/2 BC. Each inscription is published in a different prytany, while the *grammateus* remains Νικόστρατος Φιλοστράτο Παλληνεύς. Inscriptions from 367/6-364/3 BC do not substantiate the argument for an annual *grammateus of the boule* as we do not have (surviving) named *grammateis* from more than one prytany in each of these years.

²⁵² Rhodes (1972a) 138.

²⁵³ *Ath. Pol.* 3.4, 45.3.

²⁵⁴ For evidence that this officer ceased to be a member of the boule, see IG II² 228 5-6, IG II² 229 3-4 and IG II² 1749 63-5, all from 341/0 BC. Ονήσιππος Αραφήνιος Αραφήνιος is the secretary of both IG II² 228 and 229, but does not appear in the list of *bouleutai* chosen from the Αραφήνιοι (IG II² 1749 63-5).

membership requirements of the office changed, the selection method also changed, and became the same as that used for other officers, in that he was elected by lot.²⁵⁵ Secretaryships remained one of the few offices filled by single officials, rather than boards.

Rhodes suggests that the change in duration of this office may have attracted a different type of person to the role. An elected office, held for a month by a member of the *boule* may have attracted someone with political aspirations. An office held for a year and selected by lot from volunteers would be more likely to be held by someone who was drawn to this kind of work;²⁵⁶ however, the means of selection would have meant that the office-holder had no control over whether he was selected or not.

Evidence suggests that one *grammateus*, Proxenos of Acherdous, was *grammateus of the boule* twice; in 335/4 BC and 315/4 BC. This has led some scholars to suggest that it was possible for any person to be elected *grammateus of the boule* for a second time, after a twenty-year period had elapsed.²⁵⁷ However, there is no surviving evidence that any other *grammateis* also served twice in this manner, and this second office may instead be due to administrative disruption under the regime of Demetrius of Phaleron.²⁵⁸ No *grammateis* appear to have served in two consecutive years, as was the case with the (fifth century, oligarchic) *syngrammateis* (see page 74).

Other attributes

The public profile of the *grammateus of the boule* did not remain the same throughout the office's existence. There were two periods at the end of the fourth and start of the third century BC when more oligarchic forms of government meant that the *anagrapheus* became the eponymous secretary, and took over the duties of the *grammateus of the boule* (see page 37).²⁵⁹

The *grammateus of the boule* could be honoured for his time in office, collectively with other officials.²⁶⁰ As *peri to bema* (page 56), the *grammateus of the boule* could also be honoured

²⁵⁵ *Ath. Pol.* 54.3: see page 57. Rhodes (1993) 599-603. The change of selection method suggests that the office of *grammateus kata prytaneian* was not seen to be a 'specialist' function at this time – i.e. anyone who could be democratically elected would be able to perform the required duties.

²⁵⁶ Rhodes (1993) 603.

²⁵⁷ Ferguson (1898) 36; Rhodes (1972a) 139. Proxenos was *grammateus kata prytaneian* in IG II² 1700 (335/4 BC) 213-220 (Ag.15:43 (335/4 BC) 227-234) and *grammateus* in Ag.16:76[1] (335/4 BC) 3-4, Schwenk 19 (335/4 BC) 3-4, SEG 21:272 (335/4 BC) 4-5 and SEG 23:53 (335/4 BC) 3-4. He was then *grammateus kata prytaneian* in IG II² 330 (315/14 BC) 1-2, 23-27 and *grammateus* in IG II² 331 (315/14 BC) 2-3.

²⁵⁸ O'Sullivan (2009) 120-4.

²⁵⁹ Rhodes (1972a) 140.

²⁶⁰ See examples on pages 71, 72 and 79.

with other secretaries as *aeisitoi* (ἄϊσιτοι) (see example on page 80).²⁶¹ There is only one surviving instance in which the *grammateus of the boule* is honoured individually,²⁶² and here, the reason given for these honours is that he has held office 'well and honourably';²⁶³ the same, unspecific language used for many honours of the boule and demos.

The prominence of the *grammateus of the boule* is suggested by the position that this office held in the prescripts of decrees. This *grammateus* is frequently included using the phrase <personal name> ἐγραμμάτευσ, appearing immediately after the eponymous archon (the official after whom the year was named) or the tribe.²⁶⁴ In the fifth and early fourth century BC, this *grammateus* could also be included before the eponymous archon or presiding officer,²⁶⁵ or even be included in the prescript twice.²⁶⁶

Χαρίδημος Θεοτέλος | Λαμπρεὺς ἐγραμμά|τευσεν.

ἔ[δοξ]εν τῷ δήμῳ· Ἱπποθωντὶς ἐπρυ|τάνευεν, Χαρίδημος ἐγραμμάτευσ[εν], |
[Θ]ρασυμήδης ἐπεστάτε· Ἀθηνόδωρο[ς] | [εἴ]πεν· ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Ἴφιτον τὸν
Φ[α]|ρ[σ]άλιον...²⁶⁷

Charidemos son of Theotelos from Lamptrai was grammateus.

*It was decreed by the demos: the prytany was Hippothontis, Charidemos was grammateus, Thrasymedes presided. Athenodoros proposed: to praise Iphitos the Pharsalian...*²⁶⁸

Sherk's view is that "for most of the fifth century one gains the impression... that the eponymous archon had a serious rival in the privilege of having his name used to date official documents".²⁶⁹ It is in cases such as this where one might conclude that the *grammateus* was in effect replacing the eponymous archon as the most prominent official.

In this decree and a small number of other documents published from the mid-fifth to mid-fourth centuries BC, the name and designation of the *grammateus of the boule* could be

²⁶¹ See page 47 or the Glossary for a definition of *aeisitoi*.

²⁶² Schwenk 9 (335/4 BC) 1-21; Lambert (2004) 88; Schweigert (1938) 292-294.

²⁶³ Schwenk 9 (335/4 BC) 7-9: [ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ κατ']ἄ πρυταν|[εἴαν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμῳ]ς ἄρχει τ[ὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ...]

²⁶⁴ For example in the homicide law IG I³ 104 (409/8 BC) 3-4: ἔδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δέμῳ· Ἀκα[μ]αντὶς ἐπ[ρ]υτάνευε, [Δ]ιό[γ]υ|νετος ἐγραμμάτευσ.

²⁶⁵ IG I³ 82 (421/0 BC) 2-3: [Προκλέξ] Ἀτάρβο Ε[ύ]ονυμεύς | [ἐγραμμάτ]ευσ ἐπὶ Ἀριστ[ί]ονος ἄρχοντος ; also IG II² 26 (394-387 BC) 1-5; IG II² 49 (beg. 4C BC) 1; IG II² 58 (bef. 378/7 BC) 1-6; IG II² 77 (375 BC) 1; IG II² 127 (356/5 BC) 1. Henry (1977) 8, 10, 21.

²⁶⁶ IG I³ 31 (c.450 BC) 1-5. Henry (1977) 8, 21-22 lists other examples of this type.

²⁶⁷ IG II² 26 (394-387 BC) 1-8.

²⁶⁸ One would normally expect the name in the genitive, e.g. *Iphitos of Pharsalus*. I write *Iphitos the Pharsalian* here to preserve the accusative.

²⁶⁹ Sherk (1990a) 249; 271-272.

made more prominent by the use of larger letters than the remainder of the text. In some cases, his name and designation could also be accentuated by separation from the remainder of the text by blank space or an incised line (see Table 15 on page 300). It is possible that this separation and close proximity to any sculptural relief also emphasised the importance of the office.²⁷⁰ However, the names and designations of only a few secretaries are shown this way, and therefore this can at best be seen as promoting individual officers, rather than the office as a whole. Occasionally, the names and designations of other types of secretaries could also be displayed prominently in this manner. The only surviving occurrence of this practice from the end of the fourth-century BC onwards is where the prytaneis of Aiantis honour officers from their own tribe (see page 69).²⁷¹

Evidence for statues or images of *grammateis of the boule* is scarce. One possible instance is panel East 19 of the Parthenon frieze, which may contain the image of one of the fifth century *grammateus* of the Kleisthenic boule, along with other Athenian officials taking part in the procession for the Panathenaic festival.²⁷²



Figure 1 – Figure East 19 from the Parthenon frieze.²⁷³

This identification is far from certain. Jenkins' argument is based on the theory that the frieze does not represent the ten eponymous heroes, but instead the nine archons. This then leaves one unidentified official, which he suggests must logically be the *grammateus*.²⁷⁴ Nagy believes that the archons and *grammateus* are not fitting candidates for this frieze due to their importance as Athenian magistrates, and their lack of known connections to the

²⁷⁰ See, e.g. the *grammateus* in the decree honouring the Samians: IG I³ 127 (405/4 BC) 1-4; Blanshard (2007) 19-20.

²⁷¹ See also Tracy (2000) 227-233, who describes late 4C BC inscriptions in which the names of politicians are accentuated by blank spaces, or the positioning of their names at the start of a line.

²⁷² Jenkins (1985) 126.

²⁷³ Drawing: Bird, from Jenkins (1985) pl.B, ill.1.

²⁷⁴ Jenkins (1985) 121, 125-6.

Panathenaia. He believes that it is much more likely that these figures are the *athlothetai*, who had connections with this festival.²⁷⁵

Three, late sixth-century BC statues have also been identified as 'scribes' due to their posture: seated, holding writing-tablets and styluses (now lost).²⁷⁶ The date and status of these objects suggests that these officers were either *grammateis*, *tamiai* or *katalogeis*: the only officers known to have used writing for administrative purposes at this time. One of the three has been tentatively associated with an Ionic column of the same period, inscribed with a dedication by the son of a man who was *tamias*.²⁷⁷

γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου (*grammateus of the boule and the demos*)

The *grammateus of the boule and the demos* is attested from the first quarter of the fourth century BC until the start of the first century BC.²⁷⁸ This designation can be abbreviated to *grammateus of the demos* (γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου) to save space.²⁷⁹ For example, in Agora 15:130, the designation given for the *grammateus* in the body of the text:

... τὸν | γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Κτησικλῆν Κηφι|σοφῶντος Φαληρέα ...

The grammateus of the boule and the demos Ktesikles son of Kephisophon of Phaleron.

is abbreviated in the citation:

ἡ βουλή | τὸν γραμ|ματέα τοῦ | δήμου Κτ|ησικλῆν Κη|φισ[ι]έα

The boule (honour) the grammateus of the demos Ktesikles Kephisia²⁸⁰

The abbreviated form *grammateus of the demos* is attested from the end of the fourth century to the end of the second century BC.²⁸¹ In the second and third centuries AD, the designation can also be abbreviated to γ βουλῆς δήμου,²⁸² or γρ βο δ.²⁸³

²⁷⁵ Nagy (1992) 55-56, 59-60, 62.

²⁷⁶ Trianti (1994) 83-86.

²⁷⁷ Statue: Acr. No. 629, column: DAA no.6; Keesling (2003) 182-185. Inscribed altar dedicated to Chairion: DAA no.330.

²⁷⁸ See, for example IG II² 1740 (388/7 BC) 53-4; Ag.15:261 53-54 & 262 5-7 (c.95/4 BC).

²⁷⁹ Dow (1937) 16. Meritt & Traill (1974) 15 notes that both γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου and γραμματεὺς τῶι δήμῳ can be used as an abbreviation for γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου: see Ag.15:89, 99 and 43.

²⁸⁰ Meritt & Traill (1974) 122-123, 419; Ag.15:130 (220/19 BC) 51-53, 128-133. The editors suggest that Κηφισιέα is a demotic cut in error for Φαληρεύς.

²⁸¹ Earliest *grammateus of the demos*: IG II² 660 (aft. mid. 4C BC) 19-24. Latest: II² 1011 (106/5 BC) 62.

²⁸² Ag.15:443 (c.198 AD) 24.

²⁸³ Ag.15:445 (c.200 AD) 12. See also the alternative designation *grammateus of the polis* on page 65.

Activities

It is likely that the *grammateus of the boule and the demos* is the secretary referred to in the *Athenaion Politeia*, whose function was to read documents to the boule and assembly:²⁸⁴

χειροτονεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ δῆμος γραμματέα, τὸν ἀναγνώσμενον αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ οὗτος οὐδενός ἐστι κύριος²⁸⁵ ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι.²⁸⁶

The demos also elects by show of hands a grammateus, to read documents to the assembly and to the boule, and this man has authority over nothing but reading.

While the *grammateus of the boule and the demos* had *authority* only in the reading of documents to the assembly and boule, this was not his only function. This officer could also write up texts to be inscribed, and was directed to do this in the same manner as specified for the *grammateus of the boule*:²⁸⁷

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου ἐν στήλει λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει...²⁸⁸

And the grammateus of the boule and the demos is to write up this decree on a stone stele and set it up on the acropolis....

It is the association with reading that has led Rhodes to suggest that the *grammateus of the boule and the demos* is the officer referred to by Thucydides, when he uses the term '*grammateus of the polis*':²⁸⁹

τοῦ δ' ἐπιγινόμενου χειμῶνος ἦκοντες ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Νικίου ὅσα τε ἀπὸ γλώσσης εἴρητο αὐτοῖς εἶπον, καὶ εἴ τίς τι ἐπηρώτα ἀπεκρίνοντο, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπέδοσαν. ὁ δὲ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῆς πόλεως παρελθὼν ἀνέγνω τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δηλοῦσαν τοιάδε.²⁹⁰

In the following winter, the persons sent by Nicias, reaching Athens, gave the verbal messages which had been entrusted to them, and answered any questions that were asked them, and delivered the letter. The grammateus of the polis now came forward and read out to the Athenians the letter, which was as follows...

²⁸⁴ Rhodes (1993) 604 §54.5.

²⁸⁵ κύριος could alternatively be translated as 'is responsible for', i.e. the *grammateus of the demos* is responsible for nothing but reading. This interpretation is misleading as this officer also wrote and saw to the setting up of inscriptions.

²⁸⁶ *Ath. Pol.* 54.5.

²⁸⁷ See Table 14 on page 297.

²⁸⁸ IG II² 496 (303/2 BC) 36-39.

²⁸⁹ Rhodes (1993) 604 §54.5. See also Rhodes (1972a) 136.

²⁹⁰ Th. 7.10.1 (5CBC).

It is difficult if not impossible to associate this *grammateus of the polis* with any other officer, as no other officers of the boule and demos were associated with the reading out of texts in public at this time, and later associations with this duty are only inferences based upon the officer's designation.²⁹¹ This passage therefore contains the earliest use of the term *grammateus of the polis*,²⁹² and, if synonymous with *grammateus of the boule and the demos*, is the earliest reference to this officer.

In calling the *grammateus of the boule and the demos* the *grammateus of the polis*, Thucydides deliberately avoids the use of a technical term, something he does frequently.²⁹³

Further Particulars

The office of *grammateus of the boule and the demos* was separate from that of *grammateus of the boule*, both designations frequently occurring together in honorific texts.²⁹⁴

Little is known about the earliest period of this office. In c.367/6 BC (when the office of *grammateus of the boule* became annual), the office of *grammateus of the boule and the demos* is likely to have also been annual;²⁹⁵ however, it retained the selection method previously used for the *grammateus of the boule* when he served for a prytany only, that of election by show of hands.²⁹⁶ This selection method may have been because the office was deemed to require special expertise²⁹⁷ – the ability to read out documents to the boule and demos.

The only qualifications required in order to be eligible for office as *grammateus of the boule and the demos* were citizen status and sufficient funds to be able to support oneself. The orator Aeschines, who is believed to have held office as *grammateus of the boule and the demos* in the 360s BC,²⁹⁸ was able to serve in this capacity as he had obtained sufficient finances through marriage that he did not need to seek regular, paid employment.²⁹⁹

²⁹¹ See [ho] *peri to bema* on page 56.

²⁹² A designation known later from several locations, including Delos (see page 322).

²⁹³ Hornblower (2008) 559-560 notes the "untechnicality" of Thucydides' terminology here, which he believes enhances the "impression of impetuous action". Hornblower (1991) 87, 218, 273: Throughout, "Thucydides cannot be relied upon to use technical language precisely, though sometimes he does." See also Hornblower (1987) 7-10, 36-37, 75-76, 96-100.

²⁹⁴ See e.g. the examples on pages 72 and 80.

²⁹⁵ Ferguson (1898) 66.

²⁹⁶ Compare the selection of the *grammateus kata prytaneian* in *Ath. Pol.* 54.3, page 57 with that of the *grammateus of the boule and the demos* in *Ath. Pol.* 54.4, page 65.

²⁹⁷ Taylor (2007) 323.

²⁹⁸ Evidence for Aeschines' office is found in both the speeches of Aeschines (1, 2 & 3) and (his bitter rival) Demosthenes (18 & 19). Demosthenes frequently refers to Aeschines as *grammateus*, but in 19.70 describes him as ὑπογραμματεῦν γὰρ ὑμῖν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τῇ βουλῇ, *undersecretary to you (the people) and servant to the boule*, with *hypogrammateus* used in a derogatory sense (as in Lys. 30.27).

Other attributes

Earlier in his life, Aeschines appears to have been an assistant to his father (a schoolteacher), and an actor.³⁰⁰ Aeschines never refers directly to his previous occupations, making it impossible to ascertain his own perceptions of the office. This may be to reduce the chances that Demosthenes would attempt to use this information to convict him. The only potential veiled reference to his time as *grammateus of the boule and the demos* is in *Against Ctesiphon*, though this too is doubtful. Here, when attempting to refute Demosthenes' charge of treason against him, he comments on the way in which he expects decrees to be heard. He says that it used to be the case that jurors frequently asked the clerk of the court (*grammateus*, page 93) to stop, in order to assess the case fairly, and to see whether a motion is legal or not. However, this does not happen any more; the clerk reads the statement, and the jurors do not listen.³⁰¹ In this, he may be unfavourably comparing the clerk of the court with the reading activities of the *grammateus of the boule and the demos*.

Demosthenes uses the term *grammateus* in a derogatory manner, as part of a string of insults after 'knave and scoundrel'³⁰² and 'gossip-monger and market-place layabout'.³⁰³ By using *grammateus* last, he implies that it is the worst of these terms. He also suggests that even Aeschines believed that being called a *grammateus* was defamation of character:

καὶν ὁ γεγραμμευκὼς Αἰσχίνης' εἶπη τις, ἐχθρὸς εὐθέως καὶ κακῶς φησιν ἀκηκοέναι

*If a man speaks of "Aeschines, the man who had been secretary," he makes a private quarrel of it, and talks of defamation of character.*³⁰⁴

The majority of Demosthenes' insults are personal. He comments that Aeschines does not read out documents correctly (an important part both of the office of *grammateus of the boule and the demos* and his current occupation),³⁰⁵ and he is equally as scathing about Aeschines' personal performance as actor³⁰⁶ and as teacher's assistant.³⁰⁷

The reference to both boule and demos makes his designation most likely that of *grammateus of the boule and the demos*. Harris (1995) 7, 30.

²⁹⁹ According to Demosthenes 18.312, Aeschines inherited "more than five talents" from his father-in-law. Harris (1995) 31-32; Lane Fox (1994) 139-140. While this figure may be erroneous, Aeschines would have received up to a talent as a dowry from his father-in-law Philon, on his marriage. See also n.298.

³⁰⁰ D. 18.129, 18.258; Adams (1919) vii-xi; Lane Fox (1994) 140.

³⁰¹ Aeschin. 3.192.

³⁰² D. 19.95: πανοῦργος οὗτος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ γραμματεὺς. *He (is) a knave, and hateful to the gods (lit.) and grammateus.*

³⁰³ D. 18.127: ...σπερμολόγος, περίτριμ' ἀγορᾶς, ὀλεθρος γραμματεὺς.... *...gossip-monger, market-place layabout and wretched grammateus.*

³⁰⁴ D. 19.314.

³⁰⁵ D. 18.121.

³⁰⁶ D. 18.262, 18.287; 19.200.

As personal insults, the testimony of Demosthenes cannot tell us how the majority of Athenian citizens perceived either *grammateis* generally or this office specifically. It is also unclear whether opinions could be swayed by comments such as these. Conversely, Aeschines' speeches appear to show that he was unable to use skills or knowledge gained during his time as *grammateus of the boule and the demos* in such a way that this would not also have been used against him by Demosthenes.³⁰⁸

The *grammateus of the boule and the demos* was one of several secretaries honoured collectively as *aeisitoi* (see page 47), and Aeschines also appears to have had this honour.³⁰⁹

γραμματεὺς τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν (*grammateus of the eisagogeis*)

The *eisagogeis* were the officers who brought the lawsuits of the tribes to court.³¹⁰ There were five *eisagogeis*, and each one performed services for two phylai.³¹¹

Of the five *eisagogeis*, one may have been *grammateus*, and another *syngrammateus*:

τά[χαι]ς [φ]ό[ρο]·
 ἔδοχσεν τέ[ι] βολεῖ καὶ τοῖ δέμοι· Λεοντίς ἐπρ[υτάνευε, ...]ον ἔγρα[μμάτευε,
 ...
 κυαμεῦσαι δὲ ἐ[σαγογέα]ς —8—· τοῦ[τος] δὲ [ἡλέσθαι καὶ γραμμα]||τέα καὶ
 χου[γγραμματέα] ἐχ σφῶν αὐτ[ῶν].³¹²

Assessment of tribute.

Resolved by the [boule and demos: Leontis] held the prytany, ...-on was grammateus,

...

And they (the boule and demos) [shall select by lot] — — eisagogeis. They [shall also elect] a grammateus and a syngrammateus [from among] themselves.³¹³

If the restoration is secure, this text provides evidence for officers who have more than one function: two of the five *eisagogeis* served as secretary in addition to their legal responsibilities. Unfortunately, the sentence is ambiguous, and it could be read that the boule, rather than the *eisagogeis* were electing secretaries. If so, these officers would be the

³⁰⁷ D. 18.129, 18.258.

³⁰⁸ Lane Fox (1994) 141 draws similar conclusions.

³⁰⁹ D. 19.249.

³¹⁰ *Ath. Pol.* 52.2.

³¹¹ Jones (1987) 43; Rhodes (1993) 582-3.

³¹² IGI³ 71 (425/4 BC) 2-3, 7-8.

³¹³ Fornara (1983) 154-157 No.136.

grammateus of the boule (page 51), and the *syngrammateus* recorded in earlier assessments of tribute (see page 74). In these earlier texts, there is no mention of the *eisagogeis*.³¹⁴

An additional member of the *eisagogeis* may have been added when the number of phylai was increased to twelve.³¹⁵ There are no other references to the secretaries of the *eisagogeis*.

γραμματεὺς τῶν πρυτάνεων (*grammateus of the prytaneis*)

The *prytaneis* were the fifty men from a single Athenian tribe who formed the executive officers of the boule for a tenth of the year (a period called a prytany).³¹⁶ Each group of fifty *prytaneis* had their own secretary.

Activities

Evidence for this secretary is limited, and primarily comprises registers of *prytaneis*. It is likely that the *grammateus of the prytaneis* was responsible for administration pertaining to his own tribe's representatives (*prytaneis*) only.³¹⁷

The *grammateus of the prytaneis* may also be the presiding official in one (fragmentary) decree of the tribe of Aiantis, which honours several officers of this tribe.

Φειδίας [Ῥαμνούσιος γραμματεὺς τῶν πρυτάνεων ? εἶπεν] |
ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Αἰαντίδος οἱ ἐπὶ — — — ἄρχοντος καὶ | οἱ αἰσιτοὶ
ἐπαίνέσαντες καὶ στεφανώσαντες³¹⁸

Pheidias [of Rhamnous, grammateus of the prytaneis said:]
since the prytaneis [of Aiantis in the archonship of — — — and] the aeisitai praise
[and crown...]

³¹⁴ The reference to two different selection methods for these officers is ambiguous. If the secretaries are of the *eisagogeis*, the phrase indicates that the *eisagogeis* had control over the election of their own officers. If the secretaries are officers of the boule and demos, the text neither confirms nor contradicts our information on the early selection methods of these officers.

³¹⁵ Crosby (1937) 459; Jones (1987) 43; Rhodes (1993) 582-3. References to six *eisagogeis* have been restored in Hesp.6 457-460 No.7 (after 167/6 BC) and 460-461 No.8.

³¹⁶ Hansen (1999) 104-105, 141.

³¹⁷ The office may have had similar duties to the secretaries of demes. See Osborne (1985) 79 & 206.

³¹⁸ Ag.15:322 (c.120 AD) 1-3. Dow (1937) 193-197. Dow does not explain the basis for restoring Pheidias as secretary. Pheidias also appears in line 58 as the first of the individuals from Rhamnous. Graindor (1914) 415 no.3.

Other attributes

The name of the secretary, Pheidias, is prominently displayed at the head of the stele, above the deeply-incised border surrounding the text, in larger letters than the rest of the decree:



Figure 2 - Agora 15:322: The tribe of Aiantis honours its prytaneis.³¹⁹

See Table 15 on page 300 for other instances where a secretary's name and/or designation is displayed prominently in this way.

While the *grammateus of the prytaneis* could be placed in a prominent position in tribal decrees, the surviving evidence does not show this officer attaining any degree of

³¹⁹ Image: Dow (1937) 194. Dow (1937) 193-197 No.121 196. Total preserved height of stele: 0.73m, thickness:0.14m, original width (estimated): 0.74m. Dow believes that the decree would have originally been much taller, the top portion containing citations and crowns, in which case, proximity to the sculptural relief may have emphasised the secretary's importance.

prominence; neither does he appear to have received the privileges of the *aeisitoi* which were bestowed upon many other types of secretary.³²⁰

The *grammateus of the prytaneis* could be directed to write up a decree. The formula given is similar to that typically used for the duties of the *grammateus of the boule*:

...ἀναγράψαι· ὁ δὲ τόδε· [τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τῶν πρυτανέων ἐν τῇ στήλῃ
 λιθίνῃ καὶ | [στῆσαι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ] βουλευτηρίου·³²¹

*And [the grammateus] of the prytaneis is to [write up] this [decree on the] stone
 [stele] and [set it up in front of the] bouleuterion.*

The *grammateus of the prytaneis* was not the *grammateus kata prytaneian*. Both offices can be recorded together in decrees of the boule and demos. For example, the following register of officers from Marathon includes both a *peri to bema* (another name for the *grammateus kata prytaneian*, also known as the *grammateus of the boule*, page 56) and a *grammateus of the prytaneis*:

[Μαραθῶνιοι]	[Marathon]
...	...
<κῆρυξ> βουλῆς καὶ δ[ήμου — — —]	<i>herald of the boule and demos <name></i>
περὶ τὸ βῆμα Ἐπι — — —	<i>peri to bema Epi—</i>
ἀντιγραφεὺς Νει[κ — —]	<i>antigrapheus Neik—³²²</i>
ἱεραύλης Ἑρμόδω[ρος]	<i>sacred flute-player Hermodoros</i>
ἐπὶ Σκιάδος Πρωτ[— — ἐπιστάτης]	<i>in the [foremanship] of Skias Prot—³²³</i>
γρ(αμματεὺς) π[ρυ]τάνεων Ν — — ³²⁴	<i>grammateus of the prytaneis N—</i>

In some instances, the designation *grammateus of the prytaneis* could be shortened to *grammateus* (see example on page 72). In the second century AD (above), it could also be shortened to γρ. πρυτάνεων.

See also *grammateus of the bouleutai* on page 96.

[ὁ] ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα (*secretary in charge of decrees*)

See *secretary for the laws* on page 72.

³²⁰ Dow (1937) 195 comments that the column containing the *aeisitoi* in Ag.15:322 is missing.

³²¹ SEG 28:52 (c.333 BC) 22-26.

³²² For the *antigrapheus*, see page 49.

³²³ *Epistates* could also be 'the person presiding for the day,' e.g. at a meeting of the assembly.

³²⁴ IG II² 1806 (190-200 AD) 1, 19-24 (Ag.15:424). Line 24 is the last line of the inscription.

[ὁ] ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρητον (*secretary for that which cannot be mentioned*)

Seven honorific decrees from the end of the second to start of the first century BC note a *secretary for that which cannot be mentioned* ([ὁ] ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρητον, [ho] *epi to aporreton*).³²⁵ This secretary is known from his designation in inscriptions only. See example on page 72.

[ὁ] ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους (*secretary for the laws*)

Several honorific inscriptions of the boule and demos which bestow honours on their officers include a *secretary for the laws* ([ὁ] ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους, [ho] *epi tous nomous*) and a *secretary in charge of decrees* ([ὁ] ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα, [ho] *epi ta psephismata*).³²⁶ The following example is included as one of only three texts that include *both* designations.³²⁷

[vacat]

[γραμματεὺς τῆς Πτολεμαίῃδος Αἰσχρία[ς Φ]λυεύς· [ἱ]ερεὺς Πτολ[εμαίου ν]

[— — c.18 — — ἱερεὺς Ἀττάλ[ου Ἀ]νθεμίων Περιθοίδης· [— c.6-7 —]

[— — c.18 — —]πος Ἀχαρνεύς· [γρ]αμματεὺς κατὰ πρ[υτανείαν ν]

[— — c.16 — — Λαμπ[τρ]εύς· ἀντιγραφε[ὺς] Νικ[ί]ας Στεριε[ύς· — —]

[— — c.16 — — Εἰτ[ε]αῖος· ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ[α] Ἐξηκίας [Ε]λευ[σίνιος· — c.4 —]

[— — c.12 — — ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρητον Φιλωνίδης Αφιδ[ν]αῖος· ἐπὶ τοὺς [— — c.7 — —]

[— — — c.20 — — —] Φιλήμων Πόριος, Φίλων Ὀῤ[θε]ν, Ἰάσων [— c.9 —]

[— — — c.20 — — — Δ]ημοκλῆς Ἀθμονεύς· ἐπὶ το[ύς] νό[μους] — c.6 —]

[— — — c.21 — — — Κ]ολλυτεύς· γραμματε[ὺς] βουλῆς καὶ δήμου ν]

[— — — c.20 — — — ἐκ Κ]ολωνοῦ· ὑπογραμματε[ὺς] βουλῆς καὶ δήμου]

[— — — c.22 — — — κῆ]ρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Ε[ὐκλ]ῆς Εὐκλέους]...³²⁸

[*grammateus of the (prytaneis of?) Ptolemais*] *Aischrias of Phlya; priest of Ptolemais ... priest of Attalos, Anthemion son of Perithoides; ...—pos of Acharnai; grammateus kata prytaneian ... of Lamptrai; antigrapheus Nikias son of Steiries; ... of Eiteaios; secretary in charge of decrees Exekias of Eleusis; ... secretary for that which cannot be mentioned, Philonides of Aphidna; (office for the?) ... Philemon of Poros, Philon of Oe, Jason ... Demokles of Athmon; secretary for the laws ... of Kollytos; grammateus [of*

³²⁵ Rhodes (1972a) 140. See Appendix A page 280 for a list of inscriptions.

³²⁶ For inscriptions containing the *secretary for the laws*, see Appendix A page 280. For the *secretary in charge of decrees*, see Appendix A page 279. Rhodes (1972a) 138.

³²⁷ Brilliant (1911) 106-107, writing before the discovery of many of the Agora 15 texts, considered *secretary for the laws* and *secretary in charge of decrees* to be synonymous. This example disproves this, as both designations occur in the same text, and a personal name is supplied for each.

³²⁸ Ag.15:259 (97/6 BC) 85-96. Dow (1937) 33 no.1, Meritt (1941) 45.

*the boule and demos,] ... of Kolonos; hypogrammateus [of the boule and demos] ...
herald of the boule and demos Eukles [son of Eukles]....*

It is difficult to produce an adequate reconstruction of the missing sections of the text, however, this inscription is similar to many honorific texts for officers of the boule and demos, in that it contains no verbs (e.g. of writing) to assist us in ascertaining the responsibilities of these officers.

Activities

The *secretary for the laws* may be the officer described in the *Athenaion Politeia* as the officer who attends meetings of the boule, and has copies made of all the laws:

κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους ἕτερον, ὃς παρακάθεται τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ ἀντιγράφεται καὶ οὗτος πάντας.³²⁹

They also elect by lot a second officer to superintend the laws, who attends the sittings of the council, and he also has copies made of all the laws.

The *Ath. Pol.* describes this officer immediately after the *grammateus kata prytaneian* (54.3) and immediately before the *grammateus of the boule and the demos* (54.5), suggesting a close association of these three officers. On the strength of this, Sickinger suggests that the *secretary for the laws* worked under the supervision of the *grammateus kata prytaneian*.³³⁰ The association of the *secretary for the laws* with the *grammateus kata prytaneian* and *grammateus of the boule and the demos* suggests that this office was held for a year.

There is no additional evidence for the duties of this officer in epigraphic or literary sources: inscriptions preserve his designation only.

Even less is known of the *secretary in charge of decrees*, who was also honoured as one of the secretaries of the boule and demos (see example on page 72), and is known from his designation in epigraphic sources only. The *secretary in charge of decrees* may have attended council sessions, writing copies of the decrees in the same way that the *secretary for the laws* wrote copies of the laws.³³¹

³²⁹ *Ath. Pol.* 54.4.

³³⁰ Sickinger (1999) 143.

³³¹ Sickinger (1999) 143.

συγγραμματεὺς (*syngrammateus*)

An officer known as the *syngrammateus* (spelt συγγραμματεὺς, συνγραμματεὺς or χσυγγραμματεὺς) or 'co-grammateus' (*grammateus* working with another *grammateus*) appears in a small number of decrees from the middle of the fifth century BC.³³²

Three different types of secretary appear to have been known by the designation *syngrammateus*: a secretary of the boule, one of the two secretaries of the *eisagogeis* (page 68), and one of the two secretaries of the *epistatai* (page 100).

Activities

The *syngrammateus* is named alongside the *grammateus of the boule* and *hellenotamiai* in decrees recording tribute, and was presumably involved in the recording of tribute:

ἐπὶ τῆς τρίτης καὶ δεκάτης ἀρχῆς [ἡ] Χαλκιδεὺς Μελιτεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε,
Διοφύφιλος Ἰκαριεὺς ἡλλενοταμίας ἐν, Σάτυρος Λευκονοιεὺς
συνεγραμμάτευε. | Ἴονικὸς φόρος· (There then follows the record of tribute.)³³³

*In the thirteenth archonship, [in which] Kalkideus of Melite [was grammateus,]
Doryphilos of Ikaria was hellenotamias, [Satyros] of Leukone was syngrammateus:
Ionic tribute: ...*

Further Particulars

The *syngrammateus* Satyros (above) is present in two decrees: one from 443/2 BC and another from 442/1 BC.³³⁴ This suggests that the office was held for more than a year.³³⁵

συγγραμματεὺς τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν (*syngrammateus of the eisagogeis*)

See *grammateus of the eisagogeis* on page 68.

συγγραφεὺς (*syngrapheus*)

The *syngrapheus* (spelt συγγραφεὺς, συνγραφεὺς, χσυγγραφεὺς, χσυνγραφεὺς or ξυγγραφεὺς) or 'commissioner' is attested in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, and the second century AD.

³³² E.g. IG I³ 269 (443/2 BC) 36.

³³³ IG I³ 270 (442/1 BC) 1-3.

³³⁴ Satyros of Leukonoe is *syngrammateus* in IG I³ 269 (443/2 BC) 1, 36 and IG I³ 270 (442/1 BC) 1-2. There is no evidence for the *syngrammateus* in the year prior to, or after this.

³³⁵ Develin (1989) 20 suggests that the *syngrammateus* and (some) other secretaries were not permitted to serve the same magistracy twice, but does not elaborate. He instead refers to Brilliant (1911), Ferguson (1898) and Rhodes (1972a) 139, none of whom mention the *syngrammateus*.

Activities

In the fifth century BC, *syngrapheis* were employed by the boule and demos as commissioners for the drafting of laws, and were involved in the creation of a law concerning arrangements for the Milesians:³³⁶

[Μι]λεσί[οις χσυχ]γρ[αφαί]·
[ἔδοχσεν] τεί βολεί κα[ὶ] τῷ δέμοι· . . 6 . . ἰς ἐπρ]υτάν[ευε, . c. 6 . . ἐγραμμάτ]] [ευε,
. c. 4 .]ορ ἐπεστάτε, [Εὐθυνοσ ἐρχε· τάδε χοι χ]συνγγρα[φεῖς χσυνέγραφσαν·³³⁷

Agreement for the Milesians:

*[It was decreed] by the boule and [the demos:] ... —is held the prytany, ... [— was grammateus,] ... —os presided, [Euthynos was archon. The following <document>] syngrapheis [commissioned:]*³³⁸

The remainder of the inscription sets out regulations for the Milesians, including the election of their magistrates, the extent of their responsibilities, and punishments for transgressing their agreement with Athens.

Syngrapheis were also used by Peisander during the four-month period known as the 'government of the Four Hundred' (411 BC). Their duties were to compose Peisander's changes to the constitution, which would make it more oligarchic in nature.³³⁹

The office of *syngrapheus* existed at the same time as *anagrapheus of the laws* (page 38). The most significant difference between these offices appears to be that the *syngrapheus* could create new laws, while the *anagrapheus* could only revise existing laws.³⁴⁰

Further particulars

The number of *syngrapheis* originally employed by the boule and demos is uncertain. Thucydides claims that there were ten of them, while the *Ath. Pol.* notes that an additional twenty officers were proposed by Pythodorus in 404/3 BC.³⁴¹

³³⁶ IG I³ 21 (450/49 BC) 1-3, SEG 21:27. And. 1.96; Bradeen & McGregor (1973) 37; Clinton (1982) 28; Develin (1989) 81.

³³⁷ IG I³ 21 (450/49 BC) 1-3, SEG 21:27.

³³⁸ Fornara (1983) 92-93 No.92.

³³⁹ *Ath. Pol.* 29.2; 33.1; Th. 8.67. Gallia (2004) 451; Hansen (1999) 40-41.

³⁴⁰ Clinton (1982) 28-29, 40; Meiggs (1989) 265.

³⁴¹ Th. 8.67; *Ath. Pol.* 29.2.

The duration of this office is unknown, and may have been on an ad hoc basis, in much the same way that the office of *anagrapheus of the laws* was ad hoc (see page 38).

Harpocration describes the office as follows:

Συγγραφεῖς: Ἰσοκράτης Ἀρεοπαγитикῶ. εἰθισμένον ἦν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, ὁπότε δέοι, πληθὸς τι αἰρεῖσθαι, εἰς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν εἰσφέρειν γνώμας εἰς τὸν δῆμον. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν υ' ἐγένετο, καθὰ Θουκυδίδης ἐν τῇ η' φησὶν "ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ οἱ περὶ Πείσανδρον ἐλθόντες εὐθύς τῶν λοιπῶν εἶχοντο, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν δῆμον συλλέξαντες εἶπον γνώμην, ἵ' ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι συγγραφέας αὐτοκράτορας, τούτους δὲ συγγράψαντας γνώμην ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν, καθότι ἄριστα ἢ πόλις οἰκίσεται." ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν πάντες συγγραφεῖς λ' οἱ τότε αἰρεθέντες, καθὰ φησιν Ἀνδροτίων τε καὶ Φιλόχορος, ἑκάτερος ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι· ὁ δὲ Θουκυδίδης τῶν ἵ' ἐμνημόνευσε μόνων τῶν προβούλων.³⁴²

*Syngrapheis: Isokrates (in the) Areiopagitikos (7.58). It was a practice amongst the Athenians, whenever necessary, to select a certain number (of men), who introduced proposals before the demos on an appointed day. And this happened also before the establishment of the Four Hundred, as Thucydides says in his (book) eight (8.67.1). 'At this crucial moment Peisander's faction arrived and immediately took control of the remaining details. And they first assembled the demos and proposed that ten men be chosen as syngrapheis with full authority, and that when these men had composed (their ideas) they should bring forth a proposal before the demos at an appointed day regarding the way the city will be managed best.' But the total (number of) syngrapheis who were elected at that time were thirty, as both Androtion and Philokhoros say, each one in his Atthis. But Thucydides only mentioned the ten probouloi.*³⁴³

In the second century AD, *syngrapheus* refers to a writer, author or historian.³⁴⁴

³⁴² FGrH3b 324 F43/FGrH3b 328 F136 = Harp. *Words Used by the Ten Orators* 283-4.

³⁴³ Translation: Harding (2008) 132. Harding notes that "even for the history of the 5C, Philokhoros often derived his material from Androtion". The text from Thucydides 8.67 is as follows: καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν δῆμον συλλέξαντες εἶπον γνώμην δέκα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι συγγραφέας αὐτοκράτορας, τούτους δὲ συγγράψαντας γνώμην ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν καθ' ὅτι ἄριστα ἢ πόλις οἰκίσεται: *First, they called an assembly and proposed the election of ten syngrapheis, who should be empowered to frame for the city the best constitution which they could devise; this was to be laid before the people on a fixed day.*

³⁴⁴ E.g. I.Patras 364 (mid 2CAD) 13-14; Chaniotis (1988) 318-319. The designation is also found on a funerary dedication: IG II² 5506 (117-138 AD) 1-3: Μόσχος ἡμερότοτος καὶ | Δορίδος ἡλαιεύς ὁ | συγγραφεύς. *Moschos with a bust of Eros and Doridos of Halai the syngrapheus*, and an honorific inscription from the Asklepieion, which honours people by profession: IG II² 3806 (end 2CAD) 1-7: Πομπηϊανὸν Κο[λ]λυτέα τὸν συγγραφέα· Σωσιγένης | Παλληνεὺς ὁ σοφιστῆς ψηφισαμένῃ τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείουπάγου βουλῇ. *Pompeianos of Kollytos the syngrapheus: Sosigenes of Pallene the sophist: [by] vote of the council of the Areopagus.* This text either honours two people with one inscription, or Sosigenes is the proposer of honours for Pompeianos. Geagan (1991) 154.

ὑπογραμματεὺς (*hypogrammateus*)

Designations

The office of *hypogrammateus* or 'under-secretary' is known from Athens from at least the end of the fifth century BC to the third century AD.³⁴⁵ The prefix ὑπο- refers to the status of this *grammateus* as subordinate to any other *grammateus* serving in the same organisation,³⁴⁶ in the same way that ὑποπαιδοτρίβης (under-gymnastic-master) and ὑποστράτηγος, (under-*strategos* or 'lieutenant-general') were subordinate officers to the παιδοτρίβης and στράτηγος.

The *hypogrammateus* is known from a variety of contexts, but is most frequently attested as an officer of the boule and demos, honoured with other secretaries (see example on page 79).³⁴⁷ *Hypogrammateis* working for the boule and demos could be designated either *hypogrammateus*, *hypogrammateus of the boule and demos*, or *hypogrammateus of the demos*.³⁴⁸ The designation *hypogrammateus of the demos* may be an abbreviation of *hypogrammateus of the boule and demos*, in the same way that *grammateus of the demos* is an abbreviation of *grammateus of the boule and the demos* (see page 64). This officer may have worked as under-secretary to the *grammateus of the boule and the demos*.³⁴⁹ It is unclear whether the designation *hypogrammateus* also refers to this officer, or to another type of under-secretary.

Hypogrammateis are also found as officers of the ephebes,³⁵⁰ and in this context can be designated either *hypogrammateus*, or (in the third century AD) *hypogrammateus for life* (διὰ βίου).³⁵¹ Either designation can occur in inscriptions alongside a *grammateus* and other officers who serve 'for life'.³⁵² For more information, see *grammateus for life* on page 111.

³⁴⁵ E.g. IG I³ 476 (408/7 BC) 61-2. See Appendix A page 284.

³⁴⁶ The implication of Lys. 30.29 is that ὑπο- in ὑπογραμματεῦσαι can denote a subordinate relationship to a particular official. While the speaker here provides Nikomachos' with a different designation from that given elsewhere in the speech (e.g. Lys. 30.1), the statement works only if there is a basis for it in fact.

³⁴⁷ Meritt & Traill (1974) 2, 6-7. The majority of honours for *hypogrammateis* are from the third and second centuries BC. A fall in numbers of honours from this point onwards is related to the sack of Athens by Sulla in 86 BC, when the practice of honouring officers en masse came to an end. Officers could be honoured as *aeisitoi* until the third century AD (see e.g. IG II² 1077 (209/10 AD) III 38-56). In the second and third centuries AD, a rise and then fall in instances of *hypogrammateis* is also in line with epigraphic production generally. For a table showing instances of *hypogrammateis*, see Figure 7 on page 284.

³⁴⁸ *Hypogrammateus of the boule and the demos*, e.g.: Ag.15:260 (beg. 1C BC) 23-25.
Hypogrammateus of the demos, e.g.: Ag.15:225 (155/4 BC) 56-8.

³⁴⁹ Meritt & Traill (1974) 15.

³⁵⁰ E.g. IG II² 2086 (163/4 AD) 132-3.

³⁵¹ E.g. SEG 33:158 (late 3C AD) 11, 48-51, page 111; Oliver (1933) 506-511.

³⁵² E.g. IG II² 2239 (238/9-243/4 AD) 7-8.

Hypogrammateis are also known from other contexts, such as with the Athenian amphictyons,³⁵³ treasurers of Athena,³⁵⁴ and other magistrates such as grain inspectors,³⁵⁵ where they are designated simply *hypogrammateus*.

Activities

It is difficult to ascertain the duties of *hypogrammateis*. None of the texts containing this designation contain information on the work to be carried out by this officer, and most instances are either honorific decrees of the boule and demos (see examples on pages 72 and 79-80), or registers of ephebes.

Further Particulars

The earliest surviving reference to a *hypogrammateus* are the fifth-century BC Erechtheum accounts, which provide the amount given as wages to the *hypogrammateus*, but no other information.³⁵⁶ Although Lysias uses the term *hypogrammateus* in a pejorative sense to refer to an *anagrapheus of the laws*,³⁵⁷ there is no evidence that *hypogrammateis* were involved in any way in the fifth-century revisions to the laws of Drakon and Solon.

If proximity in inscribed decrees can be taken as an indicator of collegial environment, the *hypogrammateus* (as an officer of the boule and demos) worked alongside a range of other officers, including several types of secretary, from the end of the fourth century BC onwards, and could also be honoured with them (see example on page 72).³⁵⁸ As honours were bestowed upon officers at the end of their year in office, we can assume that these *hypogrammateis* also held office for a year.

Lysias suggests that, in the late-fifth and early-fourth centuries BC, *hypogrammateis* could serve for two or more years, though not for the same magistracy.³⁵⁹ There is also a small amount of evidence to suggest that in the late second- and early third-centuries AD, *hypogrammateis* could also serve for two or more years: see Table 12 on page 288.

The *hypogrammateis* of the ephebes also worked alongside a variety of other officers, but usually only one *grammateus* (the fragmentary nature of some texts makes it impossible to

³⁵³ IG II² 1635 (374/3 BC) 49-50, 74-5.

³⁵⁴ IG II² 1484 (306/5 BC) 1, 6-8.

³⁵⁵ IG II² 1711 (mid. 2C BC) 6-11, page 79, esp. n.361.

³⁵⁶ IG I³ 476 (408/7 BC) 61-2: *ἡ[πογρ]ματεῖ Πυργίωνι* : ΔΔΔIII[II:; 268-9: *ἡπογραμματοῖ Πυργίωνι* | *ἡοτρυνεῖ* : ΔΔΔ. Line 430 also contains a *grammateus*: Δορόθ[εος —5— ἔγραμμάτευε].

³⁵⁷ Lys. 30.28-29: “*He (Nikomachos) has exchanged... the position of hypogrammateus for that of lawgiver (νομοθέτης).*” For the *anagrapheus of the laws*, see page 38.

³⁵⁸ Meritt & Traill (1974) 2.

³⁵⁹ Lys. 30.29.

be more precise). This indicates a very different collegial environment from that of the *hypogrammateus of the boule and demos*.³⁶⁰

In the second century BC, magistrates at the Piraeus who are most likely to have been grain inspectors employed two secretaries: the *grammateus elected by lot*, and the *grammateus elected by hairesis*, designations which reflect the manner in which they were selected (see pages 94-95). These magistrates also had a *hypogrammateus* (selection method unknown), who may have been under-secretary for one, or both of these *grammateis*.³⁶¹ Nothing else is known about this officer.

Other Attributes

Little is known about the 'career' of *hypogrammateis*. While Lysias uses the term in a pejorative sense to describe the career of Nikomachos (an *anagrapheus of the laws*)³⁶² and Demosthenes tells us that Aeschines was a *hypogrammateus* for several years before going into public life,³⁶³ there is no firm evidence to suggest that one could use experience gained as *hypogrammateus* to gain a 'higher' or other office. Only one substantially restored inscription may provide evidence that a *hypogrammateus* became *grammateus of the boule and the demos*.³⁶⁴

In 193/2 BC, Euthymachos son of Ergochares of Kerameis was praised after serving as *hypogrammateus*, as follows:

ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Πυθαγόραν Τιμαίου | [Λαμπτρέα καὶ τὸν γραμματέα
τῆς βουλῆς καὶ] τοῦ δήμου Κίμωνα | [— c.13 — καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Εὐθύ]μαχον
Ἐργοχάρου ἐκ | [Κεραμέων καὶ τὸν κήρυκα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ...]³⁶⁵

[And also praise the *grammateus*] Pythagoras son of Timaios [of Lamptrai and the
grammateus of the boule and] the demos Kimon [— c.13 – and the *hypogrammateus*]
Euthymachos son of Ergochares of [Kerameis and the herald of the boule and the]
demos...

Euthymachos' (entirely restored) office as *hypogrammateus* is based on the presence of the *grammateus of the boule* and *grammateus of the boule and the demos* earlier in the text.

³⁶⁰ E.g. IG II² 2086 (163/4 AD) 132-3.

³⁶¹ IG II² 1711 (mid. 2C BC) 6-11: γραμματεὺς κληρωτός | Διόδοτος Θεοδώρου Ἀμαξαντεύς | γραμματεὺς αἰρετός | Τιμογένης Αἰσχρίωνος Ἀφιδναῖος | ὑπογραμματεὺς | Ζωπυρίων Τέχωνος Προβαλίστιος, SEG 32:348.

³⁶² Lys. 30.28-29.

³⁶³ D. 19.249; Plu. *Mor.* 10.840 a-b.

³⁶⁴ Meritt & Traill (1974) 10.

³⁶⁵ Ag.15:168 (193/2 BC) 37-40.

In c.190/89 BC, Euthymachos was praised as follows:

ἐπαινέσαι δ[ὲ] καὶ στεφανῶσαι καὶ τὸν ἱε[ρέα] | [τοῦ ἐπωνύμου — c.18 — καὶ τ]ὸν
ταμ[ί]αν τῆς βουλῆς Ἠγήτορα Ἀριστοβούλου [Οἴ]||[ναῖον καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς
βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Εὐθύ[υ]μαχον Ἐργοχάρου ἐκ Κεραμέων [καὶ] | [τὸν
ὑπογραμματέα Δημήτριον Κτήσωνος Προβαλίσιον ...³⁶⁶

*And also [praise] and additionally crown the priest [of the eponymous – c.18 – and]
the treasurer of the boule Hegetor son of Aristoboulos [of Oinaios, and the
grammateus of the boule and the demos] Euthymachos son of Ergochares of
Kerameis, [and the hypogrammateus Demetrios son of Kteson of Probalisos] ...*

If the restoration of the first text is to be trusted, within the space of three years, Euthymachos moved from the office of *hypogrammateus* to the office of *grammateus of the boule and the demos*.³⁶⁷ This potential change of office should not be understood as a ‘promotion’ in the modern sense; rather it should be seen as a change of office that required additional skills.

In the third and second centuries BC, the *hypogrammateus* was frequently honoured alongside other officers and some or all secretaries of the boule and demos, some of whom would also receive a crown.³⁶⁸ In the first and second centuries AD, this type of honour was no longer bestowed, and secretaries (including *hypogrammateis*) could instead be honoured as *aeisitoi*.³⁶⁹

αἰσίτοι

...

γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Ἀλέξανδρος Θεοδοσίου Λαμπ[ρεύς] | περὶ τὸ βῆμα
Μυστικός Ἐροιάδης | ἀντιγραφεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος [Ἀ]χωρίστου Παιονίδης | ἱεραύλης
Ἐπαφρόδιτος ὁ καὶ Ἀφροδεΐσιος | ἱερεὺς Φωσφόρων καὶ ἐπὶ Σκιάδος Ἑρμείας
Ἀζηγιεύς | ὑπογραμματεὺς Μύρων Λαμπ[ρεύς]³⁷⁰

The aeisitoi:

...

*grammateus of the boule and demos: Alexandros son of Theodosios of Lamptrai;
peri to bema: Mustikos son of Eroïades; antigrapheus: Alexandros son of Achoristos
of Paionides; flute-player: Epaphroditos, also called Aphrodeisios, priest of the light-*

³⁶⁶ Ag.15:170 (c.190/89 BC) 9-12. As with the previous example, the office of *hypogrammateus* is restored due to the presence of other secretaries earlier in the text.

³⁶⁷ The *grammateus of the boule and the demos* was responsible for the reading out of decrees, and occasionally also for having inscriptions inscribed and set up. See page 64.

³⁶⁸ See, for example Ag.15:89 (254/3 BC) 35-39, and the example on page 72.

³⁶⁹ For more on the *aeisitoi*, see page 47.

³⁷⁰ Ag.15:406 (182/3 AD) 54-63; Oliver & Dow (1935) 48-49.

bearing (gods)³⁷¹ and warden of the Skias, Hermeias of Azenia; hypogrammateus: Muron of Lamptrai.

From the evidence presented in literary sources, *hypogrammateis* were perceived to be of lower status than *grammateis*.³⁷² This is also borne out by epigraphic evidence. If one examines the relative position of *hypogrammateis* in inscriptions honouring officers of the boule and demos, while the order in which officials are listed is extremely variable, the *hypogrammateus* is almost always the last of the secretaries,³⁷³ suggesting that this office was thought to be of lower status than secretaries with any other designation. Where officers are listed after the *hypogrammateus*, they tend to have designations such as herald (κήρυξ, *kerux*) or flute-player (ιεραύλης, *hieraulēs*).

Hypogrammateis were rarely found outside Athens. In the regions covered by this thesis, *hypogrammateis* were present in Sparta in the first and second centuries AD (see page 165), and on Delos in the fourth century BC, while it was administered by Athens (see page 335).³⁷⁴

Other officers of the boule and demos

From the fourth until possibly the second century BC, officers of the boule and demos other than secretaries could occasionally record the results of their work in writing, or write and set up inscriptions in the same way as stipulated for secretaries.

δημόσιος (demosios)

The *demosios* was a public slave who could be employed by the boule as an official clerk.

Activities

The *demosios* looked after financial records, including tablets containing details of expenditure, which were displayed publicly:

εἰσφέρεται μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν τὰ γραμματεῖα κατὰ τὰς καταβολὰς
ἀναγεγραμμένα, τηρεῖ δ' ὁ δημόσιος· ὅταν δ' ἢ χρημάτων καταβολή, παραδίδωσι τοῖς
ἀποδέκταις αὐτὰ ταῦτα καθελὼν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιστυλίων, ὧν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ δεῖ τὰ
χρήματα καταβληθῆναι καὶ ἀπαλειφθῆναι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀπόκειται χωρὶς, ἵνα μὴ
προεξαλειφθῇ.³⁷⁵

³⁷¹ *LSJ*: φωσφόρος or 'torch-bearing' is an epithet of various deities, especially Hecate (E. *Hel.* 569) and Hephaestus (Orph. *H.* 66.3).

³⁷² See page 77, especially n.346.

³⁷³ In 39/43 instances. See Appendix E page 344.

³⁷⁴ Chankowski (2008) 236. At least one of these *hypogrammateis* was Athenian: ID 104-31 (333-331 BC) 4.

³⁷⁵ *Ath. Pol.* 47.5.

The tablets written up with the list of payments are brought before the boule, but the public slave keeps them; and whenever a payment of money is made, he takes down from the pillars and hands over just these tablets showing the persons whose money is to be paid on that day and wiped off the record, but the other tablets are stored away separately in order that they may not be wiped off beforehand.

When payment had been received, the *demosios* removed only those tablets containing information of debts paid. These were given to ten *apodektai* (ἀποδέκται, 'receivers'),³⁷⁶ who wiped off the sums paid, and handed the tablets back to the *demosios*, presumably so that they could be re-used.³⁷⁷

The *demosios* was also responsible for looking after tablets containing details of unpaid debts.³⁷⁸ Those who had defaulted on their payments were added to these tablets, which were then stored separately, as a safeguard against the tablets being wiped clean before the debt was paid.

While the *demosios* was not the author of these financial records (and it was the *apodektai* who reviewed, amended and edited them), the *demosios* could not have performed his duties without being able to read and understand the names on these tablets, and possibly also the monetary amounts on them. A decree concerning the contents of the Chalkotheke (the treasury in which all metal objects were stored) illustrates that a *demosios* could be both literate and numerate, and could also be given a degree of autonomy:

...παραγγεῖλαι δὲ τοὺς πρυτάν[ι]ς καὶ Ε[ὐκλ]εῖ τῷ δημοσίῳ ἥκειν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν γρα[ψόμ]ενον τ[ὰ] ἐν τῇ χαλκοθήκῃ. καὶ ἐπειδὴν τὸ οἶκημα ἀ[νοι]χθεῖ ἐξετάζεν κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστα καὶ ἐπιγράφεν τ[ὸν] ἀριθμὸν...³⁷⁹

And the prytaneis are to instruct Eukles the demosios to come to the acropolis to write down the objects that are in the Chalkotheke. Whenever the chamber is opened, he (Eukles) is to examine each particular (object) by nationality and write down the number...

In this inscription, Eukles the *demosios* reports directly to the *prytaneis*. He is to write down the names and numbers of everything in the treasury, and must categorise the objects by

³⁷⁶ *Ath. Pol.* 48.1: εἰσὶ δ' ἀποδέκται δέκα κεκληρωμένοι κατὰ φυλὰς; οὗτοι δὲ παραλαβόντες τὰ γραμματεῖα, ἀπαλείφουσι τὰ καταβαλλόμενα χρήματα ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, καὶ πάλιν ἀποδιδόασιν τὰ γραμματεῖα τῷ δημοσίῳ. κὰν τις ἐλλίπη καταβολήν, ἐνταῦθ' ἐγγέγραπται... *There are ten receivers elected by lot, one from each tribe; these take over the tablets and wipe off the sums paid in the presence of the boule in the council-chamber, and give the tablets back again to the official clerk; and anybody that has defaulted in a payment is entered on them...*

³⁷⁷ A flawed method of accounting, in which loss of a record was effectively equivalent to proof of payment.

³⁷⁸ *Ath. Pol.* 48.1.

³⁷⁹ IG II² 120 (358/7 BC to 354/3 BC) 13-15.

nationality (κατὰ ἔθνος). He appears to be unsupervised while examining treasury contents. Further instructions direct the *grammateus kata prytaneian* and 'the other secretaries in charge of state documents' to make additional copies.

ἀντιγράφεσθαι δὲ τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ | [πρ]υτανείαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
γραμματ{τε}έας τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖ[ς] δ]ημοσίοις γράμμασιν·

...and the *grammateus kata prytaneian* and the other secretaries in charge of state documents are to make their own copy.³⁸⁰

The text implies that the *grammateus kata prytaneian* and other secretaries are to copy from Eukles' copy; i.e. make copies without going through the laborious process of verifying Eukles' accuracy by checking the contents of the Chalkotheke for themselves.³⁸¹

A *demosios* was also in charge of legal records stored in the Metroön:

ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς ἐξωμοσίας ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τοῖς ὑμετέροις γράμμασιν ἐν τῷ μητρώῳ
ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δημόσιος τέτακται, καὶ ψήφισμ' ἀντικρυς περὶ τούτου τοῦ
ὀνόματος γέγραπται.³⁸²

As for the affidavit of refusal, there is an entry in the record-office at the Metroön, of which the *demosios* is in charge, and a decree in which he is mentioned by name.

Other Attributes

The *demosios* was not honoured alongside secretaries and other officers of the boule and demos. However, another type of slave, the ὑπηρέτης (*hyperetes*), was honoured when working with the ephebes. See following section.

ὑπηρέτης (*hyperetes*)

The *hyperetes* (ὑπηρέτης) or servant could also be a petty officer of the council:

[γραμματεὺς τ[ῶ]ι δ[ήμῳ] | [καὶ τῇ] βουλῇ Βλ[έπυρος] | Πε[ιθάν]δρο Παιον[ίδης]
| ὑπηρέτης : Μητρόδ[ωρ]ος] *vacat*³⁸³

³⁸⁰ IG II² 120 (358/7 BC to 354/3 BC) 15-17.

³⁸¹ Rhodes (1993) 601 suggests, on the strength of this inscription, that the *demosios* is the officer in *Ath. Pol.* 54.3 who "supervises the transcription of all other documents" rather than the *grammateus kata prytaneian*. This seems to give the *demosios* rather more responsibility than is borne out by other evidence. See also Rhodes (1972a) 141. For *Ath. Pol.* 54.3, see page 57. For more on this inscription, see page 54.

³⁸² D. 19.129. Two, fragmentary texts back up Demosthenes' statement that a *demosios* looked after the records in the Metroön: IG II² 463 (307/6BC) 28-9: —26— [v —6— τοῦ τεί]χους κ[α]ὶ εἰς τὸ μ[ητ]ρώιον πρό[ς] τὸν δημ[όσι]ον —18— ἀναγράφ[ει] τὸ τε ὄνομα τοῦ μεμισθωμέν[ου] καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ὅσ[ου] | [ἀν μισθώσεται... — of the wall and to the Metroön for the *demosios* ... write up both the name of the person who has been hired and how much money he might cost. See also IG II² 583 (end 4C BC) 1-10 (esp. 5-7) and Ag.16:322 (c.120 BC) 1, 3-4.

[Grammateus] for the demos [and the] boule [Blepyros] son of Peithandros of Paionidai : hyperetes : Metrodoros...

There is not enough evidence in our sources to assess the duties of the council *hyperetes*. On the strength of the above example, Raubitschek (1942) suggests that the *hyperetes* replaced the *antigraphheus* in the mid fourth century BC, taking on his duties. However, this inference is based on a comparison of two inscriptions of uncertain date only.³⁸⁴

A *hyperetes* also appears in a second century BC inscription listing magistrates, alongside a *grammateus hairesos* and *grammateus elected by lot*,³⁸⁵ in the same way that a *hypogrammateus* is listed after these secretaries in IG II² 1711 (see page 94).³⁸⁶ Using Raubitschek's line of reasoning, this inscription could be taken as evidence that the *hyperetes* could perform the duties of a *hypogrammateus*, which seems more likely.³⁸⁷

Other Attributes

The *hyperetes* could be honoured as an officer of the ephebes,³⁸⁸ and in texts of this type is typically listed after the *grammateus*. These honours also lack a *hypogrammateus*, adding weight to the argument that the *hyperetes* could perform duties usually given to this officer.

Treasury officers and secretaries

In the fifth century BC, Athens had three boards of financial officers: the *kolakretai* (κωλακρέται),³⁸⁹ who managed the expenses of the demos; the treasurers of Athena (ταμιῶν τῆς θεοῦ), and the treasurers of the other gods (ταμιῶν τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν), who looked after the treasures held in the temples and the loans made to the state. There were also the *hellenotamiai*, the chief financial officers of the Delian League, who were based in Delos from

³⁸³ Ag.15:37 (343/2 BC) 1-4; Meritt (1934) 63 No.54; Raubitschek (1942) 305-6. This is the entire inscription. Note the unusual reversal of the words demos and boule.

³⁸⁴ Raubitschek (1942) 305-6 bases his argument on a comparison of Ag.15:37 above with IG II² 1740 (early 4CBC) 53-56: [γραμ]ματεὺς τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ | —λείδης : Φιλοθήρο : ἐξ Οἴο. | [ἀντι]γραφεὺς | [Ἄριστ?]τίων Ἀριστωνύμο Παλληνεύ[ς] and IG II² 1747 (c.350 BC) 33-4, which also contains the *grammateus* Blepyros. Rhodes (1972a) 142 notes that Raubitschek's date of 355/4 BC for the disappearance of the *antigraphheus* rests on a dubious chronology for Eubulus. Also see Rhodes (1972a) 235-7, Additional Note D.

³⁸⁵ IG II² 1710 (beg. 2CBC) 6-11.

³⁸⁶ IG II² 1711 (mid. 2CBC) 6-19. See page 79.

³⁸⁷ This may also be the case in SEG 21:587 (beg. 2CBC) 12-19; unfortunately, the text is too fragmentary to be able to restore this decree. For the *hyperetes* with other secretaries, see *Hesp.* 6:460,8 (after 166 BC) 7-20.

³⁸⁸ IG II² 876 (end 3CBC?) 5-8 (fragment); IG II² 1007 (end 2CBC) 5-7 (fragment); IG II² 1008 (118/7 BC) 83-87, 129-133; IG II² 1009 (116/5 BC) 20-24 (before *grammateus*); IG II² 1011 (106/5 BC) 59-62; IG II² 1028 (100/99 BC) 49-5; SEG 15:104 (127/6 BC) 39-42, 301-5.

³⁸⁹ Ferguson (1932) 4; Pritchett (1977) 295.

the end of the Persian wars until 454/3 BC, when they moved to Athens.³⁹⁰ The *hellenotamiai*, treasurers of Athena and treasurers of other gods each had their own secretary (see example on page 88). It is not known whether the *kolakretai* also had their own secretary.

These boards and their secretaries will be treated together, as the *hellenotamiai* took on the duties of the *kolakretai* in c.411, and the boards of the treasurers of Athena, and the treasurers of other gods were amalgamated, and feature in the same inscriptions as the *hellenotamiai*. The following diagram provides an overview of the times at which these various boards were in operation.

Date BC	<i>Kolakretai</i>	<i>Hellenotamiai</i> – Chief financial officers of the Delian League		
477? - 454/3	Athens: Expenses of the demos were met by payments from the treasury of the <i>kolakretai</i> , abolished in 411. ³⁹¹	Delos: The Delian League received and recorded tribute, administered payments to <i>strategoí</i> , etc.		
454/3		Athens: The <i>hellenotamiai</i> of the Delian League administered the expenses of the Athenian Empire. ³⁹²		
434/3				
c.411	<i>Hellenotamiai</i> were responsible for both the league and state treasuries. After c.411, they also paid for the inscribing of documents on stone. ³⁹⁵		Treasurers of Athena ³⁹³	Treasurers of the other gods
			Based in Athens. ³⁹⁴	Based in Athens.
406/5–404 (Empire falls)		<i>Hellenotamiai</i> abolished. ³⁹⁶	Boards of the treasurers of Athena and the treasurers of other the gods were amalgamated, ³⁹⁷ and shared a secretary.	
?			Boards split again.	
> 342/1			Boards combined again. ³⁹⁸	
340/339			Combined board abolished(?) c.340/399. ³⁹⁹	

Figure 3: Boards of treasurers in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

³⁹⁰ Plut. *Per.* 12.1-2; *OCD* 320-321.

³⁹¹ Pritchett (1977) 295.

³⁹² Pritchett (1977) 295.

³⁹³ The treasurers of Athena and the treasurers of other gods were not *hellenotamiai*, as these two boards continue in operation for more than sixty years after the *hellenotamiai* were abolished.

³⁹⁴ Earliest attestation of the secretary of the treasurers of Athena: e.g. IGI³ 317 (434/3) 2.

³⁹⁵ *OCD* 679-80; Woodhead (1959) 149-152.

³⁹⁶ *OCD* 679-80; Woodhead (1959) 149-152.

³⁹⁷ Blanshard (2007) 22; Ferguson (1932) 105.

³⁹⁸ Ferguson (1932) 105.

³⁹⁹ Ferguson (1898) 74.

The secretaries of these boards were all known by the designation γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*).

The *kolakretai*

The *kolakretai* administered the expenses of the demos from c.460-450 BC⁴⁰⁰ until c.411, when the responsibility was given to the *hellenotamiai* (see below).⁴⁰¹

The *kolakretai* are known only from a handful of documents of the Athenian boule, where they performed functions such as providing the funds for stelai,⁴⁰² sometimes in conjunction with the treasurers of Athena.⁴⁰³ There is no evidence to suggest that this board had its own secretary.

The *hellenotamiai* and their *grammateus*

The *hellenotamiai*, 'stewards of the Greeks' were the Athenian chief financial officers of the Delian League. Their primary function was to receive tribute from the allies, but they also administered these funds, providing payments to *strategoí* for campaigns, and occasionally provided money for building projects, such as the acropolis buildings. From 478 to 454 BC, the treasury of the Delian League was at Delos.⁴⁰⁴

In the mid-fifth century BC, this treasury and the *hellenotamiai* were moved to Athens.⁴⁰⁵ The board of *hellenotamiai* was then enlarged, and given the functions previously belonging to the *kolakretai*. It became responsible for the administration of both the treasuries of the Delian League, and those of the state,⁴⁰⁶ which included funds for inscribing documents on stone,⁴⁰⁷ including those used for Draco's revised homicide law.⁴⁰⁸

Activities

The *grammateus* of the *hellenotamiai* recorded tributes received, and payments made on the instructions of the boule, such as those for military campaigns or building work.⁴⁰⁹ The majority of these transactions were recorded on temporary media,⁴¹⁰ with only the tribute

⁴⁰⁰ IGI³ 7 (460-50 BC) 4-9.

⁴⁰¹ OCD 679-80; Woodhead (1959) 149-52.

⁴⁰² E.g. IGI³ 80 (421/0 BC) 18-20: τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον δόντων ἡ<ο> κολακρέται.

⁴⁰³ IGI³ 7 (460-50 BC) 4-9.

⁴⁰⁴ Th. 1.96.2; OCD 320-321; Laidlaw (1933) 62-63.

⁴⁰⁵ OCD 320-321.

⁴⁰⁶ OCD 679-80; Woodhead (1959) 149-52.

⁴⁰⁷ Ferguson (1932) 4.

⁴⁰⁸ IGI³ 104 (409/8) 8-10.

⁴⁰⁹ OCD 679-80. See example on page 88.

⁴¹⁰ Ferguson (1932) vii-viii.

(*aparche*) recorded on stone.⁴¹¹ The designation is found in Athenian tribute lists,⁴¹² and the building accounts of the Propylaia. Since these accounts record transactions for a year, it is likely that this office was also annual.⁴¹³ See example on page 88.

Decrees can also note that the *hellenotamiai* themselves were to record information related to Athenian tribute on temporary media:

ἀναγ[ραφόντων δὲ ἡοι ἐλ]λενοταμ[ίαι] ἐς σανίδι τὰς [πόλεις τὰς ἐλλιπό]σας τὸ φό[ρ]ο
καὶ τῶν ἀπαγόντ[ων τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τιθέναι] [[ἡ]εκάστοτε πρόσθε[ν τῶν ἡερόων].⁴¹⁴

*Let [the] hellenotamiai record on a board the [names of the cities in default] of
tribute and (the names) of those who bring the tribute. And it is to be placed on
each occasion in front of [the Herōon.]*

The board of *hellenotamiai* was abolished in 406/5-4.⁴¹⁵

The Treasurers of Athena and the Treasurers of the Other Gods, and their *grammateus*

From 434/3 to 340/399 BC, Athens had two additional boards of treasurers: the treasurers of Athena,⁴¹⁶ and the treasurers of the other gods.⁴¹⁷ On two separate occasions, these boards were amalgamated, and then split up again, depending on the number of offerings held by the temple.⁴¹⁸ These boards existed alongside the *hellenotamiai* during their period in Athens, and continued in operation until approximately sixty years after the *hellenotamiai* were abolished.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹¹ Ferguson (1932) 82.

⁴¹² E.g. IG I³ 465 (437/6-433-2 BC) 123-125: [π]αρά ἡελλενοταμ[ιῶν ἡ]οῖς Προτόν[ικος] | [ἐ]γγραμ[μάτευε Meritt (1949) 125.

⁴¹³ Rhodes (1972a) 227-228. Pritchett (1977) 295 suggests that the *hellenotamiai* were elected by lot, one from each tribe. However, when discussing “the weight of scholarly opinion” on the election or selection methods of the *hellenotamiai*, he refers only to one of his own earlier papers.

⁴¹⁴ IG I³ 68 (426/5 BC) 18-21. Fornara (1983) 149 No.133. See also IG I³ 34 (448/7 BC) 43-45.

⁴¹⁵ OCD 679-80: The office of *hellenotamiai* was abolished with the fall of the Athenian empire in 404 BC. De Ste Croix (1956) 15; Pritchett (1977) 295.

⁴¹⁶ First attested in IG I³ 317 (434/3 BC) 2 (and several other texts from that year).

⁴¹⁷ Ferguson (1932) 8.

⁴¹⁸ Ferguson (1932) 109.

⁴¹⁹ Ferguson (1898) 70-74.

The Treasurers of Athena and their *grammateus*

The treasurers of Athena managed the contents of the temple of Athena. They had their own secretary, known simply by the designation *grammateus*.⁴²⁰ Together, the treasurers and secretary managed and recorded temple inventories, and loans made by the treasurers to the state. These accounts were inscribed on stone annually until 430/29 BC, and every four years after this.⁴²¹

The *grammateus* of the treasurers of Athena appears alongside the *grammateus* of the *hellenotamiai*, *grammateus* of the boule (here, 'first *grammateus*' (see page 52)), and *grammateus* of the *epistatai* (or board of commissioners, page 100) in the building accounts of the Propylaia:

[ἐπὶ τέτ]άρτεες ἀρχεῖς *ἡ*ὶ Διογέ[νες ἐ]γρ[αμμάτευε] | [— 9 —] ἐπὶ τέτ βολεῖς *ἡ*ὶ Μετα[γένες] πρ[ῶτος ἐγρ[αμ]μάτευε : ἐπι]στάται : <names of commissioners>·
τούτοις λ[έμματα τ]ῷ ἑνια[υτῷ τάδε]·
— — ΗΗΗΔΓΓΗΗΗ — παρὰ τῷ πρ[οτέρων ἐ]πιστάτ[ῳ] *ἡ*οῖς | Ἐπικλ[ε]ς
ἐγρ[αμ]μάτευ[ε] Θορίκ[ιος]
— — — παρὰ ταμιῶν *ἡ*οῖς τὰ τέ[τ]ε θεῶ ἐτα[μίευον] | *ἡ*οῖς Κράτες
ἐγρ[αμ]μάτ[ε]υ[ε] Λαμπ[τρεύς]
— — — [π]αρὰ *ἡ*λλενοταμ[ιῶν] *ἡ*οῖς Πρωτόν[ικος] | [ἐγρ[αμ]μάτευε
Κερ[αμ]εύς, τῷ χσυμ[μαχ]ί[ικῷ φόρο μ]νᾶ ἀπὸ τῷ [τα]λάντο.⁴²²

[In (the year of) the] fourth board, for which Diogenes was *grammateus*,⁴²³ [— 9 —] during the boule for whom Metagenes was first [grammateus],⁴²⁴ commissioners: <names of the commissioners>. Their receipts for the year [are as follows]:

319 drachmas From the previous commissioners, [for whom] Epikles from Thorikos was *grammateus*.⁴²⁵
— — — From the treasurers in charge of [the possessions of the] goddess, for whom Krates of Lamprai was *grammateus*.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁰ Ferguson (1898) 70-74 provides a list of secretaries of the treasurers of Athena for the period 434/3 to 407/6 BC, and a list of the secretaries of the combined boards of the treasurers of Athena and the treasurers of other gods for the period 406/5-387/6. See Appendix A page 260 for a list of inscriptions in which Euthias was the *grammateus* of the treasurers of Athena.

⁴²¹ Ferguson (1932) 41, 81-82, 97-99.

⁴²² IG I³ 465 (437/6-433/2 BC) 114-125; Fornara (1983) 133 No.118B.

⁴²³ Diogenes was *grammateus* of the *epistatai* in the year in which commissioners submitted these receipts.

⁴²⁴ Metagenes was the first *grammateus* of the boule in this same year, serving for one prytany only.

⁴²⁵ Epikles was *grammateus* of the *epistatai* in the year before Diogenes. 319 drachmas is carried forward.

⁴²⁶ Krates was *grammateus* of the treasurers of Athena in the year that Diogenes was *grammateus*.

In recording the accounts for a year, the inscription shows that Krates, the *grammateus* of the treasurers of Athena, and Protonikos, the *grammateus* of the *hellenotamiai* both served for a year.⁴²⁸

The Treasurers of the Other Gods

There is no evidence for a dedicated secretary of this board. When the board of the treasurers of the other gods was amalgamated with the board of the treasurers of Athena (see below), this enlarged board had the same number of secretaries (one) as had been employed by the board of the treasurers of Athena alone (see previous section).

The Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods

The board of the treasurers of Athena was amalgamated with the treasurers of the other gods for the period 406/5 – 386/5 to form the treasurers of Athena and the other gods.⁴²⁹ There appears to have been only one secretary for this enlarged board.

Secretaries of archons

γραμματεὺς τοῦ πολεμάρχου (*grammateus of the polemarch*)

The *grammateus of the polemarch* (γραμματεὺς τοῦ πολεμάρχου) was the personal secretary of a polemarch.⁴³⁰ This office and that of the *grammateus of the strategoi* (γραμματεὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν) are known from a late fourth-century BC decree honouring Thessalian exiles.

The *grammateus of the polemarch* and the *grammateus of the strategoi* received the names of those to be honoured, as follows:

ἀπογρ[ά]||[ψασθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὰ ὀνόματ]α πρὸς τὸν γραμματέα [τ]||[οῦ πολεμάρχου
καὶ τὸν γραμ]ματέα τῶν στ[ρ]α[τηγ]ῶν||⁴³¹

*[And they are to hand over a list of names] to the grammateus [of the polemarch
and the] grammateus of the strategoi.*

Nothing else is known of these officers.

⁴²⁷ Protonikos was *grammateus* of the *hellenotamiai* in the year that Diogenes was *grammateus*.

⁴²⁸ Ferguson (1898) 72; Ferguson (1932) 8.

⁴²⁹ Ferguson (1898) 70-74; Ferguson (1932) 8.

⁴³⁰ Plu. *Pel.* 7.3, 9.2 describes the actions of Phillidas, who contrived to become *grammateus* to two Theban polemarchs, Archias and Philip.

⁴³¹ IG II² 545 (318/7 BC) 15-17; SEG 45:83.

γραμματεὺς τῶν ἑνδεκα (*grammateus of the Eleven*)

The Eleven were officials who enforced legal decisions of the courts. They had the authority to arrest criminals and bring them to trial; they were also empowered to prosecute – and execute – some criminals under special circumstances.⁴³² The Eleven had their own secretary.⁴³³

Activities

The *grammateus of the Eleven* is known from one surviving inscription only, which describes irregularities and debt-collection in the naval dockyards.⁴³⁴ The dockyard *epimeletai* and the Eleven are instructed by the boule as to how a man called Sopolis could pay off liability inherited from his brother, who had been treasurer of the dockyard. Sopolis' debts are to be paid out of his confiscated property, which includes some oars. The *grammateus of the Eleven* is to keep the accounts of this.⁴³⁵

...τὸν γραμματέα τῶν ἑνδεκα | ἀπαλεῖψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠφλημένου Σ|ωπόλιδι ἀργυρίου ὃ
τι ἂν ἀποφα[ί]ναι α|ὐτῷ ὁ ταμίας παρειληφώς...⁴³⁶

...the *grammateus of the Eleven* is to expunge from the money owed by Sopolis that
which the treasurer declares to him (the *grammateus*) upon receiving it...

In keeping these accounts, the *grammateus of the Eleven* must work in conjunction with the treasurer. He can only write the figure the treasurer tells him to write, and can only fulfil this part of his duties after the treasurer has calculated the remaining balance.

Magistrates are to then calculate value of Sopolis' belongings, and the *grammateus of the Eleven* is to re-calculate his debt, depending on whether the oars have been received or not:

...ἐὰν δὲ οἱ τῶν νεωρίων ἄρχοντες οἱ ἐφ' Ἡγησίου ἄρχοντος παραλαβούσης τῆς
πόλεως τ|οὺς κωπέ[α]ς μὴ ἀναγράψωσιν εἰς τ|ὴν στήλην ἢ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν
ἑνδεκα | μὴ ἀπαλείψει ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀφλήματος τοῦ Σωπ|όλιδος τὸ γινόμενον τῶν
κωπέων κατὰ | τὰ ἐψηφισμένα τῇ βουλῇ, ὀφειλέτω ἕκαστος | αὐτῷ<v> : XXX :
δραχμ : τῷ δημοσί ...⁴³⁷

...and if the magistrates of the dockyards in the archonship of Hegesias, upon the
city taking receipt of the oars, do not record this on the stele or if the *grammateus*
of the Eleven does not expunge the proceeds from the oars from the debt of

⁴³² *Ath. Pol.* 52.1.

⁴³³ IG II² 1631 (323/2 BC) 377, 389.

⁴³⁴ See Gabrielsen (1993) 175-183 for a full account.

⁴³⁵ Gabrielsen (1993) 179-180.

⁴³⁶ IG II² 1631 (323/2 BC) 377-380.

⁴³⁷ IG II² 1631 (323/2 BC) 385-393. Gabrielsen (1993) 98.

Sopolis, according to the decree of the boule, then let each of them owe 30 drachmas to the demos...

In both passages, the role of the *grammateus of the Eleven* (in this inscription at least) was purely one of accounting.

This inscription also contains the only surviving reference to the *grammateus of the dockyard epimeletai*; see page 99.⁴³⁸

γραμματεὺς τῶν θεσμοθετῶν (*grammateus of the thesmothetai*)

The *thesmothetai* or 'law-givers' were six junior archons, who, together with three senior archons and a *grammateus* formed the board of archons (*archontes*).⁴³⁹ The *grammateus* of the *thesmothetai* was therefore also the *grammateus* of the *archontes*.

The *thesmothetai* were elected by lot by the *archontes*. The inclusion of a *grammateus* among their number enabled the *archontes* to have one representative from each tribe.

τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια κληροῦσιν οἱ θ' ἄρχοντες κατὰ φυλὰς, ὁ δὲ γραμματεὺς τῶν θεσμοθετῶν τῆς δεκάτης φυλῆς.⁴⁴⁰

The jury-courts are elected by lot by the nine archons by tribe, and the grammateus of the thesmothetai from the tenth tribe.

The qualifications of the nine archons were checked by the boule and in the law court, but the qualifications of the *grammateus* were checked by the law court only.⁴⁴¹ There is no evidence for the duties of the *grammateus of the thesmothetai*.

For information on the *thesmothetai*, see page 103.

γραμματεὺς τῶν ἱππάρχων (*grammateus of the hipparchs*)

The *grammateus of the hipparchs* is known from the start of the third, to the mid-second century BC.⁴⁴²

⁴³⁸ IG II² 1631 (323/2 BC) 410-412.

⁴³⁹ *Ath. Pol.* 55.1: νῦν δὲ κληροῦσιν θεσμοθέτας μὲν ἕξ καὶ γραμματέα τούτοις; 63.1. McLean (2002) 311-12; Rhodes (1993) 613-4.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ath. Pol.* 63.1.

⁴⁴¹ *Ath. Pol.* 55.1; 55.2.

⁴⁴² SEG 21:525 (282/1 BC) 40-44; SEG 46:167 (282/1 BC) 40-43; *Hesp.* 6:460,8 (after 166 BC) 14-15 (page 98).

Activities

In 282/1 BC, *grammateis of the hipparchs* (plural) wrote and set up stelai honouring hipparchs and phylarchs:

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε | [τ]ὸ ψήφισμα τοὺς γραμματεῖς τῶν ἱππάρχων | [έν] στήλαις
λιθίναις δυεῖν καὶ στήσαι τήμ | [μὲν] πρὸς τῷ Ποσειδωνίῳ, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν έν | [τῇ]
σ]τοᾷ τῶν Ἑρμῶν.⁴⁴³

*And the grammateis of the hipparchs are to write up this decree on two stone stelai
and set one up near the temple of Poseidon, and the other in the stoa of the herms.*

The *grammateis of the hipparchs* appear to have carried out duties for the hipparchs as a whole, and also for a unit within the hipparchs, the *tarantinoi* (cavalry armed with javelins), as they also set up a decree for the *tarantinoi* in the same location.⁴⁴⁴

It is not clear why the hipparchs would have required more than one *grammateus*. No secretaries are named in these inscriptions, and so it is unclear whether the same officers are indicated in both cases.

Further particulars

The designation *grammateus of the hipparchs* is likely to be synonymous with the designation *grammateus for the hipparchs of the (members of the) phylai* (γραμματεὺς ἱππάρχους φυλετῶν)⁴⁴⁵ (see example on page 98). This *grammateus* was chosen by lot, at the same time as several other officers.

γραμματεὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν (*grammateus of the strategoi*)

See *grammateus of the polemarch* on page 89.

Secretaries of other polis-level bodies

ἀρχιγραμματεὺς (*archigrammateus*)

The *archigrammateus*, 'chief clerk' or 'chief secretary' is an infrequently-occurring designation found in several locations throughout the Greek world. The designation is also used by Plutarch to refer to a military secretary;⁴⁴⁶ however, this office appears unrelated to the

⁴⁴³ SEG 21:525 (282/1 BC) 40-44.

⁴⁴⁴ SEG 46:167 (282/1 BC) 14-16.

⁴⁴⁵ *Hesp.* 6:460,8 (after 166 BC) 14-15.

⁴⁴⁶ Plu. *Eum.* 1.2-1.3, 2.2-2.5, 3.2, 3.6, 11.2. Plb. 5.54.12 also uses the designation for Tychon, the military secretary of Antiochus III. See also Perrin (1919) 79.

Athenian *archigrammateus*, and may have had more in common with the Spartan *epistoleus* (second-in-command of the Spartan navy)⁴⁴⁷ than any other Athenian secretary.

In Athens, the designation survives in one mid-third century AD inscription only, where it refers to one of several offices held by the voice trainer Marcus Aurelius Mousaios:

ὑπὸ φωνασκὸν Μ Αὐρ Μουσαῖον τὸν καὶ Ἑορ|τάσιον, Σαρδιανὸν γερουσιαστήν,
Δελφὸν | βουλευτὴν καὶ Ἠλεῖον καὶ Ἀφροδισιέα, ἀρχιγραμ|ματέα, τειμηθέντα ὑπὸ
Ἠλείων καὶ Δελφῶν | ἀνδριᾶσι μόνον καὶ πρῶτον τῶν ἐπὶ φωνα|σκή. ⁴⁴⁸

Under the vocal coach Marcus Aurelius Mousaios, the Heortasios and Sardinian gerousiastes and Delphian bouleutes and Eleian and Aphrodisian, archigrammateus, honoured by the Eleians and Delphians with statues alone and first of those at the declamation.

The offices held by Marcus Aurelius Mousaios are likely to have been held over the course of his lifetime, rather than simultaneously.

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*, the clerk of the court)

The *grammateus* was the secretary or clerk of the court who was often asked to read out decrees and witness statements in legal cases. For example, in the following speech, Aeschines instructs the *grammateus* of the court to provide information on the embassy which he and Demosthenes undertook together.

ὅτι δ' οὐδὲν ψεῦδος εἶρηκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, λαβέτω μοι τὸ ψήφισμα ὁ γραμματεὺς, καὶ
τὰς τῶν συμπρέσβων μαρτυρίας ἀναγνώτω. "Ψήφισμα" "Μαρτυρίαι" ⁴⁴⁹

To prove that I have spoken nothing but the truth to you, let the grammateus take the decree from me, and let him read the testimony of my colleagues in the embassy. "Decree" "Testimonies" ⁴⁵⁰

The *grammateus* could be asked to read out any kind of document; for example, Aeschines asks the *grammateus* to read out some verses from the *Iliad*, in order to illustrate a point. ⁴⁵¹ It is clear that these *grammateis* needed to be able to read fluently, and also speak clearly

⁴⁴⁷ X. *Hell.* 2.1.7.

⁴⁴⁸ IG II² 3169/70 (253/257 AD) 32-37.

⁴⁴⁹ Aeschin. 2.46.

⁴⁵⁰ Adams (1919) 195.

⁴⁵¹ Aeschin. 1.147-150 = *Iliad* 18.95, 18.333-35, 23.77. Adams (1919) 117. See also D. 20.84, where the aside "just look and see, it must be there somewhere" is intended to give an air of reality and suggest that the *grammateus* is having trouble finding the correct decree from among the many documents that he has with him.

and loudly in public. It is possible that the confidence of the *grammateus* in public speaking may have contributed to the credibility of the account.

This *grammateus* may not have been a separate office at all: he may have been the *grammateus of the eisagogeis*,⁴⁵² the *grammateus of the Eleven*,⁴⁵³ or the *grammateus of the thesmothetai*,⁴⁵⁴ depending on the type of legal case, as different legal cases were heard in different courts.

γραμματεὺς αἰρετός (*grammateus elected by hairesis*)

The *grammateus elected by hairesis* (γραμματεὺς αἰρετός) and *grammateus elected by lot* (γραμματεὺς κληρωτός) occur together as pairs of officials in inscriptions dating from an approximately 25-year period from the late third, to the start of the second century BC. The terms distinguish a secretary who was elected by show of hands from a secretary who was elected by lot.⁴⁵⁵ In lists of officials, neither term occurs without the other.⁴⁵⁶

While these designations could theoretically be used to identify any secretaries elected by these methods, the fragmentary surviving evidence suggests that these designations are only used to differentiate between two officers who worked for either the grain-commissioners of the city,⁴⁵⁷ or the inspectors of weights and measures (the *metronomoi*):

μετρονόμοι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀρχελάου ἄρχοντος | <personal names of five officers>

...

καὶ γραμματεὺς κληρωτός | Νικίας Φίλωνος Κυδαθηναίους | καὶ γραμματεὺς αἰρετός

|| Ἡράκλειτος Τιμοθέου Κριωεύς | τάδε παρέδωκαν μέτρα καὶ σταθμ|ά· χαλκὰ

σιτηρὰ ἡμιέκτεα ΔΗΕ, χοῖνι|κας δύο, ἡμιχ[ο]ί[νικας — — — —] — — —⁴⁵⁸

Inspectors of weights and measures in the archonship of Archelaos: <personal names of officers>

...

and grammateus elected by lot, Nikias son of Philon of Kydathenaion, and grammateus elected by hairesis, Herakleitos son of Timotheos of Krioia. They

⁴⁵² See page 68.

⁴⁵³ See page 90.

⁴⁵⁴ See page 91.

⁴⁵⁵ Arist. *Pol.* 1300a19-24.

⁴⁵⁶ See Appendix A pages 260 and 263. The exception is the honorific inscription *Hesp.* 6:445 No.2B (239/38 BC) 9-10, where only the *grammateus klerotos* is mentioned, but this designation is completely restored. Crosby (1937) 445-8.

⁴⁵⁷ Three inscriptions may refer to officers of the grain-commissioners: SEG 21:587 (beg. 2CBC) 12-19; SEG 21:588 (beg. 2C BC) 3-6; SEG 24:157 (222/1 BC) 1, 7-13. Meritt (1961b) 225-226, esp. nos. 23 and 24.

⁴⁵⁸ SEG 24:157 (222/1 BC) 1, 7-13.

handed over the following measures and standard weights: 12 brass corn measures (weighing) a half-hekteus,⁴⁵⁹ two choinikes,⁴⁶⁰ measure(s) of half a choinix...

The letters in lines 1, 7 and 9 containing the designation *metronomoi* and the designations of the secretaries (here shown underlined) were painted red, along with the number in line 12, to draw attention to these parts of the text, but not the names of the officers.⁴⁶¹ See Table 15 on page 300 for other instances where the designation of the secretary is displayed prominently.

Activities

The context of the inscription strongly suggests that both *grammateis* recorded the distribution of grain.⁴⁶²

Further particulars

At this point in the second century BC, there were ten grain inspectors: five for Athens and five for the Piraeus.⁴⁶³ Only the Athenian *metronomoi* are listed here; therefore it is possible that the *metronomoi* of the Piraeus had their own *grammateis*.

Crosby offers the following, alternative hypothesis: at this time, there were twelve tribes, and ten *metronomoi* plus two *grammateis* would have allowed all twelve tribes to be represented. This hypothesis does not explain why only five of the *metronomoi* (but both secretaries) are recorded here.⁴⁶⁴ If this hypothesis is the correct one, the *grammateus elected by hairesis* and the *grammateus elected by lot*, in serving both Athens and the Piraeus, may have been required to work in two different locations.

The *grammateus elected by hairesis* and the *grammateus elected by lot* are the only *grammateis* in Athens referred to by their mode of appointment. The reason for the different selection methods for these officials is not known.

These secretaries also had their own *hypogrammateus*. See n.361 on page 79.

⁴⁵⁹ A *hekteus* was a sixth of a *medimnos*, the common Attic corn-measure – nearly 12 gallons; therefore a half-*hekteus* was just under one gallon.

⁴⁶⁰ A measure of a *choinix* was one man's daily allowance of grain, 1/48 of a *medimnos*.

⁴⁶¹ Vanderpool (1968) 74. If another colour was used for the remaining text, there is no surviving evidence of this. Vanderpool notes that he has seen no other examples where red colouring has been used to emphasise 'headings' in this way.

⁴⁶² Context suggests that both the *γραμματεὺς σιτοφύλαξιν*, appointed by lot (Hesp. 6:460,8 (after 166 BC), 8, page 98) and the *γραμματεὺς μετρονόμοις*, appointed by lot (Hesp. 6:457,7 (after 167/6 BC) 18-19) may be synonymous with the *γραμματεὺς κληρωτός* (*grammateus appointed by lot*). Also see page 98 for the late use of selection by lot.

⁴⁶³ *Ath. Pol.* 51.3; Crosby (1937) 446.

⁴⁶⁴ Crosby (1937) 460; Reinmuth (1974) 252. Six tribes are represented in SEG 24:157. Five officials and both secretaries are recorded in IG II² 1711 (mid 2C BC).

Other attributes

Both the *grammateus elected by hairesis* and the *grammateus elected by lot* could be honoured by the archons.⁴⁶⁵ Only one *grammateus elected by lot*, Diodotus son of Theodorus, is known to have been honoured by the boule and demos.⁴⁶⁶ This same man was also councillor of Hippothontis in 178/7 BC, approximately twenty years before.⁴⁶⁷

γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν (*grammateus of the bouleutai*)

The *bouleutai* were the 500 councillors who were the members of the boule. In the period of the ten tribes, the boule comprised ten groups, each containing fifty representatives from a tribe or phyle. The *bouleutai* sometimes had their own secretary, the *grammateus of the bouleutai* (γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν).⁴⁶⁸ Occasionally, this secretary is also identified with the *bouleutai* of a particular tribe; i.e. *grammateus of the bouleutai of the <phyle name> phyle* (γραμματεὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν τῆς <phyle name> φυλῆς).⁴⁶⁹ Both designations are known from the second and third centuries AD.

Other attributes

All inscriptions containing the designation *grammateus of the bouleutai* are honorific texts in which the *grammateus* is honoured by the boule and demos, along with the *prytaneis*. For example, in 167/8 AD, the *prytaneis* of the tribe Akamantis honoured officers from several different tribes as follows:

οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος | φυλῆς τιμήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς αἰσίτους |
<ἀνέγραψαν > ...
γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶ[ν] | <Z>ήνων Ζ⁴⁷⁰ ...
αἰσίτοι ...
γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ | δήμου Μάρκος Εὐκαρ|πίδου Ἀ[ζ]ηνιεύς | γραμματεὺς κατὰ

⁴⁶⁵ IG II² 1711 (mid. 2CBC) 6-9, 12, 15-19.

⁴⁶⁶ As far as we can tell, from the one surviving inscription of this type: Hesp. 6:445 No.2B (239/38 BC) 9-10. This inscription is the sole instance of the *grammateus appointed by lot* mentioned without the *grammateus elected by hairesis*, and here, τὸν κλεροτὸν γραμματέα is restored.

⁴⁶⁷ IG II² 1711 (mid. 2CBC) 6-7, 15-18; Reinmuth (1974) 252.

⁴⁶⁸ See following example. In the second and third centuries AD, *grammateus of the bouleutai* could be abbreviated to γρ. βο. See, e.g. Ag.15.445 (c.200 AD) 11-12, in which the designation *grammateus of the boule and the demos* is also abbreviated: γρ(αμματεὺς) βο(ουλευτῶν) Κ[— —] | γρ(αμματεὺς) βο(υλῆς) δ(ήμου)[— —].

⁴⁶⁹ For the *grammateus of the bouleutai of the <phyle name> phyle*, see e.g. IG II² 1775 (168/9 AD) 5-7: ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος φυλῆς Φιλουμενὸς Ἔρωτος Κεφαλῆ|ῆθεν *The grammateus of the bouleutai of the phyle of Akamantis, Philoumenos son of Eros of the deme Kephale*. Geagan (1967) 101; Rhodes (1972a) 141 n. 2.

⁴⁷⁰ Indicates a homonymous patronymic, i.e. *Zenon son of Zenon*.

πρυτανείαν Μουσαῖος ὁ Φυλάσιος | ἀντιγραφεὺς Δημοσθέ|νης ὁ Σουνιεύς |
ἱεραύλης Εὐχάριστος Παρα|μόνου Ἐπεικίδης | ὑπο<γ>ρ<α>μματεὺς Εἰσίδωτος...⁴⁷¹

*The prytaneis of the phyle Akamantis on honouring themselves and the aesisitai
recorded (below) ...*

grammateus of the bouleutai, Zenon son of Zenon. ...

aesisitai ...

grammateus of the boule and demos, Markos son of Eukarpidos of Azenia,

grammateus kata prytaneian Mousaios son of Mousaios of Phyla, antigrapheus

*Demosthenes son of Demosthenes of Sounion, sacred flute-player Eucharistos son
of Paramonos of Epieikidai, hypogrammateus Eisidotos...*

The *grammateus of the bouleutai* was typically placed just above the list of *aesisitai*,⁴⁷² and in only two surviving instances is included as one of the *aesisitai*.⁴⁷³ The honouring of this officer along with other secretaries of the boule and demos who serve for a year suggests that this office was also an annual one. The *grammateus of the boule* (here, *grammateus kata prytaneian*) is honoured as *aesisitos* in lines 71-72, making it clear that the office of *grammateus of the bouleutai* was not synonymous with *grammateus of the boule*.

The *bouleutai* presiding were known as *prytaneis*.⁴⁷⁴ This suggests that *grammateus of the bouleutai* was also synonymous with *grammateus of the prytaneis* (see page 69); the difference being that the *bouleutai* in question held the prytany.

We are given no indication of the duties performed by this secretary from the mid third-century BC onwards.

γραμματεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν μισθὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην οἰκονομίαν (*grammateus for the wages and for the other administration*)

See *grammateus for the assessors* on page 98.

γραμματεὺς κληρωτός (*grammateus elected by lot*)

See *grammateus elected by hairesis* on page 94.

⁴⁷¹ IG II² 1774 (167/8 AD) 7-9, 58-59, 62, 68-77.

⁴⁷² See e.g. IG II² 1773 (166/7 AD) 53-65.

⁴⁷³ IG II² 1796 (c.180 AD) 31-32 & 40; Ag.15:411 (186/7 AD) 23-42.

⁴⁷⁴ E.g. Antiph. 6.45: οὗτοι δ' ... ὁρῶντες δ' ἐμὲ βουλευόντα καὶ εἰσιόντ' ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον... καὶ πρὸς τούτοις πρυτανεύσας τὴν πρώτην πρυτανείαν ἅπασαν πλὴν δυοῖν ἡμέραιν. *But they (the prosecution) ... (and) could see that I was a member of the boule and used the bouleuterion... and I served as prytanis for the whole of the first prytany except for two days.*

γραμματεὺς συνηγόροις (*grammateus for the assessors*)

The *synegoroi* were the ten assessors who, together with the ten *logistai*, were the officials to whom all other officials had to submit their accounts at the end of their year in office.⁴⁷⁵

One second century BC inscription reveals that this body had their own *grammateus*:

εἰσαγωγεῖς ἕξ | [ἀστυνόμοι εἰς πόλιν πέντε | [ἵππαρχο]ς εἰς Μύριναν | [ὑπηρέ]της
στρατηγοῖς | [γραμμα]τεὺς σιτοφύλαξιν εἰς ἄστ[υ] | εἰληχῶς || [γραμ]ματεὺς
συνηγόροις | [εἰ]ληχῶς | [γραμ]ματεὺς ἄρχοντι | [εἰ]ληχῶς | [γραμ]ματεὺς ἱππάρχοις
φυ[λετῶν] | [εἰ]ληχῶς | [γραμ]ματεὺς φυλεῖ | [εἰ]ληχῶς | [γραμ]ματεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν
μισθὸν | [καὶ ἐπὶ τ]ὴν ἄλλην οἶκον[ομίαν] || [εἰ]ληχῶς⁴⁷⁶

...six [*eisagogeis*],⁴⁷⁷ five [*astynomoi*] for the city, [*hipparch*] for Myrrhinous,
[*hyperetes*] for the strategoi, *grammateus of the grain-inspectors for the city chosen
by lot, grammateus for the assessors chosen by lot, grammateus for the archons*⁴⁷⁸
*chosen by lot, grammateus for the hipparchs of the phyla*⁴⁷⁹ *chosen by lot,*
*grammateus of the phyla*⁴⁸⁰ *chosen by lot, grammateus for the [wages and for]
other administration chosen by lot.*

The duties of this secretary are not known, but it is likely that he assisted in the checking and storing of accounts submitted to the *synegoroi*.

The text shows that the secretaries for several bodies were still elected by lot in the mid-second century.⁴⁸¹ It also suggests that these officials were elected at the same time.

The designations *grammateus of the assessors* and the *grammateus for the wages and for other administration* are not attested elsewhere. *Grammateus of the corn-inspectors* is likely to be synonymous with the *grammateus* elected by lot (for the corn inspectors) on page 94.

γραμματεὺς τῇ ἀρχῇ (*grammateus for the board*)

See *grammateus of the epimeletai of the trading place* on page 101.

⁴⁷⁵ See *Ath. Pol.* 54.2, and page 104 for the *logistai* and *synegoroi*. There is no record of a *grammateus of the logistai*. See also MacDowell (1978) 61-2.

⁴⁷⁶ *Hesp.* 6:460,8 (after 166 BC) 4-20; Crosby (1937) 446, 459-460.

⁴⁷⁷ For the *grammateus of the eisagogeis*, see page 68. Note that *eisagogeis* in this inscription is restored on the basis of one letter only.

⁴⁷⁸ See page 101.

⁴⁷⁹ See page 91.

⁴⁸⁰ See page 108.

⁴⁸¹ Crosby (1937) 460. See also IG II² 2876 (25/4-18/7 BC) 1: Παλληνεὺς λαχὼν γραμματεὺς – *of Pallene, grammateus appointed by lot.*

γραμματεὺς τοῦ συνεδρίου (*grammateus of the synedrion*)

A *synedrion* was either a council, or a board of trade. The designation *grammateus of the synedrion* survives in four fragmentary inscriptions, in which honours are bestowed upon various magistrates including the *grammateus*.⁴⁸² It is not clear which *synedrion* is referred to here.

In the most extensive example, the lines immediately preceding the honour for this *grammateus* relate to an honour bestowed upon an officer of the ephebes. The lines immediately after comprise an honour bestowed upon a man whose office is unknown:

ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ | τὸν κοσμητὴν τὸν ἐπὶ Κλ | Λυσιάδου ἄρχοντος | Ὀνασον
Τροφίμου Παλλη|νέα γραμματεύσαντα | τοῦ συνεδρίου.⁴⁸³

The council of the Areopagus (honour) Onasos son of Trophimos of Pallene who was magistrate in the archonship of Kl. (Claudius) Lusiades, having been grammateus of the synedrion.

The designation *grammateus of the synedrion* is known from several other locations, including several Peloponnesian poleis, and Delphi, where *synedrion* refers to the council of the Delphic amphictyony.⁴⁸⁴

γραμματεὺς τῶν νεωρίων ἐπιμελητῶν (*grammateus of the dockyard epimeletai*)

The *grammateus of the dockyard epimeletai* (γραμματεὺς τῶν νεωρίων ἐπιμελητῶν) is known from one inscription only, which details irregularities and debt-collection in the naval dockyards.⁴⁸⁵

The inscription does not describe the duties of the *grammateus*, and simply records that the dockyard *epimeletai* and their *grammateus* (οἱ τῶν νεωρίων ἐπιμεληταὶ... καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς αὐτῶν) have delivered two (cheap) heavy sails, instead of two lighter (more expensive) sails of better quality, and are required to pay the balance:

τάδε ὀφείλουσιν οἱ τῶν νεωριων ἐπιμεληται οἱ ἐπ' Ἀντικλέους ἄρχοντος καὶ ὁ
γραμματεὺς αὐτῶν τῶν σκευῶν, ὧν γράψαντες εἰς τὴν στήλῃν οὐ παρέδωκαν ὄντα
ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸² IG II² 2893 (85/6-94/5 AD) 1, 9-12; IG II² 2898 (1-2CAD) 2-4; IG II² 2930 (2-3CAD) 1-3; IG II² 3744 (mid. 2CAD) 5-10.

⁴⁸³ IG II² 3744 (mid. 2CAD) 5-10.

⁴⁸⁴ IG II² 1134 (117/6 BC) 3 (FD III 2:69). See also Appendix A page 271.

⁴⁸⁵ IG II² 1631 (323/2 BC) 410-415. See Gabrielsen (1993) 175-183 for a full account.

The dockyard epimeletai in the archonship of Antikles and their grammateus owe these pieces (things) of equipment, which, having written them up on a stele, they did not hand over, being in the dockyard.

No additional information is provided for this *grammateus*, however it is likely that he performed financial and administrative duties for the dockyard *epimeletai*. The *grammateus of the dockyard epimeletai* may also be the officer responsible for having the record of the debt inscribed.

This inscription also contains the only surviving reference to the *grammateus of the Eleven*. See page 90.

γραμματεὺς τῶν ἐπιστάτων (*grammateus of the epistatai*)

In the third quarter of the fifth century BC, a major programme of building work was carried out on the acropolis. The building of various temples and other structures was overseen by boards of *epistatai*, or ‘commissioners.’ These boards are likely to have existed for the duration of the building work only. Some of these boards (and possibly all of them) had a *grammateus*⁴⁸⁷ and/or a *syngrammateus*.⁴⁸⁸

One secretary, Antikles, appears in several decrees from 447/6–433/2 BC, in conjunction with a series of named *grammateis* of the boule and *grammateis* of the treasurers of Athena, suggesting that he served for more than a year.⁴⁸⁹ He can be designated either *grammateus* or *syngrammateus*, suggesting a certain fluidity in the use of these terms. That is, he appears as either:

[τοῖς ἐπιστάτεσι ἡ]οῖς Ἀντ[ικλέος συνεγραμμάτευ[ε]]⁴⁹⁰

[For the epistatai], for whom Antikles was syngrammateus...

Or:

[τ]οῖς ἐπιστάτεσι ἡο[ι]ς Ἀντικλέος εγραμμάτευε⁴⁹¹

For the epistatai, for whom Antikles was grammateus...

⁴⁸⁶ IG II² 1631 (323/2 BC) 410–415.

⁴⁸⁷ E.g. IG I³ 465 (437/6–433/2 BC) 114–125, page 88.

⁴⁸⁸ E.g. IG I³ 446 (447/6–433/2 BC) 312–314. Dinsmoor (1913a) 59–63: *epistatai* and their secretaries at the building of the Parthenon; Dinsmoor (1913b) 383–5: the Propylaia. See also Meritt (1935) 367–373.

⁴⁸⁹ Meritt (1935) 378; Rhodes (1993) 603. See Appendix A page 282.

⁴⁹⁰ IG I³ 446 (447/6–433/2 BC) 312–314.

⁴⁹¹ IG I³ 450 (447/6–433/2 BC) 410–412.

Activities

Our most extensive evidence for these secretaries comes from the building accounts of the Parthenon⁴⁹² and the Propylaia (see example on page 88).⁴⁹³ The duties of these secretaries are not described, but since the inscriptions detail amounts spent on building work, they are likely to have included the recording of financial transactions.

γραμματεὺς τῶν τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἐπιμελητῶν (*grammateus of the epimeletai of the trading place*)

The designations *grammateus of the epimeletai of the trading place* (γραμματεὺς τῶν τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἐπιμελητῶν) and *grammateus for the board* (γραμματεὺς τῇ ἀρχῇ) are known from one surviving instance only, Demosthenes 58.8:

ταύτην τὴν φάσιν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἔδωκεν μὲν οὕτοσί προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Μίκωνα, ἔλαβεν δὲ ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῶν τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἐπιμελητῶν, Εὐθύφημος. ἐξέκειτο δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ συνεδρίου ἢ φάσις, ἕως λαβὼν ἀργύριον οὗτος εἶασε διαγραφῆναι καλούντων αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀνάκρισιν τῶν ἀρχόντων. ὅτι δὲ ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, πρῶτον μὲν κάλει ὃς ἐγραμμάτευε τῇ ἀρχῇ, Εὐθύφημον.

“Μαρτυρία”⁴⁹⁴

This denunciation, men of the jury, was lodged by the defendant after he had summoned Micon to appear. It was received by Euthyphemos, the grammateus of the epimeletai of the trading place, and was exposed to public view for a long time in front of the meeting-place of the board, until this fellow was bribed to allow it to be crossed out, just when the magistrates were summoning him for the preliminary hearing. To prove that these statements of mine are true, call first Euthyphemos, who was grammateus for the board. "Deposition"

The designations appear to be synonymous, with 'board' used rather loosely to refer to the *epimeletai*, as both are used to refer to Euthyphemos.

This *grammateus* is not shown in the context of writing any document; however, it is not unreasonable to assume that he performed a range of administrative functions for the *epimeletai* of the trading-place. This apparently included some executive control over the public display of, and amendments to, documents relating to the *epimeletai*.

⁴⁹² Dinsmoor (1913a) 59-63.

⁴⁹³ Plu. *Per.* 13.7; Dinsmoor (1913b) 375, 397-398. The Propylaia was built over a period of five years. See also the accounts for the statue of Athena Promachos, Schweigert (1938) 264-268.

⁴⁹⁴ [D.] 58.8.

διαγραφεύς (*diagrapheus*)

A *diagrapheus* was a magistrate who wrote *diagramma* (διάγραμμα), registers of taxable properties for the *symmoria* (συμμορία).⁴⁹⁵ This designation is a very rare occurrence.

ἐπιγραφεύς (*epigraphheus*)

The *epigraphheus* was a registrar of taxable property.⁴⁹⁶ It is unclear whether this office was distinct from that of *diagrapheus* (above), or whether the two terms were synonymous.⁴⁹⁷

καταλογεύς (*katalogeus*)

In the late fifth-century BC, the term *katalogeus* ('registrar') was used for the one hundred (ad-hoc) officers (ten from each tribe)⁴⁹⁸ appointed by the Four Hundred to register citizens for the Five Thousand:⁴⁹⁹

...ὅστις ὑμῶν ψηφισαμένων πεντακισχιλίοις παραδοῦναι τὰ πράγματα καταλογεὺς ὢν
ἐνακισχιλίους κατέλεξεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτῷ διάφορος εἴη τῶν δημοτῶν...⁵⁰⁰

...the man who served as *katalogeus* after you had voted to hand over public affairs
to five thousand people and who registered nine thousand. He did this to avoid
quarrelling with any of the deme members...⁵⁰¹

In the fourth century BC, the term *katalogeus* was also used for the one officer per tribe who compiled lists (*katalogoi*) of cavalry commanders and tribal commanders, and gave these lists to the phylarchs and hipparchs. These officers then took the registers before the council, where the names of those exempt from service would be removed.⁵⁰²

See also the Epidaurian *katalogos boulas*, page 147.

⁴⁹⁵ Hyp. *Orat.* fr.152.2; Harp. *Words Used by the Ten Orators* 91.1; Suid. *Lexicon* δ.529 3; Gabrielsen (1993) 211.

⁴⁹⁶ Harp. *Words Used by the Ten Orators* 122.5: ἐπιγραφέας, citing Lys. fr.342.5 (Carey (2007) fr.102). Isoc. 17.41: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰσφορᾶς ἡμῖν προσταθείσης καὶ ἐτέρων ἐπιγραφέων γενομένων ἐγὼ πλεῖστον εἰσήνεγκα τῶν ξένων, αὐτὸς θ' αἰρεθεὶς ἑμαυτῷ μὲν ἐπέγραψα τὴν μεγίστην εἰσφοράν... *In addition to this, when a special tax was imposed upon us and other men than I were appointed registrars, I contributed more than any other foreigner and when I was myself chosen registrar, I subscribed the largest contribution...*

⁴⁹⁷ In Suda, *diagraphein* is used to describe the duties of the *epigraphheus*: Suid. *Lexicon* ε.2271.1: ...οἱ ταῦτα διαγράφοντες ἐπιγραφεῖς ἐκαλοῦντο.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ath. Pol.* 29.5.

⁴⁹⁹ Lys. 20.13: Polystratos is said to have made a list of 9,000 citizens instead of 5,000. He may also have been a member of the Four Hundred. Suid. *Lexicon* κ.627.1. De Ste Croix (1956) 4-5; Todd (2000) 217-222.

⁵⁰⁰ Lys. 20.13.

⁵⁰¹ Todd (2000) 221-222.

⁵⁰² *Ath. Pol.* 49.2; Christ (2001) 400 n.8.

συνγραμματεὺς τῶν ἐπιστάτων (*syngrammateus of the epistatai*)

See *grammateus of the epistatai* on page 100.

Other officers of the polis

θεσμοθέτης (*thesmothetes*)

The *thesmothetai* (θεσμοθέται, 'law-givers' or legislators) were six junior archons, who, together with three senior archons and a *grammateus* (page 91), formed the board of archons (*archontes*).⁵⁰³

According to Aristotle, *thesmothetai* wrote up legal judgements (θεσμοί) and preserved them for the trial of litigants.⁵⁰⁴ The *thesmothetai* also received statements of irregularities in the accounts submitted by magistrates at the end of their year in office, which they then re-introduced to the court,⁵⁰⁵ and dealt with various categories of public case that did not go to the three senior archons. They also had other judicial powers, and were authorised to punish by death anyone who had gone into exile on a charge of murder and had returned to Athens.⁵⁰⁶

κήρυξ (*kerux*)

An honorific decree of the Council of the Areopagus at Eleusis⁵⁰⁷ was set up in three locations: on the acropolis, in Eleusis, and in Epidauros.⁵⁰⁸ The Epidaurian copy contains the unprecedented direction that a *kerux* (herald) is to act as an official representative of Epidauros,⁵⁰⁹ and write the Epidaurian copy of the decree:

...τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν | ἔχοντας· "ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν ἑξακοσίων
καὶ ὁ δῆμος Τίτον Στα|τείλιον Στατειλίου υἱὸν Τειμοκράτους Λαμπριάν ἥρωα." τὸν δὲ

⁵⁰³ *Ath. Pol.* 55.1; 63.1. McLean (2002) 311-12; Rhodes (1993) 613-4.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ath. Pol.* 3.4.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ath. Pol.* 48.5. Accounts submitted by officials at the end of their terms in office were passed first to accountants (*logistai* λογισταί) and reviewed in meetings. Any official was then permitted to submit a charge against another official within three days, which he gave to auditors (*euthynoi* εὐθύνοι), who (in public suits) handed the charge to the *thesmothetai*. Complaints made in private cases were handed to local (phyle) magistrates (*dikastai* δικασταί). The *thesmothetai* served for a year.

⁵⁰⁶ D. 23.31.

⁵⁰⁷ IG IV², 183 (40-42 AD) 7: Ἀρείος πάγος ἐν Ἐλευσεῖνι.

⁵⁰⁸ IG IV², 183 (40-42 AD) 14-15; Geagan (1983) 164; Oliver (1978) 187-188.

⁵⁰⁹ The inference that the herald was Athenian rather than from Epidauros or Eleusis is drawn from his name. *Lysiadēs* (Λυσιόδης) is attested in Athens (LGPMII 289-90), Euboea (LGPMI 292) and Sicily (LGPMIIIa 282), but not Eleusis, Epidauros, or elsewhere in the Peloponnese.

κήρυκα Λυσιάδην γρά[ψ]αι τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίων πόλει καὶ διαπέμψασθαι τὸν
ὑπομνηματισμὸν σημηνά|μενον τῇ δημο[σί]αι σφραγεῖδι ::⁵¹⁰

...having the inscription: "The boule of the Areopagus and the boule of the 600 and
the demos (honour) as a hero Titus Statilius Lamprias, son of (Titus) Statilius
Teimokrates." And the herald Lysiades is to write for (on behalf of) the polis of the
Epidaurians and to send the written record, authenticating it with the public seal.

λογισταί and συνήγοροι (*auditors and assessors*)

The ten *logistai* (λογισταί) and ten *synegoroi* (συνήγοροι) were the auditors and assessors to whom other officials submitted their accounts at the end of their term in office.⁵¹¹ Although these magistrates received written accounts from others, and must have made extensive use of records on temporary media in order to carry out their duties, they are nowhere described as writing anything themselves.⁵¹²

Secretaries and other officers of demes

The majority of deme decrees published on stone were honorific in nature.⁵¹³ They could be written by either a *grammateus* (see next section), *demarch* (page 105), or *tamias* (page 106). The use of these other officers suggests that demes did not always have their own *grammateis*.

Deme decrees are unusual in that instructions to inscribe the text can be given to more than one official (such as *epimeletai* (plural), page 109), or more than one *type* of official, as in the contract on page 105, which is written by both the *demarch* and *tamiai*.⁵¹⁴

γραμματεὺς τῶν δημοτῶν (*grammateus of the demesmen*)

The secretary of a deme was known either as the *grammateus*,⁵¹⁵ or *grammateus of the demesmen*:

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐ στήλῃ | λιθίνει τὸν γραμματέα τῶν δημοτῶν κα|
στῆσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰππί|ας...⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁰ IG IV², 183 (40-42 AD) 15-19. For a similar authentication formula, see IG XII, 5833 (2C BC) 13-15 (Tenos). For the family of Titus Statilius Lamprias, see Bradford (1977) 413.

⁵¹¹ *Ath. Pol.* 54.2: ... καὶ λογιστὰς δέκα καὶ συνηγόρους τούτοις δέκα, πρὸς οὓς ἅπαντας ἀνάγκη τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἄρξαντας λόγον ἀπενεγκεῖν. ...and ten Auditors and ten Assessors with them, to whom all retiring officials have to render account. Trans. Rackham (1932b) 147.

⁵¹² NB In Messenia, a secretary is also *logistes*: IG V, 1 1412 (193-195 BC) 7-9: λογιστοῦ | καὶ γραμματέος | Αἰλίου Φ[α]ῖ|α|νίδου.

⁵¹³ Osborne (1985) 206, Tables 6 and 7.

⁵¹⁴ The *demarch* and *tamiai* are also collectively responsible for writing an honorific decree of the deme Aixone: IG II² 1202 (313/2 BC) 18-21.

⁵¹⁵ IG II² 1206 (end 4C BC) 7-19.

And the grammateus of the demesmen is to write up this decree on a stone stele, and set it up in the sanctuary of Athena Hippias.

It is likely that the *grammateus of the demesmen* wrote a range of documents, but published few of them on stone. The majority of inscriptions written up by the *grammateus* were honorific, although one exception concerns revenues to be raised for a *thysia* (sacrifice, or festival at which sacrifices were made).⁵¹⁷

δήμαρχος (*demarch*)

Activities

The *demarch* (literally, chief official of a demos) had a great deal of local influence, though few went on to take a part in the running of the polis.⁵¹⁸ *Demarchs* performed a wide range of functions, from the convening of deme assemblies and financial administration of the deme, to cult administration.⁵¹⁹ They could also record information in writing. In the fifth century BC, one *demarch* is described as writing a *grammateion* (list of citizens),⁵²⁰ and in the fourth century BC, *demarchs* could additionally be called upon to write up deme decrees.⁵²¹

The majority of decrees written by *demarchs* were honorific, and similar if not identical in style to the decrees written by *grammateis*.⁵²² *Demarchs* could also write contracts, such as the following, in which three men are granted the rights to the front seats for viewings in the theatre:

Ἡ]γήσιας [εἶπεν· καταβάλλειν δὲ τοὺς ἥκον]]τας θεωρεῖν ἀργύριο[ν τὸ τεταγμένον
πλήν ὀπό]]σοις οἱ δημόται πρ[οεδρίαν δεδώκασιν εἰς τὰς θέας]· | τούτους δ'
ἀπογράψα[ι τὸν δήμαρχον πρὸς τοὺς πριαμέ]]νους τὸ θέατρον·

...

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν δήμαρχον καὶ τοὺς ταμίας ἀντί]γραφα τῶν συνθηκῶν εἰς στήλην
λιθίνην καὶ στήσα||ι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῶν δημοτῶν· παραγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα, παρ'
ὧι ἂν κείωνται αἱ συνθῆκαι.⁵²³

⁵¹⁶ SEG 43:26 (315/4 BC) A22-25.

⁵¹⁷ IG II² 1206 (end 4C BC) 12-16.

⁵¹⁸ Osborne (1985) 85.

⁵¹⁹ Whitehead (1986) 122-129.

⁵²⁰ IG I³ 138 (after 434 BC) 5-6. See also D. 57.60 for an incident where the alleged loss of a *lexiarchikon grammateion* by another *demarch* means that a list of citizens is revised in such a way that ten men are expelled.

⁵²¹ See Appendix A page 278 for a list.

⁵²² SEG 43:26 (315/4 BC) contains two decrees: Side A is written up by the *grammateus*, Side B, by the *demarch*.

⁵²³ IG II² 1176 (c.360 BC) 2-6, 18-21 (Piraeus).

Hegesias [proposed: Those having come] to watch [are to pay the set amount of] money [except any to whom] the demesmen [have given proedria for the spectacles.] And [the demarch] is to record these people [for those buying] the theatre.

...

And the demarch and the tamiai are to write up copies of the contracts (agreements) on a stone stele and set it up in the agora of the demesmen. And write beside it the name of the person in whose hands the contracts are deposited.

There is no evidence for the writing of deme decrees by *demarchs* after the end of the fourth century BC. The reasons for this are unclear, but may be due to the uneven chronological distribution of the surviving evidence, two-thirds of which dates from the fourth century.⁵²⁴

ταμίας (*tamias*)

A *tamias* was a treasurer: someone who managed the funds of any organisation.⁵²⁵ At polis level, the most important treasurers were the treasurers of Athena (*hellenotamiai*), and the treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods (page 84). After these boards were abolished, funds were administered by the *tamias of the demos*. It was this officer who gave the funds for the creation and setting up of stelai to whichever secretary had been charged with having the text inscribed.⁵²⁶

In the fourth century BC, *tamiai* of demes could also collectively write deme decrees. These could be of a technical and financial nature, such as expenses for the lease of land,⁵²⁷ or contracts, such as that written in conjunction with the *demarch* on page 105. They could also write honorific inscriptions, unrelated to the *tamias*' duties as financial officer.⁵²⁸

Officers of phratries

ἱερεὺς (*priest*)

Activities

The priest (ἱερεὺς) and *phratriarch* (φρατρίαρχος) of the phratry Demotionidai were jointly responsible for recording new phratry members, public notices containing potential new members,⁵²⁹ and the erasure of the names of anyone introduced into the phratry in error.

⁵²⁴ Whitehead (1986) 41-2, 362.

⁵²⁵ Lys. 29.3. Occasionally, individual magistrates could also employ *tamiai* to administer their funds.

⁵²⁶ E.g. IG II² 109 (363/2 BC) b.24-29.

⁵²⁷ IG II² 2492 (345/4 BC) 20-24, 38-39 (Aixone).

⁵²⁸ SEG 36:186 and MDAI(A) 66:218,1 (313/2 BC) 5-6 & 11-12 (Glyphada).

⁵²⁹ IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 116-126.

ὅς δ' ἂν δόξει μὴ ὦν φρατὴρ ἐσα|χθῆναι, ἐξαλειψάτω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ ἱερ|εὺς καὶ ὁ
φρατρί|αρχος ἐκ τοῦ γραμματεῖ|ο ἐν Δημοσιωνιδῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀντιγράφ|ο.⁵³⁰

Whoever should appear to have been introduced, not being a phrater, the priest and the phratriarch shall erase his name from the register in the keeping of the Demotionidai and the copy.

They also collected fines (on pain of paying them themselves) for the introduction of someone who was later found to be ineligible.⁵³¹

Two copies were kept of the record of phratry members. When boys were to be introduced to the phratry, their names were recorded in advance by the *phratriarch* and displayed in the meeting place of the Dekeleans in Athens (most likely to have been the barber's shop near the Stoa of the Herms).⁵³² A second copy of the same text was written up by the priest on a whitened board, and displayed in the temple of Leto.⁵³³

The priest also gave advance notice of the *meia* and *koureia* (phratry introduction ceremonies) on a whitened board, which was displayed in the city five days before these events were due to occur.⁵³⁴

The priest was also solely responsible for setting up four decrees on a single stele, concerning local sacrifices and the introduction of new phraters.⁵³⁵ He is a prominent figure in the text. Each decree contains an epigraphic formula referring to the writing and setting up of the stele by the priest, the first occurring immediately after the dedication to Zeus.⁵³⁶ However, the first occurrence of the priest's name (line 2) has been reinscribed, suggesting that the name may have been changed (and a previous priest erased) when a new decree was added to the stone.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁰ IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 18-22. Lambert (1998) 288-289.

⁵³¹ IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 22-26. Lambert (1998) 289; Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 36.

⁵³² IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 116-123. Lys. 23.2-3; Lambert (1998) 99, 290-293. The Dekeleans (i.e. people from the deme of Dekeleia) are likely to have been a subgroup of this phratry.

⁵³³ IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 123-126. This temple was presumably in or near Dekeleia.

⁵³⁴ IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 61-64. Lambert (1998) 289-290; Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 35-36.

⁵³⁵ IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 2-3. Lambert (1998) 285, 290.

⁵³⁶ IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 1-3: Διὸς Φρατρίο | ἱερεὺς Θεόδωρος Εὐφαντίδο νν ἀν|έγραψε καὶ ἔστησε τὴν στήλην. *Of Zeus Phratrios. The priest, Theodoros son of Euphantides, -- inscribed and set up the stele.* Other inscription formulae at 64-68, 106-108, 121-126.

⁵³⁷ Lambert (1998) 285, 290-291; Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 36.

Other attributes

The second decree on this stele stipulates that the priest was to pay for the stele from his own money.⁵³⁸ This strongly suggests that (most unusually) all decrees on this stone were paid for by the priest.⁵³⁹

Φρατρίαρχος (*phratriarch*)

The *phratriarch* (chief officer of a phratry) of the Demotionidai and phratry priest (ἱερεύς) were jointly responsible for the recording of new phratry members. See page 106.

Secretaries and other officers of phylai

γραμματεὺς τῆς φυλῆς (*grammateus of the phyle*)

The *grammateus of the phyle* (γραμματεὺς τῆς φυλῆς) is attested in decrees from the mid-fourth, to the mid-second century BC.⁵⁴⁰

Activities

The *grammateus of the phyle* carried out a limited range of secretarial and administrative functions for a *phyle*, such as writing tribal decrees.⁵⁴¹ These texts could honour groups such as the ephebes (as in the following example), or occasionally, serve other purposes, such as recording the re-building of a statue.⁵⁴²

στήσαι δὲ στήλῃν εἰς τ[ὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Κέκροπος ἀναγρ]άψαντα τ[ὸ]δε τὸ ψήφισμα
τὸν γραμματ[έ]α τῆς φυ[λ]ῆς.⁵⁴³

[And the] *grammateus of the phyle*, having written up [the decree, is to set up the]
stele in the [sanctuary of Kekrops.]

Other attributes

No *grammateis of the phyle* are known to have also held other offices in Athens;⁵⁴⁴ however, it is possible that previous experience as *grammateus of the phyle* would have given a

⁵³⁸ IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 64-68: τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε καὶ τὰ ἱερέωσυνα ἀναγρ[άψαι] τὸν ἱερέα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ προ[όσθεν] τῷ βωμῷ Δεκελειᾷσιν τέλεσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ. *The priest is to inscribe this decree and the priestly dues on a stone stele in front of the altar at Dekeleia at his own expense.* Lambert (1998) 289-290; Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 36. It is not certain what is meant by 'priestly dues'.

⁵³⁹ Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 36.

⁵⁴⁰ All instances contain some restoration. See Appendix A page 270 for a list of relevant texts.

⁵⁴¹ E.g. SEG 23:78 (361/0 BC) 22.

⁵⁴² SEG 2:8 (4CBC) 3-4.

⁵⁴³ IG II² 1158 (after mid 4CBC) 9-12.

secretary an advantage in terms of experience, if he were chosen as one of the secretaries of the boule. The converse is also theoretically possible: that the *grammateus of the phyle* may have previously represented his tribe, e.g. as *grammateus of the boule* for a single prytany (before 368/7 BC), or as *grammateus of the boule* for a year (after 367/6 BC).

The *grammateus of the phyle* could be honoured by the boule and demos along with the *prytaneis*.⁵⁴⁵

ἐπιμελητής (*epimeletes*)

An *epimeletes* was an overseer or manager, and the term is widely used for (e.g.) magistrates who oversaw the docks, festivals, or building-work.⁵⁴⁶

Attributes

From the end of the fifth century BC, *epimeletai* of phylai could write and set up honorific inscriptions. These texts honour men who had held office at Athens,⁵⁴⁷ or who had held office in the deme and had done their job well,⁵⁴⁸ or honour victors in dithyrambic contests.⁵⁴⁹

The instructions to inscribe and display these inscriptions are broadly similar to the formulae used in documents of the boule and demos, with the final location for the display typically a local sanctuary. For example:

ἀ[να]γράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλει λιθίνει | [τούς] ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ στήσαι ἐν
τῷ Μητροῶνι⁵⁵⁰

And [the] epimeletai (plural) are to write up this decree on a stone stele and set it up in the Metroön.

In all but two cases,⁵⁵¹ the direction to write and set up the stele is given to *epimeletai* in the plural, suggesting that responsibility was shared by all serving *epimeletai*.

⁵⁴⁴ Jones (1999) 178-181, 189. An examination of the names of the *grammateis of the phyle* does not provide the names of any officers who were also *grammateus of the boule*.

⁵⁴⁵ Ag.15:86 (256/5 BC) 17-20, 97.

⁵⁴⁶ For example, the dockyard *epimeletai* (page 99), or the *epimeletai* of the trading place (page 101).

⁵⁴⁷ Pandionis: IG II² 1148 (after mid 4C BC) 11-16.

⁵⁴⁸ Pandionis: IG II² 1140 (c.386/5 BC) 15-19; IG II² 1157 (326/5 BC) 11-15. Hippothontis: IG II² 1163 (c.288/7 BC) 22-28.

⁵⁴⁹ Pandionis: IG II² 1138 (c.403/2) 7-9; IG II² 1139 (c.403/2) 6-8. Erechtheis: IG II² 1147 (after mid 4C BC) 11-13.

⁵⁵⁰ IG II² 1327 (c.178/7 BC) 26-29.

⁵⁵¹ IG II² 1138 (c.403/2) 7-9; IG II² 1140 (c.386/5 BC) 15-19.

Secretaries of the ephebes

Officers of the ephebes were elected by the demos.⁵⁵² Although ephebes were organised, billeted and drilled by tribe, administratively, they were a single unit, with officers such as the *kosmetes*, *antikosmetes* and *grammateus* serving all tribes collectively.⁵⁵³ Most administrative officers were elected by lot (presumably including their secretaries); other officers were elected by show of hands.⁵⁵⁴

ἀντιγραμματεὺς (*antigrammateus*)

The *antigrammateus* was a secretary of the ephebes.

ἐνὶ Πραξαγόρου Μελιτέως ἄρχοντος· ὁ κοσμητὴς | τῶν ἐφήβων Ἀθήναιος
Ἀριστοβούλου Κηφισιεύς | τοὺς συνάρξαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐφηβεύσαντας ἀνέγραψεν.

...

ἀντιγραμματεὺς | Πατρόβιος Ἀριστοβούλου Κηφι(σιεύς)⁵⁵⁵

In the archonship of Praxagoras of Melite. The kosmetes of the ephebes was Athenaios son of Aristoboulos of Kephisia. He wrote up those who were in office together and who were ephebes.

...

antigrammateus Patrobios son of Aristoboulos (of) Kephi(sia).

This designation is unusual, and, in Athens, is known from this list of ephebes and their officers only. We are provided with no other information about this officer, and it is the *kosmetes* who apparently compiles the list (although the text also contains a *grammateus*).

The designation *antigrammateus* could be understood in a financial sense, *cf.* ἀντιγραφεῖα, ἀντιγραφεύς, 'checking-clerk' or 'copying-clerk', a secretary with financial duties;⁵⁵⁶ alternatively, the prefix could indicate that this secretary acted 'opposite' or 'instead of' another officer, such as the *grammateus* in lines 203-4.⁵⁵⁷ This is substantiated, possibly, by the fact that the text contains both a *kosmetes* (above) and *antikosmetes*.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵² *Ath. Pol.* 42.2-3.

⁵⁵³ *Ath. Pol.* 42.2-3; IG II² 2245 (262/3 or 266/7 AD) 29-41: administrative officers for all tribes; 160-172: twelve gymnasiarchs, one per tribe; 43-408: ephebes from all twelve tribes. See also Reinmuth, EI 2-3.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ath. Pol.* 43.1.

⁵⁵⁵ IG II² 2067 (154/5 AD) 2-4, 225-6.

⁵⁵⁶ See page 49.

⁵⁵⁷ IG II² 2067 (154/5 AD) 203-4. The *grammateus* is Komarchos from Χολα, which could be an abbreviation of Cholargos.

⁵⁵⁸ IG II² 2067 (154/5 AD) 5-6.

The *antigrammateus*, *kosmetes* and *antikosmetes* (Aristoboulos son of Athenaios from Kephisia) are all from the same deme, and appear to be related.

γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου (*grammateus for life*)

From the second century BC, some officers of the ephebes held the office 'for life' (διὰ βίου). In the second and third centuries AD, the ephebes could also employ a *grammateus for life* (γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου).⁵⁵⁹

ἀντικοσμῆτης· Ἐλευσεῖνιος Κίττου Αἰθαλίδης | ἡγεμὼν διὰ βίου· Γά Τυρ Τειμαγένης
Σφήττιος | παιδοτρίβης διὰ βίου· Τελεσφόρος Μενεκράτους Φλυ | γραμματεὺς διὰ
βίου· ἱερεὺς Στράτων Κιθαιρῶνος Ἀχαρ | σωφρονισταί | *list of personal names* |
ὑποσωφρο<ο>νισταί | *list of personal names*⁵⁶⁰

antikosmetes: Eleuseinios son of Kittos of Aithalidai | leader for life: Gaius Tyr.
Teimagenes of Sphettos | training-master for life: Telesphoros son of Menekrates of
Phlya. | grammateus for life: priest Straton son of Kithairon of Acharnai. | censors:
<names> | under-censors: <names>

Officers serving for life can also be listed collectively under the heading *hoi dia biou* (οἱ διὰ βίου, those who hold this office for life).⁵⁶¹ A *grammateus* and *hypogrammateus* may be included in this list, or listed separately in the text.⁵⁶²

οἱ διὰ βίου	<i>Officers for life:</i>
...	...
ἰατρὸς Ἰουλιανός	<i>Doctor: Ioulianos</i>
γραμματεὺς Ἀλκιβιάδης	<i>Grammateus: Alcibiades</i>
ὑποῦπλομάχος Ὀλύμπιος	<i>Hypooplomachos: Olympius</i>
ὑπογραμματεὺς Ἀλκιβιάδης	<i>Hypogrammateus: Alcibiades</i> ⁵⁶³

Activities

The *grammateus for life* is likely to have performed administrative and secretarial duties for the ephebes and their officers. It is difficult to be more precise about the nature of these duties, as the inscriptions in which these officials occur are predominantly registers of officers and ephebes.

⁵⁵⁹ See Appendix A page 261 for a list of texts.

⁵⁶⁰ IG II² 2193 (c.200 AD) 32-93.

⁵⁶¹ E.g. IG II² 2245 (262/3 or 266/7 AD) 29, 31, 39; SEG 33:158 (late 3C AD) 11, 49, 51.

⁵⁶² Both methods of describing officers 'for life' can be used within the same text: e.g. SEG 39:189 (226/7–234/5 AD) 8: *grammateus for life*; 60: *oi dia biou*; 65-55: *hypogrammateus*.

⁵⁶³ SEG 33:158 (late 3C AD) 11, 48-51. For a photograph and more about this inscription, see Oliver (1933) 506-511. It is unlikely that the *grammateus* Alcibiades and *hypogrammateus* Alcibiades were the same man.

Other attributes

The *grammateus for life* could serve in more than one office simultaneously. For example, from 179/80-90/1 AD to 212/3 AD or later, the ephebes had a *grammateus for life* named Straton.⁵⁶⁴ Straton is *grammateus for life* in twelve inscriptions, and in seven of these, he is also described as *hiereus*, priest. One could speculate that the office of *grammateus* was not particularly taxing, and that this provided Straton with sufficient spare time in which to perform additional duties. A parallel to this may be IG II² 1335 (page 113), where the *grammateus* of a private religious organisation was also treasurer (*tamias*) and *epimeletes*.⁵⁶⁵

It is possible that Straton was initially a *grammateus* only, and became a priest later, as none of the texts from his first ten years in office include this additional title. However, this is not certain, as one text from the middle of his period in office also lacks this term.

As Straton held the office of *grammateus for life* for over thirty years, it is clear that 'for life' was not purely an honorary title.

The *grammateus for life* could be assisted by a *hypogrammateus*. From 212/3 AD, the *hypogrammateus* could also be 'for life', suggesting an increased requirement for secretarial or administrative staff. Straton was succeeded by Syntrophos, who held the office of *grammateus for life* (and occasionally, priest) for at least twenty years (218/9 – 238/9-243/4 AD), assisted by a single *hypogrammateus for life*, Onesimos.⁵⁶⁶

Secretaries and other officers of religious associations of Attica

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

Three religious organisations are known to have had their own *grammateis*: the *orgeones*,⁵⁶⁷ the *sabaziastai*,⁵⁶⁸ and the theatrical artists of Dionysus.⁵⁶⁹ The majority of inscriptions

⁵⁶⁴ For all inscriptions where Straton was *grammateus for life*, see Appendix A page 261.

⁵⁶⁵ IG II² 1335 (102/1 BC) 10-13.

⁵⁶⁶ Syntrophos as *grammateus for life*: IG II² 2223 (218/9 AD or later) 14-15, 34-35 (*hypogrammateus* Onesimos); IG II² 2242 (238/9 or 242/3 AD) 9-10 (and *hiereus*); IG II² 2239 (238/9-243/4 AD) 21-24 (and *hiereus*, *hypogrammateus* Onesimos); SEG 39:189 (226/7-234/5 AD) 8 (and *hiereus*), 60 *hoi dia biou*, 65-66 (*hypogrammateus* Onesimos).

⁵⁶⁷ E.g. IG II² 1284 (mid. 3C BC) 22-34.

⁵⁶⁸ See IG II² 1335 (102/1 BC) 2-14 on page 113.

⁵⁶⁹ E.g. IG II² 1330 (c.130 BC) 1, 63-65.

containing a secretary are honorific in nature, as in the following decree, enacted by the theatrical artists of Dionysus:⁵⁷⁰

ἀνα[γράψαι δὲ τὸν γραμματέα τόδε τὸ] | ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην κ[α]ὶ στῆσαι
παρὰ τὴν εἰκόνα, εἰς δὲ τὴν ποί[η]σιν καὶ τὴν [ἀ]ναγραφὴν μερίσαι τὸν ἐπιμελητὴν
τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα].⁵⁷¹

*[And the grammateus is to] write up [this] decree on a stone stele and set it up
[beside the statue, and the] epimeletes is to [provide the] amount [required for the]
manufacture and the engraving.*

The text also contains the fragmentary line: τὸν [δ'] ὑπηρέτην προγράψαι — — — *and the hyperetes is to write in addition...*;⁵⁷² unfortunately, the remainder of this line has been lost.

ἐπιμελητής (*epimeletes*)

Texts written by *epimeletai* of private religious associations honour officers on having done their job well.⁵⁷³

At the end of the second century BC, one inscription listing contributors to a private religious association gives one of its officers the designation *tamias and grammateus and epimeletes*:

ἀγαθεῖ τύχει· ἐπὶ Θεοκλέους ἄρχοντος· Μουνιχιῶνος ἀγορᾶ κυρία· | ἔδοξεν τοῖς
Σαβαζιασταῖς, ἀνα[γράψαι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἐρανιστῶν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στῆσαι |
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. | ἱερεὺς | Ζήνων Ἀντιοχεύς· | ταμίας καὶ | γραμματεὺς | καὶ ἐπιμελητής |
Δωρόθεος Ὀαθεν. | Ἐρανισταί· <51 personal names>⁵⁷⁴

Good fortune. In the archonship of Theokles, month of Mounichion, in the regular assembly. It was resolved by the Sabaziasstai to write up the names of the eranistai on a stone stele and set it up in the sanctuary. Priest: Zenon of Antioch. Tamias and grammateus and epimeletes Dorotheos of Oa. Eranistai: < names>

It is possible that in small organisations such as this, one man held all three offices, managing association funds, writing their decrees, and organising the creation of any stelai.

⁵⁷⁰ Le Guen (2001) 67-74.

⁵⁷¹ IG II² 1330 (c.130 BC) 63-65.

⁵⁷² IG II² 1330 (c.130 BC) 35.

⁵⁷³ IG II² 1277 (c.278/7 BC) 3-6, 33-36; IG II² 1319 (end 3C BC) 11-14; IG II² 1327 (c.178/7 BC) 26-29.

⁵⁷⁴ IG II² 1335 (102/1 BC) 2-14; Kloppenborg & Ascough (2011) 207-210.

ταμίας (*tamias*)

Tamiai could write decrees on the behalf of religious organisations, such as the following text, in which a decree of the demos on behalf of the Eumolpidae (the family or clan of priests at Eleusis) was written up by the *tamias of the genos of the Eumolpidae*:

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο τὸν [τα]μία[ν τ]οῦ γέ[νους τῶν Εὐμολπιδῶν ἐν
τρισὶν [στή]λαις καὶ στήσαι | τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἐλευσινίῳ τῷ ὑπὸ [τ]ῆς πόλει, τὴν δὲ ἐν |
τῷ Διογενεῖῳ, τὴν δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσεῖνι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πρὸ τοῦ βου[λ]ευτηρίου.⁵⁷⁵

And the tamias of the genos of the Eumolpidae is to write up this decree on three stelai and set one up in the temple of Eleusinian Mysteries (the one) near the polis, and another in the school of Diogenes, and the third in the sanctuary of Eleusinian Mysteries, in front of the bouleuterion.

At the end of the first century BC, another *tamias* of a religious organisation, the *tamias of the arrangement of the sanctuary* (ταμίαν τῆς ἱερᾶς διατάξεως) wrote up the details of the restoration of the sanctuaries of Attica:

[ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν ταμίαν τῆς ἱερᾶς διατάξεως ἐν στήλαιν λιθίναιν δυοῖν τάδε τὰ
ψηφίσματα] περὶ τῶ[ν ἱερῶν κ]αὶ τεμενῶν [καὶ τ]ὰ ἀποκατασταθέντα ἱερὰ καὶ
τεμένη...⁵⁷⁶

[The tamias of the arrangement of the sanctuary is to write up these decrees] about the [sanctuaries] and sacred land, [and] the restoration of sanctuaries and sacred land, [on two stone stelai]...

The stelai are to include financial information: the names of the people who have been hired, and how much they have been hired for.⁵⁷⁷

These sanctuaries may have been restored at the same time as they had been neglected under the previous three emperors.⁵⁷⁸ It is unclear who is meant by *tamias of the arrangement of the sanctuary*.

⁵⁷⁵ IG II² 1078 (c.220 AD) 39-43.

⁵⁷⁶ SEG 26:121 (10/9-3/2 BC) 14. Culley (1975) 218-219. Culley provides no explanation for the restoration of the designation *tamias of the sanctuary*; however this is also found in IG II² 3503 (end 1C BC) 16-18 (Ag.15:287) and Ag.15:307 (start 1CAD) 15-16.

⁵⁷⁷ SEG 26:121 (10/9-3/2 BC) 16-17.

⁵⁷⁸ Culley (1975) 218-219.

Other

γραφεὺς (*grapheus*)

The term *grapheus* was used to indicate a painter,⁵⁷⁹ or (informally) a writer⁵⁸⁰ or private secretary.⁵⁸¹ References to a *grapheus* are rare, and incidental, providing no details about the work undertaken. The term does not occur in epigraphic evidence.

Conclusions

Athens employed secretaries to write official documents from the sixth century BC onwards. The earliest of these were *grammateis* of the pre-Kleisthenic council.⁵⁸² From the fifth century BC, other bodies such as the *hellenotamiai*,⁵⁸³ law-courts⁵⁸⁴ and building commissions⁵⁸⁵ also had their own secretaries. Most of our evidence is for the *grammateus of the boule*.⁵⁸⁶ While we have large numbers of inscriptions containing evidence for other secretaries, there is significantly less detail, and we are heavily reliant upon extrapolating from the evidence for the *grammateus of the boule*.

Activities

The number of types of secretary present in Athens means that there are many different answers to the question 'what does it mean to be a secretary in Athens?' Based on their duties, secretaries can be divided into several broad categories. 1) Secretaries whose duties primarily consisted of drafting or writing a range of documents for a large body, many of which were later inscribed. This category contains only the *grammateus of the boule*⁵⁸⁷ and *anagrapheus of the laws*.⁵⁸⁸ 2) Secretaries whose duties included writing texts serving a narrower range of purposes (such as honorific decrees or registers of officers), some of which were later inscribed. This category contains most of the other secretaries in this chapter, i.e., most of the secretaries at polis level, and secretaries of demes, phratries and

⁵⁷⁹ E. *Hec.* 807: ὡς γραφεὺς τ' ἀποσταθεὶς; *like an artist standing back from his picture*.

⁵⁸⁰ Minon (2007) 504.

⁵⁸¹ Plu. *Ages.* 13.1-2: Agesilaus gives the decorated headgear of his secretary's horse (ἵπνον Ἰδαίου τοῦ γραφέως) to Pharnabazus' son.

⁵⁸² IG I³ 508 (562-558 BC) A5-B6, page 52.

⁵⁸³ Page 86.

⁵⁸⁴ E.g. the *grammateus of the Eleven*, page 90.

⁵⁸⁵ E.g. the *grammateus of the epistatai*, page 100.

⁵⁸⁶ See page 51.

⁵⁸⁷ See page 51.

⁵⁸⁸ See page 38.

phylai.⁵⁸⁹ 3) Secretaries who may have performed a limited range of duties such as creating accounts on temporary media, but whose precise duties are unknown since they are primarily known from honorific inscriptions which contain only their designation(s).⁵⁹⁰

4) Secretaries whose job was to read out documents, either in addition to, or instead of, writing, such as the *grammateus of the boule and the demos*,⁵⁹¹ or the *grammateus* of the court.⁵⁹² The duty most often attested in the widest range of contexts is the creation of honorific decrees, however, there is no 'core' set of duties, and not all bodies (and far from all secretaries) are known to have done this.

There is much we do not know about the work of Athenian secretaries. For example, even with the well-attested office of *grammateus of the boule*, we cannot know the average number of decrees written during his period in office, and whether this changed over time.⁵⁹³ We can at best generalise with statements such as that certain (oligarchic) *anagrapheis* appear to have been more fanatical inscribers of decrees than the (democratic) *grammateis of the boule* they temporarily replaced.⁵⁹⁴

The limited evidence for some offices means that it is difficult to assess the degree to which there was specialisation among secretaries.⁵⁹⁵ Many officers are known primarily from their official designations in lists of officers honoured, but designations do not provide precise indicators of an officer's actual (attested) duties. For example, the *antigraphus*, the 'checking-' or 'copying-clerk' compiled reports containing boule accounts once every prytany,⁵⁹⁶ but while his designation hints that he was a 'copyist', it does not tell us what type of information was copied, or indicate that he was an officer of the boule. Neither does the designation suggest accounting duties, and we must infer these from context. In the same way, some of the most technical accounting duties known from Athens were given to the *demosios* or public slave.⁵⁹⁷

The only Athenian officer known from a single type of document is the *grammateus for life*, a secretary of the ephebes.⁵⁹⁸ This officer is known only from the presence of his name in

⁵⁸⁹ E.g. the *hellenotamiai* and their *grammateus*, page 86; the *grammateus for life* of the ephebes, page 111.

⁵⁹⁰ For example, the *secretary in charge of decrees* and *secretary for the laws*, pages 71-73.

⁵⁹¹ See page 64.

⁵⁹² See page 93.

⁵⁹³ See Hansen (1989) 98-105 and page 60 for an estimate.

⁵⁹⁴ I.e. those in the periods 321/20-319/18 BC and 294/3–292/1 BC: see page 47.

⁵⁹⁵ As defined in n.32, page 23.

⁵⁹⁶ See page 49.

⁵⁹⁷ See page 81. See also page 244, for more on attempting to assess specialization from designations.

⁵⁹⁸ See page 111.

registers of officers; however, if we were able to prove that the *grammateus for life* wrote membership lists only (unlikely), we would still need to justify whether this could be classed as 'specialisation', or whether the office simply had a limited scope. Additionally, the duties of an office could change over time; for example, the duties of the *anagrapheus of the laws* bear little resemblance to the later, oligarchic *anagrapheus*.

Writing itself was not a specialist activity, since officers other than secretaries are connected with the writing of official documents from our earliest evidence.

There is no evidence that Athenian secretaries could also be stonecutters. Stonecutters were craftsmen who inscribed stelai, but they could also paint statues, paint words onto any flat surface, or add colour to words incised on stone.⁵⁹⁹ All of these duties took time and required training, and do not seem to fit with what we know of the lives of the men from whom (for example) the secretaries of the boule and demos were chosen. The creation of inscriptions by men other than secretaries would have provided secretaries with more time for other administrative duties, and allow several documents to be inscribed simultaneously. It would also enable the entire process of creating a stele, from the drafting of the decree to the setting up of the stone, to take place within the ten-day time limit specified in some fourth century BC decrees.⁶⁰⁰ This time limit also points to well-established connections between magistrates and stonecutters.

Duties are analysed in greater detail on pages 235-241.

Further particulars

The office of secretary was not a career. In the fifth and early fourth centuries BC, secretaries of the boule and demos were elected by show of hands,⁶⁰¹ but this selection method changed to by lot from the mid-fourth century BC onwards, at approximately the same time that these offices became annual.⁶⁰² This selection method meant that a candidate's experience (or personality) could no longer influence whether he was elected or not (although certain skills would have made some duties easier).⁶⁰³ Additionally, offices held after secretaryship do not appear to have been more (or less) prestigious, and there is little evidence that any office holder subsequently drew on experience gained while a secretary.⁶⁰⁴

⁵⁹⁹ See Appendix F, page 347.

⁶⁰⁰ See page 59, especially n.241.

⁶⁰¹ See pages 57 and 65.

⁶⁰² See pages 60-61.

⁶⁰³ From the mid-fourth century BC onwards, only the *grammateus elected by hairesis* was elected by show of hands. See page 94.

⁶⁰⁴ See Aeschines as *grammateus of the boule and the demos*, page 66.

There is evidence that some secretaries drew a wage; however, these wages were small, would not have attracted the financially-motivated, and seem to have been introduced to allow poorer men to hold office. *Ath. Pol.* 62.2 states that the *boule* take five obols per day, and that the Delphic amphictyons receive a drachma a day. The text does not categorically state the wage for the *grammateis* of either group, but in the case of Delos, this figure can be verified from the amounts given in temple inventories (see page 349). Therefore, it is likely that the figure given here accurately reflects the wage of the *grammateus of the boule*, in the period in which he was a member of the *boule* (i.e. from the fifth century to 368/7 BC).⁶⁰⁵

It is possible that wages for officials were abolished during oligarchic periods of government, but not clear if they were reinstated after the year of the Thirty.⁶⁰⁶ However, as Gabrielsen notes, it is unlikely that most men would have been able to give up paid work for a year in order to take an unpaid position.⁶⁰⁷

In general, a man could stand for any office, and did not need special qualifications to become a secretary. The only cases where a different level of qualifications were required were for the *grammateus of the thesmothetai*, whose qualifications (whatever these may have been) were checked less thoroughly than those of the *thesmothetai*,⁶⁰⁸ and where one had to first be selected as *eisagogeus* in order to be eligible for the office of *grammateus* or *syngrammateus* of the *eisagogeis*.⁶⁰⁹

A secretary could be a member of the body with whom he worked – or not – with no apparent change in his responsibilities (as was the case with the *grammateus of the boule* before and after 368/7 BC).⁶¹⁰ Other secretaries may have been chosen to ensure that each tribe was represented (as was the case with the *grammateus of the thesmothetai*).⁶¹¹

The duration of a secretary's office depended upon the period in question. In the fifth century BC, the office of *grammateus of the boule* was held for a prytany only,⁶¹² while the boards of *epistatai* (and their *grammateis* and *syngrammateis*)⁶¹³ involved in the building work on the acropolis, and the special commission of *anagrapheis of the laws*,⁶¹⁴ were

⁶⁰⁵ *Ath. Pol.* 54.3, page 57. *Lys.* 30.2 also claims that the *anagrapheis of the laws* took a daily wage until their work was completed; however, we do not know what this wage was.

⁶⁰⁶ Gabrielsen (1981) 19-21, 28-34.

⁶⁰⁷ Gabrielsen (1981) 118-9.

⁶⁰⁸ See page 91.

⁶⁰⁹ See page 68.

⁶¹⁰ See page 59.

⁶¹¹ See page 91.

⁶¹² See page 59.

⁶¹³ See page 100.

⁶¹⁴ See page 38.

employed to carry out specific tasks, and were in office for several years. From the middle of the fourth century BC onwards, most secretaries held office for a year. The only secretaries known to have served for longer were the *grammateis for life* of the ephebes, in the late second- and third centuries AD.⁶¹⁵ While the duration of the office may have been influenced by the nature of the government, the office of 'secretary' itself was not inherently democratic or oligarchic.

In the case of all secretaryships (apart from those held 'for life'), once that office was over, the office-holder would be free to seek other employment, and a new secretary would be appointed to perform the same functions, possibly with little understanding of what was required beforehand.

The secretaries of the boule and demos were part of a large collegial environment, and had several other officers within this body with whom they may have collaborated. Most other secretaries were members of, or worked for, smaller groups, and so their opportunities for collaboration were fewer. Evidence for interaction between secretaries of different bodies is rare, but is likely to have occurred between the *grammateus* of the treasurers of Athena, the *grammateus* of the *hellenotamiai* and the *grammateus of the boule* in the recording of Athenian tribute.

Other attributes

Secretaries appear to have had a relatively low profile in terms of political significance. From the middle of the fourth to the first century BC, secretaries of the boule and demos were frequently honoured, but this was almost without exception collectively, along with other officers of the boule and demos.⁶¹⁶ Only two secretaries are known to have been the sole honorands of a decree. One *anagrapheus* was honoured for the way he has 'taken care of the writing up of the documents',⁶¹⁷ and one *grammateus kata prytaneian* was honoured for his euergetism.⁶¹⁸

On rare occasions, the name and designation of a secretary could appear in a prominent position, and in larger lettering than the remainder of an inscription. However, the secretary is rarely the only officer represented in this way, and the practice ceased in documents of

⁶¹⁵ See *grammateus for life* on page 111.

⁶¹⁶ See Meritt & Traill (1974) for over 130 inscriptions of this type, and the example on page 72. In the same period, almost all secretaries of the boule and demos could be honoured as *aeisitoi*, along with offices such as the *hieraulēs* (sacred flute player) and *hiereus* (priest). See, e.g. Ag.15:406 (182/3 AD) 54-63 on page 80.

⁶¹⁷ See IG II² 415 (330/29 BC) 12-16 on page 46.

⁶¹⁸ Schwenk 9 (335/4 BC) 1-21 on page 62. Both honours date from 337/6 – 330/29 BC.

the boule and demos once election was by lot, rather than by show of hands.⁶¹⁹ Secretaries were rarely (if ever) honoured with statues.⁶²⁰

The office of secretary at Athens was typically a low-profile one, with few rewards. However, the range of duties that could be carried out by these officers was diverse. To be *grammateus of the boule* was to be temporarily responsible for the creation of the most important state documents. To be secretary of a less prominent body was to be responsible for some or all of their administrative records: usually for a short time, but possibly for life.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁹ See Table 15 on page 300.

⁶²⁰ Three statues and one panel of a frieze may depict officers who were *grammateis*. See page 63.

⁶²¹ E.g. the *grammateus for life* of the ephebes, page 111.

Chapter 3 – The Peloponnese

Overview

A variety of secretaries is known from the Peloponnese. Some poleis had their own specific types of officers, known from that polis (or a single inscription) only; other designations are known from several poleis, but from no locations outside the Peloponnese; still other offices were widespread throughout the ancient Greek world.

The majority of our sources for the Peloponnese are epigraphic; the most significant issue when interpreting this data is one of sample size. There are approximately 250 inscriptions unevenly distributed across the Peloponnese, for the period from the sixth century BC to the third century AD, that contain officers whose designations are formed from verbs of writing, or whose duties include writing.⁶²² Drawing firm conclusions about the history of an office from the small subset of inscriptions for each designation may therefore provide an inaccurate picture of the roles that these individuals would have performed. Similar problems exist when drawing comparisons between officers who share the same designation, but who lived in different parts of the Peloponnese and/or several centuries apart. Although these officers were known by the same designation, their daily duties and working environment may have been very different.

By analysing the Peloponnese polis by polis, this chapter aims to illustrate the range of duties associated with each designation, and any regional and contextual differences that occur, separating the duties of (for example) a *grammateus* who worked with the boule at Orchomenos in the third century BC,⁶²³ from a solitary *grammateus* recorded alongside temple officials in Thalamai, Laconia, in the second century AD.⁶²⁴

⁶²² See What is a Secretary? on page 21. For all epigraphic sources used in this chapter, and maps detailing the distribution of these offices across the Peloponnese, see Appendix B, page 302.

⁶²³ See page 193.

⁶²⁴ See page 166.

Geographical Distribution

Secretaries and officers who perform the duties of secretaries are known from the following locations:

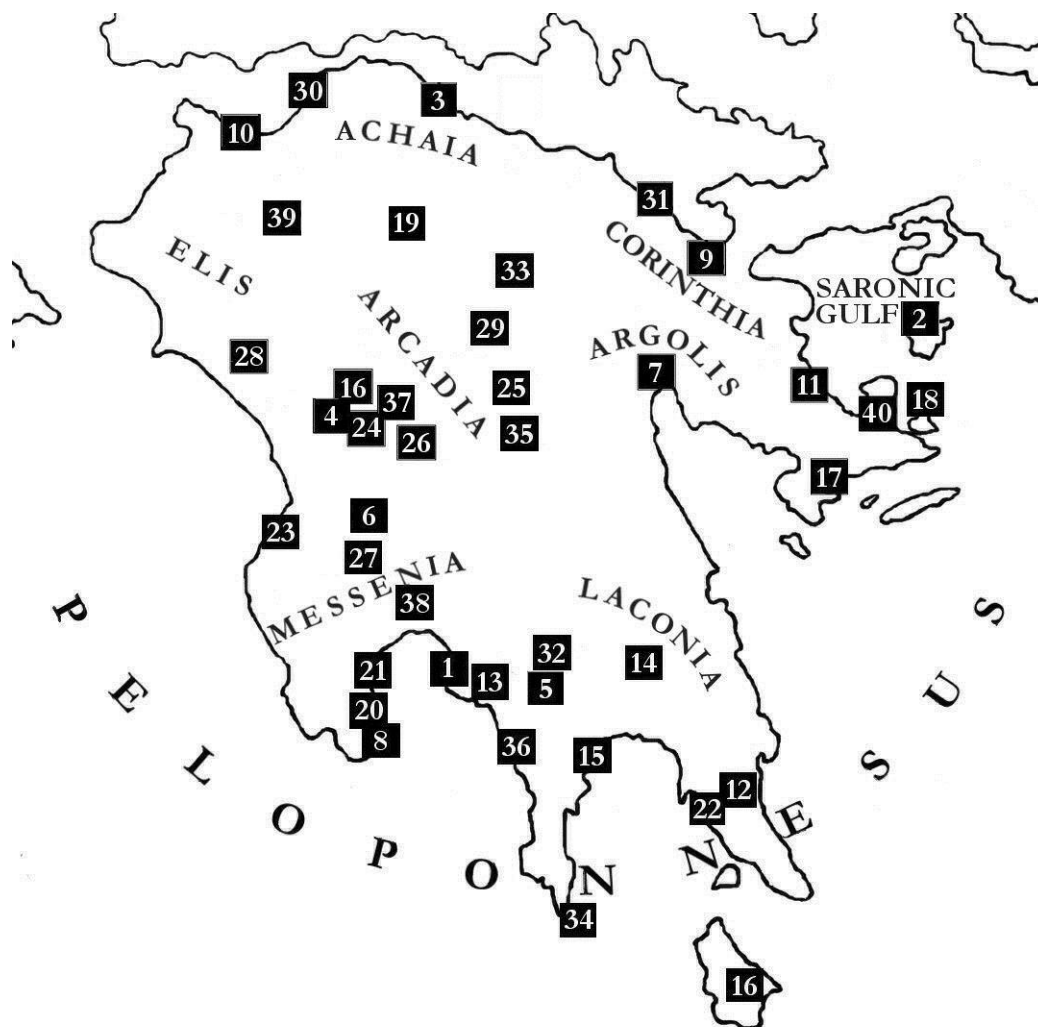


Figure 4 – The Peloponnese: geographical distribution of secretaries and other officers who perform the duties of secretaries.

Polis	Page	Polis	Page	Polis	Page	Polis	Page
1 Abia	169	11 Epidauros	141	21 Korone	169	31 Sicyon	128
2 Aigina	123	12 Epidauros Limera	158	22 Kortyrta	158	32 Sparta	160
3 Aigion	219	13 Gerenia	158	23 Kyparissos	169	33 Stymphalos	182
4 Alipheira	181	14 Geronthrai	158	24 Lykaia	186	34 Tainaron	166
5 Amyklai	156	15 Gytheion	158	25 Mantinea	187	35 Tegea	195
6 Andania	169	16 Heraia	182	26 Megalopolis	190	36 Thalamai	166
7 Argos	130	17 Hermione	149	27 Messene	171	37 Thisoa	198
8 Asine	169	18 Kalaureia	150	28 Olympia	202	38 Thouria	176
9 Corinth	125	19 Kletor	182	29 Orchomenos	192	39 Tritaia	218
10 Dyme	212	20 Kolonides	169	30 Patrai	217	40 Troizen	151

Saronic Gulf: Aigina

In the Archaic period, local politics at Aigina was controlled by several aristocratic families,⁶²⁵ and its economy was dominated by the importance of its fleet and trade.⁶²⁶ A lack of evidence may be held to suggest that Aigina published few decrees on stone.

While Aigina was under Athenian control from 431-404 BC,⁶²⁷ and was the subject of an Aristotelian constitution,⁶²⁸ the Aiginetan boule and demos are attested from the second century BC onwards only,⁶²⁹ with a *grammateus of the demos* who wrote up (ἀναγράφω) decrees on their behalf (see below).⁶³⁰

	4CBC	3CBC	2CBC	1CBC	1CAD	2CAD
Aigina:						
<i>grammateus of the demos</i>	0	0	2	0	0	0
Total:	2					

Table 1 – Attestations of secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in Aigina.⁶³¹

γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου (*grammateus of the demos*)

In the second century BC, the boule and demos of Aigina set up an honorific decree and bronze statue for Kleon, governor of the Attalids, the dynasty which ruled Pergamum.⁶³² Pergamum was at that time governed by Attalos Philadelphos,⁶³³ who in addition to governing Pergamum, was *epistates* of Aigina.⁶³⁴ The decree was written up by the *grammateus of the demos*:

τὸν δὲ γραμμα[τέα τ]οῦ δήμου ἀναγράφαι | [ἐς σ]τήλην, ἣν σταθῆναι ἐν τῷ
Ἀτταλείῳ⁶³⁵

⁶²⁵ Dickie (1979) 193-196. Figueira (1981) 300-313: The precise nature of social organisation on Aigina is difficult to discern as Pindar (our primary ancient source on the matter), appears to use both *oikos* and *genos* for *genos*: e.g. Pin. *Pyth.* 7.1-9. See also *Ath. Pol.* 20.1 and 28.2. Aigina is a one-polis island.

⁶²⁶ Figueira (2004) 620-623.

⁶²⁷ Th. 2.27; X. *Hell.* 2.2.9. Polinskaya (2009) 234, 256. Athens removed the original population in 431 and settled Athenians there. Some Aiginetans returned at the end of the Peloponnesian war.

⁶²⁸ Arist. fr.475 [Rose].

⁶²⁹ E.g. IG IV 1 (158-144 BC) 1.

⁶³⁰ IG IV² 748 (before 160 BC) 11-12; IG IV² 749 (158-144 BC) 45-46 (IG IV 1, Dittenberger).

⁶³¹ On rare occasions where a designation is given in the plural form but the number of officials is not known, I have assumed two officers are indicated. See Appendix B page 302 for more information.

⁶³² IG IV² 749 (159-144 BC) 34-35.

⁶³³ IG IV² 749 (159-144 BC) 38.

⁶³⁴ IG IV² 749 (159-144 BC) 35: τ[ὸν ἐπιστατ]ήσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως. Previously IG IV 1, Dittenberger. Dittenberger reconstructs this phrase as τ[ὸν προσ]τά[την] τῆς πόλεως.

⁶³⁵ IG IV² 749 (159-144 BC) 45-46; SEG 50:1716. Le Bas (1842) 23, 48-51. The Aiginetan *grammateus of the demos* is also attested in the substantially-restored IG IV² 748 (after 160 BC) 11-12.

...and the grammateus of the demos is to write (it) up on a stele, which is to be set up in the Attaleion...

The *strategoi* then sent this decree to the *basileus*,⁶³⁶ who was to approve the text:⁶³⁷

ἀναπέμψαι δὲ [τό]||[δε τὸ] ψ[ή]φισμα τοῦ<ς> στρατηγούς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἵνα μετὰ τῆς ἐ|κείν[ο]υ γνώμης συντελῇται τὰ ἐψηφισμένα.⁶³⁸

The strategoi are to send this decree (up) to the basileus, in order that the things carried by vote might be brought to completion with his resolution.

While a man from Siphnos is known to have been personal secretary and treasurer (*grammateus* and *tamias*) for his adopted father on Aigina in the fourth century BC,⁶³⁹ a local *grammateus of the demos* is known only from the middle of the second century BC.⁶⁴⁰ This designation also rarely occurs elsewhere. Of the regions covered in this thesis, it is known only from Arcadia,⁶⁴¹ and from Athens, where it is an abbreviation of *grammateus of the boule and the demos* (see page 64).

⁶³⁶ Most probably Attalos, rather than a local *basileus*.

⁶³⁷ This caveat directly involving the *basileus* with the decree is highly unusual, and not otherwise attested in the Peloponnese.

⁶³⁸ IG IV² 749 (159-144 BC) 51-53.

⁶³⁹ Isoc. 19.38. Van Hook (1945) 298-9.

⁶⁴⁰ IG IV² 748 (before 160 BC) 11-12; IG IV² 749 (158-144 BC) 45-46 (IG IV 1, Dittenberger).

⁶⁴¹ See IG V,2 351 (c.266-219 BC) 11 on page 183.

Corinthia: Corinth

From the sixth century BC, Corinth had an oligarchic constitution.⁶⁴² This was interrupted only twice in the period before 146 BC: by a brief period of democracy from 392 to 386 BC, and by a short-lived tyranny in 366 BC. From the fourth century BC (and possibly as early as the seventh century BC), Corinth was governed by the Council of Eighty, which was presided over by eight *probouloi*.⁶⁴³ Only wealthy citizens were admitted on to the council, and, according to Plutarch, 'not much' public business was conducted in the assembly.⁶⁴⁴

Very few decrees appear to have been published on stone before the Roman period. There are three potential explanations for this. The prevailing form of government may have limited epigraphic output; Corinth, with a thriving bronze industry,⁶⁴⁵ may have inscribed many of its documents on bronze (which was later re-used); and the Classical and Hellenistic agora has yet to be found.⁶⁴⁶ This lack of epigraphic evidence means that we have little information on local civic administration, including the designations of persons involved, and the roles that they performed.

The earliest surviving evidence for secretaries from Corinth uses the designation *grammatistas* for the local secretary (see below),⁶⁴⁷ while a fourth-century BC text refers to the *grammateis* of the Hellenic League (see page 228).⁶⁴⁸ From the second century BC onwards, the designation used is *grammateus*; however, from the end of the second century BC to the third century AD, evidence is limited to a single third century AD inscription, honouring a Roman official who held several offices including that of *grammateus*.⁶⁴⁹

	4CBC	3CBC	2CBC	1CBC	1CAD	2CAD	3CAD
Corinth:							
<i>grammatistas</i>	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>grammateus</i>	0	0	3	1	0	0	1
Total:	1	0	3	1	0	0	1
Grand total:	6						

Table 2 – Attestations of secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in Corinth.⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁴² Hdt. 5.92.b: Corinth was originally governed by the Bacchiadae family.

⁶⁴³ Legon (2004) 465-468.

⁶⁴⁴ Plu. *Dion* 53.2: τοὺς Κορινθίους ὀλιγαρχικώτερον τε πολιτευομένους καὶ μὴ πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πράττοντας. (*That*) the Corinthians had a form of government which had a tendency to be oligarchic, and they transacted not much of their public business in the assembly.

⁶⁴⁵ Salmon (1984) 118-9.

⁶⁴⁶ Millender (2001) 141.

⁶⁴⁷ SEG 30:990 (c.325-275 BC) 2.

⁶⁴⁸ IG IV²,1 68 (302 BC) 78-83.

⁶⁴⁹ SEG 26:396 (3CAD) 2 (Corinth 8,3 486).

⁶⁵⁰ Does not include the *grammateis* of the Hellenic League.

γραμματιστάς (*grammatistas*)

The earliest surviving evidence for a secretary in Corinth is a late fourth / early third-century BC proxy decree for two Athenian men, Xenokles and Pausimachos. The name and designation of the *grammatistas*⁶⁵¹ is given first in the decree, before the enactment formula:

[Ἐπ]ὶ γραμματιστᾶ Εὐθέα· *vac* | [Γ]αμιλίου· ἔδοξε τᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ.⁶⁵²

In the secretaryship of Eutheas. In the month of Gamilios.⁶⁵³ It was decreed by the ekklesia:...

The use of *epi + grammatistas* (in the genitive) identifies the *grammatistas* as the eponymous official: the earliest datable eponymous official known from Corinth,⁶⁵⁴ suggesting the importance of this officer in the administration of the polis. We have no other secure evidence for the Corinthian *grammatistas*, although the existence of this office may be substantiated by two further undated and fragmentary decrees.⁶⁵⁵ Nothing is known of the Corinthian ekklesia except that it was an elected body.⁶⁵⁶

Secretaries also played an eponymous role for the Achaian League (see page 222), and for various poleis throughout the Peloponnese (see Appendix B). In 146 BC, Corinth became a Roman colony, after which time the eponymous officials were Roman *duoviri* (represented in Greek in this location by the designation *strategos* (στρατηγός));⁶⁵⁷ therefore no eponymous secretaries are found after this date.

The *grammatistas* is also known from Dyme (page 212), Elis (page 207) and several other locations outside the scope of this thesis. The Ionic-Attic form of the word, *grammatistes* (γραμματιστής), is used by Herodotus for a personal secretary,⁶⁵⁸ and for the official who

⁶⁵¹ For the derivation of *grammatistas*, see page 21.

⁶⁵² SEG 30:990 (c.325-275 BC) 2-4. Jones (1980) 165-167; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 72-73; Sherk (1990a) 267. This decree was previously allocated to Delos, where it was found. It has been allocated to Corinthia based on its use of Doric dialect, the enactment formula ἔδοξε τᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ (known only from Corinth and Ithaka) and several other points such as the reference to the month Gamilios, a month name otherwise attested only in Epirus (see n.653), a place with strong ties to Corinth.

⁶⁵³ The use of ἐνὶ + *official* <in the month of X> is otherwise attested only in decrees from Epirus, e.g.: I.Bouthrotos 45 (after 163 BC) 1-2: ἐνὶ ἱερέος Μυρτίλου Δρυμίου, μηνὸς Γαμιλίου... *in the priesthood of Myrtilos son of Drumios, in the month of Gamilios*. See also Jones (1980) 167.

⁶⁵⁴ Sherk (1990a) 267.

⁶⁵⁵ Corinth 8,18 (undated) 1-2: is currently reconstructed as [ἐπὶ γρ]αμμα[τέος — —][[ἐπειδὴ] Θιόδο[τος — —], though as Jones (1980) 167 notes, [ἐπὶ γρ]αμμα[τιστᾶ —] would fit equally well. Corinth 8,17 (undated) 1-2: —[ας γρ]αμματεὺς(?) — —][[ἐπειδὴ] ὁ Πυθο[—... could also be reconstructed as *grammatistas*.

⁶⁵⁶ Nikolaos of Damaskos, *FGrH* 90 F 60(2); Jones (1980) 185-6 n.28. The verb indicating means of selection is absent.

⁶⁵⁷ Mason (1974) 161; Sherk (1990a) 267.

⁶⁵⁸ Hdt. 3.123.4: Maiandrios was the *grammatistes* of Polykrates.

looked after the sacred treasures of Athena at Saïs in Egypt.⁶⁵⁹ In Athens, *grammatistes* can mean 'elementary teacher',⁶⁶⁰ and is also found in one inscription from Athens, referring to the eponymous secretary of the Ambrakiots (i.e. from Epirus).⁶⁶¹

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

Several extremely fragmentary inscriptions from Corinth dating from the second and first centuries BC refer to a *grammateus*. They contain very little evidence to illustrate the duties that these officers performed, or the bodies for whom they worked. These texts fall into two categories: fragments where the *grammateus* appears to be in either the dating formula or the prescript,⁶⁶² and honorific inscriptions for secretaries and other Corinthian officials.⁶⁶³ The following text constitutes the most extensive example. Reconstructed sections are shown in grey to illustrate the fragmentary nature of the Corinthian evidence.

— — — — — ὑπάρχειν δὲ τοῖς τε δικασ]

ταῖς καὶ γραμματεῖ[ι αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις(?) — — — — — τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀ]
ναγραφῇ εἶναι· το[ῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλην λιθίνην — — — — — καὶ στή]
[λη]ν ἀναθεῖν[αι — — — — —⁶⁶⁴

*[And to grant] to [the judges] and their secretary [and their descendants (?) ...
(various privileges?) ... the responsibility for] writing up this [decree, and that this
decree is to be inscribed on a stone stele ... and the stele is to be] set up...⁶⁶⁵*

If the restoration of this text is secure, the text is an honorific inscription for judges (*dikasts*) and their secretary.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁵⁹ Hdt. 2.28.1: τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε Λιβύων οὔτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀπικομένων ἐς λόγους οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Σαῖ πόλι ὁ γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης. *But as to the sources of the Nile, neither Egyptian nor Libyan nor Greek that spoke to me professed to know them, except the grammatistes of the sacred treasures of Athena, in the Egyptian city of Saïs.*

⁶⁶⁰ E.g. Pl. *Charmides* 161d.6: δοκεῖ οὖν σοι τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα μόνον γράφειν ὁ γραμματιστὴς καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκειν ἢ ὑμᾶς τοὺς παῖδας διδάσκειν, *So does it seem to you that the teacher, in your opinion, writes and reads his own name only, and teaches you boys this?*

⁶⁶¹ SEG 47:136 (167/166 BC) Full text: ὡ[ς Ἀθηναῖοι ἄγουσιν] | ἐπὶ γραμ[ματιστοῦ] | [ὑπὸ τ]οῦ [δήμου Ἀμβρ]ακιώταις Also restored by Cabanes & Andréou (1985) 534-5 as γραμ[ματιστᾶ]. Habicht (1986) 190-192.

⁶⁶² Corinth 8,17 (undated) 1-2; Corinth 8,18 (undated) 1-2. These texts could alternatively be restored with the designation *grammatistas*; see n.655.

⁶⁶³ Corinth 8,14 (c. mid 2C BC) 9; Corinth 8,346 (before 44BC), b.2-5.

⁶⁶⁴ Corinth 8,346 (before 44 BC) b.2-5.

⁶⁶⁵ Kent (1966) 14-15; Woodward (1932) 143. My translation. For similar 'dicastic' texts, and to explain this restoration, Kent points to e.g. IG VII 4130 (after 146 BC). See e.g. lines 43-44 and 53. It is unclear why descendants would also be honoured in this way.

⁶⁶⁶ Other reconstructions are also possible; however an honorific decree is the most likely scenario, using the model set out by Osborne (1985) 206 for Attic deme decrees. The closest parallel from the

In the third century AD, the designation *grammateus* is also found in an inscription honouring a man who held a variety of magistracies in his lifetime, including membership of the council (*synedrion*) and *agoranomos* of the city:

[.]αρχην ταμίαν Α[— 24 —] | τῆς πόλεως ἄβ' γραμμ[ατέα — 15 —] | σύνεδρον ἄβ' ἀγορανομ[ον]. καί [— 19 —] | στρατηγὸν τῆς λαμπροτάτης Κ[ορινθίων πόλεως]...⁶⁶⁷

—arch, tamias ... of the polis twice; grammateus, ... synedros twice; agoranomos and ... strategos of the most illustrious [polis] of Corinth...

Other attributes

This inscription differs from earlier Corinthian inscriptions that include secretaries; however, it is similar to several other Roman-era honorific inscriptions from the Peloponnese in that it lists offices held, and provides no additional information.⁶⁶⁸

The *synedrion* referred to is probably not the Corinthian council, since membership of this was permanent at the time.⁶⁶⁹ It is therefore likely to refer to another council to which Corinth sent representatives, most probably that of the Achaian League.⁶⁷⁰ If this is the case, the office of *grammateus* referred to in line 2 may also have been for the Achaian League.⁶⁷¹

Corinthia: Sicyon

As in Corinth, the prevailing form of government in Sicyon was oligarchy. This oligarchy took various forms, and prevailed despite a short-lived democratic government in 367 BC.⁶⁷²

Evidence for a Sicyonian council is scarce. Pausanias mentions a *bouleuterion*⁶⁷³ and Xenophon

Peloponnese is IG V, 1 1428, a decree of an unknown polis honouring Messenian judges and their secretary. There are a number of significant differences between these two texts. See page 173.

⁶⁶⁷ SEG 26:396 (3CAD) 2 (Corinth 8,3 486). Kent (1966) 159 places this fragment in the section 'fragments too small to classify'. The current restoration is Martin (1977) 189-195 No.10.

⁶⁶⁸ See Table 16 page 321 for a list. Keppie (1991) 72-73, 145 notes that the order in which these offices are listed in Latin inscriptions denotes the perceived importance of the office, rather than the chronological order in which offices were held. However, this sequence was not strictly enforced, and the importance of some offices is subjective. It is unclear whether this pattern is followed when Roman officers are honoured in Greek.

⁶⁶⁹ Martin (1977) 192. Membership was permanent because Corinth was a Roman colony.

⁶⁷⁰ Martin (1977) 192-3. For secretaries of the Achaian League, see page 221.

⁶⁷¹ Martin (1977) 189-195, no.10 (ph.); Mason (1974) 201. The equivalent office of *quaestor* is otherwise unattested in the administration of Roman Corinth. *Tamias* (treasurer) in line 1 may also be another office held by the honorand, in the service of the Achaian League.

⁶⁷² Arist. fr. 598; X. *Hell.* 7.1.44-46. Griffin (1982) 68-75; Legon (2004) 469-470. The democratic coup of Euphron in 367 BC had become a tyranny by 366 BC, when he was overthrown by Aineas of Stymphalos. Euphron was then assassinated while trying to amass forces to recapture the city. The history of Sicyon is patchy from this point onwards, and the precise nature of government unclear.

⁶⁷³ Paus. 2.9.6.

a gathering of the demos in the agora.⁶⁷⁴ The only epigraphic evidence for a Sicyonian boule is an undated but probably third-century BC decree of the demos of the Sicyonians, which refers to a *gropheus of the bola*.⁶⁷⁵ See below.

γροφεὺς τᾶς βωλᾶς (*gropheus of the bola*)

An undated decree from the demos⁶⁷⁶ of Sicyon accepts the invitation of Magnesia on the Maeander to the games in honour of Artemis Leukophryene, and also honours ambassadors from Magnesia. The instructions for the secretary are as follows:

δ[ό]μ[εν δὲ κα]ὶ ἐνεκέχειρα τοῖς θεαροῖς | τὸν γροφῆ τᾶς βωλ[ᾶς] τ[ὰ ἐ]κ τᾶν
πινακίδων, καταστᾶσαι | [δὲ θε]αρόδोकον.⁶⁷⁷

[And the] gropheus⁶⁷⁸ of the bola is to provide the envoys with travelling expenses in accordance with the writing tablets, [and] the thearodokos is to validate them.⁶⁷⁹

Activities

The *gropheus of the bola* above was required to refer to records on temporary media; however, there is no evidence that he wrote these himself. He also had access to a fund that could be used for embassies and games.

Corinthia: concluding remarks

Evidence for the activities of secretaries in the Saronic Gulf and Corinthia is scarce, and makes any conclusions we can draw tentative at best. Secretaries are found at polis-level in all three poleis: as eponymous officials⁶⁸⁰ and secretaries of judges⁶⁸¹ at Corinth, and with the boule and/or demos at Aigina⁶⁸² and Sicyon.⁶⁸³ However, the nature of their duties is to a great extent unknown, other than that they wrote and oversaw the setting up of inscriptions at Aigina, and had financial duties at Sicyon.

⁶⁷⁴ X. *Hell.* 7.1.45.

⁶⁷⁵ Magnesia 55 [I.Magn 41] (undated) 1, 9, 16-18. The only reference to the boule is in the designation of the *gropheus*. This inscription was previously attributed to Delos.

⁶⁷⁶ Magnesia 55 [I.Magn 41] (undated) 1: [παρὰ] Σικωνίων·; 9: δεδόχθαι τῷ[ι δά]μωι·

⁶⁷⁷ Magnesia 55 [I.Magn 41] (undated) 16-18.

⁶⁷⁸ For information on the derivation of *gropheus*, see page 21.

⁶⁷⁹ The meaning of καταστᾶσαι is unclear, and may also refer to the 'setting down', i.e. physical movement of the tablets, or the establishment of these fees in a collection of similar permitted financial expenses. Not enough is known about the *thearodokos*, the officer who received sacred envoys, to form any firm conclusions on this matter.

⁶⁸⁰ SEG 30:990 (c.325-275 BC) 2-4: page 126.

⁶⁸¹ Corinth 8,346 (before 44 BC) b.2-5: page 127.

⁶⁸² IG IV² 749 (159-144 BC) 45-46: page 123.

⁶⁸³ Magnesia 55 [I.Magn 41] (undated) 16-18: page 129.

Argolis: Argos

Evidence suggests that in the archaic period, Argos went from being a monarchy, to an oligarchy and then a democracy, and apart from two brief periods of oligarchy, remained a democracy from c.470-460 BC until the end of the Classical period.⁶⁸⁴

The principal officials of Argos from this period until 146 BC (when Argos became part of the Roman province of Achaia) were the *damiorgoi*, supported by boards of *strategoï*, *hiaromnamones* and *artunai* (ἀρτύναι, treasurers).⁶⁸⁵ While there is no surviving evidence for officers whose duties include writing prior to democracy, *artunai* may have been associated with written proposals (see page 131).⁶⁸⁶

Argos had two councils: the *aliaia* (ἀλιαία) sometimes known as the *bola* (βωλά), and the Eighty.⁶⁸⁷ The *aliaia* held a monthly *aliaia teleia*,⁶⁸⁸ with business adjourned to the following month if necessary, and additional meetings held in times of crisis.⁶⁸⁹ The secretary of this council was known as the *gropheus* (γροφεύς), or *gropheus bolas* (γροφεύς βωλᾶς), these terms being used interchangeably in decrees (see page 137). There is no evidence for the Argive *aliaia* after 146 BC;⁶⁹⁰ consequently, there is no evidence for the *gropheus bolas* from this point onwards.⁶⁹¹

The Eighty was an independent authority, possibly dating from Argos' oligarchic period of government, which co-existed alongside the *aliaia*. It is likely to have comprised four divisions of twenty men, one for each of the four phylai.⁶⁹² The precise nature of this council and its relationship with the *aliaia* is unclear, but it appears to have been similar to the relationship between the Council of the Areopagus and the boule at Athens.⁶⁹³ The Eighty

⁶⁸⁴ Hdt. 7.149.2; D.S. 12.80.2-3 & 58.1-4; Plu. *Alc.* 15.2; Th. 5.81.1-2 & 5.82.1-2. Piérart (2004a) 603-604.

⁶⁸⁵ Piérart (2004a) 604.

⁶⁸⁶ IG IV 554 (480-470 BC) 2, 4.

⁶⁸⁷ Piérart (2004a) 604; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 70-71.

⁶⁸⁸ Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 70-71: from the 4CBC the standard pattern is ἀλιαία ἔδοξε τελεῖαι / *month, day / note of adjournment if needed / ἀρήτευε βωλᾶς* (chairman of council) *name* / γροφεύς βωλᾶς (secretary of council) *name* / substance / at end ἔλεξε *name*.

⁶⁸⁹ Budin (2009) 201; Piérart (2000) 303-310.

⁶⁹⁰ Piérart (2004a) 604; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 71.

⁶⁹¹ The verb *gropheo* is still used, however, and *gropheosanta* is used instead of *grammateusanta* in an honorific decree for a Roman officer. See page 136.

⁶⁹² Hdt. 5.68. Budin (2009) 201; Jones (1987) 112; Piérart (2000) 307; Piérart (2004a) 604; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 70-71; Wörle (1964) 56-61. It is not known whether the Eighty predate the creation of Argos' fourth Dorian phyle.

⁶⁹³ Wörle (1964) 56-61.

ensured that decrees were made public, and its officers also served as judicial functionaries and arbitrators.⁶⁹⁴ The Eighty had two *grophees* (see page 138).

From 146 BC onwards, the Argive council was referred to as the *synedrion*,⁶⁹⁵ and its secretary as the *grammateus* (γραμματεύς) or *grammateus of the synedroi* (γραμματεύς συνέδρων) (see page 133). The change in government indicates that this was not a replacement of terms: the *gropheus* cannot be 'replaced' by the *grammateus*, since they were officers of different bodies.⁶⁹⁶

Grammateus could also be one of several magistracies held by Roman officers,⁶⁹⁷ and *grammateis* could also work with sub-polis groups, such as theatrical guilds (see page 133).

	5CBC	4CBC	3CBC	2CBC	1CBC	1CAD
<i>artunas</i>	1	0	0	0	0	0
<i>grammateus</i>	0	0	0	3	0	3
<i>gropheus</i>	0	0	2	3	0	0
<i>gropheus bolas</i>	0	6	15	1	0	0
<i>gropheus for the 80</i>	0	2	0	2	0	0
<i>gropheus of the polemarchs</i>	0	1	0	0	0	0
<i>gropheus for the stratagoi</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total:	1	9	18	9	0	3
Grand total: 40						

Table 3 – Attestations of secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in Argos.

ἀρτύνας (*artunas*)

There is very little evidence for the writing of bureaucratic procedures by officials in the Peloponnese in or before the fifth century BC. One possible exception could be the following reference to written proposals in connection with magistrates known as *artunai* (ἀρτύναι), from the oligarchic period approximately ten years before the beginnings of democratic government in Argos.

The inscription uses what I take to be a participle from a compound of the verb that gives the stem of ἀρτύνας:⁶⁹⁸ συναρτύοντας, that is, 'those being *artunai* together':

[θ]ῆσαυρῶν [τῶ]ν : τᾶς : : Ἀθαναίας : αἱ τις <τις> : | [ἔ]τὰ]ν βῶλάν : τ[ὰ]ν ἀνφ'
 Ἀρίσσιτῶνα : ἔτὸν<ς> συναρτύοντας | [ἔ]᾿]λλον τινὰ ταμίαν εὐθύνοι : τέλος ἔχων : ἔ

⁶⁹⁴ Budin (2009) 201; Piérart (2000) 307; Piérart (2004a) 604; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 70-71. Piérart (2000) 304. An unpublished decree (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 69-70 unpublished decree: (A.i), (146 BC and after)) shows the Eighty arbitrating a dispute between a priest and a contractor relating to fees.

⁶⁹⁵ See n.706.

⁶⁹⁶ There are almost no surviving inscriptions containing secretaries of any designation in the Roman era. c.100 BC, a decree is of the *synedroi* and people, with no *grammateus* listed: SEG 22:266; Piérart (2000), 297-298; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 70-71.

⁶⁹⁷ E.g. IG IV 606 (Roman Imp.) 1-5 on page 135.

⁶⁹⁸ Though it is curious that the verb shows no 'v' in its stem.

δικάσι|[ζο]ι. ἔ : δικάζοιτο : τῶν γρασσιμάτων : ἥνεκα τᾶς : καταθέσιος : ἔ τᾶς :
 ἀλιάσιος : τρεῖτο καὶ δαμευέσθῃ : ἓνς | Ἀθαναίαν : ἡ δὲ βῶλὰ ποτελάτῃ :
 ἡαντιτυχόνσα : αἱ | δὲ κα μῆ : αὐτοὶ : ἔνοχοι ἔντῳ : ἓνς Ἀθαναίαν.⁶⁹⁹

Concerning the treasures of Athena. If anybody, holding office as magistrate, calls to account either the council presided over by Arisston, or his fellow artunai, or any other treasurer, or if he judges them or brings a lawsuit against them, on account of the written records, either their deposition or their submission to the aliaia,⁷⁰⁰ he shall be exiled and his property confiscated with the proceeds going to the treasury of Athena; and the current council will also pursue these charges, otherwise they (the council) will also be liable to a penalty to Athena.

The *artunai* are attested in a cache of bronze Argive inscriptions discovered in 2000/2001,⁷⁰¹ and are also known from Thucydides:

...ὀμνύντων δὲ Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ αἱ ἔνδημοι ἀρχαί, ἐξορκούντων δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις· ἐν Ἀργεὶ δὲ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ οἱ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ οἱ ἄρτυναι, ἐξορκούντων δὲ οἱ ὀγδοήκοντα.⁷⁰²

...This oath shall be sworn in Athens by the boule and the local magistrates, and administered by the prytaneis. And in Argos, it shall be sworn by the boule and the Eighty and the artunai, and administered by the Eighty.

Magistrates known as *artunoi* were also officers of the boule at Epidauros.⁷⁰³

Activities

The Argive council (here, βῶλὰ) had its own treasury (which held the ‘treasures of Athena’). The *artunai*, as magistrates of this council, could also act as treasurers (which we know from the use of the word *tamias* (ταμίας) in line 3). The written proposals (genitive plural γρασσιμάτων, line 4),⁷⁰⁴ are likely to have been written by one of these magistrates, since no other persons are mentioned.

⁶⁹⁹ IG IV 554 (480-470 BC) 1-7; Buck 84; Nomima 107.

⁷⁰⁰ The precise meanings of καταθέσιος and ἀλιάσιος are unclear: i.e., whether both should be read together (as above) with γρασσιμάτων, or separately, providing the alternative translation “on account of the written proposals, or on account of the decision of the aliaia”. Other interpretations are also possible.

⁷⁰¹ Kritzas (2006) 434: 1-2: Θυρομάτων : ἄρτυναι : /αιρέθε : ἐκ τῷ πέτρο : Ἀπελλαίο : XX | A : ἱερομναμόνον : Ἡγὲν : Ἡυρνάθιος : ἄρτύνας : Θιλόδαμος : Ἡυλλεύς...

⁷⁰² Th. 5.47.9, quoting a treaty made between Athens, Argos, Mantinea and Elis at Athens.

⁷⁰³ Plu. *Quaest. Graec.* 1.1.

⁷⁰⁴ Buck (1955) 131 §164.4. Buck notes γράσση as synonymous with γράμμα (*gramma*). σ has replaced an earlier dental, which is sometimes preserved. *Grassmaton* therefore refers to written proposals, and τῶν γρασσιμάτων ἥνεκα τᾶς καταθέσιος (4-5), “on account of the deposition of written proposals”.

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

The earliest inscriptions referring to *grammateis* in Argos date from 146 BC or later. Three types of *grammateus* are known from these texts:

- the *grammateus of the synedroi*⁷⁰⁵ (the Argive council was known as the *synedrion* after 146 BC);⁷⁰⁶
- *grammateis* of sub-polis groups (in this instance, a theatrical guild, see following example);⁷⁰⁷
- Roman officials who held various offices during their career, including that of *grammateus* (see page 135).⁷⁰⁸

Activities

The *grammateis* of a theatrical guild performed various administrative functions. In the following honorific decree, two (or perhaps three) *grammateis* are mentioned in relation to honours bestowed upon a man called Zenon by the theatrical artists of Dionysus. Zenon is honoured with a statue and inscription.⁷⁰⁹

The *grammateis* referred to are:

- The *grammateus* Aristokles (whose duties are marked here with a dotted line);
- *ho katastatheis grammateus* or 'the *grammateus* currently in office,' most likely also Aristokles (whose duties are marked with dashes);⁷¹⁰
- *ho aei grammateus*, 'the *grammateus* appointed in any given year' or 'the subsequent *grammateus*', i.e. any other *grammateus* (whose duties are underlined).⁷¹¹

We assume that one man could not be both *katastatheis* (currently in office) and *aei* (appointed in any given year) as there would be little need to differentiate between offices in the text.

⁷⁰⁵ This inscription is unpublished: Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 70 (A.vi.a) (146 BC and after): Δ Σικυωνίων γραμματεὺς συνέδρων / Ἀργείων δαμιοργοῖς χ[αί]ρειν. There was no assembly in Sicyon at this time.

⁷⁰⁶ SEG 22:266 (c.100 BC) 1-2: οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ σύνεδροι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀρχεδ[ά]μου...

⁷⁰⁷ IG IV 558 (114 BC) 35-43.

⁷⁰⁸ IG IV 606 (Roman Imp.) 3; IG IV 589 (undated) 2-4 (SEG 13:244). Also IG IV 609 (Roman) 8, where a Roman official was *gropheus* (page 136).

⁷⁰⁹ IG IV 558 (114 BC) 29-43. 29-30: δεδόχθαι τοῖς [περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τε]||χνίταις τοῖς ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας τῆς ἐν Ἀργεὶ συνόδου ἐπαί[νέ]σαι Ζήνωνα ἑκα[τοδώρου Ἀργεῖον]; 32-34. Le Guen (2001) 190-197 No.36.

⁷¹⁰ If Aristokles is both the *grammateus* and *ho katastatheis grammateus*, it is unclear why he is referred to in two different ways.

⁷¹¹ That he is the subsequent *grammateus* is inferred from 'οἱ νῦν κατασταθέντες ἄρχοντες' and 'οἱ αἰὲ κατασταθέντες ἄρχοντες' in the preceding lines.

τὴν] δὲ [ἐπιμέλειαν εἰς τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ στε]φάνου ποιησάσθω ὁ γραμματεὺς
 Ἀριστοκλῆς, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες [οἳ τε νῦν] κ[αὶ οἱ ἀεὶ κατασταθέντες καὶ ὁ ἀεὶ] |
 γραμματεὺς ποιείσθωσαν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμέραι ὅπως ἀναγορεύηται
 τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε, ποιείσθω] | δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὁ κατασταθεὶς γραμματεὺς ε[—
 c.32?—, ὅπως ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις Νε]μείοις ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀνακηρυχθῇ τὸ
 κήρυγμα τόδε "<the text of the proclamation>". ἀναγραφάτω δὲ καὶ ὁ καταστ[αθεὶς
 τῆς εἰκόνος ἐπιστάτης τὸ τῆς συνόδου ψήφισμα τόδε] | εἰς τὸ βάθρον τῆς εἰκόνος.⁷¹²

*And the secretary Aristokles is to [have responsibility for the] preparation of the
 crown; and the archons, [both those who are currently in office] and [those who are
 appointed in any given year,] and the secretary [at the time] are to have responsibility
 for [proclaiming this decree] on the day of the god (i.e. his festival), and the
 grammateus currently in office is to have responsibility for—32—, [in order to make
 this following] proclamation [in the first] Nemean games in the gymnastics competition:
 "<the text of the proclamation>." And the man appointed (overseer [of the statue])
 is to write up [the following decree of the synodos] onto the base of the statue.*

Aristokles is responsible for the procuring of a crown for Zenon (lines 35-36). The *grammateus* currently in office (*ho katastatheis grammateus*, most probably also Aristokles) is then to make something (text lost), which will facilitate the proclamation of the decree at the first Nemean games.⁷¹³ The *grammateus* appointed in any given year (*ho aei grammateus*) and the current and subsequent archons are collectively responsible for the proclamation of this decree (lines 36-37). The archons in this text also appear to be magistrates of the guild.

It is unclear which officer is to be in charge of the inscribed decree. 'The man appointed overseer' (ὁ κατασταθεὶς ἐπιστάτης) could be chosen from among the archons, be a *grammateus*, or possibly be another officer altogether.

The reference to proclamation is highly unusual and is an otherwise unattested duty for *grammateis* in the Peloponnese.

For parallels to the term *ho katastatheis grammateus* (ὁ κατασταθεὶς γραμματεὺς), see pages 149 (Hermione) and 164 (Sparta). For parallels to *ho katastatheis (officer)* in conjunction with *ho aei (officer)*, see SIG³ 672 (Delphi).⁷¹⁴

⁷¹² IG IV 558 (114 BC) 35-43.

⁷¹³ The proclamation at the games (lines 39-42) is similar, but not identical to the text that is written on the statue base (lines 32-34).

⁷¹⁴ Delphi: SIG³ 672 (160/59 BC) 36-39.

Other attributes

In Argos (as in Corinth and various other locations), during the Roman period, the office of *grammateus* could be one of several magistracies held during a person's lifetime.⁷¹⁵ These offices could be listed in honorific inscriptions, with no obvious connections between them.

For example:

Τιβ(έριον) · Κλαύδιον Διοδότου | υἱὸν Διόδοτον, ἀγορανομήσαντα | καὶ
γραμματεύσαντα, καὶ ἱεροφαντή|σαντα καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα Σεβά|στεια καὶ
Νέμεια...⁷¹⁶

Tiberius Claudius Diodotus son of Diodotus, who was aedile and secretary, and hierophant and judge at the Augustan and Nemean games.

γροφεύς (*gropheus*)

The designation *gropheus* is the term used most often to refer to a secretary in Argos.⁷¹⁷ The majority of *grophees* were *grophees of the boule* (*gropheus bolas*, see page 137). The designation could also refer to the *gropheus for the Eighty* (page 138), *gropheus of the polemarchs* (page 139), or *gropheus for the stratagoi* (page 140).⁷¹⁸

Two further inscriptions contain *grophees* that do not appear to fit into any of these categories: *grophees* associated with temple repairs,⁷¹⁹ and a Roman official who served as *gropheus* in addition to holding other offices.⁷²⁰ These are described below.

Activities

Two *grophees* are associated with considerable improvements to the temple of Pythian Apollo:

...γροφέ[ες] Αἰσχύλος Ἀραχνά|δας, Τρύγης Αἰθωνίδα, καὶ κα|τεσκεύασσαν καὶ
[ῆ]|σαντο [θείας] | ἐκ μαντήας γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν καὶ τ[ὰ]|ν περίσταιν καὶ τὸ φάργμα καὶ
τὸν | βωμὸν προ[άγαγ]ον ποτ' ἀ[ρ]ῶ ...⁷²¹

⁷¹⁵ See page 128 for a similar example from Corinth. Also see Appendix C page 321 for a list of all inscriptions from the Peloponnese which contain similar honours.

⁷¹⁶ IG IV 606 (Roman Imp.) 1-5. Τιβ(έριον) at the start of line 1 is most likely to be given in the accusative due to an implied verb of honouring.

⁷¹⁷ See page 21 for the derivation of *gropheus*. The *gropheus* is also known from several other locations in the Peloponnese: see Appendix B page 276.

⁷¹⁸ Kritzas (2006) 412-415 also notes the existence of secretaries of previously-unattested magistracies (the Ἐπιγνώμα and the ἡγελοθέται), in currently unpublished material.

⁷¹⁹ Buck No.87 (3C BC) 4-5. See following example.

⁷²⁰ IG IV 609 (Roman) 8. See n.727.

⁷²¹ Buck No.87 (3C BC) 4-6. See also Schwyzler (1939) 241.

...grophees Aischylos (phratry) Arachnadai,⁷²² Tryges son of Aithon.⁷²³ And they have made and put in place, in accordance with the [divine] oracle, the Omphalos of the Earth, the colonnade and the enclosing wall, and have moved the altar to the east...⁷²⁴

Amongst the improvements listed, the *grophees* organise the construction of a treasury within the oracle chamber, within which monetary offerings could be stored and locked, the construction of a stone conduit, a colonnade and enclosing wall, and the road and ramp leading to the shrine.⁷²⁵

These *grophees* are not associated with the writing of any decrees, or other functions typically associated with the office of secretary.⁷²⁶

Further particulars

The designation *gropheus* fell out of use shortly after 146 BC, the year in which Greece became the Roman province of Achaia, with the exception of one inscription honouring a Roman magistrate for having held several offices, including 'having been *gropheus*' (γροφεύσαντα).⁷²⁷ This text can only be dated very imprecisely to the Roman period,⁷²⁸ therefore it is unclear why this officer has been given the designation *gropheus* rather than *grammateus*.

⁷²² Caskey & Amandry (1949) 219; Jones (1987) 114: Ἀραχνάδαι is an Argive phratry name. For Argive naming conventions, see Charneux (1984) 208, 210; Jones (1987) 112-115; Mitsos (1947) 83; Piérart (2000) 297, 300-301. Argive citizens were enrolled into a phyle (tribe), phratry and *pentekostys* (see example on page 140). The precise nature of this subdivision is not known. Piérart believes that *pentekostys* was a toponym of some sort, synonymous with *kome*. Jones and Charneux believe that a *pentekostys* and *kome* were separate entities, and that some names contain both. Neither provide any conclusive examples of a separate *pentekostys*. I have therefore adopted Piérart's point of view.

Argive names comprise a personal name followed by any one or two of the following elements: a patronymic, phratronymic, or *pentekostys* (*kome*). Charneux suggests that a phyletic was also used by the holders of certain offices. This may explain why a phyletic was used by the *gropheus bolas* during regular boule business (page 137), but not why phyletics are absent from the interstate arbitration on page 138 (the oldest surviving document containing Argive subdivisions). In some cases, a phratry and *pentekostys* have morphologically-identical names (e.g. Ἀράχνας and Ἀραχνάδαι). This peculiarity can be explained by the two systems being created at different times, with an increase in Argive territory requiring 'topographic regrouping'.

⁷²³ I consider Αἰθωνίδας a patronymic as it is not otherwise attested as an Argive phratry name, and Αἰθωνας is not attested as a *kome* name.

⁷²⁴ Buck (1955) 287-8.

⁷²⁵ Buck No.87 (3CBC) 4-20. The final portion of the text is missing.

⁷²⁶ Paus. 2.24.1; Buck (1955) 287-288; Vollgraff (1903) 260-276; Vollgraff (1956) 109-117; Vollgraff (1957) 475-477.

⁷²⁷ IG IV 609 (Roman) 5-8: ἀγορανομήσαντα ... καὶ σιτωνήσαντα καὶ γροφεύσαντα *having been agoranomos, and public buyer of corn and gropheus*. See Appendix C page 321 for similar honours.

⁷²⁸ The text cannot be dated by the use of the participial form, as use of participles for designations in the Peloponnese can also only be dated very imprecisely to the Roman period.

γροφεὺς βωλᾶς (*gropheus bolas*)

The secretary of the democratic council or *aliaia* of Argos was known as either the *gropheus* (γροφεύς), or *gropheus bolas* (γροφεὺς βωλᾶς), these terms being used interchangeably in decrees.⁷²⁹

Activities

The majority of decrees containing a *gropheus bolas* are proxyen decrees. Argive diplomatic texts such as this start as early as in Athens,⁷³⁰ but differ in style. These texts are formulaic, and rarely vary from the following format.⁷³¹ The chairman of the council is introduced by the verb phrase ἀρήτευε βωλᾶς (*areteue bolas*),⁷³² and is immediately followed by the *gropheus*:

Ἀλιαίαι ἔδοξε τελεῖαι· ... ἀρήτευε βωλᾶς Νικαγόρας Ναυπλιάδας Ἐρύνειον· γροφεὺς βωλᾶς Ἀριστεὺς Μναϊτίμου Ἡραιεὺς Παλλάς· πρόξενον [ἦμεν] καὶ εὐεργέταν τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Ἀργείων...⁷³³

It was decreed by the aliaia teleia: ... Chairman of the council: Nikagoras, (phratry) Naupliada⁷³⁴ (kome) Eruneion.⁷³⁵ Gropheus bolas: Aristeus son of Mnaitimos, (phratry) Heraieis⁷³⁶ (kome) Pallas:⁷³⁷ [to be] proxenos and benefactor of the polis of the Argives...

Officials can also be named at the end of decrees, instead of in the prescript. Instructions for display are not always given, but where they are included, they specify that the stele is to be set up in the sanctuary of Apollo.⁷³⁸

⁷²⁹ For the interchangeability of the designations γροφεύς and γροφεὺς βωλᾶς, compare SEG 17:144 on page 137 with e.g. SEG 13:240 (3CBC) 1-2: Ἀλιαίαι ἔδοξε τελεῖαι, ... ἀρήτευε βωλᾶς Νίκων Ἀσπίος Διονύσιος, γροφεὺς Παναίτιος Βραχᾶ Κλεοδαΐδας·

⁷³⁰ Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 70-71.

⁷³¹ An exception is the decree for Alexandros of Sicyon (page 140), in which the *gropheus bolas* is accompanied in the enactment formula by the *gropheus of the generals*. Argive proxyen decrees usually honour one person only, with the exception of SEG 13:243 and SEG 39:345, which each contain two decrees.

⁷³² See n.688.

⁷³³ SEG 17:144 (3CBC) 1-5. Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 69.

⁷³⁴ Charneux (1984) 217.

⁷³⁵ Jones (1987) 114.

⁷³⁶ Charneux (1984) 222.

⁷³⁷ Jones (1987) 114.

⁷³⁸ E.g. SEG 30:355 (c.330-300 BC) 11-12 (Piérart (1980) 272). See page 135 for *grophees* administering repair work to this sanctuary.

Further particulars

In the fourth century BC, Argos was asked by the League of Corinth (of which it was a member at the time) to arbitrate in a dispute between the islands of Melos and Cimolos, regarding which of the two islands owned the islands of Polyaega, Heterea and Libea.⁷³⁹ The results of this arbitration were recorded in a decree, which ends with the names and designations of the presiding official and the *gropheus*.

ἀρήτευε Λέων | [β]ωλᾶς σευτέρας, Ποσίδα|ον· γρο[φ]εὺς βωλᾶς, Πέριλ|λος Πεδίων.⁷⁴⁰

Presiding official of the second boule, Leon, (kome) Posidaon; gropheus bolas, Perillos, (kome) Pedion.

The use of the Argive *komai* names Posidaon and Pedion shows that an Argive official acted as arbitrator and was accompanied by an Argive *gropheus*.⁷⁴¹

The phrase βωλᾶς σευτέρας (second boule) is problematic, and not found in other Argive texts. Rhodes suggests that this refers to an otherwise unattested council held for half a year only; i.e. a council in which members served for six months.⁷⁴² Vollgraff prefers to read βωλᾶς σευτέρας as βωλᾶς(ς) Ευτέρας, making Leon and Euteras of Posidaon two separate members of the council, with Euteras the presiding officer. This is also problematic as it requires ἀρήτευε to be read twice: first, absolutely, and then with *bolas*.⁷⁴³

γροφεὺς τοῖς ὀγδοηκοστεῦσι (*gropheus for the Eighty*)

The Eighty had two *grophees*; however, evidence for these officers is scarce, and exists only in two unpublished inscriptions.⁷⁴⁴ The *grophees for the Eighty* do not appear to have had responsibility for creating versions of decrees which would later be inscribed, and this duty may have instead fallen to the *gropheus bolas*.

The relationship between the Eighty and their *grophees*, and the *aliaia* and its *gropheus* is unclear. In an honorific decree for the Rhodians enacted by the *aliaia*, the responsibility for

⁷³⁹ The decision was that the islands should belong to Cimolos. See also SEG 12:367; Ager (1996) 43-45; Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 402-405.

⁷⁴⁰ IG XII,3 1259 (after 338 BC) 14-17 (Buck 86).

⁷⁴¹ Jones (1987) 114. The *komai* names appear to be in the nominative. It is unclear why the kome name Posidaon follows the reference to the boule.

⁷⁴² Buck (1955) 287. σευτέρας; δευτέρας; Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 402-405.

⁷⁴³ Vollgraff (1916) 61-63. Wörle (1964) 52-54.

⁷⁴⁴ 1: SEG 33:286 (4C BC?) B5-6 (Inventory no.E.67, γροφέε); Charneux (1983) 264; Piérart (2000) 304. 2: Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 69(A.i) (146 and after): ἐπὶ γροφέος τοῖς ὀγδοηκοστεῦσι Δ / μηνὸς Μ / γράψαντος Δ* (=L. Mummius) τοῦ ὑπάτου, στραταγοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὅπως ... / ἐπελθόντων δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τεχνιτῶν ... ἐπὶ τὰς συναρχίας καὶ παρακαλεσάντων ... / ἔδοξε ταῖς συναρχίαις. This text appears to show one of the two *grophees* acting as an eponymous officer for the Eighty. See also n.694.

the 'taking care of' (ἐπιμεληθῆμεν) three stelai falls to a treasurer and the Eighty. The *gropheus bolas* is named in the prescript, but no specific officers (such as the *grophees for the Eighty*) are charged with writing the text.⁷⁴⁵

Ῥοδίων. | Ἀλιαία ἔδοξε τελεῖαι ... ἀρήτευε βουλᾶ[ς] Καλλίστρα|τος Φανίδας
Μάνσητος· γροφεὺς βωλᾶς Τιμοκλῆς Φολουγάδας Πρόσυμνα.

...<the honours bestowed, and the reasons for them>

ἀγγράψαι δὲ τὸ δόκημα ἐν στάλαις λιθί|ναις καὶ ἀνθῆμεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος
τοῦ Λυκείου καὶ [τᾶι] | Ἥραι καὶ ἐν Νεμέαι, ἐπιμεληθῆμεν δὲ τούτων τὸν ταμίαν καὶ
[τὸν]||ς ὀγδοήκοντα, καθὰ ἔδοξε τῷ δάμῳ τῶν Ἀργείων· ἀγγραψ[άντων] | δὲ καὶ ἐν
Ῥόδῳ τὸ ψάφισμα, ἧ κα ἀποδειξέῃ ἁ βωλὰ καὶ ὁ δᾶμος τ[ῶν] | Ῥοδίων.⁷⁴⁶

Concerning the Rhodians. It was decreed at the aliaia teleia, ... chairman of the council: Kallistratos, (phratry) Wanidaī⁷⁴⁷ (kome) Mansetos,⁷⁴⁸ gropheus bolas: Timokles, (phratry) Pholygadaī⁷⁴⁹ (kome) Prosymna.⁷⁵⁰

...

And to write up the decree on stone stelai and place them (the copies) in the sanctuary of Lycean Apollo, and in [that for] Hera, and in Nemea, and to undertake the care of these things are the treasurer and the Eighty, according to what was decreed by the demos of the Argives. And let them write up the decree also in Rhodes, wherever the boule and the people of the Rhodians proclaim.⁷⁵¹

The Eighty and its *grophees* appear to have lasted slightly longer than the *aliaia* at Argos (for which there is no surviving evidence after Argos became part of the Roman province of Achaia), with one surviving text dated to after 146 BC.⁷⁵²

γροφεὺς πολεμάρχων (*gropheus of the polemarchs*)

An unpublished inscription containing a list of deserters is dated by the *gropheus of the polemarchs*.⁷⁵³

⁷⁴⁵ ISE 40 (c.300 BC) 2-4, 27-33.

⁷⁴⁶ ISE 40 (c.300 BC) 2-4, 27-33. Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 68.

⁷⁴⁷ Charneux (1984) 222.

⁷⁴⁸ Charneux (1984) 217; Jones (1987) 114.

⁷⁴⁹ Caskey & Amandry (1949) 219; Jones (1987) 114.

⁷⁵⁰ Jones (1987) 114.

⁷⁵¹ Moretti (1967) 90-94.

⁷⁵² Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 69-70 unpublished decree: (A.i), (146 BC and after). See n.694 and n.744.

⁷⁵³ Piérart (2000) 309: Inv. E.98+99 (c.322-18 BC?); Piérart (1987b) 177 and n.20; SEG 37:280.

γροφεὺς τοῖς στραταγοῖς (*gropheus for the stratagoi*)

In the third century BC, the *aliaia* honoured Alexandros of Sicyon with citizenship rights for himself and his descendants.⁷⁵⁴ The decree was written up by a man called Dameas, on behalf of the *stratagoi* (generals). We infer that Dameas was the *gropheus for the stratagoi* from the prior reference to the *gropheus bolas* (in the dative) in the dating formula:

ἐπὶ γροφέος τῷ βουλαῖ Θιοδέκτα, τοῖς δὲ στραταγοῖς Δαμέα, ἀλιαῖαι ἔ[δοξε] |
τελείαι...⁷⁵⁵

In (the year when) the gropheus for the bola (was) Thiodektas, and (the gropheus) for the stratagoi (was) Dameas, it was decreed at the aliaia teleia...

Activities

The text specifies that the *stratagoi* are to write up Alexander's name, and the names of his descendants. However, the form of the text suggests that it is Dameas who carries out the work on their behalf:

τόνς δὲ στραταγόνς, οἷς γράφει Δαμέας, ἀ[ν]|γράψαι ἐνς τάνς στάλανς τάνς ἐν τῷ
ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνος | τοῦ Λυκείου, ἧ καὶ τοῖ ἄλλοι πολῖται γεγράβανται, ἐ[ν]ς
φυλάν καὶ φάτραν καὶ πεντηκοστύν ἄν κα αὐτὸς προαιρῇται...⁷⁵⁶

And the stratagoi, for whom Dameas writes, are to write up (Alexandros and his descendants) onto the stelai which are in the sanctuary of Lycean Apollo, where also the other citizens are written, into whichever phyle (tribe), and phratry, and pentekostys⁷⁵⁷ he chooses...

οἷς γράφει Δαμέας 'for whom Dameas writes', could alternatively be translated as 'for whom Dameas acts as *gropheus*'.

It is not known why the duty of writing up (or enrolling) citizens should fall to the *stratagoi*; however, we do not have evidence for any other officer (such as the *gropheus bolas*) performing this duty at Argos.

⁷⁵⁴ ISE 41 (1st half 3C BC?) 1-3; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 68.

⁷⁵⁵ ISE 41 (1st half 3C BC?) 2-3.

⁷⁵⁶ ISE 41 (1st half 3C BC?) 10-13.

⁷⁵⁷ For information on the *pentekostys*, see n.722.

Further particulars

This decree is unparalleled in that it does not mention a presiding officer at the *aliaia teleia*. Instead, the *gropheus bolas* and *gropheus for the stratagoi* are included in the enactment formula.⁷⁵⁸

There is no evidence that the *gropheus for the stratagoi* interacted or cooperated with the *gropheus bolas* in any way. Neither of the two *grophees* oversaw the setting up of the inscription, and this duty instead fell to the *stratagoi* and the architect.⁷⁵⁹

Argolis: Epidauros

In the Archaic period, Epidauros was an oligarchy, but by the fourth century BC, decrees were passed by the boule and demos, a situation which implies a more democratic constitution.⁷⁶⁰

Epidauros had a body of 180 enfranchised citizens from which councillors (*artunoi*) were drawn,⁷⁶¹ and each of the four Epidaurian phylai was represented on boards of officials (see example on page 145).⁷⁶²

Secretaries at Epidauros are found in two contexts: as officers of the boule, and as secretaries of temple officials known as *hiaromnamones*. The secretary of the boule was known as either the *gropheus*, or *gropheus boulas*.⁷⁶³ This officer appears in a small number of inscriptions from the fourth and third centuries BC, and was far less prominent than the *gropheus* at Argos (see page 145). From the fourth to the second century BC, the officer who represented the boule and demos in decrees was the *katalogos boulas* (κατάλογος βουλαῶς).⁷⁶⁴ This officer may or may not have also been a type of secretary (see page 147).

⁷⁵⁸ ISE 41 (1st half 3C BC?) 1-3. Moretti (1967) 94-97 suggests that the prominence of generals in this text indicates that the inscription was written during the time of either Aristomachos I, Aristippos I, or Aristomachos II.

⁷⁵⁹ ISE 41 (1st half 3C BC?) 18-20: τὸ δὲ ψάφιζμα ἐγδόμεν τὸν στρατ[αγόν] μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος ἀνγράψαι ἐν στάλῃ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Λυκείου... and the generals are to provide the decree (in consultation) with the architect to write it up on a stele, and set it up in the sanctuary of Lycean Apollo. The reference to the architect may indicate on-going work in the temple.

⁷⁶⁰ Arist. fr. 498; IG IV², 1 51 (4C BC) 1-2; Piérart (2004a) 606-608.

⁷⁶¹ Plu. *Quaest. Graec.* 1.1. The *artunoi* do not appear in epigraphic evidence, and it is impossible to assess the extent to which Epidaurian *artunoi* were like Argive *artunai* (page 131). Piérart (2004a) 607.

⁷⁶² Jones (1987) 107-11: the *phylai* (*Dymanes*, *Hylleis*, *Asdantioi* and *Hysminatai*) were subdivided into at least 39 territorial units "of uncertain identification". These units were also included in the personal names of Epidaurian citizens. See examples on pages 145 and 147.

⁷⁶³ Mitsos (1947) A1 (4/3C BC) 1-8 = IG IV², 1 69, page 144.

⁷⁶⁴ Piérart (2004a) 607. Jones (1987) 108-109. The officer's name and designation appear at the end of these decrees, and we assume that he passed the decree. See example on page 147.

The secretary at the temple was known as either the *gropheus* (page 145),⁷⁶⁵ or, from the third century BC, the *grammateus* (see page 142). The *gropheus* (or *grammateus*) of the *hiaromnamones* occurs far more often in the surviving evidence than the *gropheus boulas*, suggesting that the Asklepieion generated more bureaucracy than the boule.

Boule and temple *grophees* could appear together in temple accounts, and it is likely that there was a limited amount of interaction between these officers.⁷⁶⁶

Most references to *grammateis* in Epidauros refer to the *grammateis* of the Achaian League (see page 221).

	4CBC	3CBC	2CBC	1CBC	1CAD	2CAD
<i>grammateus</i>	0	2	1	0	0	1
<i>gropheus</i>	3	2	0	0	0	0
<i>gropheus bolas</i>	1	0	0	0	0	0
<i>gropheus of hiaromnamones</i>	11	1	0	0	0	0
<i>katalogos boulas</i>	6	4	1	0	0	0
Total:	21	9	2	0	0	1
Grand total: 33						

Table 4 – Attestations of secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in Epidauros.

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

Grammateis are attested at Epidauros from the third century BC onwards. The majority of references to this officer refer to either the *grammateis* of the Achaian League (page 221),⁷⁶⁷ or *grammateis* of the *nomographoi* of the Achaian League (page 225).⁷⁶⁸ The designation could also be used instead of *gropheus* for the secretary of the *hiaromnamones* (page 145),⁷⁶⁹ is found in one, brief dedication (see below),⁷⁷⁰ and occurs in an honorific inscription for a Roman magistrate.⁷⁷¹ There is no surviving evidence for an Epidaurian *grammateus* of the boule, and duties typically carried out by this officer elsewhere may have instead been carried out by the *katalogos boulas* (see page 147).

⁷⁶⁵ IG IV²,1 165 (4-3CBC) 1-8.

⁷⁶⁶ See page 145 and n.795.

⁷⁶⁷ IG IV²,1 60 (191 BC) 1 (Peek, Asklepieion 17); IG IV²,1 61 (c.150 BC) 2; IG IV²,1 80 (34/35 AD) 5; IG IV²,1 81 (34/35 AD) 9-10, 17 (Peek, Asklepieion 34).

⁷⁶⁸ IG IV²,1 68 (302 BC) 78-83 (Peek, Asklepieion 23).

⁷⁶⁹ Peek NI 32 (undated) 1-7.

⁷⁷⁰ IG IV²,1 306 (c.206 BC) A1-C5 (Peek, Asklepieion 129) (two *grammateis*).

⁷⁷¹ IG IV²,1 25 (117-138 AD) 1-11: Apollonius Maleatus had been *grammateus*, ambassador, *gymnasiarchos* and *agoranomos*. See Appendix C page 321 for inscriptions of a similar nature.

A monument dated to the start of the third century BC contains three short statements, two of which contain the designation *grammateus*:

(I) Τιμοκ[ρί]νης, γραμματεὺς | Εὐάνδρος καὶ τὸ στράτευ[μα] | ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμιων
[πᾶσι?] | τοῖς θεοῖς.

(II) Νίκων Ἱεροκλέος ἐπόησε.

(III) ὁ ἱερεὺς *vac.* [Ἀρι]στόφιλο[ς] Ἀριστ[ομ]έ[ν]ε[ος] | Λακρίτου, γραμματεὺ[ς]
Δαμοκ[— —] | Καλλικράτη[ς] Ἀθηναῖος | ἐποίησε.⁷⁷²

(I) *Timokrines, the grammateus Euandros and the army (dedicated this) from the (booty of the) enemy, to [all?] the gods.*

(II) *Nikon son of Hierokles made this.*

(III) *The priest — Aristophilos son of Aristomenes son of Lakritos, the grammateus Damok— Kallikrates of Athens made this.*

Statement (I) appears to be a dedication made collectively by a man called Timokrines, a *grammateus*, and the army. As Timokrines is not given a designation, he is likely to have been someone who did not need identifying, such as their commander. The origins of these men are unknown.⁷⁷³ Nikon in (II) may be the stonecutter for (I), or this line may be unrelated.

The purpose of statement (III) is uncertain, but may also be a dedication made after Aristophilos served in the army. The *grammateus* Damok— may be from Athens, or he may be local. Either Damok— or Kallikrates may be the stonecutter for (III). Kallikrates may also be the mason who worked on the monument and/or statue accompanying this dedication (see below).⁷⁷⁴

Other attributes

It is unclear whether all three texts are contemporaneous. The monument is in the form of a ship, which was itself the base of a statue.⁷⁷⁵ Each part of the text is written on a different part of the ship.⁷⁷⁶ The monument was appropriated by Lucius Mummius in 146 BC, who appended an additional dedication.⁷⁷⁷ It is likely that this monument was moved from its original location, as it was placed in a prominent location in the Asklepieion.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷² IG IV²,1 306 (c.206 BC) A1-C5 (Peek, Asklepieion 129).

⁷⁷³ Palagia (2010) 159.

⁷⁷⁴ For further information on stonecutters, see page 347.

⁷⁷⁵ Palagia (2010) 159.

⁷⁷⁶ See IG IV²,1 306 app. crit.

⁷⁷⁷ IG IV²,1 306D (c.146-5 AD) 1-3. Gruen (1986) 171; Melfi (2008) 21-22.

⁷⁷⁸ IG IV²,1 306 app. crit; Melfi (2008) 21.

γροφεὺς [βουλᾶς] (*gropheus bolas*)

The *gropheus bolas* at Epidauros is the secretary in a fourth-century proxeny decree for Menekles of Phleious (in the north-west Argolid):

[Μεν]εκλέ[ος]. | [ἀλιαῖαι ἔδο]ξε, Ἰάρων : ἀρή(τευε) : Δ[— c.5 —]|τος Κερκάδας :
γρο(φεὺς) : Λυσικλ[— —]|α Εὐκυρίδας· Μενεκλῆ Μ[ενεκλέος ?] | Φλειάσιον
πρό[ξ]ενον [καὶ εὐεργέ]|ταν εἶμεν τοῦ [δάμου(?)] τοῦ ἐν Ἐ]|πιδαύρῳ κα[— c.11? —
]]ΠΕΙΘΙΑΑ — — —⁷⁷⁹

Concerning Menekles. It was decreed by the [aliaia], Iaron was presiding, D – tos, (phratry) Kerkadai⁷⁸⁰ gropheus, Lusikl — — a son of Eukuros. Menekles son of [Menekles?] of Phleious is to be proxenos [and] to be a benefactor of the [damos in] Epidauros...

This inscription is one of the earliest surviving decrees found in the Epidaurian Asklepieion, and comes from a period when Menekles could have been appointed proxenos as a democrat in exile.⁷⁸¹

Both the word order and personal names in this inscription present us with certain problems. *Kerkadai* (Κερκάδαι) was an Argive phratry, rather than an Epidaurian subdivision.⁷⁸²

Therefore either the presiding officer of the Epidaurian boule was originally from Argos (unlikely),⁷⁸³ and his name is split by ἀρή(τευε),⁷⁸⁴ or (as given here), the presiding officer is given a single name only, the *gropheus* was originally from Argos, and *Lusikl — — a son of Eukuros* is an unknown magistrate.

The inscription is written in a similar form to Argive proxeny decrees in that it contains the term ἀρήτευε in line 2, used to denote the presiding official at Argos, and otherwise unattested in Epidauros. This makes it unlikely that the text was written by an Epidaurian. There is also space for ἀλιαῖαι ἔδοξε in line 1, similar to ἀλιαῖαι ἔδοξε τελεῖαι, the formula used to introduce Argive monthly council meetings.⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁷⁹ Mitsos (1947) A1 (4/3CBC) 1-8 = IG IV², 1 69. Mitsos (1947) 82-84 and Plate XIV 1 adds a new left-hand side to the fragment published in IG in 1929. See also Piérart (2004b) 32-34; Peek, Asklepieion 24.

⁷⁸⁰ Caskey & Amandry (1949) 218; Charneux (1984) 217; Jones (1987) 114-115.

⁷⁸¹ Charneux (1990) 395-415; Mitsos (1947) 82-84; Piérart (2004b) 19-34.

⁷⁸² See n.722 for more information on Argive naming conventions. Epidaurian phylai were divided into further units "of uncertain identification" (Jones (1987) 107).

⁷⁸³ Unlikely as officials were chosen from each of the four Epidaurian *phylai* (Jones (1987) 107-11).

⁷⁸⁴ Providing the alternative translation: *Concerning Menekles. It was decreed by the council, Iaron son of D – tos (phratry) Kerkadai presiding, gropheus, Lusikl — — a son of Eukuros...* A similar splitting of the enactment formula occurs on page 138.

⁷⁸⁵ See e.g. page 137. The officer usually associated with Epidaurian proxeny decrees was the *katalogos boulas*. See page 147.

γροφεὺς [ἱερομναμόνων] (*gropheus of the hiaromnamones*)

Grophees could work at the Asklepieion alongside officials known as *hiaromnamones*. The following example shows a register of such officials. I include alongside this example a similar (undated) text, where the secretary of the group is given the designation *grammateus*.

(i)		(ii)	
ἱερομνά[μον]ες	<i>hiaromnamones:</i>	[ἱερο]μνάμονες	<i>hiaromnamones:</i>
Ἀριστ[οκράτ]ης,	<i>Aristokrates</i>	[Ξ]ενόδοκος,	<i>Xenodokos</i>
Τιμοκρ[άτη]ς,	<i>Timokrates</i>	[.3-4.κ]λής,	— <i>kles</i>
Ἀρισ[τ..5..ς,	<i>Arist—</i>	[....]οκλής,	— <i>okles</i>
Τελέα[ς].	<i>Teleas.</i>	[Καλλ]ιτίων.	<i>Kallition.</i>
γρο[φή]ς:	<i>grophees:</i>	[γραμ]ματεύς	<i>grammateus:</i>
Τιμυλ[— —]	<i>Timul—</i>	[..5..]ς. ⁷⁸⁶	— <i>s.</i>
A..ο[— —]	<i>A..o—</i> ⁷⁸⁷		

Line 6 of example (i) is generally interpreted as γρο[φή]ς, that is, *gropheus* singular; however the use of a single personal name for each officer, and the presence of two names after the designation suggests that there were two *grophees* (hence my accentuation).⁷⁸⁸

The similar nature of these texts suggests that the designations *gropheus* and *grammateus* were synonymous when the secretary in question worked for the *hiaromnamones*.⁷⁸⁹ Without a date for the second inscription (ii), it is impossible to tell whether these designations were in use concurrently, or whether the designation *grammateus* replaced *gropheus*.

Attributes

As an officer working with *hiaromnamones*, the *gropheus* may have assisted in the recording of temple accounts. The duty is not directly attested; however the *gropheus* occurs in close proximity to monetary amounts in accounting documents:

ἐπιστάταις τοῦ ἀναλάμματος τοῦ παρ' Ἀπόλλωνι, Ὑσμινάτων Σωκλεῖ, Ὑλλέων
Σωτηρίωνι, Δυμάνω[ν] Νικάνδρῳ, Ἀζαντίων Δαμοπ[ί]θ[ε]ι, γροφ[ε]ῖ Ἀλε[ξ]ιμ[ά]χῳ,
ἐπὶ [ἱα]ρεῦς Ἀριστοκλεῦς, μηνὸς Γάμου, λάμματα παρ' ἱερομναμόνων, οἷς ἔγραφε

⁷⁸⁶ Peek NI 32 (undated) 1-7.

⁷⁸⁷ IG IV², 1 165 (4-3C BC) 1-8. See also Buck (1955) 91-92.

⁷⁸⁸ There does not seem to be an appropriate designation that would fit the available letters of A..ο[— —] instead: ἀρχός seems unlikely in this context.

⁷⁸⁹ A similar office to the *hiaromnamones*, *hieropoioi*, administered temple funds at Delos. Their secretaries were *grammateis*. See page 330.

Ἀρχιτέλης, [ἐπ]ὶ καταλόγων βουλᾶς Ὑσμιναίας, Δαμοκλείδα· δραχμὰς ΧΙϞΗΗΗΗ-·:||
λόγος λάμματος ΧΙϞΗΗΗΗ-·:||⁷⁹⁰

For the epistatai of expenditure for Apollo, (namely) for (phyle) Hysminatai: Sokles, for (phyle) Hylleis: Soterion, for (phyle) Dymanes: Nikandros, for (phyle) Asdantioi: Damopeithes, gropheus Aleximachos. In the priesthood of Aristokles,⁷⁹¹ in the month of Gamos, received by the hiaromnamones, for whom Architeles wrote, when the katalogoi boulas (were) (subdivision) Hysminaia: Damokleidas: 10,914 drachmas, account receipts: 10,913 (drachmas).⁷⁹²

The *epistatai* were a board of Epidaurian magistrates responsible for building works.⁷⁹³ Aleximachos was either the *gropheus* of the *epistatai* (an otherwise unattested office), or the *gropheus bolas*.⁷⁹⁴ The *katalogoi boulas* were administrative officers of the Epidaurian boule (see next section).

Further particulars

‘The *hiaromnamones*, for whom Architeles wrote’ (ἱερομναμόνων, οἷς ἔγραφε Ἀρχιτέλης) could alternatively be translated as ‘The *hiaromnamones*, for whom Architeles acted as *gropheus*’. Writing for the *hiaromnamones* (or being their *gropheus*) may have been an ad hoc office, with one officer chosen from among the *hiaromnamones* to record information as and when required.

Three accounts give the names of several officers who wrote for the *hiaromnamones*, with some names listed more than once. For example, in IG IV²,1 106, Dionysios wrote for the *hiaromnamones* in the months of Praratios and Posidaïos, while Kallinos wrote for them in the month of Artamitios, and Timokles wrote for them in the month of Panamos.⁷⁹⁵

For a similar example, see *gropheus for the stratagoi* on page 140.

⁷⁹⁰ IG IV²,1 108 (4/3CBC) 159-161. The vertical lines after the monetary amounts are separators, and not the number 1.

⁷⁹¹ Sherk (1990a) 267. The *hiareus* (ἱαρεῦς, priest of Asklepios) is the eponymous official in Epidaurian decrees.

⁷⁹² The number of *katalogoi boulas* named varies, and in some cases (as here) can be one official only. See also page 148, abbreviated proxeny decree (X).

⁷⁹³ Jones (1987) 109. One was chosen from each of the four Epidaurian phylai.

⁷⁹⁴ Arist. fr.498; Plu. *Quaest. Graec.* 1.1; Piérart (2004a) 607. Since all boards were drawn from only 180 enfranchised citizens, it seems unlikely that individual boards had their own *gropheus*.

⁷⁹⁵ Three, fragmentary accounts of this type survive: IG IV²,1 106 (4CBC) 6, 10, 13-14 (*gropheus* Dionysios), 30-1 (Kallinos), 75-6 (Timokles), 107 (-ro-s), C.41-3, C.115-6 (Timokles) (*gropheus* of other body Kleidikos C.40-41) this inscription appears to contain the accounts for more than one year; IG IV²,1 108 (4/3CBC) 107, 111-2 (*gropheus* Damophilos), 116, 123, 141 (Kallikles), 144, 150 (Timokles), 155-6, 160-1, 167 (Architeles) (*gropheus* of other body Aleximachos 160); Peek, NI 18 (4/early 3CBC) 19-20 (*gropheus* Eukl-). These texts can also refer to the stonecutter (see page 347), and appear to show officers of the boule working with temple officials in a similar way to that found in Delos (see page 333).

κατάλογος βουλᾶς (*katalogos boulas*)

From the fourth to the second centuries BC, Epidauros passed a number of proxeny decrees. These decrees took two forms: short, formulaic decrees, where one or occasionally two persons were granted proxenos status on a single stele, and 'abbreviated' proxeny decrees, where a single stele contains a series of short proxeny decrees.⁷⁹⁶ The format of these decrees is not consistent (even within the same inscription), with rather more content for some honorands than others. The officer who represented the boule and demos in these decrees was called the *katalogos boulas* (κατάλογος βουλᾶς).⁷⁹⁷

Activities

The *katalogos boulas* was not a secretary in any formal sense.⁷⁹⁸ He may have been the officer who recorded the proxeny, but this cannot be proven, as neither the *katalogos boulas* nor any other officer are the subject of a verb of writing in texts containing this designation.

The identification of this officer as a secretary appears to be based upon both the officer's prominent position in proxeny decrees from Epidauros, which otherwise lack a secretary, and an assumption that the *katalogos boulas* performed a similar role to that of the *katalogeus* (καταλογεύς) in Athens, whose function was to enrol citizens.⁷⁹⁹

In short proxeny decrees (granting the position of proxenos to one or two people), the name and designation of a *katalogos boulas* appear at the end of the decree, for example:

Ἡγησιστράτου. | ἔδοξε βουλᾷ καὶ δᾶμῳ | τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων· Ἡγησί|στρατον
Ἐκαταίου Καρδι|ανὸν πρόξενον εἶμεν τᾶς | πόλιος τᾶς Ἐπιδαυρίων | καὶ θεαροδόκον
τοῦ Ἀσ|κλαπιοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ | ἐκγόνους, καὶ εἶμεν αὐ||τοῖς ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἄσυ|λίαν
καὶ ἐμ πολέμῳ καὶ | ἐν εἰράνῃ καὶ κατὰ | γᾶν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. | κατάλογος
βουλᾶς Ἀρι|στίων Ἐριλαΐς.⁸⁰⁰

*Concerning Hegesistratos. It was decreed by the boule and demos of the Epidaurians: that Hegesistratos son of Hekataios the Kardian is to be proxenos of the polis of the Epidaurians, and thearodokos of Asklepios, both he himself and his descendants, and that there is to be for them immunity and inviolability both in war and in peace both on land and by sea. Katalogos boulas, Aristion, (subdivision) Erilais.*⁸⁰¹

⁷⁹⁶ For example, IG IV²,1 96 contains 12 abbreviated proxeny decrees.

⁷⁹⁷ Piérart (2004a) 606-608; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 75.

⁷⁹⁸ For more information, see 'What is a secretary?' on page 21.

⁷⁹⁹ Lys. 20.13; *Ath. Pol.* 49.2. See page 102.

⁸⁰⁰ IG IV²,1 49 (4/3CBC) 1-15.

⁸⁰¹ Jones (1987) 107-110. Ἐριλαΐς is one of the 37 known subdivisions of the four Epidaurian phylai. These may be territorial in nature, although some are mythological (e.g. Τανταλίδς).

The content of these decrees varies little from inscription to inscription.

In 'abbreviated' proxeny decrees, the phrase 'ἐπὶ καταλόγων βουλᾶς' is followed by a list of personal names for the *katalogoi boulas*, denoting a group of officials who have agreed that a person is to be proxenos:

(VIII) ἐπὶ καταλόγων βουλᾶς ἐπὶ τᾷς τελείας, Μυσιάδος· Ἀριστόλα καὶ Δαμοκλεῦς καὶ Ἀριστόλα τοῦ Ἀριστο[κ]ρά[τεως], | μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου τετάρται, ἔδο[ξε] προξένους εἶμεν τᾷς πόλιος καὶ θεαροδόκους τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος [καὶ τοῦ] | Ἀσκληπιοῦ Λυσίβιον Θεουδῶρου Ἀλεῖον, Τιμίαν Ἀθανίωνος Κλειτόριον.

(IX) ἐπὶ καταλόγων βουλᾶς ἐπὶ τᾷς τελείας, Ἀζα[ντίων Π]αγασίνας· Ἀριστάρχου, Ξενοδόκου, Ζευξία, Ἀριστομήδους, Ἀρ[ιστάν]|δρου, ἔδοξε πρόξενον καὶ θεαροδόκον εἶμεν Ἀπόλλωνος Γόργιππον Τυχανίδα Φενεάταν.

(X) ἐπὶ καταλόγου βουλᾶς ἐπὶ τᾷς τελείας, [—7— Κλε]ισθένης(?), [ἔδοξε] πρόξενον εἶμεν Ἱπ[π]αρχον [— —] || Πελλανῆ.⁸⁰²

(VIII) (*When the*) *katalogoi boulas at the teleia*⁸⁰³ (*were*) of (subdivision) *Musias*.⁸⁰⁴ *Aristolas and Damokles and Aristolas son of Aristokrates. On the fourth day on the month of Apellaios, it was decreed that Lusibios son of Theudoros of Haleios, and Timias son of Athanion of Kleitor are to be proxenoi of the polis and thearodokoi of Apollo and Asklepios.*

(IX) (*When the*) *katalogoi boulas at the teleia (were)* of the (phyle) *Asdantioi* (subdivision) *Pagasina*.⁸⁰⁵ *Aristarchos, Xenodokos, Sdeuxias, Aristomedes, Aristandros, it was decreed that Gorgippos son of Tuchanidas of Pheneus is to be proxenos and thearodokos [of Apollo].*

(X) (*When the*) *katalogos boulas at the teleia (was)*: — — *Kleisthenes(?)*. [*It was decreed*] that *Hipparchos — — of Pellana is to be proxenos.*

The number of *katalogoi boulas* named varies between one and five persons from a single phyle or subdivision of a phyle (as in proxeny decrees (X) and (IX), above).⁸⁰⁶

Further particulars

In 'abbreviated' proxeny decrees, the board of *katalogoi boulas* are identified by phyle, suggesting a monthly rotation of officers, either by phylai or subdivision of a phyle.⁸⁰⁷

⁸⁰² IG IV², 196 (c.300-250 BC) 44-50.

⁸⁰³ See page 130 for Argive decrees enacted at a monthly *aliaia teleia*.

⁸⁰⁴ Jones (1987) 107-110. Μυσιάς is a subdivision of an Epidaurian phyle.

⁸⁰⁵ Jones (1987) 109. Ἀζαντίοι is the phyle and Παγασίνα is a subdivision of Ἀζαντίοι.

⁸⁰⁶ See also example on page 145.

⁸⁰⁷ Jones (1987) 107-108.

The office of *katalogos boulas* appears to have been similar to that of *bouleutes*, with the additional requirement that the officer also performed secretarial duties on an ad-hoc basis. One member of the council was chosen to represent the boule in individual proxeny decrees, and several members of a phyle (or subdivision of a phyle) represented the boule each month in 'abbreviated' proxeny decrees.

Argolis: Hermione

There is no information about the early political institutions of Hermione,⁸⁰⁸ although a boule is attested in the Roman Imperial period.⁸⁰⁹ Evidence for secretaries is limited to a single reference to *nomographoi* and *damiourgoi*, from the late third / second century BC.

δαμιουργός (*damiourgos*)

The *damiourgoi* (magistrates) at Hermione were responsible for providing a stele for, and writing up a decree pertaining to, a festival, which had previously been established by *nomographoi* (see page 150).

τοὺς δὲ νομογράφους | [τοὺς νῦν κα]τασταθέντας κατα[χ]ωρίσαι τοῦτο <τὸ> δόγμα
εἰς τοὺς [νόμους]. | [τοὺς δὲ] δαμιουργοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ Λαΐδα ἐ|γδόμεν στάλαν καὶ
ἀναγρά[ψαι τὸ] | δόγμα καὶ ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς | Δάματρος τᾶς Χθονίας ὅπως
ὑ|πόμναμα ἧ<ι> ἐκατέραις ταῖς πόλε|σιν εἰς ᾗπαντα τὸν χρόνον.⁸¹⁰

*And the nomographoi, those [now] in office, should establish this decree among the
[laws. And the] damiourgoi (in office) during the office of Laidas are to provide the
stele and write up [the] decree and set it up in the sanctuary of Chthonian Demeter
in order to be a reminder for both of the cities for all time.⁸¹¹*

'Establish' (καταχωρίσαι) in this context may mean the incorporation of the (abstract) law into the body of laws, rather than (e.g.) placement of the physical object, which is described in the following line.

Activities

The *damiourgoi* were to create the inscribed version of the law from the law established by *nomographoi*. It is unclear why the duty was split between the two boards; however, one

⁸⁰⁸ Piérart (2004a) 610, 615-616.

⁸⁰⁹ For example, IG IV 713 (Roman Imperial period) 1, 6.

⁸¹⁰ IG IV 679 (late 3-2C BC) 23-31.

⁸¹¹ IG IV 679 (late 3-2C BC) 4-13. 'Both cities' refers to Hermione and Asine. The decree permits the people of Asine to participate in the festival of Chthonian Demeter.

could speculate that the *damiourgoi* had responsibilities related to worship at the temple of Chthonian Demeter, while the *nomographoi* did not.

The stipulation that the inscription is to be written by the *damiourgoi* in the office of Laidas suggests that the decree was passed towards the end of the period in office of the current *damiourgoi*. That is, there was time to draft the law, but not to inscribe it in this period.

While the reference to *damiourgoi* publishing a stele is unusual, it is also attested in Alipheira (Arcadia). See page 182.

νομογράφος (*nomographos*)

Nomographoi ('drafters of laws') were boards of officials associated with periodic revisions of the laws of the Achaian, Aetolian and Acarnanian Leagues.⁸¹² They are also attested as local officials in several poleis,⁸¹³ however, little is known about these officers in either context.

Activities

The *nomographoi* at Hermione are known from one inscription from the late third or second century BC, where they are instructed to 'establish' a decree pertaining to the festival of Chthonian Demeter 'among the laws'.⁸¹⁴ The instruction is most likely to refer to the writing of a law on a temporary medium, since it implies storage in an archive; however, there are no surviving references to an archive (*grammatophylakion*, γραμματοφυλάκιον) at Hermione. The *nomographoi* were not responsible for having the text inscribed. This task instead fell to the *damiourgoi*. See page 149.

Argolis: Kalaureia

The island (and polis) of Kalaureia (modern-day Poros) was a possession of Troizen until the fourth century BC. Its eponymous magistrate was a *tamias*.⁸¹⁵

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

Evidence for secretaries on Kalaureia comprises a single, ten-line list of names and designations:

Πα[σ]ίξεν[ο—] *vacat* | γραμματεῖς· Μενεκράτης Φρασισθένης, | Ἀπολλόδωρος
Ἀθανάδα. | κᾶρυξ· Θεόδωρος Κλειτάνδρου. | διάκονος· Χλίδων. | παῖδες· Ξενολαΐδας
Νικοστράτο[υ], | Σωγένης Νικοστράτου, | Σάτυρος.⁸¹⁶

⁸¹² Larsen (1968) xxiv, 209, 235. See page 226 for the *nomographoi* of the Achaian League.

⁸¹³ Larsen (1968) 234-235. See Appendix A page 281.

⁸¹⁴ IG IV 679 (late 3-2C BC) 23-25 (page 149); see also n.811.

⁸¹⁵ Figueira (2004) 622-623. IG IV 839 (4C BC) 3-5.

*Pasixeno— . Grammateis: Menekrates son of Phrasisthenes, Apollodoros son of Athanadas. Herald: Theodoros son of Kleitandros. Temple attendant: Chlidon.*⁸¹⁷
*Slaves: Xenolaidas, property of Nikostratos, Sogenes, property of Nikostratos, Satyros.*⁸¹⁸

It is unclear why there are two secretaries. Kalaureia is a small island, which did not have its own boule and produced few decrees of its own.⁸¹⁹ It may be that these *grammateis* were not local, and had been called in from elsewhere specifically to create one or two texts (including this one), as appears to have been the case with the *stalographoi* at Mantinea (page 189).⁸²⁰

The third-century BC date of the inscription suggests that it was created after Troizen lost control of the island of Kalaureia and it became an independent polis.⁸²¹

Argolis: Troizen

In fourth- and third-century BC Troizen, decrees could be enacted by either the boule and demos, or (while Troizen was part of the Achaian League) the *synarchai* (leading magistrates) and the boule.⁸²² During the Roman period, decrees could be enacted either by the boule and demos together, or by the boule or demos separately.⁸²³

Epigraphic evidence from Troizen does not typically provide the designation of the officer charged with creating inscriptions. Evidence for secretaries is therefore limited to a single, honorific inscription for a Roman official who served as *grammateus of the Achaian League*.⁸²⁴ Evidence for other officials connected with the writing of public documents is limited to a third century BC decree set up by *tamiai* (see below).⁸²⁵

⁸¹⁶ IG IV 824 (3CBC) 1-9.

⁸¹⁷ *LGPV* IIIA 477. The single name of the temple attendant suggests that he was also a slave.

⁸¹⁸ 'Slaves' could alternatively be read as (temple) servants, with Xenolaidas and Sogenes both sons of Nikostratos and therefore related. This would leave us with the rather unusual name 'Satyros' at the end of the text.

⁸¹⁹ Figuera (2004) 622-3.

⁸²⁰ The name of the father of the *grammateus*, Phrasisthenes, is known only from this inscription, and so this is inconclusive.

⁸²¹ IG IV 824 (3CBC); Piérart (2004a) 615.

⁸²² Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 78. 3-4CBC enactment by boule and demos: E.g.: IG IV 748 (369 BC) 1; enactment by synarchai and demos: IG IV 751 (3CBC) 4-5.

⁸²³ Roman era: boule only: IG IV 795 (103-113 AD) 15; demos only: IG IV 783 (undated) B8; boule and demos: IG IV 796 (Imperial Period) 6.

⁸²⁴ IG IV 795 (103-113 AD) 11-12. See also page 222.

⁸²⁵ IG IV 755 (3CBC) 9-11.

ταμίας (*tamias*)

Tamiai (treasurers) often provided funds for the creation and setting up of stelai. On rare occasions, they could also write the text itself. In the following honorific inscription, *tamiai* are instead connected with the setting up of a stele.

[τὸ δὲ δόγμα τόδε τοὺς ταμί]ας ἀνθέμεν ἐν σ[τά]λλαι γεγραμμένον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τ[οῦ] Θεαρίου.⁸²⁶

[*The tamiai*] are to set up [this decision after it has been written] on a stele [in the
sanctuary] of Apollo Thearios.⁸²⁷

The decree was passed by the *synarchai* and the demos;⁸²⁸ therefore the *tamiai* were treasurers for the boule of Troizen while Troizen was part of the Achaian League.

Argolis: concluding remarks

There is no one statement that applies to all secretaries of the Argolid. The three largest poleis (Argos, Epidauros and Hermione) vary in the secretaries (or those who perform the duties of secretaries) attested, and the range of duties that they performed. As with many other locations, other officers could perform the duties of secretaries when their polis produced few inscriptions and/or did not employ secretaries of its own.⁸²⁹

Shared characteristics are the dates from which secretaries (or their substitutes) are present. Both Argos and Epidauros had officers who performed the duties of secretaries from the fifth and fourth centuries BC. To put this into context: there are four times as many surviving examples of secretaries from fifth and fourth century BC Argos and Epidauros than there are from the rest of the Peloponnese in the same period.⁸³⁰ Additionally, there is a comparative lack of evidence for secretaries after 146 BC. This is in contrast to (e.g.) Laconia, where the majority of instances are from this date onwards. This makes it difficult to compare the functions of the (early) *gropheus* with the (later) *grammateus*.

Most secretaries were officers of a boule or *synedrion*; however, *grophees* and *grammateis* also worked with *hiaromnamones* at the Asklepieion at Epidauros,⁸³¹ and *grophees* are known

⁸²⁶ IG IV 755 (3CBC) 9-11. Θεάριος is an epithet of Apollo as the god of Oracles. See also IG IV 748 (369 BC) 15-16.

⁸²⁷ Piérart (2004a) 610, 615-616. The typical location for public enactments.

⁸²⁸ IG IV 755 (3CBC) 4.

⁸²⁹ The *damiourgos* and *nomographos* at Hermione, pages 149-150; the *tamias* at Troizen, page 152.

⁸³⁰ Total numbers are still rather small. See Appendix B page 303.

⁸³¹ Peek, NI 32 (undated) 6-7; IG IV², 1 165 (4-3CBC) 1-8.

from the temple of Pythian Apollo in Argos.⁸³² In these contexts, secretaries could be part of a varied collegial environment. However, it is difficult to form any conclusions about these environments, as little is known about any of the officers concerned. Argos also provides evidence for *grammateis* of a theatrical guild.⁸³³

Taking the Argolid as a whole, the functions of secretaries range from the writing of proxy decrees and honorific inscriptions, to various forms of administration: taking part in arbitration,⁸³⁴ organising building work,⁸³⁵ and procuring a crown and ensuring a decree was proclaimed.⁸³⁶ In most instances, inscriptions lack the epigraphic formulae or verbs of writing which would provide detail about bureaucratic procedures and secretarial duties.

There is a small amount of inconclusive evidence for secretaries who worked in a polis other than the one in which they were born. A *gropheus* at Epidauros bears the name of an Argive phratry;⁸³⁷ two *grammateis* at Kalaureia worked in a location which otherwise provides no evidence for secretaries and little evidence for bureaucracy;⁸³⁸ and a *gropheus* may have accompanied boule members to an arbitration between Melos and Cimolos.⁸³⁹

⁸³² Buck No.87 (3C BC) 4-6, page 135.

⁸³³ IG IV 558 (114 BC) 36-38.

⁸³⁴ IG XII,3 1259 (after 338 BC) 1-17, page 138.

⁸³⁵ Buck No.87 (3C BC) 4-5, page 135.

⁸³⁶ IG IV 558 (114 BC) 36-37, page 133.

⁸³⁷ Mitsos (1947) A1 (4/3C BC) 1-8, page 144.

⁸³⁸ IG IV 824 (3C BC) 1-9, page 150.

⁸³⁹ IG XII,3 1259 (after 338 BC) 14-16, page 138.

Laconia: Introduction

Discussions about Laconia invariably focus on Sparta. Sparta controlled all other poleis in Laconia: all political decisions for Laconia were made at Sparta, and the *perioikoi* had no say in these matters.⁸⁴⁰ Perioikic communities may have had some autonomy in local decisions, but the extent of this autonomy is unknown.⁸⁴¹

A lack of early written sources makes the nature of bureaucratic procedures at Sparta uncertain. Laws probably required the approval of one of the five Spartan ephors, after which they were discussed by the *gerousia*, which comprised 28 council elders over sixty years old, plus the two *basileis*.⁸⁴² Ephors also presided over the assembly,⁸⁴³ and each of the surrounding poleis had three ephors of its own.⁸⁴⁴ Few laws were inscribed, and the practice may have been forbidden due to the belief that correct moral virtues could be more efficiently instilled in citizens through adherence to certain customs.⁸⁴⁵ However, writing itself was not forbidden.⁸⁴⁶ If we are to believe Plutarch's statement that men were taught only as much reading and writing as they required,⁸⁴⁷ this would in fact indicate that Spartan literacy was of a similar level to that in the rest of the ancient Greek world.⁸⁴⁸

While we should be wary of conflating the ancient office of ephor with that of ephors in the Roman period, the importance of this office to the early Spartan political system may help explain why it was these officers (rather than a *grammateus* or other officer) who were directed to write up decrees in several perioikic poleis in the second and first centuries BC.⁸⁴⁹

Ancient authors note that ephors and other magistrates used the *skytale* as a means of sending short messages to each other, and to commanders in the field.⁸⁵⁰ However, the

⁸⁴⁰ Shipley (1997) 205.

⁸⁴¹ Shipley (1997) 202, 205-211; Todd (2000) 29.

⁸⁴² Boring (1979) 24-30. Shipley (2004) 588, 591; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 82-83. For the Spartan constitution, see X. *Lac.*, esp. 8.4, 10.1-2. Although some towns in Laconia had assemblies, there is no evidence for a council anywhere in Laconia until the Roman period.

⁸⁴³ Shipley (2004) 591-2. Th. 1.87.1-2.

⁸⁴⁴ Atkinson (1949) 283.

⁸⁴⁵ Plu. *Lyc.* 13.1-3. Admittedly, our view of a Sparta without complex bureaucracy and written laws remains coloured by the 'Spartan mirage'.

⁸⁴⁶ Plu. *Lyc.* 27.2; Todd (2000) 29. The only writing forbidden was inscribing on tombs the names of men who had *not* died in battle, and the names of women who *had* died in sacred office (or possibly, childbirth).

⁸⁴⁷ Plu. *Lyc.* 16.6.

⁸⁴⁸ For this argument, see, e.g. Harris (1989) 3-20.

⁸⁴⁹ See Appendix A page 280 for a list. There is no epigraphic evidence for ephors writing in Sparta.

⁸⁵⁰ Plu. *Ages.* 10.5 & 15.5, *Alc.* 38.4, *Art.* 6.3, *Lys.* 19.4-20.4. Kelly (1985) 141-6, 156. The form that these messages took is unclear. It is not known for certain whether these messages were encoded,

terms used to describe these messages are imprecise, and it is difficult to connect this evidence with specific designations or particular poleis.⁸⁵¹ Instead, our earliest evidence notes that the Spartan *epistoleus* in the field sent a written message rather than a *skytale* back to Sparta (εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα γράμματα πεμφθέντα),⁸⁵² and in the second and first centuries BC, ephors sent a copy of a document to another polis (ἀποστεῖλαι γράμματα),⁸⁵³ and Spartan *nomographoi* sent a message to Amphissa.⁸⁵⁴

Paradoxically for a state which produced few written laws, there are a greater number of *grammateis* known from Sparta than from any other Peloponnesian polis. The majority of this evidence comprises registers of officials, which provide the names and designations of council members only.⁸⁵⁵

	3CBC	2CBC	1CBC	1CAD	2CAD	3CAD
Amyklai:						
<i>grammateus</i>	0	1	0	0	0	0
<i>dogmatographos</i>	0	3	0	0	0	0
Epidauros Limera:						
<i>ephor</i>	0	3	0	0	0	0
Gerenia:						
<i>ephor</i>	0	3	0	0	0	0
Geronthrai:						
<i>ephor</i>	0	9	3	0	0	0
Gytheion						
<i>ephor</i>	0	0	9	0	0	0
Kortyrta:						
<i>ephor</i>	0	6	0	0	0	0
Sparta:						
<i>grammateus</i>	0	0	10	4	18	1
<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	0	0	1	1	28	0
<i>nomographos</i>	3	0	0	0	1	0
<i>hypogrammateus</i>	0	0	4	0	6	0
Tainaron:						
<i>tamias</i>	0	2	0	0	0	0
Thalamai:						
<i>grammateus</i>	0	0	0	0	2	0
Total:	3	27	27	5	55	1
Grand total: 118						

Table 5 – Attestations of secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in Laconia.⁸⁵⁶

and the term *skytale* can be used to mean both the message, and the message and staff that it could be wrapped around. See also Millender (2001) 143.

⁸⁵¹ Plutarch, for instance, notes that a *skytale* came “from home” (*Ages.* 10.5) or from “the Lacedaemonians” (*Art.* 6.3), rather than from any board of magistrates.

⁸⁵² X. *Hell.* 1.1.23.

⁸⁵³ IG V,1 1336 (undated) 20.

⁸⁵⁴ SEG 52:541 (3CBC?) 4-7. See also Th. 1.133.1; Millender (2001) 142.

⁸⁵⁵ See example on page 160.

⁸⁵⁶ Atkinson (1949) 283: Three ephors per polis. See e.g. IG V,1 26 (2-1CBC) 1-8, 13-18 on page 156, IG V,1 1114 (1CBC) 2-4 and IG V,1 1240 (213-217 AD), 12-15.

Occasionally, texts may also refer to a stonecutter. See page 347.

Laconia: Amyklai

Amyklai was a semi-autonomous polis in Spartan territory, and, as such, may not have been able to pass its own laws.⁸⁵⁷

γραμματεὺς [τῶν ἐφόρων] (*grammateus of the ephors*)

A single inscription from Amyklai set up by *dogmatographoi* praises three ephors, and also their *grammateus*.⁸⁵⁸ (For the text, see under *dogmatographos*, immediately below.)

The *grammateus* was honoured separately from the ephors, and is thus removed from any connection with, or responsibility for, the duties for which the ephors are praised.⁸⁵⁹

This is the only surviving reference to a *grammateus of the ephors*, and as such it is difficult to say anything further about this office.

δογματογράφος (*dogmatographos*)

Activities

The *dogmatographoi* ('drafters of decrees') were a board of three men, involved in financial and administrative decisions made in Amyklai. They are known from one, second- or first-century BC decree:⁸⁶⁰

δογματογράφων Λυσινίκου τοῦ Σωτηρίδα, Νηκλέος | τοῦ Ἀριστοκράτεος,
Πασικράτεος τοῦ Πασικλέος· | τὸ δοχθὲν ὑπὸ Ἀμυκλαιέων. | {*anaglyphum*} | ἐπεὶ
κα[τ]ασταθέντες ἔφοροι εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ Νικέα ἐνιαυτὸν Πασιτέλης | Τετάρτου, Εὐθυμος
Λυσικράτεος, Δαμιάδας Δαμιάδα ἀξίως | ἀνεστρέφηνσαν αὐτῶν τε καὶ τᾶς
ἐνχειρισθείσας αὐτοῖς πίσ|τεως, ἐμ πᾶσιν ἀκερδῶς καὶ ἡμέρως τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν
διεξα|γαγόντες, δεδόχθαι τοῖς Ἀμυκλαιείοις· ἐπαινέσαι ἐφόρους....
ἐγδόμεν δὲ τοὺς κατασταθέντας στάλαν λιθίναν, | εἰς ᾗ ἀναγραφῆσεται τὸ δόγμα,
καὶ στᾶσαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς | Ἀλεξάνδρας. τὰν δὲ εἰς ταύταν δαπάναν δότῳ ἂ ὠβὰ καὶ

⁸⁵⁷ Kennell (1995) 162-166.

⁸⁵⁸ IG V,1 26 (2-1CBC) 17-18. See example on page 156.

⁸⁵⁹ Boring (1979) 84-85 suggests that this is due to carelessness in the drafting of the text, rather than through any conscious decision on the part of the author(s).

⁸⁶⁰ IG V,1 26 (2-1CBC) 1-8, 13-18; SEG 46:397; Kennell (1995) 162-169; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 82. Boring (1979) 86 states that the "chief responsibility" of this board was probably to "draft decrees such as this one", but cites no additional evidence.

λόγον | ἐνεγκόντω περὶ τᾶς γεγενημένης δαπάνης τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῦτα | κατασταθέντας.
ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα αὐτῶν | Καλλικλῆ.⁸⁶¹

(In the year) of the dogmatographoi: Lysinikos son of Soteridas, Nekles son of Aristokrates, Pasikrates son of Pasikles, the decision reached by (the) Amyklaians. Since the ephors appointed for the year of (the office of) Nikeas, Pasiteles son of Tetartos, Euthymos son of Lysikrates, Damiadas son of Damiadas have conducted themselves in a manner worthy both of themselves and of the trust placed in them, in all ways carrying out their year without thought of profit and in a civilized manner, it was decreed by the Amyklaians: To praise the ephors... And those in office are to provide⁸⁶² a stone stele, on which the decision is to be written up, and set it up in the sanctuary of Alexandra. And let the Oba (a local division of the Spartan people) pay the expense for it, and let those in office (for this) submit an account concerning the expenses incurred. And also praise their secretary, Kallikles.⁸⁶³

In this decree honouring ephors, the *dogmatographoi* function as local magistrates, presiding over local decisions (*dogmata*). The person(s) who are to write the decision are not specified, but may also be the *dogmatographoi*. This connection with writing can be inferred from the direction that the *dogma* is to be written up (ἀναγραφῆσεται τὸ δόγμα), given in much the same way that *nomographoi* are directed to write up *nomoi*.⁸⁶⁴

‘Those in office’ (τοὺς κατασταθέντας) in lines 13 and 16-17 who provide the stele, administer the funds and compile the expenses for the Oba are most likely to be the ephors. The account is not included in the inscribed record, and is likely to have been on temporary media and stored with other accounts.

Further particulars

Amyklai’s semi-autonomous status may have placed limitations on the duties which could be carried out by the *dogmatographoi*.

This inscription has been used to prove both Amyklai’s ties to Sparta (through the use of a Spartan eponymous archon in the dating formula⁸⁶⁵ and the reference to the *Oba*), and

⁸⁶¹ IG V,126 (2-1CBC) 1-8, 13-18.

⁸⁶² I have avoided using the alternative translation ‘publish’. For ἐγδόμεν see also IG IV 679 (late 3-2C BC) 23-31 on page 149.

⁸⁶³ Kennell (1995) 163-164. For *obai*, see Plu. *Lyc.* 6.1-2.

⁸⁶⁴ See IG V,17 (3CBC) 1-10 on page 164; also see n.911.

⁸⁶⁵ Kennell (1995) 165 goes through all possible offices for Nikeas, and concludes that he must have been *patronomos* of Sparta.

Amyklai's independence from Sparta (in its inclusion of the apparently non-Spartan *dogmatographoi*).⁸⁶⁶

The office of *dogmatographos* is also known from elsewhere in the Greek world, including several locations in Asia Minor.⁸⁶⁷

Laconia: Epidauros Limera, Gerenia, Geronthrai, Gytheion, Kortyrta

ἔφορος (*ephor*)

Activities

In four small poleis in Laconia, ephors (plural) were the officers who wrote up (ἀναγράφω) proxeny decrees,⁸⁶⁸ honorific decrees⁸⁶⁹ and laws.⁸⁷⁰

Ephors wrote up proxeny decrees for Gerenia,⁸⁷¹ Geronthrai,⁸⁷² Gytheion⁸⁷³ and Kortyrta.⁸⁷⁴ For example, in the following decree from Gytheion, ephors are directed to write a proxeny decree and display it in the most visible part of the agora:

...τὰν δὲ προξενίαν ταύ[ταν οἱ ἔφορ]ι[[ροι οἱ] ἐπὶ στραταγοῦ Βιάδα ἀναγράψαν[τες εἰς] |
[στ]άλαν λιθίναν ἀναθέντων εἰς τὸν ἐ[πιφανέσ]ι[[τα]τον τᾶς ἀγορᾶς τόπον, ὅπως πᾶσιν
[φανερὸν ᾗ] | [τό τ]ε Δαμιάδα καλοκαγαθίας καὶ εὐν[οίας τᾶς] | [νό]λεως ἀμῶν εἰς
τοὺς εὐεργέτας [ὑπόμνα]||μα.⁸⁷⁵

*And this proxeny [the ephors] in the generalship of Biadas after writing it [onto] a
stone stele are to set it up in the [most visible] area of the agora,⁸⁷⁶ so that [the]*

⁸⁶⁶ Kennell (1995) 162-166.

⁸⁶⁷ E.g. Thyateira, Lydia: TAMV,2 857 (undated) 8: <δ>[ογ]<μα>τογράφος τῇι νό[λει] —.

⁸⁶⁸ Gerenia: IG V,1 1336 (undated) 17-22. Geronthrai: IG V,1 1110 (after 146 BC) 9-16; IG V,1 1111 (after 146 BC) 34-38, see also Ager (1996) 223-226 no.81; IG V,1 1113 (undated) 9-13. Gytheion: IG V,1 1145 (c.70 BC) 4-5, 44-51. Kortyrta: IG V,1 965 (2CBC) 16-17, 20; IG V,1 962 (undated) 31-38.

⁸⁶⁹ Epidauros Limera: IG V,1 931 (after 146 BC) 34-37. Geronthrai: IG V,1 1114 (1CBC) 27-30; Gytheion: IG V,1 1146 (after 71/70 BC) 51, 52-54.

⁸⁷⁰ Gytheion: IG V,1 1144 (c.80 BC) 33-36.

⁸⁷¹ IG V,1 1336 (undated) 17-22.

⁸⁷² IG V,1 1110 (after 146 BC) 9-16; IG V,1 1111 (after 146 BC) 34-38, see also Ager (1996) 223-226 no.81; IG V,1 1113 (undated) 9-13.

⁸⁷³ IG V,1 1145 (c.70 BC) 4-5, 44-51.

⁸⁷⁴ IG V,1 965 (2CBC) 16-17, 20; IG V,1 962 (undated) 31-38. Ephors may also be the officers who write a proxeny decree at Kythera: IG V,1 936 (1CBC) 28-29; the text is too fragmentary to allow restoration.

⁸⁷⁵ IG V,1 1145 (c.70 BC) 44-51. The phrase 'the most visible area of the agora' is also known from Geronthrai (IG V,1 1114 (1CBC) 29-30).

⁸⁷⁶ The English reflects the word order of the Greek.

reminder of Damiadas' nobility and of the goodwill of our city towards its benefactors might [be manifest] to all.

The final location of the stele can be indicated in a similar fashion to that used in instructions given to *grammateis* elsewhere.⁸⁷⁷ On one occasion, additional instructions also specify that the ephors are to make a copy of the decree (γράφω... ἀντίγραφον), to be sent away to another location:⁸⁷⁸

... ἀναγράψαι δὲ τοὺς ἐφόρους τοὺς | περὶ Φιλωνίδαν τὰν προξενίαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ
| Μαχάονος· γράψαι δὲ καὶ ἀντίγραφον τῆς προ|[ξ]ενίας καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι γράμματα
ποτὶ τὰ[ν] | [π]όλιν τῶν Ἱππολαίων καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὅπως | [ἀ]ναγραφῇ εἰς τὸ
ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσιδῶνος...⁸⁷⁹

*...and Philonidas and his fellow ephors are to write up the proxeny in the sanctuary of Machaon. And they, the ephors are also to write a copy of the proxeny and send the document to the polis of the Hippolaians, in order that it can be written up in the sanctuary of Poseidon...*⁸⁸⁰

The copy of this decree was sent to Hippola (near Tainaron) presumably because it was the honorand's home town, on the understanding that the Hippolaians would create their own copy of the decree.

Ephors also wrote decrees honouring citizens from other poleis; for example for their services in arbitration,⁸⁸¹ or for having lent money to the polis on reasonable terms.⁸⁸² They may also have written laws on behalf of the demos.⁸⁸³

There is no surviving evidence for *grammateis* or any other secretaries at Epidauros Limera, Gerenia, Geronthrai, Gytheion or Kortyrta. Instead, in the second and first centuries BC, ephors performed every duty which we would normally expect of a secretary: writing proxeny and honorific decrees and laws, working with or on behalf of an assembly, and

⁸⁷⁷ Compare the following example with, e.g. IG IV² 749 (159-144 BC) 45-46 on page 123.

⁸⁷⁸ The verb usually used for 'copy' is γράφω (e.g. IG V,1 1145 (c.70 BC) 50-51; V,1 1144 (c.80 BC) 33-36). The only time ἀναγράφω is used in the sense of 'make a copy' in these decrees is the (restored) IG V,1 1145 (c.70 BC) 4 and IG V,1 1146 (after 71/70 BC) 52-54, where <ἀντίγραφον> is supplied.

⁸⁷⁹ IG V,1 1336 (undated) 17-22.

⁸⁸⁰ Copies of documents are also made in IG V,1 1111 (after 146 BC) 26 (Geronthrai), and IG V,1 1145 (c.70 BC) 4-5 (Gytheion).

⁸⁸¹ IG V,1 931 (after 196 BC) 34-37; Ager (1996) 221-223 no.80; SEG 49:381; SEG 46:2340. An honorific decree of Epidauros Limera honours two citizens of Tenos for arbitrating between Zarax (Ζάραξ, on the East coast of Laconia) and Epidauros Limera (approximately five miles south of Zarax).

⁸⁸² IG V,1 1146 (after 71/70 BC) 51, 52-54.

⁸⁸³ Gytheion: IG V,1 1144 (c.80 BC) 20-21, 33-36.

ensuring that inscriptions were set up in a specific location. They also continued to perform the previous functions of ephors, presiding over the assembly and supporting new laws.⁸⁸⁴

Further particulars

Spartan ephors had considerable power, including jurisdiction in legal cases.⁸⁸⁵ Since all political decisions for Laconia were made at Sparta,⁸⁸⁶ perioikic ephors are likely to have had far less power, although they may have had some autonomy with local decisions.⁸⁸⁷

Spartan ephors served for a year. As they were appointed from the entire citizen body, it was believed (by Aristotle, at least) that poorer ephors could be easily bought.⁸⁸⁸ It is unclear how similar the office of perioikic 'ephor as secretary' (in the second century BC to first century AD) was to the office of ephor known to Aristotle.

While ephors are the only officials known to have performed secretarial functions in the above locations, there are no surviving examples of ephors performing similar functions in Sparta (from which location we have many examples of *grammateis*). From this we might infer that smaller towns had smaller administrations, and that some (if not all) officers had to perform a wider range of duties.

Ephors also worked with *nomographoi*, writing an honorific decree in Messenia. See page 177.

Laconia: Sparta

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*) and γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς (*grammateus of the boule*)

The Spartan *grammateus* is primarily known from registers of members of boards of magistrates or religious officials, which provide the names and designations of the officers only. These texts contain few if any verbs which would assist in identifying the duties of these officers. An indication of their duties can therefore only be ascertained by examining *grammateis*' collegial environment: i.e. by noting the officers with whom they worked.

For example, some boards could employ several secretaries at the same time. They could also employ either one or three *hypogrammateis*:

Ἀπολλωνίδα[ς] | Πασικλέος. | γραμματεῖς· | Δαμιάδας, | Στ<ρ>άτων. |
ὑπογραμματεῖς· | Εὐδαίμων, | Κ[λ]έων, | [Ε]ὐδαιμοκλῆς. || ὑπηρέται· | Σωτηρίδας, |

⁸⁸⁴ See e.g. IG V,1 26 (2-1C BC) 1-8, 13-18 (page 156) and IG V,1 1566 (c.29 BC) 1-5.

⁸⁸⁵ Arist. *Pol.* 1270^b7-32. Rackham (1932a) 140-142; Shipley (2004) 592.

⁸⁸⁶ Shipley (1997) 205.

⁸⁸⁷ Shipley (1997) 202, 205-211; Todd (2000) 29.

⁸⁸⁸ Arist. *Pol.* 1270^b7-8: election ἐκ τοῦ δήμου παντός.

Ἀθηνίων. | [βίδ]υοι οἱ περὶ Σοιξιτέλη | Εὐδάμου, ἀρχιερέως [τῶν Σεβα][στῶν]
 <δ>ιὰ βίου, <κατὰ> γένος ἐπὶ <π>[α]τ<ρο>ν(όμου) <Γ>αίου Ἰουλίου Λάμ[πι]δος·
 | <Σ>οιξιτέλης Εὐδάμου, | Εὐδαμίδας, | Σωσικράτης Πλάκωνος, | Δαμονικίδας
 Βασιλίδου, | Καλλικράτης Τιμ<ο>στράτου, | Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἀγαθοκλέους. | *vacat* |
 γραμ(ματεὺς) | βο[υλῆς]· | [— — — —]⁸⁸⁹

Apollonidas son of Pasikles. Grammateis: Damiadas, Straton. Hypogrammateis: Eudaimon, Kleon, Eudaimokles. Public servants: Soteridas, Athenion. Biduoī (overseers) holding office with Soixiteles son of Eudamos, chief priest of the games of Augustus for life, by tribe, in the patronomos-ship of Gaius Julius Lampis: Soixiteles son of Eudamos, Eudamidas,⁸⁹⁰ Sosikrates son of Plakon,⁸⁹¹ Damonikidas son of Basileidas, Kallikrates son of Timostratos, Agathokles son of Agathokles. < vacat > grammateus of the boule...

The above example illustrates the typical extent of information in these inscriptions. The two *grammateis* and three *hypogrammateis* are named before a priest and *biduoī*, in what is little more than a list of names and designations. The *biduoī* (βίδυοι), also written as *bidiaioi* (βιδιᾱῖοι) or *bideoi* (βίδεοι), were officers in charge of the ephebes, providing the context and working environment for these *grammateis* and *hypogrammateis*.⁸⁹²

Approximately half of the surviving instances of *grammateus* from Sparta are *grammateis of the boule*.⁸⁹³ For the remainder, it is difficult to ascertain the body to which these *grammateis* were attached (or indeed whether these texts also refer to the *grammateus of the boule*), as more than one board of magistrates could be recorded together, and not all lists indicate the body to which the magistrates belong.⁸⁹⁴ The following photograph shows four of 28 such lists which cover the East Parados-wall of the theatre at Sparta.⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁸⁹ IG V,1 137 (98-117 AD) 1-25. This is the full text.

⁸⁹⁰ The father's name appears to be accidentally omitted.

⁸⁹¹ Not otherwise attested as a personal name.

⁸⁹² See also *hypogrammateus* on page 165.

⁸⁹³ See Table 5 on page 155.

⁸⁹⁴ Woodward (1925) 227-229. See e.g. IG V,1 34 (117-138 AD) 3-13. The ephors may also have occasionally had their own *grammateus*. See page 156.

⁸⁹⁵ Woodward (1925) 159.



Figure 5 – Registers of Spartan magistrates.

Top row: ABSA 26 D.3. Middle row: ABSA 26 C.8, C.9. Bottom row: ABSA 26 B.8.⁸⁹⁶

Activities

The duties of the Spartan *grammateis* are difficult to assess, as in the vast majority of these texts, *grammateis* are not the subject of a verb. The existence of a *grammatophylakion* (archive or place to store records) in the second century AD suggests that they carried out at least some of their duties using temporary media:

ἔσται δὲ ὁ γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν κατὰ τὴν ῥή|τρην τῇ κζ' · τοὺς δὲ
νεικήσαντας ἀναγράψουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ εἰς τὸ |
γραμματοφυλάκιον παραδώσουσιν.⁸⁹⁷

And there is to be the gymnastic contest every year according to the ordinance for the 27th (day of the month). And the grammateis are to write up the victors in the gymnasium, and hand them over to the grammatophylakion.

In this text, victors were written up (on an unspecified medium) in the gymnastic school, with a copy stored in the *grammatophylakion*. As the archive copy was not intended for public display, it is likely to have been on temporary media.⁸⁹⁸

⁸⁹⁶ Woodward (1925) D3: 170, 195; C8: 168, 193; C9: 169, 193-4; B8: 166, 185-6.

⁸⁹⁷ IG V,1 20 (98-117 AD) A3-4. The *grammateis* may be *grammateis* specifically of the gymnastic school, although this is far from certain. The *grammateus of the boule* is noted in B5.

⁸⁹⁸ Boring (1979) 31-32; Millender (2001) 129. No archive building has been found. A reference to archives and decrees written on papyrus also occurs in a fragmentary letter sent to Sparta from an unknown polis: IG V,1 30 (123/121 BC) 1-9: [Φε]νεατῶν. *vacat* | [— — γρα]μματεὺς συνέ|[δρων — —]ς ὁ τὸ πέμπτον καὶ εἰ|[κοστὸν ἔτος Λ]ακεδαιμονίων ἐφόροις | [καὶ ταῖ πόλει χα]ίρειν· | τῶν ὄντων παρ' ἐ|[μοὶ κειμένων ἐν] τῷ ἀρχεῖῳ ἐν βυβλίῳ |[ψηφισμάτων γ]έγραφα ὑμῖν τὸ ἀντί|[γραφον]. *Concerning the Pheneatans. — — grammateus of the synedroi — — -s, the one for the twenty-fifth year, to the*

Grammateis are also noted in (and may record) honorific decrees,⁸⁹⁹ and are known from two highly fragmentary texts relating to building work, where a board appears to have been appointed and expenses allocated from public funds.⁹⁰⁰

For use of the public archive and letters written by other officers, see page 165.

Other attributes

It was possible for Spartan *grammateis* to hold other offices either before or after their time as *grammateus*. For example, Gaius Julius Lysikrates was *grammateus of the boule* either before or after he held the office of ephor,⁹⁰¹ and Aristokrates son of Kamillos was *grammateus* either before or after he was a member of the *gerousia*.⁹⁰² Sitimos son of Pratonikos is known from four different inscriptions, and holds a different office in each: as an unspecified type of magistrate, as *grammateus*, as a member of the *gerousia*, and as president of the *gerousia*.⁹⁰³

The office of *grammateus of the boule* could be held late in one's career, and in at least one instance, a new *grammateus* was elected to replace a *grammateus* who had died in office.⁹⁰⁴

There were also family connections between officials: the *grammateus* Tiberius Kla.

(Claudius) Neolaos was the son of the *geron* (member of the *gerousia*) Pratomelidas,⁹⁰⁵ and

ephors and the polis of the Spartans, greetings. Of those decrees which are with me, which are placed in the archive on papyrus, I have written for you a copy. Boring (1979) 86-87; Nielsen (2004) 527; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 81, 90. Boring suggests that this letter originated in Macedonia or Achaia; Rhodes with Lewis suggests Pheneus in Arcadia. Archives are known from Dyme in Achaia (page 216) and Megalopolis in Arcadia (page 192), but not otherwise known from Pheneus. This *grammateus of the synedroi* could be either the *grammateus* at the originating location, or the *grammateus of the Achaians* (see page 222), as the *grammateus of the synedroi* is otherwise unattested in Sparta. The dating of this inscription may be down to an interpretation of 'the twenty-fifth year', i.e. the 25th year of the Roman province of Achaia.

⁸⁹⁹ IG V,1 152 (2CAD) 9.

⁹⁰⁰ ABSA 26 20b 5-6 and *ibid* 20c 9-12; Woodward (1925) 227-230. Woodward restores the text of ABSA 26 20c 9-12 as: [γ]ρα[μμ]ατεὺς — — — | Μν[ά]σ[ιν]η[ο]ς (?) | ὑπηρέτ[ης] [γ]ρα[μμα]τέως | [Σ]τέφανος, which may show that this *grammateus* had his own public slave.

⁹⁰¹ SEG 48:459 (ABSA 93 5a) & SEG 11:498; Steinhauer (1998) 436.

⁹⁰² ABSA 26 A5 6 & IG V,1 103 (early 2CAD) 7; Woodward (1925) 177. Aristokrates is also known from a statue dedicated by his wife (IG V,1 483).

⁹⁰³ Σίτιμος Πρατονίκου: IG V,1 153 23-24; ABSA 26 B4a 1-3; ABSA 26 C1 3; ABSA 26 E2 (Σείπειμος Πρατονείκου).

⁹⁰⁴ SEG 48:458 (160-165 AD) 27-31: Γραμματεὺς Βουλῆς | Γά(ιος) Ἰούλιος Φειδίας οὗ τελευτήσαντος διεδέ|[ξα]το τὴν διοίκησι[v] | vac. Δαμαίνετος | vac. *Grammateus of the boule, Gaius Julius Pheidias, whose office (on his death) — Damainetos — took over.* (See also SEG 35:327). See also IG V,1 116, 6-9: Γραμματεὺς βουλῆς Ἀριστονικίδας Νικηφόρου, οὗ τελευτήσαντος ἐπεμελήθη τῆς ἀρχῆς Γάιος Ἰούλιος Νικάνδρος. Steinhauer (1998) 433-435 No.4.

⁹⁰⁵ ABSA 26 C.78; E36.

the *grammateus* P. (Publius) Memmius Damares was almost certainly the son of P. M. (Publius Memmius) Sidektas, eponymous in c.125 AD.⁹⁰⁶

As with several other locations in the Peloponnese, Sparta provides examples of honours bestowed upon officials who held several magistracies including that of *grammateus*. For example, one man was honoured for the way in which he managed expenses while *grammateus of the boule*, and also for having been a cavalry commander and judge at two Olympic games.⁹⁰⁷

νομογράφος (*nomographos*)

The earliest surviving inscription from Laconia that refers to an officer who writes official documents is a third century BC law pertaining to provisions for Roman officials.⁹⁰⁸ The law dates from the period before the Roman occupation of the Peloponnese, and the titles of officials therefore refer to the pre-Roman regime.

Activities

The *nomographoi*, a board of an unknown number of men,⁹⁰⁹ were directed to write up a law, the nature of which has been lost. The total surviving text is as follows:

γ[ραφ]άν[τ]ω δὲ καὶ οἱ καταστα[θέντες νομο]γράφου νόμον περὶ τούτων· ἐπαι[νέσαι
δὲ αὐ]τὸν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐνδομίαι καὶ ἀνασ[τροφῇ, αἶ] | πεποιήται ἐν ταῖς πόλει· δόντω
δὲ [αὐτῷ οἱ] | ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου καταλύμ[ατος καὶ παρε]χόντω αὐτῷ τε καὶ
τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἅτινα αὐ]τοῖς ἐν τοῖς νόμοις διατέτακται· δό[ντω δὲ αὐ]τῷ καὶ οἱ
ταμίαι ξένια τὰ μέγιστα ἐκ τ[ῶν νό]μ[ων ἀ]ποδεξάμενοι, ἅν τε διεγρά[ψαμεν] ||
[περὶ] τούτων, καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς [— — —]⁹¹⁰

Let the nomographoi currently in office write a law about these things: (and) praise him both in his presence and [on his return for what] he did in the polis, and let the epimeletai of the Roman lodgings give [to him and] hand over both to him and those with him [whatever] is stated for them in the laws. And let the tamiai give him the greatest hospitality (xenia) allowed by the [laws] both which we have drafted [about] these things, and the priest...

⁹⁰⁶ ABSA 26 C.10 4-5; B9 1. See also IG V,1 536 (c.150 AD) 2-4; Woodward (1925) 193-4. For more on the family of Sidektas, see Woodward (1930) 215-216.

⁹⁰⁷ IG V,1 479 (131/132 AD) 1-14; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 82.

⁹⁰⁸ IG V,1 7 (3CBC) 1-10.

⁹⁰⁹ Polybius is silent on Peloponnesian *nomographoi*, and mentions only Aetolian *nomographoi* (Plb. 13.1).

⁹¹⁰ IG V,1 7 (3CBC) 1-10; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 81.

The *nomographoi* are to write (γράφω) a law based on this decision.⁹¹¹ There also appear to be laws concerning hospitality which the *epimeletai* and *treasurers* must obey, and it may be that these laws were drafted or 'sketched out' (διαγράφω) by the *nomographoi*. Significantly, there appears to be a procedure in place whereby laws are enforceable while in draft form (ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἀποδεξάμενοι... ἄν τε διεγράψαμεν, *allowed by the laws... which we have drafted*).

Spartan *nomographoi* are also known from a letter sent to Amphissa, in Central Greece:

τῶν ὄντων παρ' ἡμῆς γραμμάτων ἐν τῷ δαμοσίῳ ὑπο|γέγραφα ὑμῖν τὸ ἀντίγραφον·
νομογράφων Δαμοκρά|της Λαφρίου· Δημήτριον Μονίμου Ἀμφισσῇ πρόξενον εἶμεν...⁹¹²

Of those documents that are with us in the public archive, I have written below for you a copy. Of the nomographoi: Damokrates son of Laphrios. Demetrios son of Monimos of Amphissa is to be proxenos...

The text contains the earliest reference to a Spartan public archive (δαμόσιος). No archaeological evidence for this survives, and it is not known whether this was a dedicated archive building, or (e.g.) a place for storage within another building.⁹¹³ The text also connects Spartan *nomographoi* with the process of appointing someone proxenos.⁹¹⁴

Further particulars

While more than one officer served as *nomographos* in the third century BC,⁹¹⁵ only one *nomographos* is named in the second century BC letter to Amphissa. This may be because only a single officer served as *nomographos* at this time, because the letter only includes the *nomographos* who acted as chairman for that board, or because this is not a faithful copy of the original text.⁹¹⁶ Spartan *nomographoi* are also known from a fragmentary second century AD list of magistrates.⁹¹⁷

ὑπογραμματεὺς (*hypogrammateus*)

In the Peloponnese, the office of *hypogrammateus* is known from a few registers of officials from Roman Sparta only. This is significantly later than in Athens and Delos (pages 77 and

⁹¹¹ For parallels, see: IG V,224 (1C BC or after) 4-5: γραψάτωσαν... νόμον, page 197 and SIG³ 684 (c.144 BC) 9: νόμους γράψας, page 216.

⁹¹² SEG 52:541 (3C BC?) 4-7. 4-5 contains similar phrasing to IG V,130 (123/121 BC) 5-8 (n.898 page 162), which also notes archived records, and a copy made for the recipient of the letter.

⁹¹³ Millender (2001) 129-130. An archive (*grammatophylakion*) is also known from the late first/second century AD. The use of a different term suggests that this may have been a different building. See page 162.

⁹¹⁴ SEG 52:541.

⁹¹⁵ IG V,17 (3C BC) 1-10; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 81.

⁹¹⁶ SEG 52:541 also suggests that Damokrates may have been the *nomographos* who proposed the decree. The alternative Δαμοκρά|της, Λαφρίου is less probable.

⁹¹⁷ SEG 48:470 (2CAD) 5; Steinhauer (1998) 446 no.14. See Appendix A page 281 for a list of texts.

335), where the office is known from the fifth and fourth centuries BC onwards. These registers contain *grammateis*, and may additionally list either one or three *hypogrammateis* (see example on page 160).⁹¹⁸

These lists give no indication of the duties that each officer would have performed. Two of these lists also contain ὑπηρέται (*hyperetai*, public servants) who may have assisted with administration.⁹¹⁹

Laconia: Tainaron

ταμίας (*tamias*)

A *tamias* (treasurer) was charged with the writing and setting up of two proxeny decrees in Tainaron.⁹²⁰ For example:

τὰν δὲ | προξενίαν ταύταν ἀνα|γραψάτω ὁ ταμίας εἰς στά|λαν λιθίναν καὶ ἀναθέτω |
<ε>ἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶ|νος τοῦ ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ.⁹²¹

And let the tamias write up this proxeny onto a stone stele and set it up in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Tainaron.

There are no extant examples of secretaries from Tainaron. The use of a *tamias* for this duty may have been because the polis did not produce sufficient decrees to warrant a full-time secretary. It may also be that Tainaron, as a small polis, required its relatively small number of officials to perform a wider range of functions.⁹²²

Laconia: Thalamai

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

Thalamai, Amyklai (page 156) and Sparta (page 160) are the only poleis in Laconia which provide evidence for *grammateis*.⁹²³ As at Sparta, evidence from Thalamai comprises registers of officers, with no additional information. Two such texts survive. The first is a list

⁹¹⁸ Woodward (1925) 230. See Appendix A page 288 for a list of texts.

⁹¹⁹ IGV,1 148 (1CBC) 19; IGV,1 137 (98-117 AD) 10-12.

⁹²⁰ IGV,1 1226 (2/1CBC) 17-21; IGV,1 1227 (undated) 2-7.

⁹²¹ IGV,1 1227 (undated) 2-7.

⁹²² This also seems to have been the case with *damiorgoi* at Alipheira (page 182) and *epimeletai* at Thisoa (page 198).

⁹²³ Shipley (2004) 565. By placing Thalamai in Book 3, Pausanias associates Thalamai with Laconia; however, he also associates Thalamai with Messenia in 3.1.4.

of worshippers of Damoia;⁹²⁴ the second comprises a register of officers on the same stele as a proxeny decree.⁹²⁵ The final lines contain the *grammateus*, and the stonecutter.

γρα(μματεὺς) Κλα(ύδιος) Ἀνείκητος Πανκ[— —], | ἔγρα(ψε) καὶ ἐχάραξε
Δαμονικίδα[ς].⁹²⁶

Grammateus Claudius Aniketos Pank—, Damonikidas wrote and engraved this.

For more information on stonecutters, see page 347.

Laconia: concluding remarks

The earliest known officers who performed the duties of secretaries in Laconia were a board of third century BC *nomographoi*.⁹²⁷ No other evidence for secretaries in Laconia survives from the third- or early-second century BC.

From the mid-second century BC onwards, approximately 75% of the evidence for secretaries (or officers who perform the duties of secretaries) is from Sparta.⁹²⁸ Almost all of these officers are designated either *grammateus* or *grammateus of the boule*. Most of our evidence for these officers comprises registers of officials, which provide the names and designations of these officers only;⁹²⁹ therefore the precise nature of their duties remains uncertain.

Elsewhere in Laconia, the officers most often charged with writing inscriptions were ephors.⁹³⁰ Ephors were prominent in regional administrations, and in addition to carrying out their more traditional functions, could be charged with writing the same types of documents as *grammateis* (etc.) in other parts of the Peloponnese, such as proxeny decrees, honours and laws. The terms used to describe the duties of ephors are also the same as those used for secretaries in other parts of the Peloponnese, and in Athens.

Other officers who carried out duties more often associated with secretaries were the *dogmatographos* and the *tamias*, Laconia as a whole providing evidence for a wider range of officials who are not secretaries writing than in other parts of the Peloponnese. From this we may be able to infer that small Laconian poleis, with small administrations, required their officers to perform a wide range of functions.

⁹²⁴ IG V,1 1314 (125/6–after 129/30 AD) 12. Cook (1925) 890. Auxesia and Damoia are described by Cook as “the Peloponnesian equivalents of Demeter and Kore”. Their worship is known from several locations in the Peloponnese. See also SEG 42:334, SEG 36:370.

⁹²⁵ IG V,1 1315 (117-138 AD) 29-30 & app. crit.; the proxeny decree: IG V,1 1312 (undated).

⁹²⁶ IG V,1 1315 (117-138 AD) 29-30; SEG 48:2127.

⁹²⁷ IG V,17 (3C BC) 1-2, page 164.

⁹²⁸ See Appendix B page 306 for a list of texts.

⁹²⁹ See example on page 160.

⁹³⁰ See page 158.

Messenia: Introduction

From the end of the eighth to the fourth century BC, Messenia was ruled by the Lakedaimonians, and early poleis were perioikic communities dependent on Sparta.⁹³¹ The nature of government and communities in Messenia is reflected in its epigraphic record. Evidence for secretaries or other such officers dates from the third century BC onwards,⁹³² later than in other Peloponnesian states, with the exception of Laconia. Secretaries are known from eight locations;⁹³³ however, surviving evidence is usually limited to only one or two fragmentary or short texts per location, which contain little or no information about the creation or display of the text.

	3CBC	2CBC	1CBC	1CAD	2CAD	3CAD
Andania:						
<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0
Asine:						
<i>grammateus</i>	0	0	0	0	1	0
Kolonides:						
<i>grammateus</i>	0	1	0	0	0	0
Korone:						
<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0
Kyparissos:						
<i>grammateus</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0
Messene:						
<i>grammateus</i>	0	2	0	2	1	0
<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	0	0	2	2	1	0
<i>gropheus</i>	1	0	0	0	0	0
Thouria:						
<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	0	2	0	0	0	0
<i>ephor</i>	0	0	0	3	0	0
<i>nomographos</i>	0	0	0	2	0	0
Total:	1	5	5	9	3	0
Grand total: 23						

Table 6 – Attestations of secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in Messenia.

The earliest attested secretary in Messenia is a third-century BC *gropheus*, listed as one of several cult officials (see page 175).⁹³⁴ From the second century BC to the third century AD, the designation used for secretaries is either *grammateus*, or *grammateus of the synedroi*;⁹³⁵ there is also a single surviving instance of *nomographoi*.⁹³⁶

⁹³¹ Shipley (2004) 547-8; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 86.

⁹³² SEG 51:474 II.1-2: γραφεὺς Ἀριστόδομος, page 175.

⁹³³ Including Abia, which provides evidence for the *grammateus of the Achaian League*. See page 223.

⁹³⁴ SEG 51:474 II.1-2.

⁹³⁵ The *synedrion* was the name for the council at Messene (page 173), Korone (page 169) and Thouria (page 176).

⁹³⁶ See page 178.

Messenia: Abia, Asine, Kolonides, Kyparissos

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

The designation *grammateus* is known from a single short inscription from each of the poleis of Asine,⁹³⁷ Kolonides⁹³⁸ and Kyparissos.⁹³⁹ At Kolonides⁹⁴⁰ and Kyparissos,⁹⁴¹ the name and designation of the *grammateus* could be used as part of the dating formula in a decree, suggesting the absence of other officials in these locations.

The *grammateus* is also known from a late second-century AD honorific inscription from Asine:

Αὐτοκράτορα Καί|σαρα Λούκιον Σε|πτίμιον Σεουήρον | Περτίνακα Σεβαστὸν | ἡ πόλις
τὸν ἀνείκη|τον ἐπὶ Φλαβίου | Σαιθίδα λογιστοῦ | καὶ γραμματέος | Αἰλίου Φαιανίδου⁹⁴²

The polis (honours) Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus the undefeated in the period of office of Flavius Saithidas⁹⁴³ as auditor and Ailios Phaianides⁹⁴⁴ as grammateus.

The auditor (*logistes*) Flavius Saithidas was Messenian.⁹⁴⁵ The origins of the *grammateus* are not known.

Messenia: Andania, Korone

γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων (*grammateus of the synedroi*)

In Messenia, the office of *grammateus of the synedroi* is known from Andania,⁹⁴⁶ Korone,⁹⁴⁷ Thouria⁹⁴⁸ and Messene (see page 173).

⁹³⁷ IG V,1 1412 (193-5 AD) 7-9.

⁹³⁸ IG V,1 1402 (late 2C BC) 1.

⁹³⁹ IG V,1 1559 (undated) 2-3. Shipley (2004) 561.

⁹⁴⁰ IG V,1 1402 (late 2C BC) 1: ἐπὶ γραμματέος Εὐμέν[εος]. The secretary is followed by a *gymnasiarch*, *hypogymnasiarch*, and a list of ephebes. Shipley (2004) 554, 556-7.

⁹⁴¹ IG V,1 1559 (undated) 2-3: [— — ἐπὶ γραμ]ματέος | [—c.6—]λίπου. Shipley (2004) 561.

⁹⁴² IG V,1 1412 (193-5 AD) 1-9 (the entire text).

⁹⁴³ Σαιθίδας = LGPN III.A 387.

⁹⁴⁴ Φαιανίδης = LGPN III.A 441.

⁹⁴⁵ Camia (2007) 409-410.

⁹⁴⁶ IG V,1 1390 (92-91 BC) 1, 134-5. This *grammateus* appears to be the *grammateus of the synedroi* at Messene. See page 173.

⁹⁴⁷ IG V,1 1392 (58 BC) 1-4 (see n.949).

⁹⁴⁸ IG V,1 1379 (2-1C BC) 14-16, 18, 23. See example on page 176.

Activities

Not enough of the text from Korone survives to be able to assess the duties of the *grammateus of the synedroi* at this location;⁹⁴⁹ however, as in Abia, Asine, Kolonides and Kyparissos (page 169), the *grammateus* is eponymous in the dating formula, suggesting his relative importance.

At Andania, the *grammateus of the synedroi* worked with priests in administering an oath related to the mysteries of the Great Gods.⁹⁵⁰ A stele sets out the regulations for these mysteries, including the order of procession, services to be performed, and punishments for misdemeanours.⁹⁵¹ The first few lines of the text are missing. The remaining text specifies that the *grammateus of the synedroi* is to swear that the priests who will be in office next are in good health,⁹⁵² and must administer the oath (whatever this means)⁹⁵³ sworn by the priests:

... τοὺς δὲ | κατασταθέντας ὁ[ρ] | κιξάτω ὁ γραμματεὺς | τῶν συνέδρων τὸν | ὄρκον
ὃν οἱ ἱεροὶ ὁμν[ύ] | οντι.⁹⁵⁴

...and to those who have been established in office the grammateus of the synedroi is to administer the oath which the priests swear.

No officers are directly linked with the final version of the law and the creation of the stele. The procedure for writing regulations is also unclear, but suggests that the *grammateus of the synedroi*, priests, and *nomodeiktai* were collectively responsible for the draft regulations (διάγραμμα) that comprised the law once approved:

ἀναγραφάντω δὲ καὶ | [εἰς τ]ὸν οἶκον τὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ οὗς ἂν κατακρίνωντι καὶ ἐπὶ
ποιῶι ἀδικήματι ἀντίγραφον ἔχειν τοῦ διαγράμματος. οἱ κατεσταμέ|[νοι ὧ]στε
γράψαι τὸ διάγραμμα, καθὼς ἂν δοκιμασθεῖ, δόντω τοῖς νομοδείκταις ἀντίγραφον.⁹⁵⁵

And let them also write up [in] the room in the sanctuary (the names of) whoever they condemn and for what offence, so as to have a copy of the regulations. Let

⁹⁴⁹ IG V,1 1392 (58 BC) 2-3: ἐπὶ γραμματέος τῶν συνέδρων Νικαγόρου | τοῦ Δ[ι]οκλείδα.... Only four lines remain. Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 83; Shipley (2004) 561.

⁹⁵⁰ IG V,1 1390 (92-91 BC) 1, 134-5. Sokolowski (1969) 130: The law dates from a year in which the cult went through one of many reforms. See also Deshours (2008) 178-9.

⁹⁵¹ IG V,1 1390 (92-91 BC); Robert & Robert (1939) 465-7 no.118; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 85; Sokolowski (1969) 130.

⁹⁵² IG V,1 1390 (92-91 BC) 1: ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων τοὺς γενηθέντας ἱεροὺς ὀρκιξάτω παραχρῆμα, ἄμ μή τις ἀρρωστεῖ *The grammateus of the synedroi is to swear an oath forthwith, that not one of the priests who will be in office (next) is in ill health.*

⁹⁵³ A similar, unspecific event occurs in Plb. 6.33.1.

⁹⁵⁴ IG V,1 1390 (92-91 BC) 132-137.

⁹⁵⁵ IG V,1 1390 (92-91 BC) 112-114. For draft documents, see also page 164.

those currently in office give a copy to the nomodeiktai for them to write the regulation in whatever form it is approved.

Peloponnesian *nomodeiktai* are known from this inscription only. The phrasing of this text means that we are unable to assess the extent of secretarial duties carried out by these officers. If *nomodeiktai* were synonymous with *nomophylakes* 'guardians of the laws', as suggested by Sokolowski, the room (*oikos*) containing the law would have had a similar function to a *nomophylakion* ('law repository' or archive).⁹⁵⁶

Further particulars

If priests worked with the *grammateus of the synedroi* in the creation of these regulations, this inscription provides evidence for a higher level of cooperation between secretaries and priests than is found in Athens, Delos, or elsewhere in the Peloponnese.

Little epigraphic evidence from Andania survives, and this inscription provides the only surviving references to *synedroi* in this location.⁹⁵⁷ Rhodes notes that this inscription dates from a period when Andania was under the control of Messene;⁹⁵⁸ therefore the *synedroi* may be members of the council at Messene, and the *grammateus of the synedroi* may also be a Messenian official (see page 173).

Messenia: Messene

The polis of Messene was founded in 370-69BC,⁹⁵⁹ and so we should not expect any texts from before this date. Decrees indicate that Messene had democratic institutions from the second century BC, and that decisions could be made by vote.⁹⁶⁰ Messene also granted several proxeny decrees,⁹⁶¹ and was at times a member of the Arcadian Confederacy.⁹⁶²

⁹⁵⁶ Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 86. Sokolowski (1969) 133. A *nomophylakion* is not attested in the Peloponnese. Although the guardians of the law at Sparta were *nomophylakes*, archives are referred to either as the *grammatophylakion* (page 162) or *damiosion* (public archive) (page 165).

⁹⁵⁷ IG V,1 1390 (92-91 BC) 49, 56-57, 89, 185-6.

⁹⁵⁸ Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 86.

⁹⁵⁹ Paus. 4.26.7; Shipley (2004) 562. Founded after the first Boiotian invasion of Laconia by Epameinondas and his allies. It is not possible to ascertain any bureaucratic procedures of the original *kōmai* in the surviving epigraphic record.

⁹⁶⁰ IG V,1 1432 (39 BC); SEG 23:208 (42 AD).

⁹⁶¹ For example IG V,1 1425 (late 4/3C BC).

⁹⁶² Larsen (1968) 180-184, 186; Shipley (2004) 562-3. Treaty with the Arcadian Confederacy: SEG 22:339. The Confederacy was initially a federation of poleis comprising Mantinea, Tegea and a few minor poleis, which expanded after the Peloponnesian expedition of the Boeotians and their allies in 370-69 BC. Decisions were made by an assembly known as the *myrioi* (Ten Thousand), in which all citizens of the Confederacy had a right to take part. (See e.g. IG V,2 (362/361 BC) 1.)

The earliest known secretary from Messene (and Messenia) is the *gropheus*, known from a single fragmentary inscription from the third century BC.⁹⁶³ All other secretaries from Messene are referred to either as *grammateus* (see below) or as *grammateus of the synedroi*.⁹⁶⁴

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

Grammateis could be employed by various boards at Messene. The designation appears in two registers of officials,⁹⁶⁵ and in a decree of the council elders of the Oupesia (the officials who administered the cult of Artemis Ortheia in Messene), honouring their *grammateus* for his good deeds:

[Γραμματ]έος Μνασιστράτου...

ἔδοξε τοῖς τᾷς Οὐπησίας ἐπαινεῖσαι Μνασί|στρατον Φιλοξενίδα ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
| γεινομένοις εὐεργετήμασι καὶ ἀναθέμεν | αὐτῷ στάλαν ἀναγραπτάν, ἐν ᾧ ἂν
[α]ὐτὸς τόπῳ | θέλῃ, καὶ ἐπιγράψαι "Οἱ τᾷς Οὐπησίας Μνασίστρα|τον Φιλοξενίδα
διὰ παντὸς εὐεργετούμενοι | ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκέν"· στεφανοῦσθαι δὲ αὐ|τὸν
κατὰ ἔτος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν ἐν τῷ τᾷς Ἀρτέμιτος στεφάνῳ, καὶ | ἀνακαρύσσεσθαι
"Οἱ τᾷς Οὐπησίας στεφανοῦν|τι Μνασίστρατον Φιλοξενίδα ἀρετᾶς ἔνε|κεν"· *vacat* |
ἀναθέμεν δὲ καὶ στάλαν λιθίναν παρὰ τὸν ναὸν | τᾷς Ἀρτέμιτος ἔχουσιν τοῦτο τὸ
ψάφισμα. | Ἀναδοθεῖσθαι ψάφων οὐκ, ἔδοξε πάσαις.⁹⁶⁶

(Concerning) the *grammateus* Mnasistratos...

It was decreed by those of the Oupesia to praise Mnasistratos son of Philoxenidas for all of the benefactions made by him, and to set up for him an inscribed stele, in whichever location he himself wishes and to write on it: "Those of the Oupesia (so honour) Mnasistratos son of Philoxenidas as they have been continually well served by him on account of his excellence." And he is to be crowned each year by the epimeletai in the (temple of) Artemis with a crown, and it is to be proclaimed: "Those of the Oupesia crown Mnasistratos son of Philoxenidas, on account of his excellence." <vacat> And to also set up a stone stele beside the temple of Artemis, bearing this decree. 75 votes having been cast, it was a unanimous decision.

Although Mnasistratos was honoured for his excellence and good works, there is no information regarding what these deeds were. The phrase 'continually well served by him'

⁹⁶³ SEG 51:474 (early 3C) II.1-2, page 175.

⁹⁶⁴ Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 85-86. The term used for the council at Messene. See example on page 173.

⁹⁶⁵ IG V,1 1467 (1CAD) 7; IG V,1 1469 (126 AD) 6.

⁹⁶⁶ SEG 23:208 (42 AD) 2, 15-29; Bremmer (1997) 15; Robert (1926) 487-492; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 84. An additional fragmentary example simply contains the name and designation of the *grammateus*. SEG 31:346 (Hellenistic) 1-2: Γραμματέ[ος — —] | Ἐπινίκ[ου — —]. The use of the genitive suggests that *grammateus* may have been preceded by ἐνὶ; i.e. that he may have been eponymous.

(διὰ παντὸς εὐεργετούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ), suggests that this period of euergetism lasted longer than a single period in office, and so is unlikely to have been good deeds carried out during, or as part of his term as *grammateus*. The way in which Mnasistratos was honoured (with two stelai, a crown each year, and a proclamation) suggests that he made several significant benefactions to the polis, which in turn implies that he was independently wealthy.⁹⁶⁷

A *grammateus* is also found in a decree of an unknown polis, which honours judges from Messene and their secretary:

— τοὺς αἰρε|[θ]έντας δικαστὰς καὶ τὸν γραμμα[τέα αὐτῶν] — — <personal name>
— — χρυ|[σ]ῶι στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν κα[ὶ] εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς.⁹⁶⁸

[The elected] dikasts and [their] *grammateus* — — — with a gold crown,
on account of his excellence and [goodwill towards us].

Messenian dikasts are also known from an inscription found in Andania, which may have originated in Messene (see page 171).⁹⁶⁹ The *grammateus of the dikasts* is otherwise unattested in Messenia.⁹⁷⁰

γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων (*grammateus of the synedroi*)

Activities

The *grammateus of the synedroi* at Messene is known from several, fragmentary inscriptions,⁹⁷¹ and a single well-preserved honorific decree in which a holder of this office was honoured for his diligence and the precision he has shown in his work:⁹⁷²

... ἔδοξε τοῖς συνέδροις· ἐπαινέ[σ]αι Ἀριστοκλῆ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιμε|λείᾳ καὶ καθαριότητι ἐφ'
ᾧ ἔχει περὶ τὰ κοινὰ τᾶς πόλεως πράγματα ἔ[ν]ε τούτοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς *vacat* | λοιποῖς
πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν διοικουμένοις, καὶ εἶμεν καταμόνο[υς] τὰς δεδομένας αὐ|τῷ
τιμὰς ὑπὸ τε τῶν συνέδρων καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ· καὶ ἐξέστω αὐτῷ σταῖσαι τὰ[ν]
ε[ἰ]κόνα πρὸ τοῦ ἀρχίου τοῦ γραμματέος τῶν συνέδρων καὶ ἐπιγράψαι ἐπὶ τὸ βάθρον

⁹⁶⁷ Veyne (1990) 85-6, 93, 101, 106-8. It is not clear whether this is voluntary euergetism, or euergetism caused by external pressures. While the concept of euergetism remains essentially the same from the end of the 4CBC to the Imperial period, Imperial decrees are more effusive in style.

⁹⁶⁸ IG V,1 1428 (late 2-1CBC) 3-5. Robert (1926) 487-92: It is possible that this text should more accurately refer to Messenian officials known as *theoroi* (Th. 5.47.9). However, *theoroi* are unattested in the epigraphic record, and it is not known whether they had their own secretary.

⁹⁶⁹ IG V,1 1390 (92-91 BC) 52, with a *grammateus of the synedron* in 1.

⁹⁷⁰ For the *grammateus of the dikasts* at Corinth, see page 127.

⁹⁷¹ IG V,1 1463 (1CBC) 3; IG V,1 1448 (14 AD) 2 (Rossi (2002) 16-18); IG V,1 1449 (54-68 AD) 8; SEG 23:206 (2-3CAD) 1.

⁹⁷² IG V,1 1432 (39 BC) 2, 13-25, 41-42; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 84-86.

αὐτᾶς, "ἃ πόλι[ς] Ἀριστοκλῆ *vacat* | Καλλικράτεος γραμματίζοντα⁹⁷³ συνέδροις ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας, ἧς ἔχων δ[ια]τελεῖ εἰς αὐ[τὴν]. τὸ δὲ εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ τὸ βάθρον ἀνάλωμα ἐξοδισθῆμεν ἐκ τῶν τᾶς πόλεος εἰσόδων κ[αὶ] ἔ[στω] ἐπι|στάτας ἐπὶ τε τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ τὸ βάθρον αὐτός. *vacat*⁹⁷⁴

It was decreed by the synedroi: to praise Aristokles for the diligence and honesty with which he conducts the common business of the polis, both in these things and in all the other arrangements on behalf of the polis, and the honours conferred upon him by both the synedroi and the stratagos are to be permanent: and he is to be allowed to set up his statue in front of the office of the grammateus of the synedroi, and to inscribe on its base: "The polis (honours) Aristokles (vacat) son of Kallikrates, who is grammateus for the synedroi, on account of his excellence and goodwill, which he continues to have for her (the polis)." And the expenses for the statue and the base are to be paid in full from the revenue of the polis, and let the overseer of both the statue and the base be (Aristokles) himself.

Later lines in this decree link Aristokles with the day-to-day recording of polis business:

ἐπεὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐμπιστευθεῖσαν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ ὑ[πὸ] | τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ συνέδρων ἐποιεῖτο πρόνοιαν εὐθέως τοῦ τάν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτὰν φυ[λά]ξει καθηκόντως, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποίησατο τοῦ πάντας τοὺς τᾶς πόλεος χ[ε]ρῶν εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἀναγράφεσθαι εἰς τὸν τοῖχον ἐπ' ἀμέρας ὑπὸ τῶν χειριζόντων τι τᾶς πόλεος...⁹⁷⁵

Since Aristokles the grammateus of the synedroi, on taking the office entrusted to him by the archons and the synedroi, immediately took precautions to safeguard both the polis and its inhabitants properly, as was his duty, and first he took care to have publically written down all the administrative business of the city on the wall on a daily basis by those managing anything belonging to the polis...

The primary function of the *grammateus of the synedroi* at Messene therefore appears to have been the recording and public display of any polis business, which he did 'on a daily basis' (ἐπ' ἀμέρας).⁹⁷⁶ However, it may also be that this public record of daily administrative

⁹⁷³ The form γραμματίζοντα is unusual, and otherwise known only from Boiotia (IG VII 3294 (2CBC) 2; IG VII 3296 (1CBC) 3-4). This inscription is also unusual in its use of both the participial (plus dative) and noun (plus genitive) form of the designation within the same decree.

⁹⁷⁴ IG V,1 1432 (39 BC) 14-21; Rhodes with Lewis (1997); 84. Rossi (2002) 15. See page 172 to compare honours granted for services performed while in office, with honours for services rendered outside of it.

⁹⁷⁵ IG V,1 1432 (39 BC) 22-25. Rossi (2002) 15.

⁹⁷⁶ 'Immediately taking precautions' may indicate a change in policy. The reasons for this are unknown.

business (i.e. a calendar) was Aristokles' innovation.⁹⁷⁷ Diligence and honesty were also important to this role, being mentioned twice in the decree,⁹⁷⁸ and suggested by the apparently transparent way that accountability was ensured through the public recording of business transactions.⁹⁷⁹

No evidence from Messenia directly links the *grammateus of the synedroi* with writing on stelai.

Other attributes

The *grammateus of the synedroi* at Messene may have been required to assist priests at Andania with certain aspects of their sacred law: see page 169. This *grammateus* may have also occasionally been used as part of the dating formula.⁹⁸⁰

γροφεύς (*gropheus*)

A fragmentary, third century BC inscription from Messene contains a list of cult officials, including a *gropheus*. The full text is given below.

[— — —]	γροφεύς	— — —	<i>gropheus:</i>
[— — —]ς	Ἀριστόδαμος	— — —s	<i>Aristodamos</i>
[— — —]εος	θεῶν ἀγητῆρ	son of —es	<i>leader of gods(?)</i> . ⁹⁸¹
[— — —]δα	Εὐτυχος	— — —da	<i>Eutuchos</i>
[— — —]μέρου	πρόσπολος	son of —meros	<i>attendant:</i>
[— — —]δα	Λυδεύτυχος	— — —da	<i>Ludeutuchos</i> ⁹⁸²

This text is the only surviving inscription from either Messenia or Laconia that includes the designation *gropheus*. It is also the earliest surviving inscription from Messenia that includes a secretary. It provides some evidence for titles of officials in the pre-Roman era, and, in listing the *gropheus* as one of several officials connected with a cult, shows the *gropheus* in a context similar to that found in Epidauros in the fourth and third centuries BC.⁹⁸³

⁹⁷⁷ I would like to thank Stephen Todd for this suggestion.

⁹⁷⁸ Occurring both in the section of the decree quoted above, and also in 42-43.

⁹⁷⁹ IG V,1 1432 (39 BC) 26-30: Further phrases expand upon issues of transparency, noting that Aristokles did not handle money either in person or for other people, but transacted financial matters honestly through men such as accountants. Rossi (2002) 15.

⁹⁸⁰ IG V,1 1463 (1C BC) 3: ἐπὶ γραμματέο[ς τῶν συνέδρων —].

⁹⁸¹ Ἀγήτωρ or 'leader' is an epithet of Zeus at Sparta.

⁹⁸² SEG 51:474 (3C BC) II.1-6; Themelis (1999) 88-89. The text may have originally been three columns.

⁹⁸³ IG IV²,1 165 (4-3C BC) 1-8, page 145. For a graphic representation of pre-Roman/Roman designations in the Peloponnese, see Figures 8-15, pages 313-320.

Messenia: Thouria

Thouria was under Spartan control until the mid-fourth century BC, and appears to have had a democratic constitution from this time onwards.⁹⁸⁴ Inscriptions from Thouria show a wider range of officials associated with writing than in other Messenian poleis. Designations found are *grammateus of the synedroi*, *nomographos* and *ephor*.⁹⁸⁵

γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων (*grammateus of the synedroi*)

Activities

The *grammateus of the synedroi* at Thouria is known from a decree pertaining to funds for the supply of grain:

καὶ μ[ὴ] | [ἀγοραξάτω καὶ διοικησάτω τὸν σῖτον ὁ γραμματεὺς, ἀλλὰ διαι<τ>εῖσθω
περὶ τοῦ καταγορά<ξ>α[ι] | [καὶ διοικῆσαι, καθὼς κα τοῖς συνέδρ]οις δόξει περὶ δὲ
τοῦ ἀργυρίου...

...

καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς δόγμα γραψάτω, καθὼς κα οἱ σύνοδοι κελεύ[ει] | [ωντι].⁹⁸⁶

*And the secretary is not [to buy (for himself) or manage the grain,] but to moderate
its sale [and management, however the synedroi] decree, and about the money...*

...

...and the secretary is to write up the decision, in whichever way the synedroi order.

No other officials were assigned this duty. The codicil forbidding the re-selling of grain for the secretary's own financial gain indicates that some care was taken to ensure that the *grammateus* remained accountable for his behaviour.⁹⁸⁷

The secretary was also responsible for keeping records related to the distribution of this grain,⁹⁸⁸ and had the additional, unparalleled duty of distributing it.

Other attributes

The *grammateus of the synedroi* at Thouria was one of two eponymous officials in a decree arbitrating between Thouria and Megalopolis.⁹⁸⁹ The arbitration took place at Patrai, and was written up by the *grammateus* there. See page 217.

⁹⁸⁴ Shipley (2004) 566. Thouria's democratic constitution can be dated to either 369 or 338 BC.

⁹⁸⁵ IGV,1 1379 (2-1C BC) 14-16, 18, 23; SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 24-36.

⁹⁸⁶ IGV,1 1379 (2-1C BC) 14-16, 18, 23.

⁹⁸⁷ For other evidence for accountability, see IGV,1 1432 (39 BC) 13-25 (Messene, page 173), in which a *grammateus* was honoured partly for carrying out polis business in a transparent manner.

⁹⁸⁸ IGV,1 1379 (2-1C BC) 18: ...καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ διαγραφ[ι]μ[ατι]... *...as it was written in the register....*

ἔφορος (*ephor*)

Ephors performed the duties of secretaries in several poleis in Laconia (see page 158). The following example comprises the only surviving evidence that they could also carry out these duties in Messenia.

Activities

In a proxeny decree for a Spartan named Damocharis, ephors are directed to oversee the creation of a statue with writing on the base (ἐπιγράφω). They are also directed to write up (ἀναγράφω) a decree in his honour. The decree contains the additional direction that a message is to be written (γράφω) by *nomographoi* (see page 178).⁹⁹⁰

ἀναθέντω καὶ οἱ μετὰ Μενέ|σ|τρατον ἔφοροι εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ γραπτὰν εἰς τὸν ναὸ|ν
τ|]ῆς Συρίας θεοῦ ἐπιγράψαντες "Ἄ πόλις ἃ τῶν Θου|ριέ|]ων Δαμόχαριν Τειμοξένου
Λακεδαιμόνιον ἀρ|ετῆς| | ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας, ἣς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς α|ὐτάν|." |
Γραψάντω δὲ καὶ οἱ νομογράφοι οἱ περὶ Νίκ|ωνα ἐπιστολᾶ|]ν σύμφωνον τούτῳ τῷ
ψαφίσματι, παρα|καλοῦντες αὐτ|]ὸν καὶ εἰς τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰν αὐτὰν ἔ|χειν φιλίαν
καὶ| | εὖνοιαν εἴς τε τὰν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς [πολείτας ἀμῶν]. | οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ ἀμὸς δᾶμος
ἐλλείψει|ται ἐν χάριτος ἀποδό|]σει. Ἀναγραφάντω δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ψάφισ|μα οἱ ἔφοροι
οἱ μ|]ετὰ Μενέσστρατον εἰς στάλαν λ|ιθίναν, ἃν καὶ στασάντω| | πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς
Συρίας θεοῦ].⁹⁹¹

...and the ephors with Menes[s]tratos are to set up a statue of him (Damocharis) with writing on it in the temple of the Syrian goddess, inscribing it as follows: "The polis of the Thourians (so honours) Damocharis son of Teimoxenos the Spartan on account of his excellence and goodwill, which he perpetually shows to her (the polis)." And the nomographoi under the presidency of Nikon are to write [a letter] in accordance with this decree, [inviting] him also hereafter to [display the same friendship and] goodwill both to the city and to [our citizens]. For neither will our demos be deficient [in repayment of a favour]. And [those ephors] with Menes[s]tratos are to write up the decree on a stone stele, [and let them set it up] in front of the temple of the Syrian goddess.

The use of *meta* + accusative in οἱ μετὰ Μενέσστρατον implies that Menes[s]tratos was one of the ephors.

⁹⁸⁹ ISE 51 (182-167 BC) 1-2.

⁹⁹⁰ SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 24-36; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 85; Tod (1931) 229-230.

⁹⁹¹ SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 24-36.

νομογράφος (*nomographos*)

A proxeny decree for a Spartan contains the only surviving reference to *nomographoi* from Messenia, and the only surviving instance where *nomographoi* appear alongside ephors, although both offices existed at the same time in Sparta.⁹⁹²

Activities

The decree was written by ephors (see page 177). The role of the *nomographoi* was to write a letter ‘in accordance with this decree’, suggesting a degree of collaboration between these officers.

The number of *nomographoi* at Thouria is not known. They appear to have worked on behalf of the archons and the demos,⁹⁹³ and may have functioned as magistrates in a very general sense, rather than (e.g.) drafting laws.

Messenia: concluding remarks

The evidence for Messenian secretaries is scarce, with only twenty attestations from the region as a whole. Additionally, the only officers explicitly linked with the writing and/or inscribing of stelai are ephors in Thouria.⁹⁹⁴ However, Messenia provides a variety of evidence for the use of temporary media. We know that the *grammateus of the synedroi* could conduct the day-to-day business of the polis via the public display of records,⁹⁹⁵ and that these *grammateis* could also keep other accounts, such as those related to the distribution of grain.⁹⁹⁶

The high proportion of decrees in which the secretary is part of the dating formula,⁹⁹⁷ in conjunction with the attestation of additional duties (such as the distribution of grain),⁹⁹⁸ suggests both the relative importance of the *grammateus* in these locations, and an absence of some other officials. Within this environment, care could be taken to ensure that a *grammateus* remained accountable for his actions, diligent and honest,⁹⁹⁹ and honours may

⁹⁹² SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 26-32. See page 164 for *nomographoi* in Sparta, and Appendix A page 281 for *nomographoi* elsewhere in the Peloponnese.

⁹⁹³ SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 14-15: ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀρχ[ο]ντοῖς καὶ τῷ δᾶμῳ.

⁹⁹⁴ See IG V,1 1379 (2-1CBC) 23 and SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 24-26 on page 177.

⁹⁹⁵ See IG V,1 1432 (39BC) 22-25 on page 174.

⁹⁹⁶ See IG V,1 1379 (2-1CBC) 18 on page 176.

⁹⁹⁷ The *grammateus* can be eponymous in Kolonides, Korone, Kyparissos and Messene. See Appendix B page 308.

⁹⁹⁸ IG V,1 1379 (2-1CBC) 14-16.

⁹⁹⁹ See IG V,1 1432 (39BC) 14-21 on page 174 and IG V,1 1379 (2-1CBC) 14-16 on page 176.

have encouraged this behaviour. Additionally, a secretary could be honoured for his euergetism, suggesting that it was possible for a secretary to be independently wealthy.¹⁰⁰⁰

Although Messenia is often compared to Laconia due to Sparta's early control of the region, our evidence suggests that Messenia differs from Laconia both in the presence of *grammateis* in several contexts (as officers of the *synedroi*,¹⁰⁰¹ with judges,¹⁰⁰² and with cult officials¹⁰⁰³), and in the almost complete absence of evidence for ephors.¹⁰⁰⁴

The evidence also reveals few if any similarities between the types of inscriptions produced in Laconia and Messenia. While Laconian material contains a high proportion of Roman-era registers of officers, the small number of surviving texts from Messenia suggests that registers of this type were rarely produced in this region. Additionally, Messenia seems to have only rarely bestowed proxenos-status.¹⁰⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰⁰ See SEG 23:208 (42 AD) 2, 15-29 on page 172.

¹⁰⁰¹ The *grammateus of the synedroi* is present in Andania, Korone, Messene, and Thouria. See Appendix A page 271 for a list of texts.

¹⁰⁰² See IG V,1 1428 (late 2-1C BC) 3-5 on page 173.

¹⁰⁰³ See IG V,1 1390 (92-91 BC) 1, 134-5 on page 170 and SEG 23:208 (42 AD) 2, 15-29 on page 172.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Other than SEG 11:974 (1C AD) 24-36 on page 177, ephors are found in IG V,1 1381 (102-114 AD) 8 and IG V,1 1472 (undated) 2 only.

¹⁰⁰⁵ See SEG 11:974 on page 177. See also IG V,1 1425 (late 4/3C BC), which lacks a secretary.

Arcadia: Introduction

Evidence for the various governments and constitutions of the poleis of Arcadia is limited to a few scattered passages of Aristotle, Thucydides and Xenophon, and occasional references in epigraphy. Mantinea, a major power in Arcadia, appears to have had an aristocratic constitution before the Spartan dioikismos of 385 BC,¹⁰⁰⁶ after which time it appears to have been a moderate democracy, with political decisions made by the demos in an assembly.¹⁰⁰⁷ We infer that Tegea was an oligarchy and became a democracy from references to a stasis,¹⁰⁰⁸ and infer that Megalopolis was always a democracy due to its late, federal foundation.¹⁰⁰⁹

Where one exists, a council can be referred to as either the *boule*,¹⁰¹⁰ the *ekklesia*,¹⁰¹¹ the *synedrion*,¹⁰¹² or the *triakasioi*.¹⁰¹³ It is not clear whether some of the smaller states had their own council involved in the decision-making process.¹⁰¹⁴ Extraordinarily, the inhabitants of these poleis can occasionally be referred to collectively as Arcadians.¹⁰¹⁵

Arcadia provides extraordinary richness in legal texts on stone, and evidence for secretaries, or officers who performed the duties of secretaries, is found in ten poleis, and is also varied. In the fourth century BC, on one occasion, *stalographoi* (stele-writers) were called to Mantinea from an unknown location to assist local *epimeletai*,¹⁰¹⁶ an isolated temple records a *gropheus* among its officers,¹⁰¹⁷ and another text records *katakooi* ('listeners') who may have been either secretaries or clerks in a court setting.¹⁰¹⁸ Other inscriptions contain the designation *graphes* (γραφής), the Arcadian dialect form of γραφεύς,¹⁰¹⁹

¹⁰⁰⁶ X. *Hell.* 5.2.6-7.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Arist. *Pol.* 1318b27; Th. 5.29.1 & 5.47.9; Nielsen (2004) 519.

¹⁰⁰⁸ X. *Hell.* 6.5.7-10. The start of democracy in Tegea is dated to after the stasis of 370, when 800 oligarchs were sent into exile at Sparta. There is also evidence for an Aristotelian *Tegeaton politeia*, but no direct evidence for the form of constitution at Tegea: Arist. *fr.* 608-9 [Rose]; SEG 11:1051 (end 4CBC) 1-2: "Ἔδοξε τῷ πόλει τῶν Τεγε[α]τῶν...; Nielsen (2004) 531-2.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Nielsen (2004) 521-2;

¹⁰¹⁰ E.g. IG V,2 351 (c.266-219 BC) 10-11 (Stymphalos).

¹⁰¹¹ E.g. IG V,2 367 (168-146 BC) 23, 49 (Kletor).

¹⁰¹² E.g. IG V,2 313 (2CAD) 1-2 (Mantinea); IG V,2 345 (79/78 BC) 15-16 (Achaian League, Orchomenos); IG V,2 433 (early 2C BC) 8 (Megalopolis).

¹⁰¹³ IPArk 2 (late 5-early 4CBC) 20-21 (Tegea). Nielsen (2004) 531-2.

¹⁰¹⁴ Nielsen (2004) 505-539.

¹⁰¹⁵ See page 187.

¹⁰¹⁶ See IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC?) 18 on page 189.

¹⁰¹⁷ See IG V,2 550 (4CBC) 5 on page 186.

¹⁰¹⁸ See IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 7-10, 19-26 on page 184.

¹⁰¹⁹ See page 196.

From the third century BC onwards, the secretaries of most Arcadian poleis were *grammateis*; however, documents were also written by *nomographoi*, *damiorgoi*, *epimeletai*, or *stratagoi*.

	4CBC	3CBC	2CBC	1CBC	1CAD	2CAD
Alipheira:						
<i>damiorgos</i>	0	2	0	0	0	0
Heraia:						
<i>grammateus</i>	0	1	0	0	0	0
Kletor:						
<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0
Lykaia:						
<i>gropheus</i>	1	0	0	0	0	0
Mantineia:						
<i>epimeletes</i>	2	0	0	0	0	0
<i>grammateus</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1
<i>stalographos</i>	2	0	0	0	0	0
Megalopolis:						
<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	0	0	5	0	0	0
<i>nomographos</i>	0	2	3	0	0	0
Orchomenos:						
<i>grammateus</i>	0	5	0	0	0	0
Stymphalos:						
<i>grammateus</i>	0	1	0	0	0	0
<i>grammateus of the demos</i>	0	1	0	0	0	0
<i>gropheus</i>	1	0	0	0	0	0
<i>katakoos</i>	2	0	0	0	0	0
Tegea:						
<i>grammateus</i>	0	1	1	0	0	1
<i>graphes</i>	0	3	0	0	0	0
<i>nomographos</i>	0	0	0	2	0	0
<i>stratagos</i>	0	2	0	0	0	0
Thisoa:						
<i>epimeletes</i>	0	4	0	0	0	0
Total:	8	22	10	2	0	2
Grand total: 44						

Table 7 – Attestations of secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in Arcadia.

Arcadia: Alipheira

Alipheira may have been a member of the Arcadian Confederacy,¹⁰²⁰ and one of the cities the Confederacy voted to incorporate into Megalopolis;¹⁰²¹ however, this resolution does not seem to have been carried out.¹⁰²²

¹⁰²⁰ IG V,2 1 (362/1 BC) 2-3: ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Ἀρκάδων. See n.962 for a definition of the Arcadian Confederacy.

¹⁰²¹ Paus. 8.27.4-7.

¹⁰²² Nielsen (2004) 509.

δαμιοργός (*damiorgos*)

Activities

The *damiorgoi* at Alipheira are known from the following inscription only, making any assessment of their duties difficult.¹⁰²³

...τὰς δὲ καδίκας τὰς ὥφλε Μίλων | καὶ Ἀπέλιχος ταῖ πόλι τῷ σίτῳ ἀφεῶσθαι, καὶ τὰς
λιποδαμ[ί]||ας ἐτάσαι τὸς δαμιοργὸς καὶ τὸς χρεονόμος, καὶ τὰς ἐ[π]ιγρ[α]|φάς·

...

(IV) τὰν δὲ στάλαν γράψαντες οἱ δαμιο[ρ]||γοὶ ὑνθεάντω ἰν τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς Ἀθάνας,
καθέντω δὲ καὶ τὸ[ν ὄρκο]||ν τὸν ὠμόσαμες ἐπεὶ Κλεώνυμος παρῆλθε, ἰν τὸν ναὸν
τ[ᾶς θεῶ]...¹⁰²⁴

*And the fines which Milon and Apelichos were liable to pay to the city for the grain
are to be remitted, and the damiorgoi and chreonomoi are to examine the
lipodamia¹⁰²⁵ and the inscribed records.*

...

*And let the damiorgoi, having written the stele, set it up in the sanctuary of Athena,
and let them set down also the [oath] which we swore when Kleonymos came, in
the temple of the [goddess]...*

The *damiorgoi* appear to have had some responsibilities related to the financial administration of the polis, which they carried out in conjunction with an officer known as the *chreonomos*, a designation otherwise known only from second century AD Sparta, which makes any comparison of their roles problematic.¹⁰²⁶

Arcadia: Heraia, Kletor, Stymphalos

Evidence for the constitutions of Heraia, Kletor and Stymphalos is limited. The only surviving reference to the Heraian constitution notes a reform in the selection process (from election to sortition) in or before the early fourth century BC.¹⁰²⁷ Kletor may have had a democratic constitution in the fourth century BC;¹⁰²⁸ evidence from Stymphalos is limited to a few

¹⁰²³ See page 149 for *damiourgoi* publishing a decree at Hermione.

¹⁰²⁴ IPArk 24 (273 BC) 8-11, 14-18. Thür & Taeuber (1994) 280-283.

¹⁰²⁵ Thür & Taeuber (1994) 282-283 note 9: *Lipodamia*: a hitherto unknown word, related to cases of voluntary exile and leaving the city for political reasons.

¹⁰²⁶ Thür & Taeuber (1994) 280-282.

¹⁰²⁷ Arist. *Pol.* 1303^a15-16. Nielsen (2004) 513-514.

¹⁰²⁸ Nielsen (2004) 51-6.

decrees which refer to its boule and *ekklesia*,¹⁰²⁹ and officers such as the *prostatas boulas* and *damiorgoi*.¹⁰³⁰

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

The *grammateus* in these poleis is known from a brief agreement between Heraia and an unknown polis,¹⁰³¹ a Magnesian decree bestowing honours upon Kletor,¹⁰³² and two proxeny decrees from Stymphalos.¹⁰³³

Further particulars

At Stymphalos, the *grammateus* could be recorded alongside officers of the boule and demos: the presiding official(s) *prostatas boulas*¹⁰³⁴ or *prostatai*,¹⁰³⁵ the *damiorgoi*¹⁰³⁶ and the *promnamon* (president of the *mnamones*).¹⁰³⁷ However, he is not known from any epigraphic formulae. He could be referred to either as *grammateus*,¹⁰³⁸ or (possibly) as *grammateus of the demos*.¹⁰³⁹

προστάται βωλ|ᾶς· Θέων, — σ.— κ|ς. γρα[μ(μ)ατεὺς δάμω]· Τιμόξεν|ος,
δαμιορ[γῶ]ν· Δα[μοσθένη]ς.¹⁰⁴⁰

*Presiding officers of the boule: Theon; — s — kis. grammateus [of the demos]:
Timoxenos; of the damiourgoi: Damosthenes.*

This reconstruction is uncertain. Only the first three letters of *grammateus* are secure, and the editor has assumed that *grammateus* has been written in an abbreviated form (i.e. with a single mu) in order to make the reconstruction fit the available space.

¹⁰²⁹ E.g. IPark 17 (303-300 BC) 193-4. Arnaoutoglou (1998) 133-8.

¹⁰³⁰ IG V,2 351 (c.266-219 BC) 10-12; IG V,2 356 (c.240 BC) 1, 6-7. Nielsen (2004) 529-530.

¹⁰³¹ IG V,2 415 (3C BC) 5-6 (IPark 23).

¹⁰³² IG V,2 367 (168-146 BC) 1: γραμ[μ]α[τ]εὺς συνεδρίου; 20: Μ[ει]δ[ί]αν τὸν γραμματέα.

¹⁰³³ IG V,2 351 (c.266-219 BC) 11; IG V,2 356 (c.240 BC) 5-8.

¹⁰³⁴ IG V,2 351 (c.266-219 BC) 10-11.

¹⁰³⁵ IG V,2 356 (c.240 BC) 7-8.

¹⁰³⁶ IG V,2 351 (c.266-219 BC) 11-12; IG V,2 356 (c.240 BC) 5-6.

¹⁰³⁷ IG V,2 356 (c.240 BC) 8; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 90.

¹⁰³⁸ IG V,2 356 (c.240 BC) 6-7: γραμματεὺς | Θεοξενίδας.

¹⁰³⁹ The designation *grammateus of the demos* is also known from Aigina (page 123), and from Athens, where it is an abbreviation of *grammateus of the boule and the demos* (page 64).

¹⁰⁴⁰ IG V,2 351 (c.266-219 BC) 10-12.

γροφεύς (*gropheus*)

The *gropheus* at Stymphalos is known from a single reference in a document describing judicial agreements between Stymphalos and Sicyon.¹⁰⁴¹ See page 185 for the relevant text. The *gropheus* was either the secretary of the members of the court (συνλύται), or the secretary of the court and the arbitrator (καταλύτας). The role of the *gropheus* (as described here) is to accompany the court and the arbitrator when they travel from Stymphalos to Sicyon, carrying submitted lawsuits. It may be that this *gropheus* was required to effect any changes required to these documents, or to assist with their interpretation.

κατακόος (*katakoos*)

Clerical officers known as *katakooi* are known from an inscription from Stymphalos describing judicial agreements between Stymphalos and Sicyon.¹⁰⁴² The precise nature of this office is unknown. Arnaoutoglou translates the term as 'secretary',¹⁰⁴³ while Thür and Taeuber simply note 'wir deuten sie als "Schreiber" (mit dem Gropheus... identisch)'.¹⁰⁴⁴ Dosuna, using the derivation of the word κατακόος = κατήκοος, from κατακούω, hearing, prefers the term 'official witness', i.e. one who hears testimony.¹⁰⁴⁵

Activities

The *katakooi* appear in the section of the text describing actions to be taken if false testimony is given in court, suggesting that these officers were clerks of the court.¹⁰⁴⁶ The *katakooi* brought suits before the court, and transferred funds from the plaintiff to the defendant:

εἰ δὲ ὁ ἄγων τὰ[ν] | δίκαν τὸν ψευδομάρτυρα μὴ λάβοι τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῶν ψάφων,
ὀφλέτω τὸ τρίτον μέρος [τ]ῆς γεγραμμένης δίκας τῷ ἀγομένῳ τὰν δίκαν καὶ τὸ
κατακόω εἰσδόντω τὰν ζα[μ]||ίαν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν κατάπερ τὰς ἄλλας καταδίκας.

...

τοὺς δὲ ἄρχοντας πορεῦσαι δίκαν [δικ]αί[α]ν κα[ὶ] τ]ὸ κατακόω ποτάγειν τὰς δίκας
πασσας [ἐπιγ]||ραφ[ε]ί[σας] πὸτ τοὺς συνλύτας ἰσχερῶ καθά[περ] κα [γρ]άψωντι.¹⁰⁴⁷

¹⁰⁴¹ IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 2-26 (IG V,2 357). *katakoos* also occurs in SEG 35:389, where the function of the officer is unclear, and in IvO 44 (4C BC) 10, a proxeny decree from Olympia, where it has been interpreted as a name.

¹⁰⁴² Arnaoutoglou (1998) 133; Nielsen (1997) 149.

¹⁰⁴³ Arnaoutoglou (1998) 134.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Thür & Taeuber (1994) 176 n.6. See also page 185 and n.1051.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Dosuna (2007) 456-7; Minon (2007) 506-7.

¹⁰⁴⁶ IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 2-26. The *katakooi* administered lawsuits written by archons.

¹⁰⁴⁷ IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 7-10, 22-23.

But if the one bringing the case fails to take one-third of the votes from the false witness, he shall owe one-third of the sum written in the indictment to the defendant and the two katakooi shall give the money to the magistrates as in other cases.

...

*And the magistrates shall carry out the case justly and the two katakooi shall bring all the registered suits before the members of the court (synlytai) in whichever order they recorded them.*¹⁰⁴⁸

Additionally, in cases where a suit was registered for a foreigner, and that person did not wish to (or could not) wait for a verdict, the *katakooi* were themselves allowed to decide the verdict:

— ὁ κα δὲ ἀφίκηται πὸτ τὰν ἐχ[θόσδικ] | οὐ δίκαν ἐπιγεγ<ρ>αμμέναν, εἰ μὴ αὐτ[ό]θι κατ[α]λύσο[υ]σαν ἀναμένει τὰν μαρτυρίαν, [ἐξ] | ἐστῶ τοῖς κατακόοις καθάπερ τὰν δίκαν ἥδ[η] ἐπιγρ[α]φ[ε]ντα πὸτ τὸ εὐθύδικον δικά[σαι] τὰν | [ἀσ]τίαν δίκαν.¹⁰⁴⁹

*And if anyone has registered a suit to the court for foreigners, if he does not wish to wait there for the testimony to resolve the dispute, the katakooi shall be allowed to decide the case employing the procedure for civil litigation, as if it was registered to be decided by a regular court.*¹⁰⁵⁰

The identification of the *katakoos* with the *gropheus* has been made through the following lines in the same text:

τὰς δὲ πό[λεις] | | ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς τε συνλύτας καὶ τὸν καταλύταν] καὶ τὸν γροφῆ.
τὰς γραφθείσας [δικας] | φέρ[ο]ντας.¹⁰⁵¹

And the poleis shall send both the members of the court (synlytai) and the arbitrator and their gropheus taking the submitted [suits] with them.

However, this does not account for the fact that *gropheus* is given in the singular, while *katakoos* is always given in the plural, or dual. Additionally, the *katakooi* are found only in a court setting, while the *gropheus* is associated with the distribution of court documents.

The various functions of the *katakoos* suggest that the designation should perhaps instead be translated as 'administrator', or 'clerk of the court', albeit one with special powers in cases of suits registered for foreigners.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Translation: Arnaoutoglou (1998) 134.

¹⁰⁴⁹ IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 23-26.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Translation: Arnaoutoglou (1998) 134.

¹⁰⁵¹ IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 19-21. Thür & Taeuber (1994) 177, n.15 treat the term as synonymous with *katakoos*, perhaps thinking that it would be unusual for a court to have both clerks and a secretary.

Arcadia: Lykaia

Lykaia was not a polis. It comprised a mountain and temple of Zeus Lykaios, administered by a Panarcadian Amphictyony.¹⁰⁵² It was also the location for games, whose origins were linked with the mythological founding of Arcadia,¹⁰⁵³ and which attracted competitors from many locations.¹⁰⁵⁴

γροφεὺς δαμιοργῶν (*gropheus of the damiorgoi*)

A fourth-century BC list of victors of chariot- and horse-races from Lykaia also includes the designation *gropheus*.¹⁰⁵⁵ The top portion of the stele comprises three columns, containing the names of victors, and ending with the *gropheus*:

[— — —]	[Εὐ]ρύλοχος	Ἀλέξανδρος	[— — —]	<i>Eurulochos</i>	<i>Alexandros</i>
[— — —]	—λῆς	ἵππαρχος	[— — —]	—les	<i>Hipparchos</i>
[— — —]	Ἀντιφάνης	Κερκιδᾶς	[— — —]	<i>Antiphanes</i>	<i>Kerkidas</i>
[— — —]	Ἀναξικράτης	γροφεὺς	[— — —]	<i>Anaxikrates</i>	<i>gropheus</i>
[— — —]	Ἥγησίας	δαμιοργῶν	[— — —]	<i>Hagesias</i>	<i>of the damiorgoi</i>
[— —]ας	Ὀνάσιλος	Ἑστάτας.	[— —]as	<i>Onasilos</i>	<i>Estatas</i> . ¹⁰⁵⁶

The remainder of the stele comprises a single column, containing the names of victors and the events in which they were competing.

Further particulars

The title *gropheus of the damiorgoi* suggests that the *gropheus* worked for these magistrates; however, only a single *damiorgos* is attested at Lykaia.¹⁰⁵⁷ An alternative explanation is that the *gropheus of the damiorgoi* was not a local man.¹⁰⁵⁸ It is possible that both the *damiorgoi* and *gropheus* were from Megalopolis, since Megalopolis managed the games.¹⁰⁵⁹

¹⁰⁵² Nielsen (2002) 85.

¹⁰⁵³ Nielsen (2002) 67.

¹⁰⁵⁴ IG V,2 549 (320 BC?) & IG V,2 550 (4C BC); Nielsen (2002) 529-530.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 90: p.xxxvi (Buck 22).

¹⁰⁵⁶ IG V,2 550 (4C BC) 1-6; Charneux (1991) 311; Robert (1926) 495. Column three can be read in two ways: either as above, or as '*Alexandros: hipparch, Kerkidas, gropheus of the damiorgoi: Estatás*'. The most likely interpretation is that column three contains a list of single personal names, as in column two, plus the *gropheus*.

¹⁰⁵⁷ IG V,2 548 (4C BC) 2.

¹⁰⁵⁸ LGPN IIIA 156: The name of the *gropheus*, Ἑστάτας, is attested here only, and so provides no additional information about his origins.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Nielsen (1996a) 55. Nielsen (2002) 219. *Damiorgoi* are well known from other locations, including Megalopolis (IG V,2 431 (4C BC) 2). See also Sherk (1990a) 263.

The designation *gropheus of the damiorgoi* is not known from elsewhere; however, a *grammateus* is known to have worked alongside *damiorgoi* in several locations, including the Arcadian polis of Stymphalos.¹⁰⁶⁰

Names

Lykaian victor lists¹⁰⁶¹ are interesting for the way in which they name victors. Victors come from many locations, including Rhodes, Syracuse and Athens. Victors from outside Arcadia are given their ethnic in the usual way. Victors from within Arcadia are all given the ethnic Ἀρκάς, referring collectively to all Arcadians, rather than a polis-ethnic:

συνωρίδι τελέαι Ῥόδιος Νικαγόρας, | τεθρίππῳ πωλικῶι Θεαρίδας Ἀρκάς, | κέλητι
τελέῳι Βούβαλος ἐκ Κασσανδρείας¹⁰⁶²

For the pair of full-grown horses (chariot-race), the Rhodian Nikagoras; for the team of four colts (chariot-race), Thearidas of Arcadia; for the full-grown race-horse (race), Boubalos from Kassandreia.

This collective ethnic is known only from this location.¹⁰⁶³

Arcadia: Mantinea

By the fourth century BC, Mantinea was a democracy, with a council,¹⁰⁶⁴ and political decisions made by the demos in an assembly.¹⁰⁶⁵ However, this information is not preserved in epigraphic evidence, and it may be that the Mantineans primarily recorded their decisions on temporary media.¹⁰⁶⁶

Only four inscriptions refer to officers performing the duties of secretaries, and a gap of three hundred years exists in the surviving sources. In the fourth century BC, one inscription records an instance where *stalographoi* (σταλογράφοι) were called to Mantinea from another location, to assist local *epimeletai*.¹⁰⁶⁷ In the first century BC, priests appointed men (whose designations are not known) to write an honorific decree on behalf of local celebrants,¹⁰⁶⁸

¹⁰⁶⁰ See IG V,2 356 (c.240 BC) 5-6 on page 183.

¹⁰⁶¹ IG V,2 550 (4C BC); IG V,2 549 (320 BC?).

¹⁰⁶² IG V,2 550 (4C BC) 27-29.

¹⁰⁶³ Nielsen (2002) 61-62, 529-530 examines the possible use of this ethnic to indicate a collective, Arcadian identity.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Th. 5.47.9.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Arist. *Pol.* 1318b27; Th. 5.29.1, 5.47.9; X. *Hell.* 6.5.4; Nielsen (2002) 337-338; Nielsen (2004) 519.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Nielsen (2002) 337-338 notes that there appears to have been a Mantinean body of laws, οἱ νόμοι τῶν Μαντινέων (SEG 37:340.11-12) which have not survived. See also Th. 5.47.11.

¹⁰⁶⁷ IPArk 9 (350-340 BC) 16-21.

¹⁰⁶⁸ IG V,2 265 (64-61 BC) 41-45.

and in the second century AD, the designation *grammateus* was held by officers of the Roman administration.¹⁰⁶⁹

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

Evidence for the *grammateus* in Mantinea is limited to two second-century AD honorific inscriptions. In the first, a *grammateus* dedicates a statue to the emperor Hadrian:

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Θεοῦ] | [Τρα]ϊανοῦ Παρθικο[ῦ υἱ]όν, Θεοῦ Νέρβα υἱωνόν,
Τρα[ϊανόν] Ἀδριανόν Σεβαστόν | Αἰλίος) Μαΐκιος Φαῖδρος ὑπὲρ γραμματείας¹⁰⁷⁰ σὺν
τῷ ναῶ ἐν τῷ | ἰδίῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων | ἀνιέρωσε.¹⁰⁷¹

*[Emperor Caesar, son of the god] Trajan Parthikos, grandson of the god Nerva,
Trajan Hadrian Augustus; Aelios Maikios Phaidros in return for the secretaryship,
dedicated (this statue) together with the shrine in the course of his own year (in
office), from his own money.*

The second text honours Lucius Antistius, who served as a judge at games, and was also *grammateus of the synedrion* at some point in his career.¹⁰⁷² This designation is otherwise unattested in Mantinea, and mostly restored. If it is secure, the *synedrion* referred to could be that of another polis (not named here), or of the Achaian League (see page 222).

ἐπιμελητής (*epimeletes*)

Activities

In the fourth century BC, the *epimeletai* registered citizens for the poleis of Mantinea and Helisson.¹⁰⁷³ All Heliswasians were registered with the *epimeletai* as follows:

... τὸς Ἐλισφασίος πάντας ἀπυγράψασθαι ἰν τὸς ἐπιμελητὰς πατριᾶφι κατ' [ἀ]λικίαν ἰν
δέκ' ἀμέραις ἅμα|ν οἱ σταλογράφοι μὲλυνσι.¹⁰⁷⁴

*All the Heliswasians are to register themselves with the epimeletai by father¹⁰⁷⁵ in
accordance with their age, within ten days from when the stalographoi (stele-writers)
come.*

¹⁰⁶⁹ IG V,2 302 (125-128 AD) 1-8; IG V,2 313 (2CAD) 1-2.

¹⁰⁷⁰ This is the only known instance of the word 'secretaryship' in the Peloponnese.

¹⁰⁷¹ IG V,2 302 (125-128 AD) 1-8.

¹⁰⁷² IG V,2 313 (2CAD) 1-2: [τὸν γραμματέα][τοῦ σ]υνεδρίου Λ(ούκιον) Ἀντίστιον [ἀγ]ωνοθετήσαντα...

¹⁰⁷³ IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 16-18. Thür & Taeuber (1994) 101, 106-109. This is perhaps the earliest surviving document that sets out rights of joint citizenship (*synoikismos*) between two poleis (Mantinea and Helisson). The agreement states that Helisson is to become a *kome* of Mantinea, and that the Heliswasians are to be treated as equal to the Mantineans. For another example of *epimeletai* writing public documents, see page 198.

¹⁰⁷⁴ IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 16-18.

Time limits were imposed upon the *epimeletai*, who were to carry out their duties within ten days of the arrival of the *stalographoi* (see following section). After registration, the *epimeletai* took a report of those registered to Mantinea. In Mantinea, the Heliswasians were registered a second time, by the *thesmotoaroi* (guardians of the laws), who publicly displayed the list of those registered on whitened boards in front of the council building.¹⁰⁷⁶

σταλογράφος (*stalographos*)

Stalographoi or 'stele-writers' are known from a single fourth-century BC decree, where they are called in from an unknown location to perform the task of stone-cutting. (See previous section for the text.)¹⁰⁷⁷

Activities

The duties of the *stalographoi* are not described. The context suggests that these officers created the stele bearing the names of the citizens registered by the *epimeletai*.

The *epimeletai* were directed to register the Heliswasians within ten days of the arrival of the *stalographoi*.¹⁰⁷⁸ This suggests that both the registration process and engraving of names was not expected to take more than ten days in total.

Other attributes

The context suggests that the *stalographoi* were not resident in Helisson, and that they were brought in for this task, presumably because Helisson had no resident stonecutters. It is possible that these *stalographoi* came from Mantinea, though this too is uncertain, since few decrees were enacted on behalf of the Mantineans.¹⁰⁷⁹

No *stalographoi* are mentioned by name, and we learn nothing else about the office or the number of *stalographoi* involved, save that there was more than one of them.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Possibly 'giving their father's name and age'.

¹⁰⁷⁶ IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 18-21: τὸς δὲ ἀπυγραφέντας ἀπονιν[κ]ῆν τὸς | ἐπιμελητὰς ἰμ Μαντινέαν καὶ ἀπυγράψαι τοῖς θεσμοτοάροις ἐπ[ὶ] τῇ Νικῆϊ δαμιουργοῖ, τὸς δὲ θεσμοτοάρος γράψαντας ἰν λευκώματ[α] | δεφαλῶσαι πὸς τὸ βωλήιον. *And the epimeletai are to bring the list of those registered to Mantinea, and register them with the thesmotoaroi during the office of Nike the damiorgos, and the thesmotoaroi are to write them on whitened boards and make them visible in front of the council building.* Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 67: *Thesmotoaroi* are equivalent to *thesmophylakes* elsewhere.

¹⁰⁷⁷ IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 16-18; SEG 37:340. Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 62-67.

¹⁰⁷⁸ IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 16-18, page 188.

¹⁰⁷⁹ IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 3. The formula ἔδοξε τοῖς Μαντινεῦσιν occurs only in this inscription.

Arcadia: Megalopolis

Megalopolis was formed in 368 BC by the Arcadian Confederacy,¹⁰⁸⁰ who relocated the inhabitants of twenty *komai*, with the intention that this would provide protection against Sparta. Since the Arcadian Confederacy was democratic (to an unknown degree),¹⁰⁸¹ Megalopolis was probably a democracy from the outset.¹⁰⁸²

The earliest public enactments of Megalopolis refer to a council, with a *prostatas boulas* as presiding officer. Other officials included boards of *damiorgoi*.¹⁰⁸³ In the early second century BC, Megalopolis had a board of *nomographoi* (page 191), but there is no evidence for these officials after the middle of the second century BC, from which point we have evidence for the *grammateus for the synedroi* (page 190). There is no evidence for *any* secretaries in Megalopolis after the end of the second century BC.

γραμματεὺς τοῖς συνέδροις (*grammateus for the synedroi*)

Evidence for the *grammateus for the synedroi* at Megalopolis is limited to decrees dated from the middle- and late-second century BC. In each instance, the *grammateus* is included in the dating formula, suggesting that he was the most prominent official involved in the creation of these texts, as follows:

[ἐπὶ] γραμματέος τοῖς σ[υνέδροις] τοῦ δεῖνος...¹⁰⁸⁴

[*In the period of office as*] *grammateus for the synedroi* < of such and such>...

The *grammateus* occupies the position of eponymous official in these texts only, and does not appear to play a part in the processes described.

The *grammateus for the synedroi* is associated with two types of text: measurements of state territory taken into private possession,¹⁰⁸⁵ and lists of benefactors to the city.¹⁰⁸⁶ Several lists of benefactors were set up between 145 and 130 BC, to record monetary contributions made towards repairs to the city walls.

¹⁰⁸⁰ See n.962 for a definition of the Arcadian Confederacy.

¹⁰⁸¹ Larsen (1968) 180-181.

¹⁰⁸² Nielsen (2004) 520-522.

¹⁰⁸³ IG V,2 431 (4CBC) 2-3.

¹⁰⁸⁴ IG V,2 443 (mid 2/end 1CBC) 1 (IPArk 32).

¹⁰⁸⁵ IG V,2 443 1 & IG V,2 444 1 (mid. 2/early 1CBC) (IPArk 32). These texts also contain information on property disputes, and punishments imposed in these disputes.

¹⁰⁸⁶ IG V,2 439 (145 BC) 1; IG V,2 440 (131 BC) 1; IG V,2 441 (130 BC) 1-2; Migeotte (1992) 59-63 (no.23) & 65-68 (no.25).

Nothing is known of the terms of office for secretaries in Megalopolis; however, two texts dated to 131 and 130 BC appear to contain the same *grammateus*, Nikeratos.¹⁰⁸⁷ In the later of these texts, Nikeratos appears to be γραμματεὺς τοῖς συνέδροις τὸ β', where τὸ β' (here restored) means 'for a second time', suggesting that this particular *grammateus* served for a second year.

νομογράφος (*nomographos*)

Activities

In the third century BC, Megalopolis possessed a board of *nomographoi*, who were collectively involved in writing a document pertaining to sacred ambassadors sent to the festival of Artemis Lykophrena:¹⁰⁸⁸

οἱ νομογράφοι οἱ ἰν ταῖ ἐπὶ Λυκίν[ωι]¹⁰⁸⁹ ἐτείαι γράψαν|τες ἐπιδειξάντων ταῖ πόλει, ὥς οἱ πολῖται βωλεύ|σ[α]νται περὶ τοινί· χωρασάντων δὲ οἱ νομογράφοι | ἰν τοῖς νόμος καὶ ταννὺν τὰ[ν ἐ]κεχειρίαν...¹⁰⁹⁰

Let the nomographoi writing in the term of the board (in office) in the magistracy of Lykinos declare (them) to the city, so that the citizens may deliberate concerning these things; and let the nomographoi also set up this truce among the laws.

The text appears to be deliberated by the citizens before the writing and display of the text.

In the second century BC, there may have been fewer *nomographoi* at Megalopolis, with less editorial control over public documents. In the following example, a single *nomographos* is associated with the drafting or editing of laws, but the *synedroi* are ultimately responsible for their content:

[εἰ δέ τι δόξε]ι ἐνλείπειν ἐν τοῖς νόμοι[ς τοῖς προ]||[γεγραμμέ]νοις, κύριον ἔστω τὸ ἐφέτο[ς —c.7—]||[... ὅσσα κα]ὶ δόξει τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀδιοίκει[τα προσθεῖ]||[ναι. μηδέ] τις μήτε νομογράφος μήτε γ[ραμμα]||[τοφύλαξ] ἀλλοτριωθῆναι τὰ βυβλία [ἐπιτρεπέ]||[τω].¹⁰⁹¹

[And if anything seems] to be missing from the laws [that have been previously written], let it be binding for this year [—c.7—] ... are to [add] without alteration

¹⁰⁸⁷ IG V,2 440 (131 BC) 1: [ἐπὶ γραμματέος τοῖς συνέδροις Νικ]ηράτου; IG V,2 441 (130 BC) 1-2: ἐπὶ γραμματ[έος τοῖς συνέδροις τὸ β' Νι]κ]ηράτου.

¹⁰⁸⁸ I. Magn 38 (c.208/7 BC) 38-53 (SIG³ 559); Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 88.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Dubois (1988) 207 No.123. In the Arcadian dialect, the dative (e.g. ἐπὶ+dative) is used for many of the functions of the genitive in other dialects.

¹⁰⁹⁰ I. Magn 38 (c.208/7 BC) 45-48.

¹⁰⁹¹ IG V,2 433 (early 2C BC) 6-11 (IPArk 30).

[whatever] is decided by the synedrion. And let no one, neither the nomographos nor the [grammatophylax], allow the papyri¹⁰⁹² [to be taken away].

The text implies that only the *synedrion* have the power to change the law. The lines describing the previous laws are missing.

Further particulars

The existence of a *grammatophylakion*¹⁰⁹³ (archive) and *grammatophylakes*¹⁰⁹⁴ (guardians of the laws) at Megalopolis suggests that laws and decisions were stored in a central location on temporary media, presumably to be consulted from time to time. There also appears to have been a close working relationship between the *synedroi*, the *nomographos* and the *grammatophylax*.

Arcadia: Orchomenos

There is evidence for the enactment of decrees by the polis,¹⁰⁹⁵ or boule and polis¹⁰⁹⁶ at Orchomenos from the third century BC onwards.¹⁰⁹⁷ Its council could be referred to as either the *aliaia* or boule,¹⁰⁹⁸ and was presided over by a *prostatas*.¹⁰⁹⁹ Other officers were *damiorgoi*,¹¹⁰⁰ and boards of five *thearoi* and five *polemarchs*.¹¹⁰¹ There was also a *cheiroskopos*, who was responsible for counting the number of voters.¹¹⁰²

In the third century BC, the council had its own *grammateus* (see below), as did the *thearoi* (see page 193). In the first century BC, there is also evidence for a *grammateus of the synedroi* (see page 194).

¹⁰⁹² βυβλία could also be translated as 'books', but papyri seems more likely.

¹⁰⁹³ While *nomographoi* are not attested after the middle of the second century BC, the archive is attested until the first century AD: IG V,2 433 (early 2CBC) 4, above; IG V,2 516 (42 AD) 31.

¹⁰⁹⁴ *Grammatophylakes* are also known from Sparta: e.g. IG V,1 71 (mid 2CAD) II.17, III.15, 34, 52.

¹⁰⁹⁵ ISE 53 (265-4 BC) 1: [ἔδ]οξε ταῖ πόλι·

¹⁰⁹⁶ SEG 33:319 (3CBC) 3-6: ἔδοξε | ταῖ βωλαῖ καὶ ταῖ | πόλι τῶν Ὀρχομενίων.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Nielsen (2004) 524.

¹⁰⁹⁸ For the ἀλία, see e.g. BCH 38 No.5.6. For βουλαῖς, see e.g. BCH 38 No.9.9.

¹⁰⁹⁹ E.g. BCH 38 No.5.5-6. Plassart & Blum (1914) 472.

¹¹⁰⁰ E.g. BCH 38 No.9.8.

¹¹⁰¹ E.g. IPArk 14 (369-361 BC) 29-33. *Thearoi* are known from various locations in the Peloponnese, including Mantinea (Th. 5.47.9). See also *grammateus of the thearoi* on page 193.

¹¹⁰² E.g. BCH 38 No.5.7. Gauthier (2000) 421-427.

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

Further particulars

The *grammateus* of the council at Orchomenos is known from four third-century BC proxeny decrees.¹¹⁰³ In each instance, he is referred to solely as *grammateus*, and is identified as the *grammateus* of the council only by his presence in decrees enacted by the polis, or boule and polis, and by the inclusion in these texts of other officers of the council. The name and designation of the *grammateus* appear at the end of the text, with no indication of his duties, as in the following inscription, where Orchomenos honours three Athenian Ambassadors:

[ἔδ]οξε τῶι πόλει· προξένος ἦ[ναι καὶ εὐ]εργέτας τῶν Ἐρχομενίων τὸς π[ρεσβευτὰς |
τῶν Ἀθην]α[ίω]ν Κάλλιππομ Μοιροκλ[έους Ἐλευ]σίνιον, Ἀ[ρι]σ[τε]ίδημ Μνησιθέου
Λ[αμπ]τρέα, | Γλαύκ]ωνα Ἐτεοκλέους Αἰθαλίδη[ν...]

...

ἐπὶ Σίμμο[ι] σὺν θεαροῖς· προ[στάτας — | — τῶς] ἀλῑαίας Νικασίλαος· γρα[μματεὺς
— | —]τος.¹¹⁰⁴

It was decreed by the polis: the [Athenian ambassadors] Kallippos son of Moirokles [of Eleusis], Aristeides son of Mnesitheos [of Lamptrai and Glaukon] son of Eteokles of Aithalidai are (to be) proxenoi [and benefactors] of the Orchomenians...

...

Under Simmos and the thearoi; presiding ... [of the] aliaia, Nikasilaos. Secretary —tos.

γραμματεὺς τῶν θεαρῶν (*grammateus of the thearoi*)

The *grammateus of the thearoi* is known from a single, third-century BC proxeny decree enacted by 'the Orchomenians' instead of the boule or polis:

Ἔδοξε Ἐρχομενί[οις] | Νεοκλέα Θορουλ[ό]χου Πελλανέα | πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέ[ταν
ἦναι Ὀρχομενίων | αὐτὸν καὶ γένος. | Θεαροὶ οἱ περὶ Ἀγχ[ι]|— ...
... γραμ[μα]τεὺς τῶν θεαρῶν Κάλλι[ππο]ς, | Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερεὺς | Αἰγυπιδός.¹¹⁰⁵

It was decreed by the Orchomenians: Neokles son of Thoroulochos of Pellane and his descendants are to be proxenos and benefactors of the Orchomenians. Thearoi

¹¹⁰³ ISE 53 (265-4 BC) 10-11; BCH 38 No.5 (3C BC) 7-8; BCH 38 No.6 (3C BC) 12; SEG 33:319 (3C BC) 17-19.

¹¹⁰⁴ ISE 53 (265-4 BC) 2-5, 9-11 (BCH 38 No.1; SEG 25:443); Moretti (1967) 134-136; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 89. Kallippos was a general who led the Athenians in defending Thermopylai in 279 BC, Aristeides was a general and archon, and Glaukon held several magistracies in Athens.

¹¹⁰⁵ BCH 38 No.8 (3C BC) 2-8, 10-13 = Plassart & Blum (1914) 464-465.

*serving with Agchi—...*¹¹⁰⁶

*grammateus of the thearoi, Kallippos; priest of Artemis, 'Aigypios'.*¹¹⁰⁷

The *thearoi* could be eponymous officials at Orchomenos (as in this decree),¹¹⁰⁸ and both *thearoi* and *prostatai*¹¹⁰⁹ could preside over meetings of the *aliaia*.

The duties of the *grammateus of the thearoi* are unknown, but based on a comparison with the duties of other secretaries in Arcadia, are likely to have included the creation of registers of officers, and the recording of honours in addition to proxeny decrees. It is unclear whether *grammateus of the thearoi* could be abbreviated to *grammateus* (page 193).

γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων (*grammateus of the synedroi*)

Activities

The *grammateus of the synedroi* is known from three manumission decrees inscribed on a single stele.¹¹¹⁰ The first of these decrees records that the money required for the manumission be deposited with the *grammateus of the synedroi*:

[ἐπειδὴ — c.8 —]έος Ὀρχομενῶι κατοικῶν εἰς τὸν γραμματῆ¹¹¹¹ τῶν συνέδρων
κατέβαλε ἐ]κ τᾶς ἀπελευθερώσιος ἀργυρίου ἡμίμναιον κατὰ τὸν νόμον...¹¹¹²

[*Since*] –eos, dwelling in Orchomenos, [has deposited] half a mina of the
manumission money with the *grammateus of the synedroi* according to the law...

The manumission was decreed by the archons and *synedroi*, and written on the altar.¹¹¹³ No officers were directly assigned the duty of writing either the manumissions or the decree(s).¹¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰⁶ Dubois (1988) 171-2: this appears to be a personal name from an otherwise unproductive family.

¹¹⁰⁷ See Dubois (1988) 113-4 for the name Artemis in Arcadian inscriptions. Αἰγυνιός: 'vulture'. Dubois (1988) 172 considers this to be a nickname.

¹¹⁰⁸ Sherk (1990a) 264: dating by *thearoi* and their president in this decree identifies them as the eponymous officials of this year. See Sherk for additional examples of eponymous *thearoi*; see also ISE 53 (265-4 BC) 2-5, 9-11 on page 193.

¹¹⁰⁹ See e.g. ISE 53 (265-4 BC) 9-11 on page 193.

¹¹¹⁰ IG V,2 345 (79-78 BC) 1-25, esp. 1-2, 10-11, 13-14. Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 99.

¹¹¹¹ The Arcadian accusative singular form of a noun in –eus.

¹¹¹² IG V,2 345 (79-78 BC) 1-2.

¹¹¹³ IG V,2 345 (79-78 BC) 3-5.

¹¹¹⁴ The decrees are also unusual in that they include both the noun and verbal form of *grammateus*, although both are restored: IG V,2 345 (79-78 BC) (I) 10-11; (II) 13.

The manumission was witnessed by several officers, including the *grammateus*:

μάρτυρες· δαμιοργῶν || [— c.8 —]έος, γερουσίας Σωτέλης Λεπτίνα, γραμμα[τεὺς
συνέδρων —c.3—]ομενίδας Εὐκρίτου, ἰδιωτῶν Ἀπολλόδω[ρος
—c.10— Π]όλλις Διονυσίου Ὀρχομένιοι.¹¹¹⁵

*Witnesses: of the damiorgoi: —es, of the senate: Soteles son of Leptinas, grammateus
[of the synedroi] —omenidas son of Eukritos, of the private citizens: Apollodoros <son
of ?>, Pollis son of Dionysios, both Orchomenians.*

The inclusion of the *grammateus* as witness suggests that this was a position of some importance. Rhodes suggests the *synedrion* referred to here is the Achaian League, making this *grammateus* the *grammateus of the Achaians*.¹¹¹⁶ If this is so, it is unclear why Achaian League officials would have witnessed local political decisions, or acted as recipients of manumission funds.

Other attributes

The stipulation that money is to be deposited with the *grammateus of the synedroi*¹¹¹⁷ or, elsewhere in the decree, 'in the *synedrion*' (ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ),¹¹¹⁸ both connects the *grammateus* with the handling of money, while distancing individual *synedroi* from this duty.

Arcadia: Tegea

An assembly is attested in Tegea from the end of the fourth century BC.¹¹¹⁹ It was presided over by three *prostatai*, and also included *stratagoi* and a *hipparch* (see following example).

Evidence for secretaries, or officials performing secretarial duties, dates from the end of the third century BC, with more than half of the surviving evidence dating from 230-200 BC.

Terms found are *grammateus*,¹¹²⁰ *graphes*¹¹²¹ and *nomographos*.¹¹²² One decree was also written up by *stratagoi*.¹¹²³

¹¹¹⁵ IG V,2 345 (79-78 BC) 9-12.

¹¹¹⁶ Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 99. See page 222.

¹¹¹⁷ IG V,2 345 (79-78 BC) 1-2.

¹¹¹⁸ IG V,2 345 (79-78 BC) 14-15.

¹¹¹⁹ SEG 11:1051 (end 4CBC) 1-2: Ἐδοξε τῇ πόλει των Τεγε[α] τῶν....

¹¹²⁰ IG V,2 43 (2CBC) 1; IG V,2 50 (165-166 AD) 78; IG V,2 11 (before 228 BC) 19.

¹¹²¹ IG V,2 116 (3CBC) 7; IG V,2 12 (240-228 BC) 5; IG V,2 13 (before 228 BC) 9.

¹¹²² IG V,2 24 (1CBC or after) 4-5.

¹¹²³ IG V,2 16 (218 BC) 7-8.

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

The *grammateus* of the Tegean assembly is known from the following inscription only:

προ|στάτα<ι> τοῦ δάμου· <three personal names>, στραταγοί· <eleven personal names>, ἵππαρχος· Τεί|σανδρος, γραμματεὺς· Ἀγέας, || ἱερεὺς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς·
Εὐαίνετος.¹¹²⁴

Prostatai of the demos: <three personal names>, stratagoi: <eleven personal names>, hipparch: Teisandros, grammateus: Hageas, priest of Athena: Euainetos.

In the second centuries BC and AD (and possibly also in the intervening period), a *grammateus* also worked with or for the ephebes. In the earlier of these two texts, the *grammateus* is listed at the start of the inscription with the priest and *gymnasiarch*.¹¹²⁵ In the later text, while the priest and *gymnasiarch* appear in the first three lines, the *grammateus* appears in the final five lines, after the list of ephebes, and with officers such as a doctor and the *elaiothetes* (ἐλαιοθέτης), the man who provided olive oil at the baths.¹¹²⁶ If the order in which these officers are listed can be taken as an indicator of status (which is by no means certain), the *grammateus* appears to have had a lower status in the second century AD.

γραφής (*graphes*)

γραφής, the Arcadian form of γραφεύς,¹¹²⁷ is a term that can refer to either a secretary, or a painter. The designation is found in Tegea in the third century BC, at the same time as the designation *grammateus*.¹¹²⁸ The context in which this designation occurs, in proxeny decrees and registers of officers, suggests that *graphes* and *grammateus* were synonymous. For example, the *graphes* in the following text is listed after *stratagoi* and a *hipparch*, in the same way that the *grammateus* is listed after *stratagoi* and a *hipparch* in IG V,2 11, above:

στρα[τ]αγοὶ ἀνέθεν· | <seven personal names>, | ἵππαρχος· Γόργ[ω]ν Γοργίππῳ, |
γραφή· Εὐάρε[το]ς Σακλέος.¹¹²⁹

(The) stratagoi dedicated (this offering): <seven personal names>, hipparch: Gorgon son of Gorgippos, graphes: Euaretos son of Sakles.

In proxeny decrees, the *graphes* (like the *grammateus*) appears alongside other officers of the Tegean assembly, such as the *prostatas* and *stratagoi*.¹¹³⁰ However, both surviving

¹¹²⁴ IG V,2 11 (before 228 BC) 12-20.

¹¹²⁵ IG V,2 43 (2CBC) 1-2.

¹¹²⁶ IG V,2 50 (165-166 AD) 2-3 & 77-79.

¹¹²⁷ Buck (1955) 91-2 §111 note 4.

¹¹²⁸ IG V,2 12 (240-228 BC) 5; IG V,2 13 (bef. 228 BC) 9; IG V,2 116 (3CBC) 7.

¹¹²⁹ IG V,2 116 (3CBC) 1-7.

examples are fragmentary, and it is possible that *grammateus* would fit equally well in the available space.¹¹³¹ For example:

... καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις] | προξένοις. στρατα[γοί· —c.14? —] | Δυαῖος, προστάτας [τῷ δάμω· —c.6— γραφής·] || Ἀγέας,¹¹³² ἱερής· Δαμ[— —]. | *vacat*¹¹³³

...[and for the other] proxenoi. Stratagoi: <two or three personal names> Duaios, prostates [of the damos: <personal name>, graphes]: Hageas, priest: Dam—.

νομογράφος (*nomographos*)

The *nomographoi* at Tegea are known from a single fragmentary inscription from the first century BC. The full text is given below:

...ετωΙ — — 19 — — | στεφανούτω δὲ α[ύτου· ὁ ἐπιμε]λητὰς διὰ τοῦ κάρυκος ἐν τοῖς δε[ί]πνοις, γραψάτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ νομογράφοι νόμον περὶ τούτων.¹¹³⁴

Let the overseer crown [them] through the herald at the meals, and let the nomographoi write a law about these things.

It is unclear from this fragment whether the *nomographoi* described are Tegean *nomographoi*, or *nomographoi* of the Achaian League (see page 226).¹¹³⁵

στραταγός (*stratagos*)

Activities

The *stratagoi* (generals) were officers who formed part of the Tegean assembly.¹¹³⁶ One inscription also directs unnamed *stratagoi* to write up an honorific decree:

ὁπότε Θεόκριτος καὶ Ἀμφάλης τῶν πολεμίων | ἐπι<β>άντων ἐπὶ τὰ τείχεα ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ | ἐγένοντο μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλιος | ἐλευθερίαι, καὶ ἀπεδείξαντο τὴν εὐνοίαν | ἀξίως τῷ προκειμένῳ κινδύνῳ, δεδόχθαι | τῇ πόλει ἀνακαρῦξαι αὐτὸς¹¹³⁷ ἀνδραγαθίαι | κατὸν νόμον, καὶ ἀνγράψαντας τὸ ψάφισμα | τότε τὸς στραταγὸς τὸς περὶ Στρατέαν | εἰς στάλαν ἀνθῆναι ἰν τὴν ἀγοράν, ὅπως κ<αῖ> || οἱ λοιποὶ

¹¹³⁰ IG V,2 12 (240-228 BC) 2-3, 5; IG V,2 13 (bef. 228 BC) 8-9.

¹¹³¹ The editor appears to have restored *graphes* based on the secure parallel IG V,2 116 (3C BC) 7 (page 196).

¹¹³² Compare this *graphes*, Hageas, with the *grammateus* Hageas on in IG V,2 11 on page 196. Both inscriptions are dated to 'before 228 BC'.

¹¹³³ IG V,2 13 (bef. 228 BC) 7-11.

¹¹³⁴ IG V,2 24 (1C BC or after) 1-5. Larsen (1968) xxiv & notes 1 & 2.

¹¹³⁵ See Appendix B page 281 for *nomographoi* in other locations in the Peloponnese.

¹¹³⁶ See examples on pages 196 and 197.

¹¹³⁷ Arcadian accusative plural.

λεύσονται τὰν τᾷς πόλιος ἐ[ύ] | χαριστίαν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίνονται· γράψαι¹¹³⁸ δὲ ἰν
τὰν στήλαν τὰν αὐτάν ὅθι καὶ οἱ | [π]ερὶ Θεόκριτον, Σιμίδαν ν Νικίαν ν Ξένιππον |
Ἀρχέαν Ἐπιτέλην.¹¹³⁹

*Whereas Theokritos and Amphalkes, when the enemy attacked the walls, were
brave men fighting on behalf of the freedom of the city, and have demonstrated
goodwill equal to the danger before them, it has been decreed by the polis to
proclaim them publicly for bravery according to the law, and that the stratagoi who
served with Strateas are to write up this decree on a stele and set it up in the agora,
in order that the others too, seeing the gratitude of the polis, may be brave men.
And (it was decreed) to write on the same stele where the associates of Theokritos
(are) (the names of) Simidas, Nikias, Xenippos, Archeas (and) Epiteles.*

The decree honours men for the way in which they have defended the city. No honorands are named in full.

While it is otherwise unknown for *stratagoi* to write such a text, this instance can be compared with a (similarly unprecedented) direction for an archon in Athens,¹¹⁴⁰ or instructions directed at ephors in various locations in Laconia.¹¹⁴¹

Arcadia: Thisoa

As with Alipheira, Thisoa may have been a member of the Arcadian Confederacy, and one of the cities the Confederacy voted to incorporate into Megalopolis.¹¹⁴² Again, it does not appear that this resolution was carried out.¹¹⁴³

ἐπιμελητής (*epimeletes*)

Thisoa seems to have produced very few inscriptions. Those that survive refer to *epimeletai* (a generic term for magistrates¹¹⁴⁴) and no other type of official, suggesting that Thisoa had few magistrates, and that (some of) those that it had were known by this designation as they were required to perform a variety of functions.

¹¹³⁸ γράφω is also used in Athenian inscriptions for additions to an existing text: IG II² 17 (394/3 BC) 8-11, 25-26; IG II² 19 (394/3 BC) A7-9, B7-10.

¹¹³⁹ IG V,2 16 (218 BC) 1-14; SEG 37:348. Dubois (1988) 84-86.

¹¹⁴⁰ IG I³ 1453, B/G (425/4 BC?) 8.1-2.

¹¹⁴¹ E.g. IG V,1 962 (undated) 31-33 (Kortyrta). While it is possible that a Tegean *grammateus* or *graphes* was involved in this process, there is no reason to omit him from the text.

¹¹⁴² Paus. 8.27.4-7.

¹¹⁴³ Nielsen (2004) 534.

¹¹⁴⁴ Minon (2007) 504.

Attributes

The *epimeletai* could be directed to write up proxeny decrees, which were set up in the temple of the Great God (Zeus):

γράφαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς τὸ ψάφισμα | ἐγὼ χάλκῳ καὶ ἀναθῆναι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ
Μεγάλῳ Θεῷ.¹¹⁴⁵

And the epimeletai are also to write the decree on a bronze tablet and set it up in the sanctuary of the Great God.

Epimeletai also wrote official texts in other poleis which rarely set up public documents and/or did not employ their own secretaries; for example, *epimeletai* registered citizens for the poleis of Mantinea and Helisson (see page 188).

Arcadia: concluding remarks

The earliest known secretaries in Arcadia were the fourth-century BC *gropheus* and *katakooi* at Stymphalos, who appear to have functioned as secretaries or administrators in a court setting,¹¹⁴⁶ and the *gropheus* at Lykaia, known only from a list of victors set up in this remote sanctuary.¹¹⁴⁷ Also known from the fourth century only, the otherwise-unattested *stalographoi* were quite possibly itinerant, and were only present at Mantinea for ten days, to assist local *epimeletai* with the creation of a stele.¹¹⁴⁸

Most evidence for secretaries in Arcadia dates from the third and second centuries BC, and relates to secretaries of polis institutions. These secretaries are usually known by the simple designation *grammateus*, *gropheus*, or *graphes*,¹¹⁴⁹ but also occasionally *grammateus of the synedroi*.¹¹⁵⁰ There is very little evidence for Arcadian secretaries of any kind from the first century BC onwards (see Table 7 on page 181).

Several poleis had few officials and/or set up a few inscriptions only, and it could be either a *grammateus* or another officer such as a *damiorgos* or *epimeletes* who was responsible for engraving and setting up stelai.¹¹⁵¹ Other Arcadian poleis had more than one type of officer

¹¹⁴⁵ IG V,2 511 (undated) 10-12. See also IG V,2 510 (3/e.2CBC) 7-9.

¹¹⁴⁶ IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 2-26, page 184.

¹¹⁴⁷ IG V,2 550 (4CBC) 1-6, page 186.

¹¹⁴⁸ See IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 16-18, page 189.

¹¹⁴⁹ See e.g. IG V,2 116 (3CBC) 1-7 on page 196.

¹¹⁵⁰ See IG V,2 345 (79-78 BC) 1-2 on page 194.

¹¹⁵¹ See, e.g. the *damiorgos* at Alipheira, page 182, and the *epimeletes* at Mantinea, page 188.

acting as secretary in the same period. For example, the *grammateus* and *nomographoi* at Megalopolis,¹¹⁵² and the *grammateus*, *graphes* and *stratagoi* at Tegea.¹¹⁵³

Collegial environment varied from location to location, and was small. For instance, at Orchomenos, there was a presiding officer, five *thearoi* and polemarchs, two or more *damiorgoi*, and a *grammateus*,¹¹⁵⁴ while at Stymphalos, there could be two presiding officers, four *damiorgoi* and a *grammateus*.¹¹⁵⁵ In the second century BC, the *grammateus for the synedroi* could also be the eponymous official at Megalopolis,¹¹⁵⁶ a period in which Megalopolis also possessed archons and a treasurer.¹¹⁵⁷

Arcadia produced a wide range of administrative documents: laws written by *nomographoi* at Megalopolis¹¹⁵⁸ and Tegea,¹¹⁵⁹ manumission decrees witnessed by the *grammateus of the synedroi* (or possibly *grammateus of the Achaians*) at Orchomenos,¹¹⁶⁰ and the victors list written by the *gropheus* at Lykaia.¹¹⁶¹ Also attested are proxeny and honorific decrees (the documents most often found elsewhere). With the exception of the *nomographoi*, no one type of official was associated with a particular type of text. Other duties for secretaries are rarely attested. Only the *grammateus of the synedroi* at Mantinea¹¹⁶² and the *damiorgos* at Alipheira (while acting as secretary)¹¹⁶³ appear to have had financial responsibilities.

¹¹⁵² See pages 190 and 191.

¹¹⁵³ See pages 196-197.

¹¹⁵⁴ See, e.g. ISE 53 (265-4 BC) 2-5, 9-11 on page 193.

¹¹⁵⁵ See, e.g. IG V,2 356 (c.240 BC) 5-8 on page 183.

¹¹⁵⁶ See page 190.

¹¹⁵⁷ IG V,2 436 (2CBC) 11-12.

¹¹⁵⁸ IG V,2 433 (early 2CBC) 6-11, page 191.

¹¹⁵⁹ IG V,2 24 (1CBC or after) 1-5, page 196.

¹¹⁶⁰ IG V,2 345 (79-78 BC) 1-25, page 194.

¹¹⁶¹ IG V,2 550 (4CBC) 1-6, page 186.

¹¹⁶² See, e.g. IG V,2 345 (79-78 BC) 1-2, page 194.

¹¹⁶³ IPArk 24 (273 BC) 8-11, 14-18, page 182.

Elis: Introduction

Elis is said to have contained sixteen cities.¹¹⁶⁴ Only the poleis of Elis and Olympia provide evidence relevant to this thesis.

In the sixth century BC, Elis had an oligarchic constitution, with its council and law courts dominated by a few families.¹¹⁶⁵ From this period onwards, Elis controlled Olympia, and both locations served as political centres. The same officials presided in both locations; the administration of Elean business overlapping with that of Olympia.¹¹⁶⁶

Evidence that the Eleans inscribed and set up public documents dates from the end of the sixth century BC onwards, i.e. starting at approximately the same time as, or perhaps earlier than in Athens. Nearly all inscriptions for both poleis were set up in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, which attracted visitors from many locations.¹¹⁶⁷ The style of these texts differs from those produced in Athens, and suggests that Elis had its own constitutional procedures from a very early date.¹¹⁶⁸ The earliest evidence for a secretary, the *gropheus*, also dates from the end of the sixth to the middle of the fifth century BC (see page 207).¹¹⁶⁹

The situation and date for the start of democracy at Elis is not known, but may have been during the synoecism of 471 BC.¹¹⁷⁰ Elis then experienced several short oligarchic coups in the fourth century BC.¹¹⁷¹ The only secretary attested during the earliest period of democracy at Elis is the *bolographor* (βωλογράφορ), known from a single surviving text from the third century BC (see page 202).¹¹⁷²

There is no evidence for an assembly from the fourth century BC to the second century AD.¹¹⁷³ From the mid-third to the first century BC, there is also a gap in the evidence for secretaries. The *grammateus* is known from the second half of the first century BC onwards, but his duties appear to be limited (see page 204). One inscription from the second or third

¹¹⁶⁴ Paus. 5.16.5.

¹¹⁶⁵ Arist. *Pol.* 1306a13-19.

¹¹⁶⁶ For these reasons, references to Elis (the state) should be taken to refer collectively to both Elis (the polis), and Olympia.

¹¹⁶⁷ Roy (2004) 489, 495-7. All evidence for secretaries in Elis is from Olympia.

¹¹⁶⁸ Jones (1987) 142-145; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 95.

¹¹⁶⁹ IvO 2 (before 580 BC) 8: Πατρίας ὁ γροφεύς; SEG 31:358 (480-450 BC) 1-7. The earliest surviving examples of this designation.

¹¹⁷⁰ Roy (2004) 497-498, D.S. 11.54.1; Str. 8.3.2.

¹¹⁷¹ X. *Hell.* 7.4.15-16; D. 19.260, 294; Paus. 4.28.4; 5.4.9.

¹¹⁷² IvO 39 (300-250 BC) 37.

¹¹⁷³ Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 95-96. In this period, surviving decrees are enacted in the name of the polis or council (boule).

century AD also records the designation *grammatistas*; however, this is likely to be a false archaism, rather than a true reflection of the office held (see page 207).

	6-5CBC	4CBC	3CBC	2CBC	1CBC	1CAD	2CAD	3CAD
<i>bolographor</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
<i>grammateus</i>	0	0	0	0	4	9	9	4
<i>gr. of the polis</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
<i>grammatistas</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
<i>gropheus</i>	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	2	0	1	0	4	9	11	4
Grand total: 31								

Table 8 – Attestations of secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in Elis.¹¹⁷⁴

Elis: Olympia

βωλογράφορ (*bolographor*)

The designation βωλογράφορ, i.e. *bolographos* with rhotacism of the final -ς, 'secretary of the council,' survives in a single proxeny decree, dated to 300-250 BC.¹¹⁷⁵

Activities

The *bolographor* worked with the Elean boule to create a proxeny decree for the Olympic victor Damokrates of Tenedos (an island off the west coast of Asia Minor).¹¹⁷⁶ The decree was written (γραφέν) on bronze, and a copy of it was sent away to Tenedos by Nikodromos the *bolographor*, to be given to the envoys in Miletos and the assembly of the Didymeians:

... τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα | τὸ γεγονὸς ἀπὸ τῶν βωλᾶρ γραφέν ἐγ χάλκῳ|μα ἀνατεθεῖ ἐν τῷ
 ἱερὸν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ | τὰν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἀναθέσιον ποιήσασσι | Αἰσχίναν
 τὸν ἐπιμελητὰν τῶν ἵππων. | περὶ δὲ τῷ ἀποσταλᾶμεν τοῖς Τενεδίοις | τὸ γεγονὸς
 ψάφισμα ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσεται | Νικόδρομος ὁ βωλογράφορ ὅπως δοθῇ τοῖς |
 θεαροῖς τοῖς ἐμὲ Μίλητον ἀποστελλομέ|νοις ποτὶ τὰν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα || τῶν
 Διδυμείων.¹¹⁷⁷

... and the decree, the one originating from the boule, having been written on
 bronze, let it be set up in the sanctuary of Zeus the Olympian. And Aischines, the
 commissioner of the mares, is to take care of the setting up. And concerning the

¹¹⁷⁴ Siewert (1991) 105-7 notes that there is still no comprehensive publication of inscriptions from Elea, and that at least fifty inscriptions, including several laws and public documents remain unpublished. These texts may affect the figures in this table quite considerably.

¹¹⁷⁵ IvO 39 (300-250 BC) 37 (Buck 66); Minon (2007) 220-229; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 94.

¹¹⁷⁶ IvO 39 (300-250 BC) 4-5, 37. Paus. 6.17.1. Damokrates won the wrestling, and the statue accompanying this decree is referred to by Pausanias.

¹¹⁷⁷ IvO 39 (300-250 BC) 30-40.

sending off to the Tenedians of the decree that has been made, let Nikodromos the bolographor see to it that it be given to the thearoi, who are being sent to Miletos for the sacrifice and the assembly of the Didymeians.

We are given no further information about the relationship between the *bolographor* and the council. From the context, we assume that Nikodromos was responsible for having the Elean copy of the decree made. It is unlikely that he made the decree himself. It may be that some less ornate bronze decrees (such as the small bronze plates used for some proxeny decrees at Orchomenos¹¹⁷⁸) were inscribed by the secretary himself, though there is no direct evidence for this. However, this particular text (see Figure six, below) is large and ornate, and is more likely to have been created by one or more skilled metalworkers.



*Figure 6 – Proxeny decree for Damokrates of Tenedos.*¹¹⁷⁹

¹¹⁷⁸ See Plassart & Blum (1914) 449-478.

¹¹⁷⁹ IvO 39 (300-250 BC): 0.55 high, 0.24 wide.

The statement that the decree is to be both written on bronze and sent away to Tenedos once the decree has been inscribed suggests that both (permanent) decrees are to be created from the same (temporary media) text.

Further particulars

The Elean copy of the decree was placed in the sanctuary of Zeus the Olympian, with part of the responsibility for the finished text falling to Aischines, the commissioner of the mares.¹¹⁸⁰ It is unclear why this officer was involved in the process: it may be that Elis had few officers at this time.

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

Activities

The designation *grammateus* is by far the most frequently-occurring of the designations for secretary found in Elis.¹¹⁸¹ The Elean *grammateus* was one of many officials at the temple of Zeus, and the majority of inscriptions containing this designation are lists of temple officials and persons making drink-offerings. From this, we assume that the Elean *grammateus* was the officer who recorded sacrifices and drink-offerings. The nature of this office is unclear, as texts containing this designation lack verbs of writing and other details such as instructions for the display of the text (see following example).

Several inscriptions from Elis also honour *grammateis*; however, it is not clear whether these texts refer to the same office, or another office altogether (see page 206).

Further particulars

These documents show the *grammateus* working with (or at least in conjunction with) a variety of cult officials over a period of three hundred years. No inscription includes more than one *grammateus*, and while the same designations are not included in every inscription, the majority record three priests, two or more soothsayers, one or more flute-players, and an *exegetes* (ἐξηγητής) or 'interpreter'. Less frequently-occurring offices include curator or financial officer (ἐπιμελητής), butcher or cook (μάγειρος), and *periegetes* (περιηγητής), someone who guided strangers around and showed them things of interest.¹¹⁸²

¹¹⁸⁰ IvO 39 (300-250 BC) 33-34.

¹¹⁸¹ See Appendix B page 310 for a list of texts.

¹¹⁸² E.g. IvO 110 (209-213 AD) 17-19. The office appears to be similar to that of 'tour guide'.

[σπονδοφόροι]	[Those offering libations:]
Ἀρχιάδα[ς — — —] Δ.	<i>Archiadas — D.</i>
Κλείππος Ἀ[ριστοδή]μου Κ.	<i>Kleippos son of Aristodemos K.</i>
Ἡρακλείδης Σ Ν. μάντις·	<i>Herakleides S. N. Soothsayers:</i>
Μικκίας Τίμωνος Κλυτιάδης ¹¹⁸³	<i>Mikkias son of Timon of the Klutiadai</i>
Ἀρίσταρχος Κύρου Ἰαμίδης Χ.	<i>Aristarchos son of Kyros of the Iamidai Ch.</i>
<u>γραμματεὺς</u> ¹¹⁸⁴	<i>grammateus:</i>
Δαμάριστος Ἀντιόχου Δ.	<i>Damaristos son of Antiochos D.</i>
αὐλητῆς· Ζωΐλος Σ Γ.	<i>Flute player: Zoilos S. G.</i>
κλ<ε>ιδούχοι· Ἰππίας Χάροπος ¹¹⁸⁵ Φ.	<i>Caretakers: Hippias son of Charops Ph.</i>
Ἄρκεσος Ἀρμοδίου Τ.	<i>Arkesos son of Harmodios T.</i>
καθημεροθύτης Ὀλύμπιχος Σ	<i>Priest (offering daily sacrifice): Olympichos S.</i>
ξύλεὺς Σωτίων Σ ἰατρός	<i>Wood-provider: Sotion S. Doctor:</i>
Ἀμμώνιος Σ Φ. ἀρχιτέκτων	<i>Ammonios S. Ph. Architect:</i>
Πρατακῶν Σ Με. ἐξηγητής·	<i>Pratakon S. Me. Interpreter:</i>
Πολυχάρης Ἀριστοκράτο[υ]ς	<i>Polychares son of Aristokrates</i>
ἀρχιμάγ<ε>ιρος Ἀλέξανδρος Σ ¹¹⁸⁶	<i>Chief cook / butcher: Alexandros S.</i>

The texts suggest a great deal of activity at the temple of Zeus, with daily sacrifices taking place during certain periods. The number of officials, and the occasional inclusion of the *periegetes*¹¹⁸⁷ in these texts indicate that cult activities were well-attended and could attract attendance from non-locals, presumably while attending the games.

Other attributes

An examination of the names of *grammateis* indicates that this role may have been a hereditary position or occupation of long duration, rather than an elected one.¹¹⁸⁸ The meaning of the ligatures and single characters by many of the names in the text is unclear.

¹¹⁸³ Hollmann (2005) 124-125: The Klutiadai and Iamidai were famous families of soothsayers at Elis.

¹¹⁸⁴ In this instance, the *grammateus* is one of the first officers listed, however, this is often not the case, and there does not seem to be a pattern to the order in which officers were recorded.

¹¹⁸⁵ *LSJ*: 'An epithet of dubious sense, perhaps "fierce".' See e.g. Peek, NI 16 (undated) 25 (Epidauros).

¹¹⁸⁶ IvO 62 (36-24 BC) 1-17.

¹¹⁸⁷ E.g. IvO 110 (209-213 AD) 17-19.

¹¹⁸⁸ IvO 85 (77-81 AD) 15 and IvO 86 (85-93 AD) 11: *grammateus* Μ(ἄρκος) Ἀπτήδιος Κόννιτος. IvO 102 (181-185 AD) 20-21 and IvO 104 (185-189 AD) 23: *grammateus* Ἀριστόβιος Ἀριστοβίου; IvO 103 (177-189 AD) 23, IvO 105 (late 2/3 CAD) 11-12 and possibly also IvO 107 (late 2/3 CAD) 16-17: *grammateus* Ἀριστόβιος. IvO 121 (245-249 AD) 28 and IvO 122 (265 AD) 24: *grammateus* Ἐρμῆς. IvO 99 (after 165 AD) 19-20: *grammateus* Τ(ίτος) Φλά(βιος) [Ἀριστόβιος] who could be a relative of the *grammateus* of IvO 102/104 and/or IvO 103/105/107 above; alternately, there is space for the name Νόρκισσος instead of Ἀριστόβιος, which may indicate a relative of IvO 92 (113-117 AD) 16-17 Τ(ίτος) Φλάβιος Νόρκισσος. It is highly unlikely to be the same man due to the c.50 year gap between inscriptions.

They may indicate demes;¹¹⁸⁹ the reverse lunate sigmas (⊔) may also indicate a homonymous patronymic, i.e. Ἡρακλείδης ⊔: *Herakleides son of Herakleides*. This would explain why some names are followed by two such characters.¹¹⁹⁰

The *grammateus* at Olympia is also known from a small number of honorific inscriptions; however, it is not clear from these texts whether this *grammateus* is the same office as that noted above, a separate office or offices, or an honorific title only. For example, the following text honours a *grammateus* who has held several offices in his lifetime, including priest at the temple:

ἡ πόλις Ἠλείων καὶ ἡ Ὀλυμπι|κὴ βουλὴ Τιβ(έριον) Κλαύδιον Τιβ(ερίου) Κλαυδίου |
Ἀγία καὶ Γιγανίας Πώλλης υἱὸν Λύ|σωνα Κοσμόπολιν,¹¹⁹¹ ἱερέα γ Διὸς Ὀλ|{λ}υμπίου
καὶ ἀγορανόμον καὶ γυμνασίαρχον καὶ ἀλλυτάρχην καὶ γραμματέα...¹¹⁹²

The polis of the Eleans and the Olympian boule (honour) Tiberius Claudius Lyson son of Tiberius Claudius Agias and Gigania Polla, kosmopolis, priest of Zeus Olympios for the third time and agoranomos and gymnasiarch and chief of police¹¹⁹³ and secretary...

Zoumbaki believes the '*grammateus* of cult personnel' to be a separate, yet indistinguishable, office from that of (political) *grammateus*, whose office may be designated either *grammateus of the polis*, *grammateus of the boule*, or *grammateus of the synedrion*.¹¹⁹⁴ Zoumbaki's belief in a separate office appears to be based solely upon the following honorific inscriptions.

Two further texts from Elis honour officers who had at one time been *grammateus*, and who had also been officers of the Achaian League. It is not possible to tell whether they were *grammateis* at Elis or Olympia, or *grammateis* of the Achaian League, of which Olympia was a member.¹¹⁹⁵ In the first text, the honorand had been *priest of Zeus Olympios, grammateus of the polis and president of the Achaian League* ([ἱερέα τοῦ Δ]ιὸς τοῦ Ὀ[λυ]μπίου,

¹¹⁸⁹ Jones (1987) 145.

¹¹⁹⁰ For similar use of the reverse lunate sigma, see IG II² 1774 (167/8 AD) on page 97.

¹¹⁹¹ *ho kosmopolis* was a magistrate at Locris (Plb. 12.16.6) and Thasos (IG XII,8 386.3). *kosmopolis* could also be used in the sense of 'as an adornment for his city'. In this instance, it appears to be neither, and is part of Tiberius' name: see e.g. IvO 431 (c.95-105 AD) 1-4: Τιβ(έριος) Κλαύδιος Λύ|σων Κοσμόπολις | Κλαύδιον Λουκιανόν | Σαίκλαρον... and IvO 432 (c.95-105 AD) 1-3. Zoumbaki (2001) 197 no.17; 253 no.8; 304 no.65; 321 no.37.

¹¹⁹² IvO 433 (after c.95 AD) 1-6. Tiberius is also honoured in IvO 431 (see n.1191 above) and IvO 432 (c.95-105 AD) 1-3.

¹¹⁹³ Chief of police for the Olympic Games. See also IvO 468 on page 207.

¹¹⁹⁴ Zoumbaki (2001) 95-96, 125-126 treats all three designations as synonymous, and uses the designation *grammateus of the synedron* (sic.) rather than *grammateus of the synedroi*.

¹¹⁹⁵ I have therefore included these texts in the 'count' for Elis, rather than the Achaian League.

γραμματεύσαντα] | [τῆς πόλεω]ς καὶ ἐλλ[αδάρχ]ην).¹¹⁹⁶ The designation *grammateus of the polis* is otherwise unattested in Elis, and is also not a known designation for the *grammateus of the Achaians*. In the second text, the honorand had been *strategos of the Achaian koinon* and *grammateus for the second time* (τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν | Ἀχαιῶν καὶ γραμματέα τὸ β).¹¹⁹⁷ While it may have been possible for the *grammateus* at the temple of Zeus to serve for a second time,¹¹⁹⁸ it is not known whether the *grammateus of the Achaians* could also serve two or more times.

See page 222 for the *grammateus of the Achaians*, and also see *grammatistas*, below.

γραμματιστάς (*grammatistas*)

The designation *grammatistas* is known from a single second- or third-century AD honorific inscription from Elis. Otherwise known in the Peloponnese in the fourth and third centuries BC only,¹¹⁹⁹ it is perhaps more accurate to consider this example a revival of an archaic term for honorific purposes, with the officer more accurately known by the designation *grammateus* (see previous section).¹²⁰⁰

Other attributes

The *grammatistas* at Olympia is honoured, having held this and several other offices:

[— — — —σ]αντ[α — — — —], | [ἐ]πιμελητεύσαντα τοῦ Δι[ός, θε] | ηκολήσαντα, ἀγορανομήσα[ντα], | ἀλυταρχήσαντα, δημιουργήσα[ντα], | γραμματίσαντα...¹²⁰¹

[— having held the office of (?) —], *epimeletes of Zeus, priest, agoranomos, chief of police, magistrate, grammatistas...*

γροφεύς (*gropheus*)

The office of *gropheus* is known from Olympia from the early sixth, to early fifth centuries BC.¹²⁰² These examples provide the earliest instances of secretaries of any kind in the Peloponnese; the earlier of the two is possibly the earliest surviving evidence for secretaries

¹¹⁹⁶ IvO 460 (Roman) 3-4.

¹¹⁹⁷ IvO 430 (Not before beg. 2CAD) 6-7. For the significance of the general of the Achaian koinon (*stratagos*), see page 222.

¹¹⁹⁸ If we read offices of long duration as offices into which *grammateis* are re-elected, n.1188.

¹¹⁹⁹ For the *grammatistas* in Corinth, see page 126; for Dyme, see pages 212 and 214.

¹²⁰⁰ For the formation of *grammatistas*, see page 21. The use of the participial form of the designation is found only in honorific inscriptions of the Roman period.

¹²⁰¹ IvO 468 (2/3CAD) 1-5.

¹²⁰² IvO 2 (before 580 BC) 1-9; SEG 31:358 (480-450 BC) 1-7. For the formation of *gropheus*, see page 21.

in the Greek world, predating the earliest surviving evidence for the *grammateus* at Athens by approximately twenty years.¹²⁰³

Major disagreements exist regarding the interpretation of IvO 2 (the earliest text), without any consensus being reached. Of particular relevance is whether πατρίαν (*Patrian*, line 1) and πατρίας (*Patrias*, line 8) is like Delphian πατριά and Doric πάτρα, indicating *genos*, or whether Πατρίας is the personal name of the *gropheus*.¹²⁰⁴ Since 'scribe of the *genos*' is without parallel, and the text contains guarantees of safety, I consider it more likely that these were bestowed upon a man and his family, rather than upon an entire *genos* in perpetuity; I therefore interpret Patrias as a personal name. The full text of the inscription is given below:

Ἀ φράτρα τοῖς Φαλείοις Πατρίαν θαρρῆν καὶ γενεάν καὶ ταύτῳ· | αἱ ζέ τις κατισταύσει,
φάρρῆν, ὅρ Φαλείῳ. αἱ ζέ μῆπιθεῖαν τὰ ζῖ|καία ὅρ μέγιστον τέλος ἔχοι καὶ τοῖ βασιλάες,
ζέκα μναῖς κα | ἀποτίνοι φέκαστος τῶν μῆπιποεόντων καθύταις τοῖ Ζι Ὀλυμ|πίοι, ἐπένποι
ζέ κ' ἔλλανοζίκας, καὶ τᾶλλα ζίκαια ἐπενπ|έτῳ ἁ ζαμιῶργία· αἱ ζέ μῆνποι, ζιφυιον
ἀποτινέτῳ ἐν μαστρά|αι. Αἱ ζέ τις τὸν αἰτιαθέντα ζικαιὸν ἱμάσκοι, ἐν τᾷ ζεκαμναῖαι κ'
ἐ|νέχο[ιτ]ο, αἱ φειζὸς ἱμάσκοι. Καὶ Πατρίας ὁ γροφεὺς ταύτῃ κα πάσκοι, | [αἱ τ]ιν'
[ἁζ]ικέοι, ὁ [πί]ναξ ἱαρὸς Ὀλυμπία. *vacat*¹²⁰⁵

It is the decision of the Eleans that Patrias shall be safe, along with his family and property. If anyone brings a charge against them, they will be prosecuted as if they had done this to an Elean. If the chief magistrate and the basileis do not impose these punishments, each of those who did not impose them will pay a penalty of ten minae, dedicated to Olympian Zeus. The hellanodikas will enforce this, and the demiourgoi will enforce the other fines. If they (the hellanodikai) do not enforce this they will pay double the penalty to the mastraai. If anyone mistreats him (the person accused in a matter involving fines), he will be fined ten minae, if he does this in full knowledge of the facts. Patrias the gropheus will also undergo this same punishment [if] he wrongs anyone. This plaque is dedicated to Olympia.

¹²⁰³ IG I³ 508 (562-558 BC) A5-B6. The earlier text also predates the Spensithios decree by c.80 years. See page 210 for more information.

¹²⁰⁴ IvO 2 (before 580 BC) 8 (Buck 61, Nomima 23); Minon (2007) 139. Another issue is the interpretation of τὰ ζῖκαία in 2 & 5: either 'the rights' or 'the punishments'. Buck also provides information on θαρρῆν (1), 'being cheerful,' which he believes is used as a technical term in Elean, equivalent to 'being secure, immune'. See also SEG 41:391, SEG 39:399, SEG 22:359, SEG 37:1782, SEG 29:402, SEG 29:1800; Minon (2007) 130 & 148; Osborne (1997) 74-82.

¹²⁰⁵ IvO 2 (before 580 BC) 1-9.

The name Patrias is otherwise unattested in Elis, suggesting that he may have been a foreigner.¹²⁰⁶ He may also have been a former slave. As a former slave, the stipulations and guarantee of safety in this decree would have protected him against certain forms of punishment.¹²⁰⁷

The designation *gropheus* also occurs in a fifth-century BC text, recording the verdict of the Eleans in a dispute between the Boeotians and the Athenians. Menandros and Aristolochos (two officials with unknown designations) rule in favour of the Athenians, and an additional phrase provides a caveat on the initial judgement: that there also be a settlement in favour of the Thespians (also in Boeotia) and their allies. The Thessalians are then also acquitted. The full text is given below:

Ἄγαλμα Διός· Πύρρο γρ[ο]φέας.¹²⁰⁸ | καὶ Χαρίξενος καὶ τοὶ μαστροὶ | [τ]αῖρ δίκαις,
ταῖρ κα(τ) τῶν Βοιωτῶν Μένανδρος | [κ'] Ἀριστόλοχος τοῖρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐδικοξάταν, |
[ἐ]πέγνον καὶ τοῖ(ρ) θεσπιέσιν καὶ τοῖρ σὺν αὐτὸς | [σφ]ῆ δικάιος δικαστᾶμεν κ' ἀπὸ
τῶν θεσ(σ)αλῶν [ἐ]πεδικοξάν.¹²⁰⁹

Offering to Zeus. Pyrros was secretary. Charixenos and the mastroi examined the judgements that had been returned against the Boiotians by Menandros and Aristolochos in favour of Athens, and they judged in the second instance in favour of the Thespians and their allies, and also judged against the Thessalians.

Πύρρο, here interpreted as Pyrros (Πύρρος),¹²¹⁰ could alternatively be Pyrron (Πυρρῶν¹²¹¹ or Πύρρων¹²¹²). Πύρρος is the most likely spelling, as it is the only variation attested locally.

The probable situation surrounding this judgement is the destruction caused in 480 BC during the Persian invasion, and the responsibilities incurred by Greeks allied to the Persians.¹²¹³

¹²⁰⁶ Minon (2007) 143. The alternative form Πατρέας is found in several locations including Delphi (FD III 3:7 (c.161 BC) 8), while Πατρεύς is found in several locations including Epidauros (IG IV², 1 73 (after 224 BC) 18-19).

¹²⁰⁷ Minon (2007) 142, 144-148. Minon suggests that the stipulation regarding *katiaurausis* (κατιαραύσις) in line 2 suggests that Patrias had the status of *iaros*, as with the freed slaves in IvO 12 (500-450 BC) 1-11 (Minon (2007) 119-122).

¹²⁰⁸ See Minon (2007) 107, 504 and Nomima 60. The restored vowel in γρ[ο]φέας allows for the alternate spelling γρ[α]φέας. Context and the prior attestation γροφεύς makes the use of an omicron the more likely spelling. Either form could mean 'secretary' or 'painter': not problematic, as (e.g.) a *pinax* would have had text either engraved or painted on it. See also *graphes* on page 196.

¹²⁰⁹ SEG 31:358 (480-450 BC) 1-7; SEG 26:475; Nomima 60; Minon (2007) 104-112 & 502-3; Siewert (1977) 463 n.4; Siewert (1981) 228-248.

¹²¹⁰ Paus. 6.1.4-5: Deinolochos son of Pyrrhos is Elean by birth.

¹²¹¹ Not attested in Elis, but known from several locations including Attica (e.g. SEG 30:146 (2C BC) 13, (IG II² 3714)).

¹²¹² Not attested in Elis, but known from several locations including Ephesus (e.g. Ephesos 1119 (AD 160) 2.23).

¹²¹³ Richardson (1992) 225.

Activities

As with other early texts, neither inscription includes a verb of writing (see page 27). There is no way of knowing whether the *gropheus* was attached to the oligarchic council, whether he was an itinerant secretary, or whether he lived in Elis permanently. (See *Other attributes*, below.)

Further particulars

In both texts, the *gropheus* appears to be working with local magistrates such as the *basileis*, *hellanodikas*, *damiourgoi* and *mastroi* in maintaining formalised legal procedures pertaining to the rights of Eleans and those resident among them. There is also evidence for formalised accounting procedures, in the enforcing and payment of fines.

In SEG 31:358, the *gropheus* is named immediately after the dedication to Zeus, suggesting that the Eleans accorded the office and his role in inter-state arbitration a high degree of importance.¹²¹⁴

Other attributes

The name of the *gropheus* in the earliest text, Patrias, is not otherwise attested,¹²¹⁵ therefore it is impossible to tell whether he was a local man or an itinerant worker. Evidence that foreigners and/or former slaves could hold secretarial positions also occurs in *Nomima* 22, a Cretan text, dated to c.500 BC. In this text, the rights of the scribe (*poinikastas*, ποιδικαστής) Spensithios and his descendants are protected in a similar manner to those of Patrias and his descendants, which makes it possible that Spensithios was a foreigner.¹²¹⁶ It is possible that Spensithios was part of a 'family of secretaries' who worked, supervised by the head of the family, and this may also have been the case with Elean *grophees*.¹²¹⁷

Other evidence for early, travelling secretaries is found in Mantinea, where the Heliswasians must wait for the *stalographoi* to arrive (see page 189).

The *gropheus* is known from several other locations in the Peloponnese,¹²¹⁸ and is most often associated with Argos (see page 137).

¹²¹⁴ Neither inscription contains instructions for the display of the text, but since both refer to Olympian Zeus (and IvO 2 is explicitly dedicated to Zeus), it is highly likely that both texts were displayed in the temple, as with subsequent inscriptions.

¹²¹⁵ See footnote 1206.

¹²¹⁶ *Nomima* 22 (c.500 BC) 1-5.

¹²¹⁷ Minon (2007) 143; *Nomima* 23.

¹²¹⁸ See Appendix A page 276 for a list.

Elis: concluding remarks

There is a marked difference between the duties of secretaries in Elis from 580 BC – 250 BC, and (after a two hundred year gap in the evidence) from 36 BC – 265 AD. Early *grophees* (page 207) and the *bolographor* (page 202) are shown in connection with laws, legal procedures and honorific inscriptions, and illustrate that Elis' skills in arbitration were recognised and valued by other states. In these respects, their duties were similar to those of secretaries elsewhere in the Peloponnese at this time, and in Athens. In contrast, *grammateis* from the first century BC onwards (page 204) are known only from a religious context: lists of officials and those making offerings at the temple of Zeus Olympios. Their duties appear limited, and they seem unconnected with local bureaucracy.

Elean secretaries were rarely honoured, and when they were, it was for having held several magistracies, including that of *grammateus*.

Early texts provide some evidence for itinerant secretaries: possibly more than is known from elsewhere in the Peloponnese. However, the nature of their employment is difficult to assess, due to the form of these texts.

Overall, the unusual relationship between Elis and Olympia, and the prominence of the temple of Zeus provide evidence for a limited number of designations only. However, our evidence may be skewed by the absence of secretaries of any kind from Olympic victor lists, and by the large number of unpublished texts.¹²¹⁹

¹²¹⁹ Siewert (1991) 105-7. At least fifty inscriptions remain unpublished.

Achaia: Introduction

There is evidence for two types of secretary in Achaia: local (polis) secretaries, and secretaries of the Achaian League. Local secretaries can be divided into two groups: those designated *grammatistas*, who are known from the third century BC only (pages 212-214), and those designated *grammateus of the synedrion* or *grammateus of the synedroi*, who are known from the second century BC only (pages 215 and 217). In the third century BC, the *damiorgos* could also carry out secretarial duties (page 218).

Since the Achaian League met in locations outside Achaia, the secretaries of the Achaian League are described separately. See page 219.

	3CBC	2CBC	1CBC	1CAD	2CAD
Dyme					
<i>grammateus of the synedrion</i>	0	1	0	0	0
<i>grammatistas</i>	2	0	0	0	0
<i>grammatistas of the damosiophylakes</i>	1	0	0	0	0
<i>nomographoi</i>	0	2	0	0	0
Patrai					
<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	0	1	0	0	0
Tritaia					
<i>damiorgos</i>	2	0	0	0	0
Total:	5	4	0	0	0
Grand total: 9					

Table 9 – Attestations of Achaian secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in Achaia.

Achaia: Dyme

γραμματιστής (*grammatistas*)

The secretary at Dyme was known as the *grammatistas*.¹²²⁰

Activities

Inscriptions containing a *grammatistas* are interesting for the information they provide about local politics: granting citizenship to foreign soldiers,¹²²¹ regulating citizenship,¹²²² and announcing a decision on the death penalty for the falsification of coins.¹²²³ However, while they connect the *grammatistas* with writing on temporary media (see below), they do not directly connect this officer with the creation and setting up of stelai. For example, an

¹²²⁰ See page 21 for the etymology of *grammatistas*, and Appendix A page 275 for other inscriptions where this designation occurs.

¹²²¹ See SIG³ 529 (219BC) 4-5 on page 214.

¹²²² See SIG³ 531 (3CBC) 27 on page 213.

¹²²³ SIG³ 530 (end C3 BC?) 2-3. See also Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 97; Thür (1991) 115-122.

inscription regulating citizenship at Dyme refers to the *grammatistas* only in his capacity as one of several officials involved in the enrolment of citizens:

... ἀ|[πογραφέντω δὲ] ποτὶ τὸμ βούλαρχον καὶ [προσ]τάταν δα|[μοσιοφυλάκω]ν καὶ γραμματιστάν. τοὺς δὲ ἀπογ|[ραφέντες καὶ ὑῶ]ν ὁμοσαμένους τὰν ἡλικίαν καὶ δόν|[τες τὸ ἀργυριον] καθὼς γέγραπται, διακλαρωσάν|[τω αἱ συναρ]χίαι ὡς ἰσότατα ἐπὶ τὰς φυλάς, καὶ λα|[χόντω ἐπὶ τὰν] Στρατίδα, ἐπὶ τὰν Δυμαίαν, ἐπὶ τὰν Θεσμι|[αίαν]...¹²²⁴

*[And they are to be registered] with the boularchos, the prostatas of the damosioi phylakes and the grammatistas. And after having been registered, [and] having sworn (confirmed by oath) the age of their [sons], and having given [the prescribed sum] according to what is written, the synarchiai are to allocate them as equally as possible among the existing phylai, and [to allocate them by lot between the] tribes Stratis, Dymaia and Thesmiaia.*¹²²⁵

The role played by the *grammatistas* in this process appears to be equivalent to that performed by the *boularchos* and *prostatas*, i.e. they were collectively responsible for the registering of citizens.

Potential citizens were granted citizenship only if they had fulfilled certain criteria, and had paid two separate amounts on separate dates to (unidentified) magistrates at Dyme. These payments therefore required each potential citizen to meet with local magistrates, a *prostatas* and the *grammatistas* two or more times before citizenship could be granted:

[— c.6 — ἐπὶ τ]οῖσδε εἴμεν τὰν πολιτείαν τοῖς ἐποί|[κοις τοῖς ἐν ταῖ π]όλει· τὸν θέλοντα κοινωνεῖν τὰς πολι|[τείας ἀνδρ?]α ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων δόντα | [— c.6 — ἐπὶ γρα]μματέος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς Μενανδρίδα | [τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ἐν] ταῖ πρώται ἐξαμήνῳ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν | [ἐν τῷ ..c.4.. μ]ηνί, ὡς οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἄγοντι. εἰ δὲ μὴ δοίη | [τὸ ὅλον ἐν τῷ ἐνι]αυτῷ τῷ ἐπὶ Μανανδρίδα, ἀλλὰ | [— c.13 —], μὴ ἔστω αὐτῷ ἡ πολιτεία. ...¹²²⁶

Citizenship is granted to those who have settled [in the] city (under the following conditions): that the one who wants to receive citizenship be a free [man?] of free parents, who has given (the sum X) [in the] secretaryship of Menandridas, the

¹²²⁴ SIG³ 531 (3CBC) 25-32. Decree concerning citizenship, now lost. See also SEG 40:394; Rizakis (1990) 110-123; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 97. This decree provides the only evidence for civic subdivisions in Achaia. The decree can be divided into four sections: 1-8: general conditions for admission to citizenship; 9-17: rules for awarding citizenship to a man; 17-25: rules for awarding citizenship to a widow; 25-34: compilation of citizenship lists, enrolment into tribes, rights and duties of new citizens. The *grammatistas* is referred to in the final section. For the names of the phylai, see Jones (1987) 131-2.

¹²²⁵ The text suggests that groups of citizens were registered (approved) en masse, and collectively allocated among the tribes by the *synarchiai*.

¹²²⁶ SIG³ 531 (3CBC) 1-8.

grammateus of the Achaian League, [during] the first six months of the year, and the remainder [(in the X)] month, as the Achaians reckon it. And if the [entire] amount is not given during the secretaryship of Menandridas, but ... he is not to be granted citizenship. ...

Further particulars

The context and reference to a *boularchos* suggest that the *grammatistas* was effectively the ‘*grammatistas* of the boule’; however, the precise nature of this office is uncertain.

The *grammateus of the Achaian League* played no part in the enrolment of citizens, and the designation is included for dating purposes only. There was no connection between this officer and any of the other officers mentioned.

γραμματιστάς δαμοσιοφυλάκων (*grammatistas of the damosiophylakes*)

A single inscription from Dyme records the existence of a *grammatistas of the damosiophylakes* (guardians of the demos).

ἐπὶ θεοκόλου Ἀριστολαΐδα, | βουλάρχου Τιμοκράτεος, | προστάτα Κύλωνος, |
γραμματιστᾶ δαμοσιοφυλάκων Μενάνδρου | τούσδε ἅ πόλις πολί|τας ἐποίησατο
συμπολε|μήσαντες τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰμ πόλιν συνδιασώσαντες...¹²²⁷

*During the office of the theokolos Aristolaidas, the boularchos Timokrates, the prostates Kylon, the grammatistas of the damosiophylakes Menandros, the following (men) the polis has made citizens with equal citizen status, having assisted in the defence and salvation of the polis.*¹²²⁸

Other attributes

The inscription contains no information about the duties carried out by the *grammatistas*. As on page 213, the *grammatistas* is noted alongside the *boularchos* and *prostates*. Because of this, it is unclear whether the office of *grammatistas of the damosiophylakes* is identical to that of *grammatistas*, above.

The *grammatistas of the damosiophylakes* is one of several officers who are part of the dating formula. This is unusual. While it is relatively common in the Peloponnese for the secretary to be the only officer in the dating formula (see Appendix B), it is rare for a group of officers (including the secretary) to be used for dating purposes.¹²²⁹ This suggests that the

¹²²⁷ SIG³ 529 (219 BC) 1-11. See also Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 97.

¹²²⁸ Rizakis (1990) 124-5.

¹²²⁹ A group of officers can be used for dating purposes at Athens. See e.g. page 52.

grammatistas was of equal status to the *theokolos*, *boularchos* and *prostatas*, an inference supported by the responsibility shared by the *boularchos*, *prostatas* and *grammatistas* in the enrolment of citizens (page 213).

γραμματεὺς τοῦ συνεδρίου (*grammateus of the synedrion*)

The *grammateus of the synedrion* is known from a single inscription, from a period in which Achaia was under the supervision of the Macedonian governor. The document is a letter from Dyme, to its governor in Patrai.¹²³⁰

Other attributes

The document reveals that Dyme was allowed to keep a degree of autonomy, as it continued to have its own type of magistrate, the *theokolos*.¹²³¹ Both the *theokolos* and the *grammateus of the synedrion* are named in the prescript, and are the means by which the letter is dated:

ἐπὶ θεοκόλου Λέωνος, γραμματέως τοῦ συνεδρίου Στρατοκλέος.¹²³²

During the office of the theokolos Leon, and that of the grammateus of the synedrion, Stratokles.

No additional information is given about the role played by the *grammateus* in these proceedings.

The *grammateus of the synedrion* could be the *grammateus* at Dyme, but could also be either the *grammateus* at Patrai (which was known to have had its own *grammateus of the synedrion*),¹²³³ or the *grammateus of the Achaians*, since the Achaian League could be referred to as the Panachaian *synedrion* from 147/6 BC onwards (see page 222). If this *grammateus* was the *grammateus of the Achaians*, we would expect this prominent officer to be named before the local *theokolos*.

This letter provides evidence for a revolutionary movement in Dyme, led by men who had been *nomographoi*. See the next section.

¹²³⁰ SIG³ 684 (c.144 BC) 1-2; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 97; Sherk (1969) 246-248.

¹²³¹ See SIG³ 529 (3C BC) on page 214.

¹²³² SIG³ 684 (144 BC) 1-2.

¹²³³ Patrai was where the case mentioned in this letter was deliberated. See page 217.

νομογράφος (*nomographos*)

The *nomographoi* at Dyme are known from a letter from Dyme to its governor in Patrai.¹²³⁴

Other attributes

This letter provides evidence for a revolutionary movement in Dyme. The *nomographos* Sosos is accused of setting fire to and destroying the building that contained the public records (line 7). Sosos and another *nomographos*, Timotheos, and the *damiorgos* —miskos are also charged with having enacted laws contrary to the type of government granted to the Achaians by the Romans (lines 9-10):¹²³⁵

...λέγω δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμπρήσε|ως καὶ φθορᾶς τῶν ἀρχ<εῖ>ων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων
γραμματῶν, ὧν ἐγε|γόνει ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ὅλης συγχύσεως Σῶσος Ταυρομένος ὁ | καὶ
τοὺς νόμους γράψας ὑπεναντίους τῇ ἀποδοθείσῃ τοῖς | [Ἀ]χαιοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων
πολιτ[εῖα]ι, περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος διή[λ]θο|[μ]εν ἐν Πά|τραις μετὰ τοῦ παρόν[το]ς
συμβουλίου·

...

ἐγ[ὼ πα]|ρασχομένων τῶν κατηγορῶν ἀληθινὰς ἀποδείξεις Σῶ|σον μὲν τὸν γεγονότα
ἀρχηγὸν [τ]ῶν πραχθέντων καὶ νο|μογραφῆσαντα ἐπὶ καταλυσῇ τῆς ἀποδοθείσης
πολιτεῖ|[α]ς, κρίνας ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτῳ, πα[ρ]εχώρισα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ | —μίσκον
ἔχεσθέneos τῶν δαμιουργῶν τὸν συμπράξαντα | [τοῖ]ς ἐμπρήσασι τὰ ἀρχεῖα καὶ τὰ
δημόσια γράμματα, ἐπεὶ καὶ | [αὐτὸ]ς ὡμολόγησεν· Τιμόθεον δὲ Νικέα τὸμ μετὰ τοῦ
Σώσου |[γεγονό]τα νομογράφον, ἐπεὶ ἔλασσον ἐφαίνετο ἡδίκηκώς, ἐ|[— —]
προάγειν εἰς Ῥώμην ὀρκίσας, ἐφ' ᾧ τῇ νομηνίᾳ τοῦ ἐν|[ά]του μηνὸς ἔστα[ι] ἐκεῖ
καὶ ἐμφανίσας τῷ[ι ἐ]πὶ τῶν ξένων στρατη|[γῶ]ι...]¹²³⁶

*...I speak of the burning and destruction of the archives and the building containing
the public records, in which the leader of the entire disturbance was Sosos son of
Tauromenes, who also drafted the laws contrary to the politeia set down for the
Achaians by the Romans, concerning which I held a detailed discussion in Patrai
with my advisory council present.*¹²³⁷

...

*As the accusers provided genuine proofs, I have judged to be guilty and condemned
to death Sosos, who was the instigator of the deeds and who drafted laws aiming at*

¹²³⁴ SIG³ 684 (c.144 BC) 6-11, 15-27; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 97; Kallet-Marx (1995) 137, 146-149; Sherk (1969) 246-248.

¹²³⁵ Walbank (1979) 734-5. We are given no information as to what these laws were. The *politeia* referred to is likely to have been the constitution of Dyme, rather than (e.g.) any laws of the Achaian League.

¹²³⁶ SIG³ 684 (c.144 BC) 6-11, 16-27. This version of the text is from Kallet-Marx (1995) 131.

¹²³⁷ Kallet-Marx (1995) 133 notes that the 'council' was probably the personal advisory council used by Roman commanders in the field.

*the overthrow of the constitution given, and likewise —miskos son of Echesthenes of the damiorgoi, who acted together with those who set fire to the archives and the building containing the public records, since he himself has confessed. Timotheos son of Nikeas, who was nomographos with Sosos, since he seems to have done less wrong, I ordered to proceed to Rome, having exacted an oath that he will be there for the new moon of the ninth month, and having informed the strategos in charge of foreigners (praetor peregrinus) (of the decision) that he is not to return home before (then), unless —*¹²³⁸

Sosos' prominence in the letter and the detail supplied shows that he was deemed the most culpable. Since both Sosos and —miskos were condemned to death for burning the public archives, and Timotheos is not mentioned in conjunction with this and receives a lesser penalty, it can be assumed that Timotheos was guilty of only (!) 'writing laws contrary to the *politeia* set down for the Achaians by the Romans', and that this was considered a lesser crime than burning down the archives.¹²³⁹

The number of *nomographoi* at any one time in Dyme is unknown, but there appear to have been at least two of them.¹²⁴⁰ Without more information, we are unable to say whether this rebellion was by all *nomographoi* serving in a particular year, or a subset of them. That they were in office when the rebellion occurred can be ascertained by the information that they had 'written laws contrary to the *politeia*...'. Logically, they would only have been able to write laws while in office.¹²⁴¹ This case also suggests a strong working relationship between the *nomographoi* and (at least one) *damiorgos*.

Achaia: Patrai

γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων (*grammateus of the synedroi*)

In the second century BC, Patrai was chosen as the location for arbitration between Thouria (in Messenia), and Megalopolis.¹²⁴² The *grammateus of the synedroi* at Patrai is known from the Thourian copy of the decree, which states that he was to write up the names of all who had attended, and if the arbitration was decided in favour of the Thourians, was to record this information on a stele in the temple of the Syrian goddess.

¹²³⁸ Translation: Bagnall & Derow (1981) 85 no.46, with edits for consistency with the rest of this thesis.

¹²³⁹ Kallet-Marx (1995) 148.

¹²⁴⁰ That Sosos and Timotheos served together as *nomographoi* can be ascertained by the use of μετὰ (line 23). The date of this letter (144 BC) suggests that Sosos and Timotheos were *nomographoi* at the start of Roman intervention in this region.

¹²⁴¹ Kallet-Marx (1995) 148-9. It is most likely that Sosos and Timotheos were *nomographoi* at Dyme, rather than *nomographoi* of any League.

¹²⁴² ISE 51 (182-167 BC) 1-2. Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 85.

τοὺς δὲ ἐλθόντας ἀναγραφάσθω ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων ἐμ Πάτραις, καὶ ἂν νικάσωμες, ἀναγραφάτω ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τᾶς Συρίας εἰς στάλαν λιθίναν τοὺς τε συνδίκους πάντας πατριστί, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐλθόντας ὑπογράψας τὸν ἱερῇ τᾶς Ἀθάνας καὶ τὸ ψάφισμα.¹²⁴³

And the grammateus of the synedroi at Patras is to see to the writing up of those attending, and if we win, he (presumably the same man) is to write up in the sanctuary of the Syrian goddess on a stone stele both all the syndikoi with their fathers' names, and in a similar way (i.e. also giving their father's name) all those attending, and below to write the priest of Athena¹²⁴⁴ and the (text of the) decree.

Further particulars

The *grammateus of the synedrion* at Patrai may also be known from the dating formula of a letter sent from Dyme to its governor in Patrai (see page 215). While the *grammateus of the Achaians* could also be known as the *grammateus of the synedrion*, this is not the case in the above text, which predates the time from which the Achaian League could be known as the Panachaian *synedrion*.

Achaia: Tritaia

δαμιοργός (*damiorgos*)

The *damiorgoi* were involved in the process of admitting newcomers to the citizen body at Tritaia.¹²⁴⁵ Newcomers were required to provide a sum of money to the *damiorgoi*, which they were also allowed to borrow from the *damiorgoi* and *tamiai*, on the proviso that they paid this money back, plus an additional share.¹²⁴⁶ If newcomers failed to pay this money back, the *damiorgoi* recorded this information for the polemarchs:

εἰ δὲ τίς κα μ[ὴ] ἀποδῶι τὸ ἀργύριον ἢ τὸ μέρος τὸ | ἐ]πιβάλλον κατ' ἐ[νια]υτό[ν], οἱ δαμιοργοὶ ἀπογραφάντων αὐ[τῶν] τὸν τοῖς πολεμ[άρχαις] ὀφείλοντα τᾶι πόλι.¹²⁴⁷

And if anyone does not [provide the money or the (additional) share] falling upon them within a year, [the damiorgoi are to write] him [up] for the polemarchs [with the amount owed to the city.]

¹²⁴³ ISE 51 (182-167 BC) 10-14.

¹²⁴⁴ The priest may be included for dating purposes.

¹²⁴⁵ SEG 40:400 (3C BC) 11-19; Rizakis (1990) 130; Sherk, (1990a) 258-259; Wilhelm (1974) 37.

¹²⁴⁶ SEG 40:400 (3C BC) 11-17. It is wrong to think of this additional share as 'interest' in the modern sense as there is no indication that (e.g.) τὸ μέρος increased the longer the sum went unpaid.

¹²⁴⁷ SEG 40:400 (3C BC) 17-19.

The decree is highly fragmentary, and broken on all four sides. Both the designation *damiorgoi* and the duties described in the above extract have been entirely restored. Pittakis and subsequent editors supply *damiorgoi* (rather than *grammatistas*, for example) based on the available number of letters and the officials noted elsewhere in this text: the *boularchos* (line 5), board of *damiorgoi* (e.g. lines 11-12), *tamias* (lines 12-13) and *polemarchs* (line 19).

Achaian League

302 BC-229 BC

The precise date of the founding of the Achaian League is unknown, although it is known to have existed in 302 BC, when Achaia was a member of the Hellenic League.¹²⁴⁸ Originally a league of the twelve Achaian poleis, the Achaian League was dissolved after the Wars of the Successors (323-281 BC),¹²⁴⁹ and formed again soon after (281-280 BC).¹²⁵⁰ In 281-280 BC, the member poleis were Dyme, Patrai, Tritaia and Pherai. Approximately five years later, Aigion (also in Achaia) joined,¹²⁵¹ followed by several other poleis, including Sicyon (in 251-250) and Argos (in 229), taking the membership of the League to poleis outside Achaia.¹²⁵² By 228 BC, the Achaian League also included Corinth, Megara, Aigina, Argos and Megalopolis.¹²⁵³

From 280/79 to 256/5 BC, the officials of the League included one *grammateus* and two *strategoï*, selected by rotation from among the Achaian poleis (see page 221). From 255/4 BC, the League had one *strategos*, elected annually.¹²⁵⁴

From 275 until 188 BC, meetings (*synodoi*) of the Achaian League were held at the sanctuary of Zeus Amarios near Aigion, four times a year. An extraordinary meeting (*synkletos*) could be held in any place, at any time.¹²⁵⁵

¹²⁴⁸ For more information on the Hellenic League, see page 228. Larsen (1968) 216.

¹²⁴⁹ Tarn (1952) 73.

¹²⁵⁰ Larsen (1968) 215-216; Tarn (1952) 73.

¹²⁵¹ Tarn (1952) 73.

¹²⁵² Larsen (1968) 218.

¹²⁵³ Tarn (1952) 20-21.

¹²⁵⁴ Plb. 2.43.1-2 (see page 222). Under the system of one general, other officers were the *hipparchos* and *naumarch*, and (usually) ten *demiourgoi*, who together formed the *synarchai*. Polybius believed that the roles and titles of Achaian officials, councillors and judges were adopted by the rest of the Peloponnese, uniting it (Plb. 2.37.9-11); however this is not borne out by the epigraphic evidence, which suggests that the same officials are not found even within all Achaian poleis. Larsen (1968) 217, 220-221; Morgan & Hall (2004) 472-475; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 106-8; Sherk (1990a) 257-8.

¹²⁵⁵ Plb. 29.24.6; 2.43.1-2. Larsen (1968) 217, 223-224, 231; Walbank (1979) 399. The meeting place(s) of the league before Aigion joined is unknown.

Since the nature and composition of the Achaian League changed dramatically from its first incarnation to its last, one cannot assume that the officers of the League in each of its stages of development were necessarily equivalent. The earliest attested *grammateus* of the Achaian League cannot be dated more precisely than to the third century BC, and so it is difficult to assess to which phase of the League this official rightly belongs.¹²⁵⁶

229-188 BC

In c.229 BC, the threat to Achaia by Sparta caused Achaia to ally with Macedonia, as a result of which the Achaian League became part of the Hellenic League again.¹²⁵⁷ In 198 BC the Hellenic League was dissolved, and its member poleis allied with Rome.¹²⁵⁸ Several types of secretary of the Achaian League are known from this period. In addition to the eponymous *grammateus for the Achaians*,¹²⁵⁹ the League also had a large number of *nomographoi* (page 226), who had their own *grammateus* (page 225). There is also evidence that the *damiorgoi* of the Achaian League wrote decrees (page 225).

From 200 BC onwards, the terms *boule* and *ekklesia* were used in connection with the Achaian League rather than *synodoi*.¹²⁶⁰

188 – 147/6 BC

In 188 BC, a law was passed introducing a system whereby the meeting place of the League was not fixed, and was held in turn by each member polis,¹²⁶¹ although a strict system of rotation does not seem to have been enforced.¹²⁶² The location of the administrative centre of the League at this time is unknown.¹²⁶³ As far as it is possible to tell from the small amount of epigraphic evidence from this period, the change in meeting place does not appear to have had a noticeable impact upon the style of administrative documents, and it may be that the administrative centre remained at Aigion.¹²⁶⁴

¹²⁵⁶ See SIG³531 (3C BC) 1-8 on page 213.

¹²⁵⁷ Larsen (1968) 219; Tarn (1952) 20-21, 77.

¹²⁵⁸ Larsen (1968) 219. Tarn (1952) 25-26, 30, 77. In 191 BC, Philopoemen forced Sparta to join the Achaian League, which was then followed by Elis and Messenia, essentially bringing the whole of the Peloponnese into the League.

¹²⁵⁹ See IG IV²,1 60 (191 BC) 1 on page 222.

¹²⁶⁰ Larsen (1968) 223. This is not reflected in the designations of league officials.

¹²⁶¹ Livy 38.30.1-6, passed at Argos and proposed by Philopoemen. Larsen (1968) 217, 220.

¹²⁶² Tarn (1952) 74. Larsen (1968) 217, 220, 235. Larsen suggests that the change of meeting-place was for political convenience.

¹²⁶³ Plu. *Cleom.* 17.2. Larsen (1968) 239.

¹²⁶⁴ Compare IG IV²,1 60 (191 BC) 1, set up at Epidauros prior to this change, with (the fragmentary) IG IV²,1 61 (150 BC) 2, set up at Epidauros afterwards. Larsen (1968) 239.

147/6 BC – 1CAD

In 147/6 BC, Sparta, Corinth, Argos and Orchomenos left the League. The League declared war, and was defeated by the Romans, at which point, Greece became the Roman province of Achaia.¹²⁶⁵ The League was abolished by Rome c.146 BC, but reformed as the 'Panachaian League' soon afterwards, without any associated political power. This League is referred to by titles such as the 'Panachaian *synedrior*', 'the Achaians and the Panhellenes' or 'the Panhellenes'.¹²⁶⁶ It had its own secretary, the *grammateus of the Achaians* (γραμματεὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, see page 222). There are no other known secretaries of the League from this point onwards.

	3CBC	2CBC	1CBC	1CAD	2CAD
<i>grammateus for the Achaians</i>	2 ¹²⁶⁷	3 ¹²⁶⁸	0	0	0
<i>grammateus of the Achaians</i>	0	0	0	3 ¹²⁶⁹	2 ¹²⁷⁰
<i>grammateus of the nomographoi</i>	1 ¹²⁷¹	0	0	0	0
<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	0	0	2 ¹²⁷²	0	1 ¹²⁷³
<i>damiorgos of the Achaians</i>	2 ¹²⁷⁴	0	0	0	0
<i>nomographos</i>	24 ¹²⁷⁵	0	0	0	0
Total:	29	3	2	3	3
Grand total: 40					

Table 10 – Attestations of secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text for the Achaian League.

Secretaries of the Achaian League

The title 'secretary of the Achaian League' refers to one of two officials:

- The *grammateus for the Achaians* (γραμματεὺς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς), the secretary of the League of Peloponnesian poleis from 281/280 BC to 147/6 BC (see following section).¹²⁷⁶

¹²⁶⁵ Tarn (1952) 37-39.

¹²⁶⁶ Oliver (1978) 185-191.

¹²⁶⁷ Aigion: IG VII 188 (242-223 BC) 2-3; Dyme: SIG³ 531 (3CBC) 4, 27.

¹²⁶⁸ Epidauros: IG IV², 1 60 (191 BC) 1; IG IV², 1 61 (150 BC) 2; IG IV², 1 63 (115/114 BC) 17-18.

¹²⁶⁹ Epidauros: IG IV², 1 80 (34/35 AD) 5; IG IV², 1 81 (34/35 AD) 10, 17; unknown origin: IG VII 2711 (AD 37) 43-45.

¹²⁷⁰ Abia: IG V, 1 1352 (119-138 AD) 9-10; Troizen: IG IV 795 (c.103-114 AD) 12.

¹²⁷¹ Epidauros: IG IV², 1 73 (after 224 BC) 2-3, 29-30.

¹²⁷² Orchomenos: IG V, 2 345 (79/8 BC) 1-2, 10-11, 13.

¹²⁷³ Mantinea: IG V, 2 313 (2CAD) 1-2.

¹²⁷⁴ Aigion: I.Magn 39 (c.208/7 BC) 33-38, 43-45.

¹²⁷⁵ Epidauros: IG IV², 1 73 (after 224 BC) A2-3, 29.

¹²⁷⁶ Larsen (1968) 215-216; Tarn (1952) 37-39, 73.

- The *grammateus of the Achaians* (γραμματεὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν), the secretary of the Panachaian League created by Rome in 147/6 BC, which had no political power (see page 222).

γραμματεὺς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς (grammateus for the Achaians)

Further particulars

The *grammateus for the Achaians* is mentioned by Polybius in his description of the Achaian League:

Εἴκοσι μὲν οὖν ἔτη τὰ πρῶτα καὶ πέντε συνεπολιτεύσαντο μεθ' ἑαυτῶν αἱ προειρημέναι πόλεις, γραμματέα κοινὸν ἐκ περιόδου προχειριζόμεναι καὶ δύο στρατηγούς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἓνα καθιστάνειν καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπιστεύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων.¹²⁷⁷

For twenty-five years, then, these cities enjoyed a common political life, electing in rotation a grammateus of state and two strategoi. After this, they decided to elect one strategos and entrust him with the general direction of their affairs.

In mentioning this secretary before the two *strategoi*, Polybius suggests that this official is of great importance. This is reflected in epigraphic evidence, as this officer can be the eponymous official in several poleis that were members of the League: Dyme (see page 213),¹²⁷⁸ Epidauros,¹²⁷⁹ and Megara.¹²⁸⁰

Larsen suggests that this secretary lost much of his importance after 255 BC;¹²⁸¹ however, he remained an eponymous official until at least 150 BC,¹²⁸² forty years after the remnants of the Achaian League became allied with Rome.

The duties of the *grammateus for the Achaians* are unknown.

γραμματεὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν (grammateus of the Achaians)

From 146 BC onwards, the secretary of the Achaian League (reconstituted as the Panachaian League), could be known as either the *grammateus of the Achaians* (γραμματεὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν),¹²⁸³ the *grammateus of the synedroi* (γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων),¹²⁸⁴ or the

¹²⁷⁷ Plb. 2.43.1-2, describing the secretaries of 280-255 BC. Walbank (1957) 235.

¹²⁷⁸ SIG³ 531 (3C BC) 4.

¹²⁷⁹ IG IV², 160 (191 BC) 1: [ἐπ]ὶ γραμματέος τοῖς Ἀχ[αιοῖς ...]; IG IV², 161 (150 BC) 2.

¹²⁸⁰ IG VII 188 (242-223 BC) 2-3: [ἐπὶ δὲ] | [γραμμ]ατέος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς Στράτωνος...

¹²⁸¹ Larsen (1968) 221.

¹²⁸² IG IV², 161 (150 BC) 2.

¹²⁸³ IG VII 2711 (37 AD) 43-45: [γραμ]ματέως τῶν Ἀ[χαιῶν] (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 99); IG IV 795 (103-113 AD) 12: γραμματέα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.

¹²⁸⁴ IG IV², 163 (115/4 BC) 1, 17-18: ἔδοξε τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τῷ δάμῳ... / ...[ὁ γραμματε]ύς.

grammateus of the Panachaian synedrion (γραμματεὺς τῶν Παναχαϊκῶν συνέδρου) (see example at the bottom of this page).

Activities

The *grammateus of the Achaians* may (on one occasion) have acted both as witness and as holder of manumission funds at Orchomenos. See page 194.

Further particulars

The office of *grammateus of the Achaians* was an annual, elected office,¹²⁸⁵ although the selection method is uncertain.

Other attributes

Although the League had no real political power after 146 BC, the *grammateus* could still be used as part of the dating formula:

ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀβειτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν δόγμα ἀνέθηκε[ν] ἐπὶ γραμματέος
Δάμωνος τοῦ | Ἀριστεά¹²⁸⁶

The polis of the Abians¹²⁸⁷ in accordance with the decision of the Achaians set (this) up in the secretaryship of Damon son of Aristas.

After 146 BC, the League still bestowed honours,¹²⁸⁸ most notably, on its own officers. In 34/35 AD, the League honoured their secretary, Titus Statilius Timokrates for the way in which he had carried out his office:

ἐπειδὴ Τίτος Στατεῖλιος Τιμοκράτης ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος | καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τάγματος
ἅπαντι τῷ προβεβιωμένῳ σεμνῶς | καὶ θαυμαστῶς βίῳ κάλλιστον πολεῖτευμα
ἐποίησας καὶ αἶρε[θ]εις || γραμματεὺς μετὰ τὸ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμεῖν ἀποδοθῆναι
μ[ε]γ[α]λοψύχως ἐν | χρόνοις ἐπιπονωτάτων ἄμα καὶ σφαλερωτάτων καιρῶν
πόνο[υ]ς τε κ[αὶ] θερα[πείας] ὑπέσ[τη]ν ἐνὸς μὲν ἀνδρὸς μείζονας, ἐνὸς δ' ἐνιαυτ[οῦ]
πλ[ε]ίουνας, δι' ὧν πολλά[κις καὶ] καλῶς διέθηκεν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔτι
πλανώμενα καταστή[μ]α[τα]· δ[ι]ὰ | πάντα ταῦτα ἔδοξε τῷ Παναχαϊκῷ συνεδρίῳ
ἐπαινεῖσαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἀναστήσαι | αὐτοῦ χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἐν τε τοῖς
πανηγυριστηρίοις τῶν Παναχαϊῶν ἐν τε τῷ — — | [τεμ]ένει καὶ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ ἐν
τῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερῷ, ἐπιγρα[φὴν] ἐχούσας· "Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Βοιωτοὶ | [καὶ Φω]κεῖς

¹²⁸⁵ See IG IV², 1 81 (34/35 AD) 9 on page 223.

¹²⁸⁶ IG V, 1 1352 (119-138 AD) 7-11.

¹²⁸⁷ Abia in Messenia was a member of the Achaian League from c.182 BC. Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 83; Shipley (2004) 554.

¹²⁸⁸ IG IV², 1 63 (115/4 BC) 9-13, 17-18; IG IV², 1 81 (34/35 AD) 14-18; IG IV², 1 80 (34/35 AD) 1-6.

καὶ Εὐβοεῖς καὶ Λοκροὶ καὶ Δωριεῖς Τίτον Στατεῖλιον Τειμοκράτη [γραμματέα] |
[αὐτῶν γεν]όμενον ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα".¹²⁸⁹

*Since Titus Statilius Timokrates, a remarkable man of the first rank who in every way has lived his life in a manner worthy of respect and admiration and has administered the government most honourably, and, having been chosen grammateus after the grant of freedom to us, in times of the most burdensome and perilous difficulties has [magnanimously] undertaken tasks and services greater than (should be asked) of one man and too many (tasks) for one year, and since by these actions he has many times administered our affairs well and placed on a firm basis our still shaky conditions of freedom, for all these reasons it has been decreed by the Panachaian synedrion to praise this man and to erect bronze statues of him at the locations of the Panachaian festivals and in Amarios' precinct and in Epidauros in the temple of Asklepios, inscribed [as follows: Achaians and Boiotians and Phokians] and Euboians and Lokrians and Dorians (dedicated this statue to) Titus Statilius Timokrates, having been [their grammateus], because of his excellence.*¹²⁹⁰

Bronze statues were set up in the meeting place of the Achaian League: the sanctuary of Zeus Amarios in Aigion, and also in the locations of the Panachaian festivals and the Asklepieion in Epidauros. This inscription and statue base at Epidauros are the only copies that survive.

Despite the length of this decree, we are given no information about the duties of this *grammateus*; only that he carried them out during a difficult period for the League, and that he did more than could reasonably be expected of him.

The text appears to show a great deal of respect for Titus Statilius Timokrates. Several years later he apparently still held this respect, as he was consoled by the Athenians and Lakedaimonians in further inscriptions after the death of his son.¹²⁹¹

See also page 206 for two further possible instances where *grammateis of the Achaians* were honoured at Olympia.

¹²⁸⁹ IG IV²,181 (34/35 AD) 7-18. See also IV²,180 (34/35 AD) 1-6, the text from the statue base. See also SIG³ 796 A; SEG 35:304; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 99.

¹²⁹⁰ I reproduce the translation from Sherk (1988) 113 no.73, with minor changes in official designations to maintain consistency with the rest of this thesis.

¹²⁹¹ IG IV²,182-84 & 85-86; Oliver (1978) 185-191.

γραμματεὺς [τῶν νομογράφων] (*grammateus of the nomographoi*)

The *grammateus of the nomographoi* of the Achaian League is known from a single, third-century BC sacred law from Epidauros.¹²⁹² The *grammateus* is listed after a number of *nomographoi*, who represent various member poleis of the Achaian League (see page 226). His precise role is uncertain: it is not known whether he was involved in drafting the law, or whether he was responsible for recording the names of those present. His origin (i.e. whether he was local to Epidauros or from another member polis) is also unknown.

This inscription is the only surviving instance from the Peloponnese where a *grammateus* works with *nomographoi*.¹²⁹³

δαμιοργὸς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν (*damiorgos of the Achaians*)

Ten *damiorgoi* formed the governing body of the Achaian League in the period before 146 BC, along with the *grammateus* and *strategos* or *strategoí*.¹²⁹⁴

At the end of the third century BC, the Achaian League settled a dispute for the Magnesians, and were honoured for this with a stele. The Magnesians requested that the *damiorgoi of the Achaian League* write up this decree on their behalf, thus enabling the engraving to be carried out in Achaia:¹²⁹⁵

... τοὺς δὲ δαμιοργοὺς τῶν [Α]χαιῶν ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψάφισμα τὸ παρὰ τῆς π[ό]λιος τῶν Μαγνητῶν καὶ τὸ δόγμα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν | εἰς στάλαν λιθίναν καὶ ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν | τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀμαρίου, ὅπως φανερόν ῃ καὶ τοῖς | λοιποῖς Ἑλλαισιν...¹²⁹⁶

...and the *damiorgoi of the Achaians* are to write up the decree from the city of the Magnesians and the decision of the Achaians on a stone stele and set it up in the sanctuary of Zeus Amarios, so that it is clearly visible to the rest of the Greeks as well...

The honour was displayed in the sanctuary of Zeus Amarios, the meeting place of the Achaian League, alongside the League's other inscriptions.¹²⁹⁷

¹²⁹² IG IV², 1 73 (after 224 BC) 2-3, 29-30.

¹²⁹³ For *nomographoi* with ephors at Thouria (Messenia), see page 177.

¹²⁹⁴ Plb. 2.43.1-2; Larsen (1968) 217; Sherk (1990a) 257-8; SEG 14:375.

¹²⁹⁵ I. Magn 39 (c.208-7 BC).

¹²⁹⁶ I. Magn 39 (c.208-7 BC) 33-38 [Magnesia 8].

¹²⁹⁷ I. Magn 39 (c.208-7 BC) 43-44. For further examples of *damiorgoi* acting as secretaries, see Appendix A page 278.

νομογράφος (*nomographos*)

The *nomographoi* of the Achaian League are primarily known from a sacred law for the temple of Hygieia at Epidauros.¹²⁹⁸ Little of the law itself remains; however, the text is interesting for the evidence it provides for the number of *nomographoi*, and the way in which they were chosen to represent their member poleis. I reproduce the text in full below.

θεός. τύχα ἀγαθά. | νομογράφοι Ἀχαιῶν οἱ τὸν νόμον τῇ Ὑγιείᾳ θέντες. νν |
Ἐπιδαύριος· Ἀρχέλοχος ν Τιμσίδα ν Ἑρμιονεύς· ν Ἀμφαίνετος ν Μνάμονος. ν
Ἀργεῖοι· ν | Λύσιππος ν Δαμοκρίτου, ν Τιμοκράτης ν Τίμωνος, ν Φιλόδαμος ν
Φιλάρχου. ν Κλεωναῖος· Νικίας Ξενοκλέος. ν Σικυώνιοι· Δεξίας Δέξιος, Πυθοκλῆς
Πυθοδώρου. ν Φλειάσιος· | Ἀρχέας Εὐτελείδα. ν Φενεάτας· Πανταίνετος Διοφάνεος.
| Πελλανεύς· Αἰσχύλος Ἀρχιμήδεος. ν Βούριος· Δίφιλος Δαμοκράτεος. ν Αἰγίεις·
Τεισίας ν | Ἐχεκράτεος, Νεολαΐδας. ν Πατρεύς· Ἀγανορίδας Τιμανορίδα. ν Δυμαῖοι·
Θυῖων Λύκωνος, ν | Σαμοφάνης Θεουξένου. ν Φαραιεύς· Ξένων Σατύρου. ν
Τριταίευσ· Ἀριστεάς Ἀριστεός. ν Λουσιάτας· Ἀκράγας Κλείος. ν Μεγαλοπολῖται·
Πύρρανθος Ἰερωνύμου, Λυσίμαχος Λυσίπου | Καλλίδαμος Καλλιμάχου. ννν |
Ἀσχεύς· Ἀριστόβουλος Λεοντίχου. ν γραμματεὺς —7— | | [.]λεουσ[ι]ρ[. — —
] | τῇ Ὑγιείᾳ τοὺς ἱερέας τοῦ | Ἀσκληπιοῦ [τῇ παναγύρι θύ]ειν βοῦν. ν μν ...10...
τῶν | βύρσαν καταναλίσκειν ν προ]στατεύειν [τῆς θυσίας πάσας] | τοὺς τοῦ
Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερέας. ν]¹²⁹⁹

God. Good fortune. The Achaian nomographoi, who have proposed the law for Hygieia: Of Epidauros: Archelochos son of Timaidas. Of Hermione: Amphainetos son of Mnamon. Of Argos: Lysippos son of Damokritos, Timokrates son of Timon, Philodamos son of Philarchos. Of Kleonai: Nikias son of Xenokles. Of Sicyon: Dexias son of Dexis, Pythokles son of Pythodoros. Of Phleious: Archeas son of Euteleidas. Of Pheneos: Pantainetos son of Diophanes. Of Pellana: Aischylos son of Archimedes. Of Boura: Diphilos son of Damocrates. Of Aigai: Teisias son of Echekrates, Neolaidas. Of Patrai: Aganoridas son of Timanoridas. Of Dyme: Thyion son of Lykon, Samophanes son of Theuxenos. Of Pharai: Xenon son of Satyros. Of Tritaia: Aristetas son of Aristes. Of Lousoi: Akragas son of Kleis. Of Megalopolis: Pyrranthos son of Hieronymos, Lysimachos son of Lysippos, Kallidamos son of Kallimachos. Of Ascheion: Aristoboulos son of Leontichos. Secretary: —leus[i] —r. To Hygieia, [the priests of] Asklepios [are to sacrifice] an ox [at the public festival] ... the hide spend lavishly. [At all the sacrifices] the [priests] of Asklepios are to preside.

¹²⁹⁸ IG IV², 1 73 (after 224 BC); SEG 25:382; SEG 33:300; SEG 35:303; SEG 49:374 bis. Sokolowski (1962) 57-59 no.23; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 98, 108. Rizakis (2003) 104-107 notes a second, unpublished list of *nomographoi* from Aigion, which may contain between 40-45 such officers.

¹²⁹⁹ IG IV², 1 73 (after 224 BC) 1-36. The 'v's are word separators included in the original text.

The means by which the *nomographoi* worked together to produce a single law – on which all parties agreed – is unknown.

Further particulars

The inscription lists 24 *nomographoi* from 17 poleis, plus one *grammateus*.¹³⁰⁰ Not all of the poleis of the Achaian League are represented. This could be because smaller poleis did not write laws to the extent that they warranted their own *nomographoi*. There is no reason to assume that some *nomographoi* have been omitted from the list. Most poleis have one representative, although some have two or three. This may be linked to the size of the polis, and if so, could suggest that *nomographoi* numbers were determined by some form of proportional representation.¹³⁰¹ The members from Argolis are listed first, followed by the Corinthian members, Arcadian members and Achaian members. Pheneos, which should be with the Arcadian members, is listed with the Corinthian members probably due to scribal error.¹³⁰²

Other attributes

It is not clear why the law for Hygieia warranted the participation of so many *nomographoi*. Possibly all *nomographoi* were included in an attempt to make the law authoritative among a large number of cities,¹³⁰³ or so that no states with an interest in the sanctuary were omitted (and the perceived offence that this implied), rather than that they were each needed to play a particular role.

Achaia: concluding remarks

Evidence for the secretaries of Achaia and the Achaian League is scarce, and in those texts that survive, their functions appear limited. In the third century BC, the Achaian *grammatistas* acted as a witness and participant in the registration of citizens at Dyme;¹³⁰⁴ a duty that could also be carried out by *damiorgoi* at Tritaia.¹³⁰⁵ In the second century BC, a

¹³⁰⁰ See page 225.

¹³⁰¹ Rizakis (2003) 104-107 notes a similar, unpublished list of *nomographoi* supporting this hypothesis, without adding additional information on the selection process. Aymard (1938) 383-5 presents the counter-argument, stating that it is impossible to identify a time when proportional representation would have produced the distribution of *nomographoi* found here. See also Swoboda (1922). For further evidence for proportional representation, see Roy (2000a) 312-3 on the *damiorgoi* of the Arcadian Confederacy, and Larsen (1968) 225-6, 231 who states (without citing his sources) that records of the Achaian federal treasury show evidence for payments from member poleis proportional to the number of representatives in the federal council. Larsen also notes the existence of proportional representation in the Aetolian, Boeotian, Lycian and Thessalian Leagues.

¹³⁰² Nielsen (2004) 527. Pheneos was never attached to Corinthia.

¹³⁰³ I would like to thank Peter Liddel for this suggestion.

¹³⁰⁴ See SIG³ 531 (3C BC) 1-8, 25-32 on page 212.

¹³⁰⁵ See SEG 40:400 (3C BC) 11-19 on page 218.

single text provides evidence for the *grammateus of the synedrion* participating in arbitration between two poleis.¹³⁰⁶

Little is known either of the *grammateus of the Achaian League* or the *grammateus of the Achaians*, other than that these secretaries could be eponymous,¹³⁰⁷ a function also served by the Achaian *grammatistas*.¹³⁰⁸ The *grammateus of the Achaians* may have acted as a witness to a manumission at Orchomenos, with responsibility for manumission funds, but it is unclear why he would have done so.¹³⁰⁹

Other officers of the Achaian League such as the *nomographoi* and *damiorgoi* appear to have taken active roles in arbitration,¹³¹⁰ or drafting laws,¹³¹¹ but again these offices are poorly understood; for instance, it is not known how or if these officers were chosen by a system of proportional representation, or how officers from member poleis worked together.

Secretaries of the Hellenic League

A fragmentary inscription of the Hellenic League contains the earliest known references to *grammateis* in the Peloponnese.¹³¹² This incarnation of the Hellenic League (sometimes called the League of Corinth), was founded in 302 BC as an association of Greeks under Antigonos and Demetrius I Poliorcetes, based at Corinth. It was rendered obsolete the following year.¹³¹³

The decree declares an alliance between Antigonos and Demetrius I Poliorcetes (line 9), and those who were 'partners in the *synedrion*' or League (lines 12-13). The remainder of the text sets out the League's constitution, the regulations for its member states, and the penalties for contravening these regulations.¹³¹⁴ The part of the regulations relating to *grammateis* is therefore directed at any *potential* secretaries of the League's member poleis and not at specific individuals.

— — — τοὺς [δὲ προέδρους συ]|νάγειν τε τοὺς συνέδρους κ[αὶ τοὺς] γραμματεῖς
ἀπὸ τοῦ κοιν[οῦ δόγματος(?) καὶ τοὺς] || ὑπηρέτας καὶ προτιθέναι περὶ ὧ[ν δεῖ
βου]λεύεσθαι κ[αὶ τὰ] δόξαν[τα μεταδιδόναι] | τοῖς γραμματεῦσι, καὶ αὐτοὺς

¹³⁰⁶ See ISE 51 (182-167 BC) 1-2 on page 217.

¹³⁰⁷ See pages 222 and 223.

¹³⁰⁸ See page 214.

¹³⁰⁹ See IG V,2 345 (79-78 BC) 1-2 on page 194.

¹³¹⁰ E.g. the *damiorgoi* in I. Magn 39 (c.208-7 BC) 33-38, page 225.

¹³¹¹ E.g. the *nomographoi* in IG IV²,1 73 (after 224 BC) 1-36, page 226.

¹³¹² IG IV²,1 68 (302 BC) 78-83.

¹³¹³ Griffith (1979) 634-8.

¹³¹⁴ Ager (1996) 65-67.

ε[ὔσημα ἀν]τίγροφα [ἔχοντ]ας κ[αὶ τὰς γνώμας πά]λλας εἰσάγειν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
τ[οῦ πάντ]η χρηματί[ζειν ε]ὐκόσμως, κυρίου[ς] | ὄντας τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα ζημιοῦν.¹³¹⁵

[And] the [proedroi (presidents)] are both to convene the synedroi and [the] grammateis in accordance with the common [decision(?) and their] subordinates, and to set forth (the matters) about which [it is necessary] to take counsel, and they are to [communicate] the resolutions to the grammateis, [keeping] also themselves [legible] copies, and they are to introduce [all the decisions] and supervise the transaction of business in every way [in an orderly fashion, full authority] belonging to them for penalizing the disorderly.¹³¹⁶

There is no evidence that secretaries in the Peloponnese had their own subordinates (or slaves), this phrasing instead more accurately reflecting the working environment in Athens. The form of this text, and the absence of *grammateis* in some member-poleis at this time, means that it is unlikely that these regulations could have been carried out.

Other attributes

The above text may date from the period in which Achaia was part of the Hellenic League.¹³¹⁷ Since the earliest Peloponnesian *grammateis* for which we have secure evidence are the (Achaian) *grammateis for the Achaian League*,¹³¹⁸ it is tempting to speculate that membership of the Hellenic League influenced Achaia's use of the designation *grammateus* rather than *grammatistas* or *gropheus*; however, this cannot be proven.¹³¹⁹

Conclusions

The evidence for utilisation of secretaries in the Peloponnese starts at approximately the same time as in Athens; possibly slightly earlier (see Table 13 on pages 290-296). There is no one single statement that applies to all secretaries, or officials who perform the duties of secretaries in the Peloponnese. However, when examining the evidence from the Peloponnese as a whole, the following patterns can be discerned.

While forms of bureaucracy, the number and types of officials present in each polis, and the style of bureaucratic texts differ from those found in Athens, the Peloponnese shares with Athens an early use of both temporary and permanent media, the requirement for secure

¹³¹⁵ IG IV²,1 68 (302 BC) 78-83.

¹³¹⁶ See Harding (1985) 172-173 for an alternative translation of this text.

¹³¹⁷ Before 302 BC–281 BC. Larsen (1968) 216; Tarn (1952) 73.

¹³¹⁸ SIG³ 531 (3C BC) 4 (page 213) cannot be dated any more securely than to the third century BC.

¹³¹⁹ Plb. 2.43.1-2. Polybius, writing in the 2C BC, uses the term *grammateus* rather than (e.g.) *gropheus* or *grammatistas* in his description of the earliest secretary of the Achaian League (see page 221). By Polybius' time of writing, both *gropheus* and *grammatistas* had fallen out of usage.

locations in which to store official documents,¹³²⁰ and an early need to record financial information.¹³²¹ However, before the third century BC, inscriptions lack publication clauses which would help in the analysis of the duties carried out by secretaries and associated officials.¹³²²

The sixth to fourth centuries BC

The earliest known official in the Peloponnese who functioned solely as a secretary was the *gropheus*; a designation known only from the Peloponnese and poleis which asked Peloponnesian poleis to arbitrate on their behalf.¹³²³ The *gropheus* is first known from Olympia in the sixth and fifth centuries BC,¹³²⁴ and from the fourth to the second century BC is found in several locations across the north of the Peloponnese, with one recorded instance in Messenia.¹³²⁵ Early *grophees* may not have been members of the body for whom they worked; later *grophees* could work for the governing body of a polis, for a temple, or be employed at specific events, such as the games at Lykaia.¹³²⁶ By the fourth century BC (see Figure 9 on page 314), the *gropheus* had been joined by secretaries of various designations in half a dozen locations in the north of the Peloponnese, from Corinth in the east to Lykaia in the west.

While the designations *gropheus* (γροφεύς) and *grammateus* (γραμματεύς) are linguistically related, it should be noted that *gropheus* of a boule or *synedrion* in the Peloponnese was not an equivalent office to that of *grammateus* of the *boule* at Athens. These officers differed in several respects. Small poleis typically required a limited range of bureaucratic documents, therefore the duties of *grophees* were also more likely to be limited. Only a few of these documents – mostly honorific and proxeny decrees – were published on stone. In this respect, the duties of *grophees* were similar to those of *grammateis* of Attic demes.¹³²⁷ *Grophees* are never known to have read documents to the assembly. Additionally, a *gropheus* was usually the secretary of an administrative body with few members,¹³²⁸ and some of these bodies were more oligarchic than any at Athens. The public profile of the

¹³²⁰ E.g. the records on temporary media stored in a secure location by treasurers in IG IV 554 (480-470 BC) 1-7, page 132.

¹³²¹ See e.g. the earliest recorded accounting *with* secretary, IG IV², 1 108 (4/3C BC) 159-161, page 145.

¹³²² While early texts are inscribed on stone, the earliest formula stating this is in IG IV², 1 68, the Hellenic League text of 302 BC (page 228).

¹³²³ E.g. the *gropheus* at Elis, pages 208-210, and the Argive *gropheus* known from Cimolos, page 138.

¹³²⁴ See Appendix B page 310 for a list of texts.

¹³²⁵ See Figures 9 to 11, pages 314-316.

¹³²⁶ See IG V, 2 550 (4C BC) on page 186.

¹³²⁷ Osborne (1985) 79, 206.

¹³²⁸ Such as the *grammateus* of the Tegean assembly, page 196.

gropheus was also lower than that of the *grammateus*, and *grophees* are not known to have been honoured.¹³²⁹

The designation *grammateus* first occurs in the Peloponnese at the end of the fourth century BC, as an officer of the short-lived Hellenic League.¹³³⁰ Shortly afterwards, *grammateus* is used for secretaries of the Achaian League,¹³³¹ and thereafter is used to indicate 'secretary' generally. *Grophees* and *grammateis* could be present in a polis at the same time,¹³³² and the designation *gropheus* only fell out of use during the Roman occupation of the Peloponnese.¹³³³

Several boards within the administration of a single polis could each have their own secretary, and a single body could also have more than one type of secretary. For example at Argos, the *aliaia*, the Eighty, the polemarchs and the *stratagoi* each had their own *grophees* (pages 135-140), while at Stymphalos, the *katakooi* co-existed alongside the *gropheus* (page 184), and at Corinth, the *grammatistas* co-existed alongside *grammateis* (see page 126). Texts produced typically consist of honours,¹³³⁴ proxeny decrees,¹³³⁵ and registers of officers.¹³³⁶ Less frequently-occurring types of document are laws,¹³³⁷ records of arbitration between other poleis,¹³³⁸ temple accounts,¹³³⁹ and letters.¹³⁴⁰

From the fifth century BC to the first century AD, other officers such as the *epimeletes* and *katalogos boulas* could perform some of the duties of secretaries in addition to their other functions.¹³⁴¹ This suggests that small poleis had few officials, and that those present were required to carry out a wide range of duties. From the fourth century BC, secretaries could also occasionally be asked to participate in duties more typically associated with other officers, such as the enrolling of citizens.¹³⁴²

¹³²⁹ The exception is perhaps a false archaism, where a Roman officer is called *gropheus* rather than *grammateus*. See page 136.

¹³³⁰ See IG IV², 1 68 (302 BC) 78-83 on page 228.

¹³³¹ See page 221.

¹³³² See Figures 10 and 11 on pages 315 and 316.

¹³³³ The designation *grammateus* is used almost without exception for secretaries in the Roman period. See Figures 12-14 on pages 317-319.

¹³³⁴ E.g. honours written by the *grammateis* of a theatrical guild at Argos, page 133.

¹³³⁵ E.g. proxeny decrees written by ephors in several small poleis in Laconia, page 158.

¹³³⁶ E.g. registers of officers and those making libations at the temple of Zeus at Olympia, page 204.

¹³³⁷ E.g. laws written by *nomographoi* at Hermione, page 150.

¹³³⁸ E.g. arbitration written by an Argive *gropheus* at Cimolos, page 138.

¹³³⁹ E.g. temple accounts at Epidauros, page 145.

¹³⁴⁰ E.g. letters are used at Sparta, pages 165 and 177, and Dyme, page 215.

¹³⁴¹ See *artunas*, *damiorgos*, *epimeletes*, *stratagos*, *tamias* and *ephor* in Figures 8-13, pages 313-318.

¹³⁴² E.g. the *katalogos boulas* at Epidauros, page 147, and the *grammatistas* at Dyme, page 213.

The third century BC

In the third century BC, secretaries are attested throughout the northern Peloponnese, and were also occasionally found in Laconia and Messenia (see Figure 10 on page 315). As in the fourth century, secretaries worked both within polis administration, and with temple officials, with higher numbers and a greater variety of secretaries recorded per polis than in any other century. We also see the first evidence of specialisation in the *nomographoi*, 'law-writers' who worked either as boards or individual officers for specific poleis, or as boards for the Achaian League.¹³⁴³ Unfortunately, the small number of sources for *nomographoi* of the Achaian League, coupled with the fragmentary nature of many of the sources for *nomographoi* of individual poleis, means that it is difficult to discern any difference between the duties of *nomographoi* of poleis, and *nomographoi* of Leagues. Additionally, some of our sources are so fragmentary that it is currently impossible to categorically state whether some officers were part of polis or League administration.

The second century BC

Without Roman intervention, it is possible that the employment of secretaries in many of the poleis of the Peloponnese would have continued to follow the trends started in the fourth and third centuries, with a similar range of duties, and a continued increase in numbers. Instead, numbers of secretaries were slightly lower in the second century BC (see Figure 11 on page 316), but with the (apparently) sudden rise of the ephor as the officer who wrote official documents and otherwise acted as secretary in various poleis in Laconia.¹³⁴⁴

Additionally, *grammateis* appear to perform a more limited range of duties: for example, in Laconia, predominantly compiling registers of officials, which contain no additional information.¹³⁴⁵ One new duty is attested for the first time, however: that of storing documents in (and possibly also retrieving documents from) archives.¹³⁴⁶

The first century BC to the second century AD

The first century BC shows a marked change from the previous three centuries, in terms of the locations which employed secretaries, the designations found, and the numbers of secretaries attested (see Figure 12 on page 317). Few officers are recorded in the north of the Peloponnese, and instead Laconia and Messenia are the most productive. This change

¹³⁴³ E.g. the *nomographoi* of the Achaian League at Epidauros, page 226.

¹³⁴⁴ For ephors as secretaries, see pages 154, 158 and 177. Shipley (2005) 325: "The overall numbers (of inscriptions) are more or less the same in the fourth, third and second centuries, but increase sharply in third-century Arcadia and Messenia. ... In the second century, there are sharp falls in the Argolid, but steep increases in Messenia, Laconia and Achaia. The downturn in the Argolid was perhaps a result of the Roman conquest."

¹³⁴⁵ E.g. IG V,1 137 (98-117 AD) 1-25 on page 160.

¹³⁴⁶ E.g. the *grammatophylakion* at Sparta, page 162.

may be attributable to Roman intervention in the Peloponnese. From the same period, we also find inscriptions honouring Roman officials who held several magistracies including that of *grammateus*.¹³⁴⁷

By the first century BC, the Peloponnesian designations *gropheus* and *katalogos boulas* appear to have fallen out of use altogether, and the most common designation for secretaries is *grammateus*. From the first century BC, Sparta also provides evidence for *hypogrammateis*,¹³⁴⁸ ‘under-secretaries’ also known from Athens and Delos from the fifth and fourth centuries BC onwards.¹³⁴⁹ The picture is much the same in the first century AD (see Figure 13 on page 318).

By the second century AD, the dispersal pattern of the first century AD appears to have become more firmly established, with a rise in the numbers of secretaries found in these poleis (see Figure 14 on page 319).

Geographical mobility

Our earliest evidence from the Peloponnese suggests that, in the sixth and fifth centuries BC, secretaries could be itinerant. This statement is based on a single inscription in which the rights of one *gropheus* and his descendants were protected, suggesting that he did not have rights otherwise accorded to citizens. This, in conjunction with his name (which is otherwise unattested in that region) suggests that he was a slave and/or not local.¹³⁵⁰ This extremely early text has been compared with the Spensithios decree from Crete, and used as evidence that this *gropheus* had specialist skills not otherwise available in this polis.¹³⁵¹

Evidence for secretaryship as a specialist activity practised by itinerant workers is not found after the end of the fifth century BC. From the fourth century BC, most secretaries appear to have worked in the polis in which they were born. One exception appears to be a fourth- or third-century BC *gropheus* at Epidauros, who wrote a decree in an Argive style and had a demotic otherwise unattested locally, but attested in Argos.¹³⁵²

Some secretaries appear to have written and set up stelai in remote locations, where we would not expect permanent administrative bodies, such as a list of names and designations set up on the island of Kalaureia.¹³⁵³ Other secretaries declare themselves to be secretaries

¹³⁴⁷ See Appendix C page 321 for a list of these texts.

¹³⁴⁸ See page 165.

¹³⁴⁹ See Appendix A pages 284-289.

¹³⁵⁰ Patrias the *gropheus* (IvO 2 (before 580 BC) 1-9), pages 208-210.

¹³⁵¹ Nomima 22 (c.500 BC) 1-5, page 210.

¹³⁵² Mitsos (1947) A1 (4/3C BC) 1-8, page 144. Any texts written by Athenians at Delos also fall into the category of secretaries working in a polis other than the one in which they were born.

¹³⁵³ IG IV 824 (3C BC) 1-9, page 151.

of magistrates or bodies otherwise unattested in a particular location, such as the *gropheus of the damiourgoi* known from a list of victors at games in Lykaia, which was managed by Megalopolis,¹³⁵⁴ and the *grammateus of the synedrion* at Andania in Messenia, which was under the control of Messene.¹³⁵⁵

The overall picture

The overall picture is one of great variety in terms of numbers of secretaries per polis, designations found, and types of document produced. It is possible to see trends both in individual poleis and across certain regions at certain times.

Between 400 and 100 BC, Argos and Epidauros attest the greatest number of secretaries and most variety in designations, and these officers carry out the widest range of duties found in the Peloponnese. In the first and second centuries AD, the most productive poleis in terms of number of officers were Sparta and Olympia, with Sparta attesting the greatest number of officers overall. However, there is little variety in the designations found,¹³⁵⁶ and the duties of these officers appear limited.¹³⁵⁷ Indeed, the most interesting documents from this period are not from Sparta, but are the proxeny decrees produced by ephors in various small Laconian poleis.¹³⁵⁸

With the exception of its two early texts, Elis provides the least variety of all Peloponnesian states in terms of both designations and subject matter, with all secretaries connected in some capacity with the temple at Olympia. All areas produce evidence for secretaries by the third century BC, with Troizen/Hermionis showing the shortest period of activity: the third century BC only. Only Laconia and Messenia provide evidence for standardisation or 'unity' among their officers and documents. This is achieved through the use of a limited number of magistracies across all poleis, and an apparently reduced range of duties and texts.

For further analysis of specific duties and attributes of these offices, see Chapter 4.

¹³⁵⁴ IG V,2 550 (4CBC) 1-6, page 186.

¹³⁵⁵ IG V,1 1390 (92-91 BC) 132-137, page 170.

¹³⁵⁶ See Appendix B page 306 for a list of these texts.

¹³⁵⁷ See e.g. page 160 for the duties of *grammateis* at Sparta.

¹³⁵⁸ See pages 154, 158 and 177 for the *ephors* in Laconia and Messenia.

Chapter 4 – Conclusions

Secretaries carried out a range of activities for a body or magistrate. These primarily took the form of any writing required, but might also include reading, accounting or other administrative duties. In terms of further particulars of the office, the majority of secretaries were elected by lot, with no prior qualifications, for a set period of either one year or one prytany only. During this time, a secretary could work alongside or with a wide range of officers. Other attributes suggest that secretaries were rarely prominent individuals, and that while some served in an administrative capacity for leagues, or worked in poleis other than the one in which they were born, the majority were concerned with the records of their home polis only.

Activities

Writing on temporary media

Much of the daily administrative business carried out by most secretaries consisted of writing on wooden tablets or papyrus. Wooden tablets could be used for the drafting of texts to be inscribed, for recording information not intended for public display, and for the recording of information with a limited useful lifespan, such as accounts.

In Athens, the *anagrapheus of the laws* (page 40) is likely to have made extensive use of temporary media in drafting new laws. Similarly, the *syngrapheis* (page 75) were commissioners for drafting the laws (by which we might assume that most of their work involved drafting documents on temporary media), and the *grammateus of the hellenotamiai* (pages 86-87) used whitened boards to record the names of cities in default of tribute. We may also assume that in recording 'everything else',¹³⁵⁹ the *grammateus of the boule* used temporary media to record the laws and decrees of the boule and demos.

Many Athenian secretaries may have carried out all of their daily duties by writing on temporary media, such as the *antigrapheus* (page 49), who was responsible for boule accounts, the *katalogeus* (page 102), who enrolled the 5,000 (or more), and the *grammateus for the assessors* (page 98), who received accounts submitted by officials at the end of their year in office.

Most of the daily duties of secretaries in the Peloponnese are also likely to have been carried out on temporary media. Throughout the Peloponnese, *nomographoi* made extensive use of temporary media in drafting laws,¹³⁶⁰ making modifications to laws recorded on papyri,¹³⁶¹

¹³⁵⁹ *Ath. Pol.* 54.3, page 58.

¹³⁶⁰ IG V,1 7 (3CBC) 1-10, page 164, and SIG³ 684 (c.144 BC) 6-11, 16-27, page 216.

writing texts to be stored in an archive,¹³⁶² and writing letters.¹³⁶³ Other officers used wooden tablets or papyri for the registration of citizens,¹³⁶⁴ creating lists of victors,¹³⁶⁵ writing messages or letters,¹³⁶⁶ and making copies of decrees to be set up elsewhere.¹³⁶⁷

From the fifth century BC (if not earlier) in Athens,¹³⁶⁸ and the second century BC in the Peloponnese,¹³⁶⁹ secretaries made use of archives.¹³⁷⁰ These could either take the form of document storage within a building which also served another purpose (such as a sanctuary),¹³⁷¹ or be dedicated archive buildings.¹³⁷²

Writing for publication on stelai

Many documents were also published on stelai. The secretary who published the most texts on this medium, over the longest period, was the Athenian *grammateus of the boule*. Consequently, this officer is also the secretary whose duties are best understood.

The Athenian *grammateus of the boule* wrote any laws, decrees, decisions, honours, registers and/or financial accounts asked of him,¹³⁷³ and the duties of all other secretaries appear limited by comparison. There is no comparable, prevalent office in the Peloponnese, and the most significant secretary of one polis may have a different designation from, and (apparently) different duties from the most significant secretary in another polis. For example, the *grammateus of the boule* at Sparta is known primarily from registers of magistrates, while the Aiginetan *grammateus of the demos* is known from two honorific decrees only.¹³⁷⁴

¹³⁶¹ IG V,2 433 (early 2C BC) 6-11, page 191.

¹³⁶² IG IV 679 (late 3-2C BC) 23-31, page 149, and IG V,2 433 (early 2C BC) 6-11, page 192.

¹³⁶³ SEG 52:541 (3C BC?) 4-7, page 165, SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 24-36, pages 177-178, and SIG³ 684 (c.144 BC) 6-11, 16-27, page 216.

¹³⁶⁴ The *grammatistas*, *boularchos* and *prostatas of the damosiophylakes* at Dyme: SIG³ 531 (3C BC) 25-32, page 213.

¹³⁶⁵ IG V,1 20 (98-117 AD) A3-4, page 162.

¹³⁶⁶ IG V,1 7 (3C BC) 1-10, page 164.

¹³⁶⁷ IvO 39 (300-250 BC) 30-40, pages 202-204.

¹³⁶⁸ Sickinger (1999) 73-83, 110-111.

¹³⁶⁹ E.g. the *grammatophylakion* and *damosios* at Sparta: IG V,1 20 (98-117 AD) A3-4, page 162 and SEG 52:541 (3C BC?) 4-7, page 165.

¹³⁷⁰ See Sickinger (1999) esp. 62-72.

¹³⁷¹ IG V,1 1390 (92-91 BC) 112-114, page 170.

¹³⁷² E.g. the *damosios* at Dyme: SIG³ 684 (c.144 BC) 6-11, 16-27, page 216, and the *grammatophylakion* at Megalopolis: IG V,2 433 (early 2C BC) 6-11, page 192.

¹³⁷³ See, e.g. IG II² 120 (353/2 BC) 13-19 on page 54.

¹³⁷⁴ See, e.g. IG IV² 749 (159-144 BC) 45-46 on page 124.

Other secretaries also well-known for publishing on stelai are the Athenian *grammateus of the boule and the demos*, who, in addition to reading out decrees, published approximately a quarter of the decrees of the boule and demos during the period in which this office was in existence.¹³⁷⁵ Of equal (if short-lived) prominence were the *anagrapheis of the laws*, who revised some of the most significant Athenian documents,¹³⁷⁶ and the later (oligarchic) *anagrapheus*, who published the greatest number of decrees per year, in the years 321/0 to 319/18 BC.¹³⁷⁷

Many other offices are imperfectly understood, due to their presence in a few stelai (covering a narrow range of subjects) only: typically honours or proxeny decrees,¹³⁷⁸ or registers of magistrates.¹³⁷⁹ When an office is known from a few texts, or even a single text only, one cannot say that this officer's duties were confined to writing on a narrow range of subjects. It is more likely that these officers wrote a range of documents, but published few of them on stone.

Making copies

Copying texts was also part of the duties of many secretaries.¹³⁸⁰ For example, the Athenian *grammateus of the boule*, *other secretaries in charge of state documents* and *demosios* each made their own copy of the contents of the Chalkotheke,¹³⁸¹ and copies of decrees were also made by officers such as Argive *grophees*¹³⁸² and Spartan *nomographoi*.¹³⁸³ All secretaries for whom we have evidence of copying also appear to have had other duties, and no secretary is known to have made copies only.

Financial and/or accounting duties

In both Athens and the Peloponnese, financial and accounting duties were typically carried out by treasurers or accountants,¹³⁸⁴ but could also be carried out by secretaries.

In Athens, some minor secretaries created boule accounts,¹³⁸⁵ assisted with the management of accounts submitted by magistrates at the end of their year in office,¹³⁸⁶ and catalogued

¹³⁷⁵ See IG II² 496 (303/2 BC) 36-39 on page 65 and Table 14 on page 297.

¹³⁷⁶ Such as the homicide law (IG I³ 104 (409/8 BC) 4-6) pages 38-40, and the Athenian sacrificial calendar, pages 40-41.

¹³⁷⁷ See pages 46-47 and 60.

¹³⁷⁸ E.g. the *Grammateus of the phyle* at Athens, page 108, and the *dogmatographoi* at Amyklai, page 157.

¹³⁷⁹ E.g. the *grammateus for life* at Athens, page 111, and the *grammateus* at Elis, page 204.

¹³⁸⁰ The verbs *anagrapho* ((ID 88 (368-362 BC) 22-24), *antigrapho* (IG II² 120 (358/7-354/3 BC) 15-17) and *grapho* + *antigraphon* (IG V,1 1336 (undated) 19) can all be used for 'create a copy'.

¹³⁸¹ IG II² 120 (353/2 BC) 13-19, pages 55 and 83.

¹³⁸² ISE 40 (c.300 BC) 2-4, 27-33, page 139.

¹³⁸³ SEG 52:541 (3CBC?) 4-7, page 165.

¹³⁸⁴ See e.g. IG V,1 1432 (39 BC) 26-30 in n.979, page 175.

treasury items (a duty also attested for secretaries in the Peloponnese and Delos).¹³⁸⁷ In the Peloponnese, where financial and accounting duties are attested, they could (presumably from necessity) be carried out by a polis' only secretary.¹³⁸⁸

Reading aloud

The reading of documents aloud by secretaries is attested only in Athens, and only by the *grammateus of the boule and the demos*¹³⁸⁹ and the *grammateus* who was clerk of the court¹³⁹⁰ (although the *grammateus of the boule* may also have done so).¹³⁹¹ The activity is not attested in the Peloponnese.

Restrictions on activities

Few sources mention restrictions placed upon the work of secretaries. Those that exist fall into three categories: time restrictions, use of specific media, and the requirement that the document be written as directed by another officer.

At Athens, from the middle to the last quarter of the fourth century BC, a time limit of ten days could be placed on the *grammateus of the boule*, in which he was to complete and set up a stele containing a proxeny decree.¹³⁹² There is no evidence to suggest that this time limit was enforced.¹³⁹³ At approximately the same time, in the Peloponnese, one document also places a time limit of ten days upon Mantinean *epimeletai*, within which they are to register the Heliswasians.¹³⁹⁴

Conditions related to the type of media used are known only from the Peloponnese, where one document records that the results of an arbitration are to be written up on a stele only if

¹³⁸⁵ See *antigraphus*, page 49, and *antigrammateus*, page 110.

¹³⁸⁶ See the secretary of the *logistai* and *synegoroi* (assessors), pages 98 and 104.

¹³⁸⁷ In Athens, see the recording of objects in the Chalkotheke, page 81, and the *grammateus* of the treasurers of Athena, pages 86 and 88. In the Peloponnese, the *gropheus of the hiaromnamones* may have written temple accounts, page 145. For Delos, see the *grammateus of the hieropoioi*, page 330.

¹³⁸⁸ The *gropheus of the bola* at Sicyon handled travelling expenses on at least one occasion, page 129, and the *dogmatographoi* at Amyklai submitted an account of expenses incurred, page 157.

¹³⁸⁹ See page 65.

¹³⁹⁰ See pages 67 and 93.

¹³⁹¹ See page 57.

¹³⁹² See page 59, esp. n.241.

¹³⁹³ It is impossible to pin time limits specified by Lysias to any official requirements of the office of *anagrapheus of the laws* (see page 44).

¹³⁹⁴ See IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 16-18, page 188.

favourable.¹³⁹⁵ Another decree notes that a document is to be written in the way specified by the *synedroi*.¹³⁹⁶

No activity specified or attested

In both Athens and the Peloponnese, there are many secretaries for whom we have no evidence of any activity. For example, the *grammateus of the eisagogeis* and the *grammateus of the thesmothetai* are known from information about their means of selection only,¹³⁹⁷ and while the *hypogrammateus* is known from a range of contexts, he is not known from his duties.¹³⁹⁸ Other secretaries are known from honours only,¹³⁹⁹ from registers of magistrates only,¹⁴⁰⁰ or from the eponymous nature of their office only.¹⁴⁰¹

Other duties not directly related to secretaryship

In the Peloponnese but not in Athens, secretaries could perform functions unrelated to secretaryship, but related to being one of a small group of magistrates for a specific polis. For example, in Orchomenos, the *grammateus of the synedrion* could witness manumission,¹⁴⁰² while at Dyme, citizens were registered with several officers including the *grammatistas*.¹⁴⁰³ At Argos, *grophees* are associated with improvements to the temple of Pythian Apollo.¹⁴⁰⁴ The duty most unlike 'secretaryship' is attested at Thouria, where the *grammateus of the synedrion* helped distribute grain: something he is unlikely to have done if Thouria had had a greater number of magistrates.¹⁴⁰⁵ This wider range of activities appears to have been necessary in smaller administrations, which employed fewer officers.

While secretaries are known from legal contexts,¹⁴⁰⁶ the only secretaries who may have had legal duties were the Athenian *grammateus* and *syngrammateus of the eisagogeis*, who were chosen from among the *eisagogeis*.¹⁴⁰⁷

¹³⁹⁵ ISE 51 (182-167 BC) 10-14, Patrai, page 218.

¹³⁹⁶ IGV,1 1379 (2-1C BC) 14-16, 18, 23, Thouria, page 176.

¹³⁹⁷ See pages 68 and 91.

¹³⁹⁸ See pages 78 and 165.

¹³⁹⁹ E.g. the *grammateus of the bouleutai*, page 97, and the *secretary in charge of decrees*, page 73.

¹⁴⁰⁰ E.g. the *grammateus for life*, page 111, and the *grammateus* at Olympia, page 204.

¹⁴⁰¹ See n.1498.

¹⁴⁰² IGV,2 345 (79-78 BC) 9-12, page 195.

¹⁴⁰³ SIG³ 531 (3C BC) 25-32, pages 212-213. See also the Delian *grammateus of the hieropoioi*, *grammateus of the polis* and *grammateus of the demos* acting as witnesses: pages 328 and 334.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Buck No.87 (3C BC) 4-6, page 135. See also the *naopoioi* at Delos, page 338.

¹⁴⁰⁵ IGV,1 1379 (2-1C BC) 14-16, 18, 23, page 176.

¹⁴⁰⁶ See the *grammateus* of the Eleven (page 90), *thesmothetai* (page 91), and 'the court' generally (page 93).

¹⁴⁰⁷ See page 68.

Secretarial duties carried out by officers who were not secretaries

While secretaries are the officers most frequently attested writing official documents, they are not the only officers. For example, *damiourgoi*,¹⁴⁰⁸ *ephors*,¹⁴⁰⁹ *epimeletai*,¹⁴¹⁰ *stratagoi*¹⁴¹¹ and *tamiai*¹⁴¹² in various locations could write decrees or honours. Officers other than secretaries could also make copies of decrees,¹⁴¹³ write proposals or regulations,¹⁴¹⁴ record names¹⁴¹⁵ or the results of arbitration,¹⁴¹⁶ assist with the registration of citizens,¹⁴¹⁷ and transport and set up stelai.¹⁴¹⁸ Some other officers were also involved in the creation of financial or accounting records, such as the *thesmothetes*, who wrote up ordinances and received statements of irregularities in these accounts,¹⁴¹⁹ and the *tamiai*, who were treasurers.¹⁴²⁰ Additionally, the Athenian *demarch* appears to have had as wide a range of secretarial duties – if not wider – than many Athenian secretaries, and is known from honours, contracts and registration documents.¹⁴²¹

Stonecutting

The ‘manufacturing’ of stelai is rarely mentioned, and only two inscriptions from the Peloponnese provide evidence that a secretary could also be a stonecutter.¹⁴²² Evidence for connections between secretaries and stonecutters is limited to the few texts where they are both mentioned in conjunction with a sum of money to be shared between them on

¹⁴⁰⁸ Pages 149 and 182.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Pages 154, 158 and 177-177.

¹⁴¹⁰ Pages 109, 188 and 199.

¹⁴¹¹ Page 197.

¹⁴¹² Pages 106, 114, 152, 166. (See also the Delian *archithiasites*, page 340.)

¹⁴¹³ See the *kerux* in IGIV², 183 (40-42 AD) 15-19, page 103.

¹⁴¹⁴ See the Argive *artunas*, IG IV 554 (480-470 BC) 1-7, pages 131-132, and *nomodeiktai* in Andania, IG V, 1 1390 (92-91 BC) 112-114, page 170.

¹⁴¹⁵ E.g. the Athenian *hellenotamiai*, IG I³ 68 (426/5 BC) 18-21, pages 86-87.

¹⁴¹⁶ I. Magn 39 (c.208-7 BC) 33-38, page 225.

¹⁴¹⁷ E.g. the Athenian *phratriarch* was involved in the introduction of new phratry members, pages 106-107, and Arcadian *epimeletai* registered Heliswasians, IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 16-18 (page 188).

¹⁴¹⁸ E.g. the *damiourgoi* at Hermione, IG IV 679 (late 3-2C BC) 23-31, page 149.

¹⁴¹⁹ See page 103.

¹⁴²⁰ See page 106.

¹⁴²¹ See page 105.

¹⁴²² The *stalographos* in Arcadia, IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 16-18, page 189, and one *grammateus* who may have made (ἐνόησε) a memorial at Epidauros, IGIV², 1 306 (c.206 BC) A1-C5, page 143.

completion of some work,¹⁴²³ and rare occasions where the stonecutter is included at the end of a text that he engraved.¹⁴²⁴

Further Particulars

Qualifications, experience, and means of appointment

If we understand the statement in the *Athenaion Politeia* that the *grammateus of the boule* was chosen from 'the most distinguished and trustworthy men'¹⁴²⁵ to mean that these *grammateis* were initially chosen from the *pentakosiomedimnoi*, there may have been a financial or property qualification for the earliest Athenian secretaries. With some other, early secretaryships such as the *gropheus* in Elis, it may not have even been necessary to be a citizen.¹⁴²⁶ Wages of secretaries – where they existed¹⁴²⁷ – tended to be small, and so many officers would have needed to be independently wealthy in order to support themselves for the duration of their office.¹⁴²⁸ This would have prevented many men from standing for office.

There is little evidence to suggest that previous experience was necessary in order to become a secretary, and some evidence (in the case of Nikomachos, fifth-century *anagrapheus of the laws*) that expertise was mistrusted, as it could (theoretically) be used for personal gain.¹⁴²⁹ Offices of a years' duration made the acquisition of 'expertise' difficult, and arguably the only officers able to be 'experts' from the fourth century BC onwards were the *hypogrammateis* who served for two or more years under different magistrates,¹⁴³⁰ and the secretaries for life of the ephebes.¹⁴³¹

At a very basic level, we could argue that the ability to read and/or write fluently would be compulsory, but there is no evidence that these skills were a requirement. In theory, in Athens before c.367/6 BC (when selection of officers was by show of hands), fluent literacy could make a man more likely to be elected; however, from this point onwards, selection of

¹⁴²³ E.g. the stonecutter working with *grammateis* at Delos, pages 331, 347-348.

¹⁴²⁴ E.g. stonecutters working with *grammateis* at Thalamai, page 166.

¹⁴²⁵ *Ath. Pol.* 54.3, page 57.

¹⁴²⁶ Patrias the *gropheus*, IvO 2 (before 580 BC) 1-9, page 208.

¹⁴²⁷ See page 118.

¹⁴²⁸ As appears to have been the case with one *grammateus* honoured for his euergetism, SEG 23:208 (42 AD) 2, 15-29, page 172. See also page 349.

¹⁴²⁹ See page 41 for more on Nikomachos' expertise.

¹⁴³⁰ Hansen (1999) 244-5. See also Table 12 on page 288.

¹⁴³¹ See page 111.

magistrates was by lot, which made any previous relevant skills irrelevant, and selection on this basis impossible.¹⁴³²

Athenian secretaryships abolished before the mid-fourth century BC are known only to have elected by show of hands.¹⁴³³ With only the exception of the minor office of *grammateus elected by hairesis* (page 94), offices known from the mid-fourth century BC onwards were elected by lot.¹⁴³⁴ We lack evidence for means of selection in the Peloponnese.

Duration of office

From the mid-fourth century BC onwards, the majority of secretaryships in Athens were annual – the same duration as other offices, such as those held by archons.¹⁴³⁵ The duration of some minor secretarial offices is unknown;¹⁴³⁶ however, where archons (for example) are known to have served for a year, we may assume that their secretaries served for the same period. One inscription¹⁴³⁷ notes the election of secretaries of several minor groups at the same time as secretaries of archons, which may suggest that these officers also held office for a year.

There are two periods in which Athenian offices could be held for more, or less than a year: from the late sixth to mid-fourth centuries BC (under, or shortly after more oligarchic forms of government), and in the Roman period. The early *grammateus of the boule* held office for a prytany from the late sixth to the mid-fourth century BC,¹⁴³⁸ while in the fifth century, the *syngrammateus* may have served for two years,¹⁴³⁹ and the *anagrapheus of the laws* had an office with no fixed term.¹⁴⁴⁰ In the Roman period, the minor offices of *hypogrammateus of the boule*¹⁴⁴¹ and *grammateus (of the ephebes) for life*¹⁴⁴² may have been held for several years, or for life.

¹⁴³² For the change in selection methods, see page 43. For the selection of specific magistracies, see under Election in the index.

¹⁴³³ E.g. the *syngrapheis*, page 76.

¹⁴³⁴ See page 98.

¹⁴³⁵ See e.g. the *grammateus of the boule*, pages 53, 60 and 109; the *grammateus of the boule and the demos*, page 66 and the *antigraphes*, page 51.

¹⁴³⁶ E.g. the Athenian *grammateus of the thesmothetai*, page 91, and the *grammateus of the hipparchs*, page 92.

¹⁴³⁷ *Hesp.* 6:460,8 (after 166 BC) 4-20, page 98.

¹⁴³⁸ See pages 52, 59 and 109.

¹⁴³⁹ See page 74.

¹⁴⁴⁰ See page 42. See also the Delian *grammateus of the amphictyons*, page 327, which was initially held for five years and later became annual.

¹⁴⁴¹ See Table 12, page 288.

¹⁴⁴² See page 111.

In the Peloponnese, the duration of offices is uncertain, but most may also have been for a year, as was the case with the ephors at Sparta.¹⁴⁴³ Offices with a duration of more than a year are attested in three contexts, all from the Roman period. The office of *grammateus* at the temple of Zeus in Olympia may have been hereditary, and held for many years;¹⁴⁴⁴ one *grammateus for the synedroi* at Megalopolis appears to have been *grammateus* twice;¹⁴⁴⁵ and one Roman magistrate at Olympia appears to have been *grammateus* for a second time (for an unknown body or bodies), in addition to holding other magistracies during the course of his lifetime.¹⁴⁴⁶

In the Peloponnese, offices of less than a year's duration are limited to cases where officers acted as secretary only when required, as with the *grophees* and *katalogoi boulas* at Epidauros,¹⁴⁴⁷ and one or two cases where early secretaries were itinerant workers;¹⁴⁴⁸ a feature of secretaryship not found in Athens.

Membership (and designations)

Unless specified in ancient sources, it is impossible to tell whether secretaries were chosen from among the members of the body for which they worked: official designations provide no clues in this respect. The Athenian *grammateus of the boule* was probably a member of the boule in the period before 367/6 BC;¹⁴⁴⁹ however, this secretary could have either the *same* designation, or a different designation (*grammateus kata prytaneian*¹⁴⁵⁰ or *peri to bema*¹⁴⁵¹) when he was no longer a member of the boule.

The use of the genitive (i.e. 'of the') and dative ('for the') in designations cannot be used as an indicator of membership. For instance, while the genitive 'of the' might suggest that the secretary was drawn from the members of a body, and the dative 'for the' might suggest that a secretary worked for a body, but was not a member of it, the designation *grammateus for the Achaians* (in the dative) was used only when the *grammateus* was from one of the member poleis of the Achaian League, and the designation *grammateus of the Achaians* (in the genitive) was used only when 'Achaia' referred to Greece as a Roman province. Additionally, other secretaries of the Achaian League – the *nomographoi* – do not

¹⁴⁴³ See page 160.

¹⁴⁴⁴ See page 205.

¹⁴⁴⁵ See page 191.

¹⁴⁴⁶ See page 207. Proxenos of Acherdos may also have been *grammateus of the boule* twice at Athens: see page 61.

¹⁴⁴⁷ See pages 146-148.

¹⁴⁴⁸ See page 233.

¹⁴⁴⁹ See page 59.

¹⁴⁵⁰ See pages 53 and 57.

¹⁴⁵¹ See page 56.

have an 'X of the body Y' form of designation at all. Finally, while the designation *grammateus for life* implies permanent holding of an office, it does not provide evidence for permanent *membership* of any group.¹⁴⁵² The only persons we can categorically say were *not* members of the body for which they worked were 'itinerant' secretaries,¹⁴⁵³ and slaves.¹⁴⁵⁴

Contexts

Secretaries are known from a wide range of contexts. Both the Hellenic League and Achaian League had their own *grammateis*,¹⁴⁵⁵ and boards of secretaries are attested both for leagues,¹⁴⁵⁶ and for individual poleis.¹⁴⁵⁷

The majority of secretaries are known from bodies at polis level: typically a boule¹⁴⁵⁸ or *synedrion*.¹⁴⁵⁹ Just as the Athenian *grammateus of the boule* was the most prominent secretary involved in Athenian administration, the *grammateus of the boule*, *grammateus of the synedrion* or *gropheus bolas* was the most prominent secretary involved in the administration of his home polis. Most Peloponnesian poleis employed one or two secretaries only. Therefore the designations *grammateus*, *gropheus* (or *graphes*) and *grammatistas* also typically refer to the most prominent (or only) secretary of a polis.¹⁴⁶⁰

Occasionally, secretaries are also found at sub-polis level in both Athens and the Peloponnese, for example secretaries for the ephebes,¹⁴⁶¹ or for theatrical guilds.¹⁴⁶²

Specialism

Evidence for specialism – where an official works on a subset of the available administrative duties of a polis – is scarce, but may possibly be found in instances where a secretary is the subject of a verb with the same prefix as his designation, and/or specialism is implied by the context. For instance, the Athenian *syngrapheis* (commissioners) commissioned (*hoi*

¹⁴⁵² For the *grammateus for life*, see page 111.

¹⁴⁵³ E.g. the *stalographos*, page 189. See also Geographical Mobility, page 233.

¹⁴⁵⁴ The *hyperetes*, page 83.

¹⁴⁵⁵ See pages 228 and pages 225-226 respectively.

¹⁴⁵⁶ The *nomographoi* of the Achaian League, page 226.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Boards of *nomographoi* are attested at Dyme, page 216, Hermione, page 150, Megalopolis, page 191, Tegea, page 197, Thouria, page 178 and Sparta, page 164. For *dogmatographoi* at Sparta, see page 156.

¹⁴⁵⁸ See, e.g. the *grammateus of the boule* at Athens, pages 51-52 and the *gropheus of the bola* at Argos, pages 137-138.

¹⁴⁵⁹ E.g. the *grammateus of the synedroi* at Messene, page 173, and the *grammateus for the synedroi* at Megalopolis, page 190.

¹⁴⁶⁰ See, e.g. the *grammateus* at Corinth, page 127; *grammatistas* at Dyme: pages 196 and 212; *graphes* at Tegea, pages 196-197, and *gropheus* at Argos, pages 135-136.

¹⁴⁶¹ The *grammateus for life* of the ephebes at Athens, pages 94 and 111.

¹⁴⁶² E.g. the *grammateis* of a theatrical guild at Argos, page 133.

χουσιν γράφει χουσιν γράφουσιν),¹⁴⁶³ the *antigraphus* transcribed (ἀντιγραφεύς... ἀντιγράφεισθαι),¹⁴⁶⁴ and the *katalogeus* catalogued (καταλογεύς... κατέλεξεν).¹⁴⁶⁵ *Nomographoi* are also typically shown in the action of *graphein* + *nomoi*,¹⁴⁶⁶ but are also found in conjunction with ordinances (*dogmata*) which become laws, or that are incorporated into existing laws.¹⁴⁶⁷ Both duties could be seen as specialism. Similarly, in our one surviving instance of Laconian *dogmatographoi*, the *dogmatographoi* write up a *dogma*.¹⁴⁶⁸ Trying to assign meaning to prefixes of designations can be misleading, however. While the *anagrapheus* is frequently the subject of the verb *anagrapho*, so are most (if not all) secretaries where a verb is specified, and *anagrapho* is also used to describe writing carried out by officers such as the *epimeletes* or *tamias*. (Conversely, a *grammateus* is rarely the subject of the verb *grapho*.)

While it is likely that secretaries could learn or improve upon various skills while in office, even 'specialists' are unlikely to have been considered 'professionals' or 'experts' in an office of a year's duration (or less).

Some secretaries are never the subject of a verb, and so it is difficult to prove either status or specialism, despite this being implied by a designation or prefix. For example, it is unclear whether the *hypogrammateus* ever acted as 'under-secretary' in any real sense.¹⁴⁶⁹ Likewise, specialism is inferred (but cannot be proven) from designations such as *secretary in charge of decrees* ([ὁ] ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα) and *secretary for the laws* ([ὁ] ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους).¹⁴⁷⁰

Collaboration and collegiality

Secretaries could collaborate with other secretaries, and with other officers. Collaboration is signified in epigraphic evidence when two or more persons are subjects of the same verb, i.e. they are part of the same action. For example, the Athenian *anagrapheis of the laws* take (παραλαμβάντες) the homicide law passed to them by the *basileus*,¹⁴⁷¹ and *grophees* at Argos make and put in place (κατεσκεύασσαν καὶ ἤσαντο) building work including a

¹⁴⁶³ IGI³ 21 (450/49 BC) 3, page 74.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Harp. *Words Used by the Ten Orators* 35.4, page 49.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Lys. 20.13, page 102. Usher (1976) 31-32 offers a counter-argument to verbs as evidence for specialisation.

¹⁴⁶⁶ IGV, 1 7 (3CBC) 1-2: γ[ραψ]άν[τ]ω... νόμον, page 164; IGV, 2 24 (1CBC or after) 5: γραπάτωσαν... νόμον, page 197; SIG³ 684 (c.144 BC) 9: νόμους γράψας, page 216.

¹⁴⁶⁷ IGIV 679 (late 3-2CBC) 23-25: τοὺς δὲ νομογράφους... κατα[χ]ω[ρί]σαι τοῦτο <τὸ> δόγμα εἰς τοὺς [νόμους], page 149. There is no surviving evidence for *nomographoi* writing *psephismata*.

¹⁴⁶⁸ IGV, 1 26 (2-1CBC) 14: ἀναγραφῆσεται τὸ δόγμα, page 156.

¹⁴⁶⁹ See the activities of *hypogrammateis*, page 78.

¹⁴⁷⁰ See pages 72-73.

¹⁴⁷¹ IGI³ 104 (409/8 BC) 4-6, page 39.

colonnade and enclosing wall.¹⁴⁷² Evidence for collaboration is also found in instances where all parties are part of the same epigraphic formula. For example, secretaries collaborated with other officers in the registration of citizens¹⁴⁷³ or management of treasuries;¹⁴⁷⁴ there may also have been a degree of collaboration between whoever wrote the text for a stele and the *tamias* who provided the funds;¹⁴⁷⁵ where a text was written by one officer and set up by another;¹⁴⁷⁶ or where a copy of a decree was sent away to another polis, and set up there.¹⁴⁷⁷

Designations which imply a secretary had co-workers may also suggest that these officers were expected to collaborate; for example the *antigrammateus* (checking- or copying-clerk) by definition checked or copied something we assume was written by someone else,¹⁴⁷⁸ and the *syngrammateis*¹⁴⁷⁹ and *syngrapheis*¹⁴⁸⁰ by definition worked with another secretary.

There is stronger evidence for collegiality (officers working alongside each other, rather than with each other) than collaboration. This can be inferred when secretaries and other officers are collectively honoured;¹⁴⁸¹ when the same two officers frequently occur in the same text (such as the *grammateus of the boule* and *grammateus of the boule and the demos*);¹⁴⁸² when two secretaries are chosen from the same board of magistrates;¹⁴⁸³ when two secretaries only ever appear together (such as the *grammateus elected by hairesis*, and the *grammateus appointed by lot*);¹⁴⁸⁴ or when groups of officers (such as the *grammateus* and *hypogrammateus* of the ephebes) serve 'for life'.¹⁴⁸⁵

Evidence for collegiality rather than collaboration is also found in sources where one officer follows orders given by another, such as when the *grammateus of the Eleven* removes

¹⁴⁷² Buck No.87 (3C BC) 4-6, page 135.

¹⁴⁷³ In IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 16-18, *stalographoi* and *epimeletai* ensure that Heliswasians are registered within ten days, page 188.

¹⁴⁷⁴ E.g. the *grammateus of the boule*, 'other secretaries in charge of state documents' and *demosios* in IG II²120 (353/2 BC) 13-19, page 54.

¹⁴⁷⁵ See e.g. IG II²120 (353/2 BC) 13-19, page 54.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Such as IVO 39 (300-250 BC) 30-40, written by the *bolographor* and set up by the commissioner for mares, page 202.

¹⁴⁷⁷ E.g. decrees written by the Athenian *grammateus of the boule* and set up by the *grammateus of the amphictyons* at Delos, page 325.

¹⁴⁷⁸ See page 110.

¹⁴⁷⁹ See page 74.

¹⁴⁸⁰ See page 75.

¹⁴⁸¹ See e.g. Ag.15:406 (182/3 AD) 54-63 on page 80.

¹⁴⁸² E.g. IG II² 1774 (167/8 AD) 7-9, 58-59, 62, 68-77, page 96.

¹⁴⁸³ E.g. the *grammateus* and *syngrammateus* of the *eisagogeis*, page 68.

¹⁴⁸⁴ See page 94.

¹⁴⁸⁵ See page 111.

information as directed by a *tamias*,¹⁴⁸⁶ or when the *grammateus* of the court reads out decrees.¹⁴⁸⁷ In receiving work from the boule, the Athenian *grammateus of the boule* is collegial with the boule rather than collaborates with them.

A lack of verbs in early texts means that there is little evidence for collaboration between early offices such as the *grammateus* of the *hellenotamiai* and *grammateus of the boule*, despite their presence together in some texts.¹⁴⁸⁸

Peloponnesian poleis had proportionally smaller administrative bodies than Athens; therefore each Peloponnesian office may have encompassed a wider range of duties than the corresponding office in Athens.¹⁴⁸⁹ Both factors help explain why there is less evidence for collaboration or collegiality in the Peloponnese.

Other Attributes of the secretary and his office

Career path

With very few exceptions, secretaries are known from one term of office only.¹⁴⁹⁰ Athenian officers who worked for a single magistrate or small group could occasionally hold more than one office simultaneously, presumably because they were required to perform a wide range of duties (much as some secretaries in Peloponnesian poleis appear to have done). For example, the *grammateus* and *syngrammateus* of the *eisagogeis* may have been *eisagogeis* as well as secretaries;¹⁴⁹¹ and some *grammateis for life* were also priests.¹⁴⁹² Other officers served as secretaries in an unofficial capacity as and when required, usually while holding other offices, such as the Peloponnesian *katalogos boulas*¹⁴⁹³ and the 'one who writes for' the *hiaromnamones*,¹⁴⁹⁴ or other officers such as the *tamias*, *epimeletes* or *damiorgos*.

This increased responsibility was not connected with 'career advancement' in the modern sense, and the holding of one office did not lead to the holding of any other. In only one (highly restored) instance,¹⁴⁹⁵ an Athenian *hypogrammateus* may have become *grammateus*

¹⁴⁸⁶ IG II² 1631 (323/2 BC) 377-380, page 90.

¹⁴⁸⁷ E.g. Aeschin. 2.46, page 93.

¹⁴⁸⁸ E.g. IG I³ 465 (437/6–433/2 BC) 114-125, page 88.

¹⁴⁸⁹ E.g. the *grammateus* who also distributes grain, page 176.

¹⁴⁹⁰ See 'Duration of office' on page 242.

¹⁴⁹¹ See page 68.

¹⁴⁹² See page 112.

¹⁴⁹³ See page 147.

¹⁴⁹⁴ See page 145.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Ag.15:170 (c.190/89 BC) 9-12, page 79.

of the boule and the demos: however, both these offices were held for a year only, and nothing is known of this man either before or after this date.

In the Peloponnese, some Roman magistrates are known to have served as *grammateus* either before or after holding other magistracies (see Appendix C page 321). These offices appear unrelated, and could be held in different poleis. There is no concrete evidence that time spent as *grammateus* provided any benefits for a future career.¹⁴⁹⁶

Public profile

In Athens and various locations throughout the Peloponnese, secretaryships could be annual eponymous offices; i.e. their name played a role in the identification of a year. At Athens, either the *grammateus of the boule* or the *anagrapheus* could be eponymous, depending on the form of government.¹⁴⁹⁷ While eponymous, this secretary was the most important secretary in the polis, with the widest range of duties; however, the duties of the oligarchic *anagrapheus* appear more limited than those of the democratic *grammateus of the boule*.

In the Peloponnese, from the fourth century BC, a few secretaries are known from the eponymous nature of their office only.¹⁴⁹⁸ In these cases, it is difficult to ascertain whether eponymous equates with 'prominent'. For example, the eponymous *grammateus of the synedrion* at Messene was the only secretary of the Messenian *synedrion*, in a polis with few other Magistrates.¹⁴⁹⁹ It is perhaps more accurate to consider this secretary prominent because he was one of only a small number of officials, rather than because he was eponymous.

Other offices are also used for dating purposes, but are simply named in the first line of the decree, rather than introduced in an *epi* + dating clause, as with the *dogmatographoi* in Laconia.¹⁵⁰⁰ This raises questions about the extent to which secretaries could be 'eponymous' simply by having their name displayed prominently. Similarly, the *katalogos boulas* at Epidauros may be prominent because his name and designation are included at the end of decrees.¹⁵⁰¹

There is no firm evidence for hierarchy among secretaries, or that status could be shown through the order in which officials were listed. The only officer who nearly always appears in the same position in lists is the Athenian *hypogrammateus* of the boule and demos, who

¹⁴⁹⁶ See, in particular, the career of Aeschines on page 66.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Compare the eponymous *grammateus of the boule*, page 62, with the eponymous *anagrapheus*, page 48.

¹⁴⁹⁸ E.g. the *grammateus of the Achaian League* (pages 213 and 222-223), the *grammatistas* at Corinth (page 126) and Dyme (page 214), and the *grammateus for the synedroi* at Megalopolis (page 190).

¹⁴⁹⁹ See page 175.

¹⁵⁰⁰ See page 156.

¹⁵⁰¹ See e.g. IG IV², 1 49 (4/3CBC) 1-15 on page 147.

is nearly always the last of any secretaries. However, he is not always the last *officer*, and there is a great deal of variation in the order in which officials occur.¹⁵⁰² There is unlikely to have been any hierarchy among secretaries of Peloponnesian poleis, due to the small number of officers present in each polis.

It is rare for individual secretaries to be known from both epigraphic and non-epigraphic sources. For example, no secretary is remembered in a legal speech for his particularly fine phrasing of a decree, and the closest we come to individual recognition is Lysias' reference to the *katalogeus*.¹⁵⁰³ Secretaries are more likely to be remembered if they subverted their office in some way – i.e. if they were notorious (see 'Subversion of official attributes' on page 250).

In Athens (and not in the Peloponnese), there are a few instances where the names of individual secretaries were displayed more prominently than those of other officers, in large letters and/or separated from the body of the text.¹⁵⁰⁴ This prominence is likely to have reflected an individual's social standing rather than any status inherent in the office itself, and (with the exception of a single, tribal decree) is confined to the period before c.367/6 BC, when the selection of officers became by lot, and a brief period of oligarchic government (321/20 to 319/18 BC). It is unlikely that any secretary could be seen as important from the inclusion of his name in an inscription formula.

Few if any secretaries are known from art or sculpture. The only potential representations are in one panel of the Parthenon frieze, and three statues in the Acropolis museum. These identifications are tenuous, and cannot be linked with any specific offices or individuals.¹⁵⁰⁵

Honours received

At Athens, all secretaries of the boule and demos were frequently honoured collectively, along with other officers of the boule and demos. The terms used to describe these honours were the same terms used for other officers; i.e. all are simply praised and crowned for unspecified reasons.¹⁵⁰⁶ With the exception of the *anagrapheus* and *grammateus of the prytaneis*, secretaries could also be included (as an honour) among the *aeisitoi*, maintained at public expense during meals in the Prytaneum.¹⁵⁰⁷ There was no tradition of collectively honouring secretaries and/or other officials in the Peloponnese. Collective honours were

¹⁵⁰² See Table 17 on page 344 for all honours which include lists of *hypogrammateis* and other officers.

¹⁵⁰³ Lys. 20.13, page 102.

¹⁵⁰⁴ See Table 15 on page 300.

¹⁵⁰⁵ See page 63.

¹⁵⁰⁶ See Ag.15:259 (97/6 BC) 85-96, page 72, Ag.15:406 (182/3 AD) 54-63, page 80, and IG II² 1774 (167/8 AD) 7-9, 58-59, 62, 68-77, page 96.

¹⁵⁰⁷ See, e.g. Ag.15:406 (182/3 AD) 54-63 on page 80.

awarded only to ephors and their *grammateus* in Amyklai (Laconia),¹⁵⁰⁸ and to judges and their *grammateus* in Messene (Messenia).¹⁵⁰⁹

At Athens, only two secretaries are known to have been singled out for honours, and both are honoured during times of administrative disruption and political upheaval. Of these two, only one appears to have been honoured for his work.¹⁵¹⁰ Secretaries in the Peloponnese were far more likely to receive an individual honour than secretaries in Athens, however, comparing both groups is problematic. The two Athenian secretaries were each honoured after holding a single office, while two thirds of Peloponnesian secretaries honoured individually were Roman officials who happened to hold the office of *grammateus* in addition to several other magistracies during the course of their lifetime.¹⁵¹¹ In these cases, the reason for the honour almost always seems to be simply having held these magistracies.¹⁵¹²

Subversion of duties and official attributes

It is often impossible to assess the extent to which a secretary's attested actions depart from his reported duties, due to the wide range of duties that a secretary could perform. Possibly because of this, secretaries are rarely described as exceeding the terms of their office. Nikomachos, the *anagrapheus of the laws*, may have done this,¹⁵¹³ and *nomographoi* at Dyme also appear to have done this, in drafting laws contrary to the *politeia*.¹⁵¹⁴ A secretary could also cause significant damage once his term in office was over; as was the case at Dyme, when these same *nomographoi* rebelled, and burnt down the building containing the public records.¹⁵¹⁵

In Summary

The office of secretary was not a specialist occupation or profession. It was instead typically an office held for a short period only, by an officer with little or no prior training, who was not in office long enough to acquire expertise.

Overall, secretaries appear to have had a relatively low profile in terms of political significance. There were no core duties or responsibilities shared by all secretaries. The most widely-

¹⁵⁰⁸ IG V,1 26 (2-1CBC) 1-8, 13-18, pages 156.

¹⁵⁰⁹ IG V,1 1428 (late 2-1CBC) 3-5, page 173.

¹⁵¹⁰ See Schwenk 9 (335/4 BC) 1-21 on page 62, and IG II² 415 (330/29 BC) 12-16 on page 46.

¹⁵¹¹ See Appendix C page 321 for a list of texts.

¹⁵¹² Of the remaining *grammateis*, one was honoured for his euergetism (and therefore not for being a secretary SEG 23:208 (42 AD) 2, 15-29, page 172), the other for his diligence and precision in recording the daily administrative business of the polis (IG V,1 1432 (39 BC) 14-25, page 173).

¹⁵¹³ See page 44.

¹⁵¹⁴ The *nomographoi* at Dyme appear to have done this. See SIG³ 684 (c.144 BC) 6-11, 16-27 on page 216.

¹⁵¹⁵ See SIG³ 684 (c.144 BC) 6-11, 16-27 on page 216.

attested duties were, in Athens, the creation of honorific decrees and registers of officials, and in the Peloponnese, the creation of registers and proxeny decrees.

The number of secretaries and types of office did not increase gradually over time, and were detrimentally influenced by the Roman occupation. Neither was there a spread of diverse offices from Athens to the Peloponnese.¹⁵¹⁶ The only Athenian secretarial office found in the Peloponnese was the *grammateus*, which in many respects was similar to that of the pre-existing *gropheus*. Nevertheless, the creation of dedicated secretarial offices suggests a growing need for officers whose duties would primarily focus on the writing and creation of administrative documents – whatever form these documents might take, and these officers played an important role in polis administration across the Greek world.

¹⁵¹⁶ This lack of spread of offices from one region to another is also found on Delos, which employs secretaries with duties unlike those known from Athens, even while administered by Athens. See pages 322- 343.

Appendix A – List of Inscriptions by Office

Offices and informal expressions

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ἀναγραφεῖς (<i>anagrapheus</i>)	page 254
ἀντιγραμματεῖς (<i>antigrammateus</i>)	page 256
ἀντιγραφεῖς (<i>antigraphheus</i>)	page 256
ἀρχιγραμματεῖς (<i>archigrammateus</i>)	page 256
ἀρχιθιασίτης (<i>archithiasites</i>)	page 256
αρτύνας (<i>artunas</i>)	page 256
βωλογράφορ (<i>bolographor</i>)	page 256
γραμματεῖς (<i>grammateus</i>) and γραμματέα τῶν δημοτῶν (<i>grammateus of the demesmen</i>)	page 256
γραμματεῖς (<i>grammateus</i> of the Treasurers of Athena)	page 260
γραμματεὺς αἰρετός (<i>grammateus hairesetos</i>)	page 260
γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν (<i>grammateus of the bouleutai</i>)	page 260
γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου (<i>grammateus for life</i>)	page 261
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γραμματεὺς τῆς φυλῆς (<i>grammateus of the phyle</i>)	page 270
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γραμματεὺς τοῦ πολεμάρχου (<i>grammateus of the Polemarch</i>)	page 271
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γραμματεὺς τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν (<i>grammateus of the eisagogeis</i>)	page 273
γραμματεὺς τῶν ἐπιστάτων (<i>grammateus of the epistatai</i>)	page 273
γραμματεὺς τῶν ἑνδεκα (<i>grammateus of the Eleven</i>)	page 273
γραμματέως τῶν ἱεροποιῶν (<i>grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>)	page 273
γραμματεὺς τῶν ἱππάρχων (<i>grammateus of the Hipparchs</i>)	page 275
γραμματέως τῶν ναοποιῶν (<i>grammateus of the naopoioi</i>)	page 275
γραμματεὺς τῶν νεωρίων ἐπιμελητῶν (<i>grammateus of the naval dockyards</i>)	page 275
γραμματεὺς τῶν πρυτάνεων (<i>grammateus of the prytaneis</i>)	page 275
γραμματεὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν (<i>grammateus of the strategoi</i>)	page 275
γραμματιστάς (<i>grammatistas</i>)	page 275

γραμματιστάς δαμοσιοφυλάκων (<i>grammatistas of the damosiophylakes</i>)	page 275
[ὁ] γράψας (<i>the one who wrote [this]</i>)	page 276
γροφεύς (<i>gropheus</i>), γραφής (<i>graphes</i>)	page 276
γροφεύς βωλᾶς (<i>gropheus bolas</i>)	page 277
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δαμιουργός (<i>damiorgos</i>)	page 278
δήμαρχος (<i>demarch</i>)	page 278
δημόσιος (<i>demosios</i>)	page 278
δογματογράφος (<i>dogmatographos</i>)	page 278
ἔγραψε καὶ ἐχάραξε (<i>wrote and engraved</i>)	page 278
ἑλληνοταμίας (<i>hellenotamias</i>)	page 279
ἐπιμελητής (<i>epimeletes</i>)	page 279
[ὁ] ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα (<i>secretary in charge of decrees</i>)	page 279
[ὁ] ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρητον (<i>secretary for that which cannot be mentioned</i>)	page 280
[ὁ] ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους (<i>secretary for the laws</i>)	page 280
ἔφορος (<i>ephor</i>)	page 280
ιερεὺς (<i>priest</i>)	page 280
κατακόος (<i>katakoos</i>)	page 280
κατάλογος βουλᾶς (<i>katalogos boulas</i>)	page 281
κήρυξ (<i>herald</i>)	page 281
νομογράφος (<i>nomographos</i>)	page 281
[ὁ] περὶ τὸ βῆμα ([<i>ho</i>] <i>peri to bema, secretary 'in attendance' or 'at the platform'</i>)	page 281
σταλογράφος (<i>stalographos</i>)	page 282
στρατηγός (<i>strategos</i>)	page 282
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συγγραμματοεὺς τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν (<i>syngrammateus of the eisagogeis</i>)	page 282
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Also the forms συγγραφεὺς and χσυγγραφεὺς	
ταμίας (<i>treasurer</i>)	page 283
ὑπηρέτης (<i>hyperetes</i>)	page 283
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ὑπογραμματοεὺς τοῦ δήμου (<i>hypogrammateus of the boule and demos</i>)	page 289
ὑπογραμματοεὺς τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων (<i>hypogrammateus of the amphictyons</i>)	page 289
ὑπογραμματοεὺς τῶν ναοποιῶν (<i>under-grammateus of the naopoioi</i>)	page 289
φρατρίαρχος (<i>phratriarch</i>)	page 289

ἀγγραφεὺς or ἐγγροφεὺς (*for engraving*)

IG IV ² ,1 103 (4C BC) 58-60, 96-97, 101, 104-105, 110-111, 117-118, 136-137, 140-1	ἐγγροφεὺς εἰς τὰν στάλαν Σαννίωνι :::::IC
IG IV ² ,1 105 (4/early 3C BC) 17-18, 21-22	[ἀνγροφεὺς εἰς τὰν] στάλαν...
IG IV ² ,1 108 (4/3C BC) 144-5, 151, 157, 164-6, 168-9	Στασιμένει γραμμάτων δισ χιλίων ὀκτακο[σίω]ν εἰς τὰν στάλαν ἀγγραφεὺς...
IG IV ² ,1 111 (4/early 3C BC) 8	ἀνγροφεὺς εἰς τὰν στάλαν Στασιμένει γραμμάτων χιλίων πεντακοσίων...
Peek, Asklepieion 42 (late 4/e.3C BC) XIV 65	ἀγγράψαι δὲ τοὺς ἀγγροφεῖς εἰς στάλαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ [τοῦ Ἀσκλη]απιοῦ.

ἀναγραφεὺς (*anagrapheus*)

The *anagrapheus* Archedikos (underlined) is known from eleven surviving decrees from the year 320/19 BC.

Ag. 15:43 (335/4 BC) col V-VI.227-234	ἀναγραφεὺς Ἀριστοφάνης Ἱερωνύμου, <i>with other secretaries</i>
Ag. 15:53 (324/2 BC) I.13-21	[ἀν]αγραφεὺς [— c.5 —] ἰδης Κιχωνίδου [Παια]νιεύς <i>with other secretaries</i>
Ag. 15:58 (305/4 BC) 32-37, 77-86	ἀ[ναγρα]φεὺς [Α]ισχέας? Πραξιτέλου Κυδαν <i>honoured with other secretaries</i>
Ag. 15:62 (303/2 BC) 231-6	ἀναγραφεὺς Πάνδιος Πυθοδῆλου ἐξ Οἴου <i>with other secretaries</i>
Ag. 15:243 (135/4 BC) 36h-v	ἀναγραφέα Λυσανίαν Ἀνα[καί] [έα] <i>honoured with other secretaries</i>
Ag. 15:244 (135/4 BC) 4	ἀνα]γραφέα Λυσανίαν Ἀν[ακαί]α <i>with other secretaries</i>
Ag. 15:246 (131/0 BC) fr.c22, 34	ἀναγραφέα <i>and other secretaries honoured by prytaneis and aieisitoi</i>
Ag. 15:260 (start 1C BC) 2, 26	ἀναγραφέα <i>and other secretaries honoured by prytaneis and aieisitoi</i>
Ag. 15:261 (95/4 BC) 45, 58	ἀναγραφέα <i>and other secretaries honoured by prytaneis and aieisitoi</i>
Ag. 16:97[1] (321/20 BC) 2-3	[ἀναγραφεὺς Θρασ]υκλῆς Ναυσικράτου[ς] Θ[ρ] [ιάσιος] <i>before ἐπὶ+ clause, grammateus</i>
Ag. 16:100[1] (320/19 BC) 2-3	[ἐπὶ] Νεαίχμου ἄρχοντος] ἀναγραφέω[ς] <u>Ἀρχεδί] [κου τοῦ Ναυκρίτου</u> Λαμν]τρέως / <i>grammateus</i> . (<i>Anagrapheus in 11 decrees from 320/19 BC, underlined.</i>)
Ag. 16:100[2] (320/19 BC) 1-2	[ἐπὶ] Νεαίχμου ἄρχοντος, ἐπ'] ἀναγραφέω[ς] <u>Ἀρχε] [δίκου τοῦ Ναυκρίτου</u> Λαμν]τρέως / <i>grammateus</i> .
Ag. 16:100[3] (320/19 BC) fr. a2-3	[ἐπὶ] Νεαίχμου ἄρχοντος], ἀναγραφέω[ς] <u>Ἀρχεδί] [κου τοῦ Ναυκρίτου</u> Λαμν]τρέως / <i>grammateus</i> .
Ag. 16:100[4] (320/19 BC) fr. a2-3	[ἐπὶ] Νεαίχμου ἄρχοντος, ἐπ'] ἀναγραφέω[ς] <u>Ἀρχε] [δίκου τοῦ Ναυκρίτου</u> Λαμν]τρέως / <i>grammateus</i> .
Ag. 16:101 (319/8 BC) 2-3	ἀναγραφεὺς Εὐκάδμος Ἀνακαίεως <i>before ἐπὶ+ clause</i>
Ag. 16:102[1] (319/8 BC) fr. b3-4	ἐπὶ + ἀναγραφέω[ς] Εὐκάδμου Ἀ[ν] [ακαί]έως
Ag. 16:103 (319/8 BC) 1-2	ἐπὶ + [ἀναγραφέω] [ς Εὐκάδμου] Ἀν[ακ]αέω[ς]
Ag. 16:167 (293/2 BC) 1-3	ἐπὶ + [ἀναγ] [ρα]φέως Ἐπ[ικ]ούρου τοῦ Ἐπιτέλου [ς] Ῥαμνουσί[ου]
Dinsmoor 7 (293/2 BC) 1-2, 48-51	[ἐπ]ῖ + ἀναγραφέως Ἐπ[ικ] [ού]ρο[υ] τοῦ Ἐπιτέλου[ς] Ῥ[αμν]ουσί[ου] / ἀναγράψαι / ἀναγραφ[έ] [α ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις καί] στήσαι τὴν μὲν ἐν ἀκρ[ο] [πόλει, τὴν δὲ παρὰ τὴν εἰκ]όνα· εἶναι δὲ Φιλιππί[δ]η [ι ἐν ταῖς στήλαις προσαν]αγρ[ά]ψασθαι...
Hesp. 7:97,17 (293/2 BC) 1-3	[ἐπ]ῖ + [ἀναγ] [ρα]φέως Ἐπ[ικ]ούρου τοῦ Ἐπιτέλου [ς] Ῥαμνουσί[ου]

Hesp. 40:174,25 (320/19 BC) 1-2	[ἀναγραφεὺς <u>Ἀρχέδικ[ος Ν]</u> <u>Ἰαυκρίτου</u> Λ]αμπτρεὺς / <i>grammateus</i> .
IG I ³ 104 (409/8 BC) 3-10	[Δ]ιό[γ]ινετος Φρεάρριος ἐγραμμάτευε / ἀναγρα[φ]σά[ν]τον οἱ ἀναγραφεῖς τὸν νόμον / γραμμ[α]τέοις τές βουλεύς ἐστέλει λιθίνει
IG I ³ 258bis (c.420 BC?) 6-7	ἀναγ[ράψ] [αι / ἀναγρα]φέας
IG II ² 244 (337/6 BC) 54-5	ἀναγραφέ ας
IG II ² 378 (321/0 BC) 1-2	[ἐπὶ Ἀρχίππου ἄρχοντος καὶ ἀ]ναγραφέως Θρασ [υκλέους τοῦ Ναυσικράτους Θρι]ασίου·
IG II ² 380 (321/0-319 BC) 1-4	ἀναγραφεὺς <u>Ἀρχέδ[ι]κος Ναυκρίτου</u> Λαμπτ[ρεύ]ς. / Θηρα[μ]έν ης Κηφισιεύς ἐγρα[μ]μάτευε
IG II ² 381 (320/19 BC) 1-10	ἀναγραφεὺς <u>Ἀρχέδικος Ν</u> Ἰαυκρ[ίτ] [ο]υ Λαμπτ[ρεύ]ς. / Ν]ικόδημος Ἀναφλύ[σ]τιος ἐγρα[μμάτ]ευε[ν]·
IG II ² 382 (320/19 BC) 2-5	[ἀναγραφεὺς <u>Ἀρχέδ[ι]κος Ναυκρίτου</u> Λαμ [π]τρεὺς / Ν] [ικόδημος Ἀναφλύσ]τιος ἐγρ[αμ]μάτε[υεν]·
IG II ² 383 (320/19 BC) 1-2 (SEG 21:305)	[ἀναγραφεὺς <u>Ἀρχέδικος Ν</u> Ἰαυκρ] [ίτου] Λαμπτ
IG II ² 383b (320/19 BC) 1-2, 5-6	[ἀναγ]ραφεὺς <u>Ἀρχέδικος Ναυκρίτου</u> Λαμπτρεὺς]. / Στρατ[ωνίδης Παινανιεύς] ἐγραμμάτευ[εν]
IG II ² 384 (320/19 BC) fr.1-2	[ἀ]ναγρ[αφεὺς <u>Ἀρχέδικος Ναυκρίτου</u>][]Λαμπ[τρεὺς].
IG II ² 385 (319/18 BC) 2-3	[ἐπὶ] / ἀν]αγραφέως δὲ Εὐκ[] [άδμου καὶ γραμματέως...
IG II ² 387 (319/18 BC) 3-5	γραμματεὺς Ἀφόβητο[ς Κο] [θωκίδης· ἀναγρ]αφεὺς Εὐκα[δμ] [ος Κολλυτεύς·
IG II ² 388 (319/18 BC) 1-5 (SEG 32:97)	[ἐ]πὶ / καὶ ἀναγ[][ρ]α[φέ]ως Εὐκάδμου [Κολλυτέως / Φ] [ιλ]οκτήμων Κηφισι[εύς] ἐγραμμάτευε[][ν]·
IG II ² 389 (319/18 BC) 1-3 (SEG 21:354)	[ἐπὶ / ἀναγρα]φέως δὲ Ἐπικούρου τοῦ Π[άχ]η [τος Θρια]σίου
IG II ² 390 (319/18 BC) 2 (SEG 21:315)	ἐπὶ ἀναγρα[φέως] Ἐπικούρου τοῦ Πάχητος Θριασίου]
IG II ² 391 (321/0-319/8 BC) 13-17	[γράψαι / στήληι λιθ] [θίν]ηι / ἀναγρ[αφέα]
IG II ² 392 (321/0-319/8 BC) 10-15 (SEG 26:83)	ἀναγράψαι / ἀναγραφέα
IG II ² 393 (321/0-319/8 BC) 8-15	ἀναγράψαι / ἀναγραφέα / στ ήλει λιθίνει
IG II ² 394 (321/0-319/8 BC) 16-20	ἀναγρά[][ψα]ι / [στήληι λιθίν]ηι / ἀν]αγρ[αφέα]
IG II ² 395 (321/0-319/8 BC) 8-10	ἀνα[][γρ]άψαι / ἀνα]γρ[αφέα]
IG II ² 396 (321/0-319/8 BC) 4-10	ἀναγράψαι / στήλει λιθ]ίν]ηι / τὸν ἀ]ναγραφέα
IG II ² 397 (321/0-319/8 BC) 1-8	— ἀναγρά[][ψ]αι / [ἀναγρ] [αφέα] / [στήληι λιθίν]ηι]
IG II ² 398 (320/19 BC) b6-11	ἀναγρ[άψ]αι / ἀν]αγραφέα / στήλει [λιθίν]ηι]
IG II ² 402 (322-319) 1-7	[?Ἀρχέδικος] [<u>Ναυκ[ρ]ίτου</u>] Λαμπτρεὺς εἶπεν·
IG II ² 415 (330/29 BC) 0-2, 12-16, 22-27	γ]ραμμα[τέα] τὸν κατὰ πρυτα[][νείαν ἐν στ]ήληι λιθ[ίν]ηι / ὁ ἀναγραφεὺς Καλλικρα[][τ]ίδης (<i>honoured</i>)
IG II ² 450 (314/3 BC) 9-10	Θρασυκλῆς Ναυσικράτο[υ] ς Θριάσι εἶπεν· (<i>Anagrapheus</i> in Ag. 16 97[1] (321/20 BC) 2-3)
IG II ² 1700 (335/4 BC) 213-17	ἀναγραφεὺς Ἀριστοφάνης Ἱερωνύμου, <i>with other secretaries</i>
SEG 21:304 (321/0 BC) 1 (IG II ² 546 1-6)	[ἀναγραφεὺς Θρασυκλῆς Ναυσικράτους Θριάσιος] <i>before</i> ἐπὶ+ <i>clause, grammateus</i>
SEG 21:309 (320/19 BC) 2-4	[ἀ]ναγρ[αφεὺς <u>Ἀρχέδικος Ναυκρίτου</u>][]Λαμπ[τρεὺς] <i>before</i> ἐπὶ+ <i>clause, grammateus</i>
SEG 21:311 (319/8 BC) 5 (IG II ² 386+)	<i>grammateus</i> , [ἀναγραφεὺς]
SEG 21:313 (319/8 BC) 1-2	[ἐ]πὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου (ἄρχοντος καὶ ἀναγ[][ρ]α[φέ]ως Εὐκάδμου Ἀνακαίως / <i>grammateus</i>
SEG 21:355 (292/1 BC) 2-3	[ἐπὶ Φιλίππου ἄρχοντος, ἀ]ναγραφέως δὲ Θ...
SEG 21:466 (135/4 BC) 4	ἀνα]γρ[αφέα] Λυσανίαν Ἀν[ακαί]α <i>honoured with other secretaries</i>
SEG 32:94 (321-318 BC) 4-9	ἀναγράψαι / ἀναγραφέα

ἀντιγραμματεὺς (*antigrammateus*)

IG II² 2067 (154/5 AD) 2-6, 203-4, 225-6

γραμματεὺς | Κώμαρχος Ὁ Χολα. / ἀντιγραμματεὺς | Πατρόβιος
Ἀριστοβούλου Κηφι.

ἀντιγραφεὺς (*antigrapheus*)

Ag. 15:238 (145/4 BC) 2-3

Ἐπιγένης Μοσχίωνος Λαμπρεὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν· ἀντι|γραφεὺς
Δημοκράτης Δημοκράτου Κυδαθηναίεϋς·

Ag. 15:239 fr. (145/4 BC) fr. a-b2-4, c13-14

Ἐπιγένης Μοσχίωνος Λα|μητρεὺς ἐ|[γραμμάτευεν ν ἀντιγραφεὺς
Δημοκράτης Δη|μοκράτου Κυδα|[θηναίεϋς / ἀντιγραφέα] |
Δημοκράτη[ν Κυδαθηναίεα and other secretaries honoured by
prytaneis and aeisitai

IG II² 967 (after 150 BC) 2-3

ἀντι|γραφεὺς Δημοκράτης Δημοκράτου Κυδαθηναίεϋς
immediately follows grammateus

IG II² 1077 (209/10 AD) III.38, 51, 83, 96
(Ag. 15:460)

αἴσειτοι includes ἀντιγραφεὺς Φλ. Μαρεῖνος Χ and other
secretaries

IG II² 1740 (388/7 BC) 53-6

[ἀντι]γραφεὺς | [Ἀρισ?]τίων Ἀριστωνύμο | Παλληνεὺς[ς]

IG II² 1773 (166/7 AD) 54, 63

αἴσιτοι *includes* ἀντιγραφεὺς ..5..ης

IG II² 1774 (167/8 AD) 62, 73-74

αἴσιτοι *includes* ἀντιγραφεὺς Δημοσθέ|νης Σουινεὺς

SEG 15:104 (127/6 BC) 103-104, 117-118

ἀντιγραφεὺς Ἡφαι[στ —c.6-] / κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Μητρῶιον]

ἀρχιγραμματεὺς (*archigrammateus*)

IG II² 3169/70 (253/257 AD) 32-37

ἀρχιγραμ|ματέα

ἀρχιθιασίτης (*archithiasites*)

ID 1520 (153/2 BC) 1-2, 89-91

ἀνα|[γρ]αφάτω δὲ ὁ ἀρχ[ι]θιασίτης / στήλην λιθίνην]

ἀρτύνας (*artunas*)

IG IV 554 (480-470 BC) 1-7

συναρτύοντας / γρασμάτων

βωλογράφορ (*bolographor*)

Ivo 39 (300-250 BC) 4-5, 30-40

Νικόδρομορ ὁ βωλογράφορ

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

Also γραμματέα τῶν δημοτῶν (*grammateus of the demesmen*)

ABSA 26 C4 (101-150 AD) 10

Γρα(μματεὺς) Ἦσυχος Νο — —

ABSA 26 20b (101-150 AD) 5-6

Πλώπιος — — — — | γραμμα[τεὺς]

ABSA 26 20c (101-150 AD) 9-12

[γ]ρα[μμ]ατεὺς — | Μν[ά]ς[ιη]-η[ο]ς(?) | ὑπηρέτ[η]ς
[γ]ρα(μματέως) | [Σ]τέφανος.

Ag.19 Poletai (4C BC) PA8 5-6

— γρα[μ]μα[τεὺς] Κ[—] | — γραμ[ματ]ε[ύ]ς Πυθοκλ[ῆ]ς —

BCH 38 No.5 (3C BC) 6-8

γρα|μματεὺς Σθενόλαος.

BCH 38 No.6 (3C BC) 12

γραμματῖ Πολυκράτ[η]

BCH 38 No.8 (3C BC) 2-8, 10-13

γραμμ[ατεὺς τῶν] | θεαρῶν Κάλλι[ηπος]

Corinth 8,1 4 (mid 2C BC) 9

γραμματεα

Corinth 8,1 7 (undated) 1-2

γρα[μματεὺς or *grammatistas*?

Corinth 8,1 8 (undated) 1-2

γρ[αμμα]τέος or *grammatistas*?

Corinth 8,3 46 (44 BC) b2-5	δικασ[ι]ταῖς καὶ γραμματεῖ[σι] αὐτῶν
SEG 26:396 (3CAD) 2 (Corinth 8,3 486)	γραμμ[ατέα
Hesp.6:460,8 (after 166 BC) 4-20	[γραμμ]ατεὺς σιτοφύλαξιν εἰς ἄστ[υ] εἰληχῶς [γραμμ]ατεὺς συνηγόροις [εἰ]ληχῶς [γραμμ]ατεὺς ἄρχοντι [εἰ]ληχῶς [γραμμ]ατεὺς ἱππάρχους φυ[λετῶν] [εἰ]ληχῶς [γραμμ]ατεὺς φυλεῖ [εἰ]ληχῶς [γραμμ]ατεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν μ[ισθόν] [καὶ ἐπὶ τ]ὴν ἄλλην οἶκον[ομίαν] [εἰλ]ηχῶς
ID 96 (after 315 BC) 4	ἐ[γραμμάτευε?]
ID 104-3 (c.367 BC) 9-10	τῶι γραμματεῖ τριῶ[ν] καὶ δέκα μῆνων? —
ID 104-22 (c.346/5 BC) fr.a.13-14, b.13-15	— ὁ γρ[αμ]ματεὺς ἐπιβα[λ]λ—
ID 440 (198-180 BC) 31	γραμματεῖ <i>vac. (polis or hieropoioi)</i>
ID 406 (c.190 BC) B54-67	τῶι γραμμα[τ]εῖ καὶ προδανειστ[αῖς]...
ID 1505 (146/5 or 145/4 BC) 31-37	γραμματέα Διογείτονα Διογνήτου Ῥαμνούσιον <i>honoured</i>
ID 1519 (153/2 BC) 1-3, 47	γραμματεῖ
ID 1432 (153/2 BC) 5, 9, 15	[γραμμ]ατεῖ Μενεδήμωι Ἄν-
ID 1832 (mid 2C BC) 3-4	[γ]ραμματεύοντος Πρωτάρχου τοῦ Πρωτο[γένους?] [Φ]ρεαρρίου
IG II ² 537 (end 4C BC) 4-8	γραμματεύσαντα / ἀναγράψαι / στήληι λιθίνηι
IG II ² 1206 (end 4C BC) 7-19	ἀναγράψαι / ἐστήληι λιθίνηι τὸν γραμ[μ]ι[ατέα] μετὰ τῶν δημοτῶν
IG II ² 1284 (mid. 3C BC) 22-34	γραμματεὺς αἰρεθεῖς / τῶν ὀργεῶνων / δεδόχ[ι]θαι τ[οῖς] ὀργεῶσιν / ἀναγράψαι / στήλει λιθίνει
IG II ² 1330 (c.130 BC) 1, 63-65	[ἔδοξεν τοῖς ...] Διόν[υσ]ον τ[ε]χνίταις / ἀνα[γ]ράψαι δὲ τὸν γραμματέα / εἰς στήλην λιθίνην
IG II ² 1335 (102/1 BC) 2-14	ταμίας καὶ γραμματεὺς καὶ ἐπιμελητὴς Δωρόθεος Ὁσθεν
IG II ² 1368 (aft. 178 AD) 155-6	αἰρέισθω δὲ γραμμα[τ]έα...
IG II ² 1477 (316/7 or 313/2 BC) 8	ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ
IG II ² 1709 (start 2C BC) 3-7	γραμματε[ύς] Μητρόδω[ρος] ὑπογραμμ[ατεύς] Ἀντίγο[νος] γραμματ[εύς] Δ
IG II ² 2876 (25/4-18/7 BC) 1	Παλληγεὺς λαχὼν γραμματεὺς
IG IV 558 (114 BC) 29-43	ὁ γραμματεὺς Ἀριστοκλῆς / ὁ αἰεὶ γραμματεὺς / ὁ κατασταθεὶς γραμματεὺς
IG IV 589 (Roman Imp.) 2-5	[Ἄρ]χένουν Εὐκράτους ἀρχεφεβεύσαντα, γραμ[μ]ατεύσαντα, ταμειύσαν[τα], ἀγνοθετήσαντα
IG IV 606 (Roman Imp.) 1-5	ἀγορανομήσαντα καὶ γραμματεύσαντα, καὶ ἱεροφαντή[σαντα] καὶ ἀγνοθετήσαντα
IG IV 824 (3C BC) 1-9	γραμματεῖς Μενεκράτης Φρασισθένης, Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἀθανάδα.
IG IV ² ,1 25 (117-138 AD) 2	γραμματεύσας
IG IV ² ,1 63 (115/114 BC) 9-13, 17-18	γραφάτω δὲ τὸ ψάφισμα ἐπὶ τῶν βάσιν [ὁ γραμματε]ύς. (<i>Of Achaian League?</i>)
IG IV ² ,1 68 (302 BC) 78-83	τοὺς] γραμματεῖς / τοῖς γραμματεῦσι (<i>Hellenic League</i>)
IG IV ² ,1 73 (after 224 BC) 1-36	νομογράφοι Ἀχαιῶν οἱ τὸν ν[ό]μον τῶι Ὑγιεῖαι θέντες / γραμματε[ύς] (<i>Grammateus of the nomographoi of the Achaian League.</i>)
IG IV ² ,1 84 (40-42 AD) 22-23	Ἀρχέλαος Λυσιμάχου Μαραθῶνιος ἐγγραμμάτευσεν (<i>Athenian decree at Epidaurus.</i>)
IG IV ² ,1 306 (c.206 BC) A1-C5	γραμματεὺς / γραμματεῦς] Δαμοκ[—
IG V,1 9 (1C BC) 4-5	γραμματεῖ αὐτῶν (<i>To Sparta from an unknown city. Honours secretary of Spartan judges.</i>)
IG V,1 20 (98-117 AD) A3-4, B5	ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς ἐν τῶι γυμνασίῳ / γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς
IG V,1 26 (2-1C BC) 1-8, 13-18	δογματογράφων Λυσινίκου τοῦ Σωτηρίδα / <i>honour ephors and τὸν γραμματέα αὐτῶν</i>

IG V,1 48 (1C BC) 17-19

IG V,1 74 (138-161 AD) 8

IG V,1 92 (1C BC) 11-12

IG V,1 97 (late 1CAD) 25

IG V,1 115 (mid 2CAD) A4

IG V,1 137 (98-117 AD) 1-25

IG V,1 141 (mid 1C BC) 6

IG V,1 147 (early 2CAD) 13-15

IG V,1 152 (2CAD) 9

IG V,1 168 (c.225-250 AD) 1 or 7

IG V,1 174 (Roman) 13

IG V,1 179 (Roman) 8, 10

IG V,1 208 (1C BC) 7

IG V,1 209 (1C BC) (26)

IG V,1 210 (1C BC) 44-46, 58

IG V,1 211 (1C BC) 50, 52

IG V,1 212 (1C BC) 45-46, 59-60

IG V,1 603 (Roman Imp. per.) 7

IG V,1 643 (undated) 3

IG V,1 1314 (117-138 AD) 12

IG V,1 1315 (117-138 AD) 29-30

IG V,1 1352 (119-138 AD) 7-11

IG V,1 1379 (2-1C BC) 14-16, 18, 23

IG V,1 1402 (late 2C BC) 1

IG V,1 1412 (193-5 AD) 1-9

IG V,1 1428 (late 2-1C BC) 3-5

IG V,1 1469 (126 AD) 6

IG V,1 1467 (1CAD) 7

IG V,1 1559 (undated) 2-3

IG V,2 11 (bef. 228 BC) 18-19

IG V,2 43 (2C BC) 1

IG V,2 50 (165/166 AD) 78

IG V,2 302 (125-128 AD) 1-8

IG V,2 356 (240 BC) 1, 5-8

IG V,2 415 (3C BC) 5-6 (IPArk 23)

IG XI,2 146 (301 BC) 14

IG XI,4 1228 (start 2C BC) 1-27

IG XI,4 1229 (start 2C BC) 1-4, 20a-27

ISE 53 (265/4 BC) 1-5, 9-11 (BCH 38 no.1)

InvO 59 (36BC) 14-15

InvO 61 (after 36BC) 4-5

γρα(μματεύς) Σωτηρίδας Ἀγαθοκλέος. | (list of officials)
 ὑπογρα(μματεῖς) Ἀριστοκλής, Σωκρατίας

γρ(αμματεύς) Ἀμείμητος Ὀνασίμου

γραμματαῦς | Νικοκράτης Πεισίππου

γραμμ]ατε[ῖς Γ(άιος) Ἰού(λιος) Πωλλίων Ῥούφο[υ]

γ(ρ)α(μματεύς) Τ(ίτος) Ὀκτάβιος Ἀγαθίας.
 ὑπογρα(μματεύς) Τιβ(έριος) Κλαύδ(ιος) [—].

γραμματαῖς | Δαμιάδας, | Στ<ρ>άτων. | ὑπογραμματαῖς |
 Εὐδαίμων, | Κ[λ]έων, | [Ε]ὐδαιμοκλῆς. / γραμ(ματεύς) | βο[υλᾶς?]

γρα(μματεύς) Νικοκλείδας Θεοδώρου

γρ<α>μματεύς | Γά(ιος) Ἰούλιος | Ἀρίστων.

γρ(αμματεύς) Γ(άιος) Ἰούλιος Δαμοκράτης.
 — γρ]αμμ[ατέως —
 [γρ]αμμα(τεύς)

γραμματαῦς [— c.5 —] / ἔγραψε Ἀγ[— c.5 —]

Εὐτυχος, γραμματαῦς

Ζήλωτος ἐκ Παντειμίας γραμματαῦς

γραμματα[ῦς] Ἀριστοκλής | Φιλονικίδα / ἐπὶ γραφῶν Σωίνικο[ς].

γραμματαῦς Κλήνικος Δ. / ἐπὶ γραφῶν Εὐάμερος.

γραμματαῦς | Κλέων ἐξ Ἀγήτας / ἐπὶ γραφῶν | Σωίνικος.

γραμ]ματέως δέ[—
 [γραμματα]έως δέ

γ<ρ>(αμματεύς) Σωτήριχος Χ[—

γρα(μματεύς) Κλα(ύδιος) Ἀνείκτης Πανκ[— | ἔγρα(ψε) καὶ
 ἐχάραξε Δαμονικίδα[ς].

ἐπὶ γραμματέος Δάμωνος τοῦ Ἀριστεά.

ὁ γραμματαῦς δόγμα γραψάτω (*g is of synedrion*)

ἐπὶ γραμματέος Εὐμέν[εος]

λογιστοῦ | καὶ γραμματέος | Αἰλίου Φ[α]ῖ[α]νίδου

δικαστὰς καὶ τὸν γραμμα[τέα αὐτῶν]

γραμματαῦς Σοφός

[γραμ]ματαῦς Ἐπίγο[νος]

— ἐπὶ γραμ]ματέος

Τεῖ|σανδρος, γραμματαῦς

[ἰ]ερίης Πάχων, γραμμ]ατεύς — (*of ephebes*)

γραμματαῖα Μ(ᾶρκον) Ἀντώνιον Ὀνήσιμον

ὑπὲρ γραμ]ματείας σὺν τῷ ναῷ

γραμματαῦς | Θεοξενίδας

γραμματαῖ·

[παρόν]τος γραμμ[ατέως —

τὸ κοινὸν | τῶν θιασι|τῶν τὸν | γραμματαῖα | Ἀπολλώνιον |
 μελανηφό|ρον.

τὸ κοινὸν | τῶν θιασι|τῶν τὸν | γραμματαῖα | Ἀπολλώνιον |
 μελανηφό|ρον.

γρα[μματεύς — — | — —]τος.

Κάλλιπ[ος -7-] | γρα[μματεύς]

[γρα]μματεύ[ς] | [Διογέ]νης Ἀντ[ιόχου]

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus* of the Treasurers of Athena)

The *grammateus* Euthias (underlined) is known from nine surviving inscriptions from the years 434/3–432/1 BC.

IG I³ 292 (434/3 BC) 5-6Εὐθία[ς Αἰσχρονος | Αναφλύστιος]IG I³ 293 (433/2 BC) 15-16, 24-25Εὐθ[ί]ας Αἰσχρονος Αναφλύστ[ι]οςIG I³ 294 (432/1 BC) 27-30[τάδε /οι ταμί]αι τὸν /ἡ[ι]ερὸν χρεμάτων [τε]ς Ἀθηναίας Εὐρέκτες
Ἀτενεὺς κα[ί] /ι χσ[υνάρχ]||[οντες, /οῖς Ἀπ]ολλόδορος Κριτίο
Ἀφι[δ]ναῖος ἐγγραμμάτευσ, παρέδοσαν τ]οῖς τα[μί]ασι||[ν, /οῖς
Δίογνι]ς Ἰσάνδρο Περαιεὺς ἐγρ[αμ]μάτευσ, παραδεχσάμενοι
παρ]ά τὸν π[ροτέρο]||[ν ταμιδὸν, /οῖς] Εὐθ[ί]ας Αἰσχρονος
Ἀναφλύστιος ἐγγραμμάτευσIG I³ 317 (434/3 BC) 2-4Εὐθ[ί]ας Ἀναφλύστ[ι]ος | [ἐγγραμ]μάτευσIG I³ 318 (433/2 BC) 9-10Εὐθ[ί]ας Αἰσχρ[ο]ν[ος] Ἀναφλύστ[ι]ος ἐγρ[αμ]μάτευσIG I³ 319 (432/1 BC) 17Εὐθίας Αἰσχρ[ο]ν[ος] Ἀναφλύστιος ἐγρ[αμ]μάτευσIG I³ 343 (434/3 BC) 3[Εὐθίας Αἰσχρονος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐγγραμμάτευσ]IG I³ 344 (433/2 BC) 17[Εὐθίας Αἰσχρονος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐγγραμμάτευσ]IG I³ 364 (433/2 BC) 17-18[Εὐθίας Αἰσχρονος Ἀναφλύστιος | [ἐγγραμ]μάτευσ]IG I³ 465 (437/6–433/2 BC) 121-123παρὰ ταμιδὸν /ο[ί] τὰ τε]ς θεὸ ἐτα[μί]εον | /οῖς Κράτες
ἐγρ[αμ]μάτε[υ]ε Λαμπ[τρε]ύς —IG II² 1428 (367/6 BC) 1, 4-5[τ]α[μ]ίαι τῶν τῆς [θεὸ ὅ]τε Πολ[ύ]ζηλ[ο]ς ἦρχε / [οῖς — — —
— — — ἐγρ[αμ]μάτευσ ::**γραμματεὺς αἰρετός (*grammateus hairetos*)**IG II² 1710 (2C BC) 6-9γραμματεὺς αἰρετός | Δημήτριος Θεοδώρου Φαληρεὺς *with*
*grammateus klerotos*IG II² 1711 (mid. 2C BC) 6-19γραμματεὺς αἰρετός | Τιμογένης Αἰσχρίωνος Ἀφιδναῖος *with*
grammateus klerotos and hypogrammateus

SEG 21:587 (beg. 2C BC) 12-19

[γραμματεὺς αἰ]ρετός | — — ολέμο[υ] *with* *grammateus klerotos*

SEG 21:588 (beg. 2C BC) 3-6

[γραμματεὺς αἰρε]τός | [— —]υπεταιῶν *with* *grammateus*
klerotos

SEG 24:157 (222/1 BC) 1, 7-13

γραμματεὺς αἰρετός | Ἡράκλειτος Τιμοθέου Κριεὺς

γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν (*grammateus of the bouleutai*)

Ag. 15:366 (before 165 AD) 1-2

[γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν] | [— —]ίωνο[ς — *before aiesitai*

Ag. 15:367 (165/6 AD) 11-12

γραμ[ματεὺς] βουλε[υτῶν] | Ζώπυρο[ς Ἀλεξάνδ]ρου
Ἀθ[μονεύς] *with other secretaries*

Ag. 15:372 (168/9 AD) 6-8

γραμ[μα]τεὺς βουλευ[υ]τῶν Σω[— —] *with other secretaries*

Ag. 15:376 (c.168 AD) 32

γρ[αμ]ματεὺς β[ου]λευτῶν — —]

Ag. 15:385 (after 170/1 AD) 4-7 & 10-11

— ὁ γραμ[μ]ατεὺς τ[ῶν] βουλευτῶν τῆς | [Π]ανδειον[ίδος]
φυλῆς — / — γραμ[μ]α[τε]ύς βου[λευτῶν] —

Ag. 15:392 (c.175 AD) 22-23

[γρ βο]ουλευτῶν : Μηνο[ι] [...]ς Ὁ Φλυ(εύς)

Ag. 15:406 (182/3 AD) 53

γρ βουλευτῶν Ζώσιμος κχυλίδου Γαρ(γήτιος) *before aiesitai*
and other secretaries

Ag. 15:421 (before end 2CAD) 17-19

[γρ]αμ[μα]τεὺς βουλευτῶν | Ἐπίγονος Εὐκάρπου | Τρύφων Ὁ

Ag. 15:445 (c.200 AD) 11-12

γρ[αμ]ματεὺς βο[υ]λευτῶν Κ[— | γρ[αμ]ματεὺς βο[υ]λη[ς]
δ(ήμου)[— —] *with other secretaries*

Ag. 15:470 (after 216 AD) 32-33	γρ βουλευτῶν <i>vacat</i>
Ag. 15:472 (after 216 AD) 57	[γ]ραμματεὺς βουλευ[υτῶν]
Ag. 15:478 (after c.217 AD) 23	[γρα]μματεὺς βου[λευτῶν — —]
Ag. 15:491 (c.231/2 AD) 38	γραμματ[εὺς βουλευτῶν — —]
Clinton, Sacred Officials 123, App.IV.(6) (c.200 AD) 11-12, 17	γρ(αμματεὺς) βο(υλῆς) κ[αὶ δήμου] γρ(αμματεὺς) βο(υλευτῶν) Δ[— —] / ὑπ[ογραμματεὺς]
IG II ² 1768 (mid 2CAD) 4-5 (Ag. 15:365)	[γρα]μματεὺς βουλευτῶν [Φο]ύριος Ἡράκλειτος Γαρ[γῆπτιος] <i>before aeisitoi</i>
IG II ² 1769 (mid 2CAD) 1	[γραμματεὺς βουλευ]τῶν Ο <i>before aeisitoi</i>
IG II ² 1773 (166/7 AD) 53-65	γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν Ἰωνικός Ἀβρωνος <i>before aeisitoi and other secretaries</i>
IG II ² 1774 (167/8 AD) 7-9, 58-59, 62, 68-77	γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶ[ν] <Ζ>ήνων Ο <i>before aeisitoi and other secretaries</i>
IG II ² 1777 (168/9 AD) 4-7, 11	ὁ γραμ[μ]ατεὺς τ[ῶν βουλευτῶν τῆς] [Π]ανδειον[ίδος φυλῆς — —] / [γ]ραμματε[ύς βου]λευτῶν — —]
IG II ² 1783 (early 3CAD) 53	[γ]ραμματεὺς βουλευ[υτῶν]
IG II ² 1788 (c.174/5 AD) 31-33 (Ag. 15:387)	γραμματεὺς βου[λευτῶν Στρά]των Ὀλύμπου Μελιτεὺς. <i>before aeisitoi</i>
IG II ² 1794 (c.180 AD) 29 (Ag. 15:402)	γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν Ἄγνος Ο Ν <i>before aeisitoi and other secretaries</i>
IG II ² 1796 (c.180 AD) 31-32 & 40 (Ag. 15:411)	[γραμματεὺς] βουλευτῶ[ν] <i>with aeisitoi and other secretaries</i>
IG II ² 1808 (end 2CAD) 19-20 (Ag. 15:395)	γρ(αμματεὺς) βουλευτῶν Ἐλενος Ο νν Ἀζηνιεύς <i>before aeisitoi and other secretaries</i>
IG II ² 1824 (c.210 AD) 32	Abbreviated to γρ. βουλευτῶν
IG II ² 1827 (c.210 AD) 23	γρ βουλευτῶν <i>vac.</i>
IG II ² 1832 (c.225 AD) 30	γραμματ[εὺς βουλευτῶν — —]
SEG 32:339 (1-2CAD) 1	γρ(αμματεὺς) βουλευ[υτῶν]
SEG 28:166 (148/9 AD) 10	[γρ. βουλευτῶν?] Κάλλων Φιλοκράτους Κυδ <i>with other secretaries</i>
SEG 26:157 (c.200 AD) 11	[γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν(?) — —] <i>with other secretaries</i>

γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου (*grammateus for life*)

The *grammateus for life* Straton (underlined) is known from twelve inscriptions dated from 179/80-90/1 AD to 212/3 AD. In seven of these texts, he is also described as *hiereus*, priest.

Straton was succeeded by Syntrophos (whose name is marked with a dashed line). Syntrophos held the office of *grammateus for life* (and occasionally, priest) for at least twenty years (218/9 – 238/9-243/4 AD), assisted by a single *hypogrammateus for life*, Onesimos.

IG II ² 2110 (179/80-190/1 AD) 7-8	γραμματεὺντος δι[ὰ βίου] <u>Στράτωνος τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος</u> <u>Ἀχαρνέως</u> .
IG II ² 2111/12 (182/3-190/1 AD) 7-8	γραμματεὺντος διὰ βίου <u>Στράτωνος τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος Ἀχαρνέως</u> .
IG II ² 2113 (183/4-191/2 AD) 13-14, 32-33	γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου <u>Στράτων Κιθαιρῶνος Ἀχαρ</u> / [ὑ]πογραμμα[τεὺς] [Κιθ]αιρ[ῶν Ο] Ἀχαρ
IG II ² 2125 (c.190-200 AD) 8-9	γραμματεὺντος [τ]ος διὰ βίου <u>Στράτωνος τοῦ Κιθαιρῶ[ν]ος</u> <u>Ἀχαρνέως</u>
IG II ² 2126 (190-200 AD) 7-8	γραμματεὺντος διὰ βίου ιερέως [<u>Στράτωνος τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος</u> <u>Ἀχαρνέως</u>].
IG II ² 2130 (192/3 AD) 7-8, 33-44	γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου ιερεὺς <u>Στρά[τ]ων Ἀχαρ</u> τὸ δι' / ὑπογραμματεὺς Πο Αἴλ Ἄνθος [Ἡ]ρεσί

IG II ² 2193 (c.200 AD) 32-93	γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου· ἱερεὺς <u>Στράτων Κιθαιρῶνος Ἀχαρ</u> / ὑπογραμματεὺς Αἴλ Εὐχάριστος Σφήττιος
IG II ² 2197 (after 200 AD) 7-8	γραμματεὺς οντος διὰ βίου ἱερέως <u>Στράτωνος τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος Ἀχαρνέως</u>
IG II ² 2199 (c.200 AD) II.41-43, 66-7	γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου ἱερεὺς <u>Στράτων Κιθαιρῶνος Ἀχαρνέως</u> / ὑπογραμμα· Αἴλ Εὐχάρι στος Φαλη
IG II ² 2202 (c.200 AD) 2	γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου· ἱερεὺς <u>Στράτων Κιθαιρῶνος Ἀχαρνέως</u>
IG II ² 2203 (c.200 AD) 2-3, 27-28	γραμματεὺς οντος διὰ βίου <u>Στράτωνος τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος Ἀχαρνέως</u> / ὑπογραμματεὺς Μηνόδωρος Αγαθοκλέους
IG II ² 2208 (212/3 AD or later) 11, 37-38	γραμματεῦντος διὰ βίου· ἱερ· <u>Στράτωνος τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος Ἀχαρ</u> , / ὑπογραμματεὺς Ἰούλιος Ἀριστείδης Ἀχαρ
IG II ² 2223 (218/9 AD or later) 14-15, 34-35	γραμματεὺς δι[ι]ὰ βίου· <u>Συντρόφος Εὐκ[αρπίδου ἐκ Κοίλης]</u> / ὑπογρα[μ]ματεὺς Ὀνήσιμος [Εὐ]καρπίδου ἐκ Κοί
IG II ² 2239 (238/9-243/4 AD) 7-8, 21-24	γραμματεῦντος διὰ βίου ἱερέως <u>Συντρόφου τοῦ Εὐκαρπίδου ἐκ Κοίλης</u> / [ὑπογρα]μμα[τεὺς] [Ὀνήσιμ]ος Ε[ὐ][καρπίδ]ο[υ] [ἐκ Κοί]λης
IG II ² 2242 (238/9 or 242/3 AD) 9-10	γραμματεῦντος διὰ β[ί]ου ἱερέως [<u>Συντρόφου τοῦ Εὐκαρπίδου ἐκ Κοίλης</u>] ἔτος κβ´
IG II ² 2245 (262/3 or 266/7 AD) 29-408	οἱ διὰ βίου / γραμματεὺς Κλ Ἀντίλοχος / ὑπογρα Αὐρ Ἐλευσεῖνιος Ὁ <i>Ephebes from all 12 tribes.</i>
SEG 33:158 (late 3 CAD) 11, 48-51	οἱ διὰ βίου / γραμματεὺς Ἀλκιβιάδης / ὑπογραμματεὺς Ἀλκιβιάδης
SEG 39:189 (226/7-234/5 AD) 8-9, 60, 65-66 (IG II ² 2235)	γραμματεῦντος διὰ βίου ἱερέως <u>Συντρόφου τοῦ Εὐκαρπίδου ἐκ Κοίλης</u> / οἱ διὰ βίου / ὑπογραμματε[ύς] [Ὀνήσιμος Εὐκαρπίδ]ου ἐκ Κοίλης

γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν (*grammateus kata prytaneian*)

See page 263 for *grammateus of the boule*, and see page 297 for a table comparing the usage of *grammateus kata prytaneian* and *grammateus of the boule*.

Ag. 15:34 (343/2 BC) 14-15	ἀναγράψαι τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ
Ag.15:179 (185/4 BC) 9-13, 15-16, 27, 32-34	[ἡ βουλὴ τὸν γραμ[ματέα Φιλόδη]μον] / Στρατόνικος [Στρατονίκου Ἀμαξαντεὺς ἐγραμ[μάτευεν· / [τὸν γραμματέα Φιλόδημ]ον — / ἀναγρά][ψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμ]α τὸν γραμμα[τέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν] [ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ]
Ag.15:322 (c.120 AD) 25-26	[ἀναγράψαι / τὸν κατὰ πρυτανεί]αν γραμμα[τέα ἐ]ν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ
ID 1497bis (160/59 BC) 3-4, 28-31	[Σωσιγέ]νης Μενεκράτου Μαραθώνιος ἐγραμ[μάτευεν] / ἀναγράψαι / τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ
IG II ² 124 (357/6 BC) 1-3	[ἀναγράψαι / τὸ]ν γραμ[ματέα τὸν κατ][ὰ πρυτανείαν·
IG II ² 120 (353/2 BC) 11-19	ἀντιγράφεισθαι δὲ τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ[πρ]υτανείαν <i>with other secretaries, Chalkotheke (see page 54)</i>
IG II ² 223 (343/2 BC) C1-2	[γραμ]ματ[ε]ῦς κατὰ π[ρυτ]ανείαν· Κλεόστρατος Τιμοσθένους Αἰγίλιεύς
IG II ² 330 (315/14 BC) 1-2, 23-27	Πρόξενος Π[υ]λαγόρου Ἀχερδούσιος ἐγραμμάτευ[εν]· / [ἀναγράψαι δ]ὲ / τὸν γραμμα[τέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν σ]τήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ τὸ τῆς βουλ[ῆς ὃ εἶπε Ἀγασίας καὶ τὸ τοῦ] δήμου ὃ εἶπεν Ἰπποχάρης καὶ [στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει]
IG II ² 331 (315/14 BC) 2-3	Πρόξενος Πυ[λ]αγόρου [Ἀχερδούσιος ἐγραμμάτευεν· (see II ² 330, above)]
IG II ² 374 (aft. 319/8 BC) 19-22	[ἀναγράψαι] / [τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ π]ρυτανεί[αν] [αν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ]
IG II ² 483 (304/3 BC) 27-31	ἀναγραψαι /τὸν γραμματέ[α] τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν
IG II ² 487 (304/3 BC) 17-20	ἀνα[γ]ράψαι / τὸν γρα[μ]ματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν

IG II ² 788 (235/4 BC) 7, 26-8	ἀναγράψαι / τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνῃ
IG II ² 1041 (47/6-43/2 BC) 5-6	[ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν] / εἰς στήλην λιθίνην
IG II ² 1049 (40/39 BC) 17-19	[ἀναγράψαι / τὸν γραμματ] τέα τὸν κατὰ πρυ[τανείαν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην
IG II ² 1050 (mid-1C BC) 14-16	[ἀνα γράψαι] / [τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνῃ]
IG II ² 1062 (mid-1C BC) 6-8	ἀναγράψαι / [ἐν στήλει λιθίνῃ τὸν γραμματέα] τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν
IG II ² 1700 (335/4 BC) 213-220 (Ag. 15:43)	γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν Πρόξενος Πυλαγόρου Ἀχερδούσιος <i>with other secretaries</i>
IG II ² 1789 (c.175 AD) 4-7	[γραμμ]ατεὺς βουλῆς — — — ξ' Ἐλευθέρου [γραμμ]ατεὺς κατὰ π[ρυτανείαν] [Εὐκ]αρπος Θεογ[ένους]
SEG 21:272 (335/4 BC) 4-5	[Ἀχερ] [δούσ]ιος ἐγραμμάτευεν·
SEG 26:157 (c.200 AD) 3, 6	[γρ. βουλῆς - -] / [γρ.κατὰ πρυτανείαν] <i>both entirely restored. With other secretaries.</i>

γραμματεὺς κληρωτός (*grammateus klerotos*)

Hesp. 6:445 No.2B (239/38 BC) 9-10	[καὶ τὸν κληρωτὸν γραμματ]έα Ἐργοκλῆν Κρ[ι]ωπίδην]
ID 1500 (c.150 BC) 6-7, 25, 27-28	κα] ὁ κ[λη] [ρωτὸς? γραμματεὺς — — — Μενεκλῆς Αἰ]σχωρνος Ἀλ[α]ιε[ύς] / ἀγορανομήσαντας / καὶ τ[ὸν γραμ] ματέα αὐτῶν Μενεκλῆν Αἰ[σ]χωρνος
ID 1833 (undated) 6-7	ὁ κληρωτὸς γραμματεὺς Μενεκλῆς Αἰσχωρνος Ἀλαιοεύς.
IG II ² 1710 (2C BC) 6-9	γραμματε[ύς κλ]ηρωτός Σωσιγένης Σωστράτου Δεκελεεύς <i>with grammateus hairetos</i>
IG II ² 1711 (mid. 2C BC) 6-19	γραμματεὺς κληρωτός Διόδοτος Θεοδώρου Ἀμαξαντεὺς <i>with grammateus hairetos and hypogrammateus</i>
SEG 21:587 (beg. 2C BC) 12-19	[γραμματεὺς] κληρωτὸς[ς] — — ἱμοκλέου <i>with grammateus hairetos</i>
SEG 21:588 (beg. 2C BC) 3-6	[γραμματεὺς κληρ]ωτός — — ς Κοθωκίδης <i>with grammateus hairetos</i>
SEG 24:157 (222/1 BC) 1, 7-13	γραμματεὺς κληρωτὸς Νικίας Φίλωνος Κυδαθηναίου

γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς (*grammateus of the boule*)

Also the forms γραμματεὺς τέξ βολεῖς and γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς

See page 262 for the *grammateus kata prytaneian* and page 281 for [ho] *peri to bema*. See page 297 for a table comparing the usage of *grammateus kata prytaneian* and *grammateus of the boule*.

Time restrictions of ten days are underlined.

ABSA 26 A5 (101-150 AD) 5-6	γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς Ἀριστοκράτης καμίλλου
ABSA 26 B4 (101-150 AD) 1-4	Σίτιμος Πατο νίκου γρα(μματεὺς) Βουλᾶς ἐπὶ Εὐ κλήτου
ABSA 26 B6 (101-150 AD) 1-3	[Γραμ]ματεὺς βουλῆς [τὸ]ν ἐπὶ Γαίου Ἰουλίου Λυσικρά τους
ABSA 26 B8 (101-150 AD) 2, 4	Καλλικράτους τοῦ Ῥούφου; γραμματεὺς Βουλῆς γενόμενος
ABSA 26 C1 (101-150 AD) Col.2 4-7	Γ(ρ)α(μματεὺς) Βουλᾶς Πολύευκτος Σιμήδους. / Ὑπογρ(αμματεὺς) Θέλων (Θέλογτος.)
ABSA 26 C7 (101-150 AD) 8-9	Γρα(μματεὺς) Βου(λᾶς) Τιβ. Κλα. Νεολας Πρατομηλίδας.
ABSA 26 C10 (101-150 AD) 4-5	Γρα. Βουλᾶς Πό. Μέμμιος Δαμάρης

ABSA 27 E30 (c.134 AD) 3-4	Γραμματεὺς Βουλᾶς Πολύ(ξ)ενος
Ag. 15:410 (185/6 AD) 7, 11	[γραμματοῦς βο]υλῆς Φλ Βάκχιος / [περὶ τὸ βῆμα] Ἑρμόδωρος Θερμ[— —]
Ag. 15:454 (204/5 AD) 4-7	[γραμμ]ατεὺς βουλῆς [— c.5-6 —]Ξ Ἐλευθέρου [γραμμ]ατεὺς κατὰ π[ρυτανείαν] [Εὐκ]αρπος Θεογ[ένους]
Ag.16:95[2] (322/1 BC) 18-21	γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς / ἀναγράψαι / ἐστήλει λιθίνει <u>δέ[κ]α</u> <u>ἡμε[ρῶν]</u>
Ag. 16 76[1] (335/4 BC) 3-4	Πρόξ[ενος] Π[υλα]γόρου Ἀχερ[δ] [οὔσιος ἐ]γγραμμάτ[ευ]εν·
ID 88 (368, 362 BC) 20-27	ἀναγράψαι / στήλην λιθίνην τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς / ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν γραμματέα τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ ἀντίγ[ρα]φον
ID 502 (297 BC) A25-30	ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ο[ἱ] ἑνδεκα καὶ [οἱ γραμματεῖς]· <eleven personal names> γραμματεὺς βουλῆς Διόγ[νη]τος Τι — — γραμματεὺς ἱεροποιῶν καὶ ἀγορανόμων Θεόγνωτος Πατροκλέους·
ID 1522 (98-117 AD) 19-21	τοῦ δὲ ψ[η]φίσματος παραδοθῆναι τοῦδε τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῷ<ι> τῆς [β]ου[λ]ῆς γρα[μμα]τεῖ καὶ κατατάξαι εἰς [κι]βωτόν· ἀναγράψαι δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς στήλην...
IG I ³ 5 (c.500 BC) 1	Παραίβατες [· ἐγγραμμάτευσ] <i>vac</i> .
IG I ³ 10 (469-450 BC) 3, 5-6, 22-27	[·]νάσιππος ἐγγραμμάτευσ / [ἀν]αγράψαι· / ἀναγραφά [τω ὁ γραμμ]ατεὺς ὁ τῆς βολῆς [ἐστήλῃ] λιθί[ν]ῃ
IG I ³ 27 (c.450/49 BC) 8-9	ἀνα [γράψαι] τὸν [γραμματέα] τέξ β[·]ολεῖς / [ἐστέλει]
IG I ³ 31 (c.450 BC) 1-5	[Θ]εόδωρος Πρασιεὺς ἐγγραμμάτευσ.
IG I ³ 53 (433/2 BC) 4-8	Κριτιάδ[ες] πρῶτος ἐγγραμ[μά]τευσ / Χ[α]ρίας ἐγγραμμάτευσ [ε
IG I ³ 82 (421/0 BC) 2-3, 42-22	[Προκλέ]ς Ἀτάρβο Ε[ύ]νουμει[ς] [ἐ]γγραμμάτ[ευ]ε ἐπὶ Ἀριστ[ί]ονος ἄρχοντος· / ἀναγράφ[σαι] δὲ τὸ φσέφι [σ]μα τότε ἐστέλει λιθίνει καὶ καταθεῖναι ἐ]ν τῷ <i>ἡερῶι</i> · <i>ἡ</i> δὲ [γραμματεὺς] τέξ [β]ολεῖς ἐπιμελέσθω τέξ ἀναγραφές·
IG I ³ 99 (410/09 BC) 1-6	[Φ]ίλιππος [Φιλ]έο Δ[ειραδιό]τες [ἐ]γγραμμάτευσεν Οἰ[ν]εῖδι φυλ[ε]· ἔδοχσεν τ[ε]ί βολε[ῖ] καὶ τῶι δέμοι· Οἰνεῖς ἐπ[ρυτάνευσ] ε, Φίλιππος ἐγγρα[μμάτευσ] ν
IG I ³ 101 (410/09 BC) 1-46, 47-64	ἀναγρά[φ]σας ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῆς βουλῆς ἐστήλῃ λιθίνῃ / ἐς δὲ τὸ φσέφισμα τὸ πρόπανορθῶσαι τὸν γραμματέα τέξ βολεῖς <i>Two decrees on same stele. The second issues corrections to the first.</i>
IG I ³ 103 (410/9 BC) 8-11	ἀνα [γράψαι] / [ἐν σ]τήλῃ λιθίν [η] / τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς·
IG I ³ 104 (409/8 BC) 3-4	[Δ]ιό[γ] νετος ἐγγραμμάτευσ.
IG I ³ 127 (405/4 BC) 1-4	Κηφισοφῶν Παιανιεύς ἐγγραμμάτευσ. Σαμίσις ὅσοι μετὰ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐγένοντο
IG I ³ 133 (after 434/3 BC) 1-2, 9-10	ἐγγραμ[μά]τευσ / ἀναγράφσαν] τες ἐμ π[ιν]ακίοι
IG I ³ 193 (450-435 BC) 3-4	[ἀναγραφά]το / <i>ἡ</i> γραμματεὺς / <i>ἡ</i> τέξ βολεῖς ἐν στέ [λ]ῃ λιθίνει]
IG I ³ 195 (450-435 BC) 2-4	ἀν[α]γραφσα[...] / [<i>ἡ</i> γραμματεὺς / <i>ἡ</i>] τέξ βολε[ῖ]ς ἐστ [έ]λει λιθίνει]
IG I ³ 261 (452/1 BC) 1	[ἐπ]ὶ τέξ : τρίτε[ς] ἀρχεῖς / <i>ἡ</i> Διό[τ]ιμος ἐγγραμ[μά]τευσ : τοῖς τριάκοντα·
IG I ³ 262 (451/0 BC) 1	ἐπὶ τέξ ἀρχεῖς τέξ τετά[ρτ]ες / <i>ἡ</i> ἐ[ῖ] -7-]λες ἐγράμμα[τευσ] <i>ἡ</i> λιμόσιος·
IG I ³ 269 (443/2 BC) 1	[ἐπὶ τέξ ἀρχεῖς τέξ δο]δεκά[τ]ες / <i>ἡ</i> [Σ]οφίας ἐγγρα[μμά]τευσ Ἐλευσίνι·
IG I ³ 316 (407/6 BC) 64-67	Γν[αθ]ίῳ Λευκονοιεύς ἐγγρα[μμά]τευσ [ε] / [πρῶτος? ἐ]γγραμμάτευσεν·
IG I ³ 375 (410/9 BC) 1-2	Κλεγένες / <i>ἡ</i> αἰεὺς πρῶτ[ος] ἐγγραμμάτευσ·
IG I ³ 450 (447/6 – 433/2 BC) 410-416	ἐπὶ τέξ πέμ[π] τες καὶ δεκάτες βολ[ε]ς / <i>ἡ</i> Κριτιάδης πρῶ[τ]ος ἐγγραμμάτευσ

IG I³ 465 (437/6 – 433/2 BC) 114-121

IG I³ 508 (562-558 BC) A5-B6

IG I³ 509 (c.550 BC?) 2-3

IG I³ 1453,B/G (425/4 BC?) 10.1

IG II² 1 (403/2 BC) 1-6, 38-42, 56-57

IG II² 2 (405/4 BC) 1-2, 6-7

IG II² 13 (399/8 BC) 1-2, 6-7, 8-13

IG II² 26 (394-387 BC) 1-8

IG II² 33 (c.385 BC) 2-3, 8-9

IG II² 37 (after 383 BC) 20-23

IG II² 44 (378/73 BC) 1-3, 5-6, 15-18

IG II² 49 (beg. 4C BC) 1

IG II² 53 (after 387/6 BC) 5-9

IG II² 58 (bef. 378/7 BC) 1-6

IG II² 77 (375 BC) 1

IG II² 107 (368/7 BC) 4-7, 18-24

IG II² 109 (363/2 BC) 1-5, 24-29

IG II² 110 (363/2 BC) 2-6

IG II² 111 (363/2 BC) 2-4, 23-7

IG II² 120 (358/7–354/3 BC) 11-19

IG II² 127 (356/5 BC) 1

IG II² 130 (355/4 BC) 4-5, 15-19

IG II² 133 (355/4 BC) 5-7, 14-20

IG II² 138 (353/2 BC) 3

IG II² 139 (353/2 BC) 3-4

IG II² 141 (376/5 BC) 12-15

IG II² 149 (after 355 BC) 17-23

Διονέ[νες ἐ]γρ[αμμάτευε] | [— 9 —] ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡδὲ
Μετα[γένε]ς | πρ[ό]τος ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτευε]· / Ἐπικλέ[ης ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτευε]
Θορίκ[ιος] — *Inscription also contains the secretary of the
treasurers of Athena, and secretary of the hellenotamiai.*

ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτευε] —]

— ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτευε]· Φαιδί[ο] —

προσγράψαι δὲ πρὸς τὸν ὄρκον [τ]ὸν τῆς βολῆς τὸν γραμματέα
τῆς [βολῆς] *Archons in the cities also write the decree* (8.1-2).

[ἀναγράψαι / τ]ὸν γραμμ[ατέα τῆς βο]λῆς μετὰ τῶν |
[στρατηγῶν ἐστί]λῃ λιθίνῃ | Κηφισοφῶν [εἶ]πεν· / Κηφισοφῶν
Πα[ι]ανιεύ[ς] | [ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτευε] *Cephisophon is proposer of
decree; Cephisophon is secretary.*

[Ἀγύρριος Κο]λλυτεύς ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτευε] / [Ἀγύρρι]ος
ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτ]ε[υε]

[Λυσίμαχος Κ]ολωνῆθεν ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτευε]. / Λυσίμαχος |
[ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτευε] / ἀνα[γρ]άψαι τὸν γραμματέα τῆς | [βολῆς ἐν
πό]λῃ | [ἀ]ν[αγρ]άψαι δὲ αὐτὸ τὸν ὄν.

Χαρίδημος Θεοτέλος | Λαμπρεὺς ἐγρ[αμ]μ[ά]τευεν. *no archon.*

[ΔΔ δρ] | [α]χμὰς [τ]ῶν γρ[αμ]ματῆ[ς] τῆς βο[λῆς]· ἀπογράψαι δὲ
[αὐτῶν] | τὰ ὀνόματα

ἀναγράψαι | τὰ ὄν[ο]ματ[α] / ἀπογράψαι | [σθαι τὰ ὀνόματα
τῶν γρ[αμ]ματῆ[ς] τῆς βο[λῆς]

[Ἀρ]ιστοτέλης :: Εὐφιλήτο | [Ἀχ]αρνεὺς ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτευε]ν. /
Ἀριστοτέλης ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτευε]ν

[Κυ]δῆνωρ Κυδῆνορος Ἀλωπεκῆθεν ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτευε]ν. *No archon.*

ἀναγρ[άψαι τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βο]λῆς ἐ[σ]τήλῃ | [λ]ιθίνῃ /
τὴν στήλῃν δῶναι τῶν ταμίων ΔΔ δραχμὰς | [τῶν] γρ[αμ]ματῆ[ς]
τῆς βο[λῆς]

[Εὐδράμω]ν ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτ]ε[υε]ν | [Ἀχ]ερδόσιος. *No archon.*

Σμ[ι]κυθο[ς] Χα[ρ]ίνο Ἀχαρνε[ύς] ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτευε]. *No archon.*

Μόσχος Κυδαθηναίεὺς ἐγρ[αμ]μ[ά]τευεν / ἀναγράψαι / τὸν
γραμματέα τῆς [βου]λῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ | [εἶ]ς δὲ τὴν
ἀναγραφὴν δοῦναι τῆς στήλης [τ]ὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου τῶν
γραμματῆ[ς] τῆς βου[λῆς] ΔΔ δραχμὰς. *Last attestation of
grammateus of the boule for a single prytany.*

Νικόστρατος Φιλοστ[ό]ν[ος] | [ράτο] Παλληνεὺς ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτευε]ν /
ἀναγρ[άψαι] | τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βου[λῆς] ἐν [σ]τήλῃ |
λ[ιθίνῃ] / εἰς [δὲ] τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δῶναι τὸν
ταμ[ι]άν τοῦ δήμου ΔΔ δρα<χ>μὰς *Earliest evidence for annual
office of grammateus of the boule.*

Νικ[ό]στρατος ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτευε]ν *Same grammateus as IG II² 109,
published in a different prytany.*

Νικό[σ]τρατος Παλληνεὺς ἐγρ[αμ]μ[άτευε] *Same grammateus as IG
II² 109, published in a different prytany.*

The Chalkotheke inscription. See page 54.

γρ[αμ]ματεὺς Λυσίας Λυσ —. *No archon.*

Πάνδ[ιος] Σωκλέους ἐξ Οἴο ἐγρ[αμ]μ[ά]τευε· / [γρ]αμ[ματ]έα
τῆς βο[υλῆς] ἀναγρ[ά]ψαι ἐν στήλῃ δέκα ἡμερῶν

Πά[ν]διος Σωκλ[έ]ους ἐξ Οἴο ἐγρ[αμ]μ[ά]τευε | [ν]· / [ἀναγρ]άψαι |
[γρ]αμ[ματ]έα τῆς β[ο]ουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ | δέκα ἡμερῶν

Δωροθέο Παλλην[εὺς] ἐγρ[αμ]μ[ά]τευεν·

[Δωρο]θέο Παλλην[εὺς] ἐγρ[αμ]μ[ά]τευε ...]

ἀναγρ[άψω] ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βο[λῆς] | ἐστίλῃ λιθίνῃ δέκα
ἡμερῶν

ἀ[ναγρ]άψαι / [γρ]αμ[μα]τέα τῆς βου[λῆς] ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ |
δέκα ἡμερῶν

IG II ² 195 (353/2 BC) 7-12	τὸ δὲ ψ [ήφισμα] τὸ πρότερ[ον, ὃ ἦν ἀναγεγραμμέ] [νον ἐμ]προσθεν τὸ [βουλευτηρίο αὐτῶι], [ἀναγρά]ψαντα τὸ[ν γραμματέα ἐστήληι] [λιθίνηι] / προ [σαναγράψαι] / τὸ ψήφισμα]
IG II ² 204 (352/1 BC) 23-24	γρά[ψαι δὲ τὸ]ν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς εἰς δύο κα [ττ]ιτέρω ἴσω καὶ [ὁμοίω, εἰς μὲν] τὸν ἕτερον·
IG II ² 206 (349/8 BC) 2-3, 28-34	Διεύχης Δημάρχου Φρε[άρρ]ιος ἐγραμμάτευεν. / ἀναγράψ[αι] / γραμματ[έα τῆς βουλῆς / καὶ, στήσ[αι <u>δέκα ἡμερῶν</u>
IG II ² 207 (349/8 BC) 1	[Διεύχης Δημάρχου Φρεάρριος ἐγραμμάτευε·]
IG II ² 208 (349/8 BC) 3-4	Διεύ [χη]ς Δη [μ]ά[ρ]χου Φ[ρεάρρι]ος ἐγραμμάτευεν·
IG II ² 224 (343/4 BC) 2	Κλεόστρατος Τιμοσθένους Αἰ[γ]λιεύς ἐγραμμάτευεν
IG II ² 225 (343/2 BC) 4-5	[Κλεόστρατος Τιμο]σθένους Αἰγλιεύς ἐ [γραμμάτευεν]·
IG II ² 228 (341/0 BC) 5-6	Ὀνήσιππος Ἀραφῆνιος ἐγραμμάτευεν· <i>grammateus ceases to be member of boule.</i> ¹⁵¹⁷
IG II ² 229 (341/0 BC) 3-4	[Ὀνήσι]ππος Σμικύ[θο] Αἰ[ραφῆν]ιος ἐγραμμάτευεν· <i>grammateus ceases to be member of boule.</i> ¹⁵¹⁸
IG II ² 235 (336/5 BC) 26-34	[ἀν]αγ[ρ]άψαι δὲ αὐτῶι τὴν π [ρ]οξενίαν [τὸν γραμματέα] [τ]ὸν κατὰ π[ρυτανείαν]
IG II ² 238 (338/7 BC) 14-17	[ἀναγράψ]αι / [γραμ]ματέα τῆς βουλῆς / στήλην λιθί [νην]
IG II ² 253 (bef. 336/5 BC) 4-10	τὸν δ[έ] [γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἀ]ναγράψ [αι] / [ἐν στή]λῃ λι [θίνηι] / [<u>δέκα ἡμερῶν</u>]
IG II ² 274 (after 336/5 BC) 1-3	[— ἀναγράψαι —] [— τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλ]ῃ λιθίνηι] / <u>δέκα [ἡμερῶν]</u> ·
IG II ² 278 (336/5 BC) 10-12	[καὶ ἀναγρ]ι [άψαι ἐν στή]λῃ / [τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς <u>δέκα</u> <u>ἡμερῶν</u>]
IG II ² 287 (336/5 BC) 12-16	ἀνα γράψαι / ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς / <u>δέκα [ἡμερῶν —]</u>
IG II ² 289 (336/5 BC) 8-11	[τὸν δὲ γραμματέα τ]ῆς βουλῆς [ἀναγράψαι] / [ἐστήλει λιθίνε]ι <u>δέ[κ]α ἡμε [ρῶν]</u>
IG II ² 373 (322/1 BC) 9-15	ἀναγράψαι / ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς
IG II ² 381 (320/19 BC) 1-6	ἀναγραφεὺς Ἀ[ρχέδικος Ν]αυκρ[ίτ]ι [ο]υ Λαμπ[ρεύ]ς, / Ν[ικόδημος] Ἀναφ[λύ]σ[τιος] ἐγρα[μμάτ]ευε[ν]·
IG II ² 410 (c.330 BC) 37-39	ἀναγρά[ψαι] / τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ
IG II ² 913 (c.200 BC) 7-11	[ἀναγράψαι] / τὸν γραμματέα τὸ[ν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στή]λῃ λιθίνῃ
IG II ² 914 (c.200 BC) 7-9	[ἀναγράψαι] / τὸν γραμματέα τὸ[ν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στή]λῃ λιθίνῃ
IG II ² 915 (c.200 BC) 7-11	ἀνα[γ]ράψαι / τὸν γραμματέα τὸ[ν κατὰ πρυτανε]ῖαν [ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ]
IG II ² 1061 (1C BC) 15-19	[ἀνα]γράψαι [ι] / τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς εἰς στήλῃ [ν λιθίνην]
IG II ² 1078 (c.220 AD) 2	Εὐτυχος ἐγραμ[μάτευεν]
IG II ² 1136 (106/5 BC) 23-25	γραμματε[ύ]οντος δὲ βουλᾶς Ἀρχωνος τοῦ Καλλικράτε[ος].
IG II ² 1789 (c.175 AD) 4-7	[γραμμ]ατεὺς βουλῆς — — — ξ[Ελευθέ]ρου [γραμμ]ατεὺς κατὰ π[ρυτανείαν] [Εὐκ]αρπος Θεογ[ένους]
IG II ² 1973 (40/1-53/4 AD) 5	γραμματεῦοντος Εὐφροσύνου Ὁ Φαληρέως.
IG II ² 2006 (early 1CAD) 6	γραμματεῦον[τας] — —
IG V,1 20 (98-117 AD) A3-4, B5	ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ / γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς
IG V,1 32 (after 125 AD) A15	<u>ἐπὶ</u> Ἀλκάστου γρα[μματεὺς] βουλᾶς

¹⁵¹⁷ With IG II² 1749 (341/0 BC) 63-5. Ὀνήσιππος Ἀραφῆνιος Ἀραφῆνιος is the secretary of both IG II² 228 and 229, but does not appear in the list of *bouleutai* chosen from the Ἀραφῆνιοι. Rhodes (1972a) 135.

¹⁵¹⁸ See n.1517, above.

IG V,1 34 (117-138 AD) 3-13	[γρ(αμματεύς) βου(λᾶς) ἐ] πὶ Σιπόμπο[υ]
IG V,1 37 (138-161 AD) 1	[γρ]αμματεύς βουλᾶς
IG V,1 39 (mid 2 CAD) 23-25	γρ(αμματεύς) [β(ουλᾶς)] ἐπὶ Κασ(σίου) Ἀριστο τέλους
IG V,1 40 (138-180 AD) 9-11, 13-14	γρ(αμματεύς) ἐπὶ Πρατονίκου καὶ ἱερεὺς Οὐρανίων / γ(ραμματεύς) βο(υλῆς) ἐπὶ Πολυεύκτου
IG V,1 46 (late 2/3 CAD) 8-11	γραμμα[τε]ύς βουλῆς
IG V,1 60 (117-138 AD) 4	γραμματεύς <β>ου<λ>ᾶς Κλέ<ω>ν <Ω> Τυνδάρη κάσε<ν>.
IG V,1 71 (mid 2 CAD) III.4	ἐπὶ Σηϊανοῦ γρα(μματεύς) βου(λᾶς) (with <i>grammatophylakes</i> at II.17, III.15, 34, 52)
IG V,1 110 (mid 2 CAD) 5	γραμματε[ύς] βουλᾶς·
IG V,1 112 (138-161 AD) 11	Μ(ἄρκος) Οὐλπίος Ἀφθόνητος γρ(αμματεύς)βουλᾶς.
IG V,1 116 (161 AD or later) 6-9	γραμματεύς βουλῆς· Ἀριστο{σ}νικίδας Νικηφόρου
IG V,1 118 (undated) 1	—] γραμ[ματεύς βουλᾶς]
IG V,1 137 (98-117 AD) 1-25	γραμματεῖς· Δαμιᾶδας, Στ<ρ>άτων. ὑπογραμματεῖς· Εὐδαίμων, Κ[λ]έων, [Ε]ὐδαιμοκλῆς. / γραμ(ματεύς) βο[υλᾶς?]
IG V,1 162 (mid 2 CAD) B.19	[γραμματεύς] βουλᾶς:
IG V,1 206 (1C BC) 5	γ(ραμματεύς) βο[υ(λᾶς)] Ρ[Λ]ΜΛνης
IG V,1 479 (131/132 AD) 1-14	Σέκ(στον) Πομ(νήϊον) Ἐπικτᾶν, τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς
Meiggs & Lewis (1989) 111-117 No.45 (450-446 BC) 12	προσγράψαι δὲ πρὸς τὸν ὄρκον [τ]ὸν τῆς βουλῆς τὸν γραμματέα τὸν τῆς [βουλῆς εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν τα]δί. <i>The grammateus brings a bouleutic oath up to date.</i>
Schwenk 9 (335/4 BC) 1-21 (SEG 35:64)	[ἐπειδὴ Χαιρέστρατος ὁ γραμματεύς ὁ κατ]ὰ πρυταν[ί]ε[ι]αν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμω]ς ἀρχει τι[τ]ὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἐπήνεσέ τε καὶ] ἐστεφά[ν]ωσεν αὐτὸν -15- εὐνοίας ἐν]εκα / [ἐπαιnéσαι Χαιρέστρατον] Ἀμεινί[ου] Ἀχαρνέα δικαιοσύνης ἔνεκα καὶ στεφαν]ῶσαι αὐ[τὸν] χρυσῷ στεφάνω ἐπειδὴν τὰς εὐθύνας] δῶι δόξ[ι]αντ'
Schwenk 19 (335/4 BC) 3-4	Πρόξ[ε]νος Π[υ]λαγόρου Ἀχερ[δ]ί[ου]σ[ι]ος ἐ]γγραμμάτ[ευ]εν·
SEG 19:129 (352/1 BC) 13-14	...τοῖς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγεγραμμένοις ἔμπροσ]θεν τῆς Χαλκοθήκ[ι]ης, ἥν] Φιλοκῆδης ἔστησεν ἐπὶ Θεοδῆμ[ου] ἄρχοντος
SEG 23:53 (335/4 BC) 3-4	[Πρόξ[ε]νος Πυλ]αγό[ρου] Ἀχ[ρ]ί[ου]σ[ι]ος ἐγγραμμάτευσ·
SEG 26:157 (c.200 AD) 3, 6	[γρ. βουλῆς - -] / [γρ.κατὰ πρυτανείαν] <i>both entirely restored. With other secretaries.</i>
SEG 30:410 (mid 2 CAD) 26	γρα(μματεύς) βουλᾶς [Καλλικράτης]
SEG 31:340 (98-138 AD) 8	[γρ]αμ[μα]τεὺς βουλᾶς Πολυκλῆ[ς] Μ[εν]ίππου]
SEG 39:75 (352/2 BC) 3-4, 9-13	[Δωρο]θέο Παλλην[εύς] ἐγγραμμάτευσ / [τὸν δὲ γραμματέα τ]ῆς βουλ<ῆ>ς [ἀναγράψαι] / [ἐστήλῃ λιθίνε]· <u>δέ[κ]α ἡμε[ρ]ῶν</u>
SEG 45:59 (c.345 BC) 4-7	[ἀναγράψαι] / τ[ὸν] γραμματέα τῆς βολ]ῆς ἐν στήλ[ι] [η]ι λιθίνη[ι] / <u>δέκα</u> [ἡμερῶν]
SEG 48:458 (160-165 AD) 27-34	Γραμματεύς Βουλῆς Γά(ιος) Ἰούλιος Φειδίας / [ὑπογρ(αμματεύς) —]ος Δη[—]
SEG 48:459 (150-155 AD) 6-9	[τὸ ε'. γραμματε]ύς βουλᾶς [Γα(ίος)Ἰούλ(οις) Λ]υσικράτης [Χαριξένου] <i>philokaisar kai philopatris</i>
SEG 48:460 (160-165 AD) 6-7	Γ(ρ)αμμα(τεύς) βο(υ)[λᾶς] Γά(ιος) Ἰούλ(ιος) Ὀνασ[ικλείδας].

γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου (*grammateus of the boule and the demos*)

Also the abbreviated forms γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου (*grammateus of the demos*) and γραμματεὺς τῷ δήμῳ (*grammateus for the demos*)

Ag.15.37 (343/2 BC) 1-4	[γραμματεὺς τ[ῶ]ι δ[ήμῳ] [καὶ τῇ] βουλῇ Βλ[έπυρος] Πει[θάν]δρο Παιον[ίδης] ὑπηρέτης : Μητρόδ[ωρ]ος]
Ag.15:43 (335/4 BC) 228	γραμματεὺς τῷ δήμῳ Αντιμένης Αριστομένους Τειθράσιος <i>with other secretaries</i>
Ag.15:89 (254/3 BC) 37	τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου Δύνατον Κριτοδήμου Πειρ[αιέα] <i>honoured with other secretaries</i>
Ag.15:99 (c.250 BC) 4-5	[τὸν γρ][αμματέα τοῦ δήμου — — Κηφι]σίεα <i>with other secretaries</i>
Ag.15:130 (220/19 BC) 51-53, 128-133	τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Κτησικλῆν Κηφι[σοφῶντος Φαληρέα / τὸν γραμ]ματέα τοῦ δήμου Κτ[ησικλῆν Κη]φισ[ι]έα <i>honoured with other secretaries</i>
Ag.15:261 (c.95/4 BC) 53-54	τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ [τοῦ δήμου — c.15 —]υ Παιανία <i>honoured with other secretaries</i>
Ag.15:262 (c.95/4 BC) 5-7	[— καὶ τὸν γραμ][ματέα τῆς βουλῆς κ]αὶ τ[οῦ δήμου —] <i>honoured with other secretaries</i>
Ag.15:443 (c.198 AD) 24	γ(ραμματεὺς) βουλῆς δήμου Αἴμος(?) Ἀλεξάνδρου <i>with other secretaries</i>
Ag.15:445 (c.200 AD) 11-12	γρ(αμματεὺς) βο(υλῆς) δ(ήμου) <i>with other secretaries</i>
IG II ² 496 (303/2 BC) 36-41	ἀνα γράψαι / τὸν γραμ ματέα τοῦ δήμου ἐν στήλει λιθίνῃ
IG II ² 652 (c.290/89 BC) 33-36	[ἀναγράψαι] / τὸν γραμματέα τῆς β[ουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δή][μου]
IG II ² 660 (aft. mid 4C BC) 19-24	ἀναγράψαι / τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλ[ῆς ἐν στήλ]ῃ λιθίνῃ
IG II ² 1011 (106/5 BC) 62-63	ἀναγράψαι / τὸν γραμματ[έα τοῦ δήμ]ου εἰς στήλην λιθίνην
IG II ² 1051 (after 38/7 BC) 4-5	ὁ γραμματεὺς [τῆς] βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου· <i>In prescript.</i>
IG II ² 1077 (209/10 AD) III.47-49 (Ag. 15:460)	<i>Aeisitoi includes</i> γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Ἀριστόβουλος Ἀττικοῦ Αναγυράσιος <i>with other secretaries</i>
IG II ² 1740 (388/7 BC) 53-6	[γραμ]ματεὺς τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ...λείδης : Φιλοθήρο : ἐξ Οἴο. [ἀντι]γραφεὺς [Ἀρισ?]τίων Ἀριστωνύμο Παλληνεύ[ς]
IG II ² 1747 (c.350 BC) 33-4	γρμματαὺς εἰ βουλεῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ [Βλ]έπυρος Πειθάνδρο Παιονίδης
IG II ² 1751 (aft. mid 4C BC) 62	γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς [κ]αὶ τοῦ δήμου Δῶρος Σμικύθου Μελιτεύς.

γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως (*grammateus of the polis*)

ID 290 (246 BC) A143	γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ξένωνος, <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
ID 291 (246 BC) fr.a1 2	[πα]ρούσης βουλῆς καὶ γ[ραμματέων]
ID 298 (240 BC) A2-3	γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλε[ως Μένν]ιος τ[ο]ῦ Νικάρχου, <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
ID 314 (after 235-234 BC) A2	καὶ γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως... (<i>fragmentary</i>)
ID 316 (231 BC) 3-4, 6-7, 9-10	γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως — —] μ[?]ένου τοῦ Αντιγόνου, <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i> / γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Πυθο[?] κλέους τοῦ Φερεκλείδου, <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi?</i>
ID 354 (218 BC) 3, 17	γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Παρμενίωνος τοῦ Πολυβούλου, <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i> · Π[?]Χ[?]Π[?]Γ[?] / γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ἱερομβρότου τοῦ Ἄμνου

ID 355 (217 BC) 3-4	γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ἱερομβρότου τοῦ Ἄρνου, <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
ID 362 (209 BC) A7-9, 14	γραμματ[έων] τοῦ τῆς πόλεως, [Εὐ]κλ[είδου] <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
ID 368 (206 BC) 5-6	γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλε[ως] — <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
ID 370 (203 BC) 36	τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς καὶ τῷ γ[ραμματεῖ] —
ID 396 (194 BC) B60	γραμματέων τοῦ τε τῆς πόλεως Ἀχαιοῦ <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
ID 421 (c.190 BC) 21-22	γραμματέω[ς] τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιγόνου <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
ID 439 (181 BC) fr. a1-3	γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Δημοσ<τ>ράτου τοῦ Διογένη <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i> / γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Τεισικλέο[υς] <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
ID 442 (179 BC) A2-3, B1-3	γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ποσειδ[ί]κου τοῦ Σωτέλου, <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i> / γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Τηλεμνήστου τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου, <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
ID 443 (178 BC) B.104-105	γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Τηλεμνήστου τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
ID 444 (177 BC) B23	γρα[μματέως] τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Κλέωνος τοῦ Καίβωνος, <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
ID 448 (175 BC) 7	...γραμματέων καὶ πρυτάνεων...
ID 453 (174 BC) A3	τοῦ τῆς πόλεως γραμματέ[ως] <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
ID 455 (173 BC) A3, B1-2	<i>grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi, restored, twice</i>
ID 479 (c.175-166 BC) 3	<i>grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi, restored</i>
ID 465 (c.170 BC) fr. c17, fr. d2-3	γραμματεῖ Διογένη / [γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλ]εως? Μ[ε]ν[ι]χίδου <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
ID 461 (169 BC) A3, B2-3	[γ]ραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλεως τοῦ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα] <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi, twice</i>
IoO 460 (Roman) 3-4	γραμ[ματεύσαντα] [τῆς πόλεω]ς καὶ ἐλλ[αδάρχ]ην
IG XI,2 135 (314-302 BC) 34-36	γραμματέως τῆς πό[λεως] <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
IG XI,2 142 (315-300 BC) 23	παρούσης [βουλῆς καὶ τῶ]ν γραμμ[ατέων] <i>of the polis and hieropoioi</i>
IG XI,2 144 (c.301 BC) A4-5	γραμματέ[ως] Κ[λε]ος γραμματέως Εὐπαλάμου
IG XI,2 148 (297 BC) 78	παρόντων τῶν γραμματέων Διογνήτου τοῦ [Τι— —], Θεογνώτου τοῦ Πατροκλέους
IG XI,2 155 (287 BC) fr. b8	παρούσης βουλῆς καὶ γραμματέων Ἥγησαγόρου τοῦ Ἀναξιμένους, Δεινομένους τοῦ Φ[— — —]
IG XI,2 158 (282 BC) A3-4	παρόντων βουλευτῶν καὶ γραμματέων Τελέσωνο[ς] τοῦ Αὐτοκλέους, Δημο[λύ]του τοῦ Λύσου
IG XI,2 159 (280 BC) A70-71	παρόντων [βουλευτῶν καὶ] [γραμματέων Ἀριστ]είδου τοῦ Ἀριστέου, Λεωνίδου τοῦ Μνησίου
IG XI,2 161 (278 BC) A2-3, A124-6; B2-3	γραμμ[α]τέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Τιμησιδήμου τοῦ Ἀντικράτους, <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i> / γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Δημητρίου <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
IG XI,2 162 (278 BC) A1-4	γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Δημητρίου <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
IG XI,2 163 (276 BC) fr dg.4	[γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως] <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi, both restored</i>
IG XI,2 199 (273 BC) A2, B98	γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Μνησάλκου <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i> / γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ξένωνος <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>

IG XI,2 203 (269 BC) A3, 61	γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Φιλαίθου τοῦ Νησιώτου, <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i> / γραμματεῖ Σωστράτῳ : ΠΔΔΔ:
IG XI,2 224 (258 BC) A2-3	γρα[μματέων] τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Πολυξένου τοῦ Ἀρσινβρότου, <i>with grammateus of the hieropoioi</i>
IG XI,2 269 (314-250 BC) fr. ab2	γραμματέων τοῦ] τῆς πόλεως Δι—
IG XI,2 287 (250 BC) A3-4	γραμματέων Μνησικλέους τοῦ Μνησικλέους, Θεοπρώτου τοῦ Ἐπιχάρμου
IG XI,4 1028 (start of 3C BC) fr.bc.1-4	[γρα]φὴν τὴν κειμέ[ν]ην παρὰ τῷ γραμματεῖ τῆς πόλεως

γραμματεὺς τῆς φυλῆς (*grammateus of the phyle*)

Ag. 15:86 (256/5 BC) 17-20, 97	ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα [τῆς φυλῆς] <i>honoured with other officers</i>
Hesp.6:460,8 (after 166 BC) 4-20	<i>various minor secretaries</i> / [γραμμ]ατεὺς φυλεῖ [ε]ἰληχῶς / <i>various other minor secretaries</i>
Hesp. 9:59,8 (333/2 BC) col.II 3-8 (Reinmuth, EI 9)	[ἀναγράψαι δὲ] τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα[α τῆς] [τῆς φυλῆς τὸν γραμματέα τῆς φυλῆς]
IG II ² 1158 (after mid 4C BC) 9-12	[στή]λην / [ἀναγρ]άψαντα / [τὸν γραμματ]έα τῆς φυ[λῆς].
SEG 2:8 (4C BC) 3-4	[περὶ τῆς ἀνασ] [τάσεως?] τῆς ε[ἰ]κό[ν]ος [χρηματισάτω? ὁ γρα] [μ]ατε[ύς] τῆς φυλῆς το[ῖς] φυλῆταις]
SEG 23:78 (361/0 BC) 22-26 (Reinmuth, EI 1)	ἀνα[γράψαι τὸν γραμματέα τῆς φυλῆς ἐ]στήλην / [ἐφ' ἧς γέγρα]πται τὸ [ψήφισμα περὶ τὸς ἐφήβους] <i>with epimeletai</i> .

γραμματεὺς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς (*grammateus for the Achaians*)

and γραμματεὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν (*grammateus of the Achaians*)

IG IV 795 (c.103-114 AD) 3-15	στρατηγὸν καὶ γραμματέα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
IG IV ² ,1 60 (191 BC) 1	[ἐπ]ὶ γραμματέος τοῖς Ἀχ[αίοις] ...]
IG IV ² ,1 61 (150 BC) 2	ἐπὶ γραμματέ[ος] τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
IG IV ² ,1 80 (34/35 AD) 1-6	γραμματέα αὐτῶν (<i>Statue base in IG IV²,1 81</i>)
IG IV ² ,1 81 (34/35 AD) 7-18	[γραμματέα αὐτῶν]
IG VII 188 (242-223 BC) 2-3	[ἐπὶ δὲ] [γραμμ]ατέος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς Στράτωνος
IG VII 2711 (37 AD) 43-45	...τοῦ [γραμ]ματέως τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, τῷ κοινῷ Βοιωτῶν καὶ τῷ γραμματεῖ χαί [ρειν]
SIG ³ 531 (3C BC) 1-8, 25-32	ἐπὶ γρα[μ]ματέος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς Μενανδρίδα / γραμματιστάν.

γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου (*grammateus of the demos*)

IG IV ² 748 (before 160 BC) 11-12	ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε] τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμ[ματέα] τοῦ δήμου εἰς στήλην λιθίνην]
IG IV ² 749 (158-144 BC) 34-35, 38, 45-46, 51-53 (IG IV 1)	...τὸν δὲ γραμμα[τέα] τοῦ δήμου ἀναγράψαι [ἐς σ]τήλην...
IG V,2 351 (c.266-219 BC) 10-12	γρα[μ(μ)ατεὺς δάμω].

γραμματεὺς τοῦ ἐπιμελητῆς (*grammateus of the epimeletes*)

ID 1504 (147/6 or 146/5 BC) 2, 45-49	ἀναγράψαι / [τὸν γραμ]ματέα τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ εἰς στήλην λιθίνην
ID 1505 (146/5 or 145/4 BC) 31-37	ἀναγράψαι / τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ Μνησίφιλον εἰς στήλην λιθίνην

ID 100 (372-367 BC) 5, 7, 9-12	οἷς Διόδω]ρος Σκαμβωνίδης ἐγ[ραμμά][τευεν —]
ID 104 (364/3 BC) 5-7, 36-38	Μένης Μενεκλέους Πήληξ ἐγραμμάτευεν / [ἐπιγέγραπ]ται ἐπὶ τῷ πίνακι τῶν ἀργυ[ρῶν] $\text{P}^{\text{H}}\text{H}\text{H}\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{P}^{\text{H}}$
ID 104-12 (353/2-352/1 BC) 3-4	[οἷς ἐγραμμάτευε —17—] [— ὑπεγραμμάτευε δὲ —] φίλος. Φρεάρρ[ι]ος
ID 104-23 (346/5 BC) 4-5, 9-10, 13-15	[γραμματούον] τος Ἐτεοχάρος Λεωχάρ[ος] Φρεαρρίο / [παρὰ γρα]νματέως Ἀμφ[ικτυόνων]
ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 1-17	οἷς ἐ[γραμμάτευε] ν Ἀρισθέταιρος Ἀν[αγ]υράσιος ν $\text{H}\text{H}\text{H}^{\text{H}}\Delta\text{T}$ ν ἀπὸ τρύ[τ]ου [μ]ισθὸν ἑμαυτῷ
ID 104-28 (341/0 BC) 5, 8	οἷς ἐγραμμάτευε Τεισιάδης Τεισίππου Σφήττιος, ὑπεγραμμά]τευε δὲ Μ[—]
ID 104-32 (434-315 BC) 5	οἷς Δειν[— — — ἐγραμμάτευε]
SEG 39:170 (378/7 BC) 2-3	γρα[μματεῖ] Χαιρενέωι Λαμπ(τρ)εῖ μισ[θός] (<i>figure ending 40 Dr.</i>).

The following table lists inscriptions that include the *grammateus of the amphictyons*, *grammateus of the naopoioi*, and *hypogrammateus of the amphictyons*:

	γραμματεὺς τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων	γραμματέως τῶν ναοποιῶν	ὑπογραμματεὺς (τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων)
378/7 BC	Χαιρένεως Λαμπτρεὺς ¹⁵¹⁹		
377-373/2 BC	Διόδωρος Ὀλυμπιοδῶρο Σκαμβωνίδης ¹⁵²⁰		ὑπογραμματεῖ [payment] ¹⁵²¹
373/2-367 BC	Νικόλεως Θεο— ἐξ Οἴο ¹⁵²²		
364/3 BC	Πραξιτέλης Πραξιάδου Κεφαλῆθεν ¹⁵²³		
363/2 BC	Μένης Μενεκλέους Πήληξ ¹⁵²⁴		
353/2-352/1	-ς ¹⁵²⁵		-φίλος. Φρεάρρριος ¹⁵²⁶
345/4 BC	Ἀρισθέταιρος Ἀναγυράσιος ¹⁵²⁷ / For previous year: — ἰλο Αἰγιλιέως ¹⁵²⁸	Φιλιππίδης τοῦ Φιλίππου Κεφαλῆθεν ¹⁵²⁹ / For previous year: Ἐτεοχάρης Φρεάρρριος ¹⁵³⁰	
341/0 BC	Τεισιάδης Τεισίππου Σφήττιος ¹⁵³¹ / For previous year?: Διομ—ο ¹⁵³²		Μ ¹⁵³³

Table 11 – *Grammateis and hypogrammateis of the amphictyons*.¹⁵³⁴

¹⁵¹⁹ SEG 39:170 (378/7 BC) 2; Chankowski (2008) 526 dates this to 402/1 BC. This is the Athenian copy.

¹⁵²⁰ ID 98 (377-373 BC) (and IG II² 1635 (374-3 BC)) A5-6, 49-50, 59-60, 74-75; ID 100 (372-367 BC) 11-12.

¹⁵²¹ ID 98 (377-373 BC) (and IG II² 1635 (374-3 BC)) A49-50, 74-75.

¹⁵²² ID 100 (372-367 BC) 7, 9-10.

¹⁵²³ ID 104 (364/3 BC) 5.

¹⁵²⁴ ID 104 (364/3 BC) 7.

¹⁵²⁵ ID 104-12 (353/2-352/1 BC) 3-4.

¹⁵²⁶ ID 104-12 (353/2-352/1 BC) 4.

¹⁵²⁷ ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 5-6; ID 104-23 (346/5 BC) 13-15.

¹⁵²⁸ ID 104-23 (346/5 BC) 9-10 = Chankowski (2008) 512 no.52 9-10.

¹⁵²⁹ ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 2-3.

¹⁵³⁰ ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 13-15; ID 104-23 (346/5 BC) 4-5 = Chankowski (2008) 512 no.52 4-5, 526 no.52 5.

¹⁵³¹ ID 42 (341/0 BC) 8; ID 104-28 (341/0 BC) 5.

¹⁵³² ID 104-28 (341/0 BC) 8.

¹⁵³³ ID 104-28 (341/0 BC) 5-6, 8.

See also ὑπογραμματεὺς (τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων) on page 289.

γραμματεὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν τῆς <phyle name> φυλῆς (*grammateus of the bouleutai of the <phyle name> phyle*)

IG II ² 1775 (168/9 AD) 5-8 (Ag.15:373)	ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν τῆς Ἀκαμαν τίδος φυλῆς Φιλουμενὸς Ἐρωτος Κεφαλ ῆθεν τιμήσας τοὺς συνάρχοντας καὶ τοὺς αἰσί τους ἀνέγραψεν.
IG II ² 1777 (168/9 AD) 4-6 (Ag.15:385)	— ὁ γραμ [[μ]ατεὺς τ[ῶν βουλευτῶν τῆς] [Π]ανδειον[ίδος φυλῆς —]
Ag.15:400 (c.180 AD) 2-4	[— ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν(?) τῆς Κεκροπίδος] φυλῆς.
Ag.15:437 (end of 2CAD) 3-7	γραμματεὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν <i>folium</i> Κάλλων Φιλοκράτους Κυδαθη ναιεὺς τιμήσας

γραμματεὺς τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν (*grammateus of the eisagogeis*)

IG I ³ 71 (425/4 BC) 2-3, 7-8, 21-22	τού τος δὲ [/ κέεσθαι καὶ γραμμα]τέα καὶ χσυ[γγραμματέα ἐχ σφῶν αὐτ]ῶν·
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γραμματεὺς τῶν ἐπιστάτων (*grammateus of the epistatai*)

IG I ³ 465 (437/6–433/2 BC) 114-125	...παρὰ τῷμ πρ[οτέρων ἐ]πιστατ[ῶν] ἡοῖς] Ἐπικλεῖς ἐγρα[μμάτευ]ε Θορίκ[ιος]...
IG II ² 1544 (333/2 BC) 1, 5-6	ἐπιστάται / οἷς ἐγραμμάτευεν Ἀγνόθεος
IG II ² 1669 (367/6 BC) 1-4	[συγγ]ραφαί? με[γ]άλης στήλης· / Δι[ὸς] Σωτήρος ἐπιστατούντων / ο[ἱ]ς ἐ[γ]ραμμάτευεν [Ἐπι]κρά[της] — — — —]

γραμματεὺς τῶν ἑνδεκα (*grammateus of the Eleven*)

IG II ² 1631 (323/2 BC) 377-380, 385-393	ἀναγράψωσιν εἰς τ ὴν στήλην ἥ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν ἑνδεκα
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γραμματεὺς τῶν ἱεροποιῶν (*grammateus of the hieropoioi*)

ID 290 (246 BC) 143	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν [ἱεροποιῶ]ν Κλε[οδίκ?]ο[υ]
ID 291 (246 BC) fr.a1 2	[πα]ρούσης βουλῆς καὶ γ[ραμματέων]
ID 298 (240 BC) A2-3	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν [ἱεροπο]ιῶν Ἐπικύδου [τ]οῦ Ἀριστεί [δου]
ID 316 (231 BC) 3-4, 9-10	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Τληπολέμου τοῦ Μαν[δ]ροῦ <i>grammateus of the polis and</i> [τ]οῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Φερεκλείδου τοῦ [Π]ολ[ύβ]ου?
ID 354 (218 BC) 3, 17	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Ἐλικάνδρου· Π ^Α ΧΧΠΗ-Π ^Α Ζ//·
ID 355 (217 BC) 3-4	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Τύννωνος τοῦ Βούλω [νος] —
ID 362 (209 BC) A7-9, 14	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Τελεστοκρίτου]
ID 365 (208 BC) 54-55	...γραμματέων ὁ παρέ δοσαν Πόλυβος καὶ Ἐβδομίσκος ..Χ ^Α ΗΗΗΗ ^Α ΔΔ ^Α · III
ID 368 (206 BC) 5-6	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Σκύλακος τοῦ Λεοντ[ι]ά[δου]
ID 372 (200 BC) 99-100	γραμμα τέϊ Παρμενίωνι Π ^Α ΔΔΔ·

¹⁵³⁴ Chankowski (2008) 525-529.

ID 396 (194 BC) B60	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Φιλ[—]
ID 421 (c.190 BC) 21-22	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν] ...
ID 439 (181 BC) fr.a1-3	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ [τῶν] ἱεροποιῶν Ἀριστοφάνου τοῦ — ... <i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Χοιρύλο[υ τοῦ —
ID 442 (179 BC) A2-3, 198, B1-3	γραμματεῖ Νεοκροντίδῃ Ἰ ^ρ ΔΔΔ / <i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Νεοκροντίδου τοῦ Νεοκροντίδου ... <i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Τιμοξένου τοῦ Τιμοξένου
ID 443 (178 BC) B104-105	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Τιμοξένου τοῦ Τι [μο]ξένου
ID 444 (177 BC) B23	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Τελεσαρχίδου τοῦ Εὐδίκου
ID 448 (175 BC) 7	...γραμματέων καὶ πρυτάνεων...
ID 453 (174 BC) A3	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> gti (reconstructed)
ID 455 (173 BC) A3, B1-2	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν [Πολ]υξένου τοῦ ὕ[ι]έρωνος
ID 461 (169 BC) A3, B2-3	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Πολύβου τοῦ Μενύλλου / <i>grammateus of the polis and</i> [τοῦ τῶν] ἱεροποιῶν Τιμησιέρου
ID 465 (C.170 BC) fr. c17, fr. d2-3	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> γραμματεῖ Διογένηι / & [τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν? Ἐχο..
ID 479 (c.175-166 BC) 3	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν] ...
ID 502 (297 BC) A25-30	ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως οἱ[ι] ἑνδεκα καὶ [οἱ γραμματεῖς] / γραμματεὺς ἱεροποιῶν καὶ ἀγορανόμων Θεόγνωτος Πατροκλέους.
ID 1523 (end 2C BC) 18-21	[ὁ γρα]μματεὺς[ι]ς κ[.. ἀνα]γ[ρ]αφάτ[ω]σαν / εἰς [σ]τήλην [λιθί]νην
IG XI,2 135 (314-302) 31-36	παρό[ν]τ[ων]τ[ων] τῶν βο<υ>λευτῶν καὶ τοῦ γραμματέως τῆς πό[λ]εως καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν...
IG XI,2 142 (315-300 BC) 23	παρούσης [βουλῆς καὶ τῶν] γραμμ[ατέων] <i>of the polis and of the hieropoioi</i>
IG XI,2 144 (c.301 BC) A4-5	γραμματέ[ως] Κ[λε]ος γραμματέως Εὐπαλάμου
IG XI,2 148 (297 BC) 78	παρόντων τῶν γραμματέων Διογνήτου τοῦ [Τι— — —], Θεογνώτου τοῦ Πατροκλέους
IG XI,2 155 (287 BC) fr. b8	παρούσης βουλῆς καὶ γραμματέων Ἡγησαγόρου τοῦ Ἀναξιμένους, Δεινομένους τοῦ Φ[— — —]
IG XI,2 158 (282 BC) A3-4	παρόντων βουλευτῶν καὶ γραμματέων Τελέσων[ς] τοῦ Αὐτοκλέους, Δημο[λύ]του τοῦ Λύσου
IG XI,2 159 (280 BC) A70-71	παρόντων [βουλευτῶν καὶ] [γραμματέων Ἀριστ]είδου τοῦ Ἀριστεύου, Λεωνίδου τοῦ Μνησίου
IG XI,2 161 (278 BC) A2-3, A124-6; B2-3	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν / Λυσιμαχίδου τοῦ Λύσου; <i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Κλεινοδίκου τοῦ Κλεινοδίκου.
IG XI,2 162 (278 BC) A1-4	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Κλεινοδίκου τοῦ Κλεινοδίκου
IG XI,2 163 (276 BC) fr. dg4	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> — τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν — <i>restored</i>
IG XI,2 199 (273 BC) A2, B98	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν — / <i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν —
IG XI,2 203 (269 BC) A3, A61	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Σωστράτου τοῦ Στράτωνος / γραμματεῖ Σωστράτῳ :Ἰ ^ρ ΔΔΔ:
IG XI,2 224 (258 BC) A2-3	<i>grammateus of the polis and</i> τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Ἀριστεύου τοῦ Ἑρμοδότου
IG XI,2 287 (250 BC) A3-4	γραμματέων Μνησικλέους τοῦ Μνησικλέους, Θεοπρώτου τοῦ Ἐπιχάρμου

γραμματεὺς τῶν ἱππάρχων (*grammateus of the Hipparchs*)

Hesp.6:460,8 (after 166 BC) 4-20	<i>various minor secretaries</i> / [γραμμ]ατεὺς ἱππάρχους φυ[λετῶν] / <i>various other minor secretaries</i>
SEG 21:525 (282/1 BC) 40-44	ἀναγράψαι / τοὺς γραμματεῖς τῶν ἱππάρχων [έν] στήλαις λιθίναις δυεῖν
SEG 46:167 (282/1 BC) 14-16, 40-43	ἀναγράψαι / έν στήλει λιθίνῃ τοὺς γραμματεῖς τῶν ἱππάρχων

γραμματεὺς τῶν ναοποιῶν (*grammateus of the naopoioi*)

ID 104-5 (359/8 BC) 14-15	γραμματε[ῖ] [(ναοποιῶν?) (ὑπο?)γ]ραμματεῖ ν ΔΔΓ:
ID 104-23 (346/5 BC) 2, 4-5, 13-15	ναοποι[δ] / [γρ]ανματεύον τος Ἐτεοχάρος Λεωχάρ[ος Φρεαρρίο]. / γρ[α]νματεὺς
ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 1-17	λόγος Φιλιστίδ[ο]υ κεφαλῆθ[εν γραμματέω]ς ναοποιῶν / ναοποιοὶ ... οἷς ἐγγραμμάτ[ε]υ[ε]ν Ἐτεοχάρης Φρεάρριος

γραμματεὺς τῶν νεωριῶν ἐπιμελητῶν (*grammateus of the naval dockyards*)

IG II ² 1631 (323/2 BC) 410-415	οἱ τῶν νεωριῶν ἐπι μεληται / καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς αὐτῶν / ὧν γράψαντες εἰς τὴν στήλιν ...
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γραμματεὺς τῶν πρυτάνεων (*grammateus of the prytaneis*)

SEG 28:52 (333 BC) 22-29	[ἀναγράψαι] / [γρ]αμματέ[α] τῶν πρυ[τάνεων] / στήλῃ λιθίνῃ
Ag. 15:259 (97/6 BC) 85	[γρ]αμματεὺς τῆς Πτολεμαί[δ]ος Αἰσχρία[ς Φ]λυεύς· <i>with other secretaries, including grammateus kata prytaneian</i>
Ag. 15:322 (c.120 AD) 1-3	Φειδίας ὁ [Ρα]μνοῦσιος γραμματεὺς τῶν πρυτάνεων ? εἶπεν / <i>with aesisitai</i>
IG II ² 1806 (190-200 AD) 1, 19-24 (Ag. 15:424)	περὶ τὸ βῆμα Ἐπι — / γρ[α]μματεὺς π[ρυ]τάνεων Ν

γραμματεὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν (*grammateus of the strategoi*)

IG II ² 545 (318/7 BC) 15-17	ἀπογρ[ά] [ψασθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὰ ὀνόματ]α πρὸς τὸν γραμματέα [τ] [οῦ πολεμάρχου καὶ τὸν γραμ]ματέα τῶν στ[ρ]α[τηγ]ῶ[ν].
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γραμματιστάς (*grammatistas*)

IvO 468 (2-3 CAD) 1-7	γραμματίσαντα <i>one of several offices held</i>
SEG 30:990 (c.325-275 BC) 2-4	[Ἐν]ῃ γραμματιστᾷ Εὐθεα·
SIG ³ 530 (end C3 BC?) 1-3	[ἐπὶ θεο]κόλου Θιλοκλέος, [γρ]αμ[μ]ατιστᾷ Δαμοκρί[του]
SIG ³ 531 (3C BC) 1-8, 25-32	ἐπὶ γρ[α]μματέος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς Μενανδρίδα / γραμματιστάν.

γραμματιστάς δαμοσιοφυλάκων (*grammatistas of the damosiohylakes*)

SIG ³ 529 (219 BC) 1-11	γραμματιστᾷ δαμοσι οφυλάκων
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[ὁ] γράψας (*the one who wrote [this]*)

The 'ones who wrote [this]' Neogenes (underlined) and Deinomenes (marked with a dashed line), are known from several inscriptions from the third-century BC.

ID 290 (246 BC) 136-7	<u>Νεογέ<u>νει</u></u> τή[ν στήλην γρά][ψαντι ...· Η]ϠΔΔΔ μόλυβδος ΓΓ· ξύλα Ι-ΙΙΙ
ID 291 (c.248 BC) fr.d 15-16	<u>Νεογέ[<u>ν</u>ει]</u> γράψαν[τι] — — [τὴν στή]λην Η·
ID 440 (198-180 BC) A45-47	τ[ῶι] γράψαν[τι Η]ΗΠΔ / τῶι γράψαντι ΔΔΓ· Λ
ID 1520 (153/2 BC) 60-61	ὁ γράψας ἢ ὁ εἴπας ἢ ὁ ἀναγνοῦς
IG II ² 1672 (329/8 BC) 187-8	: τῶι γράψαντι τὰ κυ μάτια Δεξιθέωι ἐμ Μελίτει οἰκοῦντι :Γ·
IG II ² 11169, adn (undated) 1-2	Κῶμος κα[λός] καὶ ὁ γράψας.
IG V,1 1390 (92/1 BC) 61-2	καὶ ὁ γράψας ἀποτείσάτω δρα χμὰς δισχιλίας·
IG XI,2 147 (c.300 BC) A20	[γ]ράψαντι <u>Δεινομένει</u> ϠΔΔ·
IG XI,2 159 (280 BC) A66	γράφαντι τὰς στήλας <u>Δεινομένει</u> , γράμματα τριακόσια τῆς δραχμῆς·
IG XI,2 161 (278 BC) A90-91, 118-9	γράφαντι <u>Δεινομένει</u> Γ· / γράψαντι τὴν στήλην <u>Δεινομένει</u> · τῆς δραχμῆς γράμματα τριακόσια, τὰ πάντα γράμματα τρισμῦρια, μισθὸς δραχμαὶ Γ·
IG XI,2 162 (278 BC) A52	γράφαντι Σωσιμένει ΓΓΓ·
IG XI,2 219 (c.265 BC) 19	γράφαντι Ναννάκωι ΓΓ·
IG XI,2 287 (250 BC) 197	<u>Νεογέ<u>νει</u></u> γράψαντι τὴν στήλην ΗΔΔ· δέλτον ποιήσαντι ΗΓ· τῶι εἰς τὴν δέλτον γράψαντι τὰ ἐκ τῆς στήλης ΗΓΓ· τοῖς τὴν στήλην ἀγαγοῦσι Γ·
Lang (1976) 13 (475-450 BC) C18 1-2, Pl.5	Σοσίας καταπύγον ἥος φησιν /ο γράψας
SEG 1:25 (undated) 1-2	Κῶμος κα[λός] καὶ ὁ γράψας.
SEG 30:266 (undated) 9-10 (IG II ² 11530 Peek)	[ὁ τοῦτο γ]ράψας Φιλοπάτωρ καλ[οῦμ' ἐγώ], [εἰδὼς τε] Μουσῶν αὐλὸν ἠρώ[ων] τ' ἔ[πη].

γροφεύς (*gropheus*) and γραφής (*graphes*)

See also γροφεύς βωλῆς, below.

Buck 87 (3C BC) 4-20	γροφέ[ες] Αἰσχύλος Ἀραχνά δας, Τρύγης Αἰθωνίδας
IG IV 498 (after 195 BC) 4-7	[τ]ῶι γροφεῖ
IG IV ² ,1 103 (4C BC) 143	γροφεῖ Ἀλκιβίωι
IG IV ² ,1 106 (4C BC) 6, 10, 13-14, 30-1, 75-6 C40-43, C.115-6, 107	γροφεῖ Κλειδίωι / <i>gropheus</i> of <i>hiaromnamones</i> : unknown; Dionysios; Kallinos; Timokles; -ro-s.
IG IV ² ,1 108 (4/3C BC) 82, 107, 111-2, 116, 123-5 141, 144, 150, 155-6, 159-167	<i>katalogos boulas</i> , γροφ[ε]ῖ Ἀλε[ξ]ιμ[ά]χωι / οἷς ἔγραφε Ἀρχιπέλης <i>gropheus</i> of <i>hiaromnamones</i> ...
IG IV ² ,1 109 (early 3C BC) II, back 146	γροφεῖ Μνασικλεῖ
IG IV ² ,1 165 (4-3C BC) 1-8	γρο[φ]ή[ς] Τιμυλ[— —] Α..ο[— —]
IG IV 609 (Roman) 5-8	γροφεύσαντα
IG V,2 12 (240-228 BC) 5	γ[ραφ]ής· — c.11? —]
IG V,2 13 (bef. 228 BC) 9	[τῶ δάμω· — c.6 — γραφής·]
IG V,2 116 (3C BC) 7	γραφής· Εὐάρε[το]ς Σακλέος
IG V,2 550 (320/1-304/3 or 304/3) 1-6, 27-29	γροφεύς δαμιοργῶν· Ἑστάτας.
IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 2-26, 193-4 (IG V,2 357)	τὰς δὲ πό[λιν] ἀποστέλλειν ... τὸν γροφῆ·τὰς γραφθεῖσας [δικας] φέρ[ο]ντας· / <i>katakoos</i>
IvO 2 (before 580 BC) 1-9 (Buck 61)	Πατρίας ὁ γροφεύς

Peek, NI 18 (4/early 3C BC) 19-20	οἷς ἔγ[ρ]α[φ]ε Εὐ[κ]λ[— —]
Peek, NI 19 (4/early 3C BC) C11	γροφεῖ Πανκράτ[ει]
SEG 31:358 (480-450 BC) 1-7 (SEG 26:475)	Πύρρο γρ[ο]φέας
SEG 51:474 (3C BC) II.1-6	γροφεύς Ἀριστόδαμος

γροφεύς βωλᾶς (*gropheus bolas*)

Mitsos (1947) A1 (4/3C BC) 1-8 (IG IV ² ,1 69)	[βωλ]ᾶς γροφεύς
IG XII,3 1259 (after 338 BC) 1-17	γρο[φ]εὺς βωλᾶς· Πέριλλος πεδιῶν.
ISE 40 (c.300) 2-4, 27-33	γροφεύς βωλᾶς Τιμοκλῆς Φολυγάδας Πρόσυμνα.
ISE 41 (1 st half 3C BC?) 1-3, 10-13, 18-20	ἐπι γροφέος τῆι βουλᾷ Θιοδέκτα, τοῖς δὲ στραταγοῖς Δαμέα
Magnesia 55 (undated) 1, 9, 16-18 [I.Magn 41]	τὸν γροφῆ τᾶς βωλ[ᾶς] τ[ᾶ] ἐ[κ] τᾶν πινακίδων
Mnem. ² 43:C (248-245) 4	γρο[φεύς] βωλᾶ[ς]
Mnem. ² 43:D (247-244) 3	γροφεύς βωλᾶς
Mnem. ² 43:F (before 243) 5-6	γροφεύς Ἰδαῖος Ἀ[...] Φολυγὰς
Mnem. ² 43:G (before 229/8) 4-5	[γρο]φεὺς βωλᾶ[ς] Θ[ι]ομήδης
Mnem. ² 43:K (before 229/8?) 2-3	[γροφεύς] βωλᾶ[ς], Ἄμα...
SEG 13:240 (3C BC) 1-2	γροφε[ύς] Παναίτιος Βραχᾶ Κλεοδαΐδας·
SEG 13:243 (3C BC) 2	γροφεύς βωλᾶς Ἀριστόφρων Δαμ[—]
SEG 16:247 (3C BC) 3-4	[γροφεύς βωλᾶς Θιότιμος] Θιοκλέος Μόκλα[ς] Λαγαρία.
SEG 17:141 (3C BC) 4, 12-14	γ[ρο]φεύς Λεωνίδας Παιονίς· / ἀνγράψαι δὲ ἐν στάλαι [ἐ]ν τῷ τοῦ Λυ[κ]είου ἱερῶι
SEG 17:142 (3C BC) 3	γροφ[εὺς] βωλᾶς Νικόδαμος Ἀρχαῖος·
SEG 17:144 (3C BC) 1-5	γροφεύς βωλᾶς Ἀριστεύς Μναῖτιμου Ἡραιεύς Παλλᾶς
SEG 30:355 (c.330-300 BC) 2-3, 11-12	γροφεύς Μνα[ί]μαχος Πρόσυμνα·
SEG 30:356 (c.300 BC) 3-4	γροφεύς Τίμαιος Εὐαλκίδα·
SEG 30:357 (c.300 BC) 3, 10-11	γροφεύς ΔΑΙ . Ρ / ἀγγραψαι δὲ τὸ δόκ[ημ]α τόδε ἐν στάλαι ἐν τῷ τοῦ Λυκείου.
SEG 30:360 (early Hellenistic) 6, 16-18	γροφεύς Κλεόδαμος Κολωνός· / ἀν[γ]ράψαι τὸ δόκημα ἐν στάλαι ἐν τῷ τοῦ Λυκείου ἱερῶι·
SEG 31:306 (Hellenistic) 9	γρο[φ]εὺς β[ωλᾶς]
SEG 33:278 (before 229/8?) 2 (Vollgraff Mnem.43 (1915) 378-379; Charneux BCH 107 (1983) 266)	[γροφεύς βω]λᾶς Θιο[— — —]
SEG 39:345 (3C BC) 3-4	[γροφεύς βω]λᾶς θιό[τιμος] Θιοκλέος Μόκλας Λαγαρία
SEG 41:280 (3C, possibly before 224) 3	γροφεύς Ἑρπέας Αἰσχιάδας Ζάραξ
SIG ³ 644-5.i (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 69)	<i>gropheus</i>

γροφεύς πολεμάρχων (*gropheus of the polemarchs*)

Piérart (1987b) 306-9 (4C BC?) (SEG 37:280)	<i>gropheus of the polemarchs?</i>
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γροφεύς τοῖς στραταγοῖς (*gropheus for the stratagoi*)

ISE 41 (1st half 3C BC?) 1-3, 10-13, 18-20	τὸν δὲ στραταγόν, οἷς γράφει Δαμέας, ἀ[ν]γράψαι ἐν τὰν στάλανς
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γροφεύς τοῖς ὀγδοηκοστεῦσι (*gropheus for the Eighty*)

SEG 33:286 (4C BC?) B5-6	γροφέε
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δαμιοργός (*damiorgos*)

I.Magn 39 (c.208/7 BC) 33-38, 43-45
[Magnesia 8]

τοὺς δὲ δαμιοργοὺς τῶν [Ἀ]χαιῶν | ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψάφισμα τὸ
παρὰ τῆς π[ό]λιος τῶν Μαγνήτων καὶ τὸ δόγμα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν |
εἰς στάλαν λιθίναν καὶ ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν | τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
Ἀμαρίου, ὅπως φανερόν ῃ καὶ τοῖς | λοιποῖς Ἑλλασιν
Magesian nomographoi, Magesian grammateis

IPArk 24 (273 BC) 8-11, 14-18

τὰν δὲ στάλαν γράψαντες οἱ δαμιο[ρ]γοὶ

SEG 40:400 (3C BC) 7, 11-19

[πολιτογραφηθέντες] / δαμιοργοὶ

δήμαρχος (*demarch*)

IG I³ 138 (after 434 BC) 5-6

ἄοι δέμαρχοι παρὰ ἀπάντων τῶν | ἐς τὸ λεχισαρχικὸν
γρ<α>μματ[εῖ]ον γραφέντων.

IG II² 1176 (c.360 BC) 2-6, 18-21

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν δήμαρχον καὶ τοὺς ταμίας ἀντί[γραφα] τῶν
συνθηκῶν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην / παραγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸ | ὄνομα...

IG II² 1177 (mid 4C BC) 13-14, 21-24

ἀναγρ[ά]ψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισ[ι]μα τοὺς ὀριστὰς μετὰ τοῦ
δημάρχου

IG II² 1182 (mid 4C BC) 16-26

ἀναγρ[ά]ψαι / τὸν δῆ[μ]ο[α]ρχον ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ

IG II² 1188 (mid 4C BC) 16-19, 31-33

[γράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τ]όδε τὸν δῆμα[ρ]χον ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ

IG II² 1193 (end 4C BC) 1-2, 10-13, 27-31

ἀνα[γ]ράψαι / τὸν δῆμ[α]ρχον Ἰσαρχον ἐν στήλῃ [λ]ιθίνῃ

IG II² 1197 (c.330 BC) 18-21

ἀναγράψαι / εἰς στήλην λιθίνην Φιλόθερον τὸν δήμαρχον

IG II² 1198 (326/5 BC) 2-3, 18-22

ἀναγράψαι / τὸν δήμαρχον Δωρόθεον εἰς στήλην [λ]ιθίνην

IG II² 1202 (313/2 BC) 3-10, 18-21

ἀναγρ[ά]ψαι / εἰς στήλην λιθίνην τὸν δ[ή]μαρχον Ἡγησίλεω καὶ
τοὺς ταμίας

SEG 43:26 (315/4 BC) A22-27, B14-15

ἀναγράψαι / ἐ στήλῃ | λιθίνει τὸν γραμματέα τῶν δημοτῶν /
ἀναγράψαι / ἐν | στήλῃ λιθίνει [τὸν δῆμαρ]χον

δημόσιος (*demosios*)

Ag.16:322 (c.120 BC) 1, 3-4

[...καθισταμ]έ[νοις δημοσίοις μετ' ἀναγραφῆς πάντα τὰ μέτρα
καὶ σταθμά· / καταβαλλέ]σ[θωσαν δὲ καὶ χειρόγρ]αφον ἐν
[τῷ] Μητρώϊω [ὧν ἂν παραλάβωσι καὶ παραδώσιν·

IG II² 120 (358/7-354/3 BC) 11-19

Ε[ὐκλ]εῖ τῷ δημοσίῳ... γρα[μ]μ[α]τέον

IG II² 463 (307/6 BC) 28-9

... τοῦ τε[ί]χους κ[α]ὶ εἰς τὸ μ[η]τρώϊον πρὸ[ς] τὸν δημ[ό]σιον [ἰ]ον
-18- ἀναγράψ[α]ι τό τε ὄνομ[α] τοῦ μ[ε]μισθωμέν[ου] καὶ τὸ
ἀργύριον ὅσ[ου] | [ἂν μισθώσεται...

IG II² 583 (end 4C BC) 1-10

[τὸ]ν δημόσιον τὸν ἐκ τ[οῦ] Μητρώϊου

δογματογράφος (*dogmatographos*)

IG V,1 26 (2-1C BC) 1-8, 13-18

δογματογράφων Λυσινίκου τοῦ Σωτηρίδα / τὸν γραμματέα αὐτῶν

ἔγραψε καὶ ἐχάραξε (*wrote and engraved*)

IG V,1 179 (Roman) 8, 10

γραμματεὺς [— c.5 —] / ἔγραψε Ἀγ[— c.5 —]

IG V,1 210 (1C BC) 44-46, 58

γραμματ[ε]ύς [—] Ἀριστοκλῆς | Φιλονικίδα / ἐπὶ γραφῶν Σωίνικο[ς].

IG V,1 211 (1C BC) 50, 52

γραμματεὺς Κλήνικος Σ. / ἐπὶ γραφῶν Εὐάμερος.

IG V,1 212 (1C BC) 45-46, 59-60

γραμματεὺς | Κλέων ἐξ Ἀγήτας / ἐπὶ γραφῶν | Σωίνικος.

IG V,1 1315 (117-138 AD) 29-30

γρα[μ]ματεὺς Κλα[ύ]διος Ἀνεΐκτης Πανκ[—] | ἔγρα(ψε) καὶ
ἐχάραξε Δαμονικίδα[ς].

ἑλληνοταμίας (*hellenotamias*)

IG I³ 34 (448/7 BC) 43-45

τὸς δὲ [ἡλλεν]ο[ταμίας ἀναγράφσαντας ἐ]ς πινάκιον
λελ[ευκομέν]ο[ν]

IG I³ 68 (426/5 BC) 18-21

ἀναγ[ραφόντων δὲ /οι ἐλ]λενοτα[μ]αίαι ἐς σανίδι

IG I³ 104 (409/8 BC) 9

οἱ δὲ ἑλλενοταμίαι δόντων τὸ ἀρ[γ]ύ[ρ]ο[ν].

ἐπιμελητής (*epimeletes*)

Ag.16 136 (4C BC) 6-7

[ἀναγρά]σ[ψαι ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ / [τοὺς] ἐπ[ι]μελητὰς

Ag.16 202[3] (mid 3C BC) 7-9

[ἀναγράψαι] / [τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς ἐν στήλῃ].

IG II² 829 (mid 3C BC?) 1-4

[τοὺς δὲ ἐπιμε]τ[η]τὰς τ[οὺς αἰρ]εθέντας ἀναγράψαι / [ἐν
στήλῃ λιθίνῃ]

IG II² 1138 (c.403/2 BC) 7-9

ἀναγράψαι / εἰστήλῃ λιθίνῃ / τὸς ἐπιμελητὰς.

IG II² 1139 (c.403/2 BC) 6-8

[ἀ]ν[αγράψαι] / ἐν [στήλῃ λ]ιθίνῃ τοὺς ἐπ[ι]με[λ]ητ[ά]ς.

IG II² 1140 (c.386/5 BC) 15-19

ἐνγρ[άψ]ο[ι] / [τ]οὺς ἐπιμελητὰς

IG II² 1144 (early 4C BC) 6-11

ἐπιμελητ[α]ῖ / [σ]τήλῃν λιθίνῃν / [ἐπιγράψαντ]ο[ι]

IG II² 1147 (after mid 4C BC) 11-13

ἀναγρ[άψαι] / το[ὺς] ἐπιμελητὰς ἐν στήλῃ | [λιθίν]η[ι]

IG II² 1148 (after mid 4C BC) 11-16

[ἀναγράψαι] / [ἐν στήλῃ λι]θίνει / [εἰς δ]ὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τ[ι]τ[ῆς
στήλης δῶναι] τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς — 9 — δρ[αχμ]άς.

IG II² 1157 (326/5 BC) 11-15

ἀναγρ[άψαι] / τοὺς ἐπ[ι]μελητὰς / [ἐν στήλῃ] [ι]θίν[η]

IG II² 1163 (c.288/7 BC) 22-28

ἀναγράψαι / τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς τῆς φυλῆς ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις ...

IG II² 1277 (c.278/7 BC) 3-6, 33-36

ἀναγράψαι / τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς / ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ

IG II² 1319 (end 3C BC) 11-14

ἀναγρά[ψαι τοὺς ἐπιμελη]τὰς / [ἐν στήλῃ] λ[ιθίν]η

IG II² 1327 (c.178/7 BC) 26-29

ἀ[να]γράψαι / ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνει | [τοὺς] ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ στήσαι
ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ, τὸ δὲ | ἀνάλωμα τὸ τε εἰς τὸν πίνακα
γενόμενον καὶ εἰς | τὴν στήλῃν μερίσαι ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ.

IG V,2 510 (3/e2C BC) 7-9

γρά[ψαι] δὲ καὶ τὸς ἐπ[ι]μελητὰς / ἐν χάλκω[μ]α

IG V,2 511 (undated) 10-12

γράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸς ἐπιμελητὰς / ἐν χάλκωμα

IPark 9 (c.350-340 BC) 3, 16-21

οἱ σταλογράφοι / ἐπιμελητὰς

SEG 23:78 (361/0 BC) 8-12 (Reinmuth, EI 1)

ἀνα[γ]ο[γράφ]οι τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς / [προσγράψαι δὲ καὶ(?)]

[ὁ] ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα (*secretary in charge of decrees*)

Ag.15:34 (323/2 BC) C3-4

ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα· | Δημόφιλος Πανταλέοντος Ἀγρυλῆθεν

Ag.15:43 (335/4 BC) 230

ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα Κρίτων Ἐρξιδίκου Μαραθώνιος

Ag.15:58 (305/4 BC) 83-84

ἐπ[ὶ] τὰ ψηφίσματα | Λυ[—] c.11 —]νος Δειρα

Ag.15:62 (303/2 BC) 200-203

[ἐ]π[ὶ] τὰ ψηφίσματα | [Δ]ωρόθεος [— c.6 —]ος | [Π]αλλη[νε]ύς

Ag.15:243 (135/4 BC) 36t

ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα Δε[ι]νίαν Ἐπικηφίσιον

Ag.15:244 (135/4 BC) 5

[ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα Δεινί]αν Ἐπικηφίσιον

Ag.15:246 (131/0 BC) 35

[ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα — — —]

Ag.15:259 (97/6 BC) 85-96

ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα [α] Ἐξηκίας [Ε]λευ[σίνιος] — c.4 —]

Ag.15:260 (early 1C BC) 28-29

[— καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσ]ματα [Τιμοκλῆ]ν

Ag.15:261 (95/4 BC) 59

[ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα — c.21 —]

IG II² 223 (343/2 BC) C3-4, B4-6

ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα· | Δημόφιλος Πανταλέοντος Ἀγρυλῆθεν

IG II² 1700 (335/4 BC) 216

ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα Κρίτων Ἐρξιδίκου Μαραθώνιος

[ὁ] ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον (*secretary for that which cannot be mentioned*)

Ag.15:243 (135/4 BC) 36u	ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον Ἡλιόδωρον Παιαν[ιέα]
Ag.15:244 (135/4 BC) 7	[ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον Ἡλιόδ]ωρον Παιανιέα·
Ag.15:259 (97/6 BC) 90	[— c.12 —· ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπ]όρρητον Φιλωνίδης Αφιδ[ν]αῖος·
Ag.15:260 (start 1C BC) 29-30	[τὸν ἐπὶ τὸ] [ἀ]πόρρητον Δι[— —]
Ag.15:261 (95/4 BC) 60	[τ]ὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον Σίδωνα Λακιά [δην]
SEG 21:466 (135/4 BC) 6-7	τὸν] [ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον Ἡλιόδ]ωρον Παιανιέα·
SEG 40:117 (131/0 BC) 38	[ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον — —]

[ὁ] ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους (*secretary for the laws*)

Ag.15:53 (324/3 BC) 19-21	ἐπὶ τοὺς νό[μους] Εἰρηνοκλῆ[ς —] Ἀθμονεύ[ς]
Ag.15:58 (305/4 BC) 78-79	ἐπὶ τ[οὺς νόμους] Δημ[— — —]
Ag.15:62 (303/2 BC) 235-6	ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους Φάϋλλος Φαίακος Ἑσπαιοθέν
Ag.15:259 (97/6 BC) 92-93	ἐπὶ το[ύς] νό[μους — c.6 —]

ἔφορος (*ephor*)

IG V,1 931 (after 146 BC) 34-37	[ἀναγράψαι] / εἰς .στ[άλαν λιθίναν τοὺς] ἐφόρους
IG V,1 962 (undated) 31-38 (Emprunt 25)	ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὰν προξενίαν ταύταν τοὺς ἐφόρους
IG V,1 965 (2C BC) 16-20	τὰν δὲ προξενί[αν] ταύταν ἀναγραφάντω οἱ ἔφοροι
IG V,1 1110 (after 146 BC) 9-16	τὰ[ν δὲ προξενί]]αν ταύτα[ν ἀναγράψαι] τοὺς ἐφό[ρους]
IG V,1 1111 (after 146 BC) 26, 34-38	τὰν [δὲ] προξενίαν ταύταν ἀναγραφάντ[ω τοῖ ἔφο]]ροι
IG V,1 1113 (undated) 9-13	τὰν δὲ προξενίαν ταύταν τῶς ἐφόρ<ω>ς ἀναγράψαι
IG V,1 1114 (1C BC) 2-4, 27-30	[ἐγδότησαν] [δὲ οἱ] ἔφοροι στάλαν λιθίναν κα[ὶ ἀναγραφάν]] [τὼ τὸ ψάφισμα] καὶ θέντω εἰς τὰ[ν] ἀ[γορ]ὰ[ν εἰς] [τὸν ἐπιφανέστατ]ον τόπον
IG V,1 1144 (c.80 BC) 20-21, 33-36	οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι οἱ ἐπὶ Κλεάνορος τούτου τοῦ νόμου ἀντίγραφον εἰστάλαν λιθίναν γρά[ψαντες] ...
IG V,1 1145 (70 BC) 4-5, 10, 44-51	...τὰν δὲ προξενίαν ταύ[ταν οἱ ἔφο]]ροι οἱ ἐπὶ στραταγοῦ Βιάδα ἀναγράψαν[τες εἰς] [στ]άλαν λιθίναν...
IG V,1 1146 (71/70 BC) 51, 52-54 (Emprunt 24)	ἀναγραφάντω δὲ οἱ ἔφοροι οἱ ἐπὶ Νικα[ρετίδα] τούτων τ[ῶν] φ[ι]λαν[θρώ]πων <ἀντίγραφον> εἰς στάλαν λιθίναν ...
IG V,1 1336 (undated) 17-22	ἀναγράψαι δὲ τοὺς ἐφόρους / τὰν προξενίαν / γράψαι δὲ καὶ ἀντίγραφον τᾶς προ[ξ]ενίας
SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 14-15, 24-36	καὶ οἱ μετὰ Μενέ [σ]τρατον ἔφοροι εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ γραπτὰν / Γραψάντω δὲ καὶ οἱ νομογράφοι / Ἀναγραφάντω δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ψάφισ[μα] οἱ ἔφοροι]

ἱερεὺς (*priest*)

IG II ² 1237 (396/5 BC) 1-3, 18-26, 61-68, 106-108, 116-126	τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε προσαναγ[ραψάτω] ὁ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὴν στήλην τὴν λι[θίνην] / <i>phratriarch</i> / [δὲ καὶ τὸν ἱερέα] ἀναγράψαντα ἐν σανιδί[ωι λευκῶι]...
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κατακόος (*katakoos*)

IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 2-26, 193-4 (IG V,2 357)	<i>gropheus</i> / καὶ τῷ κατακόω εἰσδόντω τὰν ζα[μ] ίαν τοῖς ἀρχουσιν
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κατάλογος βουλῶν (*katalogos boulas*)

IG IV ² ,1 49 (4/3C BC) 1-15	κατάλογος βουλῶν Ἀρι στίων Ἐριλαΐς
IG IV ² ,1 51 (4C BC) 14	κατάλογος βου[λ]ῶς·
IG IV ² ,1 53 (4C BC) 12-13	κατάλογο]ς βουλῶς [c.8] Μελκιδών.
IG IV ² ,1 54 (4C BC) 9-10	κατάλογος βουλῶς <i>vac.</i> Αἰσ[χ]ίνας Ναυφεΐς.
IG IV ² ,1 58 (4/3C BC) 4-5 & 12-14	κατάλογος βουλῶ[ς] Τιμοκράτης Παγασίνα.
IG IV ² ,1 96 (c.300-250 BC) 44-50	ἐπὶ καταλόγων βουλῶς ἐπὶ τῆς τελείας ...
Peek NI 11 (undated) 14	[καταλόγος βουλῶς...]
Peek NI 12 (undated) 9	[καταλόγ]ος βο[υ]λῶς — —]
Peek NI 13 (undated) 11-13	καταλ[ό] [γ]ος βουλῶς Ἰλαρος [Πλει]άτιος.
Peek NI 15 (2C BC?) 14	[ἐπὶ καταλό]γων βουλῶς Οἴτας Παγασίδ[α εἶπεν]·
SEG 11:413 (mid 3C) 24	ἐπὶ καταλόγου βου[λας
SEG 26:445 (c.350 BC) 17-20	κατα λόγος βουλῶς Νίκαιος Πολιτάδος

κήρυξ (*herald*)

IG IV ² ,1 83 (40-42 AD) 7, 14-19	τὸν δὲ κήρυκα Λυσιάδην γρά [ψ]αι τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίων πόλει...
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νομογράφος (*nomographos*)

IG IV 679 (late 3/2 BC) 4-13, 23-31	τοὺς δὲ νομογράφους / κατα[χ]ω ρίσαι τοῦτο <τὸ> δόγμα εἰς τοὺς [νόμους]. / <i>With damiorgoi</i>
IG IV ² ,1 73 (after 224 BC) 1-36	νομογράφοι Ἀχαιῶν οἱ τὸν νόμον ταῖ Ὑγιεῖαι θέντες / γραμματε[ύς — —]
IG V,1 7 (3C BC) 1-10	γ[ραφ]άν[τ]ω δὲ καὶ οἱ καταστα[θέντες νομο]γ[ράφοι νόμον περὶ τούτων·
IG V,2 24 (1C BC or after) 4-5	γραψάτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ νομογ[ράφοι νόμον περὶ τούτων.
IG V,2 433 (early 2C BC) 4, 6-11 (IPArk 30)	μήτε νομογράφος μήτε γ[ραμμα]τοφύλαξ]...
I.Magn 38 (207/6 BC) 38-53 [Magnesia 44] (SIG ³ 559)	οἱ νομογράφοι / γράψαν τες
SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 14-15, 24-36	καὶ οἱ μετὰ Μενέ [σ]τρατον ἔφοροι εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ γραπτὰν / Γραψάντω δὲ καὶ οἱ νομογράφοι / Ἀναγραψάντω δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ψάφισ[μα οἱ ἔφοροι
SEG 48:470 (115-138 AD) 5	νομ(ο)γρ[[-c.18-]]
SEG 52:447 (c.190-180 BC) 31	ν[ο]μογράφους τοὺς ἐπὶ Προξένου...
SEG 52:541 (3C BC?) 4-7	νομογράφων Δαμοκρά της Λαφρίου·
SIG ³ 684 (144 AD) 1-2, 6-11, 16-27	<i>grammateus of the syndrion</i> , Τιμόθεον δὲ Νικέα τὸν μετὰ τοῦ Σώσου [γεγονό]τα νομογράφον

[ὁ] περὶ τὸ βῆμα ([*ho*] *peri to bema*, secretary 'in attendance' or 'at the platform')

Ag. 15:312 (96/97 AD) 43-44	περὶ τὸ βῆμα Βούλων Μοιραγένους
Ag. 15:410 (185/6 AD) 7, 11	[γραμματεὺς βο]υλῆς Φλ Βάκχιος / [περὶ τὸ βῆμα] Ἑρμόδωρος Θερμ[— —]
IG II ² 1077 (209/10 AD) 2-3, III.38, III.47-50 (Ag. 15:460)	περὶ τὸ βῆμα Ῥόδων Καλλίστου Μαραθ
IG II ² 1759 (90-100 AD) 43-44 (Ag.15:312)	περὶ τὸ βῆμα Βούλων Μοιραγένους Φυλάσιος
IG II ² 1806 (190-200 AD) 20 (Ag.15:424)	περὶ τὸ βῆμα Ἐπι[— — —]

IG II² 1815 (c.200 AD) II.13

περὶ τὸ [βῆμα — — —]

SEG 32:196 (c.200 AD) 1

[π]ερὶ τὸ [βῆμα — — —]

σταλογράφος (*stalographos*)

IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 3, 16-21

οἱ σταλογράφοι / ἐπιμελητὰς

στρατηγός (*strategos*)

IG V,2 16 (218 BC) 7-9

καὶ ἀνγράψαντας τὸ ψάφισμα | τόδε τὸς στραταγὸς τὸς περὶ
Στρατέαν | εἰς στάλαν

συγγραμματεὺς (*syngrammateus*)

Also the forms συγγραμματεὺς and χσυγγραμματεὺς

See also *grammateus* and *syngrammateus of the eisagogeis* (pages 273 and 282) and *syngrammateus of the epistatai* (page 282).

IG I³ 269 (443/2 BC) 1, 36

Σάτυρος Λευκονοεὺς χσυνεγραμ[μάτευε

IG I³ 270 (442/1 BC) 1-2

Σά[τυρος] Λευκονοεὺς συνε[γραμμάτευε]·

συγγραμματεὺς τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν (*syngrammateus of the eisagogeis*)

IG I³ 71 (425/4 BC) 2-3, 7-8, 21-22

τού[τος] δὲ [ἠελέσθαι καὶ γραμμα]τέα καὶ χσυ[γγραμμάτεα] ἔχ
σφὼν αὐτ[ῶν]·

συγγραμματεὺς τῶν ἐπιστάτῶν (*syngrammateus of the epistatai*)

IG I³ 437 (447/6-433/2 BC) 38

χο[ῖς] Ἀντικλῆς χσυνεγραμμάτευε]

IG I³ 440 (447/6-433/2 BC) 114-5

ἐπιστάται κ]αὶ /χοῖς] Ἀν[τικλῆς χσυνεγραμμά]τ[τευε]

IG I³ 442 (447/6-433/2 BC) 171

Τε[ιθράσιος] ἐπιστάται /χοῖς] Ἀντικλῆς χσυνεγραμμάτευε]·

IG I³ 444 (447/6-433/2 BC) 240

[ἐπιστάται /χοῖς] Ἀντικλῆς χσυνεγραμμάτευε]·

IG I³ 445 (447/6-433/2 BC) 287

[ἐπιστάται /χοῖς] Ἀντικλῆς χσυνεγρ[αμμάτευε]

IG I³ 446 (447/6-433/2 BC) 312-314

[τοῖς] ἐπιστάτεσι /χοῖς] Ἀντ[ικλῆς χσυ]νεγραμμάτευ[ε]

IG I³ 447 (447/6-433/2 BC) 345

[τοῖς] ἐπιστάτεσι /χοῖς] Ἀντικλῆς ἐ[γγραμμάτευε]...

IG I³ 448 (447/6-433/2 BC) 366

[ἐπιστάτεσι /χοῖς] Ἀντικλ[ῆς] ἐγγραμμάτε[υε] ...

IG I³ 449 (447/6-433/2 BC) 369-70

τοῖς ἐπιστάτεσι /χοῖς] | Ἀντικλῆς ἐγγραμμάτευ[ε]....

IG I³ 450 (447/6-433/2 BC) 410-412

[τ]οῖς ἐπιστάτεσι /χο[ῖς] Ἀντικλῆς ἐγγραμ[μάτευε] :

συνγραφεὺς (*syngrapheus*)

Also the forms συγγραφεὺς and χσυγγραφεὺς

IG I³ 21 (450/49 BC) 1-3

[Μι]λεσί[οις χσυγ]γρ[αφαί]· / [χοι] χ]συνγγρα[φεὺς
χσυνέγραφσαν]·

IG I³ 35 (c.448 BC) 6-8, 12-14, 16-18

Καλλικράτες χσυγγράφει·

IG I³ 78a 2-4 (IG I² 76, c.422 BC)

Τιμοτέ[ι] [λες] ἐ[γγραμμάτευε] / τάδε οἱ χσυγγραφεὺς
χσυνέ[γρ]αφσαν·

IG II² 3806 (end 2CAD) 1-3
IG II² 5506 (117-138 AD) 1-3
I.Patras 364 (mid 2CAD) 13-14

ταμίας (*treasurer*)

IG I³ 4 (485/4 BC) B3-4 & 23-25
IG II² 109 (363/2 BC) fr.b.24-29
IG II² 1078 (c.220 AD) 39-43
IG II² 1176 (c.360 BC) 5-6, 18-21
IG II² 1335 (102/1 BC) 2-14
IG II² 2492 (345/4 BC) 20-24, 38-39
IG IV 755 (3C BC) 9-11
IG V,1 1226 (2/1C BC) 17-21
IG V,1 1227 (undated) 2-7
SEG 26:121 (10/9-3/2 BC) 14, 16-17
SEG 36:186 (313/2 BC) 5-6, 11-12
(MDAI(A) 66:218,1 (313/2 BC) 10-11)

ὕπηρέτης (*hyperetes*)

Ag.15:37 (343/2 BC) 1-4
IG II² 1710 (beg. 2C BC) 6-11
SEG 21:587 (beg. 2C BC) 12-19

Πομπηιανὸν Κο[λ]λυτέα τὸν συγγραφέα
Μόσχος ἡερμέροτος καὶ | Δορίδος ἡαλαιεύς ἡο | συγγραφεύς.
ταμίαν Σικελίας, τὸν συγγραφέα. (*Historian.*)

γρά[φσα]σθαι : τὸς ταμί[ας] / ταμίαι : τὰ ἐν τοῖ λί[θοι]
γεγραμμένα].
εἰς [δὲ] τ[ὴν] ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλ[ης] δ[ό]ναι τὸν τα[μ]ίαν τὸ
δήμο...
ἀναγράψαι / τὸν [τα]μία[ν] τ[οῦ] γέ[ν]ους τῶν Εὐμολιδῶν ἐν
τρισίν [στή]λαις ...
ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν δήμαρχον καὶ τοὺς ταμίας ἀντί[γραφα] τῶν
συνθηκῶν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην / παραγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸ | ὄνομα...
ταμίας καὶ | γραμματεὺς | καὶ ἐπιμελητῆς | Δωρόθεος Ὁάθεν.
τὴν δὲ μίσθωσιν ἀναγράψαντας εἰς τήλας λιθίνας τοὺς ταμίας
τοὺς ἐπὶ Δημοσθένους δημάρχου {ς}...
[τὸ δὲ δόγμα τόδε τοὺς ταμί]ας ἀνθέμεν ἐν σ[τά]λλ[αι]
γεγραμμένον ...]
[τὰν] | [δ]ὲ [π]ρ[ο]ς <ε>[ν]ί[αν] ταύταν ἀνα[γρ]α<ψάτω> ὁ
ταμίας εἰς [στά]λλ[αν] λιθίναν]
τὰν δὲ | προξενίαν ταύταν ἀνα[γρ]αψάτω ὁ ταμίας εἰς στάλλαν
λιθίναν
[ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν ταμίαν τῆς ἱερᾶς διατάξεως ἐν στήλαιν
λιθίναιν δυοῖν]
ἀναγράψαι/ τοὺς ταμί[ας] ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ

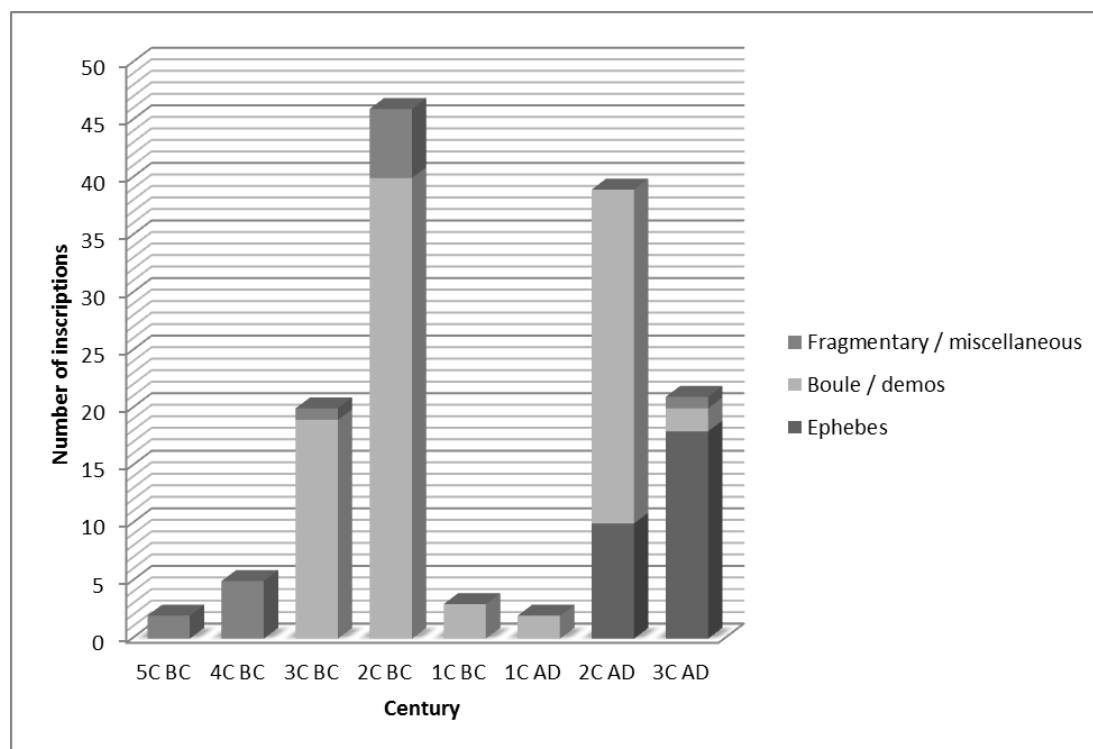
ὕπηρέτης : Μητρόδ[ωρ]ος] *The hyperetes as possible
replacement to the antigrapheus.*

grammateus klerotos, grammateus hairetos, ὕπηρέτης |
Νουμίν<ι>ος Δημητρίου Παλληνεύς

grammateus klerotos, grammateus hairetos, [ὕπηρέτ]ης | — χου

ὑπογραμματεὺς (*hypogrammateus*)

The following graph and table show the number of surviving inscriptions containing the word *hypogrammateus* by century and type.



	5C BC	4C BC	3C BC	2C BC	1C BC	1C AD	2C AD	3C AD
Fragmentary / misc.	2	5	1	6	0	0	0	1
Boule / demos	0	0	19	40	3	2	29	2
Ephebes	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	18
Total	2	5	20	46	3	2	39	21

Figure 7 – Athenian inscriptions containing a *hypogrammateus*.¹⁵³⁵

ABSA 26 C1 (1st half 2CAD) II.4-7

Ag.15:85 (256/5 BC) 4-5 & 92-103

Ag.15:86 (256/5 BC) 9-20 83-120

Ag.15:89 (254/3 BC) 31-40

Ag.15:99 (c.250 BC) 4-6

Ag.15:115 (235/4 BC) 22-37

Ag.15:126 (after 225 BC) 1-6

Ag.15:127 (223/2 BC) 1-7

Officers including Ὑπογρ(αμματεὺς) Θέλγων (Θέλγοντος).

Boule honour τ[ὸ]ν ὑπογραμματέα | [Ε]<π>ικλῆν *in corona*

Boule honour τὸν ὑπογρ[αμματέα] | Ἐπικλῆν | Καλλιμάχο | Ἴφιστιά *in corona*

Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Νικόμαχον Νίκωνος Γαργήτιον *and other officers*

Officers including [τὸν ὑπογρ][αμματέα — —]

Boule honour τὸν ὑπογρ[αμματέα — — —] *and other officers*

Officers including [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα]

Officers including [τ]ὸν [ύ]π[ο]γρ[αμματέα] Τιμοκράτην Κυ][δαθηναίεα]

¹⁵³⁵ Totals do not include decrees which are copies of others.

Ag.15:128 (223/2 BC) 51-63 (SEG 28:65 58-63 (IG II ² 917+Ag. 15.128))	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Τιμοκράτην Τιμοκράτου Κυ[δαθηναίᾳ καὶ] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:129 (222/1 BC) 48-58	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμ[ματέα Λάνομον] [Βερενικίδην·] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:130 (220/19 BC) 47-58, 128-149	<i>Boule honour</i> τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Ονήσιμον Ἥγησιου Πρασιάε <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:132 (215/4 BC) 9-22	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα — c.17 —] Φυλάσιον
Ag.15:145 (end 3C BC) 2-5	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα — c. 15 —] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:158 (beg. 2C BC) 1-9	<i>Officers including</i> τὸν ὑπογραμματέα —]ικον.
Ag.15:160 (beg. 2C BC) 5-7	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα — —] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:162 (beg. 2C BC) 6-17	<i>Boule honour</i> [— καὶ τὸν ὑπο][γρα]μματέα Σωσ[—] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:168 (193/2 BC) 35-47	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Εὐθ]ύμαχον Ἐργοχάρου ἐκ [Κεραμέων] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:170 (190/89 BC) 7-16, 109-112	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Δημήτριον Κτήσωνος Προβαλίσιον] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:173 (189/8 BC) 11-20	<i>Boule honour</i> τὸν ὑπογραμ[ματέα ..] [— c.14 —] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:179 (185/4 BC) 25-36	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμμα]τέ[α] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:187 (180/79 BC) 16-30	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμ]ματέα Αρ[— c.17 —] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:189 (180 BC) 4-11	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα — c.15 —] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:191 (after 178/7 BC) 2-11	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν] ὑπογραμ[ματέα] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:193 (after 178/7 BC) 1-11	<i>Officers including</i> [τὸν ὑ]πογραμ[ματέα] — c.18 —]
Ag.15:194 (178/7 BC) 34-42	<i>Boule honour</i> τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Δημοκράτην Διφίλου Χο[ι]λαργέα <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:204 (176/5-170/69 BC) 2-17	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα] [Λυσίμ]αχον Ἀριστοκράτου Ἀφιδνα[ῖον] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:205 (176/5-170/69 BC) 6-16	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Λυσίμαχον] [Ἀριστοκράτου Ἀφιδναῖον] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:206 (173/2 BC) 53-65	<i>Boule honour</i> τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Φιλ[ι]αχαρνέα <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:212 (169/8 BC) 48-60	<i>Boule honour</i> τ[ὸν] ὑπογραμματέα Λ[.] ον Ἀλαιέα <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:213 (168/7 BC) 8-20	<i>Boule honour</i> ὑπογραμματέα Ἡ[γέ]λοχον [Ἀζηνία] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:216 (166/5 BC) 10-21	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Μνήσαρχον] Ἐπαμείνωνος Προβαλίσιον <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:217 (167/6-165/4 BC) 7-18	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμματ]έα — c.30 —] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:220 (164/3 BC) 48-61	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπο][γρα]μματέα — 14? —] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:221 (164/3 BC) 3-14	<i>Boule honour</i> τὸν ὑπογραμ[ματέα] —] [α] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:222 (161-60 BC) 9-16	<i>Boule honour</i> τὸν ὑπογραμ[ματέα] — — —] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:226 (155 BC) 5-16	<i>Boule honour</i> τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Δημόνθην [— c.8 — Λαμπρέα] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:239 (145/4 BC) 5-17	<i>Boule honour</i> τὸν ὑπογραμματέα — c.20 —] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:240 (140/39 BC) 45-55	<i>Boule honour</i> τὸν ὑπογραμματέα ν Χαιρητίδην Κορυδαλλέα <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:243 (135/4 BC) 36l-36y	<i>Boule honour</i> τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Καλλ[ί][αν — — —] Ἀτηνέα] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:246 (131/0 BC) 29-37	<i>Boule honour</i> [— καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα —] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:247 (130 BC) 7-14	<i>Officers including</i> [τὸν] ὑπο[γρα]μματέα —]

Ag.15:261 (95/94 BC) 51-65	<i>Boule honour</i> τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Εὐμαχον [— c.16 —] <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:290 (29/8-22/1 BC) 56-60	<i>Officers including</i> ὁ ὑπογραμμα τέα Πτολε μαῖον ννν [Μ]ένανδρος Μεν [άνδρου] Ἀλαιοῦς
Ag.15:311 (end 1 CAD) 4-10	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογραμματεὺς Νεικόμαχος [— — —]
Ag.15:367 (165/6 AD) 1-12	<i>Officers including</i> [ὑπ(ο)]γραμματαῦς Εἰσίδοτος Ὁ [Μα]ρθώ[νιος]
Ag.15:369 (166/7 AD) 53-66	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογραμματεῦς [Εἰσίδοτος ἐπὶ Σκιάδος Αφροδίσ]ιος
Ag.15:372 (168/9 AD) 31-40	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογραμματεῦς Εἰσίδοτος Ὁ Μα[ρ]θα(θώνιος) ἐπὶ Σκιάδος Ἰού
Ag.15:378 (169/70 AD) 42-45, 60-72	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογραμ[ματεῦς] Μύρων.
Ag.15:381 (169/70 AD) 1-8	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογραμ[ματεῦς] Μύρων Λ[αμπ]ρεῦς
Ag.15:386 (173/4 AD) 1-10	<i>Officers including</i> [ὑπ]ογραμματαῖς Μύρων Λαμπ[τρ]εῦς
Ag.15:402 (180/1 AD) 29-41	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογραμματεῦς Μύρων Ὁ Λαμπ[τρ]εῦς
Ag.15:406 (182/3 AD) 53-63	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογραμματαῦς Μύρων Ὁ Λαμπ[τρ]εῦς
Ag.15:412 (184/5 AD) 1-7	<i>Officers including</i> [ὑπογρα]μματαῖς [Δη]μήτριος [— — —] εἰνος [Γα]ργ[ή]τιος
Ag.15:410 (185/6 AD) 3-12	<i>Officers including</i> [ὑπογραμματαῖς] Πρωτογένης
Ag.15:411 (186/7 AD) 23-42	<i>Officers including</i> [ὑπογραμ]μα[τεῦς] [— — —]
Ag.15:414 (187/8 AD) 1-11	<i>Officers including</i> [ὑπογραμματαῖς] — — —]ρ <i>vacat</i>
Ag.15:415 (188/9 AD) 1-6	<i>Officers including</i> [ὑπο]γραμ[μα]τεῖς — — —]
Ag.15:417 (188/9 AD) 1-9	<i>Officers including</i> [ὑπογραμματαῖς] — — —]
Ag.15:419 (188/9 AD) 43-51	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογ[ρα]μματαῖς Πρωτογένης
Ag.15:420 (190/91 AD) 13-29	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογ<ρ>αμματα<υ>ς [— — —]
Ag.15:442 (198/9 AD) 1-11	<i>Officers including</i> [ὑπογραμματαῖς] Μηνόφιλος
Ag.15:443 (c.198 AD) 22-33	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπ(ο)γ(ραμματαῖς) Μηνόφιλος Παραμόνου
Ag.15:445 (c.200 AD) 10-17	<i>Officers including</i> ἐπὶ Σκιάδος — —] [ὑ]π[ο]γραμματαῖς — —]
Hesp. 16:161,58 (c.200-37 BC) 1-6	<i>Officers including</i> τὸν ὑπογραμματέα [— — — —]στο[—]
Hesp. 16:161,59 (2C BC) 1-3	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογραμματεῖς [— — — —]
Hesp. 79:418,1 (165/6 AD) 1-4 (Corinth I 2649)	ὑπογραμ[μα]τεῖς Εἰσίδοτος Ὁ Μ[α]ρ(θώνιος) ἀντιγραφεὺς Ν[—
IG I ³ 476 (408/7 BC) 61-2, 268-9	ὑπογραμματαῖ Πυργίον ι ἡοτρυνεῖ : ΔΔΔ <i>Erechtheum accounts.</i>
IG II ² 678 (276/5 BC) 51-52	τ[ὸ]ν ὑπογραμματέα — — σικλῆν
IG II ² 848 (219/18 BC) 33-46	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπ]ογρα[μ]ματέα Ἐπ — —] <i>and other officers</i>
IG II ² 876 (end 3C BC) 2-4	<i>Boule fragment</i> [Σ]ημαχ[ί]δ[η]ν [τὸ]ν ὑπογραμ<μ>ατέα
IG II ² 912 (after 200 BC) 10-20 (Ag.15:138)	<i>Boule honour</i> [ὑπογραμματαῖς — — — Ἀλε]ξάνδρου Ῥαμουσίον <i>and other officers</i>
IG II ² 913 (c.200 BC) 1-11, 32-37 (Ag.15:137)	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπο]γ[ρα]μματαῖς Τιμοκλῆν Με[— c.7 — Κικυννέα.]
IG II ² 914 (c.200 BC) 2-11	<i>Officers including</i> [τὸν ὑ]π[ο]γραμματαῖς[α — —]
IG II ² 915 (c.200 BC) 17-29, III.30-35	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμματαῖς Π]ρωτομένην (Ag.15:147) Εἰταῖον <i>and other officers</i>
IG II ² 918 (beg. 2C BC) 4-15 (Ag.15:214)	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμματαῖς — — — Ἀζ]ηνιέα <i>and other officers</i>
IG II ² 952 (161-60 BC) 9-15	<i>Boule honour</i> τὸν ὑπογραμ[μα]τέα — — — <i>and other officers</i>
IG II ² 972 (140 BC) 2-13	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμ]μα[τέα] [— — —] <i>and other officers</i>
IG II ² 1059 (beg. 1C BC) 1-9	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογραμματαῖς Πάτρων <i>vac.</i> Φιλήμονος λειτουργοῦν[τες]
IG II ² 1077 (209/10 AD) III.38-56 (Ag.15:460)	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογραμματαῖς Μηνόφιλος Παραμόνου

IG II ² 1484 (306/5 BC) 1-11	<i>Treasurers of Athena and</i> ὑπογραμματαῖς —8— ταμίαις τοῖς ἐπὶ [Κ]οροίβου ἄρχοντος —
IG II ² 1561 (330 BC) 32	<i>Manumission.</i> ὑπογραμματαῖς, [ἀποφυγών] Πρόξενον ..λ — — —, φιά[λη]ν [σταθμόν :Η]·
IG II ² 1635 (374-3 BC) 2-6, 49-50, 74-5	<i>Athenian amphictyons:</i> [καὶ Ἀμφικτ]ύουσιν εἰς τὰ [ἐπιτή]δεα καὶ γ[ραμματεῖ καὶ ὑπογραμματαῖ][τεῖ ..5..]ΔΔΔ· / Ἀμφικτύουσιν Ἀθηναίων εἰς [τ]ήδε[α καὶ γραμματεῖ κα][ῖ] ὑ]πογραμματαῖ ΧΧΠΗΠΓΗ-Η-·
IG II ² 1703 (4C BC?) 4-7	<i>Fragment</i> ὑπ[ογραμματαῖς]
IG II ² 1708 (beg. 2C BC) 7-10	<i>Fragment</i> [ὑ]πογραμματαῖα — — ὦρον Ἀχαρνέα
IG II ² 1709 (beg. 2C BC) 1-9	<i>Fragment</i> ὑπογραμματαῖς Ἀντίγο[νος]
IG II ² 1711 (mid. 2C BC) 6-19	<i>klerotos & hairetos grammateus,</i> ὑπογραμματαῖς Ζωπυρίων Τέχωνος Προβαλίσιος
IG II ² 1758 (med 1CAD) 3-8	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογραμματαῖς Πάτρων Φιλήμονος λειτουργοῦντ —
IG II ² 1773 (166/7 AD) 53-65	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογραμματαῖς —5— ιος
IG II ² 1774 (167/8 AD) 7-9, 58-59, 62, 68-77 (Ag.15:371)	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπο<γ>ρ<α>ματαῖς Εἰσίδοτος ἐπὶ Σκιάδος Ἀφροδίσιος.
IG II ² 1775 (168/9 AD) 38-50 (Ag.15:373)	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογραμ<μ>ατεῖς [Ε]ἰσίδοτος ἐπὶ [Σκιά]δος Ζ[ώσιμ]ος?
IG II ² 1776 (169/70 AD) 41-45, 58-71,	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογραμ[ματαῖς] Μύρων.
IG II ² 1794 (c.180 AD) 29-41	<i>Officers including</i> ἐπὶ [Σκιάδος] Ἑρμείας Ὁ Ἀ<ζη>νιεύς ὑπογραμματαῖς Μύρων Ὁ Λαμπρεύς.
IG II ² 1795 (c.180 AD) 31-57 (Ag.15:407)	<i>Officers including</i> ἐπὶ Σκιάδος Ἑρμείας Ἀζηνιεύς [ὑ]πογραμματαῖς Μύρων.
IG II ² 1798 (c.180 AD) 13-29	<i>Officers including</i> ἐ<π>ί [Σκιά]δος <Ἑ>ρ<μ>είας Ὁ Ἀζηνιεύς[ς] ὑπο<γ>ραμ<μ>ατ<ε>ύς — —
IG II ² 1815 (c.200 AD?) II.10-17	<i>Officers including</i> [ὑ]π[ογραμματαῖς] — — —]
IG II ² 2049 (142/3 AD) 11-14	<i>Ephebes, grammateus and</i> ὑπογραμματαῖς Σωκράτης Σκαμβῶ
IG II ² 2086 (163/4 AD) 132-3	<i>Ephebes, grammateus and</i> ὑπογραμματαῖς· Ὀνήσιμος Διομήδης
IG II ² 2091/2 (after mid. 2CAD) 4-7	<i>Fragment</i> [γ]ραμματεῖς — — —] Εἰσι[δ]ότο[υ — — —] ὑπογραμματαῖς — — —] Μελι[τεῖς]
IG II ² 2094 (166/7 AD) 125	<i>Ephebes</i> ὑπ[ο]γραμματαῖς· Ἡρακλέων Τιμοκράτους Θορί[κιος]
IG II ² 2099 (163/4-169/70 AD) 29-42	<i>Ephebes, grammateus and</i> ὑπο[γραμματαῖς] — ὁδωρος —
IG II ² 2113 (183/4-191/2AD) 13-14, 32-33	<i>Ephebes</i> γραμματεῖς διὰ βίου Στράτων Κιθαιρῶνος Ἀχαρ / [ὑ]πογραμματαῖς [Κιθ]αιρ[ών] Ὁ Ἀχαρ
IG II ² 2130 (192/3 AD) 7-8, 33-44	<i>Ephebes</i> γραμματεῖς διὰ βίου ἱερεὺς Στράτων Ἀχαρ τὸ δι' / ὑπογραμματαῖς Πο Αἴλ Ἄνθος [Ἡ]ρεσί
IG II ² 2131 (192/3 AD) 2-7	<i>Ephebes</i> ὑπογραμ[ματαῖς] Πο Αἴλ Ἄνθος vac.
IG II ² 2144 (2CAD) 4-6	<i>Ephebes</i> [ὑπογραμ]ματαῖς Φλ Ἄνθιμο[ς]
IG II ² 2193 (c.200 AD) 32-93 esp. 35, 87-88	<i>Ephebes</i> γραμματεῖς διὰ βίου· ἱερεὺς Στράτων Κιθαιρῶνος Ἀχαρ / ὑπογραμματαῖς Αἴλ Εὐχάριστος Σφήτιος
IG II ² 2201 (after 200 AD) 26-31	<i>Ephebes, grammateus and</i> ὑπογραμματαῖς — — —]
IG II ² 2203 (c.200 AD) 2-3, 27-28	<i>Ephebes,</i> γραμματεῖς]οντος διὰ βίου Στράτων[ος τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος Ἀχαρνέως / ὑπογραμματαῖς Μηνῶδωρος Ἀγαθοκλέους
IG II ² 2208 (212/3AD or later) 11, 37-38	<i>Ephebes,</i> γραμματεῖοντος διὰ βίου· ἱερ· Στράτωνος τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος Ἀχαρ, / ὑπογραμματαῖς Ἰούλιος Ἀριστείδης Ἀχαρ
IG II ² 2223 (218/9 AD or later) 14-15, 34-35	<i>Ephebes</i> γραμματεῖς δι[ι]ὰ βίου· Σύντροφος Εὐκ[αρπίδου] ἐκ Κοίλης / ὑπογραμ[μ]ατεῖς Ὀνήσιμος [Εὐ]καρπίδου ἐκ Κοί
IG II ² 2225 (218/9 AD) 4-5	<i>Ephebes,</i> ὑ[πο]γραμματαῖς Ὀνήσιμος [Εὐκαρπίδου] ἐκ Κοίλης
IG II ² 2226 (218/9 AD) 34-36	<i>Ephebes,</i> [ὑ]πογραμματαῖς Ὀν[ήσιμ]ος [Εὐκαρπίδου] ἐκ [Κοίλης]

IG II ² 2228 (c.220 AD) 7-8	<i>Ephebes</i> , ὑπογραμματεὺς Ὀνήσιμος Εὐκαρπίδου ἐκ <Κοί>
IG II ² 2232 (230 AD) 7-8	<i>Ephebes</i> , ὑπογρα[μματαί] Αὐρ Ὀν[ήσιμος]
IG II ² 2236 (c.230 AD) 3-4	<i>Ephebes</i> , [ὑπ]ογραμ[ματαί] [Αὐρ Ὀ]νήσιμο[ς]
IG II ² 2237 (230-235 AD) 25-27	<i>Ephebes</i> , [ὑπ]ογραμματαί [Αὐρ Ὀ]νήσιμος [Εὐκ]αρπίδου ἐκ Κ
IG II ² 2239 (238/9-243/4 AD) 7-8, 21-24	<i>Ephebes</i> , γραμματεῦντος διὰ βίου ἱερέως Συντρόφο[υ τ]οῦ Εὐκαρπίδου ἐκ Κοίλης / [ὑπογρα]μμα[τεῦς] [Ὀνήσιμ]ος Ε[ὔ] [καρπίδ]ο[υ] [ἐκ Κοίλ]ης
IG II ² 2243 (after 243/4 AD) 26, 32-33	οἱ διὰ β[ίου] / ὑπογραμ[ματαί] Αὐρ Ὀνήσιμος.
IG II ² 2825 (mid 4C BC) 11-13	<i>Ten names</i> , Χαϊρέστρατος Φανοστράτου Κηφισιεύς ἐγγραμμά[τευσ] Ἴοφῶν Σοφοκλέους ἐκ Κολωνοῦ ὑπογραμματαί[ς]. / Λεωχάρης ἐπόησε.
IG II ² 2858 (200-150 BC) 3-7	<i>Unknown type</i> . γραμματεὺς — — Φιλοκράτης Φιλισ — — ὑπογραμματαί — — Παισίας κῆρυξ κληρωτὸς Φιλο —
IG V,1 48 (1C BC) 17-19	γρα[μματαί]· Σωτηρίδας Ἀγαθοκλέος. ὑπογρα[μματαί]· Ἀριστοκλῆς, Σωκρατίας,
IG V,1 115 (mid 2CAD) A.4	γ(ρ)α(μματαί)· Τ(ίτος) Ὀκτάβιος Ἀγαθίας. ὑπογρα(μματαί)· Τιβ(έριος) Κλαύδ(ιος) [—].
IG V,1 137 (98-117 AD) 1-25	γραμματαί· Δαμιάδας, Στ<ρ>άτων. ὑπογραμματαί· Εὐδαίμων, Κ[λ]έων, [Ε]ὐδαιμοκλῆς, / γρα(μματαί) β[ο]υλ[αδ]ς?
MDAI(A) 67:22,25a (200-150 BC) 15-20	<i>Unknown type</i> . [τὸν] γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου [.3-4.α]νδρον Κηφισί[εα] [τὸν ὑ]πογραμμά[τε]α .4-5.ν Ἀφιδναῖον τὸν μ]άντιν τ[ῶ]ν στ[ρατηγῶν] ..6...ιον ἐ[κ] Κηδῶ[ν].
SEG 12:84 (401/0 BC) B1-40	[γραμ]ματαί[ς] / ὑπογ(ραμματαί)
SEG 18:55 (195/6 AD) 3-4 (II ² 2131+)	<i>Ephebes</i> , ὑπογραμ[ματαί] Πό Αἴλ Ἄνθος,
SEG 19:191 (beg. 2C BC) 2	<i>Fragment</i> — — ὑπογραμματαί — — — στρατηγῶι. ν
SEG 28:63 (c.240 BC) 5-10	<i>Officers including</i> τὸν [γραμμάτ]εα τοῦ δήμου — —] [καὶ τὸν] ὑπογρα[μμάτ]εα — — —]
SEG 32:192 (185/4 BC) 19-24	<i>Officers including</i> [ὑ]πογραμμάτ[ε]ς — — —
SEG 32:195 (c.200 BC) 1-5	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπο[γραμ]ματαί — — —]
SEG 32:196 (c.200 AD) 2-5	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογρ[αμ]ματαί — — — —]
SEG 39:123 (260-50 BC) 2-9	<i>Officers including</i> [— καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμμάτ]εα — — —)] [— 5 —]ον Α[— 17 —]
SEG 48:455 (c.25-1 BC) 25-26	<i>Gerontes</i> , γρα(μματαί) Ἐπίνικος (Ἐπινίκου), [ὑ(πο)]γρα(μματαί)·Νίκανδρος Καλλικέτους
SEG 48:458 (160-165 AD) 27-34	<i>Gerontes</i> , Γραμματεὺς Βουλῆς Γά(τος) Ἰούλιος / Φειδίας; [ὑπογρ(αμματαί) - -]ος Δη[- - -]

Athenian *hypogrammateis* of the boule known from two or more years

Years	Personal names	References
165/6 AD - 166/7 AD, 168/9 AD	Εἰσίδωτος Ὁ Μαραθώνιος	Ag.15:367; Ag.15:369; Ag.15:372; IG II ² 1774 (Ag.15:371); IG II ² 1775 (Ag.15:373); Hesp. 79:418,1
180/1 AD + 182/3 AD	Μύρων Ὁ Λαμπρεὺς	Ag.15:406 63; IG II ² 1794 41 (Ag.15:402); IG II ² 1795 (Ag.15:407) 55-57
185/6 AD + 188/9 AD	Πρωτογένης	Ag.15:410 12; Ag.15:419 51
198/9 AD + 209/10 AD	Μηνόφιλος Παραμόνου	Ag.15:442 11; Ag.15:443 27; IG II ² 1077 55-56

Table 12 – *Hypogrammateis* who may have served for more than a year.

Agora numbers are bracketed when the Agora inscription is a copy of the IG text.

ὑπογραμματεύς διὰ βίου (*hypogrammateus for life*)

IG II ² 2199 (c.200 AD) 41-43, 66-7	<i>Ephebes</i> , γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου ἱερεὺς Στρατῶν Κιθαίῳ ρῶνος Ἀχαρνεὺς / ὑπογράμμα· Αἴλ Εὐχάρῖ στος Φαλη
IG II ² 2243 (243/4 AD) I.26, 32-33	<i>Ephebes</i> , οἱ διὰ β[ίου] / ὑπογραμμ[ατεύς] Αὐρ Ὀνήσιμος
IG II ² 2245 (262/3 or 266/7 AD) 29-408	οἱ διὰ βίου / γραμματεὺς Κλ Αντίλοχος / ὑπογρα Αὐρ Ἐλευσεῖνιος Ϟ / <i>Ephebes from all 12 tribes</i>
SEG 33:158 (late 3CAD) 11, 48-51	<i>Ephebes</i> , οἱ διὰ βίου / γραμματεὺς Ἀλκιβιάδης / ὑπογραμματαὺς Ἀλκιβιάδης
SEG 39:189 (226/7–234/5 AD) 8-9, 60, 65-66 (IG II ² 2235)	<i>Ephebes</i> , γραμματεῦοντος διὰ βίου ἱερέως Συντρόφου] τοῦ Εὐκαρη[ί]δου ἐκ Κοίλης / οἱ διὰ βίου / ὑπογραμματαὺς [Ὀνήσιμος Εὐκαρηίδου ἐκ Κοίλης

ὑπογραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου (*hypogrammateus of the boule and the demos*)

Ag.15:225 (155/4 BC) 52-65	<i>Boule honour</i> τὸν ὑπογραμματέα τοῦ [δήμου] [[Πυ[θα]γόραν]] Ἀμαξα[ντέ]α <i>and other officers</i>
Ag.15:259 (97/96 BC) 85-96	<i>Officers including</i> ὑπογραμματε[ύς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου]
Ag.15:260 (beg. 1C BC) 10-32	<i>Boule honour</i> [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ] τοῦ δήμου Δίων[α] <i>and other officers</i>
SEG 19:190 (bef. 200 BC) 2-5	<i>Boule fragm.</i> ὑπογραμματεὺς τεῖ βουλευ[τῶν] καὶ τῶι δήμῳ

ὑπογραμματεὺς τῶν ἀμφικτυόνων (*hypogrammateus of the amphictyons*)

ID 98 (377-373 BC) A49-50, 74-75 Athenian copy = IG II ² 1635 (374-3 BC)	εἰς τὰ [ἐπιτῆ]δεα καὶ γ[ραμματεῖ καὶ ὑπογραμμά] [τεῖ]ΔΔΔ· / εἰς [τ]ἀ[ν]τῆδε[ι]α καὶ γραμματεῖ κα [ι ὑ]πογραμματεῖ XX ² Π ² Η ² Γ ² Γ ² - -·
ID 104-9 (355/4 BC) vers 2.1-2	[— — Λα] [μν]τρεὺς ἐγρανμά[τευε, ὑπεγραμμάτευε δὲ — —
ID 104-12 (353/2 – 352/1 BC) 3-4	[συνά[ρ]χ[οντες, οἷς ἐγραμμάτευε — 17 —] [— — ὑπεγραμμάτευε δὲ? — —]φιλος·Φρεάρρ[ι]ος
ID 104-28 (341/0 BC) 1, 5-6, 8	τάδε ἔπραξ[εν Ἀμφικτύονες Ἀθηναίων / οἷς ἐγραμμάτευε Τεισιάδης Τεισιόπου Σφῆπτιος, ὑπεγραμμά]τευε δὲ Μ[— — —
ID 104-31 (333-331 BC) 1, 3-4	[τάδε παρέδωσαν Ἀμφικτύονες / [— οἷ<ς> [ἐ]γρ[α]μ[μ]άτ[ευε]ν Λυς [— 12 —, ὑπεγραμμάτευε δὲ —]υσικλή[ς] Α[τ]ῆ[ν]ι[α]ί[υ]ς
ID 104-8,A (c.330-320 BC) 4, 39-40	ὑπεγραμμ[άτευε] / [τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσ?]· καὶ τῷ γρα[μματεῖ καὶ τῷ ὑπογραμμ] [ατεῖ?]

ὑπογραμματεὺς τῶν ναοποιῶν (*hypogrammateus of the naopoioi*)

ID 104-5 (359/8 BC) 14-15 γραμματεῖ | [(ναοποιῶν?) (ὑπο?)γ]ραμματεῖ ΔΔΓ:

φρατρίαρχος (*phratriarch*)

IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 121-6 τὸν δὲ φρατρία[ρχον ἀπογραφῶν] ἀμείνων ἀναγράφαντα
ἐκ[τιθέναι ὅπου ἂν Δεκ]ιλέες προσφοιτῶσι / *with hiereus*

The following table shows the date range for all designations. Officers such as the *tamias* and *epimeletes* are included only for the periods in which they were charged with writing something. Athenian evidence is indicated by light grey boxes, Peloponnesian evidence by black boxes, and Delian evidence by dark grey boxes.

Century	6C BC			5C BC				4C BC				3C BC				2C BC				1C BC				1CAD				2CAD				3CAD					
Quarter of century	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3			
ἀναγραφεύς							1																														
ἀντιγραμματοεύς																														2							
ἀντιγραφεύς								3																													
ἀρχιγραμματοεύς																																	4				
ἀρχιθιασίτης																5																					
αρτύνας				6																																	
βωλογράφορ												7																									
γραμματεὺς (Athens)												8																									
γραμματεὺς (Peloponnese)												9																									
γραμματεὺς (Delos)									10																												

¹ ἀναγραφεύς: Earliest: IG I³ 258bis 6-7 (c.420BC) 6-7; Latest: Ag.15:261 (95/4 BC) 45, 58. 'Earliest' and 'latest' dates refer to the earliest and latest surviving inscriptions.

² ἀντιγραμματούς: IG II² 2067 (154/5 AD) 225-6, page 110.

³ ἀντιγραφεύς: Earliest: IG II² 1740 (388/7 BC) 53-6; Latest: IG II² 1077 (209/10 AD) 96.

⁴ ἀρχιγραμματούς: IG II² 3169/70 (253/257 AD) 32-37, page 93.

⁵ ἀρχιθιασίτης: ID 1520 (153/2 BC) 89-91, page 341.

⁶ αρτύνας: IG IV 554 (480-470 BC) 2, 4, page 131.

⁷ βωλογράφορ: IvO 39 (300-250 BC) 37, page 202.

⁸ γραμματεὺς: Athens: Earliest: IG II² 537 (end 4C BC) 4-8; Latest: IG II² 1368 (aft. 178 AD) 155-6.

⁹ γραμματεὺς: Peloponnese: Earliest: IG IV², 1 68 (302 BC) 79, 81; Latest: IvO 122 (265 AD) 24.

Century	6C BC			5C BC				4C BC				3C BC				2C BC				1C BC				1CAD				2CAD				3CAD		
Quarter of century	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3				
γραμματεὺς (of <i>hellenotamiai</i>)					11																													
γραμματεὺς (treasurers of Athena)						12																												
γρ. αἰρετός and κληρωτός														13																				
γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν																								14										
γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου																												15						
γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς / κατὰ πρυτανείαν / [ὁ] περὶ τὸ βῆμα (Athens)	16								17															18										
γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς (Sparta)																																		
γρ. τῆς βουλῆς και τοῦ δήμου*								20																										
γραμματέως τῆς πόλεως											21																							

¹⁰ γραμματεὺς: Delos: Earliest: ID 104-3 (c.367 BC) 9-10; Latest: ID 1505 (146/5 or 145/4 BC) 34-37, page 337.

¹¹ γραμματεὺς (of the *hellenotamiai*): Earliest: IG I³ 259 (454/3 BC) 72-73; Latest: IG I³ 383 (429/8 BC) 260-262.

¹² γραμματεὺς (of the treasurers of Athena): Earliest: IG I³ 465 (437/6–433/2 BC) 121-123, page 88; Latest: IG I³ 319 (432/1 BC) 17.

¹³ γραμματεὺς αἰρετός and γραμματεὺς κληρωτός: Athens: Earliest: Hesp. 6:445 No.2B (239/38 BC) 9-10; Latest: IG II² 1711 (mid. 2C BC) 6-11, n.361. Delos: ID 1500 (c.150 BC) 6-7, 25, 27-28.

¹⁴ γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν: Earliest: SEG 32:339 (1-2CAD) 1; Latest: Ag.15:491 (c.231/2 AD) 38.

¹⁵ γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου: Earliest: IG II² 2110 (179/80-190/1 AD) 7-8; Latest: SEG 33:158 (late 3CAD) 11, 48-51, page 111.

¹⁶ γραμματεὺς (of the boule) / γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς: Athens: Earliest: IG I³ 508 (562-558 BC) A5-B6; Latest: IG II² 1078 (c.220 AD) 2.

¹⁷ γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν: Earliest: IG II² 124 (357/6 BC) 1-3; Latest: IG II² 1789 (c.175 AD) 4-7.

¹⁸ [ὁ] περὶ τὸ βῆμα: Earliest: IG II² 1759 (90-100 AD) 43-44; Latest: IG II² 1077 (209/10 AD) III.50, page 56.

¹⁹ γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς: Sparta: Earliest: IG V,1 206 (1C BC) 5; Latest: SEG 48:460 (160-165 AD) 6-7.

²⁰ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου: Earliest: IG II² 1740 (388/7 BC) 53-6; Latest: IG II² 1077 (209/10 AD) III.47-49, page 56.

²¹ γραμματέως τῆς πόλεως: Earliest: IG XI,2 142 (315-300 BC) 23; Latest: IvO 460 (Roman) 3-4.

Century	6C BC			5C BC				4C BC				3C BC				2C BC				1C BC				1CAD				2CAD				3CAD						
Quarter of century	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3								
γραμματεὺς τῆς φυλῆς									22																													
γρ. τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς / τῶν Ἀχαιῶν														23																								
γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου														24																								
γραμματεὺς τοῦ ἐπιμελητῆς																		25																				
γραμματεὺς τοῦ πολεμάρχου										26																												
γραμματεὺς τοῦ συνεδρίου																	27																					
γραμματεὺς τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων								28																														
γραμματεὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν																												29										
γρ. / συνγρ. τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν							30																															
γρ. / συνγρ. τῶν ἐπιστάτῶν						31																																
γραμματεὺς τῶν ἑνδεκα											32																											

²² γραμματεὺς τῆς φυλῆς: Earliest: SEG 23:78 (361/0 BC) 22-26; Latest: Hesp.6:460,8 (after 166 BC) 8-20, page 98.

²³ γραμματεὺς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς: Earliest IG VII 188 (242-223 BC) 2-3; γραμματεὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν: Latest: IG IV²,1 81 (34/35 AD) 10, 17, page 223.

²⁴ γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου: Peloponnese: Earliest: IG V,2 351 (c.266-219 BC) 10-11, page 183; Latest: IG IV² 749 (158-144BC) 45-46, page 124.

²⁵ γραμματεὺς τοῦ ἐπιμελητῆς: Earliest: ID 1504 (147/6 or 146/5 BC) 2, 45-49; Latest: ID 1505 (146/5 or 145/4 BC) 31-34.

²⁶ γραμματεὺς τοῦ πολεμάρχου: IG II² 545 (318/7 BC) 15-17, page 89.

²⁷ γραμματεὺς τοῦ συνεδρίου: Earliest: IG V,2 367 (168-146 BC) 1, 20, n.1032; Latest: IG II² 2930 (2-3CAD) 1-4.

²⁸ γραμματεὺς τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων: Earliest: ID 104-32 (434-315 BC) 5; Latest: ID 42 (341/0 BC) 1-8.

²⁹ γραμματεὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν: Earliest: IG II² 1775 (168/9 AD) 5-8, n.469; Latest: Ag.15:437 (end of 2CAD) 3-7.

³⁰ γραμματεὺς and συνγραμματεὺς τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν: IG I³ 71 (425/4 BC) 7-8, 21-22, page 68.

³¹ γραμματεὺς and συνγραμματεὺς τῶν ἐπιστάται: All dated to the same, five-year period, e.g.: IG I³ 446 (447/6-433/2 BC) 312-314, page 100.

³² γραμματεὺς τῶν ἑνδεκα: IG II² 1631 (323/2 BC) 377-380, 388-393, page 90.

Century	6C BC			5C BC				4C BC				3C BC				2C BC				1C BC				1CAD				2CAD				3CAD			
Quarter of century	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	
γραμματέως τῶν ἱεροποιῶν											33																								
γραμματεὺς τῶν ἱππάρχων												34																							
γρ. τῶν νεωριων ἐπιμελητῶν											35																								
γραμματέως τῶν ναοποιῶν									36																										
γραμματεὺς τῶν πρυτάνεων										37																									
γραμματεὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν											38																								
γραμματιστάς														39																					
γραμματιστάς δαμοσιοφυλάκων														40																					
[ὁ] γράψας							41																												
γροφεύς	42																																		
γροφεύς βωλᾶς														43																					

³³ γραμματέως τῶν ἱεροποιῶν: Earliest: IG XI,2 142 (315-300 BC) 23; Latest: ID 461 (169 BC) A3, B2-3.

³⁴ γραμματεὺς τῶν ἱππάρχων: SEG 21:525 (282/1 BC) 40-44, plus one other text from the same year; Latest: Hesp.6:460,8 (after 166 BC) 8-20, page 98.

³⁵ γραμματεὺς τῶν νεωρίων ἐπιμελητῶν: IG II² 1631 (323/2 BC) 410-415, page 99.

³⁶ γραμματέως τῶν ναοποιῶν: Earliest: ID 104-5 (359/8 BC) 14-15, n.1719; Latest: ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 2-3, 13-15, page 338.

³⁷ γραμματεὺς τῶν πρυτάνεων: Earliest: SEG 28:52 (333 BC) 22-29, page 71; Latest: IG II² 1806 (190-200 AD) 24, page 71.

³⁸ γραμματεὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν: IG II² 545 (318/7 BC) 15-17, page 89.

³⁹ γραμματιστάς: Earliest: SIG³ 531 (3C BC) 4, 27; Latest: IvO 468 (2-3CAD) 5, page 207.

⁴⁰ γραμματιστᾶς δαμοσιοφυλάκων: SIG³ 529 (219 BC) 4-5, page 214.

⁴¹ [ὁ] γράψας: Athens: Lang (1976) 13 (475-450 BC) C18 1-2, page 352. Delos: Earliest: IG XI,2 147 (c.300 BC) A20; Latest: ID 1520 (153/2 BC) 60-61. Peloponnese: IG V,1 1390 (92/1 BC) 61-2.

⁴² γροφεύς and γραφής: Earliest: IvO 2 (before 580 BC) 8, page 208; Latest: IG IV 609 (Roman) 8, n.727.

⁴³ γροφεύς βωλᾶς: Earliest: IG XII,3 1259 (after 338 BC) 14-17, page 138; Latest: Mnem.² 43:G (before 229/8) 4-5.

Century	6C BC			5C BC				4C BC				3C BC				2C BC				1C BC				1CAD				2CAD				3CAD		
Quarter of century	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4			
γροφεὺς πολεμάρχων										44																								
γροφεὺς τοῖς στραταγοῖς														45																				
γροφεὺς τοῖς ὀγδοηκοστεῦσι										46																								
δαμιοργός													47																					
δήμαρχος						48																												
δημόσιος									49																									
δογματογράφος																			50															
ἐλληνοταμίας						51																												
ἐπιμελητής							52																											
[ὁ] ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα											53																							
[ὁ] ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον																			54															

⁴⁴ γροφεὺς πολεμάρχων: Piérart (1987b) 306-9 (4C BC?).

⁴⁵ γροφεὺς τοῖς στραταγοῖς: ISE 41 (1st half 3C?) 10-11, page 140.

⁴⁶ γροφεὺς τοῖς ὀγδοηκοστεῦσι: Earliest: SEG 33:286 (4C BC?) B5-6; Latest: Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 69 (A.i) (146 BC/after).

⁴⁷ δαμιоргός: Earliest: IPArk 24 (273 BC) 14-15, page 182; Latest: I.Magn 39 (c.208/7 BC) 33-38.

⁴⁸ δήμαρχος: Earliest: IG I³ 138 (after 434 BC) 5-6; Latest: IG II² 1193 (end 4C BC) 1-2, 10-13, 27-31.

⁴⁹ δημόσιος: Earliest: IG II² 120 (358/7-354/3 BC) 13-17, page 82; Latest: IG II² 583 (end 4C BC) 5-7.

⁵⁰ δογματογράφος: IG V,1 26 (2-1C BC) 1, 17, page 156.

⁵¹ ἐλληνοταμίας: Earliest: IG I³ 34 (448/7 BC) 43-45; Latest: IG I³ 104 (409/8 BC) 9.

⁵² ἐπιμελητής: Athens: Earliest: IG II² 1138 (c.403/2 BC) 7-9; Latest: IG II² 1327 (c.178/7 BC) 26-29, page 109. Peloponnese: Earliest: IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 16-21, page 188; Latest: IG V,2 510 (3/e2C BC) 7-9.

⁵³ [ὁ] ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα: Earliest: IG II² 223 (343/2 BC) C3-4; Latest: Ag.15:261 (95/4 BC) 59.

⁵⁴ [ὁ] ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον: Earliest: SEG 21:466 (135/4 BC) 6-7; Latest: Ag.15:261 (95/4 BC) 60.

Century	6C BC			5C BC				4C BC				3C BC				2C BC				1C BC				1CAD				2CAD				3CAD		
Quarter of century	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3				
[ὁ] ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους											55																							
ἔφορος																		56																
ἱερεὺς											57																							
κατακόος											58																							
κατάλογος βουλᾶς										59																								
κήρυξ																					60													
νομογράφος																			61															
σταλογράφος										62																								
στρατηγός														63																				
συγγραμματοεὺς						64																												
συγγραφεὺς						65																												
ταμία				66																														

⁵⁵ [ό] ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους: Earliest: Ag.15:53 (324/3 BC) 19-21; Latest: Ag.15:259 (97/6 BC) 92-93, page 72.

⁵⁶ ἔφορος: Earliest: IG V,1 931 (after 146 BC) 34-37; Latest: SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 24-5, 29, 34, page 177.

⁵⁷ ἱερεὺς: IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 64-68, 106-108, 121-126, page 106.

⁵⁸ κατακόος: IPark 17 (303-300 BC) 7-10, 19-26, page 184.

⁵⁹ κατάλογος βουλᾶς: Earliest: SEG 26:445 (c.350 BC) 17-20; Latest: Peek NI 15 (2C BC?) 14.

⁶⁰ κήρυξ: IG IV²,1 83 (40-42 AD) 17-18, page 103.

⁶¹ νομογράφος: Earliest: IG IV²,1 73 (after 224 BC) 2-3, 29-30, page 226; Latest: SIG³ 684 (144 AD) 1-2, 6-11, 16-27, page 216.

⁶² σταλογράφος: IPark 9 (c.350-340 BC) 18, page 188.

⁶³ στρατηγός: IG V,2 16 (218 BC) 7-9, page 197.

⁶⁴ συγγραμματοεὺς: Earliest: IG I³ 269 (443/2 BC) 36; Latest: IG I³ 270 (442/1 BC) 1-2, page 74.

⁶⁵ συγγραφεὺς: Earliest: IG I³ 21 1-3 (450/49 BC), page 75; Latest: IG II² 3806 (end 2CAD) 2-3.

Century	6C BC			5C BC				4C BC				3C BC				2C BC				1C BC				1CAD				2CAD				3CAD		
Quarter of century	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
ὑπηρετής										67																								
ὑπογραμματεὺς (Athens)							68																											
ὑπογραμματεὺς (Peloponnese)																						69												
ὑπογραμματεὺς διὰ βίου																											70							
ὑπογρ. τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου															71																			
ὑπογρ. τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων								72																										
ὑπογραμματεὺς τῶν ναοποιῶν									73																									
φρατρίαρχος								74																										

Table 13 – Secretaries and magistrates associated with the writing of public documents.

*For γρ., read γραμματεὺς.

⁶⁶ ταμίης: Athens: Earliest: IG I³ 4 (485/4 BC) B3-4 & 23-25; Latest: IG II² 1335 (102/1 BC) 10-13. Peloponnese: Earliest: IG IV 755 (3C BC) 9-10; Latest: IG V,1 1226 (2/1C BC) 17-21.

⁶⁷ ὕπηρετης: Earliest: Ag.15:37 (343/2 BC) 4, page 83; Latest: SEG 21:587 (beg. 2C BC) 12-19.

⁶⁸ ὕπογραμματοεὐς: Athens: Earliest: IG I³ 476 (408/7 BC) 61-2, 268-9; Latest: IG II² 2239 (238/9-243/4 AD) 7-8, 21-24.

⁶⁹ ὕπογραμματοεὐς: Peloponnese: Earliest: IG V,1 48 (1C BC) 17-19; Latest: SEG 48:458 (160-165 AD) 27-28, 33-34.

⁷⁰ ὕπογραμματοεὐς διὰ βίου: Earliest: IG II² 2199 (c.200 AD) 41-43, 66-7; Latest: SEG 33:158 (late 3CAD) 11, 49, 51.

⁷¹ ὕπογραμματοεὐς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου: Earliest: SEG 19:190 (bef. 200 BC) 2-5; Latest: Ag.15:259 (97/96 BC) 85-96, page 72.

⁷² ὕπογραμματοεὐς τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων: Earliest: ID 98 (377-373 BC) A49-50, 74-75; Latest: ID 104-8,A (c.330-320 BC) 4, 39-40.

⁷³ ὕπογραμματοεὐς τῶν ναοποιῶν: ID 104-5 (359/8 BC) 14-15, page 335.

⁷⁴ φρατρίάρχος: IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 121-6, page 106.

Instances of *grammateus of the boule*, *grammateus kata prytaneian* and *grammateus of the boule and the demos*

The following table illustrates the usage of the designations *grammateus of the boule* and *grammateus kata prytaneian*. It lists all inscriptions in IG I³ and IG II² which contain either full designation.¹⁶¹⁰

The evidence shows that the designation *grammateus of the boule* fell out of common usage shortly after the electoral reforms of 367/6 BC, in which the office of *grammateus of the boule* became a magistracy held for a year (rather than a single prytany). From this date onwards, the designation used in the majority of cases was *grammateus kata prytaneian*.

Please note the following formatting conventions:

- Inscription references in **bold** indicate that this *grammateus* is to write the decree, etc.
- Inscription references in (round brackets) indicate that this *grammateus* is honoured, and either another officer writes up the decree, or the inscription formula is absent.
- Inscription references in normal text indicate that this *grammateus* is mentioned in the text, but is not charged with writing up the decree or honoured as far as can be discerned from the surviving text.

The table also illustrates the usage of the designation *grammateus of the boule and the demos*. Therefore, inscription references in bold in this column indicate that the *grammateus of the boule and the demos* is to write up the text, rather than the *grammateus of the boule*.

¹⁶¹⁰ That is, it includes *only those inscriptions in IG* (and not, for example, the honorific inscriptions in the Agora 15 volume, which are not in IG). It omits all inscriptions where the secretary is known only by the designation *grammateus*.

Date	Designations:		
	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	<i>grammateus kata prytaneian</i>	<i>grammateus of the boule and the demos</i>
	IG inscription and line references:		
450-426	IG I³ 11 11-13; 12 4-6; 27 7-9; 37 38-40; 40 57-64; IG I ³ 43 18-19; 55 1-3; 60 31-2; 62 9-11; 63 5-7; 65 5-7; 66 20-22; 70 3-4; 87 12-13; 130 20-21; 149 1-2; 153 19-21; 155 5-9; 156 19-26; 159 12-15; 163 3-7; 164 6-9; 167 17-20; 183 1; 193 3-4; 195 2-4; 200 2-3		
425-401	IG I³ 71 23-25; 72 3, 31-32; 75 2, 30-32; 80 1-2, 12-18; 81 17-19; 82 2-3, 43-44; 84 26-28; 89 45, 58-59; 90 8-9; 98 12-15 26-29; 101 58; 102 21-22, 28-30; 103 8-11; 104 6-7; 106 19-21; 110 20-24; 113 27-28; 118 33-36; 119 6-8; 122 6-9; 123 6-8; 125 2-32; 126 8-10; 127 38-40; 136 37-39; 140 6; 165 5-8; 170 1-2; 174 7-11; 175 2-4; 179 3-5; 180 1-4; 182 25-27, 30-32; 182bis 1-3; 198 4-7; 227 1-4; 1453,B/G 10.1; II² 1 38-39, 66-67; 3 2-4; 4 1-2; 5 11-12; 6 14-16; 8 1-2, 6-8; 9 4-6; 12 12-14, 26-28; 13 8-13; 142 8-11; 174 11-14		
400-376	IG I ³ 228 7-9; 229 4-6; II² 17 8-11, 28-31; 19 a7-9, b8-10; 21 1; 22 b6-8; 24 b-c.6-10; 25 7-10; 29 7-11; 31 12-14; 32 7-9; 33 3; 37 21-23; 39 2-6; 40 13-15, 21-23; 41 14-15; 42 8-11; 43 63-66; 51 9-13; 52 5-8; 53 5-9; 54 3-6; 55 6-8; 56 1-5; 57 1-4; 63 7-10; 69 1-3; 70 6-14; 73 3-6; 76 17-20; 79 13-15; 80 5-7; 81 7-10; 83 10-13; 95 6-9; 141 12-18; 245 2-4		
375-351	II² 77 5-8; 96 13-17; 105 40-41; 107 18-24; 109 24-26; 111 23-25; 116 42-45; 117 14-19; 120 17-19, 22-24; 130 15-19; 132 10-13; 133 14-17; 140 31-35; 148 6-10; 149 17-20; 173 11-14; 184 7-9; 188 8-11; 189 1-3; 196 3-8; 197 1-2; 204 23-24, 30-32, 54-57	II ² 120 15-17; 124 1-3; 198 1-3	
350-326	II ² 206 27-30; 211 11-13; 212 44-47; 220 9-12; 221 3-5; 226 17-21; 232 20-23; 237 31-35; 238 14-17; 250 4-6; 252 16-19; 253 4-8; 265 1-2; 274 1-3; 275 10-12; 278 10-11; 282 3-6; 287 12-16; 288 9-12; 289 8-11; 290 7-10; 298 1-5; 299 2-3; 301 2-4; 304 8-11; 343 13-15; 351 33-35; 410 37-39; 660 19-22	II ² 210 15-18; 222 26-29; 223 14-15; 235 26-29; 240 19-23; 256 1-4; 257 2-4; 264 9-15; 269 3-6; 272 4-6; 293 1-5; 330 23-26; 338 24-28; 339 9-13; 344 18-21; 354 26-29; 368 13-15; 415 1-4; 418 4-7; 424 11-14; 425 14-18; 426 11-14; 433 6-8; 1155 12-14; 1195 1-3; 1440 20-21	II² 660 43-45
325-301	II² 365 12-16; 373 9-12; 448 66-73; 607 5-6	II² 360 21-24; 374 19-22; 463 31-33; 466 46-49; 478 27-30; 479 25-27; 483 27-31; 487 17-20; 488 22-25; 500 36-40; 505 59-62; 509 5-7; 511 6-9; 512 8-11; 513 9-11; 516 3-6; 521 3-5; 522 1-3; 529 1-2; 530 3-5; 551 12-14; 555 33-35; 558 25-29; 564 5-7; 571 5-8; 579 12-16; 589 1-4; 590 1-3; 696 7-9	II² 496 36-39; 510 7-9; 520 5-7; 523 2-4; 524 2-5; 527 1-3; 542 12-14; 570 11-13; 572 11-13; 594 6-8

Date	Designations:		
	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	<i>grammateus kata prytaneian</i>	<i>grammateus of the boule and the demos</i>
	IG inscription and line references:		
300-276		II² 641 25-29; 643 3-9; 646 52-55; 653 52-54; 657 68-70; 661 29-32; 663 33-36; 665 31-33; 668 33-36; 674 21-23; 675 e1-5; 676 33-35; 677 19-20; 682 87-89; 695 14-16; 706 6-9; 707 6-8; 711 10-12; 713 3-6; 717 18-20; 721 21-23; 722 9-11; 723 5-7	II² 651 26-28; 652 33-35; 672 38-39; (678) III.49-51; 710 17-20; 712 15-17; 725 7-9; 741 9-10
275-251		II² 687 64-66; 689 26-29; 690 9-12; 766 12-14; 803 3-5; 811 14-16; 812 1-3; 820 12-14; 821 10-13; 1534 13-14	II² 801 13-14; 805 9-11
250-226		II² 775 23-25; 776 30-32; 780 22-24; 786 32-34; 788 26-28; 789 4-7; 790 26-28; 792 11-14; 808 24-26; 810 4-6; 835 27-30	II² 791 22-24; 806 4-6; 809 1-4
225-201		II² 847 51-55; 848 17-19; 851 21-23; 854 2-4; 855 9-11; 856 12-14; 861 26-29; 862 9-11; 863 3-7	II² 844 28-30; 845 19-21; (848) 45-46
200-176		II² 884 21-24; 890 19-21; 891 18-19; 892 15-17; 893 27-29; 895 7-8; 896 17-19; 899 23-25; 900 24-25; 908 18-20; 909 20-24; 913 7-9; 914 7-9; 915 26-27; 916 3-5; 917 18-20; 918 12-14; 919 2-3; 920 11-13; 921 6-8; 922 13-15; 924 6-8; 926 13-15; 927 13-15; 928 1-3	II ² (913) 5-6; (914) 2-3; (915) 22-23; (918) 8
175-151		II² 853 11-13; 907 14-17; 912 17-18; 947 5-7; 949 19-21; 954 20-22; 956 35-37; 957 20-21; 958 31-33; 997 6-8	II ² (912) 14-15; (952) 12-13; 1223 16-17
150-126		II² 963 4-5; 977 17-19; 978 14-16; 981 16-17; 982 16-18; 983 9-11; 984 22-24; 985 11-13; 987 1-3; 991 8-9	II ² (972) 5-6; 1227 33-36
125-101		II² 1004 15-17; 1006 96-98; 1008 41-42; 1009 54-55; 1011 51-52; 1019 36-37; 1028 55-57; 1054 28-31	1008 87; 1011 62-63; 1228 10-11
100-76	II² 1061 15-17	II² 1029 36-37; 1036 23-25	
75-51		II² 1062 6-8	
50-26		II ² 1041 5-6; 1047 2-3; 1049 17-19; 1050 14-16	II ² 1051 4-5
101-125		II² 1073 6-7	
176-200			
201-225			II ² (1077) 47-49

Table 14 – Use of the designations *grammateus of the boule*, *grammateus kata prytaneian*, and *grammateus of the boule and the demos*.

The prominence of secretaries in inscriptions

The following table lists inscriptions where the name and designation of the secretary has been carved in larger letters than the remainder of the text, and/or is displayed prominently at the start of the text, before any other officials.¹⁶¹¹ In the majority of cases, the secretary is either the *grammateus of the boule* or the *anagrapheus*; however, the *syngrammateus*, *grammateus* of the treasurers of Athena, *grammateus* of the *epistatai* and *grammateus of the prytaneis* could also be recorded in this fashion. All examples are from Athens.

With the exception of a single, tribal decree in which Aiantis honours its own officers,¹⁶¹² displaying the name of the secretary prominently is confined to the period before c.367/6 BC, when the office of *grammateus of the boule* became annual and selected by lot, and the first brief period in which the *anagrapheus* replaced the *grammateus of the boule* as the most prominent secretary in Athens (321/20 to 319/18 BC).

Reference	Description
	Secretaries of the boule and demos
	<i>Anagrapheus</i>
Ag. 16 97[1] (321/20 BC) 2-3 and SEG 21:304 (321/0 BC) 1	The <i>anagrapheus</i> Thrasykles is the first officer mentioned in two decrees from 321/0 BC. His name and designation are given before the eponymous archon.
e.g. IG II ² 381 (320/19 BC) 1-10, page 48 ¹⁶¹³	The <i>anagrapheus</i> Archedikos is known from eleven surviving decrees from the year 320/19 BC, and is the first officer mentioned in seven of them. In IG II ² 383b (320/19 BC) 1-2, Archedikos' name and designation are given before ' <i>theoi</i> '.
Ag. 16:101 (319/8 BC) 2-3	The <i>anagrapheus</i> Eukadmos is the first officer mentioned, before the eponymous archon.
	<i>Grammateus of the boule</i>
IG I ³ 99 (410/09 BC) 1-2	Fragmentary decree. The first two lines comprise the name and designation of the <i>grammateus</i> . These are the same size as the remaining text, but separated from it by an etched line.
IG I ³ 104 (409/8 BC) 1-2, page 40	The law on homicide. Line one contains the <i>grammateus</i> ; line two contains the proposer. Both names and designations are given in larger letters than the remaining text, and are separated from it. At line ten, ' <i>protos axon</i> ' is also given in larger letters.
IG I ³ 127 (405/4 BC) 1-2 (See IG II ² 1, page 25)	Athens honours the Samians. The decree is surmounted by a large relief, depicting friendship between Athens and Samos. ¹⁶¹⁴ The first two lines contain the name and designation of the <i>grammateus</i> ; the letters used are approximately four times the size of those in the body of the decree. The following two lines note that this decree is 'to those Samians who supported the

¹⁶¹¹ I.e. it does not include the single inscription in which the designations of the *metronomoi* and *grammateus* are painted red in the body of the text, but not the names of the officers. See SEG 24:157 (222/1 BC) 1, 7-13 on page 94.

¹⁶¹² Ag.15:322 (c.120 AD) 1-3, page 69.

¹⁶¹³ See also IG II² 380 (321/0-319 BC) 1-4, IG II² 382 (320/19 BC) 2-5, IG II² 383 (320/19 BC) 1-2, IG II² 384 (320/19 BC) fr.1-2, Hesp. 40:174,25 (320/19 BC) 1-2.

¹⁶¹⁴ Blanshard (2007) 19-20. See Blanshard for a photograph of this decree.

Reference	Description
	Athenian people'. The letters in these lines are approximately twice the size of the text used in the body of the decree.
IG I ³ 261 (452/1 BC) 1	Record of tribute. The prescript comprises a single line, which includes the name and designation of the <i>grammateus</i> , but no other officers. The effect is accentuated as the prescript spans the five columns of the remaining text.
IG I ³ 262 (451/0 BC) 1	Record of tribute. As above.
IG I ³ 269 (451/0 BC) 1	Record of tribute. As above. The final line contains a similar prescript: the start of a subsequent text on the same stele.
IG II ² 2 (405/4 BC) 1-2, 6-7	Proxeny decree. The first line comprises the name designation of the <i>grammateus</i> . This is separated from the remainder of the text. The name and designation of the <i>grammateus</i> is given again in lines 6-7.
IG II ² 13 (399/8 BC) 1-2, 6-7	Proxeny decree. The first line comprises the name and designation of the archon. This is separated from the remaining text by two incised lines. Line two comprises the name and designation of the <i>grammateus</i> . This is followed by the name of the honorand. The name and designation of the <i>grammateus</i> is then repeated in the prescript.
IG II ² 26 (394-387 BC) 1-3, page 62	Honorific decree. The first three lines comprise the name and designation of the <i>grammateus</i> . This is in larger text than the remainder of the decree. The name and designation of the <i>grammateus</i> is then repeated in the prescript.
IG II ² 44 (378/73 BC) 1-3, 5-6	<i>Symmachia</i> (alliance) with the Chalcidians. Lines one and two comprise the name and designation of the <i>grammateus</i> ; line three contains the name and designation of the archon. All three lines are in larger text than the remainder of the inscription. In line one, between the first and second name of the secretary, is a pattern of five dots. The name and designation of the <i>grammateus</i> is repeated in the prescript.
IG II ² 127 (378/73 BC) 1	<i>Symmachia</i> with Thrace. The name and designation of the <i>grammateus</i> are written as <i>agent noun + personal name</i> in the nominative, on a pediment, separate from the remainder of the text.
	<i>Grammateus of the boule and syngrammateus</i>
IG I ³ 270 (442/1 BC) 1-2, page 74	Record of tribute. The prescript comprises two lines, containing the name and designation of the secretary, the <i>hellenotamias</i> , and the <i>syngrammateus</i> . Both lines span the five columns of the remaining text.
	<i>Grammateus of the prytaneis</i>
Ag 15:322 (c.120 AD) 1-3, page 69	Honorific decree for the prytaneis of Aiantis, written up by their secretary. The name of the secretary is displayed at the head of the stele, above the deeply-incised border which surrounds the decree itself.
	Treasury officers and secretaries
	<i>Grammateus of the treasurers of Athena</i>
IG II ² 1428 (367/6 BC) 1, 4-5	Treasury document. The first eight lines comprise the prescript, which includes the treasurers of Athena, and (at 4-5), their secretary. The prescript is in larger text than the remainder of the document, and spans both columns of the remaining text. A pattern of five dots separates the names of each officer.
	Secretaries of other bodies
	<i>Grammateus of the epistatai</i>
IG II ² 1669 (367/6 BC) 1-4	Building account. The first four lines comprise a prescript. The first words are (uniquely) "[συγγ]ραφῆ? με[γ]άλης στήλης." The prescript contains the names of the <i>epistatai</i> and their secretary.

Table 15 – Prominent display of the name and designation of secretaries.

Appendix B – Inscriptions from the Peloponnese

This appendix contains all inscriptions from the Peloponnese which include a secretary (as defined in Chapter 1 page 21) or other writer. The *Geographical Distribution* section below lists inscriptions in chronological order, by region and polis. The *Chronological Distribution* section (page 313) provides distribution maps for the Peloponnese as a whole, one map per century. In both sections, the numbers provided in round brackets against some designations indicate that there are two or more secretaries (or writers) with the same designation in a single inscription (that is, the evidence notes officers in the plural, and occasionally names them).

Where a designation is given in the plural form but the number of officials in this board is not known, I have assumed two officers are indicated, and marked this estimate with a question mark. This number is based partly on the assumption that a plural does not indicate one officer, and partly on other examples of officers working in pairs, such as the *grophees* at Argos,¹⁶¹⁵ *katakooi* at Stympthalos,¹⁶¹⁶ and the two named Arcadian *epimeletai* in IG V,2 516 (42 AD) 2-3, 32-33. Estimates have been necessary in the case of six inscriptions containing *nomographoi* (plural) – an office where numbers may fluctuate within a single polis depending on the period in question (as appears to be the case at Megalopolis),¹⁶¹⁷ three instances of *damiorgoi*,¹⁶¹⁸ and two instances of *epimeletai*.¹⁶¹⁹

Geographical Distribution

Saronic Gulf and Corinthia

Aigina

2C BC

IG IV ² 748 11-12	<i>grammateus of the demos</i>	Before 160 BC
IG IV ² 749 34-35, 38, 45-46, 51-53 (= Dittenberger IG IV 1)	<i>grammateus of the demos</i>	158-144 BC

Corinthia

4C BC

IG IV ² ,1 68 78-83 (Peek, Asklepieion 23)	<i>grammateus</i> (two, Hellenic League)	302 BC
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¹⁶¹⁵ E.g. BuckNo.87 (3CBC) 4-6 on page 135.

¹⁶¹⁶ IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 7-10, 22-23 on page 184.

¹⁶¹⁷ IG IV 679 (Late 3/2 BC) 23; IG V,1 7 (3C BC) 1-2; IG V,2 24 (1C BC or after) 4-5; I.Magn 38 (207/6 BC) 45; SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 24-30, 34-36; SEG 52:447 (c.190-180 BC) 31.

¹⁶¹⁸ I.Magn 39 (c.208/7 BC) 33-38, 43-45; IPArk 24 (273 BC) 14-15; SEG 40:400 (3C BC) 7.

¹⁶¹⁹ IG V,2 510 (3C/e.2C BC) 7-9; IG V,2 511 (undated) 10-12.

SEG 30:990 2-4 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 72)	ἐὶ + <i>grammatistas</i>	c.325-275 BC
2C BC		
Corinth 8,1 4 9	<i>grammateus</i>	Mid 2C BC
Corinth 8,1 7 1-2	<i>grammateus</i>	Undated
Corinth 8,1 8 1-2	<i>grammateus</i>	Undated
1C BC		
Corinth 8,3 46 b2-5	<i>grammateus</i>	44 BC
3CAD		
SEG 26:396 2 (Corinth 8,3 486)	<i>grammateus</i>	Mid 3CAD
Sicyon		
3C BC		
Magnesia 55 1, 9, 16-18 [I.Magn 41]	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	Undated
Argolid		
Argos		
5C BC		
IG IV 554 1-7 (Buck 84)	<i>artunas</i>	480-470 BC
4C BC		
IG XII,3 1259 1-17 (Buck 86)	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	After 338 BC
ISE 40 2-4, 27-33	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	c.300 BC
Piérart (1987b) 306-9 (SEG 37:280)	<i>gropheus of the polemarchs?</i>	4C BC?
SEG 30:355 2-3, 11-12	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	c.330-300 BC
SEG 30:356 3-4	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	c.300 BC
SEG 30:357 3, 10-11	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	c.300 BC
SEG 30:360 6, 16-18	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	Early Hellenistic
SEG 33:286 B5-6	<i>gropheus of the 80</i>	4C BC?
3C BC		
Buck 87 4-20	<i>gropheus</i> (two)	3C BC
ISE 41 1-3, 10-13, 18-20	ἐὶ + <i>gropheus bolas</i>	1 st half 3C BC?
ISE 41 1-3, 10-13, 18-20	<i>gropheus for the stratagoi</i>	1 st half 3C BC?
Mnem. ² 43:C 4	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	248-245 BC
Mnem. ² 43:D 3	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	247-244 BC
Mnem. ² 43:F 5-6	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	Before 243 BC
Mnem. ² 43:G 4-5	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	Before 229/8 BC
Mnem. ² 43:K 2-3	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	Before 229/8 BC?
SEG 13:240 1-2	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	3C BC
SEG 13:243 2	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	3C BC
SEG 16:247 3-4	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	3C BC
SEG 17:141 4, 12-14	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	3C BC
SEG 17:142 3	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	3C BC
SEG 17:144 1-5	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	3C BC
SEG 33:278 2	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	Before 229/8 BC?

SEG 39:345 3-4	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	3C BC
SEG 41:280 3	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	3C, poss. < 224 BC
2C BC		
IG IV 498 4-7	<i>gropheus</i>	After 195 BC
IG IV 558 29-43	<i>grammateus, ho katastatheis</i> <i>grammateus, ho aei grammateus</i>	114 BC
IG IV 609 5-8	<i>gropheus</i> (participle)	Roman
Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 69 (A.i)	ἐνὶ + <i>gropheus of the 80</i>	146 BC and after
Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 70 (A.vi.a)	<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	146 BC and after
SEG 31:306 9	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	Hellenistic
SIG ³ 644-5.i (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 69)	<i>gropheus</i>	?
1CAD		
IG IV 589 2-5	<i>grammateus</i>	Roman Imp.
IG IV 606 1-5	<i>grammateus</i>	Roman Imp.
SEG 13:244 7-8	<i>grammateus</i>	1C BC – 1CAD

Epidauros

For Achaian League inscriptions published in Epidauros, see page 312.

4C BC

IG IV ² ,1 49 1-15 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74)	<i>katalogos boulas</i>	4/3C BC
IG IV ² ,1 51 14 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74)	<i>katalogos boulas</i>	4C BC
IG IV ² ,1 53 12-13 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74)	<i>katalogos boulas</i>	4C BC
IG IV ² ,1 54 9-10 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74)	<i>katalogos boulas</i>	4C BC
IG IV ² ,1 58 4-5, 12-14 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74)	<i>katalogos boulas</i>	4/3C BC
IG IV ² ,1 103 143	<i>gropheus</i> Alkibios	4C BC
IG IV ² ,1 106 6, 10, 13-14, 30-1, 75-6, C40-43 C115-6, 107	<i>gropheus</i> Kleidikos <i>gropheus of hiaromnamones</i> : unknown; Dionysios; Kallinos; Timokles; -ro-s.	4C BC
IG IV ² ,1 108 82, 107, 111-2, 116, 123-5, 141 144, 150, 155-6, 159-167	(<i>katalogos boulas</i>) <i>gropheus</i> Aleximachos <i>gropheus of hiaromnamones</i> : unknown; Damophon; Kallikles; Timokles; Damophilos; Architeles	4/3C BC
IG IV ² ,1 165 1-8	<i>grophees</i> (two)	4-3C BC
Mitsos (1947) A1 (4/3CBC) 1-8 (IG IV ² ,1 69 3)	<i>gropheus bolas</i>	4C BC
SEG 26:445 17-20 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74)	<i>katalogos boulas</i>	c.350 BC

3C BC

IG IV ² ,1 96 44-50	(<i>katalogos boulas</i>)	c.300-250 BC
IG IV ² ,1 109 II.146	<i>gropheus</i> Mnasikles	Early 3C BC
IG IV ² ,1 306 A1-C5	<i>grammateus</i> (two)	c.206 BC
Peek NI 11 14 (SEG 26:446)	<i>katalogos boulas</i>	Undated
Peek NI 12 9	<i>katalogos boulas</i>	Undated
Peek NI 13 11-13	<i>katalogos boulas</i>	Undated
Peek, NI 18 19-20	<i>gropheus of hiaromnamones</i> : Eukl—	4/early 3C BC
Peek, NI 19 C11	<i>gropheus</i> Pankrates	4/early 3C BC
SEG 11:413 24 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74)	<i>katalogos boulas</i>	Mid 3C

2C BC

Peek NI 15 14

ἐνὶ + *katalogos boulas*

2C BC?

Peek NI 32 1-7

grammateus

Undated

2CAD

IG IV²,1 25 2

grammateus

117-138 AD

Troizenia and Hermionis

Hermione

2C BC

IG IV 679 4-13, 23-31
(Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 76 & 78)

nomographos (two?)

Late 3/2 BC

Kalaureia

3C BC

IG IV 824 1-9

grammateus (two)

3C BC

Troizen

3C BC

IG IV 755 9-11

tamias

3C BC

Laconia

Amyklai

2C BC

IG V,1 26 1-8, 13-18 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 82)

grammateus, dogmatographos (three) 2/1C BC

Epidauros Limera

2C BC

IG V,1 931 34-37

ephor (three)

After 146 BC

Gerenia

2C BC

IG V,1 1336 17-22

ephor (three)

Undated

Geronthrai

2C BC

IV V,1 1110 9-16

ephor (three)

After 146 BC

IG V,1 1111 26, 34-38

ephor (three)

After 146 BC

IG V,1 1113 9-13

ephor (three)

Undated

IG V,1 1114 2-4, 27-30

ephor (three)

1C BC

Gytheion

1C BC

IG V,1 1144 20-21, 33-36	<i>ephor</i> (three)	c.80 BC
IG V,1 1145 4-5, 10, 44-51	<i>ephor</i> (three)	c.70 BC
IG V,1 1146 51, 52-54 (Emprunt 24)	<i>ephor</i> (three)	71/70 BC

Kortyrta

2C BC

IG V,1 962 31-38 (Emprunt 25)	<i>ephor</i> (three)	Undated
IG V,1 965 16-20	<i>ephor</i> (three)	2C BC

Sparta

3C BC

IG V,1 7 1-10	<i>nomographos</i> (two?)	3C BC
SEG 52:541 4-7	<i>nomographos</i>	3C BC?

1C BC

IG V,1 9 4-5	<i>grammateus</i>	1C BC
IG V,1 48 17-19	<i>grammateus, hypogrammateus</i> (three)	1C BC
IG V,1 92 11-12	<i>grammateus</i>	1C BC
IG V,1 141 6	<i>grammateus</i>	Mid 1C BC
IG V,1 206 5	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	1C BC
IG V,1 208 7	<i>grammateus</i>	1C BC
IG V,1 209 26	<i>grammateus</i>	1C BC
IG V,1 210 44-46, 58	<i>grammateus, stonecutter</i>	1C BC
IG V,1 211 II.50	<i>grammateus, stonecutter</i>	1C BC
IG V,1 212 II.45-46	<i>grammateus, stonecutter</i>	1C BC
SEG 48:455 25-26 (ABSA 93 427-429 no.1)	<i>grammateus, hypogrammateus</i>	c.25-1 BC

1CAD

IG V,1 20 A3-4, B5	<i>grammateus</i> (two), <i>grammateus of the boule</i>	98-117 AD
IG V,1 97 25 (ABSA 27 E1)	<i>grammateus</i>	Late 1CAD

2CAD

ABSA 26 A5 5-6	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	101-150 AD
ABSA 26 B4 1-4	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	101-150 AD
ABSA 26 B6 1-3	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	101-150 AD
ABSA 26 B8 4	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	101-150 AD
ABSA 26 C1, II.4-7	<i>grammateus of the boule,</i> <i>hypogrammateus</i> (one)	101-150 AD
ABSA 26 C4 10	<i>grammateus</i>	101-150 AD
ABSA 26 C7 8-9	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	101-150 AD
ABSA 26 C10 4-5	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	101-150 AD
ABSA 26 20b 5-6	<i>grammateus</i>	101-150 AD
ABSA 26 20c 9-12	<i>grammateus, hyperetes grammateus</i>	101-150 AD
ABSA 27 E30 3-4	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	c.134 AD

IG V,1 32 A15	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	After 125 AD
IG V,1 34 3-13	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	117-138 AD
IG V,1 37 1	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	138-161 AD
IG V,1 39 24	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	Mid 2CAD
IG V,1 40 9-11, 13-14	<i>grammateus, grammateus of the boule</i>	138-180 AD
IG V,1 46 8-9	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	Late 2/3CAD
IG V,1 60 4	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	117-138 AD
IG V,1 71 III.4	<i>grammateus of the boule</i> (with <i>grammatophylakes</i> at II.17, III.15, 34, 52)	Mid 2CAD
IG V,1 74 8	<i>grammateus</i>	138-161 AD
IG V,1 110 5	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	Mid 2CAD
IG V,1 112 11	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	138-161 AD
IG V,1 115 A4	<i>grammateus, hypogrammateus</i> (one)	Mid 2CAD
IG V,1 116 6-9	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	161 AD or later
IG V,1 118 1	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	Undated
IG V,1 137 1-25	<i>grammateus</i> (two), <i>hypogrammateus</i> (three), <i>grammateus of the boule</i>	98-117 AD
IG V,1 147 13-14	<i>grammateus</i>	Early 2CAD
IG V,1 152 9	<i>grammateus</i>	2CAD
IG V,1 162 B19	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	Mid 2CAD
IG V,1 168 1	<i>grammateus</i>	Late 2/3CAD
IG V,1 174 13	<i>grammateus</i>	Roman
IG V,1 179 8, 10	<i>grammateus, stonecutter</i>	Roman
IG V,1 479 1-14	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	131/132 AD
IG V,1 603 7	<i>grammateus</i>	Roman Imperial
IG V,1 643 3	<i>grammateus</i>	Undated
SEG 30:410 (IG V,1 111 26)	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	Mid 2CAD
SEG 31:340 8	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	98-138 AD
SEG 48:456 9 (ABSA 93 427-429 no.2)	<i>grammateus</i>	98-117 AD
SEG 48:458 27-34 (ABSA 93 427-429 no.4)	<i>grammateus of the boule</i> <i>hypogrammateus</i> (one)	160-165 AD
SEG 48:459 6-9 (ABSA 93 427-429 no.5a)	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	150-155 AD
SEG 48:468 7-8 (ABSA 93 427-429 no.12)	<i>grammateus</i>	98-117 AD
SEG 48:460 6-7 (ABSA 93 427-429 no.5b)	<i>grammateus of the boule</i>	160-165 AD
SEG 48:470 5 (ABSA 93 446 no.14)	<i>nomographos</i>	115-138 AD
3CAD		
SEG 34:308 7	<i>grammateus</i>	225-250 AD
Tainaron		
2C BC		
IG V,1 1226 17-21	<i>tamias</i>	2/1C BC
IG V,1 1227 2-7	<i>tamias</i>	undated
Thalamai		
2CAD		
IG V,1 1314 12	<i>grammateus</i>	117-138 AD

IG V,1 1315 29-30	<i>grammateus, stonecutter</i>	117-138 AD
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Messenia

Andania

1C BC

IG V,1 1390 1, 49, 52, 56-7, 61-62, 89, 112-114, 132-7, 185-6	<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i> (and <i>ho grapsas</i>)	92/91 BC
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Asine

2CAD

IG V,1 1412 1-9	<i>grammateus</i>	193-5 AD
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Kolonides

2C BC

IG V,1 1402 1	ἐνὶ + <i>grammateus</i>	Late 2C BC
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Korone

1C BC

IG V,1 1392 1-4	ἐνὶ + <i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	58 BC
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Kyparissos

1C BC

IG V,1 1559 2-3	ἐνὶ + <i>grammateus</i>	Undated
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Messene

3C BC

SEG 51:474 II.1-6	<i>gropheus</i>	3C BC
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2C BC

SEG 31:346 (all)	<i>grammateus</i>	Hellenistic
IG V,1 1428 3-5	<i>grammateus of dikasts</i>	Late 2-1C BC

1C BC

IG V,1 1432 2, 13-30, 41-42	<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	39 BC
IG V,1 1463 3	ἐνὶ + <i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	1C BC

1CAD

IG V,1 1448 2	<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	14 AD
IG V,1 1449 8	<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	54-68 AD
IG V,1 1467 7	<i>grammateus</i>	1CAD
SEG 23:208 2, 15-29	<i>grammateus</i>	42 AD

2CAD

IG V,1 1469 6	<i>grammateus</i>	126 AD
SEG 23:206 1-2	<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	2-3CAD

Thouria

2C BC

IG V,1 1379 14-16, 18, 23	<i>grammateus</i>	2-1C BC
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ISE 51 1-2, 10-14	<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i> One from Thouria (in prescript), one from Patrai (writes decree)	182-167 BC
1CAD		
SEG 11:974 14-15, 24-36	<i>nomographos</i> (two?), <i>ephor</i> (three)	1CAD
Arcadia		
Alipheira		
3C BC		
IPark 24 8-11, 14-18	<i>damiorgos</i> (two?)	273 BC
Heraia		
3C BC		
IG V,2 415 5-6 (IPark 23)	<i>grammateus</i>	3C BC
Kletor		
2C BC		
IG V,2 367 1, 20, 23, 49 (IPark 19)	<i>grammateus of the synedrion</i>	168-146 BC
Lykaia		
4C BC		
IG V,2 550 1-6, 27-29	<i>gropheus of the damiorgoi</i>	304/3 or 320/1-304/3 BC
Mantineia		
4C BC		
IPark 9 3, 16-21	<i>stalographos</i> (two?), <i>epimeletes</i>	c.350-340 BC
2CAD		
IG V,2 302 1-8	<i>grammateus</i>	125-128 AD
Megalopolis		
3C BC		
I.Magn 38 38-53 [Magnesia 44] (SIG ³ 559)	<i>nomographos</i> (two?)	207/6 BC
2C BC		
IG V,2 433 4, 6-11 (IPark 30)	<i>nomographos</i> (one)	Early 2C BC
IG V,2 439 1	ἐνὶ + <i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	145 BC
IG V,2 440 1	ἐνὶ + <i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	131 BC
IG V,2 441 1-2	ἐνὶ + <i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	130 BC
IG V,2 443 1 (IPark 32)	ἐνὶ + <i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	Mid 2/early 1C BC
IG V,2 444 1 (IPark 32)	ἐνὶ + <i>grammateus of the synedroi</i>	Mid 2/early 1C BC
SEG 52:447 31	<i>nomographos</i> (two?)	c.190-180 BC
Orchomenos		
3C BC		
BCH 38 No.5 6-8	<i>grammateus</i>	3C BC
BCH 38 No.6 12	<i>grammateus</i>	3C BC

BCH 38 No.8 2-8, 10-13	<i>grammateus of the thearoi</i>	3C BC
ISE 53 1-5, 9-11 (BCH 38 no.1)	<i>grammateus</i>	265/4 BC
SEG 33:319 3-6, 17-19 (BCH 38 No.11)	<i>grammateus</i>	3C BC
Stymphalos		
4C BC		
IPArk 17 2-26,193-4 (IG V,2 357)	<i>katakoos (two), gropheus</i>	303-300 BC
3C BC		
IG V,2 351 10-12	<i>grammateus of the demos (?)</i>	c.266-219 BC
IG V,2 356 1, 5-8	<i>grammateus</i>	240 BC
Tegea		
3C BC		
IG V,2 11 19 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 91)	<i>grammateus</i>	Bef. 228 BC
IG V,2 12 5 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 90-91)	<i>graphes</i>	240-228 BC
IG V,2 13 9	<i>graphes</i>	Bef. 228 BC
IG V,2 16 7-9	<i>stratagos</i>	218 BC
IG V,2 116 7	<i>graphes</i>	3C BC
2C BC		
IG V,2 43 1	<i>grammateus</i>	2C BC
1C BC		
IG V,2 24 4-5 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 91)	<i>nomographos (two?)</i>	1C BC or after
2CAD		
IG V,2 50 78	<i>grammateus</i>	165/166 AD
Thisoa		
3C BC		
IG V,2 510 7-9 (IPArk 36,r)	<i>epimeletes (two?)</i>	3C/early 2C BC
IG V,2 511 10-12	<i>epimeletes (two?)</i>	Undated
Elis		
Olympia		
6-5C BC		
IvO 2 1-9 (Buck 61)	<i>gropheus</i>	Bef. 580 BC
SEG 31:358 1-7 (SEG 26:475)	<i>gropheus</i>	480-450 BC
3C BC		
IvO 39 4-5, 30-40 (Buck 66)	<i>bolographor</i>	300-250 BC
1C BC		
IvO 59 14-15	<i>grammateus</i>	36 BC
IvO 61 4	<i>grammateus</i>	After 36 BC
IvO 62 1-17	<i>grammateus</i>	36-24 BC
IvO 64 24-25	<i>grammateus</i>	28-24 BC

1CAD

IvO 69 17-18	<i>grammateus</i>	5AD
IvO 74 11	<i>grammateus</i>	Bef. 57AD
IvO 80 9-10	<i>grammateus</i>	c.57 AD
IvO 82 16	<i>grammateus</i>	c.67 AD
IvO 83 4-5	<i>grammateus</i>	c.69-73 AD
IvO 84 20	<i>grammateus</i>	69-73 AD
IvO 85 15	<i>grammateus</i>	77-81 AD
IvO 86 11	<i>grammateus</i>	85-93 AD
IvO 433 1-6	<i>grammateus</i>	After c.95 AD

2CAD

IvO 91 21	<i>grammateus</i>	113-117 AD
IvO 92 16-17	<i>grammateus</i>	After 113-117 AD
IvO 99 19-20	<i>grammateus</i>	After 165 AD
IvO 102 20-21	<i>grammateus</i>	181-185 AD
IvO 103 23	<i>grammateus</i>	177-189 AD
IvO 104 23	<i>grammateus</i>	185-189 AD
IvO 105 11-12	<i>grammateus</i>	Late 2-3CAD
IvO 107 16-17	<i>grammateus</i>	Late 2-3CAD
IvO 430 6-7	<i>grammateus (to b')</i>	Not bef. beg. 2CAD
IvO 460 3-4	<i>grammateus of the polis</i>	Roman
IvO 468 1-7	<i>grammateus</i>	2-3CAD

3CAD

IvO 110 17-19, 27	<i>two periegetai, grammateus</i>	209-213 AD
IvO 117 22	<i>grammateus</i>	237-241 AD
IvO 121 28	<i>grammateus</i>	245-249 AD
IvO 122 24	<i>grammateus</i>	265 AD

Achaia

Dyme

3C BC

SIG ³ 529 1-11 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 97)	<i>grammatistas of the damosiophylakes</i>	219 BC
SIG ³ 530 1-3 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 97)	<i>grammatistas</i>	End C3 BC?
SIG ³ 531 1-8, 25-32 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 97)	ἐνὶ + <i>grammateus for the Achaian League, grammatistas</i>	3C BC

2C BC

SIG ³ 684 1-2, 6-11, 16-27 (RDGE 43, CQ ² XLV 1995 129-53, Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 97)	ἐνὶ + <i>grammateus of the synedroi, nomographos (two)</i>	144 BC
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Patrai

2C BC

ISE 51 1-2, 10-14	<i>grammateus of the synedroi</i> One from Thouria (in prescript), one from Patrai (writes decree)	182-167 BC
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Tritaia

3C BC

SEG 40:400 7, 11-19

damiorgos (two?)

3CBC

Achaian League

Achaia: Aigion

3C BC

IG VII 188 2-3

ἐνὶ + *grammateus of the synedroi*

242-223 BC

I.Magn 39 33-38, 43-45 [Magnesia 8]
(Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 99)

(Achaian) *damiorgos* (two?),
(Magesian) *nomographos, grammateus*

c.208/7 BC

Achaia: Dyme

3C BC

SIG³ 531 1-8, 25-32 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 97)

ἐνὶ + *grammateus for the Achaian League, grammatistas*

3CBC

Argolis: Epidauros

3C BC

IG IV²,1 73 1-36 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 98)

nomographos (twenty-four),
grammateus

After 224 BC

2C BC

IG IV²,1 60 1 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74)

ἐνὶ + *grammateus for the Achaian League*

191 BC

IG IV²,1 61 2

ἐνὶ + *grammateus for the Achaian League*

150 BC

IG IV²,1 63 9-13, 17-18

grammateus (of the Achaians?)

115/114 BC

1CAD

IG IV²,1 80 1-6 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 99)

grammateus of the Achaians

34/35 AD

IG IV²,1 81 7-18 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 99)

grammateus of the Achaians

34/35 AD

Argolis: Troizen

2CAD

IG IV 795 3-15

grammateus of the Achaians

c.103-114 AD

Messene: Abia

2CAD

IG V,1 1352 7-11

ἐνὶ + *grammateus*

119-138 AD

Arcadia: Mantinea

2CAD

IG V,2 313 1-4

grammateus of the synedroi

2CAD

Arcadia: Orchomenos

1C BC

IG V,2 345 1-25

grammateis of the synedroi

79/8 BC

Origin unknown

1CAD

IG VII 2711 43-45 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 99)

grammateus of the Achaians

AD 37

Chronological Distribution

The numbers in the following maps represent the *total number of secretaries or other officers* who are known from that location in the period in question, rather than the number of inscriptions. Therefore, if one inscription contains officers of several different designations, it is noted more than once, and, conversely, if a particular secretary is named in more than one inscription, he is recorded only once. Where the possible date of an inscription spans two centuries, I have placed the text in the 'most likely' century, based on other texts of that type.

These maps are analysed in the conclusion to Chapter 3.

6-5C BC

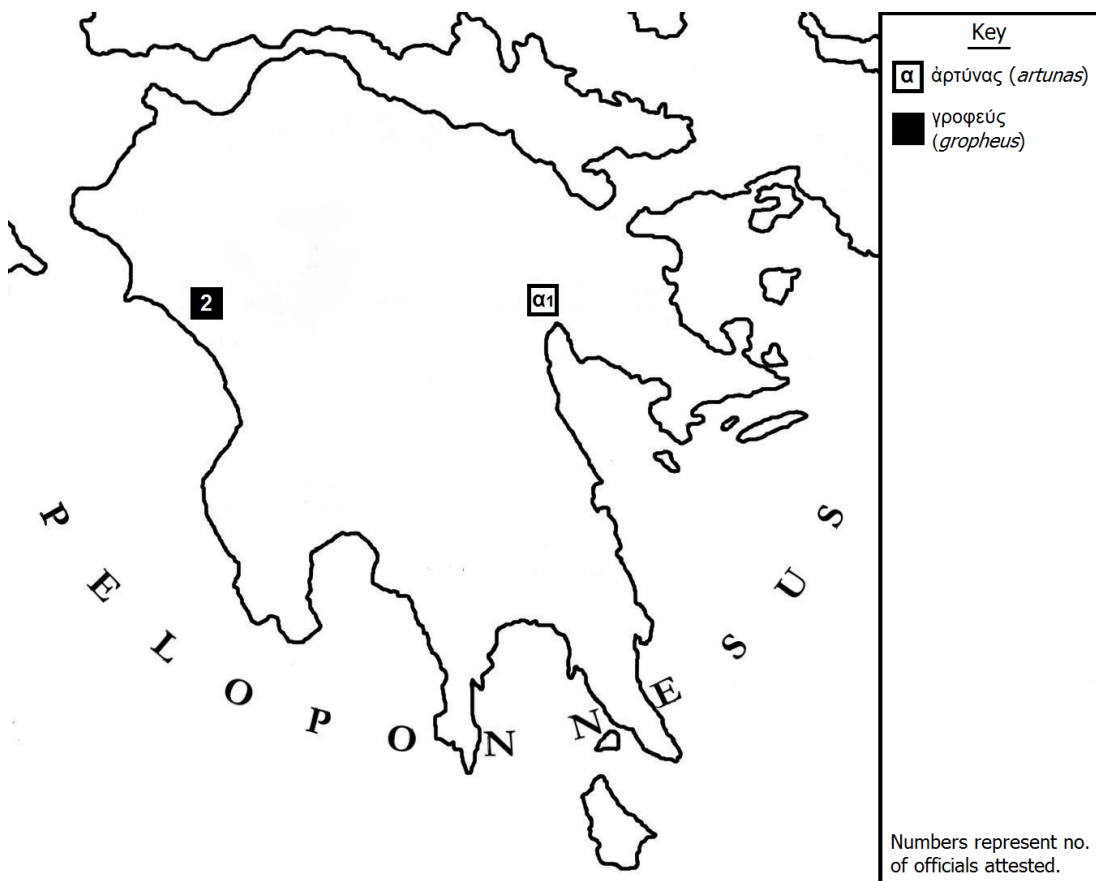


Figure 8 – Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the sixth and fifth centuries BC.¹⁶²⁰

¹⁶²⁰ Argos artunas: IG IV 554 (480-470 BC) 2, 4 (one). Olympia gropheus: IvO 2 (Bef. 580 BC) 8; SEG 31:358 (480-450 BC) 1 (two). Total: 3

4C BC

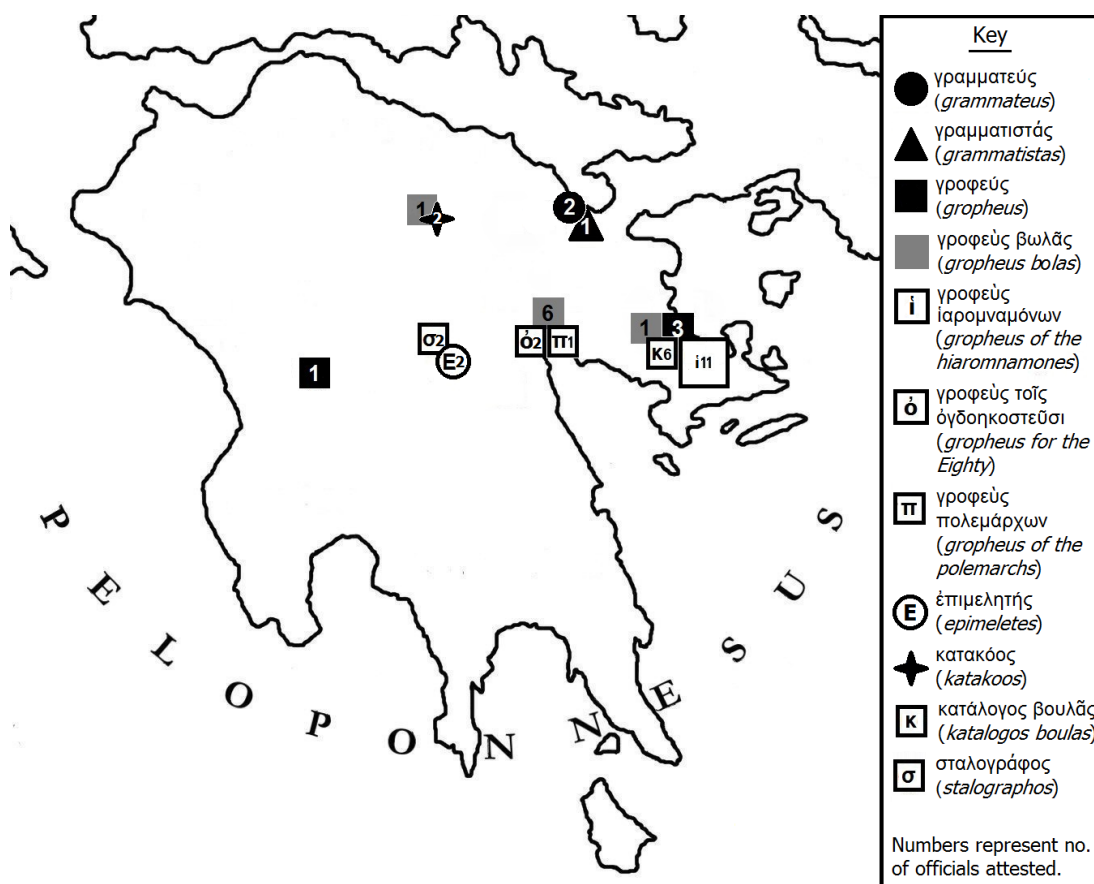


Figure 9 – Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the fourth century BC.¹⁶²¹

¹⁶²¹ Argos *gropheus bolas*: IG XII,3 1259 (After 338 BC) 1-17; ISE 40 (c.300 BC) 4; SEG 30:355 (c.330-300 BC) 2-3; SEG 30:356 (c.300 BC) 3-4; SEG 30:357 (c.300 BC) 3, 10-11; SEG 30:360 (early Hellenistic) 6, 16-18 (six); *gropheus for the 80*: SEG 33:286 (4C BC?) B5-6 (two); *gropheus of the polemarchs* Piérart (1987b) 306-9 (SEG 37:280) (4C BC?) (one). Corinthia *grammateus* [Hellenic League] IG IV²,1 68 (302 BC) 79, 81 (two); *grammatistas*: SEG 30:990 (c.325-275 BC) 2 (one). Epidauros *gropheus*: IG IV²,1 103 (4C BC) 143; IG IV²,1 106 (4C BC) C.40-41; IG IV²,1 108 (4/3C BC) 160 (three); *gropheus boulas*: Mitsos (1947) A1 (4/3C BC) 3 (one); *gropheus of the hieromnemones*: IG IV²,1 106 (4C BC) 6, 10, 13-14, 30-1, 75-6, C41-3, C115-6, 107; IG IV²,1 108 (4/3C BC) 82, 107, 111-2, 116, 123, 141, 144, 150, 155-6, 160-1, 167; IG IV²,1 165 (4/3C BC) 6 (eleven); *katalogos boulas*: IG IV²,1 49 (4/3C BC) 14-15; IG IV²,1 51 (4C BC) 14; IG IV²,1 53 (4C BC) 12-13; IG IV²,1 54 (4C BC) 9-10; IG IV²,1 58 (4/3C BC) 4-5, 12-14; SEG 26:445 (c.350 BC) 17-20 (six). Lykaia *gropheus* [damiorgon]: IG V,2 550 (304/3 or 320/1-304/3) 4-6 (one). Mantineia *epimeletes* and *stalographoi*: IPark 9 (c.350-340 BC) 16-21 (two each). Stymphalos *gropheus*: IPark 17 (303-300 BC) 19-21 (one); *katakoos*: IPark 17 (303-300 BC) 7-10, 22-26 (two). Total: 41

3C BC

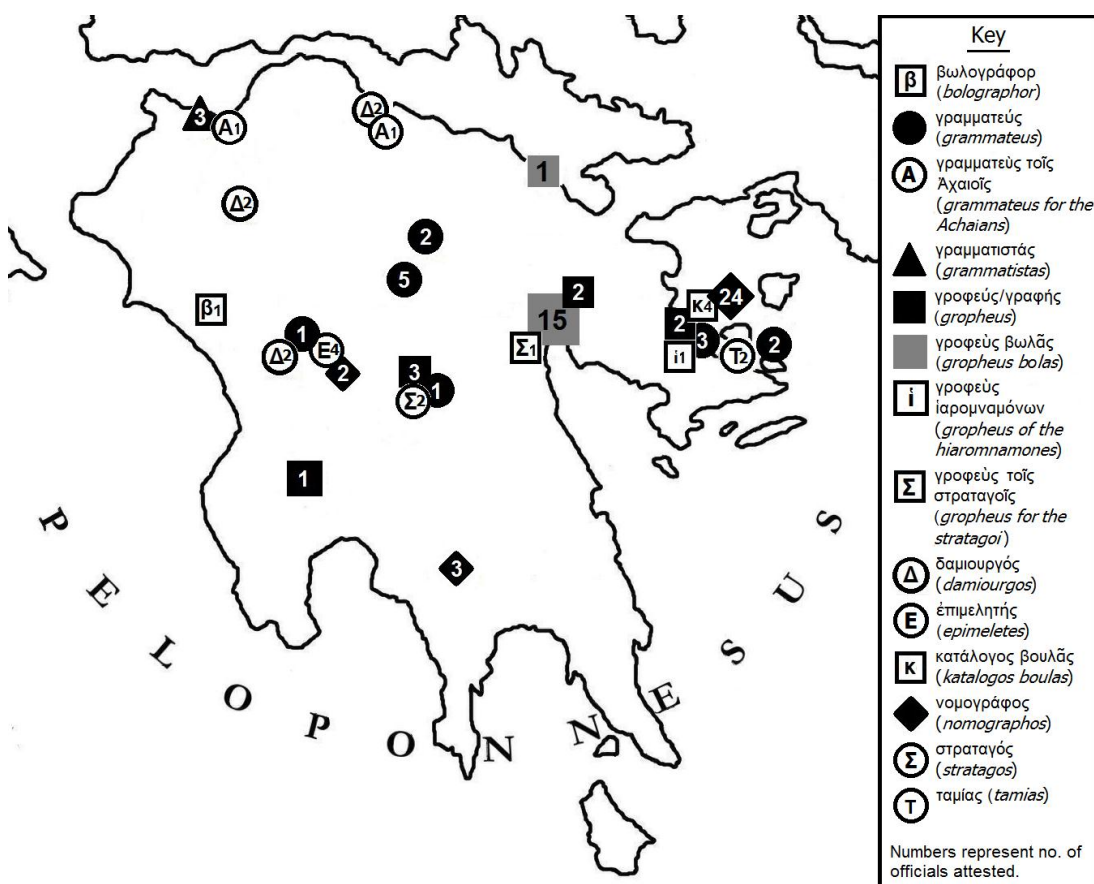


Figure 10 – Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the third century BC.¹⁶²²

¹⁶²² Achaian League at Aigion *grammateus for the Achaians*: IG VII 188 (242-223 BC) 2-3 (one); *damiourgos*: I.Magn 39 (c.208/7 BC) 33-38 (two?). Alipheira *damiourgos*: IPark 24 (273 BC) 14-15 (two?). Argos *gropheus bolas*: ISE 41 (1st half 3C BC) 2-3; Mnem.² 43:C (248-245) 4; Mnem.² 43:D (247-244) 3; Mnem.² 43:F (Before 243) 5-6; Mnem.² 43:G (before 229/8) 4-5; Mnem.² 43:K (before 229/8?) 2-3; SEG 13:240 (3C BC) 2; SEG 13:243 (3C BC) 2; SEG 16:247 (3C BC) 3-4; SEG 17:141 (3C BC) 4, 12-14; SEG 17:142 (3C BC) 3; SEG 17:144 (3C BC) 3-4; SEG 33:278 (before 229/8?) 2; SEG 39:345 (3C BC) 3-4; SEG 41:280 (3C BC) 3 (fifteen); *gropheus for the stratagoi*: ISE 41 (1st half 3C BC?) 10 (one); *gropheus*: Buck 87 (3C BC) 4-5 (two). Dyme *grammatistas*: SIG³ 529 (219 BC) 5; SIG³ 530 (end C3 BC?) 1-3; SIG³ 531 (3C BC) 4, 27 (three); Achaian League at Dyme *grammateus for the Achaians*: SIG³ 531 (3C BC) 4, 27 (one). Epidauros *gropheus*: IG IV², 1 109 (early 3C BC) II.146; Peek, NI 19 (4/early 3C BC) C11 (two); *gropheus hieronnamones*: Peek, NI 18 (4/early 3C BC) 19-20 (one); *katalogos boulas*: Peek NI 11 (undated) 14; Peek NI 12 (undated) 9; Peek NI 13 (undated) 11-13; SEG 11:413 (Mid 3C) 24 (four); *grammateus*: IG IV², 1 306 (c.206 BC) A2, C3 (two); Achaian League at Epidauros *grammateus and nomographos*: IG IV², 1 73 (after 224 BC) 2-3, 29-30 (one, twenty-four). Heraia *grammateus*: IG V, 2 415 (3C BC) 5 (one). Kalaureia *grammateus*: IG IV 824 (3C BC) 2-4 (two). Megalopolis *nomographos*: I.Magn 38 (207/6 BC) 45 (two?). Messene *gropheus*: SEG 51:474 (3C BC) II.1-2 (one). Olympia *bolographos*: IvO 39 (300-250 BC) 37 (one). Orchomenos *grammateus*: BCH 38 No.5 (3C BC) 7-8; BCH 38 No.6 (3C BC) 12; ISE 53 (265/4 BC) 10; SEG 33:319 (3C BC) 17-19 (four); *grammateus of the thearoi*: BCH 38 No.8 (3C BC) 10-11 (one). Sicyon *gropheus of the bola*: Magnesia 55 (undated) 16-18 (one). Sparta *nomographos*: IG V, 1 7 (3C BC) 1-2; SEG 52:541 (3C BC?) 4-7 (two?+one). Stymphalos *grammateus*: IG V, 2 356 (240 BC) 6-7 (one); *grammateus of the demos*: IG V, 2 351 (c.266-219 BC) 11 (one). Tegea *graphes*: IG V, 2 12 (240-228 BC) 5; IG V, 2 13 (Bef. 228 BC) 9; IG V, 2 116 (3C BC) 7 (three); *grammateus*: IG V, 2 11 (bef. 228 BC) 19 (one); *stratagos*: IG V, 2 16 (218 BC) 7-8 (two). Thisoa *epimeletes*: IG V, 2 510 (3C/E.

2C BC

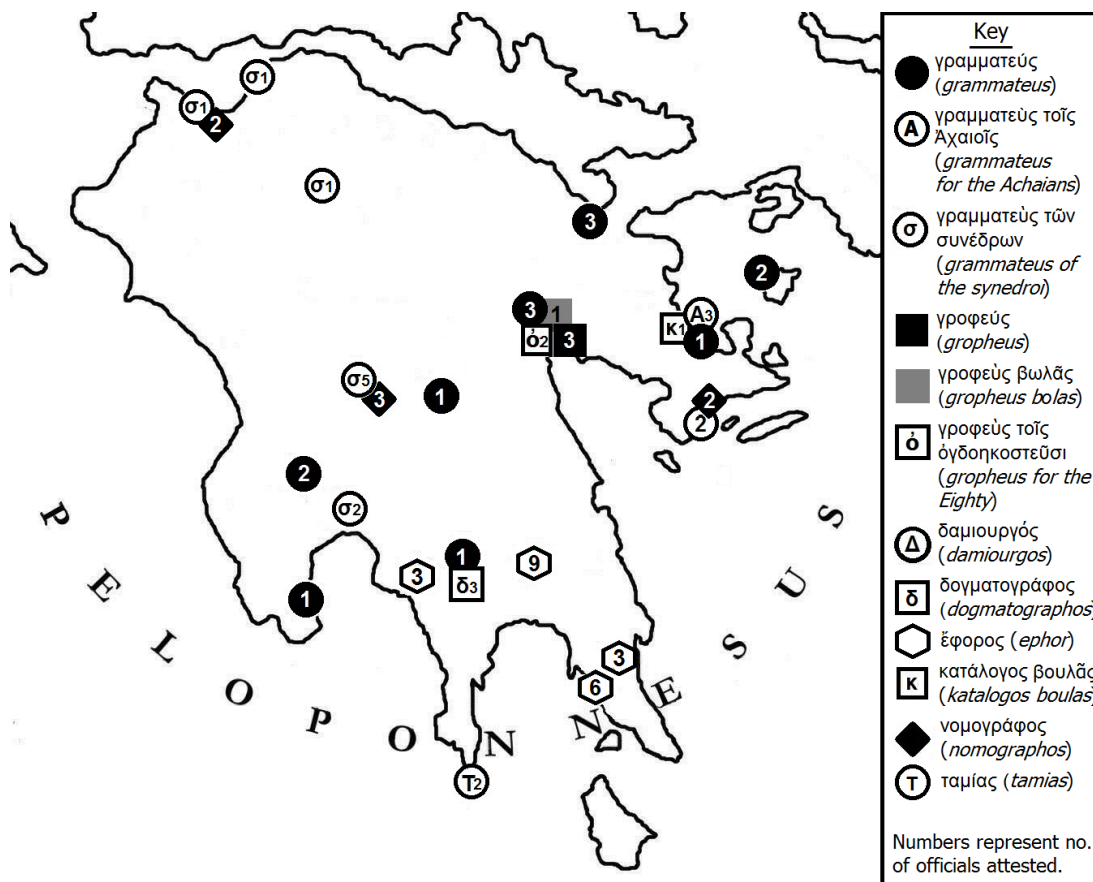


Figure 11 – Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the second century BC.¹⁶²³

2C BC) 7-9; IG V,2 511 (undated) 10-12 (two each?). *Tritaea damiorgos*: SEG 40:400 (3C BC) 7 (two?). *Troizen tamias*: IG IV 755 (3C BC) 9-10 (two). **Total: 93**

¹⁶²³ *Aigina grammateus of the demos*: IG IV² 748 (241-197 BC) 11-12; IG IV² 749 (158-144 BC) 45-46 (two). *Amyklai grammateus, dogmatographos*: IG V,1 26 1, (2/1C BC) 17 (one, three). *Argos grammateus*: IG IV 558 (114 BC) 36-38 (two); *grammateus of the synedroi*: Unpublished, Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 70 (A. vi. a) (146 and after) (one); *gropheus*: IG IV 498 (after 195 BC) 4-7; IG IV 609 (Roman) 8; SIG³ 644-5.i (three); *gropheus bolas*: SEG 31:306 (Hellenistic) 9 (one); *gropheus for the 80*: Unpublished, Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 69 (A.i) (146 and after) (two). *Corinthia grammateus*: Corinth 8, 1 4 (Mid 2C BC) 9; Corinth 8, 1 7 (undated) 1; Corinth 8, 1 8 (undated) 1 (three). *Dyme grammateus of the synedron, nomographoi*: SIG³ 684 (144 BC) 1-2, 6-11, 16-27 (one, two). *Epidauros grammateus*: Peek NI32 (undated) 6-7 (one); *katalogos boulas*: Peek NI 15 (2C BC?) 14 (one). *Achaian League at Epidauros grammateus for the Achaians*: IG IV²,1 60 (191 BC) 1; IG IV²,1 61 (150 BC) 2; IG IV²,1 63 (115/114 BC) 18 (three). *Epidauros Limera ephor*: IG V,1 931 (after 146 BC) 34-36 (three). *Gerenia ephor*: IG V,1 1336 (undated) 17-19 (three). *Geronthrai ephor*: IG V,1 1110 (after 146 BC) 9-11; IG V,1 1111 (after 146 BC) 34-36; IG V,1 1113 (undated) 9-10 (nine). *Hermione damiorgos, nomographos*: IG IV 679 (Late 3/2 BC) 23-31 (two each). *Kleitor grammateus of the synedroi*: IG V,2 367 (168-146 BC) 1, 20 (one). *Kolonides grammateus*: IG V,1 1402 (late 2C BC) 1 (one). *Kortyrta ephor*: IG V,1 962 (undated) 31-38; IG V,1 965 (2C BC) 16-17 (six). *Patrai grammateus of the synedroi*: ISE 51 (182-167 BC) 1-2 (one). *Megalopolis grammateus of the synedroi*: IG V,2 439 (145 BC) 1; IG V,2 440 (131 BC) 1; IG V,2 441 (130 BC) 1-2; IG V,2 443 (Mid.2/E.1C BC) 1; IG V,2 444 (Mid.2/E.1C BC) 1 (five); *nomographos*: IG V,2 433 (early 2C BC) 9-10; SEG 52:447 (c.190-180 BC) 31 (three?). *Messene grammateus*: IG V,1 1428 (late 2-1 C BC) 4; SEG 31:346 (Hellenistic) (all) (two). *Tainaron tamias*: IG V,1 1226 (2/1 C BC) 17-21; IG V,1 1227 (undated) 2-7 (two). *Tegea grammateus*: IG V,2 43 (2C BC) 1 (one). *Thouria grammateus of the synedroi*: IG V,1 1379 (2-1C BC) 14-16, 18, 23; ISE 51 (182-167 BC) 10-14 (two). **Total: 69**

Key

- γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)
- γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς (*grammateus of the boule*)
- ⊙ σ γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων (*grammateus of the synedroi*)
- ⬡ εφωρος (*ephor*)
- ◆ νομογράφος (*nomographos*)
- ⊙ ϒ ὑπογραμματεὺς (*hypogrammateus*)

Numbers represent no. of officials attested.

1624 Andania grammateus of the synedroi: IG V,1 1390 (92/91 BC) 1, 134-5 (one). Corinthia grammateus: Corinth 8,3 46 (44 BC) b3 (one). Geronthrai: ephor: IG V,1 1114 (1C BC) 27-30 (three). Gytheion ephor: IG V,1 1144 (80 BC) 33-36; IG V,1 1145 (c.70 BC) 4-5, 10, 44-47; IG V,1 1146 (71/70 BC) 52-54 (nine). Korone grammateus of the synedroi: IG V,1 1392 (58BC) 2 (one). Kyparissos grammateus: IG V,1 1559 (undated) 2-3 (one). Messene grammateus of the synedroi: IG V,1 1432 (39 BC) 2, 13-25, 41-42; IG V,1 1463 (1C BC) 3 (two). Olympia grammateus: IvO 59 (36BC) 14-15; IvO 61 (after 36 BC) 4; IvO 62 (36-24 BC) 7-8; IvO 64 (28-24 BC) 24-25 (four). Achaian League at Orchomenos grammateus of the synedroi: IG V,2 345 (79/8 BC) 1-2, 10-11, 13 (two); Sparta grammateus boulas: IG V,1 206 (1C BC) 5 (one); grammateus: IG V,1 9 (1C BC) 4-5; IG V,1 48 (1C BC) 17-18; IG V,1 92 (1C BC) 11-12; IG V,1 141 (Mid 1C BC) 6; IG V,1 208 (1C BC) 7; IG V,1 209 (1C BC) 26; IG V,1 210 (1C BC) 44-46, 58; IG V,1 211 (1C BC) II.50; IG V,1 212 (1C BC) II.45-46; SEG 48:455 (c.25-1 BC) 25-26 (ten); hypogrammateus: IG V,1 48 (1C BC) 18-19; SEG 48:455 (c.25-1 BC) 25-26 (four). Tegea nomographos: IG V,2 24 (1C BC or after) 4-5 (two?). Total: 41

1CAD

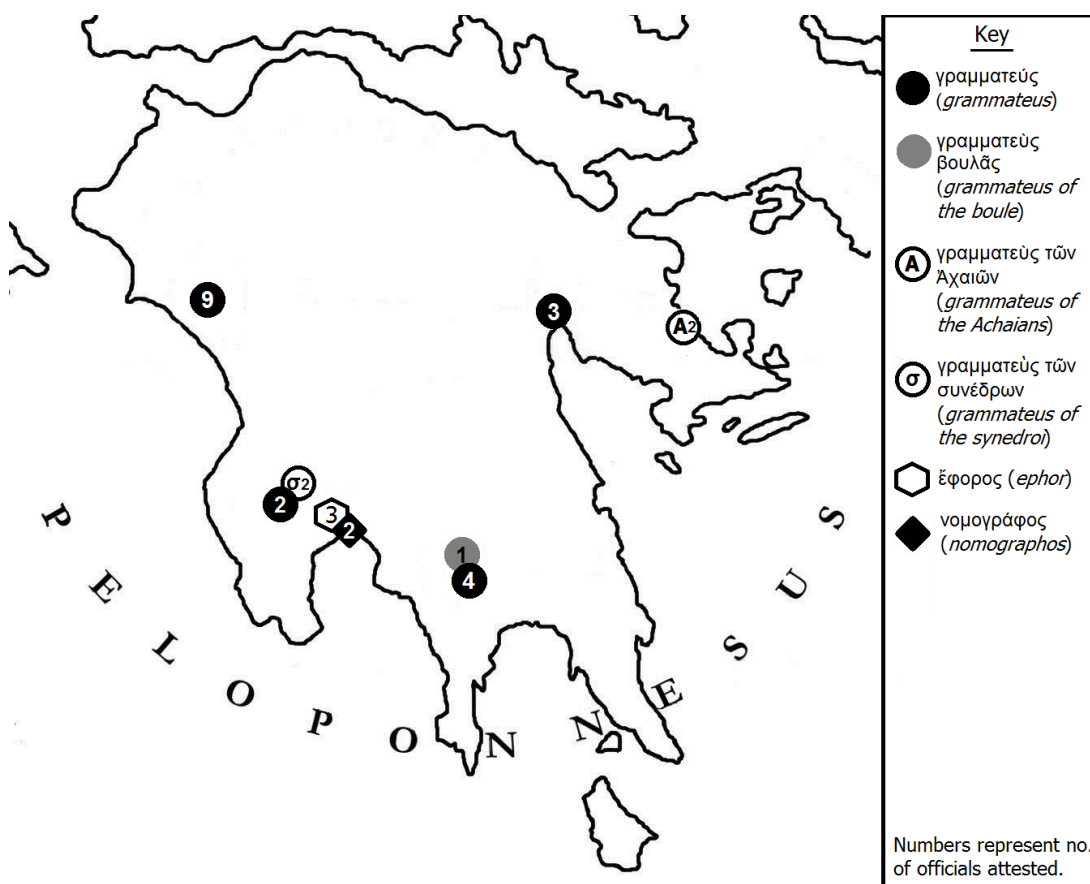


Figure 13 – Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the first century AD.¹⁶²⁵

¹⁶²⁵ Argos *grammateus*: IG IV 589 (undated) 2-4; IG IV 606 (Roman Imp.) 3; SEG 13:244 (Roman Imp.) (three). Achaian League at Epidauros *grammateus of the Achaians*: IG IV², 1 80 (34/35 AD) 5; IG IV², 1 81 (34/35 AD) 10, 17 (two). Messene *grammateus*: IG V, 1 1467 (1CAD) 7; SEG 23:208 (42 AD) 2 (two); *grammateus of the synedroi*: IG V, 1 1448 (14 AD) 2; IG V, 1 1449 (54-68 AD) 8 (two). Olympia *grammateus*: IvO 69 (5AD) 17-18; IvO 74 (Bef. 57AD) 11; IvO 80 9 (c.57 AD) 9-10; IvO 82 9 (c.67 AD) 16; IvO 83 (c.69-73 AD) 4-5; IvO 84 (69-73 AD) 20; IvO 85 977-81 AD) 15; IvO 86 (85-93 AD) 11; IvO 433 (After c.95 AD) 6 (nine). Sparta *grammateus boulas*: IG V, 1 20 (98-117 AD) A3-4, B5 (one). *grammateus*: IG V, 1 20 (98-117 AD) A3-4, B5; IG V, 1 97 (Late 1CAD) 25 (four). Thouria *ephor*: SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 24-28, 34-36 (three); *nomographos*: SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 29-30 (two?). Not on map (origin unknown): *grammateus of the Achaians*: IG VII 2711 (AD 37) 43-45. Total: 28

2CAD

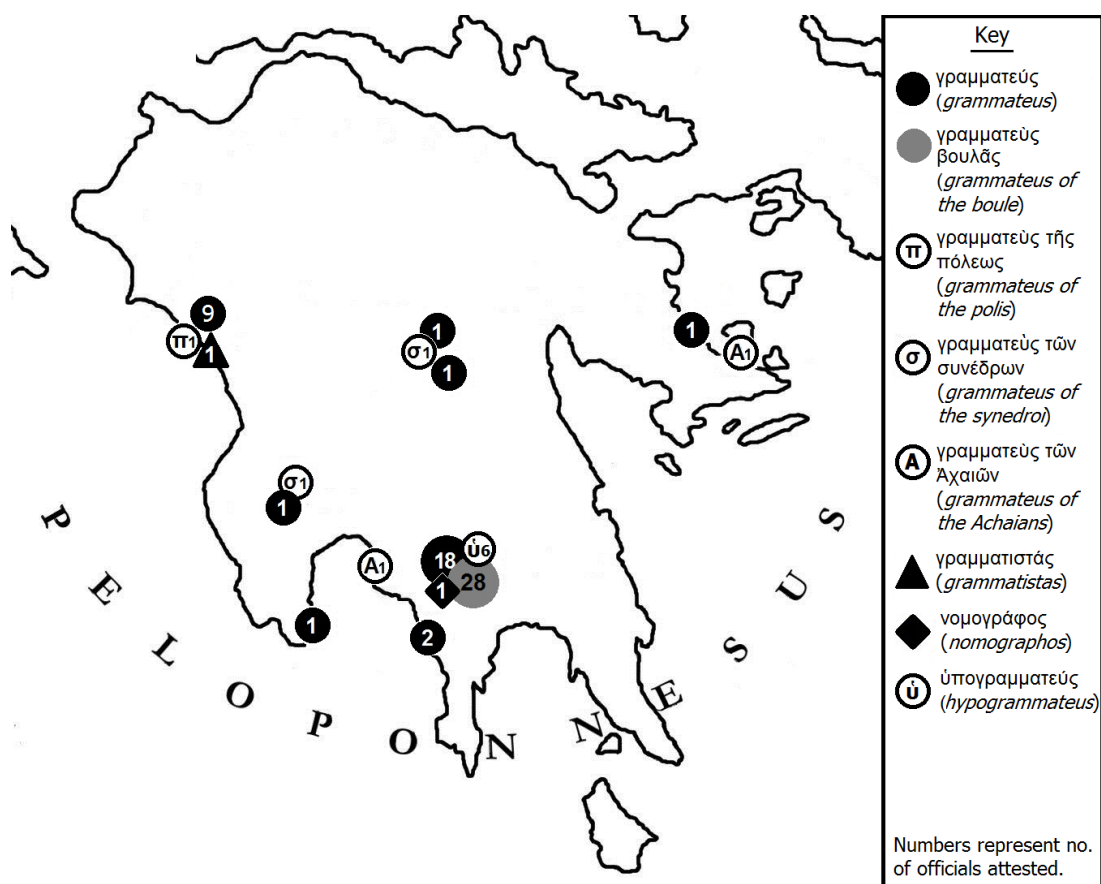


Figure 14 – Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the second century AD.¹⁶²⁶

¹⁶²⁶ Achaian League at Abia *grammateus* (of the Achaian League): IG V,1 1352 (119-138 AD) 9-10 (one). Asine *grammateus*: IG V,1 1412 (AD 193-5) 7-9 (one). Epidaurus *grammateus*: IG IV²,1 25 (117-138 AD) 2 (one). Mantineia *grammateus*: IG V,2 302 (125-128 AD) 5-6 (one). Achaian League at Mantinea *grammateus of the synedroi*: IG V,2 313 (2CAD) 1-2 (one). Messene *grammateus*: IG V,1 1469 (126 AD) 6 (one); *grammateus of the synedroi*: SEG 23:206 (2-3CAD) 1 (one). Olympia *grammateus*: IvO 91 (113-117 AD) 21; IvO 92 (aft.113-117 AD) 16-17; IvO 99 (After 165 AD) 19-20; IvO 102 (181-185 AD) 20-21; IvO 103 (177-189 AD) 23; IvO 104 (185-189 AD) 23; IvO 105 (Late 2-3C AD) 11-12; IvO 107 (Late 2-3CAD) 16-17; IvO 430 (Not bf.b.2CAD) 6-7 (nine); *grammateus of the polis*: IvO 460 (Roman) 3-4 (one); *grammatistas*: IvO 468 (2-3CAD) 5 (one). Sparta *grammateus*: ABSA 26 C4 (101-150 AD) 10; ABSA 26 20b (101-150 AD) 5-6; ABSA 26 20c (101-150 AD) 9-12*; IG V,1 40 (138-180 AD) 9-11, 13-14; IG V,1 74 (138-161 AD) 8; IG V,1 115 (Mid 2CAD) A4; IG V,1 137 (98-117 AD) 3-9, 23-24*; IG V,1 147 (early 2CAD) 13-14; IG V,1 152 (2CAD) 9; IG V,1 168 (Late 2/3C AD) 1 or 7; IG V,1 174 (Roman) 13; IG V,1 179 (Roman) 8, 10; IG V,1 603 (Roman Imp.) 7; IG V,1 643 (undated) 3; SEG 48:456 (98-117 AD) 9; SEG 48:468 (98-117 AD) 7-8 (eighteen, two in texts marked with an asterisk); *grammateus boulas*: ABSA 26 A5 (101-150 AD) 5-6; ABSA 26 B4 (101-150 AD) 1-4; ABSA 26 B6 (101-150 AD) 1-3; ABSA 26 B8 (101-150 AD) 4; ABSA 26 C1 (101-150 AD) II.4-7; ABSA 26 C7 (101-150 AD) 8-9; ABSA 26 C10 (101-150 AD) 4-5; ABSA 27 E30 (c.134 AD) 3-4; IG V,1 32 (After 125 AD) A15; IG V,1 34 (117-138 AD) 7; IG V,1 37 (138-161 AD) 1; IG V,1 39 (Mid 2CAD) 24; IG V,1 40 (138-180 AD) 9-11, 13-14; IG V,1 46 (Late 2/3CAD) 8-9; IG V,1 60 (117-138 AD); IG V,1 71 (Mid 2CAD) III.4; IG V,1 110 (Mid 2CAD) 5; IG V,1 112 (138-161 AD) 11; IG V,1 116 (161 AD or later) 6-7; IG V,1 118 (undated) 1; IG V,1 137 (98-117 AD) 3-9, 23-24; IG V,1 162 (Mid 2CAD) B19; IG V,1 479 (131/132 AD) 2-4; SEG 30:410 (Mid 2CAD) 26; SEG 31:340 (98-138 AD) 8; SEG 48:458 (160-165 AD) 27-28, 32-33; SEG 48:459 (150-155 AD) 6-9; SEG 48:460 (160-165 AD) 6-7 (twenty-eight); *hypogrammateus*: ABSA 26 C1 (101-150 AD) II.4-7; IG V,1 115 (Mid 2CAD) A4; IG V,1 137 (98-117

3CAD

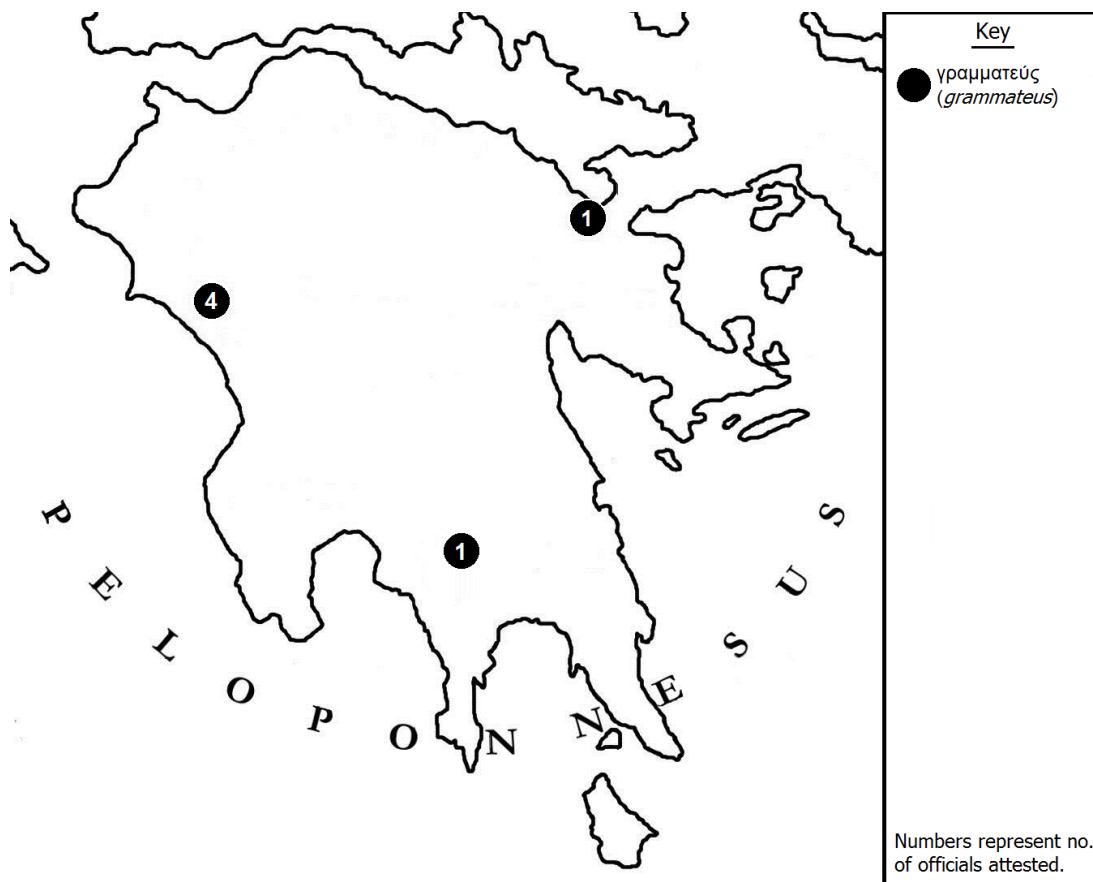


Figure 15 – Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the third century AD.¹⁶²⁷

AD) 3-9, 23-24; SEG 48:458 (160-165 AD) 27-28, 33-34 (six); *nomographos*: SEG 48:470 (115-138 AD) 5 (one). *Tegea grammateus*: IG V,2 50 (165/166 AD) 78 (one). *Thalamai grammateus*: IG V,1 1314 (117-138 AD) 12; IG V,1 1315 (117-138 AD) 29-30 (two). *Achaian League at Troizen grammateus of the Achaians*: IG IV 795 (c.103-114 AD) 12 (one). **Total: 75**

¹⁶²⁷ *Corinthia grammateus*: SEG 26:396 (mid 3CAD) 2 (one). *Sparta grammateus*: SEG 34:308 (225-250 AD) 7 (one). *Olympia grammateus*: IvO 110 (209-213 AD) 27; IvO 117 (237-241 AD) 22; IvO 121 (245-249 AD) 28; IvO 122 (265 AD) 24 (four). **Total: 6**

Appendix C – Honours for Roman Magistrates who held the office of *grammateus*

The following table comprises a list of inscriptions from the Peloponnese which honour magistrates who were part of the Roman administration, and who held the office of secretary, and often several other magistracies, during the course of their lifetime.

Location	Reference	Designation(s)	Date	See:
Argos	IG IV 589 2-10	<i>officer of the ephebes, grammateus, tamias, agonothes</i>	undated	n/a
Argos	IG IV 606 1-6	<i>aedile, grammateus, hierophant, agonothes</i>	Roman Imp.	page 135
Argos	IG IV 609 5-8	<i>agoranomos, public buyer of corn, gropheus</i>	Roman	n.727
Argos	SEG 13:244 1-11	<i>gymnasiarch, agoranomos, grammateus, tamias</i>	1C BC-1CAD	n/a
Troizen	IG IV 795 3-14	<i>strategos, agonothes, grammateus of the Achaians</i>	103-113 AD	n/a
Epidauros	IG IV ² ,1 25 3-10	<i>grammateus, ambassador, gymnasiarchos, agoranomos</i>	117-138 AD	n/a
Achaia	IG IV ² ,1 81 7-18 (and IG IV ² ,1 80)	<i>grammateus</i>	34/35 AD	page 223
Sparta	IG V,1 479 3-8	<i>grammateus of the boule, hipparch, agonothes</i>	131/132 AD	page 164
Asine	IG V,1 1412 7-9	<i>grammateus</i>	193-5 AD	page 169
Mantineia	IG V,2 313 1-4	<i>grammateus of the synedion, agonothes</i>	2CAD	n.1072
Elis	IvO 430 6-7	<i>stratagos, grammateus (twice)</i>	2-3CAD	n/a
Elis	IvO 433 1-6	<i>priest of Zeus Olympios, agoranomos, gymnasiarch, chief of police, grammateus</i>	after c.95 AD	page 206
Elis	IvO 460 3-4	<i>priest of Zeus Olympios, grammateus of the polis, president of Achaian League</i>	Roman	page 206
Elis	IvO 468 1-7	<i>epimeletes, priest, agoranomos, chief of police, magistrate, grammatistas</i>	2/3CAD	page 207
Corinth	SEG 26:396 2	<i>—arch, tamias, grammateus, agoranomos, strategos</i>	3CAD	page 128

Table 16 – Honours for Roman magistrates who held the office of *grammateus*.

Honours of this type for secretaries are not known from Athens.

Appendix D – Delos

A study of Athens and the Peloponnese shows that there is a great deal of variety in the types of secretaries found and the duties that they performed, but also that there was very little spread of offices from one region to the other. A study of a third region, Delos, may serve as a case study to indicate whether this lack of spread – and therefore the region-specific nature of secretaryships – is to be expected.

Overview

The story of secretarial activity on Delos is inextricably linked to the Athenian administration of this small island, since there is no evidence for bureaucratic or secretarial offices before Athenian occupation.

Delos drew visitors from throughout the Aegean from the eighth century BC, for worship of Apollo, although it had been occupied from much earlier.¹⁶²⁸ From the sixth to the second century BC, Athens gained and repeatedly lost control of Delos, installing its own administration on the island, and occasionally removing existing populations to ensure its own control.¹⁶²⁹ After the end of the Persian wars, Delos became the meeting-place of the (Athens-led) Delian League, which had its treasury here until 454 BC, when it was moved to Athens.¹⁶³⁰ During this period, the island and treasury were administered by Athenian *hellenotamiai* (treasurers), who were elected by lot, from the *pentakosiomedimnoi*,¹⁶³¹ the highest-producing of the Solonian classes.

Little is known about the earliest period of Athenian administration. Since the *hellenotamiai* in Athens had their own *grammateis* (see page 86), it is highly likely that the *hellenotamiai* on Delos also had their own secretaries; however there is no surviving evidence for this. The earliest records from Delos pertaining to Athenian control date to 434/3 BC, and here, the designations of the officials responsible are not preserved.¹⁶³²

¹⁶²⁸ Constantakopoulou (2007) 38.

¹⁶²⁹ Hdt. 1.64.2; Th. 3.104.1-3; *OCD* 320-321. Laidlaw (1933) 57, 67, 73-4. By the end of the fifth century BC, Athens had purified Delos twice, and had removed nearly all Delian citizens from the island. The only Delians to remain behind were minor Delian officials called *neokoroi* (literally, 'temple-sweepers'), who are unlikely to have had any real influence. Some of the islanders then returned the following year.

¹⁶³⁰ Th. 1.96.2; *OCD* 320-321.

¹⁶³¹ *Ath. Pol.* 8.1; *OCD* 320-321; Laidlaw (1933) 62-63.

¹⁶³² Chankowski (2008) 41, 128; Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 142. See n.1648.

The first reference to administration by four Athenian magistrates – called amphictyons – dates to 410 BC.¹⁶³³ The amphictyons managed Delos and its treasuries from the end of the fifth century BC until 314/3 BC,¹⁶³⁴ assisted by their *grammateus* and *hypogrammateus* (see page 325).¹⁶³⁵

The treasury of the Delian League was removed to Athens in the mid-fifth century BC; however, the remaining temple holdings were considerable, and by the start of the fourth century BC, there were two temples of Apollo and a temple of Artemis on Delos.¹⁶³⁶ From 359 BC, a second board of Athenians, the *naopoioi* ('temple-builders'), were formed as an architectural commission¹⁶³⁷ responsible for building and repairing these temples. This group also had their own *grammateus* and *hypogrammateus* (page 338).

From the end of the fifth century BC, Delian decrees were enacted by its boule and the Delians (the demos).¹⁶³⁸ However, evidence for a Delian *grammateus of the boule* is scarce, and when the designation occurs in inscriptions, it may refer to the *grammateus of the boule* at Athens (page 327). From the end of the fifth century BC to the start of Delian independence in 314 BC, the *grammateus of the boule* is invisible in the epigraphic record, and the (possibly synonymous) designation *grammateus of the polis* is used instead (see page 333).

From the end of the fifth century BC, there is also evidence for Delian officials known as *hieropoioi* (ministers of the sacrifice, or 'doers of sacred things'), who met in the Neokorion.¹⁶³⁹ When Delos gained independence in 314 BC, it took control of its own sanctuaries, and the *hieropoioi* took on the bureaucratic and administrative duties that had previously been carried out by the amphictyons.¹⁶⁴⁰ The Delian *hieropoioi* had their own *grammateus*, who recorded the contents of the treasuries, in much the same way that the *grammateus of the amphictyons* had done; effectively continuing a tradition of 'Athenian-

¹⁶³³ Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 142; Rhodes (1993) 694-5; ID 93 (410/09 BC) 2-3.

¹⁶³⁴ OCD 320-321; Laidlaw (1933) 75; Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 142. There were two possible interruptions to this period of control: In 404, Athens lost control of Delos when defeated by Sparta, but regained it in the late 390s. The Athenians may have lost control again after the Corinthian War, until the formation of the second Athenian Confederacy (c.386-378/7).

¹⁶³⁵ Four amphictyons: ID 93 (410/09 BC) 2-7; five amphictyons plus their secretary: ID 42 (341/0 BC) 1-8; Chankowski (2008) 214; Rhodes (1993) 693-4.

¹⁶³⁶ Hamilton (2000) 34, 41-43; Laidlaw (1933) 83-84. The two temples of Apollo were referred to as 'of the Athenians' and 'of the Delians', and then later as 'of the Seven Statues' and 'the Poros temple', respectively.

¹⁶³⁷ Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 144.

¹⁶³⁸ E.g. ID 71 (c.400 BC) 1-2 ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ | καὶ Δηλ[ί]οισιν.

¹⁶³⁹ E.g. ID 104-13 (434-315 BC) 13; ID 95 (403-377 BC) 6; ID 73 (400-375 BC) 3. Chankowski (2008) 530-536; Laidlaw (1933) 74. The use of the Neokorion as a meeting place suggests that the *neokoroi* predate the *hieropoioi*.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Laidlaw (1933) 94; Reger (1994) 15. Vial (1984) 221 gives a list of the known *grammateis* of the *hieropoioi* for 297-168 BC. See also Appendix A page 273.

style' inventories. It can even be argued that the treasury records became more sophisticated without Athenian intervention, due to Delos' increasing wealth and importance as a centre of the grain trade (see page 330).¹⁶⁴¹

Delos remained independent until 167 BC. In 166, Delos supported Macedon against Rome, which led to Rome returning control of Delos to Athens. Once again, Athens removed the old inhabitants, and made Delos an Athenian cleruchy, with an *epimeletes* as eponymous official,¹⁶⁴² assisted by a *grammateus* (see page 336). Delos was turned into a free port, which both damaged Rhodian trade, and meant that while Athens administered the island, it could make little profit from it.¹⁶⁴³ Epigraphic evidence from this period is scarce, with treasury records not extant after 169 BC.¹⁶⁴⁴ The cleruchy appears to have been dissolved after a slave uprising, after which Delos became an organisation of Athenians and foreign traders.¹⁶⁴⁵

Subject matter and style of texts

Texts from Delos written by men with Athenian names differ from texts from Athens in several respects. The most significant of these is the high proportion of financial documents (or inventories), which reflect the importance of Delos' treasuries. In contrast, financial documents from Athens are almost entirely confined to fifth century BC treasury documents, or documents of the boule which detail interaction between the boule and the *hellenotamiai*.

Delian inventories contain much information relating to the payment of officials (including *grammateis*) and stonecutters (see page 347). The sheer number of these texts means that we have more evidence of this type from Delos than from elsewhere. The unusual level of detail they contain means that we also have information about the materials required for the creation of inventories (stone, wooden tablets, lead, etc.), and how much these items cost.

Other differences between the epigraphic habit of Delos and Athens are the high proportion of honorific and proxeny decrees for non-Delians, which illustrate the importance of Delos' external connections.¹⁶⁴⁶ Texts also rarely include the epigraphic formulae which direct officers to write and set up stelai.¹⁶⁴⁷

¹⁶⁴¹ *OCD* 320-321; Hamilton (2000) 60; Laidlaw (1933) 83-84, 95-96, 101-102.

¹⁶⁴² E.g. ID 1450 (140/39 BC) A2; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 243.

¹⁶⁴³ *OCD* 320-321.

¹⁶⁴⁴ ID 461 (169 BC).

¹⁶⁴⁵ *OCD* 320-321.

¹⁶⁴⁶ For example ID 78 and ID 79, 4CBC proxeny and honorific decrees.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Where given, formulae can also provide the names of groups responsible, and omit the names and designations of specific officers. See IG XI,4 813 (start 2C BC) 17-20 on page 328.

Secretaries of the boule and demos

γραμματεὺς τῶν ἀμφικτυόνων (*grammateus of the amphictyons*)

From the middle of the fifth century BC, Athenian officials administered the treasuries on Delos. The earliest records pertaining to this control date to 434/3 BC, although the designations of the officials responsible are not preserved.¹⁶⁴⁸ The first reference to administration by four Athenian magistrates – called amphictyons – dates to 410 BC.¹⁶⁴⁹ This group had their own *grammateus* and *hypogrammateus* (page 335).¹⁶⁵⁰

The amphictyons managed Delos and its treasuries until 314/13 BC, performing a range of functions such as administering loans advanced by the temple, collecting rents from sacred land and estates, and administering festival expenditure and wages for officials.¹⁶⁵¹ These officers were ‘amphictyons’ in name only, functioning neither as representatives of a league of neighbouring states, nor as part of a religious foundation.¹⁶⁵² This appears to be an appropriation of a term for the purpose of legitimation. The amphictyony at Delphi, which administered the temple of Apollo, was already long-established, and from the seventh century BC, the island of Kalaureia was also the centre of an amphictyonic league connected with the temple of Poseidon, whose members came from several mainland and island locations, including Athens.¹⁶⁵³ In appropriating this same term for Delos, Athens attempted to associate the Athenian officials administering the treasury with Delos’ pre-existing cult network, rather than with the Athenian empire.¹⁶⁵⁴

Activities

Since the amphictyons managed the treasuries, it is not unreasonable to assume that their *grammateis* compiled the treasury inventories, and had them written up on stelai. However, there is no explicit evidence for this, since these inventories lack verbs of writing.¹⁶⁵⁵

¹⁶⁴⁸ Chankowski (2008) 41 & 128 places ID 89, the first administrative act of the Athenians at the shrine, at 434/433–433/432 BC, though it was previously dated to 421–407 BC. The text describes the distribution of roles between Athenian and Delian magistrates whose designations are not preserved. See also *OCD* 320–321; Laidlaw (1933) 75; Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 142.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 142; Rhodes (1993) 694–5; ID 93 (410/09 BC) 2–3.

¹⁶⁵⁰ ID 88 (368, 362 BC) 20–28 & 31–37. Four amphictyons: ID 93 (410/09 BC) 2–7; five amphictyons plus their secretary: ID 42 (341/0 BC) 1–8; Chankowski (2008) 214; Rhodes (1993) 693–4.

¹⁶⁵¹ Laidlaw (1933) 78.

¹⁶⁵² Chankowski (2008) 3, 7.

¹⁶⁵³ Str. 8.6.14; Constantakopoulou (2007) 30–32.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Constantakopoulou (2007) 62.

¹⁶⁵⁵ E.g. the treasury inventory ID 104 (364/3 BC) 5–7 records the *grammateus* of the year 364/3 and the *grammateus* of the year 363/2, with the expression of *paradosis* in 2–3. No officials are directed to write up the inventory.

The only surviving instance of the *grammateus of the amphictyons* in an epigraphic formula is in an Athenian proxeny decree for a Delian, Pythodoros, found on Delos.¹⁶⁵⁶ In this text, the Athenian *grammateus of the boule* is directed to write the Athenian copy, while the (Athenian) *grammateus of the amphictyons* on Delos is to write the Delian copy. Both officials perform the same duties, which are described in the same way; both must also later amend the stele, granting the rights of proxenos to someone else.

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν | στήλῃ λιθίνῃ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ
στήσαι | ἐν ἀκροπόλει· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν γραμματέα | τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐν στήλῃ
λιθίνῃ ἀντίγραφον καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος | ἐν Δήλῳ·

...

περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς [τῆς Πυθοδώρου] καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφιδο[ῦ τ]οῦ Πυθοδώρου
δεδοχθαι· ἐπειδὴ ἐστὶν χρήσιμος ἀνὴρ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις [...ος, εἶναι καὶωι τῷ
ἀ]δελφι[δ]ῷ τῷ Πυθοδώρου τὴν προξενίαν· καὶ ἀναγράψαι] ὁ τοῦνομα [εἰς
τὰς στήλας τὰς Πυθοδώρου, εἰς] μὲν τὴν | [ἐ]ν ἀκροπόλει τὸν γραμματέα τῆς
βουλῆς, εἰς δὲ τὴν [ἐ]ν Δήλῳ τὸν γραμματέα τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων].¹⁶⁵⁷

And the grammateus of the boule is to write up this decree on a stone stele and set it up in the acropolis. And the grammateus of the amphictyons is to write up a copy on a stone stele and set it up in the sanctuary of Apollo in Delos.

...

And concerning (what is to be granted to) [Pythodoros'] sister and his nephew [it has been decided: that since he (Pythodoros) is a useful] man among the islands ... [there is to also be the (state of) proxeny] for Pythodoros' nephew: [and write] ... –'s name [on the stelai of Pythodoros: on] the one in the acropolis, the grammateus of the boule, and on the one on Delos, the grammateus of the amphictyons.

Both the *grammateus of the boule* and the *grammateus of the amphictyons* are to complete the same task: writing a stele declaring Pythodoros proxenos, then later, amending the same stele to include the name of his nephew. The Delian version is described as a copy of the Athenian text (ἀντίγραφον, lines 23-24); that is, a subordinate copy of the primary, Athenian version.¹⁶⁵⁸ Even so, the *grammateus of the amphictyons* is clearly performing some of the same functions as the Athenian *grammateus of the boule* at this time, rather than any other Athenian or Delian secretary. He also provided Athens with copies of Delian treasury accounts.¹⁶⁵⁹

¹⁶⁵⁶ ID 88 (368, 362 BC) 20-37.

¹⁶⁵⁷ ID 88 (368, 362 BC) 20-25, 31-37. Durrbach (1922) 11-12.

¹⁶⁵⁸ For a copy of a decree sent to a *grammateus of the boule*, see page 329.

¹⁶⁵⁹ ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 1-17.

Only one inscription from Delos itself specifically refers to the *grammateus of the amphictyons* using this full title, and this is a decree of the *naopoioi* (see page 338).¹⁶⁶⁰

Further particulars

The amphictyons initially comprised four officials, plus a *grammateus* and *hypogrammateus* (see page 335).¹⁶⁶¹ From 374/3 BC there were five amphictyons.

Athenians holding office on Delos did not (initially) serve for the same amount of time as Athenians in Athens: it would have been entirely impractical for the *grammateus of the amphictyons* to have served for one prytany only. Initially, the office of amphictyon and *grammateus of the amphictyons* appears to have been for five years,¹⁶⁶² until c.367, when the offices became annual.¹⁶⁶³

γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς (*grammateus of the boule*)

There is very little evidence for an office of *grammateus of the boule* on Delos. The designation is found in three inscriptions only, and in at least one of these (and possibly all of them), the official referred to is the *grammateus of the boule* in Athens.

The lack of texts containing the designation *grammateus of the boule* in Delos suggests one of three things:

1. that the secretarial functions of the Delian boule were carried out by another officer, such as the *grammateus of the amphictyons* and later, the *grammateus of the polis*,¹⁶⁶⁴
2. that the Delian *grammateus of the boule* existed and recorded the business of the boule, but his designation was not recorded on the documents on permanent media for which he was responsible;
3. that the Delian *grammateus of the boule* existed and recorded the business of the boule, but he played little or no role in the creation of permanent documents.

¹⁶⁶⁰ ID 104-23 (346/5 BC) 9: [παρὰ γρα]νματέως Ἀνφ[ικτυόνων]

¹⁶⁶¹ See, for example ID 98 (377-373 BC) A49-50, 74-75.

¹⁶⁶² Diodorus was *grammateus of the amphictyons* between 377/6 and 374/3 BC: ID 98 (377-373 BC) A2-6: τὰδε ἔπραξαν Ἀμφικτύονες Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Καλλέο ἄρχοντος μέχρι τῷ Θαργηλιῶνος μηνὸς τῷ ἐπὶ Ἱπποδάμαντος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι, | ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐπιγένοιο ἄρχοντος μέχρι τῷ Θαργηλιῶνος μηνὸς | τῷ ἐπὶ Ἱππῖο ἄρχοντος, χρόνον ὅσον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἤρξεν, οἷς Διό|δωρος Ὀλυμπιοδῶρο Σκαμβωνίδης ἐγραμμάτευεν... Here are the transactions of the amphictyons of the Athenians, from the archonship of Kalleas until the month of Thargelion in the archonship of Hippodamas in Athens, and in Delos from the archonship of Epigenes until the month of Thargelion in the archonship of Hippias, for the time when each of them was in office, for whom Diodoros son of Olympiodoros of the deme Skambonidai was *grammateus*.... This is the Delian copy. IG II² 1635 (374-3 BC) 2-6 is the Athenian copy. Develin (1989) 237-8; Prêtre (2002) 33; Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 134.

¹⁶⁶³ Chankowski (2008) 214. Rhodes (1993) 693-4. For a slightly later list of the five *amphictyons* plus their secretary, see ID 42 (341/0 BC) 1-8.

¹⁶⁶⁴ See pages 325 and 333, respectively.

It may also be that a combination of these factors occurs, depending on the period in question.

The earliest instance of this designation is a fourth-century BC proxy decree, referring to the *grammateus of the boule* in Athens. The *grammateus of the boule* is to write the initial copy of the decree and set it up in the acropolis; the *grammateus of the amphictyony* is to write the Delian copy.¹⁶⁶⁵ The direction that the *grammateus of the amphictyony* is to write the Delian copy strongly suggests that there was no other officer performing the same functions as the Athenian *grammateus of the boule* on Delos at this time.

There is no other evidence for a Delian *grammateus of the boule* during the first period of Athenian control, suggesting either that this officer is invisible in the permanent record, or does not exist. Invisibility in the permanent record could be due to either the boule's use of temporary media (with only the sanctuary copy written on stone),¹⁶⁶⁶ or the particular style of documents of the boule and demos. From the fourth to the second centuries BC, while there are a large number of decrees published on stone and enacted on behalf of the boule and demos, these texts systematically omit the names and designations of the officers responsible for the writing and setting up of these texts. Instead, the texts simply state that the inscription is to be set up by the boule in the *bouleuterion*, and by the *hieropoioi* in the sanctuary, as follows:

ἀναγράψαι δὲ | τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τῇ μὲν βουλῇ εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, τοὺς δὲ
ἱεροποιούς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν | εἰς στήλην.¹⁶⁶⁷

And write up this decree: the boule in the bouleuterion, and the hieropoioi in the temple, on a stele.

The second inscription containing the designation *grammateus of the boule* is from 297 BC, during the period of Delian independence when the office would have been held by a Delian. Here, it is not possible to tell whether the designation refers to an Athenian or Delian officer, as the demotic is missing. The text relates to building work carried out on the temple of Apollo. The *grammateus of the boule* is referred to solely as one of several witnesses, along with the (Delian) *grammateus of the hieropoioi and agoranomoi*, as follows:

... ἔγγυοι· Ἄνδρο[μ]ένης Δημόνου, Νίκων Δημόνου. μάρτυρες οἶδε· ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως οἱ
ἔνδεκα καὶ [οἱ γραμματεῖς]· | <eleven personal names>· γραμματεὺς βουλῆς Διόγ[νη]τος Τι
— — —· | γραμματεὺς ἱεροποιῶν καὶ ἀγορανόμων Θεόγνωτος Πατροκλέους· ταμίας τῆς

¹⁶⁶⁵ ID 88 (368, 362 BC) 20-25, page 326.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 243; Schoeffer (1889) 116.

¹⁶⁶⁷ IG XI,4 813 (start 2C BC) 17-20. There are over 160 decrees dating from the end of the 4C BC-2C BC (the period of Delian independence), containing an inscription formula of this type. The majority of these decrees are either proxy decrees or honorific inscriptions.

πόλεως Τλησιμένης Ἐρα(σίνου)· ἀγορανόμοι· <three personal names>. ἰδιωτῶν· <16 + personal names>.¹⁶⁶⁸

... Providing sureties: Andromenes son of Demonous, Nikon son of Demonous.¹⁶⁶⁹ The witnesses as follows: from the polis, the Eleven and [the grammateis]: <eleven personal names>; grammateus of the boule Diognetos Tī--, grammateus of the hieropoioi and of the agoranomoi Theognotos son of Patrokles; treasurer of the polis, Tlesimenes son of Erasinios; agoranomoi: <three personal names>. From among private citizens, the following: <16 + personal names>.

In Athens, the Eleven were officers who had jurisdiction over *kakourgoi* ('common criminals'), prisons and executions.¹⁶⁷⁰ At Delos, this board appears to have a different function: to appear as witnesses for contracts for public building works.¹⁶⁷¹ The reference to witnesses is similar in nature to phrases in temple inventories produced by the *hieropoioi*, where the *grammateus of the polis* and the *grammateus of the hieropoioi* are described as being present (παρόντων), along with the *bouleutai*.¹⁶⁷²

From 297 BC until 170 BC (almost the entire period of Delian independence), the designation *grammateus of the boule* is absent from epigraphic sources. Instead, documents note an officer known as the *grammateus of the polis*, and it may be that any boule documents were written up by the *grammateus of the polis* during this period (see page 333).¹⁶⁷³

The final text from Delos containing the designation *grammateus of the boule* is an honorific inscription from the second century AD; considerably later than the previous two examples. In this text, the *grammateus of the boule* is referred to as the recipient of a copy of a decree, the initial version of which is written by another, unspecified official.

τοῦ δὲ ψ[η]φίσματος παραδοθῆναι | τοῦδε τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῷ<ι> τῆς [β]ου[λ]ῆς
γρα[μμα]τεῖ καὶ κατατάξαι¹⁶⁷⁴ εἰς [κι]|βωτόν· ἀναγράψαι δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς στήλην ἣν καὶ
ἀνατεθῆναι εἰς [τὸ] δάπεδον τὸ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.¹⁶⁷⁵

¹⁶⁶⁸ ID 502 (297 BC) A25-30.

¹⁶⁶⁹ LGPN I 128.

¹⁶⁷⁰ For more information on the Eleven and their *grammateus* in Athens, see page 90.

¹⁶⁷¹ *Ath. Pol.* 52.1; *Arist. Pol.* VI 1322a.19-20; Rhodes (1993) 579-580; Vial (1984) 116. This is the only instance of the term 'the Eleven' on Delos. At least two of these named individuals also appear in another inscription dated to the same year, where they are listed as *bouleutai*: ID 500 (297 BC) B16-20. Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Ἐλικάνδρου, Ἐπιθάλης Ἀριστοδίκου and possibly also [Ἀντί]γονος in 17-18 also appear in ID 502 (297 BC) A26-27.

¹⁶⁷² See n.1706.

¹⁶⁷³ It also seems unlikely that decrees of the boule and demos were written up by the *grammateus of the hieropoioi*. The *grammateus of the amphictyons* was no longer present on the island.

¹⁶⁷⁴ This term is rarely used, and occurs in one other instance only in the regions covered by this thesis. See IG II² 233 (340/39 BC) 15-16: μηδὲ τοῖς σ[υνέδροις εἶναι] | κατατάξαι ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦτω....

And the copy of this decree is to be handed over to the grammateus of the boule, and he is to put it in its proper place in the coffer; and he is to write it up also on a stele, which is to be set up on the floor in the sanctuary.

The copy of the decree is stored, and the copy of the copy, written by the *grammateus of the boule*, is displayed.

γραμματεὺς τῶν ἱεροποιοῶν (*grammateus of the hieropoioi*)

The *hieropoioi* were Delian temple officials, attested from the fourth to the second centuries BC.¹⁶⁷⁶ During the Athenian administration of the island, the *hieropoioi* functioned as minor officials, and administration of temple finances was carried out by Athenian amphictyons.¹⁶⁷⁷ During the period of Delian independence, however (314-166 BC), the *hieropoioi* took on the duties previously carried out by the amphictyons;¹⁶⁷⁸ duties which included, but were not limited to, the compiling and publishing of temple accounts, which listed the contents of the treasuries and the temple funds passed from one set of *hieropoioi* to another at the end of their year in office.¹⁶⁷⁹ This group possessed its own secretary, the *grammateus of the hieropoioi*.

Activities

The *grammateus of the hieropoioi* is known solely from the Delian temple inventories, where he almost always appears in conjunction with the *grammateus of the polis* (see page 334).¹⁶⁸⁰ From all instances of both designations, there is only one example of a verb of writing directly associated with either office,¹⁶⁸¹ and so it is almost impossible to determine the duties of either officer, or distinguish the duties of the *grammateus of the hieropoioi* from those of the *grammateus of the polis*. Of the two officials, it is more likely that the *grammateus of the hieropoioi* wrote temple accounts than the *grammateus of the polis* (or any other official), since the former was a temple employee, and no other types of *grammateis* receive payments from temple funds. (See example on page 331.)

¹⁶⁷⁵ ID 1522 (98-117 AD) 19-21.

¹⁶⁷⁶ E.g. ID 73 (400-375 BC) 3; ID 1523 (end 2C BC) 4.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Chankowski (2008) 530-536 identifies some (pre-independence) Delian *hieropoioi*. Laidlaw (1933) 74, 82.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Laidlaw (1933) 94. Vial (1984) 221 gives a list of the known *grammateis of the hieropoioi* for 297-168 BC. See also Appendix A page 273.

¹⁶⁷⁹ See e.g. IG XI,2 162 (278 BC) A1-4 on page 334.

¹⁶⁸⁰ An exception is ID 502 (297 BC) A25-29, in which the *grammateus of the hieropoioi* is shown with the *grammateus of the boule* instead. See page 328.

¹⁶⁸¹ ID 1523 (end 2C BC) 18-21: ... καὶ [ὁ γρα]μματεὺς [ι]ς |κ[.. ἀνα]γ[ρ]αψάτ[ω]σαν τό[δε τὸ ψ]ήφισμα εἰς | [σ]τήλην [λίθ]ιν καὶ ἀναθε[σάτωσαν] ἐν τῷ | [ιε]ρῷ? παρὰ τ[ὴν] εἰκόνα. ...and the grammateus ... is to write up this decree on a stone stele and set it up in the sanctuary beside the statue.

The temple inventories of the *hieropoioi* are typically long and divided into sections, each section serving a different purpose. They list the treasures held in the temples and expenditure on laws and decrees,¹⁶⁸² and can also record a variety of other things, such as rents collected from sacred and other properties,¹⁶⁸³ debtors¹⁶⁸⁴ and loans,¹⁶⁸⁵ monthly expenditure,¹⁶⁸⁶ dedications of phialai,¹⁶⁸⁷ and even transactions pertaining to the trade in wheat.¹⁶⁸⁸

In some respects these inventories contain a large amount of detail, as they contain exhaustive lists of many items. In other respects, they are imprecise, as they group together seemingly unrelated objects or expenses. For example, in the following excerpt from the section of a temple inventory that deals with expenditure on laws and decrees, the wages for the *grammateus* of the *hieropoioi* and the stone-cutter are listed alongside other items required for the creation of the inventory, and the amount spent on sacrifices and wood.

...γραμματεῖ Νεοκροντίδῃ ϜΔΔΔ. ἄγαλμα τῷ Διονύσῳι Ϝ ... | ... | ...[πέτευρα ταῖς] δι[εγγ]υήσεσιν καὶ ταῖς συγγραφαῖς ΓΗΗ· εἰς Θεσμοφόρια τῇ Δήμητρὶ ὕς ἐγκύμων ΔΔΔΗ·...

...[στ]ηλῶν ϜΔΓ· βατήρων ΔΓΗ· τοῖς ἀπενέγκασιν ΗΗΗ· τοῖς ἐργασαμένοις ΔΓΗ· τῷ γράσαντι ΗΗ· μολύβδου ΓΗΗ· | [— c.23 — πέτευρα ταῖς η]αραδόσεσιν ΓΗΗ· καὶ τῷ γράσαντι ΔΗ·.¹⁶⁸⁹

...For the secretary Neocrontides, 80 drachmas. The processional statue for Dionysos, 50 drachmas. ... [Wooden boards for] recording deposits and contracts, 8 drachmas. For Thesmophoria, a pregnant sow for Demeter, 32 drachmas. ...

...For stelai, 65 drachmas. For their bases, 16 drachmas, 2 obols. For those who delivered them, 4 drachmas. For those who manufactured them, 16 drachmas. For the one who did the inscribing, 200 drachmas. For lead, 7 drachmas.... wooden boards for the paradoseis, 8 drachmas. ...and for the one who wrote (the paradosis), 12 drachmas.¹⁶⁹⁰

¹⁶⁸² ID 442 (179 BC) A195-207.

¹⁶⁸³ ID 442 (179 BC) A140-152.

¹⁶⁸⁴ ID 442 (179 BC) A159-180 & 240-252.

¹⁶⁸⁵ ID 442 (179 BC) A209-219.

¹⁶⁸⁶ ID 442 (179 BC) A180-194.

¹⁶⁸⁷ ID 442 (179 BC) A224-225.

¹⁶⁸⁸ ID 442 (179 BC) A105-135; SEG 49:1052. Prêtre (2002) 178-9, 190.

¹⁶⁸⁹ ID 442 (179 BC) A198, 200, 203-204.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Translation of Prêtre (2002) 184-5.

Although Athenian accounts are similar (for example recording expenditure on decrees or amounts payable to various officers),¹⁶⁹¹ they do not contain the same type of information or level of detail, such as the amount spent on temporary media, portage charges for media, incidental items such as lead, and sacrifices. Athenian documents are also almost entirely silent on 'the one who did the inscribing' (the stone-cutter) or 'the one who did the writing' (on temporary media), here indicated by the informal expression τῷ γράψαντι + the amount he is to be paid. (For more information, see page 347.)

The *wooden boards for recording deposits and contracts* mentioned above may refer to running accounts made on temporary media throughout the year, which were then used for the (final, stone) temple accounts at the end of the year.

There is a great deal of variation between inventories, with the order of the contents changing from year to year, suggesting that these texts were not written with the expectation that the year's accounts would either be read, or compared with the accounts for a previous year.¹⁶⁹² Additionally, there is sloppiness in the recording in some years, for example in 278 BC, when part of the account is copied verbatim from the previous year, including its errors.¹⁶⁹³ However, there are also running totals given through the text, and these are cumulative.¹⁶⁹⁴

Vial notes that there is only one respect in which these accounts are meticulous: during the period of independence, they always record broken, incomplete or damaged objects, since this both clears the incoming board of responsibility for any damage, and proves that no objects have disappeared.¹⁶⁹⁵ In this respect, the inventories produced by the Delian *hieropoioi* are more meticulous than those produced by the Athenian amphictyons, suggesting a similar or greater level of accounting expertise.

The boule and *hieropoioi* also collectively published other forms of inscription, such as proxeny decrees. While both groups separately wrote and set up a copy of the decree, the designations of the officials responsible are not specified.¹⁶⁹⁶

¹⁶⁹¹ See examples on pages 54, 88 and 106.

¹⁶⁹² Hamilton (2000) 1-2. The initial creation of the inventories stemmed from the Athenian requirement for accountability. There was no need to facilitate this process during the period of Delian independence.

¹⁶⁹³ Vial (1984) 220.

¹⁶⁹⁴ For example, in ID 442 (179 BC), the total from A37 (*60929 drachmas, 4 and a half obols, a quarter, 1 copper coin*) is added to the amount in A53 (*14623 drachmas, 1 and a half obols*), to give the total in A54 (*75553 drachmas, 1 copper coin*), with the bronze calculated separately.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Vial (1984) 220.

¹⁶⁹⁶ See example on page 328.

Further particulars

Each Delian temple inventory contains the transactions for a single year.¹⁶⁹⁷ In addition to recording the incoming and outgoing *hieropoioi*, some texts also record the names of incoming and outgoing *grammateis*. From this, we can see that the office of *grammateus of the hieropoioi* was also annual.¹⁶⁹⁸

The board of *hieropoioi* was supposed to contain four members, although there were frequently only two *hieropoioi*, and sometimes one.¹⁶⁹⁹ The small size of this board, and the frequent proximity of the *grammateus of the hieropoioi* to the *grammateus of the polis* in inventories suggests a small (but not necessarily close) collegial environment, which was not limited to temple employees.

γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως (*grammateus of the polis*)

The Delian boule was ultimately in charge of the administration and financial management of the city, the temples and their treasures.¹⁷⁰⁰ However, inscriptions rarely record a *grammateus of the boule*, and when they do, they may be referring to the *grammateus of the boule* in Athens (see page 327). During the period of Delian independence (314-166 BC), the officer who may have performed duties more usually attributed to the *grammateus of the boule* is the *grammateus of the polis*.¹⁷⁰¹ The *grammateus of the polis* is recorded alongside the *bouleutai*, while the *grammateus of the boule* is not (see example on page 334).

¹⁶⁹⁷ See example on page 334, where the outgoing and incoming archons are also named.

¹⁶⁹⁸ For example ID 439 (181 BC) fr.a.1-3: [τ]άδε παρελάβομεν ἐν τ[ῶ]ι ναῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ ἱεροποιῶν Τηλεσαρχίδου τοῦ Εὐδίκου, Πραξιμένου τοῦ Πρ[αξιμέν]ου, παρούσης βουλῆς καὶ γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Δημοσ<τ>ράτου τοῦ Διογένη, τοῦ [τῶν] | ἱεροποιῶν Ἀριστοφάνου τοῦ — — καὶ παρέδομεν] τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς Κρίττει Νικάρχου, Συνωνύμωι [Ἱερομβ]ρότο[υ], παρούσης βουλῆς καὶ γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Τεισικλέο[υς], | τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Χοιρύλο[υ τοῦ — — *The following is what we received in the sanctuary of Apollo from the hieropoioi Telesarchides son of Eudikos, Praximenes son of Praximenes, in the presence of the boule and the grammateus of the polis Demostratos son of Diogenes, and that of the hieropoioi, Aristophanes son of - - , and we handed over to the hieropoioi Krittes son of Nikarchos, and Synonymos son of Hierombrotos, in the presence of the boule and the grammateus of the polis Antigonos son of Teisikles, and that of the hieropoioi, Choirulis son of - - . The hieropoioi for the year just ending, in the presence of the boule and the grammateis for that year, formally received, then handed over (here, *paradomen*, line 2) the treasury contents at the end of the year, to the hieropoioi of the following year, also in the presence of the boule and grammateis of that following year.* Hamilton (2000) 7. Vial (1984) 221 gives a list of the known *grammateis of the hieropoioi* for 297-168 BC.

¹⁶⁹⁹ Reger (1994) 7.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Vial (1984) 120.

¹⁷⁰¹ Vial (1984) 110, 119-120, 258. Vial's view (110 & 258) is that *grammateus of the polis* is synonymous with the *grammateus of the boule*, and elected by the council, or by an assembly of the people. However, he also contradicts himself (119-120), stating that the office of *grammateus of the boule* continued alongside the offices of *grammateus of the polis* and *grammateus of the hieropoioi*, and that together, these three offices were responsible for the administration of the Delian temples and council. If there was a separate office of *grammateus of the boule* during Delian independence, this officer is invisible in the permanent record. See page 327 for more information.

Unfortunately, while a large number of decrees are enacted on behalf of the boule and demos, the officials responsible for the writing and setting up of these texts are not specified (see example on page 328).

Activities

The *grammateus of the polis* is known from Delian temple inventories,¹⁷⁰² where he is shown (with only one exception¹⁷⁰³) in conjunction with the *grammateus of the hieropoioi*. In every instance, the *grammateus of the polis* is recorded before the *grammateus of the hieropoioi*, as follows:

[λόγ]ος ἱεροποιῶν τῶ[ν ἱεροποιη]σάντων ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μενεκ[ράτου, Δημόνου τοῦ Νίκωνος, Π]ί[στου] τοῦ [Ξέ]ν[ωνος]. | [πα]ρελάβομεν παρὰ ἱεροποιῶν τῶν ἱεροποιησάντων ἐπὶ ἄρχοντο[ς Ὑ]ψοκλέους Ξενοκλέους, Ἀριστοθέ[ου], παρ[όντων] βου]λευτῶν | καὶ γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Δημητρίου, τοῦ τ[ῶν] ἱεροποιῶν Κλεινοδίκου τοῦ Κλεινοδίκου δραχμὰς ὄμμμμχήηηηδδδδτ[τ-ς] ...¹⁷⁰⁴

Account of the hieropoioi who held office as hieropoioi during the archonship of Menekrates, [Demonous¹⁷⁰⁵ son of Nikon, Pistos] son of [Xenon]. We received from the hieropoioi who held office as hieropoioi during the archonship of [Hypsokles, namely Xenokles and Aristotheos], in the presence of the councillors and the secretaries, the one of the polis Antipatros son of Demetrios, and the one of [the hieropoioi, Kleinodikos son of Kleinodikos]: 41,342 drachmas, [half an obol and a quarter].

It is difficult to distinguish the duties of the *grammateus of the polis* from those of the *grammateus of the hieropoioi*. We cannot categorically state which officer was ultimately responsible for the creation of temple accounts or other financial accounts of this type, since none of these texts contain an inscription formula, or directions that any one official is to record this information; however, since these are temple accounts, it is likely that the *grammateus of the hieropoioi* was the officer who wrote temple documents. Indeed, it seems that the only part played by the *grammateus of the polis* was 'to be present' (παρόντων), along with the *bouleutai*.¹⁷⁰⁶

¹⁷⁰² Earliest: IG XI,2 135 (314-302 BC) 34-35. Latest: ID 461 (169 BC) A3, B2-3. See also Appendix A, page 268.

¹⁷⁰³ In the exception, ID 502 (297 BC) A25-30, the *grammateus of the hieropoioi* is shown alongside the *grammateus of the boule*. See page 328.

¹⁷⁰⁴ IG XI,2 162 (278 BC) A1-4.

¹⁷⁰⁵ LGPN I 128.

¹⁷⁰⁶ For example: IG XI,2 161 (278 BC) A124-126: πα[ρόντων] βουλευτῶν καὶ γραμματέων, τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Κλεινοδί[κου τ]οῦ Κλεινοδίκου... See also ID 502 (297 BC) A25-28, where the *grammateus of the boule* and *grammateus of the hieropoioi* are described as witnesses

Further particulars

Delian temple inventories record transactions for a year, and incoming and outgoing *hieropoioi* and *grammateis*. From these, we can see that the office of *grammateus of the polis* was annual.¹⁷⁰⁷

ὑπογραμματεὺς (*hypogrammateus*)

The *hypogrammateus* or 'under-secretary' occurs in several fragmentary texts, in conjunction with the *grammateus of the amphictyons* (page 325) and the *grammateus of the naopoioi* (page 338).¹⁷⁰⁸

Further particulars

As with inscriptions from Athens and the Peloponnese, these texts provide no information about the duties of the *hypogrammateus*, simply providing his designation and occasionally his name, along with that of the *grammateus of the amphictyons* or *grammateus of the naopoioi*. However, Delian texts differ from those from Athens and the Peloponnese in that they occasionally also record the wages of the *hypogrammateus* and *grammateus* (or other officers) as a lump sum.

Ἀμφικτύουσιν Ἀθηναίων εἰς [τ]ἀπ[ι]τήδει[α καὶ γραμματεῖ κα]||[ἰ ὑ]πογραμματεῖ
ΧΧΠΗΠΓΓ[Γ]Γ.¹⁷⁰⁹

For the Amphictyons of the Athenians for necessities, [and for the grammateus and] hypogrammateus, 2,658 drachmas.

The wage of the *hypogrammateus of the amphictyons* is believed to have been 2 obols a day.¹⁷¹⁰

Other attributes

Chankowski notes that the name of the (restored) *hypogrammateus* working with the Athenian amphictyons in ID 104-31, -υσικλῆ[ς] Α[ἰ]γιλ[ι]ε[ύ]ς (-ysikles of Aigilia), confirms

(μάρτυρες). During the period of Delian independence, a contract is also laid down (κειμένην) in the presence of one *grammateus of the hieropoioi* (IG XI,4 1028 (start of 3CBC) fr.bc.1-4).

¹⁷⁰⁷ See n.1698.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Chankowski (2008) 236-7. *hypogrammateus of the Amphictyons*: Earliest: ID 98 (377-373 BC) A49-50, 74-75; Latest: ID 104-8,A (c.330-320 BC) 4, 39-40. See Appendix A pages 284-289 for a full list. *hypogrammateus of the naopoioi*: ID 104-5 (359/8 BC) 14-15: γραμματε[ῖ] | [(ναοποιῶν?) (ὑπο?)γ]ραμματεῖ v ΔΔΓ: The reconstruction of the term appears to be based upon its position in the text (after *grammateus*, line 14), and by the sharing of the funds between the two officers. (There is no evidence that the *naopoioi* ever had two *grammateis*.)

¹⁷⁰⁹ ID 98 (377-373 BC) A74-75.

¹⁷¹⁰ Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 144.

that he (along with the amphictyons) was an Athenian.¹⁷¹¹ In the period in which this inscription was created, Delian officials were once again filling minor administrative offices on the island.¹⁷¹² Whilst it is by no means certain that all *hypogrammateis* on Delos were Athenian, the placement of an Athenian in this role suggests either that this office required some expertise not otherwise available, that *–ysikles* had previous experience in this area, and/or that it was considered inappropriate to place a Delian in this office.

Secretaries of other bodies

γραμματεὺς (*grammateus*)

The designation *grammateus* (γραμματεὺς) is used on Delos without additional qualification to refer to secretaries of minor groups. Epigraphic evidence for these officers is scarce, and almost entirely confined to texts where honours are bestowed upon *grammateis*, or where a *grammateus* is one of several officials honouring someone else, for example by setting up a statue in their honour. Because of this, it is difficult to say anything more about the duties that these officers would have performed.

In these instances, the designation of the secretary can be supplemented by an epithet. For example, the following text is an honorific inscription of the *enatistai*, a Delian religious guild, in which the members honour their current secretary and their *archithiasites* (leader of a *thiasos*, religious guild).

Σαράπιδι, Ἴσιδι, Ἀνούβιδι, | τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐνατιστῶν ὧν ἀρχιθιασίτης | Διονύσιος
Νουμηνίου Κασσανδρεὺς, γραμματεὺς | Ἀπολλώνιος μελανηφόρος, <list of 24
members, each referred to by given name only>.

(in laurel crown) <honours for the archithiasites>

(in laurel crown) τὸ κοινὸν | τῶν θιασι|τῶν τὸν | γραμματέα | Ἀπολλώνιον |
μελανηφό|ρον¹⁷¹³

*To Sarapis, Isis and Anubis: The association of the enatistai, whose archithiasites is
Dionysios son of Noumenios of Kassandreia, grammateus Apollonios melanephoros
<list of members>*

<honours for the archithiasites>

The association of the guild (honour) the secretary Apollonios melanephoros.

¹⁷¹¹ Chankowski (2008) 236; ID 104-31 (333-331 BC) 4.

¹⁷¹² Laidlaw (1933) 74-5.

¹⁷¹³ IG XI,4 1228 (start 2C BC) 1-27.

The epithet of the secretary, μελανηφόρος (*melanephoros*), is used for priests of Isis at Delos and Eretria, suggesting that the secretary of the cult also functioned as a priest.¹⁷¹⁴

κληρωτὸς γραμματεὺς (*klerotos grammateus*)

The designation *klerotos grammateus* appears in a decree and inscription honouring the *agoranomoi* and their *grammateus*.¹⁷¹⁵ *Klerotos* refers to the method of selection of the *grammateus*, i.e., appointed by lot. See page 94 for the *klerotos grammateus* in Athens.

γραμματεὺς τῆς σύνοδου (*grammateus of the synod*)

The society of the worshippers of Pompeios at Delos was known as a 'synod'. This group had their own *grammateus*, known from a single inscription in which the officers of the synod and their secretary dedicate a statue to Gnaios Pompeios.¹⁷¹⁶

γραμματεὺς τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ (*grammateus of the epimeletes*)

Athenian control returned to Delos in 166/5 BC. Delos was maintained as an Athenian cleruchy, whose primary interest was trade. At this time, the chief magistrate was an *epimeletes*, who held office for a year, and who also had his own *grammateus*.¹⁷¹⁷

The *grammateus of the epimeletes* was the official responsible for writing an honorific inscription praising the *agoranomoi* (market overseers) and a secretary from Rhamnous.

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν | γραμματέα τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ Μνησίφιλον εἰς
στήλην | λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἄρξασιν τὸν ἐπὶ | Λυσιάδου ἄρχοντος
ἐνιαυτόν· ἐπαιέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν | γραμματέα Διογείτονα Διογνήτου Ῥαμνοῦσιον καὶ |
στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν | καὶ δικαιοσύνης.¹⁷¹⁸

And Mnesiphilos, the grammateus of the epimeletes is to write up this decree on a stone stele and set it up in accordance with the instructions of those who were archons in the year of the archonship of Lysiares. And also praise the secretary Diogeiton son of Diognetos of Rhamnous, and crown him with an olive crown, on account of his excellence and righteousness.

¹⁷¹⁴ Delos: Orph. *H*.42.9; *SIG*977²2 (2CBC); Eretria: *AD* 1.148. Possibly μελανηφόρος refers to the bearer of black pigment (kohl), used in Egyptian make-up. For more examples of *grammateis* functioning as priests, see *grammateus for life* on page 111.

¹⁷¹⁵ The decree that the officers should be honoured with a stele: ID 1500 (c.150 BC) 6-7: ... κ[λη][ρωτὸς? γραμματεὺς —. The stele honouring the officers: ID 1833 (undated) 6-7: ὁ κληρωτὸς γραμματεὺς | Μενεκλῆς Αἰσχρωνος Αἰαϊεύς.

¹⁷¹⁶ ID 1641 (after 65 BC) 7; Sherk (1984) 75B 95.

¹⁷¹⁷ Laidlaw (1933) 169-170; 176-177, 179.

¹⁷¹⁸ ID 1505 (146/5 or 145/4 BC) esp. 31-37.

The *grammateus of the epimeletes* is given instructions to create an inscription; however, the regulations concerning its construction (the location of the stele and possibly the funds to be used) have been set down in a prior administration.

The secretary Diogeiton of Rhamnous was Athenian. We cannot tell whether he was a secretary in Athens or Delos, as, during periods of Athenian occupation, secretarial offices on Delos were filled by Athenian citizens. It is possible that Diogeiton was the previous *grammateus of the epimeletes*.

γραμματεὺς τῶν ναοποιῶν (*grammateus of the naopoioi*)

The *naopoioi* were an architectural commission, known in the epigraphic record from a fifteen-year period in the middle of the fourth century BC only.¹⁷¹⁹ There were three *naopoioi*, plus a secretary.¹⁷²⁰ Inscriptions containing the designation *grammateus of the naopoioi* fall into two categories: building contracts, and accounts which detail payments made and any penalties incurred in the process of these building works.¹⁷²¹

The *naopoioi* and their *grammateus* were Athenian;¹⁷²² therefore, this board would probably have ceased to exist at the start of Delian independence.

Activities

The following account describes the duties of Philistides, *grammateus of the naopoioi* in 346/5 BC:

θεοί] | λόγος Φιλιστίδ[ο]υ <τοῦ [Φ]ιλίππου>ου Κεφαλῆθ[εν γραμματέω] |ς ναοποιῶν
τῶν ἀρ[ξ]άντων ἐ[π'] Εὐβούλου ἄρχ[οντος, ἀργύρ]ιον ἔλαβον παρ'
Ἀμφικ[τ]ύωνων ἐπ' Εὐβούλου ἄρχ[οντος πα]ρὰ Θεομένους Ὁῆθεν καὶ
συναρχόντων οἷς ἐ[γραμμάτευε] |ν Ἀρισθέταιρος Ἀν[αγ]υράσιος : ΗΗΗΠΔΤ : ἀπὸ
τοῦ[τ]ου [μι]σθὸν ἐμαυτῷ τὸν γινόμενον κατὰ τὸ Ἀρησιμβρό[το]υ ψήφισμα : ἡ-
: τῆς ἡμέρας : κεφάλαιον : ΗΗΗΠΓ : [εἰς σανίδ]ια ἐν οἷς οἱ λόγοι, τὸ μὲ[ν] ἐν τῷ
Δηλίῳ, τὸ δ' ἐν [πόλει, ἀνά] | λωμα : Γ[Τ] : λίθοι ἀνετέθ[η]σαν ἐπὶ τὸν νεῶ ἐπὶ τῇ[ς
ἡμετέ]ρας ἀρχῆς : Π : τούτων λογ[ί]ζονται δεδωκέναι τὸ ἀ[ρ]γύριον τοῖς

¹⁷¹⁹ *naopoioi* and *grammateus*: ID 104-5 (359/8 BC) 14-15: γραμματεῖ | [(ναοποιῶν?) (ὕπο?)γ]ραμματεῖ ΔΔΓ'; ID 104-23 (346/5 BC) 4-5, 13-15 (= Chankowski (2008) 512 no.52 4-5 and 526 no.52 5); ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 2-3, 14-15. *naopoioi*: ID 104-6 (c.359/8 BC) 22; ID 104-4 (360-50) A fg.a.16, 20; B10; A fg.b.7, 12.

¹⁷²⁰ Chankowski (2008) 237-238.

¹⁷²¹ See n.1719.

¹⁷²² Chankowski (2008) 237-238; Develin (1989) 322, 325; Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 144; ID 104-23 (346/5 BC) 13-15 ἔγραν | [μάτευεν Φιλιστί]δης Φιλίππου Κεφαλῆθ[εν]; ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 2-3 λόγος Φιλιστίδ[ο]υ <τοῦ [Φ]ιλίππου>ου Κεφαλῆθ[εν γραμματέω] |ς ναοποιῶν τῶν ἀρ[ξ]άντων ἐ[π'] Εὐβούλου ἄρχ[οντος]; ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 5-6 ἐ[γραμμάτευε] |ν Ἀρισθέταιρος Ἀν[αγ]υράσιος; 14-15 ἐγραμμάτ[ε]υ[ε] |ν Ἐτεοχάρης Φρεάρριος; ID 104-23 (346/5 BC) 4-5 γραμματεύον] |ος Ἐτεοχάρης Λεωχάρ[ος Φρεαρρίο].

μεμισθωμένοις τὰ ἔργα καὶ εἰς δεσμὰ καὶ γόμ|φους καὶ μόλυβδον ναοποιοὶ οἱ ἐπ' Ἀρχίου ἄρχ[οντος Ἄρ]|χιππος Ἀφιδναῖος καὶ συνάρχοντες οἷς ἐγραμμάτ[ε]υ[ε]|ν Ἐτεοχάρης Φρεάρριος : το[ύτ]ων ἐπιτιμήματα τάδε [ἐπ]|ετιμήθη ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας [ἀρχ]ῆς τοῖς μεμισθωμένο[ις] | τὰ ἔργα κατὰ συγγραφάς.¹⁷²³

*Gods! The account of Philistides son of Philippos, of Kephale, [secretary] of the naopoioi in office during the archonship of Euboulos. I received money from the amphictyons in the archonship of Euboulos, from Theomenes of Oe and those in office at the same time, whose secretary was Aristhetairos of Anagyrous, 360 drachmas and a quarter obol. From this account comes my wage, according to the decree of Aresimbrotos: 1 drachma a day, total: 355 drachmas. [For the boards] on which (are) the accounts, both the one in Delos, and the one on the [Acropolis], expenditure: 5 drachmas [and one quarter obol]. (For) stones laid at the temple during our archonship, 50 drachmas. For them, the naopoioi in the archonship of Archias son of Archippos of Aphidna and those in office at the same time, for whom Eteochares son of Phrearrios was grammateus, have calculated: to have paid money for the contractors' work and also chains, bolts and lead. The following penalties were imposed during our office for the contractors' work, according to the contracts...*¹⁷²⁴

The remainder of the decree details the blocks of stone that have been damaged during the building of the Artemision, who is responsible for the damage, and the penalties to be paid.

The duties of this secretary appear to be as follows. Philistides received the funds for building work from the amphictyons.¹⁷²⁵ From the money provided by the amphictyons, Philistides drew the amount for his own wage: ἀπὸ τούτου μισθὸν ἑμαυτῷ τὸν γινόμενον, *from this account comes my wage* (underlined). In other words, he was apparently in charge of the funds from which he was paid (the use of first person is unparalleled).

Philistides compiled the accounts for money spent on temple building. These accounts were broken down into the amount spent on contractors, stones, and sundry items of expenditure such as chains, bolts and lead. Part of the fund was also used to pay for the boards on which two copies of the accounts were written (but not the stele that provides us with this information). We are not told who wrote either account, but since Philistides was secretary and administered the fund, it seems reasonable to assume that he wrote *both* the Delian and the Athenian copy. Since this account was to be displayed on temporary media, it would

¹⁷²³ ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 1-17. The *grammateus* Aristhetairos in 5-6 is the *grammateus* of the amphictyons.

¹⁷²⁴ Prêtre (2002) 55.

¹⁷²⁵ ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 3-4; see also ID 104-23 (346/5 BC) 9-10. Chankowski (2008) 239.

make little sense to ship a temporary version of the accounts to Athens, and pay again to have another temporary copy made there.¹⁷²⁶

A separate account was kept of damages incurred, and penalties to be paid by contractors for failing to adhere to the terms of their contracts. The amount for damages and penalties included here was compiled by the previous secretary; this suggests that Philistides kept a similar account of his own, which was to be included in the accounts published by the secretary who served after him.

Inscriptions created by the *naopoioi* do not contain the designation of the officer responsible for having them inscribed and set up. It is likely that this was also the duty of the *grammateus of the naopoioi*.

Chankowski suggests that the duties of the *grammateus of the naopoioi* may have differed from the duties of the *naopoioi* themselves, with the secretary in charge of inspecting building work already completed, and fining those who provide sub-standard work, while the *naopoioi* were in charge of creating contracts.¹⁷²⁷

Further particulars

If Chankowski's theory about the difference between the duties of the *grammateus of the naopoioi* and the duties of the *naopoioi* is correct, the *grammateus of the naopoioi* may have had closer ties to the amphictyons (who provide the funds for his work and also his wages) than to the *naopoioi*.

For a similar, Athenian, *grammateus* working with an architectural commission, see *grammateus of the epistatai* on page 100.

Other officers

ἀρχιθιασίτης (*archithiasites*)

An *archithiasites* was a leader of a religious guild. During the Roman period, the *archithiasites* was, for a while, the presiding official for meetings of the *ekklesia* of the temple of Apollo.¹⁷²⁸

¹⁷²⁶ The account is unusual in specifying the display of temporary media on the acropolis.

¹⁷²⁷ Chankowski (2008) 237-238; ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 14-15; ID 104-22 (c.346/5 BC) fr.b.13-15. Chankowski's argument is based on the content of ID 104-24, which describes inspections carried out on stones used to build the temple and penalties incurred due to damaged stones, and the verb ἐπιτηρεῖν in the fragmentary inscription ID 104-22 (c.346/5 BC) fr.b.15, in the part of the text concerning the duty of the *grammateus*, which is otherwise almost entirely absent. See also Prêtre (2002) 56.

¹⁷²⁸ ID 1519 (153/2 BC) 1-3: ἐπὶ Φαιδρίου ἄρχοντος, Ἐλαφροβλιῶνος ὁγδόει, ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· Διονύσιος Διονυσίου | ἀρχιθιασίτης εἶπεν· At this time, the sanctuary also had a *grammateus* (line 46). SEG 42:740 bis.

One surviving inscription specifies that the *archithiasites* is to write up honours for a Roman official, honoured by the *koinon* of merchants and merchant ship-owners.¹⁷²⁹

ἀνα[γρ]αψάτω δὲ ὁ ἀρχ[ιθιασίτης] τόδε τὸ ψή[φισμα] εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ | [θέ]τω
ἐν τῇ αὐ[λῇ] — —]¹⁷³⁰

And the archithiasites is to write up this decree on a stone stele and place it in the courtyard...

This is the only surviving example from Delos where an official other than a *grammateus* writes and sets up an inscription. It suggests that *grammateis* were usually available if required for the drafting of documents for publication on stone.

Conclusions

Written bureaucracy on Delos is first attested comparatively late, in the fourth century BC,¹⁷³¹ and was produced by Athenians on Delos, rather than by the Delian population. From the fourth century BC to the second century AD, the types and numbers of secretaries on Delos are linked to Athens' occupation of the island. Despite Athens' administration of Delos, there are far fewer types (and numbers) of bureaucrat or secretary found on Delos than in Athens, and their functions often also differ, due to the importance of Delos' treasuries.

Delian independence coincided with a drop in the number and type of secretaries on the island, as some Athenian boards were no longer present. However, Delians assumed roles previously carried out by Athenians (the recording of the contents of treasuries), and by the end of the second century BC, the number and variety of secretaries had risen once more, and had exceeded fourth century BC levels. The number of secretaries (and stonecutters) fell again at the end of Delian independence, when the primary function of the island was as a centre for trade.

Activities

Evidence suggests that secretaries on Delos wrote a more limited range of texts, and performed a more limited range of duties than in Athens.¹⁷³² This does not imply that their

¹⁷²⁹ ID 1520 (153/2 BC) 1-2: γνώμη τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ κοινοῦ Βηρυτίων Ποσ[ειδω][νιστῶν ἐμπόρων] καὶ ναυκλήρων [καὶ ἐ]γδοχέων, and 89-91, in n.1730, below. See IG XI,4 1228 (start 2C BC) 1-27 and IG XI,4 1229 (start 2C BC) 1-4, 20a-27 for an example of members of a Delian religious guild honouring their secretary and *archithiasites*.

¹⁷³⁰ ID 1520 (153/2 BC) 89-91. Possibly the missing text contains τόπον, 'place' as in 23: δεδόσθαι δ' αὐτῷ τόπον ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, and a place is to be given to him in the courtyard, suggesting that other honours are also set up here.

¹⁷³¹ ID 89 (434/433–433/432 BC or 421–407 BC). See n.1648.

¹⁷³² I do not take this as evidence for specialisation (as defined in n.32, page 23).

duties required less skill: the treasury documents produced by the *grammateus of the hieropoioi* are highly complex.

Temporary media were extremely important for treasury records and accounts, and references to writing on boards helps us to understand connections between Delos and Athens. Copies of decrees on temporary media were used to inform the *grammateus of the boule* at Athens of a decree passed on Delos,¹⁷³³ and copies of treasury accounts were also supplied to Athens on this medium.¹⁷³⁴ Because of logistical issues connected with conveying Delian records to Athens, it is fair to say that temporary media were more significant to the smooth administration of Delos by Athens than records written on stone.

The importance of the treasuries is reflected in the high percentage of documents that comprise accounts, both before and during Delian independence. The creation of accounts appears to be the primary function of both the *grammateus of the hieropoioi* (who compiled treasury accounts) and the *grammateus of the naopoioi* (who compiled accounts related to the building of the treasuries themselves).

Further particulars

There is no evidence for many of the offices found in Athens – for example, the *anagrapheus*, *antigrapheus*, and *grammateus of the boule and demos*. This could be due to many factors, including the size of the boule and demos at Delos, the (comparatively) smaller number of decrees passed there, and the absence of collective honours which provide the only evidence for some Athenian designations. It may also be due to the style of documents of the Delian boule, which frequently omit the designations of the officers who are to write their records. In Athens, a high percentage of all inscriptions were written by the *grammateus of the boule*. Evidence for this officer is almost entirely absent on Delos, though this too may be due to the reasons given above. The evidence for the officer who appears to have fulfilled this role during Delian independence, the *grammateus of the polis*, is also slight, and in treasury records, his role appears to be entirely supervisory.

A lack of literary evidence means that there is a great deal of information that we do not have for secretaries on Delos. For example, there is no evidence for a secretary reading aloud to the boule (a duty performed by the *grammateus of the boule and demos* in Athens). This does not mean that this did not occur. We also lack information about the means of appointment of officers, and in some cases, the duration of the office.

The duration of Athenian offices on Delos was not always the same as the duration of comparable offices in Athens. For example, it would have been entirely impractical for the

¹⁷³³ See ID 88 (368-362 BC) 20-28 & 31-37 on page 326.

¹⁷³⁴ For example see ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 1-17 on page 338.

Athenian *grammateus of the amphictyons* on Delos to serve for a prytany only. The duration of this office was initially five years, and was changed to one year at approximately the same time that offices in Athens were made annual.

The collegial environment of these officers seems to have been very different from that in Athens. Some bodies appear rather small (such as the three *naopoioi*, two *hieropoioi* and single *epimeletes*), but more significantly, *there was never more than one secretary employed by a body at one time*. There does, however, appear to have been close collaboration between bodies, usually linked to the transferral of funds, or the handing over of accounts to the officers for the coming year. (The amphictyons provided funds for the *naopoioi*; the *grammateus of the polis* and the *bouleutai* were present for the annual reckoning of accounts of the *hieropoioi*.)

Other attributes

The public profile of secretaries on Delos appears to have been very low. While Athenian secretaries were frequently honoured en masse, there is no surviving evidence for honours bestowed on any of the major administrative bodies on the island.¹⁷³⁵

A difference between the Delian and Athenian epigraphic habit is the large amount of evidence from Delos for 'the one who did the inscribing/writing', and for the wages of these men and the *grammateis* (page 347).

Finally, as far as we can tell from treasury inventories, the geographical and social provenance of officers appears to have made little difference to the functioning of the treasuries. There is an apparently seamless switch from Athenian to Delian secretaries for the period of Delian independence, when we might assume that Athenian officials would be more familiar with written accounts and accounting procedures.

¹⁷³⁵ The only surviving honour for a secretary is for the *grammateus* of a Delian religious guild, page 336.

Appendix E – The Status of the *hypogrammateus*

The following table contains all Athenian decrees which honour the secretaries of the boule and demos, and shows the order in which secretaries are honoured. If position in decree can be taken as an indication of status, by examining the position in which the *hypogrammateus* is placed in each instance, it may be possible to infer that *hypogrammateis* working with the boule and demos were perceived to be of a lower status than other secretaries. While the order in which secretaries are listed is extremely variable, in 39 of 43 decrees, the *hypogrammateus* is listed last of all secretaries. Exceptions are shown underlined. Other officers can be listed after the *hypogrammateus*; typically a herald (*kerux*), or flute-player (*auletes*). However, there are also frequently other officers interspersed among the secretaries, to whom it is impossible to assign a like status, such as a herald or priest (*hiereus*).

Inscription	Officers honoured, in the order in which they are honoured (b) = of the boule (b&d) = of the boule and demos		
Ag.15:89 (254/3 BC) 31-40	<i>tamias (b), grammateus, herald (b&d), grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	
Ag.15:115 (235/4 BC) 29-37	<i>tamias, tamias (b), hiereus, herald (b&d), grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	
Ag.15:128 (223/2 BC) 51-63	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiereus, tamias (b), herald (b&d), grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>auletes</i>
Ag.15:129 (222/1 BC) 48-58	<i>tamias, grammateus, tamias (b), hiereus, herald (b&d), grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	
Ag.15:130 (220/19 BC) 47-58	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiereus, tamias (b), herald (b), grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>auletes</i>
Ag.15:132 (215/4 BC) 9-22	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiereus, tamias (b), herald (b&d), grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>auletes</i>
Ag.15:145 (end 3C BC) 2-5	<i>hiereus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d)</i>
Ag.15:160 (beg. 2C BC) 5-7	<i>grammateus, hiereus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes</i>
Ag.15:162 (beg. 2C BC) 6-17	<i>tamias, grammateus, tamias (b), hiereus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes</i>
Ag.15:168 (193/2 BC) 35-47	<i>tamias, grammateus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
Ag.15:170 (190/89 BC) 7-16	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiereus, tamias (b), grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes</i>

Inscription	Officers honoured, in the order in which they are honoured (b) = of the boule (b&d) = of the boule and demos		
Ag.15:173 (189/8 BC) 11-20	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes</i>
Ag.15:179 (185/4 BC) 25-36	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>tamias (b), herald (b&d)</i>
Ag.15:187 (180/79 BC) 16-30	<i>tamias, grammateus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes</i>
Ag.15:189 (180 BC) 4-11	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes</i>
Ag.15:191 (after 178/7 BC) 2-11	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, tamias (b), grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald, auletes</i>
Ag.15:194 (178/7 BC) 34-42	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
Ag.15:204 (176/5-170/69 BC) 2-17	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
Ag.15:205 (176/5-170/69 BC) 6-16	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
Ag.15:206 (173/2 BC) 53-65	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
Ag.15:212 (169/8 BC) 48-60	<i>grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
Ag.15:213 (168/7 BC) 8-20	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
Ag.15:216 (166/5 BC) 10-21	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
Ag.15:217 (167/6-165/4 BC) 7-18	<i>tamias, grammateus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
Ag.15:220 (164/3 BC) 48-61	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
Ag.15:221 (164/3 BC) 3-14	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
Ag.15:222 (161-60 BC) 9-16	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
Ag.15:225 (155/4 BC) 52-65	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus (d)</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
Ag.15:226 (155 BC) 5-16	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
Ag.15:239 (145/4 BC) 5-17	<i>tamias — —</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
Ag.15:240 (140/39 BC) 45-55	<i>tamias, grammateus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b), hiererus</i>

Inscription	Officers honoured, in the order in which they are honoured (b) = of the boule (b&d) = of the boule and demos		
<u>Aq.15:243</u> (135/4 BC) 36l-36y	<i>tamias, grammateus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), hiererus, auletes, tamias (b), antigrapheus, anagrapheus, secretary in charge of decrees, grammateus kata prytaneian, secretary for that which cannot be mentioned</i>
<u>Aq.15:246</u> (131/0 BC) 29-37	<i>tamias, grammateus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), hiererus, anagrapheus, [secretary in charge of decrees, antigrapheus</i>
<u>Aq.15:260</u> (beg. 1C BC) 22-32	<i>tamias (b), grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>herald (b&d), hiererus, anagrapheus, grammateus kata prytaneian, secretary in charge of decrees, antigrapheus, secretary for that which cannot be mentioned, auletes</i>
<u>Aq.15:261</u> (95/94 BC) 51-65	<i>tamias, grammateus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), hiererus, tamias (b), auletes, antigrapheus, anagrapheus, secretary in charge of decrees, grammateus kata prytaneian, secretary for that which cannot be mentioned — —</i>
IG II ² 848 (219/8 BC) 37-46	<i>tamias, grammateus, tamias (b), hiererus, herald (b&d), grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	
IG II ² 912 (after 200 BC) 10-20 (Ag.15:138)	<i>grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes.</i>
IG II ² 913 (c.200 BC) 1-11 (Ag.15:137)	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, herald (b&d), grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	
IG II ² 914 (c.200 BC) 2-11	<i>grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes.</i>
IG II ² 915 (c.200 BC) 17-29 (Ag.15:147)	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes.</i>
IG II ² 918 (beg. 2C BC) 4-12 (Ag.15:214)	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
IG II ² 952 (161-60 BC) 9-15	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>
IG II ² 972 (140 BC) 2-13	<i>tamias, grammateus, hiererus, grammateus (b&d)</i>	<i>hypogrammateus</i>	<i>herald (b&d), auletes, tamias (b)</i>

Table 17 - The status of the hypogrammateus.

Appendix F – Stonecutters

In the regions covered by this thesis, several expressions are used to indicate a stonecutter. All are somewhat problematic. The most common expression found on monuments and statues and in short dedications is <personal name> ἐποίησε, or 'so-and-so made this': the expression also used for signatures on pottery (see page 143). It is often not possible to tell from this whether the cutter made, for example, a statue attached to a base which contains a few lines of text, the base itself, the lines of text, or any combination of these three things. The same problem exists with other expressions used to indicate a stonecutter.

In addition to ἐποίησε, in Athens and the Peloponnese, where inscriptions contain a secretary (always a type of *grammateus*), the stonecutter can be indicated in one of the following ways:

- ἀγγραφεὺς or ἐγγροφεὺς 'for engraving', found at Epidauros (see page 350).
- ἔγραψε καὶ ἐχάραξε 'wrote and engraved', found at Thalamai, Laconia (see page 351).
- ἔγραψε 'has written', or ἐνὶ γραφῶν 'for writing', found at Sparta (see page 351).
- τῷ γράψαντι 'for the one who did the inscribing/writing' and γράψας 'upon inscribing/writing,' often found at Delos, and occasionally in Athens.¹⁷³⁶ See below.

In most cases, a phrase indicating that something is to be written, or has been written, is accompanied by the personal name of the stonecutter (in the dative), plus an amount to be paid to the stonecutter on completion of the task.

On one occasion (which lacks any other secretary), at Mantinea in Arcadia, we also find the *stalographos* (σταλογράφος), an officer who appears to have been both secretary and stonecutter. See page 189.

Stonecutters are almost entirely absent from Athenian texts, and *ho grapsas* (ὁ γράψας) can instead occasionally be used in an informal context to mean 'the writer' (see page 352).

[τῷ] γράψαντι ([for] the one who did the inscribing/writing)

The informal (verbal) expression τῷ γράψαντι (*toi grapsanti*) or γράψαντι (*grapsanti*), lit. 'the one who did the writing,' is the expression most often used to indicate the person who did the inscribing, i.e. the stone-cutter, or the person who wrote words onto a wooden board or other object. It is also occasionally used to indicate 'the one who did the painting

¹⁷³⁶ The term λιθουργός (*lithourgos*, stone-mason) is rare, occurring only once in Athens (SEG 21:586 (aft. mid. 4C BC) 18) and twice in Delos. The Delian instances both date to 278 BC: IG XI,2 161 A83-4, 87, 107-8; IG XI,2 162 A46: τοῖς λιθουργοῖς Λεπτίνῃ καὶ Βακχίῳ ἸϙΔΔ', 51.

(of letters and numbers or other things)', and so we need to know the context in order to ascertain the precise meaning. These persons performed a range of functions, which range from painting or engraving short texts on statues, to transcribing accounts on boards, and inscribing entire temple inventories on stone.

Activities

At Delos, the term appears in both treasury inventories and building contracts, sometimes with the personal name of the individual involved, and usually in conjunction with an amount paid for work carried out.¹⁷³⁷ There can be more than one person identified in this manner per text, and this person is not the secretary.

'The one who did the inscribing/writing' is not often named, and so when the expression *grapsanti* occurs several times in one text, it is difficult to ascertain whether these functions were carried out by the same man, or by more than one man. For example, the following text shows two different amounts paid to 'the one who did the inscribing/writing' on the same line, and it is impossible to say what work has been carried out and by whom in either case. Since the first occurrence of the expression is after the amount allocated for stelai, and the second occurrence is after the amount allocated for writing tablets, we can only infer that the first instance indicates the stone-cutter, while the second instance is for a 'writer'.

...στηλῶν δύο | [ῬΔ]ΔΔ· ... τ[ῶι] γράψαν|[τι Η]ΗῤΔ· μολύβδου ΓΗΗ· δέλτου
κυπαρισσίνης ΔΓ· τῶι γράψαντι ΔΔΓ· Λ.¹⁷³⁸

*Two stelai, 80 drachmas. For the one who did the inscribing, 260 drachmas. Lead objects, 8 drachmas. Cypress-wood writing tablets, 15 drachmas. For the one who wrote on them, 25 drachmas.*¹⁷³⁹

The issue is complicated further in that statues (for example) could have writing either inscribed or painted on them. For example, in the following text, it is impossible to tell whether Deinomenes was both a stone-cutter and a painter, or functioned only as a stone-cutter:

ἐργασαμένωι τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἀριστοθάλει ·Γ· γράψαντι Δεινομένει ·Γ· εἰς κόσμησιν τοῦ
ἀγάλματος ·ΓΗΗΙΙ· ... γράψαντι τὴν στήλην Δεινομένει<ει> | τῆς δραχμῆς γράμματα
τριακόσια, τὰ πάντα γράμματα τρισμύρια, μισθὸς δραχμαὶ ·Η· μόλυβδος ·Γ· ξύλα ·Η·
τοῖς στήσαςι τὴν στήλην ·ΗΗΙΙ·¹⁷⁴⁰

¹⁷³⁷ Temple inventory: IG XI,2 162 (278 BC) A3, 52: γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Δημητρίου, τοῦ τ[ῶν] ἱεροποιῶν Κλεινοδίκου τοῦ Κλεινοδίκου; γράψαντι Σωσιμένει ·ΗΗΗ·. Building contract: IG XI,2 219 (c.265 BC) 19 γράψαντι Ναννάκωι ·ΓΗΗ·.

¹⁷³⁸ ID 440 (198-180 BC) A45-47.

¹⁷³⁹ The high figure allocated to the stonecutter is most likely the amount for cutting both stelai.

¹⁷⁴⁰ IG XI,2 161 (278 BC) A90-91, 118-9.

*For the one who made the processional statue, Aristothales, 5 drachmas. For the one who inscribed (or wrote on) it, Deinomenes, 5 drachmas. For the decoration of the processional statue, 6 drachmas, 5 obols. ... For Deinomenes, having inscribed the stele, at the rate of 1 drachma per three hundred letters, for a total of thirty thousand letters, as wages, 100 drachmas. Lead, 5 drachmas. Wood, 1 drachma. For those who set up the stele, 2 drachmas, 3 obols.*¹⁷⁴¹

The stonecutter is almost invisible at Athens, and the only instance of τῶι γράψαντι is in relation to a payment for interior decoration:

: τῶι γράψαντι τὰ κυ|μάτια Δεξιθέωι ἐμ Μελίτει οἰκοῦντι :Γ·¹⁷⁴²

For having painted the waves for Dexitheos, resident in Melite: 5 drachmas.

Further particulars

Where wages for officials are given in temple inventories, they are a 'yearly wage', while artisans and unskilled labourers were allocated set amounts per task, no matter what the task (the preparation of wooden tablets, the cutting of an entire inscription, etc.). For example, in 374/3 BC, the Athenian amphictyons at Delos were granted a total sum of 2,658 drachmas for the amphictyons, their *grammateus*, and their *hypogrammateus*. Rhodes calculates this at one drachma a day for 420 days (i.e. including two intercalary months) for each of the amphictyons and their *grammateus*, and 2 obols a day for the *hypogrammateus*; a figure that agrees with the daily amount set out in *Ath. Pol.* 62.2.¹⁷⁴³ Wages for the *grammateis of the hieropoioi* were lower: between 60 and 97 drachmas a year, in the years 303-224 BC.¹⁷⁴⁴ (Note that we do not have, nor could we have, wage information for both types of officials for the same period.) By contrast, the stonecutter was allocated a fixed amount, which could be noted alongside the amount allocated for supplies:

Νεογένει τῇ[ν στήλην γρά][ψαντι Η]ῤΔΔΔ ...· μόλυβδος Γ· ξύλα Ι-ΙΙΙ·¹⁷⁴⁵

For Neogenes, [for having inscribed] the [stele], 180 drachmas... lead, 6 drachmas, wood, 1 drachma 3 obols.

¹⁷⁴¹ Prêtre (2002) 68-70.

¹⁷⁴² IG II² 1672 (329/8 BC) 187-8.

¹⁷⁴³ Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 144; IG II² 1635 (374/3 BC) 74-5: Ἀμφικτύουσιν Ἀθηναίων εἰς [τ]ῆς ἀπ[ι]τήδε[α καὶ γραμματεῖ κα][ι] ὑπογραμματεῖ ΧΧΡΗῤΓ·[Ι-ΙΙ]·. Each inventory covers the year in office of the secretaries. *Ath. Pol.* 62.2: ἀμφικτύονες εἰς Δῆλον δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκάστης ἐκ Δήλου <λαμβάνουσι>. *Amphictyons for Delos get a drachma a day from Delos.*

¹⁷⁴⁴ Reger (1987) 762. Although the higher wages are found in the second half of this period, this is not a case of (e.g.) an inflationary rise. For most of this period, wages are given as 80 drachmae per year, for example: IG XI,2 203 (269 BC) A3 γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Φιλαίθου τοῦ Νησιώτου, τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Σωστράτου τοῦ Στράτωνος; A61 γραμματεῖ Σωστράτῳ :ῤΔΔΔ.

¹⁷⁴⁵ ID 290 (246 BC) 136-7.

Assuming that a stele of this size would take less than a year to engrave, this compares extremely favourably with the 60-97 drachmas a year earned by the *grammateus of the hieropoioi* in the same period.

When the personal name of 'the one who did the inscribing/writing' is included more than once in the same text, it is also possible to ascertain different rates of pay depending on the task. For instance, in the example on page 348, Deinomenes is granted a lump sum for writing on a processional statue (5 drachmas), but a rate of 1 drachma per 300 letters engraved, up to a fixed sum and number of letters (100 drachmas or 30,000 letters) for the larger tasks of engraving a stele.

Other attributes

The origins of these artisans and labourers are not clear, although one Delian stone-cutter is known to have been from Cyrene.¹⁷⁴⁶

ἀγγραφᾶς or ἐγγραφᾶς (*for engraving*)

As on Delos, at Epidauros, the same expressions are used to indicate both the stonecutter and ornamental stonemason. For example, the following Epidaurian text is part of a series of abbreviated proxeny decrees on a single stele. In this text, the same man appears to carve decorative cornices and words:

Σαννίωνι τῶν ἐγγλυμμάτων ἐργασία|[ς ἐ]ν τοῖς καταλοβεῦσι καὶ ὑπερθύρωι τῶν
δεδοκιμασμένων Ἀττικοῦ Ἰ^α—

...

ἐγγραφᾶς εἰς τὰν στάλαν Σαννίωνι :::::IC¹⁷⁴⁷

*For Sannion, for working on the ornamental carvings on the cornices over the doors
and door lintels of Attikos: 80 drachmas*

...

For Sannion, for engraving on the stele: 8 drachmas, 1½ obols.

¹⁷⁴⁶ IG XI,4 1184 (2C BC) 4: Πολιάνθης Κυρηναῖος ἐποίη. Austin (2004) 1243, no.1028: Κυρηναῖος (*Cyrenaios*) is the city-ethnic for Cyrene. Laidlaw (1933) 140. Several short dedicatory inscriptions from 2C BC Delos bear the name Polianthes, and the statement that he 'made' (ἐποίη) the text. This example is the only text to contain the demotic of the stone-cutter. It is by no means clear that this Polianthes also worked as a stone-cutter (*grapsas*) for the boule and/or *hieropoioi*.

¹⁷⁴⁷ IG IV²,1 103 (4C BC): 96-97, 136-137. For Sannion, see also *ibid* 58-60, 101, 104-105, 110-111, 117-118, 140-1. For similar examples, see: IG IV²,1 105 (4/early 3C BC) 17-18, 21-22; IG IV²,1 108 (4/3C BC) 144-5, 151, 157, 164-6, 168-9; IG IV²,1 111 (4/early 3C BC) 8; Peek, Asklepieion 42 (late 4/e.3C BC) XIV 65.

As at Delos, a rate per set number of words can also be specified:

καὶ Στασιμένει γραμμάτων δισ|χιλίων ὀκτακο[σίω]ν εἰς τὰν στάλαν ἀγγραφᾶ[ς,
έλο]μένωι τὰ ἑκατὸν πέντ' ὀβολῶν, γίνεται δραχμαὶ [=]:·II λόγος δαπά|νας
ΧΙϞΗΗΗΗ[-:·II] ¹⁷⁴⁸

And for Stasimenes, on engraving 2,800 letters on the stele, taking five obols per one hundred (letters), he is given 23 drachmas 2 obols, account of expenses: 1,913 drachmas, 2 obols.

ἔγραψε καὶ ἐχάραξε (*wrote and engraved*)

At Sparta and Thalamai (also in Laconia), stonecutters are known from five inscriptions, and are identified either by the phrase ἔγραψε καὶ ἐχάραξε 'wrote and engraved',¹⁷⁴⁹ ἐπὶ γραφῶν 'for writing',¹⁷⁵⁰ or ἔγραψε 'has written'.¹⁷⁵¹ In each case, the text also notes a separate named officer serving as *grammateus*, suggesting that the two officers may have worked together.

Mulliez compares the formula ἔγραψε καὶ ἐχάραξε to the Latin *scripsit et sculpsit*, indicating the preliminary drawing and engraving of a text;¹⁷⁵² however I have been unable to find any conclusive Greek parallels for this.

¹⁷⁴⁸ IG IV²,1 108 (4/3CBC) 164-6.

¹⁷⁴⁹ IG V,1 1315 (117-138 AD) 30, from Thalamai.

¹⁷⁵⁰ IG V,1 210 (1CBC) 44-46: γραμματε[ύς] | Ἀριστοκλῆς | Φιλονικίδα, 58: ἐπὶ γρ<α>φῶν Σωίνικο[ς].; IG V,1 211 (1CBC) 50: γραμματεὺς Κλήνικος, 52: ἐπὶ γραφῶν Εὐάμερος.; IG V,1 212 (1CBC) 45-46: γραμματεὺς | Κλέων ἐξ Ἀγῆτας, 59-60: ἐπὶ γραφῶν | Σωίνικος. All three texts are lists of cult officials are from Sparta, and list worshippers at the sanctuary of Poseidon Tainarios. The precise sense of the phrase is difficult to render in English. SEG 50:393. In IG V,1 210 and 212, the stonecutter has the name Σωίνικος, which may indicate that this is the same person, although the dating of these texts is vague. Boring (1979) 89 interprets ἐπὶ γραφῶν as 'keepers of sacred books'.

¹⁷⁵¹ IG V,1 179 (Roman) 8-10: γραμματεὺς [— c.5 —] | ἱατρός· Κλεόβο[υλος —]. | ἔγραψε Ἀγ[— c.5 —]. From Sparta.

¹⁷⁵² IG V,1 1315 (117-138 AD) 30, SEG 48:2127; Mulliez (1998) 815-830.

[ὁ] γράψας (*the one who wrote [this]*)

ho grapsas (ὁ γράψας) is an infrequently-used expression found in graffiti, epigrams and funerary monuments and signifying 'the writer',¹⁷⁵³ as in this piece of Athenian graffiti from the early fifth century BC:

Σοσίας καταπύγον | *hós phsin ho gráφsas*¹⁷⁵⁴

Sosias is a letch. Thus says the writer.

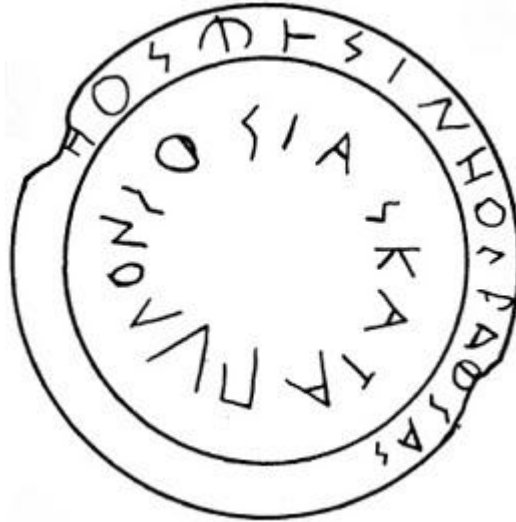


Figure 16 – Graffito on a small lekane.

This participle is not used in any kind of formal setting, for example as the designation of an officer of the boule and demos.

¹⁷⁵³ For example see IG II² 11169, adn (undated) 1-2 (SEG 1:25) and SEG 30:266 (undated) 9-10 (IG II² 11530 Peek) for *ho qrapas* in epigrams and memorials.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Lang (1976) 13 (475-450 BC) C 18 1-2, Plate 5.

Glossary of technical terms

<i>Aeisitōi</i> (ἄϊσειτοι, αἰῖσιτοι)	Sg. <i>aeisitos</i> (ἄείσιτος). Those who are 'always fed', i.e. maintained at public cost during meals held at Athenian Prytaneum.
<i>Agoranomos</i> (ἀγορανόμος)	'Clerk of the market'; the officer who regulated buying and selling.
<i>Aliaia</i> (ἄλιαία)	One of the two councils at Argos, sometimes known as the <i>bola</i> (βωλά). The other council was the Eighty.
<i>Aliaia teleia</i> (ἄλιαία τελεία)	The monthly meeting of the <i>aliaia</i> at Argos.
Amphictyons	Athenian magistrates who managed the treasuries at Delos from the end of the fifth century BC until 314/3 BC.
<i>Apodektai</i> (ἀποδέκται)	The ten 'receivers' at Athens who reviewed, amended and edited financial records.
<i>Artunai</i> (ἄρτύναι)	Treasurers at Argos.
<i>Bola</i> (βωλά)	One of the two councils at Argos, usually known as the <i>aliaia</i> (ἄλιαία). The other council was the Eighty.
<i>Boularchos</i> (βούλαρχος)	One of the primary officers at Dyme.
<i>Bouleutes</i> (βουλευτής)	At Athens, the <i>bouleutai</i> were the 500 councillors who were the members of the boule. The <i>bouleutai</i> were chosen by sortition from each of the ten Athenian tribes, fifty per tribe. For 1/10 th of the year, each group of fifty formed the executive officers of the boule, during which time they were known as <i>prytaneis</i> (sg. <i>prytanis</i>).
<i>Chalkotheke</i> (χαλκοθήκη)	At Athens, the treasury in which all metal objects were stored.
<i>Cheiroskopos</i> (χειροσκόπος)	Official responsible for 'an account of the votes', Orchomenos.
<i>Damiorgos</i> (δαμιоргός)	In various locations, a generic term for 'magistrate'. The <i>damiorgos</i> was, for a while, the eponymous official at Orchomenos.
<i>Damosiophylakes</i> (δαμοσιοφυλάκες)	'Guardians of the demos.' A board of magistrates at Dyme.
<i>Damosios</i> (δαμόσιος) or <i>demosios</i> (δημόσιος)	The public archive at Sparta (δαμόσιος), or the building containing the public records at Dyme (δημόσιος).
<i>Demarch</i> (δήμαρχος)	Lit. 'chief official of a demos'. An official who performed a wide range of duties related to deme administration.
<i>Demosios</i> (δημόσιος)	A public slave who could be employed by the boule as a clerk.
<i>Diagramma</i> (διάγραμμα)	A register of taxable properties.
<i>Dogma</i> (δόγμα)	(pl. δόγματα, <i>dogmata</i>) Decisions or ordinances which required ratification before becoming law. (See esp. Laconia.)
<i>Dogmatographos</i> (δογματογράφος)	A board of three men at Amyklai (Laconia), involved in financial and administrative decisions.
Eighty, The (οἱ ὀγδοήκοντα)	One of the two councils at Argos, possibly dating from its oligarchic period of government, which co-existed alongside the <i>aliaia</i> . Also the name given to the governing body in pre-Roman Corinth.
<i>Eisagogeus</i> (εἰσαγωγεύς)	Magistrate who brought the lawsuits of the tribes to court. There were five <i>eisagogeis</i> , each acting on behalf of two phylai.

Eleven, The (οἱ ἑνδεκά)	Archons who enforced legal decisions of the courts at Athens.
<i>Ephor</i> (ἔφορος)	Lit. 'overseer'; magistrate of Laconia. Sparta had five ephors; evidence suggests that other poleis had three.
<i>Epimeletes</i> (ἐπιμελητής)	Generic term for a magistrate, translated as either 'manager' or 'curator'. Also 'overseer,' for example in the process of the registration of new citizens at Mantinea.
<i>Epistates</i> (ἐπιστάτης)	'Commissioner' or 'overseer'. Boards of <i>epistatai</i> (ἐπιστάται) oversaw building work on the Acropolis at Athens, and also at Epidauros. <i>Epistates</i> was also the title given to Attalos Philadelphos as commissioner of Aigina.
<i>Epistoleus</i> (ἐπιστολεύς)	The second-in-command of the Spartan navy.
Eponymous archon	The magistrate whose name (and year in office) was used to identify the year.
Five Thousand, The	In 411 BC, a reduced and somewhat oligarchic electorate at Athens, replaced by full democracy in 410 BC.
Four Hundred, The	In 411 BC, a short-lived oligarchic government at Athens.
<i>Gerousia</i> (γερουσία)	The council of elders at Sparta. Membership consisted of 28 men over sixty years old, plus the two Spartan <i>basileis</i> .
<i>Grammateus</i> (γραμματεὺς)	(pl. γραμματεῖς, <i>grammateis</i>) The most commonly-occurring term for 'secretary' in the ancient Greek world.
<i>Grammatistas</i> (γραμματιστάς)	A Corinthian and Achaian dialect word, roughly equivalent to <i>grammateus</i> .
<i>Grammatophylax</i> (γραμματοφύλαξ)	At Sparta and Megalopolis, 'guardian of the laws' or 'registrar', whose duties remain uncertain. The <i>grammatophylakes</i> appear to have acted as guards or administrators of archives.
<i>Grammatophylakion</i> (γραμματοφυλάκιον)	At Sparta and Megalopolis, a repository or archive of bureaucratic and legal documents.
<i>Grapheus</i> (γραφεύς)	Informally, 'painter,' 'writer' or 'personal secretary'.
<i>Gropheus</i> (γροφεύς)	(pl. γροφέες <i>grophees</i>) The most commonly-occurring term for 'secretary' in the Peloponnese. The term fell out of usage c.146 BC, and the term <i>grammateus</i> was used instead.
<i>Gymnasiarch</i> (γυμνασίάρχος)	Officer in charge of a <i>gymnasium</i> , the school in which <i>ephebes</i> were trained.
<i>Hairesis</i> (αἵρετός)	To be elected by <i>hairesis</i> was to be elected by show of hands. This term can be found in conjunction with <i>klerotos</i> (κληρωτός), elected by lot.
<i>Hellanodikas</i> (ἑλλανοδίκας or ἑλλανοζίκας)	The chief judges at the Olympic games, these officers also appear to have been judges or magistrates who could enforce legal decisions enacted by the Eleans.
<i>Hellenotamias</i> (ἑλλενοταμίας)	The chief financial officer of the Delian League (at Delos), and later, sacred treasurer; one of the treasurers of Athena at Athens.
<i>Hiaromnamon</i> (ιερομναμων)	Temple official at Argos and Epidauros, responsible for the management of sacred treasuries.
<i>Hieraules</i> (ιεραύλης)	Flute-player at sacrifices.
<i>Hiereus</i> (ιερεύς)	A priest; officer who performed sacred rites and sacrifices.
<i>Hieropoios</i> (ιεροποιός)	A temple official at Delos who managed the sacred treasuries. Possibly an equivalent office to that of <i>hiaromnamon</i> .

Hipparch (ἵππαρχος)	Commander of cavalry.
<i>Hyperetes</i> (ὑπηρέτης)	A generic term for servant; also a minor officer of the Athenian boule.
<i>Katakoos</i> (κατακόος)	A minor clerical officer at Stymphalos. The term can be interpreted as either 'listener', 'official witness', or 'clerk of the court'.
<i>Katalogeus</i> (καταλογεύς)	At Athens, one of the 'registrars' appointed to register citizens for the Five Thousand.
<i>Katalogos boulas</i> (κατάλογος βουλᾶς)	Officer of the boule and demos at Epidauros.
<i>Kerux</i> (κήρυξ)	Herald, public messenger.
<i>Klerotos</i> (κληρωτός)	Elected by lot. This term can be found in conjunction with <i>hairesis</i> (αἵρετός), elected by show of hands.
<i>Kolakretai</i> (κωλακρέται)	Financial officers at Athens in the period before 450 BC, at which point this responsibility was given to the <i>hellenotamiai</i> .
<i>Kosmetes</i> (κοσμητής)	An officer of the ephebes.
<i>Mastros</i> (μαστρός)	Magistrate or financial officer at Elis.
<i>Metronomos</i> (μετρονόμος)	Inspector of weights and measures at Athens.
Metroön (μητροῶν)	Temple of Demeter or Cybele. At Athens, the depository of the state archives.
<i>Nomodeiktes</i> (νομοδείκτης)	Officers involved in the drafting of laws at Andania, Messenia.
<i>Nomographos</i> (νομογράφος)	Officer who drafted and revised laws. <i>Nomographoi</i> are usually found as boards of officials working together for a polis or league.
<i>Nomophylax</i> (νομοφύλαξ)	'Guardian of the laws' or archives.
<i>Nomophylakion</i> (νομοφύλακιον)	'Law-repository' or archive.
<i>Nomos</i> (νόμος)	A law, statute or ordinance.
<i>Nomothetes</i> (νομοθέτης)	Lit. 'lawgiver'. At Athens, officers elected to review the laws of Solon and Draco.
<i>Oi dia biou</i> (οἱ διὰ βίου)	Officers of the ephebes who hold their offices 'for life'.
<i>Pentakosiomedimnos</i> (πεντακοσιομέδιμνος)	Those men at Athens who owned land producing 500 <i>medimnoi</i> each year. The 'first class', according to the Solonian constitution.
<i>Pentekostys</i> (πεντηκοστής)	A division of the Argive people, the precise nature of which is unknown. It may have been a toponym of some sort, synonymous with <i>kome</i> .
<i>Phratriarch</i> (φρατρίαρχος)	Chief officer of a phratry.
<i>Polemarch</i> (πολεμάρχος)	Generally, 'leader', or military commander.
<i>Proboulos</i> (πρόβουλος)	Member of the council at Corinth.
Propylaia	The monumental gateway at the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis.
<i>Prostatas boulas</i> (προστάτας βουλᾶς)	Presiding officer of the council at Orchomenos. Dyme also had an officer called a <i>prostatas</i> .
<i>Proxenos</i> (πρόξενος)	A <i>proxenos</i> was a citizen who hosted foreign ambassadors at his own expense, in return for honours (such as a decree, written on

stone and sometimes read out in public), a crown (gold or olive), and sometimes other awards such as money or a statue. The *proxenos* would use any personal connections to promote good relations or alliances between cities. Decrees announcing this arrangement are known as proxeny decrees.

<i>Prytanis</i> (πρύτανις)	The <i>prytaneis</i> were the fifty men from a single tribe who formed the executive officers of the boule for a tenth of the year (a period called a prytany). The <i>prytaneis</i> ate at public expense in the <i>tholos</i> (i.e. were <i>aeisitoi</i>). Each day, one member of the <i>prytaneis</i> was selected by lot to act as foreman (<i>epistates</i>) – effectively acting as the chief executive officer of Athens. No man was allowed to hold this office more than once. In the fourth century, this role was taken over by the office of <i>proedroi</i> . A <i>prytanis</i> was known by this title only when in office. For the remainder of the year he was a <i>bouleutes</i> .
<i>Psephisma</i> (ψηφίσμα)	(pl. <i>psephismata</i> , ψηφίσματα) Decree passed by majority vote in an assembly.
<i>Skytale</i> (σκυτάλη)	Method used by magistrates in Laconia as a way to send short messages to other magistracies and commanders in the field.
<i>Strategos</i> (στρατηγός) or <i>stratagos</i> (στραταγός)	Lit. 'general'. A magistrate; an eponymous officer at Corinth, and an officer of the Achaian League and at Dyme.
<i>Synarchos</i> (συνάρχος)	Leading magistrate at Troizen.
<i>Syndikoi</i> (συνδίκος)	Advocate at Megalopolis; magistrate at Patrai.
<i>Synedrion</i> (συνέδριον)	Assembly or council holding formal sessions. <i>Synedrion</i> was the name for the council in many poleis in the Peloponnese.
<i>Synegoros</i> (συνήγορος)	One of the ten assessors who, with the ten <i>logistai</i> , were the officials to whom all other officials had to submit their accounts at the end of their year in office.
<i>Synlutai</i> (συνλύται)	The members of the court at Stymphalos.
<i>Tamias</i> (ταμίας)	Generally, a treasurer; someone who managed the funds of an organisation. In Athens, the most important treasurers were the treasurers of Athena (<i>hellenotamiai</i>).
<i>Thearodokos</i> (θεαροδόκος)	At Sicyon and Epidaurus, an officer who received <i>thearoi</i> , envoys from other poleis.
<i>Thearos</i> (θεαρός)	At Orchomenos, one of five magistrates who were part of the boule administration, and who could occasionally be eponymous. Also a magistrate at Elis. The term can also refer to an envoy sent to consult an oracle.
<i>Theokolos</i> (θεοκόλος)	A magistrate known only from Dyme.
<i>Thesmothes</i> (θεσμοθέτης)	Lit 'law-giver'. At Athens, one of six junior archons, who, together with three senior archons and a <i>grammateus</i> formed the board of archons. These officers wrote up legal judgements and handled irregularities in other magistrates' accounts.
<i>Thesmotoaroi</i> (θεσμοτοάροι)	'Guardians of the laws' at Mantinea.
Thirty, The	A pro-Spartan oligarchic body installed at Athens at the end of the Peloponnesian war (404 BC). Government by The Thirty lasted for less than a year.

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