The Ancient Greek Secretary

A study of secretaries in Athens
and the Peloponnese

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

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The prominence of secretaries in inscriptions

The prominence of secretaries in inscriptions
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<td>ABSA</td>
<td>Annual of the British School at Athens. London.</td>
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<td>AD</td>
<td>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον. (1915 —). Athens.</td>
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<td>AJA</td>
<td>American Journal of Archaeology. New York, NY.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJPh</td>
<td>American Journal of Philology. Baltimore, MD.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AncW</td>
<td>Ancient World. Chicago, IL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td>Archaeological Reports. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPh</td>
<td>Classical Philology. Chicago, IL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CQ</td>
<td>Classical Quarterly. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRBS</td>
<td>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies. Duke, Durham, N.C.</td>
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<td>REA</td>
<td><em>Revue des études anciennes.</em> Bordeaux.</td>
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<tr>
<td>REG</td>
<td><em>Revue des études grecques.</em> Bordeaux.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEG</td>
<td><em>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.</em> Vols 1-57. Amsterdam.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZPE</td>
<td><em>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.</em> Bonn.</td>
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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 lexica. 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 lexica 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

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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 stonemasons for ‘publication’ on stelai.\(^4\) They could also carry out other administrative tasks, such as keeping accounts\(^5\) 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 I² 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 specialization implied by a secretary’s designation.
\(^8\) E.g. ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸ τάξις τὸ μήρυμα τῶν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στῆλι λιθίνη καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἄκροπόλι. 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 Athens and from the fourth century BC in the Peloponnese, 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. It is by no means a complete catalogue of secretarial offices in the ancient Greek world. Particularly interesting areas not covered are Egypt and Delphi, 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. 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 IG14 (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 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; grammaticos (γραμματικός): ‘grammarian’ (Plu. Sol. 1.1); grammatokuphan (γραμματοκύφων): ‘porter over records,’ a nickname (D. 18.209.2; Yunis (2001) 227); and logographes (λογογραφεύς) ‘speech-writer’ or historian (Aesch. 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 i 2.1); togrammateus (τογραμματεύς) (e.g. Prose sur pierre (48BC) 31-34); hypomnematographos (ὑπομνεματογράφος) (e.g. Kayser, AI 23 (3CAD) 5 and Str. Geographica 17.1.12.19).
13 Of particular interest are the archigrammateus (ἄρχιγραμματεύς) (e.g. FD III 1:209 (undated) 3); grammateus of the Delphic Amphictyons (ὁ γραμματέας τῶν Ἀμφικτιῶν) (e.g. FD III 1:553 (225-175 BC) 7-8); grammateus of the hieronmanton (γραμματέας τῶν ἱερονμαντῶν) (e.g. CID 4:33 (undated) 20-21) and grammatistas (γραμματιστάς) (e.g. CID 2:31 (end 4C BC) 49 & 88-89).
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), *antigrapheus* (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* (γραμματισκό, again derived from the noun *gramma*) is attested in the sense ‘act as secretary’ (instead of or in addition to *grammateu*, 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

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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 ξυγγράφειν (*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 *gropho* 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 *anagrapheus*).

¹⁸ Buck (1955) 126 note 4. See e.g. page 126-126.
included in lists of secretaries being honoured, or because they demonstrably perform some of the duties of secretaries, such as storing or transporting documents. 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, anagrapheō) decisions of the boule.

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. 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, or carry out other, more specialised functions such as accounting, or reading out documents in public for the body for which they work. These duties could either be in addition to, or instead of, other administrative duties.

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

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19 See secretary in charge of decrees, secretary for that which cannot be mentioned and secretary for the laws on page 72.
20 The katalogos (κατάλογος), 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. 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 (γραφῆς), is found in Tegea.
- The Corinthian and Achaian agent noun grammatistas.
- The agent nouns anagrapheus, antigrapheus, syngrapheus etc., formed directly from the compounds of grapho in ana-, anti-, syn-, etc. 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 (συγγραμματεύς) and hypogrammateus (ὑπογραμματεύς). The prefix may indicate an aspect of the office; for example the hypogrammateus as 'under-secretary'.
- In the Peloponnesian, agent nouns may also take the suffix -os (-ος), and be compounded with a noun suggesting specialisation, for example: dogmatographos (δογματογράφος), nomographos (νομογράφος), stalographos (σταλογράφος).

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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 (γραμματεύς τοῦ πολεμάρχου), gropheus of the polemarchs (γροφεύς πολεμάρχων), or katalogos boulas (κατάλογος βουλᾶς). 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 (γραμματεύς τῇ ἀρχῇ) or gropheus for the Eighty (γροφεύς τοῖς ὀγδοηκοστεῖσι). 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, and
- grammateus (γραμματεύς) and gropheus (γροφεύς) in the Peloponnese from 146 BC onwards.

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] ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα), secretary for that which cannot be mentioned ([ὁ] ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον), secretary for the laws ([ὁ] ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους) and secretary in attendance or 'at the platform' ([ὁ] περὶ τὸ βῆμα).

'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.
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. ἀναγράψας δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στῆλει λιθίνη καὶ στήσας 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 archon is usually identified using ἐπί (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. The dating formula is then often followed by an enactment formula (e.g. ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ).

- Personal name + ἐγραμμάτευε (was grammateus) in the dating formula to indicate the Athenian grammateus of the boule. 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 | ἐγραμμάτευε. | Σαμίοις ὅσοι μετὰ τὸ δήμο τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐγένοντο. | ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Κεκροπὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Πόλυμνις Εὐωνυμεὺς | ἐγραμμάτευε, Ἀλεξίας ἤρχε, Νικοφῶν Ἀθμονεὺς ἐπεστάτει. 

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα τὸγ γραμμ[ατ[έα τῆς βουλῆς] ἐπί τῶν | στρατηγῶν ἐστήλη λιθίνη καὶ καταθε ναι ἐς πόλιν, τὸς δὲ ἑλληνοταμίας | δὸναι τὸ ἀργύριον· ἀναγράψαι δ’ ἐς Σάμῳ κατὰ ταύτα τέ[λε]σι [τοῖς ἐκέ]νων. | (2) [ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Πανδη]σιονις ἐπρυτάνευε, Αγύρριος Κ[ολλυ]τεὺς | [ἐγραμμάτευε... | 

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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 ἐγραμμάτευε + personal name, as in IG ΠII 1077 on page 56.
Kephisophon of Painia 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, Agyrrius of Kollytos [was grammateus…

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

In the first decree, the grammateus of the boule is identified both by the full designation grammateus of the boule, and by egrammateue (ἔγραμμάτευε). 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 text\(^51\) 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.

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\(^{47}\) IG I\(^1\) 10 (469-450 BC) 3, 5-6, 22-27.

\(^{48}\) IG V, 1 7 (3C BC?) 1-2.

\(^{49}\) E.g. IG II\(^2\) 410 (c.330 BC) 37-39, page 35.

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

\(^{51}\) Usually ἱστημι or τίθημι and its cognates; see e.g. IG II\(^2\) 1 (405/4 BC) 1-6, 38-42, 56-57 on page 25.

\(^{52}\) E.g. IG II\(^2\) 238 (338/7 BC) 14-17: ἀναγράψαντα δὲ τὸ δέδω τῷ ψήφῳ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸ κέρας τὴν λίθον· 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).

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.

3. The completed inscription is set up by unspecified individuals, often in a location already noted in the text.

*Anagraphe* 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* and *epigrapho* (ἐπιγράφω) can also occasionally be used to indicate writing on a stele, but are used so infrequently it is unlikely that any process was implied. 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 (σανίς λευκή or πίναξ) can be written up (ἀναγράφω) or scratched on or inscribed (καταγράφω).

**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.

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53 Represented in epigraphic formulae by a phrase such as ‘ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ’ in IG II 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 II 120 (353/2 BC) 13-19 on page 55.

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

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

57 E.g. IG II 223 (343/2 BC) B4-6.

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

59 IG II 1237 (396/5 BC) 124-5: ἀναγράφοντα ἐν σανίδι[ω] λευκῷ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Λητοῦς.

60 IG II 386 (408/7 BC) 161: σανίδια ἐν ο[ἰς τὸς μύστας κ[σαταγράφ]ος]
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, 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.

A procedural point to note: this study raises and addresses questions about attested secretarial activity, rather than about epigraphic habit. 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.

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

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* and *epigrapheus*, who registered property, and the *katalogeus*, who enrolled citizens. 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.

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*.

The speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes are also useful for their references to Aeschines’ time as *grammateus of the boule and the demos* (γραμματεύς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου), and to the *grammateus* of the court, 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.

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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* c.4688 1 defines both γραφεύς and ἐπιγραφεύς as ζωγράφος. Suid. *Lexicon* γ.436 1 defines γραφεύς as ὁ ζωγράφος, ὃς τοῖς γενέσθαι συγγραφεῖ τὰς ληκύθους. *The painter. He who paints the oil-flasks for the dead.*
69 Hyp. Orat.fr.152.2; 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. Aesch. 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 *antigrapheus*, *grammateus*, *grammateus kata prytaneian* (γραμματεύς κατά 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 γραμματεύς 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,\(^82\) Delphi\(^83\) 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.

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\(^76\) 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Sub-region</th>
<th>Polis</th>
<th>Body</th>
<th>Designation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Athens:</td>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>boule and demos</td>
<td>anagrapheus antigrapheus grammateus etc...</td>
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<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>Peloponnese:</td>
<td>Corinthia</td>
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<td>Sicyon</td>
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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 Peloponnesian 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 τᾶς 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 τῆς βολῆς) 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* (γραμματεύς) 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* (συγγραμματεύς, page 74) and *sygrapheus* (page 74), whose offices were in existence for a short period only, and the *anagrapheus of the laws* (ἀναγραφεύς 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* (ὑπογραμματεύς) 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* (γραμματεύς 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* (γραμματεύς) 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

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\(^{87}\) IG\(^3\) 508 (562-558 BC) A5-B6: —c.5—ιας έγρα[μάτευε — ; IG\(^3\) 509 (c.550 BC?) 2-3: νας — έγ]ραμάτευε.

\(^{88}\) E.g. IG\(^3\) 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\(^3\) 193 (450-435 BC) 3-4 (see n.205).

\(^{93}\) E.g. IG\(^3\) 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 τούς ταμίας ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στῆσαι 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 τοῦ γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ [στῆσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ Διονύσου] \(^{97}\)

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.

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 Athenaios 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, the most frequently-occurring of these being the grammateus for life of the ephebes (γραμματεύς διὰ βίου, page 111).

The duties of some secretaries changed over time. The grammateus of the boule and the demos (γραμματεύς 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. Other officers may have worked only on certain types of document, such as the antigrapheus (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.

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 recodification of Solon’s law was intended to be a ‘one-off’ occurrence.

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101 E.g. IG II² 652 (c.290/89 BC) 33-35: ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ δήμου... ἐν ἀκροπόλι... 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 pytaneian, 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

ἀναγραφεύς (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 (ἀναγραφείς τῶν νόμων) was set up to revise the laws of Drakon and Solon.104 See below.

• 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).

ἀναγραφεύς τῶν νόμων (anagrapheus of the laws)

A commission of anagrapheus of the laws (ἀναγραφείς 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 αἱρεθέντες ταύτα συνέγραψαν. κυρωθέντων δὲ τούτων, εἴλοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι τούς ἀναγράφοντας τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκατόν 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 IG² 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.


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, 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, 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.

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. 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 Drakon 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), and the revised homicide law (IG I 3 104), which notes a board of anagrapheis of the laws but does not name any of them:


112 IG I 3 104 (409/8 BC) 5-6. The revised homicide law (page 40) simply says anagrapheis plural, and does not provide any names. Teisamos 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.
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 and the grammateus of the boule. 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. The homicide law was set up in 409/8 BC 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, a stele containing older regulations about the powers of the boule, and revisions to the Athenian sacrificial calendar, which Lysias states Nikomachos completed during his second period in office. The anagrapheis were not supposed to create new laws, and this task instead fell to the syngrapheis.

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

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

120 IG I2 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 παρά 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 I2 104 (409/8 BC) 4-6.

123 IG I2 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 I2 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.

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. 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, 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. "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 δόσι διαμψιβήτησες ἔχον) were removed from the Areopagus. While this reflects the policies of The Thirty, who appear to have attempted to revise the laws themselves, 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. 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.

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

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127 The charges laid against Nikomachos (page 44) also help illustrate the wide range of uses of anagrapheis. 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. Anagrapheis is also used in "Ath. Pol." 30.1 and 32.1 for writing a politeia. See also Rhodes (1991) 91-92; Todd (1996b) 108.


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


133 Lys. 30.1, 30.4, 30.19, 30.29.

134 Lys. 30.17-25.

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.\(^\text{136}\) 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;\(^\text{137}\) 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.\(^\text{138}\) Immediately after a prolonged war, Athens may have needed to revisit levels of expenditure on such sacrifices,\(^\text{139}\) 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.\(^\text{140}\)

**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.\(^\text{141}\) Those who revised the law took a daily wage until such time as work was completed.\(^\text{142}\) 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.\(^\text{143}\) As such, *anagrapheis of the laws* did not serve for the same period as the *grammateus of the boule*, who served for

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\(^\text{136}\) 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.

\(^\text{137}\) Lys. 30.4; Todd (1996b) 110.

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

\(^\text{139}\) 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.

\(^\text{140}\) As suggested for the Salaminioi by Ferguson (1938) 24-25.

\(^\text{141}\) *Ath. Pol.* 30.1, page 38.

\(^\text{142}\) Lys. 30.2. See also n.154.

\(^\text{143}\) Lys. 30.2-4; Rhodes (1991) 89; Todd (1996b) 102-103; 110.
The commission also differed from democratic boards of officers in that it was possible to be appointed twice into the same office.\textsuperscript{145}

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

\begin{quote}
\textit{épeidh' dè boulēn te ἀπεκληρώσατε νομοθέτας te eîlesēte, εὐρίσκοντες τῶν νόμων τῶν τε Σόλωνος καὶ τῶν Δράκοντος πολλοὺς ὄντας οἷς πολλοί τῶν πολιτῶν ἔνοχοι ἦσαν τῶν πρῶτερον ἐνεκα γενομένων, ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσαντες ἐβουλεύσασθε περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐφημίσασθε, δοκιμάσαντες πάντας τοὺς νόμους, εἴτ' ἀναγράψαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τούτοις τῶν νόμων οἷς ἄν δοκιμασθῶσι.\textsuperscript{146}
\end{quote}

\textit{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 fabricated\textsuperscript{147}) decree quoted in Andokides’ \textit{On the Mysteries} notes that 500 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{148} This text appears to be both inauthentic and misleading, as nowhere else are this extraordinary board of \textit{nomothetai} directly connected with revisions to the laws.\textsuperscript{149} It may be that the \textit{nomothetai} instead carried out functions previously undertaken by the \textit{syngrapheis}, a board for which we have no evidence from this time onwards (page 74).

\textbf{Other Attributes}

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

\textsuperscript{144} See page 52.

\textsuperscript{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. \textit{Pol.} 1317b-1318a, Hdt. 3.81 and Ps. X. \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{146} And. 1.82.

\textsuperscript{147} Canevaro & Harris (2012) 114-115.

\textsuperscript{148} And. 1.83-84: \textit{such additions as are needed shall be inscribed on boards by the following nomothetai.}

\textsuperscript{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:\textsuperscript{150}

καὶ δός τουτὶ Κλεοφῶντι ὕαρων καὶ τουτουὶ τοῖς πορισταῖς, Μῦρμηκὶ θ’ ὁμοὶ καὶ Νικομάχῳ τὸδε δ’ Ἀρχενόμῳ\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 μην ἀναγράψαι τοὺς νόμους τοὺς Σόλωνος), but instead took six years.\textsuperscript{155} During his second period in office, he took four years instead of thirty days.\textsuperscript{156} These charges can perhaps be take 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{158}

\textsuperscript{150} Aristophanes Frogs was first performed in early 405 BC. Dover (1993) 2.

\textsuperscript{151} Ar. Frogs 1504-1507.

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

\textsuperscript{153} Lys. 30.1-6. Todd (1996b) 108.

\textsuperscript{154} Todd (1996b) 109, 131. In noting that Nikomachos ‘received payment on a daily basis’ (Lys. 30.2: καθ’ ἐκόστην δὲ ἡμέραν ὀργύριον λαμβάνων), the speaker implies that Nikomachos took bribes for perverting the written law, rather than taking a daily wage.

\textsuperscript{155} Lys. 30.2.

\textsuperscript{156} Lys. 30.4.

\textsuperscript{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.)

\textsuperscript{158} Lys. 30.2, 30.4.
Lysias states that Nikomachos ‘added some laws and erased others’ (τοὺς μὲν ἐνέγραφε τοὺς δὲ ἐξήλειψεν),\(^{159}\) 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 δὲ, ὦ Νικόμαχε, τούτων τάναντα πεποίηκας ἀναγράμας γὰρ πλείω τῶν προσταχθέντων ἄρως γεγένησαι τὰ προσίστα ἕρματα εἰς ταύτα μὲν ἀναλίσκεσθαι, ἐν δὲ ταῖς πατρίοις θυσίαις ἑπιλέιψεν.\(^{164}\)

*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: οὗτοι 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. 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). 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. With the exception of two brief periods of oligarchic government, the later office of anagrapheus was much more limited in scope (see below).

άναγραφεύς (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.

Further particulars

From 337/6 BC, during democratic periods of government, the office of anagrapheus was most probably an annual and elected office, 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.

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. On one occasion, the anagrapheus is honoured individually. This

167 Lys. 30.4-5; Dow (1960) 271-2; Todd (1996b) 103-4, 107.
168 Lys. 30.3; Todd (1996b) 109.
170 IGII² 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. IGII² 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

ἐπειδή ὁ ἀναγραφεύς Καλλικραῖος καλὸς καὶ δικαῖως ἐπιμελήτης τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ [σ] ἤ προτανέαι αὐτῶν ἐστεφανώκασιν καὶ [τ] ὄλλα 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 anagrapheus; 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 worked alongside a number of other secretaries from c.330 BC onwards.

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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 II 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 II 415 (330/29 BC) 12-16.

177 IG II 415 (330/29 BC) 25-27: ...καὶ στεφαν[ῦ] | ὀσίος αὐτό[ύ] | χρ[υσί]σιὼ στεφάνων ἀπό ὅρι [δραχμῶν] ἐπειδ[ῆ] ἄρχει καλῶς καὶ δικαίως... 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 II 678 42: αἰσιτοῖ. See also Dow (1937) 22-24.
in publishing the decrees of the boule and demos. 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.\(^{182}\)

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*Anagrapheus Archedikos son of Naukritos of Lamptrai. In the archonship of Neaichmos, during the fifth prytany, that of Antiochis, for which Nikodemos of Anaphylstos 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), Thrasykes, 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

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\(^{179}\) Dow (1963a) 40.

\(^{180}\) Oliver (2003) 46, 49-51.

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


\(^{183}\) 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.


\(^{187}\) 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, and the office of *anagrapheus* again became a minor one. 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.

**ἀντιγραφεύς (antigrapheus)**

Activities

The *antigrapheus* (ἀντιγραφεύς), ‘checking-clerk’ or ‘copying-clerk’, is known from the fourth century BC to the third century AD, 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, ὃ Αθηναίοι, ἀντιγραφεύς ἦν χειροτονητὸς τῇ πόλει, διὸ καθ’ ἐκάστην πρωτοείαν ἀπολογίζετο 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.

Harpocranon, 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, ὡστε ἀντιγράφεσθαι ταύτα· Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ’ Ἀνδροτίωνος καὶ Αἰσχύνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος. διποτὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀντιγραφεῖς, ὃ μὲν τῆς διοίκησεως, ὡς Φιλόχορος, ὃ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Αθηναίων πολιτεία.194

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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.
193 Aeschin. 3.25 (330 BC).
194 Harp. Words Used by the Ten Orators 35.4 (1-2CAD) 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 (2C AD) (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 antigrapheis, one for internal administration, as Philokhoros says, and one for the boule, as Aristotle wrote in the Athenion Politeia.

There is no surviving epigraphic evidence to support the claim that there were two antigrapheis. 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 antigrapheis. 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.

Antigrapheis may have stored their work in the Metroön:

\[\text{Δ' Άντιγραφεύς Ἡφαίστος — c.16 — ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ὁ δὲ τῆς διοίκησις.}\]

Hephaistos was antigrapheus ... — [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:

\[\text{Δ' Άντιγραφεύς πρότερον μὲν αἱρετὸς αὖθις δὲ κληρωτὸς ἦν, καὶ πάντα ἀντεγράφετο παρακαθήμενος τῇ βουλῇ.}\]

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

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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): ἄντιγραφεύς Ἡραίος — c.18 — ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ὁ δὲ τῆς διοίκησις. 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 (2C AD). The paragraph continues: δύο δὲ ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ὁ δὲ τῆς διοίκησις. And there were two of them, one of the boule, and another for internal administration, mirroring the information provided by Harpocratus.
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

**γραμματεύς 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:

- γραμματεύς (grammateus), see below.
- γραμματεύς τῆς βουλῆς (grammateus of the boule), see page 52.
- γραμματεύς κατὰ πρυτανείαν (grammateus kata prytaneian), see page 53.
- [ό] 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 IGII² 1747 (c.350 BC) and IGII² 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* (IGII² 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.
γραμματεύς (grammateus)

From the mid-sixth century BC, the *grammateus* of the pre-Kleisthenic council was referred to simply as *grammateus* (γραμματεύς). 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* (νῦν ἐγραμμάτευς). 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 ἐνι + genitive dating clause containing the eponymous archon:

εὖ Ἀφφεύδου τοῖς βολεῖς καὶ τοῖς βολεῖς πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευς νῦν ἐδοξοσεν τοῖς βολεῖς καὶ τοῖς βολεῖς λατινοὶ ἐπιστόλατευσει, Χάριος ἐγραμμάτευς... 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.*

Including the first *grammateus* as part of the ἐνι 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 *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.

γραμματεύς 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*. Spelt in the Attic alphabet until the end of the fifth century BC


201 Earliest e.g. IG I3 450 (447/6-433/2 BC) 410-416; latest: IG I3 316 (407/6 BC) 64-67. There is no deuterous grammateus, etc. For grammateis serving for a prytany, see page 59.

202 IG I3 53 (433/2 BC) 4-8.


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

205 E.g. IG I3 193 (450-435 BC) 3-4: [ἀγαραφότα] ἢ γραμματεύς ἢ τοῖς βολεῖς ἐν στέι]|ι[λει λιθεί καὶ θέ]το ἐμ πόλει. *Let the grammateus of the boule write it up on a stone stele and set it up in Athens.*
(γραμματεύς τέχνων), the designation γραμματεύς 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: γραμματεύς βουλῆς. The designation may have been lengthened from γραμματεύς to γραμματεύς τῆς βουλῆς in order to distinguish the grammaeus of the boule from the grammaeus of the hellenotamiai, who had moved their administration to from Delos to Athens only a few years earlier. (See example on page 86).

**γραμματεύς κατά πρυτανείαν (grammateus kata prytaanelaian)**

In c.367/6 BC, the office of grammaeus of the boule became an annual one (see page 60). From this date, the grammaeus of the boule could be referred to either as grammaeus of the boule, or grammaeus kata prytaanelaian (γραμματεύς κατά πρυτανείαν), that is, secretary serving ‘pryty-by-pryty’ (i.e. for a whole cycle of prytanies). This designation is used only for the grammaeus for the whole year (ten prytanies), and is never used for the secretary for a single pryty (who is referred to only as grammaeus or grammaeus of the boule, see above).

The argument for the identification of the grammaeus kata prytaanelaian with the grammaeus of the boule is as follows:

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

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206 The earliest epigraphic evidence for the longer designation grammaeus of the boule (γραμματεύς τέχνων) is IG I² 27 (c.450/49 BC) 8-9, though the grammaeus was clearly working with the boule prior to this (e.g. IG I² 5 (c.500 BC) 1). The earliest instance spelt γραμματέας τῆς βουλής is IG I² 103 (410/9 BC) 11, the latest is IG II² 1061 (1BC) 16. The latest instance of grammaeus 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 I² 124 (357/6 BC) 1-3. Ferguson (1898) 36. In support of this interpretation of κατά πρυτανείαν, Ferguson cites the phrases καθ’ ἕμεραν ‘day after day’, and καθ’ ἀρχήν, ‘month after month’. This conflicts with the interpretation given in LSJ, namely that κατά 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 grammaeus kata prytaanelaian is synonymous with grammaeus 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 grammaeus in both IG I² 138 3 & 139 3-4 (353/2 BC), and this stele is almost certainly the one which the grammaeus 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 grammaeus kata prytaanelaian, Rhodes notes IG I² 223 (343/2 BC) C.1-2: [γραμματεύς] πρυτανείαν κατά κλέαστρος Τιμωρθένους Αἰγιλεύς, with IG II² 224 (also 343/2 BC) 2: ἢ κλέαστρος Τιμωρθένους Αἰγιλεύς ἑγραμμάτευεν. From this, he declares both titles to be synonymous. See also IG I² 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. 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).

The argument against the synonymous nature of these offices is based on the interpretation of IGII² 120, the decree on the inventory of treasures in the Chalkotheke, below, where both designations occur within the space of four lines. 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 offices it contains, and the verbs used to describe the writing of texts.

...παραγγείλας δε τους πρωταν[(ε)][[ε]] και Ε[ύκλεϊ] ([τωι δημοσιό] ἦκε εἰς ἀρκόπολιν γραμματεὺς ἐνον τ[ά] ἐν τῇ χαλκοθήκῃ. και ἐπειδὴ τὸ οίκημα ἄ|νοιχθε κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστα καὶ ἐπειδὰν πάντα καὶ ἀναγραφῆι, ἀντιγράφεται δὲ τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ [ν]υτανείαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους γραμματείας τοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς δημοσίους γράμμασιν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐξετασθῆ πάντα k[[α]] ἀναγραφῆι, τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς.

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210 Compare e.g. IGII² 107 (368/7 BC) 7, 18-20 with e.g. IGII² 788 (235/4 BC) 7, 26-8.

211 The earliest of these, IGII² 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.

IGII² 1789 (c.175 AD) (=Ag.15.454) 4-7: [γράμματεως βουλῆς] | — — — Ξ [Ε] [Ξ] [Ε] [Ξ] | [γράμματεως κατὰ [ν]υτανείαν] | [Εὐκλείδος Θεού] | [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 SEG26:157 (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 formulæ. When a text contains a secretary in the prescript (−*grammateue*), 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 IGII² 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.

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 pryta neian 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 pryta neian 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 pryta neian 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 pryta neian 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 II² 120 (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 antigrapheus, 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 stoncutter. 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.

\[ \text{ὁ περὶ τὸ βῆμα ([ho] peri to bema, secretary 'in attendance' or 'at the platform')} \]

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'. For example in the following text, Rhodos, the *grammateus* in the prescript, is also designated *peri to bema* in a list of *aeisitoi* (ἀἱσεῖτοι, those maintained at public cost during meals held at the Athenian Prytaneion), later in the text.

\[ ἐγραμμάτευεν Ῥόδων Καλλίστου Μαρα[θων]. \]
\[ ... \]
\[ ἀἱσεῖτοι' \]
\[ ... \]
\[ γραμματεύς βουλής καὶ δήμου Ἀριστόβουλος Ἀττικοῦ Ἀναγυράσιος \]
\[ περὶ τὸ βῆμα Ῥόδων Καλλίστου Μαραθ. \]

*Rhodon son of Kallistos from Marathon was grammaeteus.*

\[ ... \]
\[ aeisitoi: \]
\[ ... \]
\[ grammaeteus of the boule and demos: Aristoboulos son of Attikos from Anagryous peri to bema: Rhodon son of Kallistos from Marathon. \]

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). In the majority of cases, the *peri to bema* is also one of the *aeisitoi*. Alternatively, the word *bema* (meaning rostrum or

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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 prytaneion* rather than *peri to bema*. E.g. IG II² 1062 (mid. 1C BC) 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 2C AD, 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. One reason for standing at the platform could be to read documents out in public. 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 ἀπόρρητον (**secretary for that which cannot be mentioned**)], and [ὁ ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους (**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*). He also recorded any other information deemed worthy of permanent record, such as honours bestowed, and financial accounts. Much of this information was written on temporary media only. This could be either displayed publicly, or stored in archives 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 τόν κατὰ πρυτανείαν καλούμενον, ὃς τῶν γραμμάτων ἐστὶ κύριος, καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ γιγνόμενα φυλάττει, καὶ τάλλα πάντα ἀντιγράφεται καὶ παρακάθεται τῇ βουλῇ. πρότερον μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἦν χειροτονητός, καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ πιστοτάτους ἑχειροτόνους. καὶ γάρ ἐν ταῖς στήλαις πρὸς ταῖς συμμαχίαις καὶ προξενίαις καὶ πολιτείαις οὕτως ἀναγράφεται. νῦν δὲ γέγονε κληρωτός.

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

The *grammateus of the boule* was not the person who inscribed the stone. In the fifth century, this may have been because this kind of manual labour was not seen to be appropriate for a *pentakosiomedimnos*; however, from the mid fourth century, officers were chosen from all classes, and yet evidence still does not suggest that the *grammateus of the boule* was ever the stoncutter. The reasons for this may be purely practical. The stoncutter 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.

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

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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 proxeny 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 stoncutters.

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 ἀρχὰς) 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 stoncutter.

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 stonemason, 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 texts\(^{242}\) 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,

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\(^{238}\) IG I\(^2\) 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: ...[‘ὁ ἀποκλείσας ὅτες θολοῖον] [καὶ πολὺ] ἀπὸ τὶν μὲν ἐκεῖνον καὶ Πελο[ποννήσιον... ...that, being colonists of the Thasians and being besieged by them and the Peloponnesians... is corrected as follows: 58-59: ἐξὲ δὲ τὸ φασίσμα τὸ πρὸ[τὸν ἑνανθρώπον τὸν γραμματέα τῆς θάλας: καὶ ἐς τοῦ μεταπρηκτό] [ἀφαίρετο αὐτῆς τῆς ἄνωκοις ταῖς ἥσσος ὁποῖοι] [καὶ συνδεσμένες τὸν πλήρων ὧν ἔτη Αθηναίων. 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 II\(^2\) 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.56-year period, and not others. IG II\(^2\) 141 (376/5 BC) 12-14: τὸ δὲ ψήφασι μαίνει δὲ ὁ σειράς ὁ γραμματέας τῆς θαλάσσας... ἐστὶν ἑλληνικόν δέκα ἡμερῶν. Also: IG II\(^2\) 149 (before 355 BC) 17-23; IG II\(^2\) 130 (355/4 BC) 15-19; IG II\(^2\) 133 (355/4 BC) 14-20; SEG 39:75 (352/2 BC) 9-13; IG II\(^2\) 206 (349/8 BC) 28-34; SEG 45:59 (c.345 BC) 4-7; IG II\(^2\) 287 (before 336/5 BC) 12-16; IG II\(^2\) 253 (336/5 BC) 4-10 (fragmentary); IG II\(^2\) 289 (before 336/5 BC) 8-11; IG II\(^2\) 274 (336/5 BC) 1-3; IG II\(^2\) 278 (336/5 BC) 10-12; Ag.16:95[2] (322/1 BC) 18-21.

\(^{242}\) IG II\(^2\) 206 (349/8 BC) 28-34.

\(^{243}\) Rhodes (1972a) 134-6. To support this view, Rhodes examines two decrees on the same stele, IG II\(^2\) 1.ii 41-42 (403/2 BC) and IG II\(^2\) 1.iii 405/4 BC 56-57, which were written in different prytanies of the same year. In IG II\(^2\) 1.ii, Cephsophon is the possessor of a probouleumatic decree, and is therefore a member of the boule. The prytany is Pandionis and the secretary is Agyrrius. In IG II\(^2\) 1.iii, the possessor of the decree is Eu-- the prytany is Erechtheis, and Cephsophon 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 grammaeus 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 grammaeus 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 grammaeus 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 grammaeus 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 grammaeus of the boule ceased to be drawn from the members of the boule,254 and could also be known by the designation grammaeus 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.


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 IGII² 107 (368/7 BC) 4-5.

251 IGII² 109-1-5, IGII² 110-2-6, and IGII² 111-2-4, all 363/2 BC. Each inscription is published in a different prytany, while the grammaeus remains Νικόστρατος Φιλοστράτος Παλλαγές. Inscriptions from 367/6-364/3 BC do not substantiate the argument for an annual grammaeus of the boule as we do not have (surviving) named grammaeis 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 IGII² 228 5-6, IGII² 229 3-4 and IGII² 174963-5, all from 341/0 BC. Ονήσιππος Αραφήνιος Αραφήνιος is the secretary of both IGII² 228 and 229, but does not appear in the list of bouleutai chosen from the Αραφήνιοι (IGII² 174963-5).
member 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.\textsuperscript{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;\textsuperscript{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 \textit{grammateus}, Proxenos of Acherdous, was \textit{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 \textit{grammateus of the boule} for a second time, after a twenty-year period had elapsed.\textsuperscript{257} However, there is no surviving evidence that any other \textit{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.\textsuperscript{258} No \textit{grammateis} appear to have served in two consecutive years, as was the case with the (fifth century, oligarchic) \textit{syngrammateis} (see page 74).

\textbf{Other attributes}

The public profile of the \textit{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 \textit{anagrapheus} became the eponymous secretary, and took over the duties of the \textit{grammateus of the boule} (see page 37).\textsuperscript{259}

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

\textsuperscript{255} \textit{Ath. Pol.} 54.3: see page 57. Rhodes (1993) 599-603. The change of selection method suggests that the office of \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{256} Rhodes (1993) 603.

\textsuperscript{257} Ferguson (1898) 36; Rhodes (1972a) 139. Proxenos was \textit{grammateus kata prytaneian} in IG II\textsuperscript{2} 1700 (335/4 BC) 213-220 (Ag.15:43 (335/4 BC) 227-234) and \textit{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 \textit{grammateus kata prytaneian} in IG II\textsuperscript{2} 330 (315/14 BC) 1-2, 23-27 and \textit{grammateus} in IG II\textsuperscript{2} 331 (315/14 BC) 2-3.

\textsuperscript{258} O'Sullivan (2009) 120-4.

\textsuperscript{259} Rhodes (1972a) 140.

\textsuperscript{260} See examples on pages 71, 72 and 79.
with other secretaries as aeisitoi (ἄισείτοι) (see example on page 80). 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> ἐγραμμάτευε, appearing immediately after the eponymous archon (the official after whom the year was named) or the tribe. In the fifth and early fourth century BC, this grammateus could also be included before the eponymous archon or presiding officer, or even be included in the prescript twice.

Σχέδιος Θεοτέλος | Λαμπηρέως ἐγραμμάτευεν.
ἐ[δοξ]εν τῷ δήμῳ: Ἡπιοθοντίς ἐπηρμητάνευεν, Σχέδιος Θεοτέλος ἐγραμμάτευεν[ν], | [Θ]ρασεμήδης ἐπεστάτας· Ἀθηνόδωρος[ς] | [Σ]ιπεν· ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Ἰφιτόν τὸν Φ[α][ς][φ][α][ς] | ὡς[φ][α][ς] ὡς[φ][α][ς].

Charidemos son of Theotolos from Lamptra was grammateus.
It was decreed by the demos: the Prytany was Hippothontis, Charidemos was grammateus, Thrasymedes presided. Athenodoros proposed: to praise Iphitos the Pharsalian...

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”. 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.
263 Schwenk 9 (335/4 BC) 7-9: [ὁ ἑγγορματεύσει ὁ κατ’ ὑπτερών] εἶναν ἐν παντὶ καὶ τῇ καλῷ καὶ φιλοτιμοί καὶ ἀρχή τὶ [ὁν ἀρχήν αὐτοῦ...]
264 For example in the homicide law IG I 104 (409/8 BC) 3-4: ἐξορίσατο τῷ βουλῆι καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Ἀκαίην ἐπηρμητάνευ, [Δ]ρ[γ][ν]ντος ἐγραμμάτευν.
265 IG I 31 (421/0 BC) 2-3: [Προκλῆς] Ἀτάρβη Εὐ[ομμυμύς] | [ἐγγορματι] εἴη ἰσι[ον ἱσομντος] ; also IGII 26 (394-387 BC) 1-5; IGII 49 (beg. 4C BC) 1; IGII 58 (bef. 378/7 BC) 1-6; IGII 77 (375 BC) 1; IGII 127 (356/5 BC) 1. Henry (1977) 8, 10, 21.
266 IGI 31 (c.450 BC) 1-5. Henry (1977) 8, 21-22 lists other examples of this type.
267 IGII 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. 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).

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.

![Figure East 19 from the Parthenon frieze.](image)

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*. 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

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270 See, e.g. the *grammateus* in the decree honouring the Samians: IG I¹ 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.


Panathenaia. He believes that it is much more likely that these figures are the *athlothetai*, who had connections with this festival.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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*.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{278} This designation can be abbreviated to *grammateus of the demos* (γραμματεύς τοῦ δήμου) to save space.\textsuperscript{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 Κηφισοφόντος Φαληρέα ...

The *grammateus of the boule and the demos Ktesikles son of Kephisophon of Phaleron* is abbreviated in the citation:

... τὸν | γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Κτησικλῆν Κηφισοφόντος Φαληρέα ...

*The boule (honour) the grammateus of the demos Ktesikles Kephisiea*

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


\textsuperscript{276} Trianti (1994) 83-86.


\textsuperscript{278} See, for example IG II\textsuperscript{2} 1740 (388/7 BC) 53-4; Ag.15:261 53-54 & 262 5-7 (c.95/4 BC).

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

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

\textsuperscript{281} Earliest *grammateus of the demos*: IG II\textsuperscript{2} 660 (aft. mid. 4C BC) 19-24. Latest: II\textsuperscript{2} 1011 (106/5 BC) 62.

\textsuperscript{282} Ag.15:443 (c.198 AD) 24.

\textsuperscript{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 δέ καὶ ὁ δήμος γραμματέα, τὸν ἀναγνωσόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ οὗτος οὐδὲν ἄτι κύριος285 ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀναγνώρισαι.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

ἀναγράμμαται δὲ τὸ τῷ ὑψηλῷ τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνη 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 δὲ ἐπιγενομένου χειμῶνος ἦκοντες ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνας οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Νικίου ὡς τε ἀπὸ γλώσας εἴρητο αὐτοῖς εἶπον, καὶ εἶ τις τι ἐπηρώτα ἄπεκριντο, καὶ τὴν ἑπιστολήν ἀπέδωσαν. ὁ δὲ γραμματεύς ὁ τῆς πόλεως παρελθὼν ἀνέγνω τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις δηλούσαν 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...*

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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 (5C BC).
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 expertise – 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.\(^{299}\)

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\(^{291}\) 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 υπογραμματεύων γὰρ ἕμν 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, Aeschi
nes appears to have been an assistant to his father (a schoolteacher), and an actor. 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. 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’ and ‘gossip-monger and market-place layabout’. 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:

κἂν ὁ γεγραμματευκὼς Αἰσχίνης εἴπῃ 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.

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), and he is equally as scathing about Aeschines’ personal performance as actor and as teacher’s assistant.

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 Aesch. 3.192.

302 D. 19.95: πανούργος οὗτος καὶ θεοίς ἐχθρός καὶ γραμματεύς. He (is) a knave, and hateful to the gods (lit.) and grammateus.

303 D. 18.127: ...σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμι ἁγοράς, ὄλεθρος γραμματεύς... ...gossip-monger, market-place layabout and wretched grammateus.

304 D. 19.314.

305 D. 18.121.

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.\(^\text{308}\)

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.\(^\text{309}\)

**γραμματεύς τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν (grammateus of the eisagogeis)**

The *eisagogeis* were the officers who brought the lawsuits of the tribes to court.\(^\text{310}\) There were five *eisagogeis*, and each one performed services for two *phylai*.\(^\text{311}\)

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

\[
\tau\alpha[\chi\circ][\varsigma \phi][\rho][\circ][\rho]· \\
\text{ἐδοχεν τε[ι βολεί και τοί δεμοί· Λεοντίς] ἐπ[υτάνευε, ...]ον ἕγρα[μμάτευε, ...} \\
\text{κυμεύσαι δὲ ἐ[ῃσαγογέας —8— τού]τος δὲ ἦ[ελέσθαι καὶ γραμμα][τέα καὶ} \\
\text{καυ[ν]γραμματέα ἐχ σφόν αὐτ]όν}.\(^\text{312}\)
\]

*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.\(^\text{313}\)

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

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\(^{307}\) D. 18.129, 18.258.

\(^{308}\) Lane Fox (1994) 141 draws similar conclusions.

\(^{309}\) D. 19.249.

\(^{310}\) *Ath. Pol.* 52.2.


\(^{312}\) IG\(^1\)\(^3\) 71 (425/4 BC) 2-3, 7-8.

grammateus of the boule (page 51), and the syngrammate recorded in earlier assessments of tribute (see page 74). In these earlier texts, there is no mention of the eisagogeis.\footnote{314} An additional member of the eisagogeis may have been added when the number of phylai was increased to twelve.\footnote{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).\footnote{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.\footnote{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] |
έπειδή οἱ πρυτα[νεὶς τῆς Αἰαντίδος οἱ ἐπὶ — — — ἄρχοντος καὶ] | οἱ ἀίσειτοι
ἔπα[νέσαντες καὶ στεφανώσαντες]\footnote{318}

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

---

\footnote{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.

\footnote{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.

\footnote{316} Hansen (1999) 104-105, 141.

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

\footnote{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:

![Image of a stele with inscriptions]

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...
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*.

...ἀναγράψα]ι δὲ τόδε[το τῷ ψηφίσμα τόν γραμματέ]α τῶν πρυ[τάνεων ἐν τῇ στήλῃ
λιθίνη καὶ | [στήσαι ἐξηνεθθεν τοῦ] βουλευτηρ[ιού].³²¹

*And [the gramma]teus of the prytaneis is to [write up] this [decree on the] stone [stelē] 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*:

```
[Μαραθώνιοι] | [Marathon]
...
<κῆρυξ> βουλῆς καὶ δ[ήμου — — —] herald of the boule and demos <name>
peri τό βῆμα Ἐπι — — — peri to bema Epi—
ἀντιγραφεὺς Νει[κ — — —] antigrapheus Neik—³²²
ἱεραύλης Ἑρμόδω[ρος] sacred flute-player Hermodoros
ἐπὶ Σκιάδος Πρωτ[— — —] ἐπιστάτης in the [foremanship] of Skias Prot—³²³
γρ(αμματεύς) π[ρυ]τάνεων N — — — gramma]teus of the prytaneis N—³²⁴
```

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.

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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 I² 1806 (190-200 AD) 1, 19-24 (Ag.15:424). Line 24 is the last line of the inscription.
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 ἀπόρρητον, [ho] epi to aporretan). This secretary is known from his designation in inscriptions only. See example on page 72.

A *secretary for the laws* ([ὁ] ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους, [ho] epi tous nomous) occurs in several inscriptions of honorific decrees of the boule and demos which bestow honours on their officers. The following example is included as one of only three texts that include both designations.

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 Brillant (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.
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 ἄλλον, ὃς παρακάθηται 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

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329 Ath. Pol. 54.4.
331 Sickinger (1999) 143.
συγγραμματεύς (syngrammateus)

An officer known as the *syngrammateus* (spelt συγγραμματεύς, συνγραμματεύς or χσυγγραμματεύς) 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:

\[ ἐπὶ τες τρίτες καὶ δεκάτες [Ἀθ.] Χαλκιδεὺς Μελιτεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε, Δόρυφιλος Ικαρεὺς ἡλλενοταμίας ἐν, Σάτυρος Λευκονοῖς συνεγραμμάτευε. | Ἰονικὸς φόρος (There then follows the record of tribute.) \] \(^{333}\)

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.\(^{335}\)

συγγραμματεύς τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν (syngrammateus of the eisagogeis)

See *grammateus of the eisagogeis* on page 68.

συγγραφεύς (syngrapheus)

The *syngrapheus* (spelt συγγραφεύς, συγγραφεύς, χσυγγραφεύς, χσυγγραφεύς or ξυγγραφεύς) or ‘commissioner’ is attested in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, and the second century AD.

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\(^{332}\) E.g. IG I\(^2\) 269 (443/2 BC) 36.

\(^{333}\) IG I\(^2\) 270 (442/1 BC) 1-3.

\(^{334}\) Satyros of Leukone is *syngrammateus* in IG I\(^2\) 269 (443/2 BC) 1, 36 and IG I\(^2\) 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 Brillant (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.  

\[ Μιλεσιόσυγραφαί· \]
\[ ἔδοχεν τε ὁ βολεῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· \]
\[ ἐγραμμάτευσεν, \]
\[ ὥστε ἐπρυτάνευε, \]
\[ ἐγράφασαν· \]

*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>] syngapheis [commissioned:]*  

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.  

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.

**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.

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337 IG I2 450/49 BC 1-3, SEG 21:27.
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).

Harpocation describes the office as follows:

**Συγγραφεῖς:** Ἰσοκράτης Ἀρεοπαγιτικῷ. εἰθισμένον ἢν παρ’ Ἀθηναίοις, ὅπως δέοι, πλήθος τι αἱρεῖσθαι, εἰς ῥήτην ἢμέραν εἰσαφέξαν γνώμας εἰς τὸν δήμον. τούτῳ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ὑ’ ἐγένετο, καθά Θουκυδίδης ἐν τῇ ἑ ἄρην "ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ οἱ περὶ Πεισανδρὸν ἐλθόντες εὐθὺς τῶν λοιπῶν ἑξοντο, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν δήμον συλλέξαντες ἔπον γνώμην, ἐνδρας ἐλέοσθε συγγραφέας αὐτοκράτορας, τούτους δὲ συγγράματας γνώμην ἐξενεγκένει ἐς τὸν δήμον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥήτην, καθότι ἁριστά ἢ πόλις οἰκήσεται." ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν πάντες συγγραφεῖς λ’ ὀι τότε αἱρεθέντες, καθά φησιν Ἀνδρότις τε καὶ Φιλόχορος, ἐκάτερος ἐν τῇ Ἀττίδη: ὃ δὲ Θουκυδίδης τῶν ἵ ἐμμηνόεσε μόνων τῶν προβούλων.342

Syngraphes: 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 syngraphes 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) syngraphes who were elected at that time were thirty, as both Androtion and Philokhoros say, each one in his Attis. But Thucydides only mentioned the ten proboulois.343

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

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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 δήμον ἕνδεξαντες ἔποιν γνώμην δέκα ἄνδρας ἐλέοσθε συγγραφέος αὐτοκράτορας, τούτους δὲ συγγράματας γνώμην ἐξενεγκενει ἐς τὸν δήμον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥήτην καθ’ ὅτι ἁριστά ἢ πόλις οἰκήσεται: First, they called an assembly and proposed the election of ten syngraphes, 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 2C AD) 13-14; Chaniots (1988) 318-319. The designation is also found on a funerary dedication: IGII² 5506 (117-138 AD) 1-3: Μόσχος ἡμερίδος καὶ Ἀφριδός ἡλιαίες ὑ’ συγγραφεῖς, Moschos with a bust of Eros and Doridos of Halai the syngraphes; and an honorific inscription from the Asklepieion, which honours people by profession: IGII² 3806 (end 2C AD) 1-7: Πομπηιανὸν Κο[ический] ὄντα τὸν συγγραφέα· Σωσιγένης ὁ σοφιστής θεφισματής τῆς τῆς Αἰείου]πάγου θεοῦ, Pompeianos of Kollytos the syngraphes: 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.
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. The prefix *ὑπο-* refers to the status of this *grammateus* as subordinate to any other *grammateus* serving in the same organisation, in the same way that *ὑποπαιδοτριβης* (under-gymnastic-master) and *ὑποστρατηγος* (under-strategos or ‘lieutenant-general’) were subordinate officers to the *παιδοτριβης* and *στρατηγος*.

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). *Hypogrammateis* working for the boule and demos could be designated either *hypogrammateus*, *hypogrammateus of the boule and demos*, or *hypogrammateus of the demos*. 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*. 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, and in this context can be designated either *hypogrammateus*, or (in the third century AD) *hypogrammateus for life* (*διὰ βίου*). Either designation can occur in inscriptions alongside a *grammateus* and other officers who serve ‘for life’. For more information, see *grammateus for life* on page 111.

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345 E.g. IG I 2 476 (408/7 BC) 61-2. See Appendix A page 284.
346 The implication of Lys. 30.29 is that *ὑπο-* in *ὑπογραμματεύς* 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 *aesisi*oi until the third century AD (see e.g. IG II 2 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. 1BC) 23-25.
349 Hypogrammateus of the demos, e.g.: Ag.15:225 (155/4 BC) 56-8.
350 E.g. IG II 2 2086 (163/4 AD) 132-3.
351 E.g. SEG 33:158 (late 3CAD) 11, 48-51, page 111; Oliver (1933) 506-511.
352 E.g. IG II 2 2239 (238/9–243/4 AD) 7-8.
Hypogrammateis are also known from other contexts, such as with the Athenian amphictyons, treasurers of Athena, and other magistrates such as grain inspectors, 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. Although Lysias uses the term hypogrammateus in a pejorative sense to refer to an anagrapheus of the laws, 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). 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. 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

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353 IGII² 1635 (374/3 BC) 49-50, 74-5.
354 IGII² 1484 (306/5 BC) 1, 6-8.
355 IGII² 1711 (mid. 2C BC) 6-11, page 79, esp. n.361.
356 IGII 476 (408/7 BC) 61-2: ἡυ[πογρ]αμματεῖ Πυργίονι : ΔΔΔIII[II]., 268-9: ἡυπογραμματεῖ Πυργίον| 

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.
359 Lys. 30.29.
be more precise). This indicates a very different collegial environment from that of the hypogrammateus of the boule and demos.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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)\textsuperscript{362} and Demosthenes tells us that Aeschines was a hypogrammateus for several years before going into public life,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Εὐθύμιον | Έργοχάρου ἐκ | [Κεραμέων καὶ τὸν κήρυκα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ...\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{360} E.g. IG II\textsuperscript{2} 2086 (163/4 AD) 132-3.
\textsuperscript{361} IG II\textsuperscript{2} 1711 (mid. 2BC) 6-11: γραμματεύς κληρωτός | Διόδωτος Θεόδωρου Αμαξαντεύς | γραμματεύς αἵρετός | Τιμογένης Αἰαχρίωνος Αριδναῖος | ὑπογραμματεύς | Ζωπυρίων Τέχνων Προβαλίσιος. SEG 32:348.
\textsuperscript{362} Lys. 30.28-29.
\textsuperscript{363} D. 19.249; Plu. Mor. 10.840 a-b.
\textsuperscript{364} Meritt & Traill (1974) 10.
\textsuperscript{365} Ag.15:168 (193/2 BC) 37-40.
In c.190/89 BC, Euthymachos was praised as follows:

ἐπαινέσα]ι δ[ὲ καὶ στεφανῶσαι καὶ τὸν ἱε[ρέα] | [τού ἐπωνύμου — c.18 — καὶ τ]όν ταμ[ίαν τῆς βουλῆς Ἡγίτωρ Αριστοβούλο[υ Ο[ι]]][ναίον καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Εὐθ[ύ]μαχον Ἐργοχάρου ἐκ Κεραμέων [καὶ] | [τὸν ύπογραμματέα Δημήτριον Κτήσωνος Προβαλίσιον ...

*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 Ergocharis 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*. 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. In the first and second centuries AD, this type of honour was no longer bestowed, and secretaries (including *hypogrammateis*) could instead be honoured as *aesisitoi*.

*The aesisitoi:*

... grammateüς bouλῆς καὶ δήμου Ἀλέξανδρος Θεοδοσίου Λαμπτ[ρεύς] | peri τὸ βῆμα Μυστικός Ἐροιάδης | antigrapheüς Ἀλέξανδρος [Ἀ]χωρίστου Παιονίδης | ierαύλης Ἐπαφρόδιτος ὁ καὶ Ἀφροδείσιος | ἱερέως Φωσφόρων καὶ ἐπὶ Σκιάδος Ἐρμείας Ἀζηνιεύς | ύπογραμματεύς Μύρων Λαμπτρεύς...

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 *aesisitoi*, see page 47.

370 Ag.15:406 (182/3 AD) 54-63; Oliver & Dow (1935) 48-49.
bearing (gods) and warden of the Skias, Hermeias of Azenia; hypogrammateus: Muron of Lamprai.

From the evidence presented in literary sources, hypogrammateis were perceived to be of lower status than grammateis. 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, 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 (ἱεραύλης, hieraules).

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).

**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:

εισφέρεται μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν τὰ γραμματεῖα κατὰ τὰς καταβολὰς ἀναγεγραμμένα, τηρεῖ δ᾽ ὁ δημόσιος: ὅταν δ᾽ ἢ χρημάτων καταβολή, παραδίδει τοῖς ἀποδέκταις αὐτὰ ταύτα καθελὼν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιστυλίων, ἄν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ δεῖ τὰ χρήματα καταβληθῆναι καὶ ἀπαλειφθῆναι, τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα ἀπόκειται χωρίς, ἵνα μὴ προεξαλειφθῇ.

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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’), who wiped off the sums paid, and handed the tablets back to the demosios, presumably so that they could be re-used.

The demosios was also responsible for looking after tablets containing details of unpaid debts. 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 πρυτάνι[ε]ς καὶ Ε[ὐκλ]εῖ τῶι δημοσίωι ἥκειν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν γρα[ψόμενον τὰ ἐν τῇ χαλκοθῆκει. καὶ ἐπειδὰν τὸ οἴκημα ἀνοιχθεὶ ἐξετάζεν κατὰ ἔθνος έκοστα καὶ ἐπιγράφεν τὸν ἀριθμὸν...

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

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376 Ath. Pol. 48.1: εἰσὶ δ᾽ ἀποδέκται δέκα κεκληρωμένοι κατά φυλὰς; οὕτω δὲ παραλαβόντες τὰ γραμματεῖα, ἀπαλείπουσι τὰ καταβαλλόμενα χρήματα ἔναντι τῆς βουλῆς ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, καὶ πάλιν ἀποδίδοσιν τὰ γραμματεῖα τῷ δημοσίῳ. κἂν τις ἐλλήνη καταβολῆν, 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.


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.

...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:

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 epheses. See following section.

**ὑπηρέτης (*hyperetes*)**

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

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380 IG II 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 II 463 (307/6 BC) 28-9: —26— [v —6— τοῦ τείχους κ[αι] εἰς τὸ μ[πτ]ρ[ο]ν πρὸς τὸν δήμον] [ἰδιῶν —18— ἀναγράφει] τὸ τε ὄνομα τοῦ μεισθωμένου καὶ τὸ ἄργυρον δο[ι] [ἐν μισθώσει... — of the wall and to the Metroën 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 II 583 (end 4BC) 1-10 (esp. 5-7) and Ag.16:322 (c.120 BC) 1, 3-4.
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 antigrapheus 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 grammaeus haires and grammaeus elected by lot,385 in the same way that a hypogrammateus is listed after these secretaries in IGI2 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 grammaeus. 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

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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 IGI2 1740 (early 4C BC) 53-56: [γραμμα]τευς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν δήμων | —λειδῆς : Φιλοθέρο : ἕξ Ὀλυμπιάδες | [ἀντιγράφουσα] | [Ἀριστοκλῆς] τίμων Ἀρκαδού [c] and IGI2 1747 (c.350 BC) 33-4, which also contains the grammaeus Blepyros. Rhodes (1972a) 142 notes that Raubitschek's date of 355/4 BC for the disappearance of the antigrapheus rests on a dubious chronology for Eubulus. Also see Rhodes (1972a) 235-7, Additional Note D.

385. IGI2 1710 (beg. 2C BC) 6-11.

386. IGI2 1711 (mid. 2C BC) 6-19. See page 79.

387. This may also be the case in SEG 21:587 (beg. 2C BC) 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. IGI2 876 (end 3C BC?) 5-8 (fragment); IGI2 1007 (end 2C BC) 5-7 (fragment); IGI2 1008 (118/7 BC) 83-87, 129-133; IGI2 1009 (116/5 BC) 20-24 (before grammaeaus); IGI2 1011 (106/5 BC) 59-62; IGI2 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. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date BC</th>
<th>477?-454/3</th>
<th>454/3</th>
<th>434/3</th>
<th>c.411</th>
<th>406/5–404 (Empire falls)</th>
<th>340/339</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>477?-454/3</td>
<td>454/3</td>
<td>434/3</td>
<td>c.411</td>
<td>406/5–404 (Empire falls)</td>
<td>340/339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolakretai</td>
<td>Athens: Expenses of the demos were met by payments from the treasury of the <em>kolakretai</em>, abolished in 411.</td>
<td>Athens: The <em>hellenotamiai</em> of the Delian League administered the expenses of the Athenian Empire.</td>
<td>Based in Athens.</td>
<td>Based in Athens.</td>
<td>Boards of the treasurers of Athena and the treasurers of other the gods were amalgamated, and shared a secretary.</td>
<td>Combined board abolished(?) c.340/399.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hellenotamiai</td>
<td>Delos: The Delian League received and recorded tribute, administered payments to strategoi, etc.</td>
<td>Treasurers of Athena</td>
<td>Treasurers of the other gods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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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. *IGI* 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 γραμματεύς (grammateus).

**The kolakretai**

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

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, sometimes in conjunction with the treasurers of Athena. 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 strategoi 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.

In the mid-fifth century BC, this treasury and the hellenotamiai were moved to Athens. 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, which included funds for inscribing documents on stone, including those used for Draco’s revised homicide law.

**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. The majority of these transactions were recorded on temporary media, with only the tribute

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400 IG I3 7 (460-50 BC) 4-9.
401 OCD 679-80; Woodhead (1959) 149-52.
402 E.g. IG I3 80 (421/0 BC) 18-20: τὸ δὲ ἀργυρίου δόντων ἡκολοκρέται.
403 IG I3 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 IG I3 104 (409/8) 8-10.
409 OCD 679-80. See example on page 88.
410 Ferguson (1932) vii-viii.
(aparche) recorded on stone. The designation is found in Athenian tribute lists, and the building accounts of the Propylaea. Since these accounts record transactions for a year, it is likely that this office was also annual. See example on page 88.

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

αναγραφόν δὲ ἡσα Δὲ ἀναγραφόν ὅτι ἔστιν τὰς ἐλληνικὰς τοὺς φόρους καὶ τῶν ἀπαγόντων τῶν ὀνόματα καὶ τιθέναι χρῆκατοτε πρόσθεν τὸν ἀρόχον. 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.

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, and the treasurers of the other gods. On two separate occasions, these boards were amalgamated, and then split up again, depending on the number of offerings held by the temple. These boards existed alongside the hellenotamiai during their period in Athens, and continued in operation until approximately sixty years after the hellenotamiai were abolished.
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*. 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.

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:

*In (the year of) the* fourth board, *for which Diogenes was *grammateus*;* — 9 — *during the boule for whom Metagenes was first *grammateus*;* 319 drachmas From the previous commissioners, [for whom] Epikles from Thorikos was *grammateus*. 319 drachmas is carried forward.

*From the treasurers in charge of [the possessions of the] goddess, for whom Krates of Lamptraia was *grammateus*.*

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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 BC. 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 I 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*.
From the hellenotamiai, for whom Protonikos of Kerameis was secretary, one mna from each talent from the allies' [tribute].

In recording the accounts for a year, the inscription shows that Krates, the grammaeus of the treasurers of Athena, and Protonikos, the grammaeus of the hellenotamiai both served for a year. Ferguson (1898) 72; Ferguson (1932) 8.

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

There appears to have been only one secretary for this enlarged board.

**Secretaries of archons**

γραμματεὺς τοῦ πολεμάρχου (grammateus of the polemarch)

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

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

άπωγρ[ά][ψαθαί δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀνόματα πρὸς τὸν γραμματέα τῆς[οῦ πολεμάρχου καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῶν στρατηγῶν].

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

Nothing else is known of these officers.

427 Protonikos was grammaeus of the hellenotamiai in the year that Diogenes was grammaeus.

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 grammaeus to two Theban polemarchs, Archias and Philip.

431 IG II² 545 (318/7 BC) 15-17; SEG 45:83.
γραμματεύς τῶν ἕνδεκα (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. The Eleven had their own secretary.

Activities

The grammateus of the Eleven is known from one surviving inscription only, which describes irregularities and debt-collection in the naval dockyards. 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.

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:

...τὸν γραμματέα τῶν ἕνδεκα | ἀπαλεῖψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφλημένου Σ|ωπόλιδι ἀργυρίου ὅ τι ἄν ἄποφασ[ί]νει σ|ύποτι ὁ ταμιὰς παρειληφὼς...

...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 ἄρχοντ[ος] παραλαβούσης τῆς πόλεως τ[ούς] κωπέ[ας]ς μὴ ἄναγράψωσιν εἰς τῇν στήλην ἢ ὁ γραμματεύς τῶν ἕνδεκα | μὴ ἀπαλείψει ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφληματος τοῦ Σωπόλιδος τὸ γιγνόμενον τῶν κωπέων κατὰ τῇ ἐψηφισμένα τῇ βουλῆι, ὁφειλέτω ἐκαστοῦ | αὐτῶ<ν> : XXX : δραχμ : τῷ δημοσί...

...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

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432 Ath. Pol. 52.1.
433 IG II2 1631 (323/2 BC) 377, 389.
434 See Gabrielsen (1993) 175-183 for a full account.
436 IG II2 1631 (323/2 BC) 377-380.
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

**γραμματεύς 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 γραμματεύς 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.

**γραμματεύς τῶν ἰππάρχων (grammateus of the hipparchs)**

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

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⁴³⁸ IG II² 1631 (323/2 BC) 410-412.
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 | [τὰ] ψήφισμα τοὺς γραμματεῖς τῶν ἱππάρχων | [ἐν] στήλαις
λιθίναις δυεῖν καὶ στῆσαι τὴν | [μὲν] πρὸς τοὺς Ποσειδωνίωι, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἐν | [τῇ]
στὸι τῶν Ἐρμών.\(^{443}\)

_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_ (γραμματεύς
ihnárχωις φυλητῶι)\(^ {445}\) (see example on page 98). This _grammateus_ was chosen by lot, at
the same time as several other officers.

γραμματεύς τῶν στρατηγῶν (grammateus of the strategoi)

See _grammateus of the polemarch_ on page 89.

Secretaries of other polis-level bodies

ἀρχιγραμματεύς (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)\textsuperscript{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:

υπὸ φωνασκόν Μ Αὐρ Μουσαιόν τὸν καὶ Ἐορ|τάιον, Σαρδιανόν γερουσιαστὴν, Δελφὸν | βουλευτὴν καὶ Ἡλεῖον καὶ Ἀφροδεισία, ἀρχιγραμματέα, τειμηθέντα ὑπὸ Ἡλεῖον καὶ Δελφῶν | ἀνδριᾶς μόνον καὶ πρῶτον τῶν ἐπὶ φωνασκία.\textsuperscript{448}

Under the vocal coach Marcus Aurelius Mousaios, the Heortasios and Sardian 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.

**γραμματεύς (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 εἴρηκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, λαβέτω μοι τὸ ψήφισμα ὁ γραμματεύς, καὶ τὰς τῶν συμπρέσβεων μαρτυρίας ἀναγνώτω."Ψήφισμα“Μαρτυρίαι\textsuperscript{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”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{451}

It is clear that these *grammateis* needed to be able to read fluently, and also speak clearly.

\textsuperscript{447}X. Hell. 2.1.7.

\textsuperscript{448}IG II\textsuperscript{2} 3169/70 (253/257 AD) 32-37.

\textsuperscript{449}Aeschin. 2.46.

\textsuperscript{450}Adams (1919) 195.

\textsuperscript{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*, the *grammateus of the Eleven*, or the *grammateus of the thesmothetai*, depending on the type of legal case, as different legal cases were heard in different courts.

**γραμματεὺς αἱρετός** (*grammateus elected by hairesis*)

The *grammateus elected by hairesis* (γραμματεὺς αἱρετός) 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. In lists of officials, neither term occurs without the other.

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, or the inspectors of weights and measures (the *metronomoi*):

> μετρονόμοι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀρχελάου ἀρχοντος | <personal names of five officers>  
> ...  
> καὶ γραμματεὺς κληρωτός | Νικίας Φίλωνος Κυδαθηναίεως | καὶ γραμματεὺς αἱρετός  
> || Ἡράκλειτος Τιμοθέου Κριωέως | τάδε παρεδώκαν μέτρα καὶ σταθμὺ|ά· χαλκὰ  
> σπηρὰ ἡμιέκτεα ΔΗ, χοίν|ικας δύο, ἡμιχ[ι]κας — — —] — — — — 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 Krioa. They*

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452 See page 68.  
453 See page 90.  
454 See page 91.  
456 See Appendix A pages 260 and 263. The exception is the honorific inscription *Hesp.* 6:445 No.28 (239/38 BC) 9-10, where only the *grammateus klerotos* is mentioned, but this designation is completely restored. Crosby (1937) 445-8.  
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,\textsuperscript{459} two choinikes,\textsuperscript{460} measure(s) of half a choinix...

The letters in lines 1, 7 and 9 containing the designation \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{grammateis} recorded the distribution of grain.\textsuperscript{462}

Further particulars

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

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

The \textit{grammateus elected by hairesis} and the \textit{grammateus elected by lot} are the only \textit{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 \textit{hypogrammateus}. See n.361 on page 79.

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

\textsuperscript{460} A measure of a \textit{choinix} was one man’s daily allowance of grain, 1/48 of a \textit{medimnos}.

\textsuperscript{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.

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

\textsuperscript{463} \textit{Ath. Pol}. 51.3; Crosby (1937) 446.

\textsuperscript{464} Crosby (1937) 460; Reinmuth (1974) 252. Six tribes are represented in SEG 24:157. Five officials and both secretaries are recorded in IGII\textsuperscript{1} 1711 (mid 2BC).
Other attributes

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

**γραμματεύς 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* (γραμματεύς βουλευτῶν). Occasionally, this secretary is also identified with the *bouleutai* of a particular tribe; i.e. *grammateus of the bouleutai of the <phyle name> phyle* (γραμματεύς τῶν βουλευτῶν τῆς <phyle name> φυλῆς). 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 άισίτους |
<ἀνέγραψαν ... γραμματεύς βουλευτῶ[ν] | <Ζ>ήνων Ψ70 ... άιστοι ... γραμματεύς βουλῆς καὶ | δήμου Μάρκος Εὐκαρ||πίδου Ἀ[ζ]ηνιεύς γραμματεύς κατὰ

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465 IG II² 1711 (mid. 2C BC) 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 hairesis* mentioned without the *grammateus elected by hairesis*, and here, τὸν κλεροτὸν γραμματέα is restored.

467 IG II² 1711 (mid. 2C BC) 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(αμματεύς) βο(υλευτῶν) Κ[— — —] | γρ(αμματεύς) βο(υλής) δ(ήμου)[— — —].

469 For the *grammateus of the bouleutai of the <phyle name> phyle*, see e.g. IG II² 1775 (168/9AD) 5-7: ο γραμματεύς τῶν βουλευτῶν τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος φυλῆς Φιλουμένος Ἐριστος Κεφαλήθεν 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*. 

96
The prytaneis of the phyle Akamantis on honouring themselves and the aeisitoi recorded (below) ... grammateus of the bouleutai, Zenon son of Zenon. ... aeisitoi ... 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 Eisdotos...

The grammateus of the bouleutai was typically placed just above the list of aeisitoi, and in only two surviving instances is included as one of the aeisitoi. 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 aeisitos 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. 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: οὕτωι δ᾽... ὅρωντες δ᾽ ἐμὲ βουλεύοντα καὶ εἰσίοντ᾽ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον... καὶ πρὸς τούτοις πρυτανεύσας τὴν πρῶτην πρυτανεύσαν ἀπίσθαν πλὴν δυοὶ ἡμέραν. 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.
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*:


...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 phylai\(^{479}\) chosen by lot, *grammateus* of the phylai\(^{480}\) 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.

**γραμματεύς τῇ ἀρχῇ (grammateus for the board)**

See *grammateus of the epimeletai of the trading place* on page 101.

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\(^{475}\) 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: Παλληνεύς λαχῶν γραμματεύς – of Pallene, *grammateus appointed by lot*. 
γραμματεύς τοῦ συνεδρίου (grammateus of the synedron)

A synedron was either a council, or a board of trade. The designation grammaiteus of the synedron survives in four fragmentary inscriptions, in which honours are bestowed upon various magistrates including the grammaiteus. It is not clear which synedron is referred to here.

In the most extensive example, the lines immediately preceding the honour for this grammaiteus 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 | Ὄνασον Τροφίμου Παλληνέα γραμματεύσαντα | τοῦ συνεδρίου.

The council of the Areopagus (honour) Onasos son of Trophimos of Pallene who was magistrate in the archonship of Kl. (Claudius) Lusiades, having been grammaiteus of the synedron.

The designation grammaiteus of the synedron is known from several other locations, including several Peloponnesian poleis, and Delphi, where synedron refers to the council of the Delphic amphictony.

γραμματεύς τῶν νεωρίων ἐπιμελητῶν (grammateus of the dockyard epimeletai)

The grammaiteus of the dockyard epimeletai (grammateus of the dockyard epimeletai) is known from one inscription only, which details irregularities and debt-collection in the naval dockyards.

The inscription does not describe the duties of the grammaiteus, and simply records that the dockyard epimeletai and their grammaiteus (οἱ τῶν νεωρίων ἐπιμεληταί... καὶ ὁ γραμματεύς 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 νεωρίων ἐπιμεληταί οί ἐπὶ ἀντικλέους ἄρχοντις καὶ ὁ γραμματεύς αὐτῶν τῶν σκευῶν, ὃν γράψαντες εἰς τὴν στήλην οὐ παρέδοσαν ὄντα ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις.

482 IG II² 2893 (85/6-94/5 AD) 1, 9-12; IG II² 2898 (1-2 CAD) 2-4; IG II² 2930 (2-3 CAD) 1-3; IG II² 3744 (mid. 2 CAD) 5-10.

483 IG II² 3744 (mid. 2 CAD) 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.

γραμματεύς 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 and/or a syngrammateus.

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. He can be designated either grammateus or syngrammateus, suggesting a certain fluidity in the use of these terms. That is, he appears as either:


[For the epistatai, for whom Antikles was syngrammateus...]

Or:


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.
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.

γραμματεύς τῶν τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἐπιμελητῶν (grammateus of the epimeletai of the trading place)

The designations grammaeus of the epimeletai of the trading place (γραμματεύς τῶν τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἐπιμελητῶν) and grammaeus for the board (γραμματεύς τῇ ἀρχῇ) are known from one surviving instance only, Demosthenes 58.8:

ταύτην τὴν φάσιν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ, ἐδώκες μὲν οὕτωσι προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Μίκωνα, ἐλαβεν δὲ ὁ γραμματεύς ὁ τῶν τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἐπιμελητῶν, Εὐθύρημος. ἐξέκειτο δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ συνεδρίου ἡ φάσις, ἐως λαβών ἄργυριον οὗτος είσαε διαγραφῆκαι καλούντων αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀνάκρισιν τῶν ἀρχόντων. ὅτι δὲ ταύτ᾽ ἀληθῆ λέγω, πρῶτον μὲν κάλει ὁς ἐγραμμάτευς τῇ ἀρχῇ. Εὐθύρημος. "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 grammaeus 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 grammaeus 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 grammaeus 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.
A *diagrapheus* was a magistrate who wrote *diagramma* (διάγραμμα), registers of taxable properties for the *symmoria* (συμμορία). This designation is a very rare occurrence.

The *epigrapheus* was a registrar of taxable property. It is unclear whether this office was distinct from that of *diagrapheus* (above), or whether the two terms were synonymous.

In the late fifth-century BC, the term *katalogeus* (‘registrar’) was used for the one hundred (ad-hoc) officers (ten from each tribe) appointed by the Four Hundred to register citizens for the Five Thousand:

...δοτις ύμων ψηφισαμένων πεντακισχιλίων παραδοῦναι τὰ πράγματα καταλογεύς ὅν ἐνακισχιλίους κατέλεξεν, ἵνα μνηδείς αὐτῷ διάφορος εἴη τῶν δημοτῶν...

...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...

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.

See also the Epidaurian *katalogos boulas*, page 147.

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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 τοῦτοι εἰσι αὐτοῖς ἡμᾶς προσστρατεύσας καὶ ἔτερων ἐπιγραφέων γενομένων ἔγινεν πλεῖστον εἰσήνεγκα τῶν ξένων, αὐτὸς θ᾽ οἱ καταλόγους ἐμαυτοῦ μὲν ἐπέγραψε 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 *epigrapheus*: Suid. Lexicon ε.2271.1: ...οἱ ταῦτα διαγράφοντες ἐπιγραφέας 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.


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). According to Aristotle, thesmothetai wrote up legal judgements (θεσμοί) and preserved them for the trial of litigants. The thesmothetai also received statements of irregularities in the accounts submitted by magistrates at the end of their year in office, which they then reintroduced to the court, 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.

κήρυξ (kerux)

An honorific decree of the Council of the Areopagus at Eleusis was set up in three locations: on the acropolis, in Eleusis, and in Epidaurus. The Epidaurian copy contains the unprecedented direction that a kerux (herald) is to act as an official representative of Epidaurus, and write the Epidaurian copy of the decree:

...τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν | ἔχοντας· "ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν ἑξακοσίων καὶ ὁ δῆμος Τίτων Στατείλιον Στατειλίου υἱὸν Τειμοκράτους Λαμπρίαν ἥρωα." τὸν δὲ...
...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.

**λογισταῖ and συνήγοροι (auditors and assessors)**

The ten logistai (λογισταῖ) and ten synegoroi (συνήγοροι) were the auditors and assessors to whom other officials submitted their accounts at the end of their term in office. 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.

**Secretaries and other officers of demes**

The majority of deme decrees published on stone were honorific in nature. 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.

**γραμματεύς τῶν δημοτῶν (grammateus of the demesmen)**

The secretary of a deme was known either as the grammateus, or grammateus of the demesmen:

άναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐ στήληι | λιθίνει τὸν γραμματέα τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἱππίας…

510 IG IV, 2,183 (40-42 AD) 15-19. For a similar authentication formula, see IG XII, 5833 (2 BC) 13-15 (Tenes). For the family of Titus Statilius Lamprias, see Bradford (1977) 413.

511 Ath. Pol. 54.2: ... καὶ λογιστάς δέκα καὶ συνηγόρους τούτοις δέκα, πρός οὖς ὄπαντας ἀνάγκῃ τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀρξαντας λόγον ὑπενεχξείν. ...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 γραμματέως | Αἷλου Φ[α][α]νδου.

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 4 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).  

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. Demarchs performed a wide range of functions, from the convening of deme assemblies and financial administration of the deme, to cult administration. They could also record information in writing. In the fifth century BC, one demarch is described as writing a grammateion (list of citizens), and in the fourth century BC, demarchs could additionally be called upon to write up deme decrees.  

The majority of decrees written by demarchs were honorific, and similar if not identical in style to the decrees written by grammateis. 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:

Ἡγήσιας ἔπειν· καταβάλλειν δὲ τοὺς ἥκον· τὰς ἥκον· πλὴν ὁπό]ς οἱ δημόται πρὸς τοὺς πριαμάδες τὸ θέατρον· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν δήμαρχον καὶ τοὺς ταμιάς ἀντίγραφα τῶν συνθηκῶν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι· ἤν τῇ ἄνωθεν τῶν δημοτῶν· παραγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα, παρ᾽ ὧν κείονται αἱ συνθῆκαι.

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

ἱερεύς (priest)

Activities

The priest (ἱερεύς) and phratriarch (φρατριαρχός) 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.

525 Lys. 29.3. Occasionally, individual magistrates could also employ tamiai to administer their funds.
526 E.g. IGII² 109 (363/2 BC) b.24-29.
528 SEG 36:186 and MDAI(A) 66:218, 1 (313/2 BC) 5-6 & 11-12 (Glyphada).
529 IGII² 1237 (396/5 BC) 116-126.
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.

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). A second copy of the same text was written up by the priest on a whitened board, and displayed in the temple of Leto.

The priest also gave advance notice of the meia and kourea (phratry introduction ceremonies) on a whitened board, which was displayed in the city five days before these events were due to occur.

The priest was also solely responsible for setting up four decrees on a single stele, concerning local sacrifices and the introduction of new phraters. 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. 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.

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.
536 IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 1-3: Δῶς Φρατρίῳ | ἱερεῖς Θεόδωρος, Ἐὐφαντίδο νῦν ἁνάγαρις καὶ ἔστησε τὴν στῆλην. 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.
Other attributes

The second decree on this stele stipulates that the priest was to pay for the stele from his own money. This strongly suggests that (most unusually) all decrees on this stone were paid for by the priest.

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

gραμματεύς τῆς φυλῆς (grammateus of the phyle)

The grammateus of the phyle (γραμματεύς τῆς φυλῆς) is attested in decrees from the mid-fourth, to the mid-second century BC.

Activities

The grammateus of the phyle carried out a limited range of secretarial and administrative functions for a phyle, such as writing tribal decrees. These texts could honour groups such as the ephes (as in the following example), or occasionally, serve other purposes, such as recording the re-building of a statue.

στῆσαι δὲ στήλην εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Κέκροπος ἀναγράψαντα τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τῆς φυλῆς. [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; 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 τὸ ἱερεύς καὶ τὸ ἱερεύς ἄναψα τὸν ἱερέα ἐν στήλῃ λείψει ἔρθεν τὸ βωμὸν Δεκελείαν τέλεσε τοῖς θεοῖς. 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'.


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 (4C BC) 3-4.

543 IG II² 1158 (after mid 4C BC) 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.*

**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.

**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, or who had held office in the deme and had done their job well, or honour victors in dithyrambic contests.

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:

\[
ο[να]γράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλει λιθίνει | [τοὺς] ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι Μητρώιωι
\]

*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, 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.*

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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

ἀντιγραμματεύς (*antigrammateus*)

The *antigrammateus* was a secretary of the ephebes.

ἐπὶ Πραξαγόρου Μελιτέως ἄρχοντος ὁ κοσμητὴς τῶν ἐφήβων Ἀθήναιος Αριστοβούλου Κηφισιεύς τοὺς συνάρξαντας καὶ τοὺς ἑφηβεύσαντας ἀνέγραψεν. ...

ἀντιγραμματεύς | Πατρόβιος Αριστοβούλου Κηφι(σι)εύς⁵⁵⁵

*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) Kephisia.

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.* ἀντιγραφεία, 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

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⁵⁵² *Ath. Pol.* 42.2-3.
⁵⁵³ *Ath. Pol.* 42.2-3; IGII² 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.

**γραμματεύς 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* (γραμματεύς διὰ βίου).\(^{559}\)

\[ \text{ἀντικοσμήτης· Ἐλευσείνιος Κίττου Αἰθαλίδης | ἡγεμὼν διὰ βίου: Γά Τυρ Τειμαγένης Σφήττος | παιδοτρίβης διὰ βίου: Τελεσφόρος Μενεκράτους Φλυ | γραμματεύς διὰ βίου: ιερεὺς Στράτων Κιθαιρῶνος Ἀχαρ | σωφρονισταί | list of personal names | ὑποσωφρ<ο>νισταί | list of personal names}^{560}\]


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.\(^{562}\)

\[ \text{οἱ διὰ βίου} \]

...  

ιατρὸς Ἰουλιανός  

γραμματεύς Ἀλκιβιάδης  

ὑποὀπλομάχος Ὀλύμπιος  

ὑπογραμματεύς Ἀλκιβιάδης

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 II\(^2\) 2193 (c.200 AD) 32-93.

\(^{561}\) E.g. IG II\(^2\) 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: *οἱ διὰ βίου*, 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 ephbes had a *grammateus for life* named Straton. Straton is *grammateus for life* in twelve inscriptions, and in seven of these, he is also described as *hierēs*, 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 IGII² 1335 (page 113), where the *grammateus* of a private religious organisation was also treasurer (*tamias*) and *epimeleter*.

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.

**Secretaries and other officers of religious associations of Attica**

γραμματεύς (*grammateus*)

Three religious organisations are known to have had their own *grammateis*: the *orgeones*, the *sabaziastai*, and the theatrical artists of Dionysus. The majority of inscriptions

564 For all inscriptions where Straton was *grammateus for life*, see Appendix A page 261.
565 IGII² 1335 (102/1 BC) 10-13.
566 Syntrophos as *grammateus for life*: IGII² 2223 (218/9 AD or later) 14-15, 34-35 (*hypogrammateus* Onesimos); IGII² 2242 (238/9 or 242/3 AD) 9-10 (and *hierēs*); IGII² 2239 (238/9-243/4 AD) 21-24 (and *hierēs*, *hypogrammateus* Onesimos); SEG 39:189 (226/7–234/5 AD) 8 (and *hierēs*), 60 *hoi dia biou*, 65-66 (*hypogrammateus* Onesimos).
567 E.g. IGII² 1284 (mid. 3C BC) 22-34.
568 See IGII² 1335 (102/1 BC) 2-14 on page 113.
569 E.g. IGII² 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:

[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...]; unfortunately, the remainder of this line has been lost.

ἐπιμελητής (epimeletes)

Texts written by epimeletaι of private religious associations honour officers on having done their job well.

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:

Good fortune. In the archonship of Theokles, month of Mounichion, in the regular assembly. It was resolved by the Sabaziastai 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.

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 Eumolpidai (the family or clan of priests at Eleusis) was written up by the tamias of the genos of the Eumolpidai:

And the tamias of the genos of the Eumolpidai 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 (ταμίας τῆς ἱερᾶς διατάξεως) wrote up the details of the restoration of the sanctuaries of Attica:

The stelai are to include financial information: the names of the people who have been hired, and how much they have been hired for.

These sanctuaries may have been restored at the same time as they had been neglected under the previous three emperors. 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 1BC) 16-18 (Ag.15:287) and Ag.15:307 (start 1AD) 15-16.
577 SEG 26:121 (10/9-3/2 BC) 16-17.
Other

γραφεύς (grapheus)

The term *grapheus* was used to indicate a painter, or (informally) a writer or private secretary. 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. From the fifth century BC, other bodies such as the *hellenotamiai*, law-courts and building commissions also had their own secretaries. Most of our evidence is for the *grammateus of the boule*. 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* and *anagrapheus of the laws*. 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...
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).

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* or the *grammateus of the court*. 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.

We can at best generalise with statements such as that certain (oligarchic) *anagrapheis* appear to have been more fanatic inscribers of decrees than the (democratic) *grammateis of the boule* they temporarily replaced.

The limited evidence for some offices means that it is difficult to assess the degree to which there was specialisation among secretaries. 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 *antigrapheus*, the ‘checking-’ or ‘copying-clerk’ compiled reports containing boule accounts once every prytany, 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.

The only Athenian officer known from a single type of document is the *grammateus for life*, a secretary of the ephebes. This officer is known only from the presence of his name in

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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.


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

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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.


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 epheses, 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

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\(^{615}\) 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 *hieraules* (sacred flute player) and *hierus* (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.\textsuperscript{619} Secretaries
were rarely (if ever) honoured with statues.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{621}

\textsuperscript{619} See Table 15 on page 300.

\textsuperscript{620} Three statues and one panel of a frieze may depict officers who were \textit{grammateis}. See page 63.

\textsuperscript{621} E.g. the \textit{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. 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, from a solitary *grammateus* recorded alongside temple officials in Thalamai, Laconia, in the second century AD.

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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.
**Saronic Gulf: Aigina**

In the Archaic period, local politics at Aigina was controlled by several aristocratic families, and its economy was dominated by the importance of its fleet and trade. 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, and was the subject of an Aristotelian constitution, the Aiginetan boule and demos are attested from the second century BC onwards only, with a *grammateus of the demos* who wrote up decrees on their behalf (see below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4C BC</th>
<th>3C BC</th>
<th>2C BC</th>
<th>1C BC</th>
<th>1C AD</th>
<th>2C AD</th>
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</tr>
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</table>

**Table 1 – Attestations of secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in Aigina.**

**γραμματεύς 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. Pergamum was at that time governed by Attalos Philadelphos, who in addition to governing Pergamum, was *epistates* of Aigina. The decree was written up by the *grammateus of the demos*:

\[
\text{τὸν δὲ γραμματεύς τοῦ δήμου ἀναγράψαι | ἐς στήλην, ἣν σταθῆναι ἐν τῶι Ἀτταλείῳ}
\]

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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.


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: τὸν ἐπιστατῆς ἔρισαν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως. Previously IG IV 1, Dittenberger. Dittenberger reconstructs this phrase as τὸν προστάτησαν 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, who was to approve the text:

ἀναπέμψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν στρατηγῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἵνα μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης συντελῆται τὰ ἐψηφισμένα.

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, a local grammateus of the demos is known only from the middle of the second century BC. This designation also rarely occurs elsewhere. Of the regions covered in this thesis, it is known only from Arcadia, 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.
640 IG IV² 748(before 160 BC)11-12; IG IV² 749 (158-144 BC) 45-46 (IGIV1, Dittenberger).
641 See IGV,2 351 (c.266-219 BC) 11 on page 183.
Corinthia: Corinth

From the sixth century BC, Corinth had an oligarchic constitution.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{643} Only wealthy citizens were admitted on to the council, and, according to Plutarch, ‘not much’ public business was conducted in the assembly.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{grammatistas} for the local secretary (see below),\textsuperscript{647} while a fourth-century BC text refers to the \textit{grammateis} of the Hellenic League (see page 228).\textsuperscript{648} From the second century BC onwards, the designation used is \textit{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 \textit{grammateus}.\textsuperscript{649}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
            & 4C BC & 3C BC & 2C BC & 1C BC & 1C AD & 2C AD & 3C AD \\
\hline
Corinth:    &        &        &        &        &        &        &        \\
\textit{grammatistas} & 1      & 0      & 0      & 0      & 0      & 0      & 0      \\
\textit{grammateus}    & 0      & 0      & 3      & 1      & 0      & 0      & 1      \\
\hline
Total:      & 1      & 0      & 3      & 1      & 0      & 0      & 1      \\
Grand total: & 6      &        &        &        &        &        &        \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Attestations of secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in Corinth.\textsuperscript{650}}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{642} Hdt. 5.92.b: Corinth was originally governed by the Bacchiadæ family.
\textsuperscript{644} Plu. \textit{Dion}53.2: τοὺς Κορινθίους ὀλιγαρχικοὺς 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.
\textsuperscript{646} Millender (2001) 141.
\textsuperscript{647} SEG 30:990 (c.325-275 BC) 2.
\textsuperscript{648} IG IV\textsuperscript{2},168 (302 BC) 78-83.
\textsuperscript{649} SEG 26:396 (3C AD) 2 (Corinth 8,3 486).
\textsuperscript{650} Does not include the \textit{grammateis} of the Hellenic League.
The earliest surviving evidence for a secretary in Corinth is a late fourth / early third-century BC proxeny 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:

\[
[Ἐπ]ὶ γραμματιστᾶ \ Εὐθέα· ναcsv [Γ]αμιλίου· ἔδοξε ταῖ ἐκκλησίαι·
\]

*In the secretaryship of Euteas. 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

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\(^{651}\) For the derivation of *grammatistes*, 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 ταῖ 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 *ἐπι* + *official <in the month of X>* is otherwise attested only in decrees from Epirus, e.g.: I.Bouthrotos 45 (after 163 BC) 1-2: ἐπὶ ἱερέως 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 8,1,8 (undated) 1-2: is currently reconstructed as [ἐπὶ γραμματιστ‿[τός — — ]][ἐπανή] Θιδδος[τος — — ], though as Jones (1980) 167 notes, [ἐπὶ γραμματιστ‿[ποιό — — ]] would fit equally well. Corinth 8,1,7 (undated) 1-2: [ἐπὶ γραμματιστ‿[ματαύς(?)] — — ][[ἐπανή]] ὁ Πιθο[… — — ] could also be reconstructed as *grammatistas*.

\(^{656}\) Nikolaos of Damaskos, FGrH90 F60(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 Sais in Egypt. In Athens, *grammatistes* can mean 'elementary teacher', and is also found in one inscription from Athens, referring to the eponymous secretary of the Ambrakiots (i.e. from Epirus).

**γραμματεύς (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, and honorific inscriptions for secretaries and other Corinthian officials. The following text constitutes the most extensive example. Reconstructed sections are shown in grey to illustrate the fragmentary nature of the Corinthian evidence.

---

[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...]

If the restoration of this text is secure, the text can be an honorific inscription for judges (dikasts) and their secretary.

---

659 Hdt. 2.28.1: τού δὲ Νείλου τὰς ηγήσας οὗτε Αἰγυπτίων οὗτε Λιβύων οutow Έλληνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀνικομένων ἐς λόγους οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Σαΐ ἔπλα ο γραμματιστῆς τῶν ἱδών χρημάτων τῆς Αθηναίας. 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 Sais.

660 E.g. Pl. *Charmolides* 1618.6: δοκεῖ οὖν σοι τὸ αὐτὸν ὄνομα μόνον γράφειν ὁ γραμματιστὴς καὶ ἀναγγίγνασκεν 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?*


662 Corinth 8,17 (undated) 1-2; Corinth 8,18 (undated) 1-2. These texts could alternatively be restored with the designation *grammatistes*; see n.655.

663 Corinth 8,1 and 4 (c. mid 2BC) 9; Corinth 8,3 46 (before 44BC), b.2.5.

664 Corinth 8,3 46 (before 44BC) 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:

\[
\text{[.\(\alpha\)ρ\(\iota\)χ\(\iota\)ν \\(\tau\alpha\iota\mu\iota\a\)ν \(\text{A}[—24\text{ —]}\) \| \(\tau\iota\zeta\ \nu\alpha\iota\lambda\iota\s\varepsilon\varsigma\nu\varsigma\s\iota\varsigma\) — 15 —] \| \text{σύνεδρον} \ 'β' \ \text{άγορανομ[ον]}. \ \text{και} \ [— 19 —] \| \text{στρατηγόν} \ \tau\iota\zeta\ \lambda\alpha\mu\rho\iota\tau\omicron\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\zeta\varsigma\zeta\varsigma\varsigma\zeta\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsигра грека пейрета̀н с[ω]ρνατοτάτης Κ[οριν]θ[ου]ν 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...
a gathering of the demos in the agora. 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*. See below.

**γροφεύς τὰς βωλάς (gropheus of the bola)**

An undated decree from the demos 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 ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐνεκέχειρα τοῖς θεαροῖς | τὸν γροφῆ τὰς βωλ[ᾶς] τῇ ἑκ τῶν πινακίδων, καταστάσαι | [δὲ θε]αροδόκον·

[And the] *gropheus* of the bola is to provide the envoys with travelling expenses in accordance with the writing tablets, [and] the *thearodokos* is to validate them.

**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 poles: as eponymous officials and secretaries of judges at Corinth, and with the boule and/or demos at Aigina and Sicyon. 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] Σικυώνιων· 9: δεδόχθαι τῷ[ι δό]μῳ·
678 For information on the derivation of *gropheus*, see page 21.
679 The meaning of καταστάσαι 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 8,3 46 (before 44 BC) b.2-5: page 127.
682 IG IV² 749 (159-144 BC) 45-46: page 123.
Argolis: Argos

Evidence suggests that in the archaic period, Argos went from being a monarchy, to an oligarchy and then to 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 strategoi, hiaromnaimenes and artunai (ἄρτυναι, 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 (ἄλιαια) sometimes known as the bola (βολά), 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 grophes (γροφεύς), or grophes bolas (γροφεύς βωλάς), 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 grophes 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. Piéart (2004a) 603-604.
685 Piéart (2004a) 604.
686 IG IV 554 (480-470 BC) 2, 4.
688 Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 70-71: from the 4C BC the standard pattern is ἄλιαια ἕδοξε τελεῖαι / month, day / note of adjournment if needed / ἀρήτευς βωλάς (chairman of council) name / γροφεύς βωλάς (secretary of council) name / substance / at end ἐλευξε name.
690 Piéart (2004a) 604; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 71.
691 The verb gropho is still used, however, and grophosanta is used instead of grammateusanta in an honorific decree for a Roman officer. See page 136.
693 Wörle (1964) 56-61.
ensured that decrees were made public, and its officers also served as judicial functionaries and arbitrators.\textsuperscript{694} The Eighty had two grophes (see page 138).

From 146 BC onwards, the Argive council was referred to as the synedrion\textsuperscript{695} and its secretary as the grammateus (γραμματεύς) or grammateus of the synedroi (γραμματεύς συνεδρίων) (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.\textsuperscript{696}

Grammateus could also be one of several magistracies held by Roman officers,\textsuperscript{697} and grammateis could also work with sub-polis groups, such as theatrical guilds (see page 133).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5C BC</th>
<th>4BC</th>
<th>3BC</th>
<th>2BC</th>
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</table>

*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;\textsuperscript{698} συναρτύοντας, that is, ‘those being artunai together’:

\[
Aρίσστον : ἑ τόν<ς> συναρτύοντας | [ξ]δ[ήλλον τινά ταμίαν εὐθύνοι τέλος ἔχον : ἔ
\]


\textsuperscript{695} See n.706.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{697} E.g. IG IV 606 (Roman Imp.) 1-5 on page 135.

\textsuperscript{698} Though it is curious that the verb shows no ‘v’ in its stem.
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, 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, and are also known from Thucydides:

...ἀρτυναὶ ἀρχαὶ ἐκ τὸ πέτρον Ἀττικαῖον ἔκ τὸν πέτρον Ἀρτυναίον ἐκ τὸν πέτρον αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίας...

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.

Activities

The Argive council (here, βόλο) 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 γρασσμάτων, line 4), 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 ἀλιάσσιος are unclear: i.e., whether both should be read together (as above) with γρασσμάτων, 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.


702 Th. 5.47.9, quoting a treaty made between Athens, Argos, Mantinea and Elis at Athens.


704 Buck (1955) 131 §164.4. Buck notes γράσσμα as synonymous with γράμμα (gramma). σ has replaced an earlier dental, which is sometimes preserved. Grassmaton therefore refers to written proposals, and τῶν γρασσμάτων ἡνεκα τῆς καταθέσιος (4-5), "on account of the deposition of written proposals".

132
γραμματεύς (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 synedro* (the Argive council was known as the *synedrion* after 146 BC);  
- *grammateis* of sub-polis groups (in this instance, a theatrical guild, see following example);  
- Roman officials who held various offices during their career, including that of *grammateus* (see page 135).

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.

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);
- *ho aei grammateus,* ‘the *grammateus* appointed in any given year’ or ‘the subsequent *grammateus*’, i.e. any other *grammateus* (whose duties are underlined).

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.

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705 This inscription is unpublished: Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 70 (A.vi.a) (146 BC and after): Δ Σικυωνίων γραμματεύς συνέδρων / Ἀργείων διαμορφωῖς χαίρειν. 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 Ἀρχεῖ[ό]ιμου...
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).
710 If Aristole 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 οἱ κατασταθέντες ἄρχοντες’ in the preceding lines.

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 γραμματεῦς), 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 IGIV558 (114BC)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).
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. 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 ἱεροφαντήσαντα καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα Σεβά|στεια καὶ Νέμεια...  

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. 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).

Two further inscriptions contain *grophees* that do not appear to fit into any of these categories: *grophees* associated with temple repairs, and a Roman official who served as *gropheus* in addition to holding other offices. These are described below.

**Activities**

Two *grophees* are associated with considerable improvements to the temple of Pythian Apollo:

...γροφεύς Αἰσχύλος Ἀραχνάδας, Τρύγης Αἰθωνίδας, καὶ κατεσκεύασσαν καὶ ἠσσάντο θείας ἐκ μαντήας γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν καὶ τὰ περίσταιν καὶ τὸ φάργμα καὶ τὸν βωμὸν προ[άγαγ]ον...  

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 Ἐπιγνύμα and the Ηφεσθλοθέται), 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 Schwyzter (1939) 241.
...grophees Aischylos (phratry) Arachnada. Tryges son of Althon. 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.

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.

These grophees are not associated with the writing of any decrees, or other functions typically associated with the office of secretary.

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). This text can only be dated very imprecisely to the Roman period, therefore it is unclear why this officer has been given the designation gropheus rather than grammateus.

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722 Caskey & Amandry (1949) 219; Jones (1987) 114: Ἀραχνάδια 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 phyletics was also used by the holders of certain offices. This may explain why a phyletics 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 Ἀραχνάδια). 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.


725 Buck No.87 (3BC)4-20. The final portion of the text is missing.


727 IG IV 609 (Roman) 5-8: ὄγραφεύσαντα ... καὶ σπωμήσαντα 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.
The secretary of the democratic council or aliaia of Argos was known as either the *gropheus* (γροφεύς), or *gropheus bolas* (γροφεύς βωλάς), these terms being used interchangeably in decrees.\(^\text{729}\)

**Activities**

The majority of decrees containing a *gropheus bolas* are proxeny decrees. Argive diplomatic texts such as this start as early as in Athens,\(^\text{730}\) but differ in style. These texts are formulaic, and rarely vary from the following format.\(^\text{731}\) The chairman of the council is introduced by the verb phrase ἀρήτευε βωλάς (*aretêue bolas*),\(^\text{732}\) and is immediately followed by the *gropheus*:

> Ἀλιαίαι ἔδοξε τελείαι· … ἀρήτευε βωλάς Νικαγόρας Ναυπλιάδας Ἐρύνειον· γροφεὺς βωλᾶς Αριστεὺς Μναϊτίμου Ἡραιεὺς Παλλὰς· πρόξενον [ῆμεν] καὶ εὐεργέταν τὰς πόλιος τῶν Ἀργείων… \(^\text{733}\)

*It was decreed by the aliaia teleia: ... Chairman of the council: Nikagoras, (phratry) Naupliada*\(^\text{734}\) (kome) Eruneion.* Gropheus bolas: Aristeus son of Mnaitimos, (phratry) Heraieis\(^\text{735}\) (kome) Pallas:*[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.\(^\text{738}\)

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\(^{729}\) For the interchangeability of the designations γροφεύς and γροφεύς βωλάς, compare SEG 17:144 on page 137 with e.g. SEG 13:240 (3C BC) 1-2: Ἀλιαίαι ἔδοξε τελείαι· ... ἀρήτευε βωλάς Νικαγόρας Ναυπλιάδας Ἐρύνειον· γροφεύς βωλᾶς Αριστεύς Μναϊτίμου Ἡραιεύς Παλλᾶς· πρόξενον [ῆμεν] καὶ εὐεργέταν τὰς πόλιος τῶν Ἀργείων... \(^\text{733}\)

\(^{730}\) 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 proxeny 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 (3C BC) 1-5. Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 69.


\(^{735}\) Rhodes (1987) 114.

\(^{736}\) Charneux (1984) 222.

\(^{737}\) Rhodes (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. The results of this arbitration were recorded in a decree, which ends with the names and designations of the presiding official and the gropheus.

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.

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. 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.

γροφεύς τοῖς ὁγδοκοστεύσι (gropheus for the Eighty)

The Eighty had two grophees; however, evidence for these officers is scarce, and exists only in two unpublished inscriptions. The gropheus 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...
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.245

Ῥοδίων. | Ἀλιαίαι ἔδοξε τελείαι … ἀρήτευε βουλᾶς Καλλίστρατος· γροφεὺς βωλᾶς Τιμοκλῆς Φολυγάδας Πρόσυμμα. …<the honours bestowed, and the reasons for them>

Concerning the Rhodians. It was decreed at the aliaia teleia, … chairman of the council: Kallistratos, (phratry) Wanidai47 (kome) Mansetos; gropheus bolas: Timokles, (phratry) Pholygadai49 (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.
751 Moretti (1967) 90-94.
γροφεύς τοῖς στραταγοῖς (gropheus for the stratagoi)

In the third century BC, the αἷα honoured Alexandros of Sicyon with citizenship rights for himself and his descendants. 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 γροφέός τοῖς βουλαίς Θιοδέκτα, τοῖς δὲ στραταγοῖς Δαμέα, ἡλιαῖε ἔ[δοξε] | τελεῖαι...

In (the year when) the gropheus for the bola (was) Thiodektas, and (the gropheus) for the stratagoi (was) Dameas, it was decreed at the αἷα τελεία...

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:

τὸνς δὲ στραταγὸνς, ὁϲ γράφει Δαμέας, ἔ[ν] γράψαι ἑνς τὸνς στάλανς τὰς ἐν τῷ ιερῷ τοῦ Ἀπολλώνος | τοῦ Λυκείου, ἵ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις πολιτείας γεννᾶνται, ἔ[ν]ς φυλὰν καὶ φάτραν καὶ πεντεκόστυν ὄν καὶ αὐτὸς προαρίθηται...

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 pentekostys he chooses...

ὁϲ 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.
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 grophes 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 βουλᾶς).\(^{764}\) This officer may or may not have also been a type of secretary (see page 147).

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\(^{758}\) ISE 41 (1\(^{st}\) 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 (1\(^{st}\) half 3C BC?) 18-20: τὸ δὲ ψάφιζα ἐγόδομεν τόνστρα[τάγονες] μετά τοῦ ἀρχιπέτονος ἀναγόμενοι ἐν στάλαν καὶ ἐν['] στά[']αι ἐν τῷ ἱαρῶν 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, Hyleis, 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), 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.

Most references to *grammateis* in Epidauros refer to the *grammateis* of the Achaian League (see page 221).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Officer</th>
<th>4C BC</th>
<th>3C BC</th>
<th>2C BC</th>
<th>1C BC</th>
<th>1C AD</th>
<th>2C AD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grammateus</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gropeus</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gropeus bolas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gropeus of hiaromnamones</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katalogos boulas</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grand total: 33

*Table 4 – Attestations of secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in Epidauros.*

**γραμματεύς (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), or *grammateis* of the *nomographoi* of the Achaian League (page 225). The designation could also be used instead of *gropheus* for the secretary of the *hiaromnamones* (page 145), is found in one, brief dedication (see below), and occurs in an honorific inscription for a Roman magistrate. 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).

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765 IG IV2,1 165 (4-3C BC) 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 IV2,1 180 (34/35 AD) 5; IG IV2,1 181 (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*:


(II) Νίκων Ἰαροκλέος ἐφόσον.


(I) *Timokrines, the grammateus Eumandros and the army (dedicated this) from the (booty of the) enemy, to [all?] the gods.*

(II) *Nikon son of Hiarokles 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

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772 IG IV²,1 306 (c.206 BC) A1-C5 (Peek, Asklepieion 129).


774 For further information on stonecutters, see page 347.

775 Palagia (2010) 159.

776 See IG IV²,1 306 app. crit.


778 IG IV²,1 306 app. crit; Melfi (2008) 21.
The *gropheus bolas* at Epidauros is the secretary in a fourth-century proxeny decree for Menekles of Phleious (in the north-west Argolid):

> [Μενεκλέος] | ἁλιαίαι ἔδοξε, Ἱάρων ἀρήτευε δὸς Κερκάδας: γροφεὺς Λυσικλας Εὐκυρίδας· Μενεκλῆς Φλειάσιον πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέταν εἶμεν τοῦ δάμου (?) τοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ κα[— c.11? —]ΠΕΙΘΙΛΑ — — 779

*Concerning Menekles. It was decreed by the [aliaia], Iaron was presiding, D – tos, (phratry) Kerkada, 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 ἄρη(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 ἁλιαίαι ἔδοξε in line 1, similar to ἁλιαίαι ἔδοξε τελείαι, the formula used to introduce Argive monthly council meetings. 785

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779 Mitsos (1947) A1 (4/3 BC) 1-8 = IG IV²,169. Mitsos (1947) 82-84 and Plate XIV 1 adds a new left-hand side to the fragment published in IG in 1929. See also Piéart (2004b) 32-34; Peek, Asklepieion 24.
781 Charneux (1990) 395-415; Mitsos (1947) 82-84; Piéart (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.
γροφεύς [ἱαρομναμόνων] (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) ἱαρομναμόνων: Aristokrates, Timokrates, Arist—, Teleas. grophees: Timul—, A..—


Line 6 of example (i) is generally interpreted as γροφής, 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:


786 Peek NI 32 (undated) 1-7.
787 IG IV²,1 165 (4-3CBC) 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: ὄρχος 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, ἐπὶ καταλόγων βουλησίας, Δαμοκλείδας, Ὑσμίνας, Δαμοκλῆς, ἐπιστατής ἄρχητελης, ἐπὶ καταλόγων βουλησίας, Ὑσμίνας, Δαμοκλῆς, ἐπιστατής ἄρχητελης, ἐπὶ καταλόγων βουλησίας, Ὑσμίνας, Δαμοκλῆς, ἐπιστατής ἄρχητελης, ἐπὶ καταλόγων βουλησίας, Ὑσμίνας, Δαμοκλῆς, ἐπιστατής ἄρχητελης

For the epistatai of expenditure for Apollo, (namely) for (phyle) Hysminai: Sokles, for (phyle) Hylleis: Soterion, for (phyle) Dymanes: Nikandros, for (phyle) Asdantioi: Damopeithes, gropheus Aleximachos. In the priesthood of Aristokles, 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).

The epistatai were a board of Epidaurian magistrates responsible for building works. Aleximachos was either the gropheus of the epistatai (an otherwise unattested office), or the gropheus bolas. The katalogoi boulas were administrative officers of the Epidaurian boule (see next section).

Further particulars

‘The hiaromnamones, for whom Architeles wrote’ (ἱαρομναμόνων, οὗ 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 IGIV²,1106, Dionysios wrote for the hiaromnamones in the months of Praratios and Posidaios, while Kallinos wrote for them in the month of Artamitios, and Timokles wrote for them in the month of Panamos.

For a similar example, see gropheus for the stratagoi on page 140.

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790 IGIV²,1 108 (4/3C BC) 159-161. The vertical lines after the monetary amounts are separators, and not the number 1.
791 Sherk (1990a) 267. The hiareus (ἱαρεύς, 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; Piéart (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: IGIV²,1 106 (4C BC) 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; IGIV²,1 108 (4/3C BC) 107, 111-2 (gropheus Damophilos), 116, 123, 141 (Kalikles), 144, 150 (Timokles), 155-6, 160-1, 167 (Architeles) (gropheus of other body Aleximachos 160); Peek, NI 18 (4/early 3C BC) 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. 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).

Activities

The katalogos boulas was not a secretary in any formal sense. 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.

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:

Ἕγησιστράτου. Ἡ γησιστράτων Ἑριλαίς.

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) Erilaios.

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 (4/3C BC) 1-15.
801 Jones (1987) 107-110. Ἐριλαίς is one of the 37 known subdivisions of the four Epidaurian phylai. These may be territorial in nature, although some are mythological (e.g. Τονταλίς).
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 τὰς τελείας, Μυσιάδος: Ἀριστόλα καὶ Δαμοκλεύς καὶ Ἀριστόλα τοῦ Ἀριστο[κ]ράτευς, ἡμέρα τετάρτη, ἔδοξε προξένους ἐξεμένες τὰς πόλις καὶ θεαροδόκους τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Θευδώρου Αλείουν. Τιμίαν Ἀθανίωνος Κλειτόριον.

(IX) ἐπὶ καταλόγων βουλᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς τελείας, Ἀζαντίων Παγασίνας: Ἀριστάρχου, Ξενοδόκου, Ζευξία, Ἀριστομήδευς, Ἀρ[ιστά]νδρου, ἔδοξε προξένους καὶ θεαροδόκους ἐξεμένες Ἀπόλλωνος Γόργιππον Τυχανίδα Φενεάταν.

(X) ἐπὶ καταλόγου βουλᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς τελείας, ——Κλεισθένευς(?), ἔδοξε προξένους Ἐπι[ν]ηρχόν [— —] || Πελλανή. 802

(VIII) (When the) katalogoi boulas at the teleia803 (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) Pagasína.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. Μυσιάζ is a subdivision of an Epidaurian phyle.
805 Jones (1987) 109. Αζαντίοι is the phyle and Παγασία is a subdivision of Αζαντίοι.
806 See also example on page 145.
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,\(^\text{808}\) although a boule is attested in the Roman Imperial period.\(^\text{809}\) 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] δαμιουργῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ Λαίδα ἐγδόμεν στάλαν καὶ ἀναγράφαι τό | δόγμα καὶ ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὰς | Δάματρος τὰς Χθονίας ὅπως ὃ|πόλυμα ἢ<ι> ἐκατέραις ταῖς πόλε|σιν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον.\(^\text{810}\)

*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.*\(^\text{811}\)

‘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.\(^{815}\)

γραμματεύς (grammateus)

Evidence for secretaries on Kalaureia comprises a single, ten-line list of names and designations:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\Pi\alpha[\sigma]ξεν[ο—] \varepsilonυτεις | Μενεκράτης Φρασισθένεος, | \text{Απολλόδωρος}
\text{Αθανάδα. | κάρυς: Θεόδωρος Κλεπάνδρου. | διάκονος: Χλίδων. | παῖδες: Ξενολαΐδας}
\text{Νικοστράτος[υ], | Σωγένης Νικοστράτου, | Σάτυρος.}
\end{array}
\]

\(^{812}\) 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.

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. 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).

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.

**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. During the Roman period, decrees could be enacted either by the boule and demos together, or by the boule or demos separately.

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. 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).

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816 IG IV 824 (3C BC) 1-9.
817 LGPN 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.
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 (3C BC); Piérart (2004a) 615.
822 Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 78. 3-4C BC enactment by boule and demos: E.g.: IG IV 748 (369 BC) 1; enactment by synarchai and demos: IG IV 751 (3C BC) 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 (3C BC) 9-11.
ταμίας (tamias)

Tamiai (treasurers) often provided funds for the creation and setting up of stelei. 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 δόμγα τὸδε τοὺς ταμίας ἀνθέμεν ἐν στάδιον ἐν τῷ ιερῷ τοῦ Απόλλωνος Ταρασίου.]

[The tamiai are to set up [this decision after it has been written] on a stele [in the sanctuary] of Apollo Thearios.]

The decree was passed by the synarchai and the demos; 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.

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 Peloponnesian in the same period. 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) grophes with the (later) grammateis.

Most secretaries were officers of a boule or synedrion; however, grophes and grammateis also worked with hiaromnamones at the Asklepieion at Epidauros, and grophes are known...

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826 IG IV 755 (3C BC) 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 (3C BC) 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 (4-3C BC) 1-8.
from the temple of Pythian Apollo in Argos. 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.

Taking the Argolid as a whole, the functions of secretaries range from the writing of proxeny decrees and honorific inscriptions, to various forms of administration: taking part in arbitration, organising building work, and procuring a crown and ensuring a decree was proclaimed. 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 gropeus at Epidauros bears the name of an Argive phratry; two grammateis at Kalaureia worked in a location which otherwise provides no evidence for secretaries and little evidence for bureaucracy; and a gropeus may have accompanied boule members to an arbitration between Melos and Cimolos.

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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.
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. Periok communities may have had some autonomy in local decisions, but the extent of this autonomy is unknown.

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. Ephors also presided over the assembly, and each of the surrounding poleis had three ephors of its own. 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. However, writing itself was not forbidden. If we are to believe Plutarch’s statement that men were taught only as much reading and writing as they required, this would in fact indicate that Spartan literacy was of a similar level to that in the rest of the ancient Greek world.

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 periokic poleis in the second and first centuries BC. 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. However, the

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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.
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.\textsuperscript{851} Instead, our earliest evidence notes that the Spartan \textit{epistoleus} in the field sent a written message rather than a \textit{skytale} back to Sparta (εἰς Λακεδαίμονα γράμματα πεμφθέντα),\textsuperscript{852} and in the second and first centuries BC, ephors sent a copy of a document to another polis (ἀποστεῖλαι γράμματα),\textsuperscript{853} and Spartan \textit{nomographoi} sent a message to Amphissa.\textsuperscript{854}

Paradoxically for a state which produced few written laws, there are a greater number of \textit{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.\textsuperscript{855}

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\textit{Table 5 – Attestations of secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in Laconia.}\textsuperscript{856}

and the term \textit{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.\textsuperscript{851} Plutarch, for instance, notes that a \textit{skytale} came “from home” (\textit{Ages}. 10.5) or from “the Lacedaemonians” (\textit{Art}. 6.3), rather than from any board of magistrates.\textsuperscript{852}

\textit{X. Hell}. 1.1.23.\textsuperscript{853}

\textit{IGV},1 1336 (undated) 20.\textsuperscript{853}

\textit{SEG} 52:541 (3CBC?) 4-7. See also Th. 1.133.1; Millender (2001) 142.\textsuperscript{854}

See example on page 160.\textsuperscript{855}

\textit{Atkinson} (1949) 283: Three ephors per polis. See e.g. \textit{IGV},1 126 (2-1BCB) 1-8, 13-18 on page 156, \textit{IGV},1 1114 (1BCB) 2-4 and \textit{IGV},1 1240 (213-217 AD), 12-15.\textsuperscript{856}
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

**γραμματεύς [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

858 IG V,1 26 (2-1BC) 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 (2-1BC) 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.
(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, Damidas son of Damidas 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 provide 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.

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 (ἀναγραφήσεται τὸ δόγμα), given in much the same way that nomographoi are directed to write up nomoi.

‘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 formula and the reference to the Oba), and

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861 IG V,1 26 (2-1BC) 1-8, 13-18.
862 I have avoided using the alternative translation ‘publish’. For ἐγγίζων see also IG IV 679 (late 3-2C BC) 23-31 on page 149.
864 See IG V,1 7 (3C BC) 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 dogmatographos). The office of dogmatographos is also known from elsewhere in the Greek world, including several locations in Asia Minor.

**Laconia: Epidauros Limera, Gerenia, Geronthrai, Gytheion, Kortyrta**

**ἐφορος (ephor)**

**Activities**

In four small poleis in Laconia, ephors (plural) were the officers who wrote up (ἀναγράφω) proxeny decrees, honorific decrees and laws. Ephors wrote up proxeny decrees for Gerenia, Geronthrai, Gytheion and Kortyrta. 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 ἔφοροι ἐπὶ στραταγοῦ Βιάδα ἀναγράψαν[τες εἰς] | [στὰ]λαν λιθίναν ἀναθέντων εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τᾶς ἀγορᾶς τόπον, ὅπως πᾶσιν [φανερὸν ἦι] | [τὸ τῇ] Δαμιάδα καλοκαγαθίας καὶ εὐν[οίας τᾶς] | [πό]λεως ἁμῶν εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας...  

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, so that [the...
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. 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:

... ἀναγράφαι δέ τούς ἐφόρους τούς | περὶ Φιλωνίδαν τὰν προξενίαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ | Μαχάονος· γράμματα ποτὶ τὰ[ν] ἐπολαίων καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἀντίγραφον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσιδάνος...

...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.

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, or for having lent money to the polis on reasonable terms. They may also have written laws on behalf of the demos.

There is no surviving evidence for *grammateis* or any other secretaries at Epidaurus Limera, Gerenia, Geronthrai, Gytheion or Kortyra. 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

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877 Compare the following example with, e.g. IGIV² 749 (159-144 BC) 45-46 on page 123.

878 The verb usually used for ‘copy’ is γράφω (e.g. IGV,1 11145 (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) IGV,1 1145 (c.70 BC) 4 and IGV,1 1146 (after 71/70 BC) 52-54, where <ἀντίγραφον> is supplied.

879 IGV,1 1336 (undated) 17-22.

880 Copies of documents are also made in IGV,1 11111 (after 146 BC) 26 (Geronthrai), and IGV,1 1145 (c.70 BC) 4-5 (Gytheion).

881 IGV,1 931 (after 196 BC) 34-37; Ager (1996) 221-223 no.80; SEG 49:381; SEG 46:2340. An honorific decree of Epidaurus Limera honours two citizens of Tenos for arbitrating between Zarax (Ζάραξ, on the East coast of Laconia) and Epidaurus Limera (approximately five miles south of Zarax).

882 IGV,1 1146 (after 71/70 BC) 51, 52-54.

883 Gytheion: IGV,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.\footnote{See e.g. IG\,V,1\,126 (2-1C BC) 1-8, 13-18 (page 156) and IG\,V,1\,1566 (c.29 BC) 1-5.}

Further particulars

Spartan ephors had considerable power, including jurisdiction in legal cases.\footnote{Arist. \textit{Pol.} 1270\textsuperscript{b}7-32. Rackham (1932a) 140-142; Shipley (2004) 592.} Since all political decisions for Laconia were made at Sparta,\footnote{Shipley (1997) 205.} perioikic ephors are likely to have had far less power, although they may have had some autonomy with local decisions.\footnote{Shipley (1997) 202, 205-211; Todd (2000) 29.}

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.\footnote{Arist. \textit{Pol.} 1270\textsuperscript{b}7-8: election ἐκ τοῦ δῆμου παντός.} 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 \textit{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 \textit{nomographoi}, writing an honorific decree in Messenia. See page 177.

\textit{Laconia: Sparta}

\textbf{γραμματεύς (grammateus) and γραμματεύς βουλᾶς (grammateus of the boule)}

The Spartan \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{hypogrammateis}:

\begin{verbatim}
 Ἀπολλωνίδας | Πασικλέος. | γραμματεῖς | Δαμιάδας, | Στράτων. |
 ὑπογραμματεῖς | Εὐδαιμοκλῆς. | ὑπηρέται · | Σωτηρίδας, |
\end{verbatim}

\footnote{Arist. \textit{Pol.} 1270\textsuperscript{b}7-32. Rackham (1932a) 140-142; Shipley (2004) 592.}
Ἀθηνίων. [βίδ]υοι οἱ περὶ Σοιξιτέλη | Εὐδάμου, ἀρχιερέως [τῶν Σεβα][στῶν] | <δ>ία βίου, <κατά> γένος ἐπὶ <ντ>τν<σο> ν(όμου) <γ>ον Ἰουλίου Λάμ[πι]δος· | <Σ>τοιξιτέλης Εὐδάμου, | Εὐδαμίδας, | Σωσικράτης Πλάκωνος, | Δαμονικίδας | Βασιλίδου, | Καλλικράτης Τιμ<ο>στράτου, | Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἀγαθοκλέους. | vacat | 889

< 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 biduoï, in what is little more than a list of names and designations. The biduoï (bídouoi), also written as bidaioi (bídioi) or bideoi (bídëoi), were officers in charge of the ephesoi, providing the context and working environment for these grammateis and hypogrammateis.892

Approximately half of the surviving instances of grammateus from Sparta are grammateus 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 grammateis 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 IGV,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. IGV,1 34 (117-138 AD) 3-13. The ephors may also have occasionally had their own grammateus. See page 156.
895 Woodward (1925) 159.
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 grammatorphylakion (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:

ἐσται δὲ ὁ γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν κατὰ τὴν ῥήτραν τῇ κζʹ· τοὺς δὲ νεικήσαντας ἀναγράψουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ εἰς τὸ γραμματοφυλάκιον παραδώσουσιν.

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 grammatorphylakion.

In this text, victors were written up (on an unspecified medium) in the gymnastic school, with a copy stored in the grammatorphylakion. As the archive copy was not intended for public display, it is likely to have been on temporary media.

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897 IG V, 120 (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, 130 (123/121 BC) 1-9: [Φε]νεατᾶν. vacat | [— — γρα]μματεὺς συνε[δρων] — — | τῶν ὀντών παρ’ ἐ][μοί κειμένων ἐν τῶι ἀρχείωι ἐν βυβλίωι | [υπηρεσιάς] | γραφῇ | [τὰ] χαίρειν. 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, 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.

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, and Aristokrates son of Kamillos was grammateus either before or after he was a member of the gerousia. 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.

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. There were also family connections between officials: the grammateus Tiberius Kla. (Claudius) Neolaos was the son of the geron (member of the gerousia) Pratomelidas, and

epsilon 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 IGV, 1152 (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]ραμμ[ατεύς] — — — | Μν[ημ] | Ξερ[ήμ] [?] | άθρ[ήμ] [μιστέως] | [Σ]έφανως, which may show that this grammateus had his own public slave.


902 ABSA 26.5 A 6 & IGV, 1103 (early 2CAD) 7; Woodward (1925) 177. Aristokrates is also known from a statue dedicated by his wife (IGV, 1483).


905 ABSA 26 C 78; E3 6.
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:

\[
\]

*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...*

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\(^{906}\) 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. 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... ἃν 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’ ἁμὲ γραμμάτων ἐν τῷ δαμοσίῳ ὑπογράφα τῷ τὸν νόμον ὄνομαν...

*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 (δαμοσίοι). 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. The text also connects Spartan *nomographoi* with the process of appointing someone proxenos.

**Further particulars**

While more than one officer served as *nomographos* in the third century BC, 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. Spartan *nomographoi* are also known from a fragmentary second century AD list of magistrates.

**ὑπογραμματεύς (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,2 24 (1C BC or after) 4-5: γραψάτωσαν... νόμον, page 197 and SIG3 684 (c.144 BC) 9: νόμους γράψατος, page 216.

912 SEG 52:541 (3C BC?) 4-7, 4-5 contains similar phrasing to IG V,1 30 (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,1 7 (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 Δαμοκράτης, Λαφρίου is less probable.

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:

> τάν δὲ | προξενίαν ταύταν ἀναγράφατω ὁ ταμίας εἰς στάλαν λιθίναν καὶ ἀναθέτω |<σ>ις τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶν 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**

γραμματεύς (*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

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⁹¹⁸ Woodward (1925) 230. See Appendix A page 288 for a list of texts.

⁹¹⁹ IG V,1 148 (1C BC) 19; IG V,1 137 (98-117 AD) 10-12.

⁹²⁰ IG V,1 1226 (2/1C BC) 17-21; IG V,1 1227 (undated) 2-7.

⁹²¹ IG V,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).

of worshippers of Damoia;\textsuperscript{924} the second comprises a register of officers on the same stele as a proxeny decree.\textsuperscript{925} The final lines contain the \textit{grammateus}, and the stonecutter.

\begin{verbatim}
γρα(μματεύς) Κλα(ύδιος) Ανείκητος Πανκ[— —], | ἔγρα(ψε) καὶ ἔχαραξε Δαμονικίδα[ς].\textsuperscript{926}
\end{verbatim}

\textit{Grammateus Claudius Aniketos Pank—}, Damonikidas wrote and engraved this.

For more information on stonercutters, see page 347.

\textbf{Laconia: concluding remarks}

The earliest known officers who performed the duties of secretaries in Laconia were a board of third century BC \textit{nomographoi}.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{928} Almost all of these officers are designated either \textit{grammateus} or \textit{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;\textsuperscript{929} therefore the precise nature of their duties remains uncertain.

Elsewhere in Laconia, the officers most often charged with writing inscriptions were ephors.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 \textit{dogmatographos} and the \textit{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.

\begin{thebibliography}{12}
\bibitem{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.
\bibitem{925} IG V,1 1315 (117-138 AD) 29-30 & app. crit.; the proxeny decree: IG V,1 1312 (undated).
\bibitem{926} IG V,1 1315 (117-138 AD) 29-30; SEG 48:2127.
\bibitem{927} IG V,1 7 (3CBC) 1-2, page 164.
\bibitem{928} See Appendix B page 306 for a list of texts.
\bibitem{929} See example on page 160.
\bibitem{930} See page 158.
\end{thebibliography}
**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.

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*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 *nomographos*.\(^{936}\)

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\(^{932}\) SEG 51:474 II.1-2: γροφεύς Αριστόδομος, 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

γραμματεύς (grammateus)

The designation grammateus is known from a single short inscription from each of the poleis of Asine, Kolonides and Kyparissos. At Kolonides and Kyparissos, 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 Καίσαρα Λούκιον Σεπτίμιον Σεουήρον | Περτίνακα Χεβαστόν | ἣ πόλις τὸν άνείκη|τον ἐπὶ Φλαβίου | Σαϊθίδα λογιστοῦ | καὶ γραμματέος | Αἰλίου Φαιανίδου

The polis (honours) Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus the undefeated in the period of office of Flavius Saithidas as auditor and Ailio Phaianides as grammateus.

The auditor (logistes) Flavius Saithidas was Messenian. The origins of the grammateus are not known.

Messenia: Andania, Korone

γραμματεύς τῶν συνέδρων (grammateus of the synedroi)

In Messenia, the office of grammateus of the synedroi is known from Andania, Korone, Thouria and Messene (see page 173).

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937 IG V,1 1412 (193-5 AD) 7-9.
938 IG V,1 1402 (late 2BC) 1.
940 IG V,1 1402 (late 2BC) 1: ἐπὶ γραμματέος Εὐμέν[εος]. The secretary is followed by a gymnasiarch, hypogymnasiarch, and a list of ephebes. Shipley (2004) 554, 556-7.
942 IG V,1 1412 (193-5 AD) 1-9 (the entire text).
943 Σαϊθίδας = LGPN III.A 387.
944 Φαιανίδης = LGPN III.A 441.
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 (2-1BC) 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; 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. A stele sets out the regulations for these mysteries, including the order of procession, services to be performed, and punishments for misdemeanours. 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, and must administer the oath (whatever this means) sworn by the priests:

... τοὺς δὲ κατασταθέντας ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων τὸν ὄρκον ὁ ἵεροὶ ὁμνύοις.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:

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

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 συνεδρίων τοὺς γεννηθέντας ὀρκιζόμενον δὲ μὴ τις ὄρρωστεῖ. 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 Peloponnesse. 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 komai 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. All other secretaries from Messene are referred to either as *grammateus* (see below) or as *grammateus of the synedroi*.

*γραμματεύς* (*grammateus*)

*Grammateis* could be employed by various boards at Messene. The designation appears in two registers of officials, 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:

[Γραμματέως Μνασίστρατο...]

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’

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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 (1C AD) 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: Γραμματ[εως — —] Ἐν[εικ[ου — —]]. The use of the genitive suggests that *grammateus* may have been preceded by ένι; i.e. that he may have been eponymous.
(διὰ ποινὸς 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 grammaeus. 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 grammaeus is also found in a decree of an unknown polis, which honours judges from Messene and their secretary:

— τοὺς αἱρευόμενους δικαστὰς και τὸν γραμματέα αὐτῶν — — <personal name> — — χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἑκατέρου καὶ εὔνοιας τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς. 968

[The elected] dikasts and [their] grammaeus — — — 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 grammaeus of the dikasts is otherwise unattested in Messenia. 970

**γραμματεύς τῶν συνέδρων (grammateus of the synedroi)**

### Activities

The grammaeus 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· ἐπαινεῖ[σα]ι λαριστοκλῆ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαι καὶ καθαρεύσει ἐρ’ δι’ ἕχει περὶ τὸ κοινὸ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ἐξ ντ’ ἐν τοῖς ναςأد | λοιποὺς πάσας τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὸν πόλεον διοικοῦμένοις, καὶ ἐμένον καταμόνο[ν]ς τῆς δεδομένας αὐ’τοῖς τιμής ὑπὸ τὸν συνέδρων καὶ τοῦ στραταγοῦ καὶ ἔξοδο αὐτῶι στᾶσαι τἄνεν ἔστω αὐτῶι στᾶσαι τἄνεν ἐπὶ τὸν συνεδρίον ἐξ’ ἕκοινα πρὸ τοῦ ἀρχείου τοῦ γραμματέος τῶν συνέδρων καὶ ἐπιγράψαι ἐπὶ τὸ βάθρον

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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 4C BC to the Imperial period, Imperial decrees are more effusive in style.

968 IGV,1 1428 (late 2-1C BC) 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 IGV,1 1390 (92-91 BC) 52, with a grammaeus of the synedron in 1.

970 For the grammaeus of the dikasts at Corinth, see page 127.

971 IGV,1 1463 (1C BC) 3; IGV,1 1448 (14 AD) 2 (Rossi (2002) 16-18); IGV,1 1449 (54-68 AD) 8; SEG 23:206 (2-3CAD) 1.

972 IGV,1 1432 (39 BC) 2, 13-25, 41-42; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 84-86.
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:

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’ ἄμερος). However, it may also be that this public record of daily administrative
business (i.e. a calendar) was Aristokles’ innovation. Diligence and honesty were also important to this role, being mentioned twice in the decree, and suggested by the apparently transparent way that accountability was ensured through the public recording of business transactions.

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.

**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 — — — gropheus:

[— — —]ς Ἀριστόδαμος — — — s Aristodamos

[— — —]εος θεῶν ἁγητήρ son of — es leader of gods(?)

[— — —]α Εὔτυχος — — — da Eutuchos

[— — —]μέρου πρόσπολος son of — meros attendant:

[— — —]δα Λυδεύτυχος — — — da Ludeutuchos

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.

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 γραμματεύς τῶν συνεδρίων —.

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 1165 (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*.\(^985\)

**γραμματεύς 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:

\[
καὶ μ[ῆ] | [άγοραξάτω καὶ διοικησάτω τόν σῖτον ὁ γραμματεύς, ἀλλά διαι<τ>είσθω περὶ τοῦ καταγορά<ξ>α | [καὶ διοικήσαι, καθὼς κα τοῖς συνέδριοις δόξει περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀργυρίου...
\]

...καὶ ὁ γραμματεύς δόγμα γραψάτω, καθὼς κα οἱ σύνεδροι κελεύ{ι}|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.

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\(^984\) 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 (1C AD) 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 διαγραμ[ ]]** of... *as it was written in the register...*
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).

...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 oi μετὰ Μενέσστρατον implies that Menes[s]tratos was one of the ephors.

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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 τῷ [ἱς ἄρχ] ὁντος καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ.

\(^{994}\) See IG V, 11379 (2-1BC) 23 and SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 24-26 on page 177.

\(^{995}\) See IG V, 11432 (39BC) 22-25 on page 174.

\(^{996}\) See IG V, 11379 (2-1BC) 18 on page 176.

\(^{997}\) The *grammateus* can be eponymous in Kolonides, Korone, Kyparissos and Messene. See Appendix B page 308.

\(^{998}\) IG V, 11379 (2-1BC) 14-16.

\(^{999}\) See IG V, 11432 (39BC) 14-21 on page 174 and IG V, 11379 (2-1BC) 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{grammateis} in several contexts (as officers of the \textit{synedroi};\textsuperscript{1001} with judges;\textsuperscript{1002} and with cult officials\textsuperscript{1003}), and in the almost complete absence of evidence for ephors.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1005}

\textsuperscript{1000} See SEG 23:208 (42 AD) 2, 15-29 on page 172.
\textsuperscript{1001} The \textit{grammateus of the synedroi} is present in Andania, Korone, Messene, and Thouria. See Appendix A page 271 for a list of texts.
\textsuperscript{1002} See IGV,1 1428 (late 2-1C BC) 3-5 on page 173.
\textsuperscript{1003} See IGV,1 1390 (92-91 BC) 1, 134-5 on page 170 and SEG 23:208 (42 AD) 2, 15-29 on page 172.
\textsuperscript{1004} Other than SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 24-36 on page 177, ephors are found in IGV,1 1381 (102-114 AD) 8 and IGV,1 1472 (undated) 2 only.
\textsuperscript{1005} See SEG 11:974 on page 177. See also IGV,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, after which time it appears to have been a moderate democracy, with political decisions made by the demos in an assembly. We infer that Tegea was an oligarchy and became a democracy from references to a stasis, and infer that Megalopolis was always a democracy due to its late, federal foundation.

Where one exists, a council can be referred to as either the *boule*, the *ekklesia*, the *synedrion*, or the *triakasioi*. It is not clear whether some of the smaller states had their own council involved in the decision-making process. Extraordinarily, the inhabitants of these poleis can occasionally be referred to collectively as Arcadians.

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*, an isolated temple records a *grophos* among its officers, and another text records *katakooi* (‘listeners’) who may have been either secretaries or clerks in a court setting. Other inscriptions contain the designation *graphes* (γραφής), the Arcadian dialect form of γραφεύς.

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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 *Τεγεατον πολιτεία*, but no direct evidence for the form of constitution at Tegea: Arist. frr.608-9 [Rose]; SEG 11:1051 (end 4C BC) 1-2: Ἐδοξε ταῖ πόλει τῶν Τεγε[α]τ[ῶν]…; 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 (2C AD) 1-2 (Mantinea); IG V,2 345 (79/78 BC) 15-16 (Achaian League, Orchomenos); IG V,2 433 (early 2C BC) 8 (Megalopolis).
1015 See page 187.
1016 See IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC?) 18 on page 189.
1017 See IG V,2 550 (4C BC) 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.*

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*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, and one of the cities the Confederacy voted to incorporate into Megalopolis; however, this resolution does not seem to have been carried out.

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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.

**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 ὁφλὲ Μίλων | καὶ Ἀπέλιχος ταῖ πόλι τὸ σῖτῳ ἀφεῶσθαι, καὶ τὰς λιποδαμ[ί]||ας ἐτάσαι τὸς δαμιοργός καὶ τὸς χρεονόμος, καὶ τῶς ἐ[π]ιγρ[a]φάς·

... (IV) τὰν δὲ στάλαν γράψαντες οἱ δαμιοργοὶ ἤθελαν ἵν τὸ ἱερὸ τὰς Αθάνας, καθέντω δὲ καὶ τὸν ὤρκο|ν τὸν ὦμόσαμες ἐπεὶ Κλεώνυμος παρῆλθε, ἵν τὸν ναὸν τῆς θεᾶ...\(^{1024}\)

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 lipodamia\(^{1025}\) 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

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\(^{1023}\) See page 149 for *damiorgoi* publishing a decree at Hermione.


\(^{1025}\) 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.


decrees which refer to its boule and ekklesia, and officers such as the prostatas boulas and damiorgoi.

γραμματεύς (grammateus)

The *grammateus* in these poleis is known from a brief agreement between Heraia and an unknown polis, a Magnesian decree bestowing honours upon Kletor, and two proxeny decrees from Stymphalos.

Further particulars

At Stymphalos, the *grammateus* could be recorded alongside officers of the boule and demos: the presiding official(s) *prostatas boulas* or *prostatai*, the *damiorgoi*, and the *promnamon* (president of the *mnamones*). However, he is not known from any epigraphic formulae. He could be referred to either as *grammateus*, or (possibly) as *grammateus of the demos*.

\[\text{prostatai boul|ᾶς· Θέων, — σ — κις. γρα}[μabbit](ματεύς ὅμω]· Τιμόξεν|ος, δαµιορ[γὡ]ν· Δα[µοθένης].\]

*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.

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1031 IG V,2 415 (3C BC) 5-6 (IPArk 23).
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: γραμματεύς | 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. 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 gopheus (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 (katakooos)

Clerical officers known as katakooi are known from an inscription from Stymphalos describing judicial agreements between Stymphalos and Sicyon. The precise nature of this office is unknown. Arnaoutoglou translates the term as ‘secretary’, while Thür and Taeuber simply note ‘wir deuten sie als “Schreiber” (mit dem Gropheus... identisch)’. Dosuna, using the derivation of the word katakóos = κατήκοος, from κατακούω, hearing, prefers the term ‘official witness’, i.e. one who hears testimony.

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. The katakooi brought suits before the court, and transferred funds from the plaintiff to the defendant:

εἰ δὲ ὁ ἄγων τὰν δίκαν τὸ ψευδομάρτυρα μὴ λάβοι τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῶν ψάφων, όρφετα τὸ τρίτον μέρος [τ]]|[ά]ζες γεγραμμένας δίκας τῶι ἀγομένωι τὰν δίκαν καὶ τῶ κατακόω εἰσδόντω τὰν ζο[μ]|ιόν τοῖς ἀρχοντα βαρηκοτέρ τὸς ἄλλας καταδίκας. ...


1041 IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 2-26 (IG V,2 2357). 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.


1044 Thür & Taeuber (1994) 176 n.6. See also page 185 and n.1051.


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.\textsuperscript{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:

| ὅ κα δὲ ἀφίκηται πότ τὰν ἐχ[θόσδικ]ιον δίκαν ἐπιγεγραμμένα, εἰ μὴ αὐτ[ό]θι κατακόοι λύσαν αναμένοι τὰν μαρτυρίαν, [ἐξ] ἔστω τοῖς κατακόοις καθήπερ τὰν δίκαν ἡ[ῃ ἐπι]γραφ[ε]ντα πότ τὸ εὐθύδικον δικά[σαι τὰν] | ἵνα δίκαν.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1050}

The identification of the katakoos with the gropheus has been made through the following lines in the same text:

| τὰς δὲ πό[λις] | ἀποστελλεῖν τούς τε συνλύτας καὶ τὸν κατακόοι | φέρ[οντας]· \textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1048} Translation: Arnaoutoglou (1998) 134.
\textsuperscript{1049} IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 23-26.
\textsuperscript{1050} Translation: Arnaoutoglou (1998) 134.
\textsuperscript{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. It was also the location for games, whose origins were linked with the mythological founding of Arcadia, and which attracted competitors from many locations.

γροφεύς δαμιοργῶν (gropeus of the damiorgoi)

A fourth-century BC list of victors of chariot- and horse-races from Lykaia also includes the designation gropeus. The top portion of the stele comprises three columns, containing the names of victors, and ending with the gropeus:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
[---] & [Εὐ]ρυλοχος & ἀλέξανδρος \\
[---] & Ἄπειρος & Ἰππαρχος \\
[---] & Ἀντιφάης & Κερκίδας \\
[---] & Ἀναξικράτης & γροφεύς \\
[---] & Ἀγησίας & δαμιοργῶν \\
[---] & Ὀνόσιλος & Ἑστάτας. \\
\end{array}
\]

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 gropeus of the damiorgoi suggests that the gropeus worked for these magistrates; however, only a single damiorgos is attested at Lykaia. An alternative explanation is that the gropeus of the damiorgoi was not a local man. It is possible that both the damiorgoi and gropeus were from Megalopolis, since Megalopolis managed the games.

\[^{1052}\text{Nielsen (2002) 85.}\]
\[^{1053}\text{Nielsen (2002) 67.}\]
\[^{1054}\text{IG V,2 549 (320 BC?) & IG V,2 550 (4BC); Nielsen (2002) 529-530.}\]
\[^{1055}\text{Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 90: p.xxxvi (Buck 22).}\]
\[^{1056}\text{Column three can be read in two ways: either as above, or as 'Alexandros: hipparch, Kerkidas, gropeus of the damiorgoi: Estatas'. The most likely interpretation is that column three contains a list of single personal names, as in column two, plus the gropeus.}\]
\[^{1057}\text{IG V,2 550 (4BC) 1-6; Charneux (1991) 311; Robert (1926) 495. Column three can be read in two ways: either as above, or as 'Alexandros: hipparch, Kerkidas, gropeus of the damiorgoi: Estatas'. The most likely interpretation is that column three contains a list of single personal names, as in column two, plus the gropeus.}\]
\[^{1058}\text{LGPN IIIA 156: The name of the gropeus, Ἑστάτας, is attested here only, and so provides no additional information about his origins.}\]
\[^{1059}\text{Nielsen (1996a) 55. Nielsen (2002) 219. Damioroi are well known from other locations, including Megalopolis (IGV,2 431 (4BC) 2). See also Sherk (1990a) 263.}\]
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.\(^\text{1060}\)

**Names**

Lykaian victor lists\(^\text{1061}\) 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:

\[
\text{συνωρίδι τελέαι Ῥόδιος Νικαγόρας, | τεθρίππωι πωλικῶι θεαρίδας Ἀρκάς, | κέλητι τελέωι Βούβαλος ἐκ Κασσανδρείας.}\(^\text{1062}\)

*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.\(^\text{1063}\)

**Arcadia: Mantinea**

By the fourth century BC, Mantinea was a democracy, with a council\(^\text{1064}\) and political decisions made by the demos in an assembly.\(^\text{1065}\) However, this information is not preserved in epigraphic evidence, and it may be that the Mantineans primarily recorded their decisions on temporary media.\(^\text{1066}\)

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*.\(^\text{1067}\) In the first century BC, priests appointed men (whose designations are not known) to write an honorific decree on behalf of local celebrants.\(^\text{1068}\)

\(^{1060}\) See IG\(^\text{V,2}\) 356 (c.240 BC) 5-6 on page 183.

\(^{1061}\) IG\(^\text{V,2}\) 550 (4C BC); IG\(^\text{V,2}\) 549 (320 BC?).

\(^{1062}\) IG\(^\text{V,2}\) 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.

\(^{1067}\) IP\(^\text{Ark}9\) (350-340 BC) 16-21.

\(^{1068}\) IG\(^\text{V,2}\) 265 (64-61 BC) 41-45.
and in the second century AD, the designation *grammateus* was held by officers of the Roman administration.\(^{1069}\)

**γραμματεύς (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:

\[\text{[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεοῦ] | [Τρα]ϊανοῦ Παρθικο[ῦ υἱ]|όν, θεοῦ Νέρβα υἱωνόν,} \]
\[\text{Τρα|ιανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστόν | Α(ἴλιος) Μαύρος Φαίδρος υπέρ γραμματείας} \]
\[\text{σὺν τῷ ναῷ ἐν τῷ | ἰδίῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων } | \text{ἀνιέρωσε.}\]

[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 (epimeletēs)**

**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:

\[... τὸς Ἑλισϝασίος πάντας ἀπυγράψασ|θαι ἰν τὸς ἐπιμελητὰς πατριᾶφι κἀτ [ἀ]λικίαν ἰν δέκ’ ἀμέραις ἃμα|ν οἱ σταλογράφοι μόλωσι.\]

*All the Heliswasians are to register themselves with the epimeletai by father*\(^{1075}\) *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 (2C AD) 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 (2C AD) 1-2: [τὸν γραμματέα]|[τοῦ σ]υνεδρίου Λ(ούκιον) Ἀντύσπον [ἀγωνοθετήσαντα...

\(^{1073}\) 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 stonemasons. 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 ἀπονιγ[κ]ὴν τὸς | ἐπιμελητὰς ἰμ Μαντινέαν καὶ ἀπυγράφη τοῖς θεσμοτάροις ἐπὶ[ι] Νικῆ δαμιργία, τὸς δὲ θεσμοταρὸς γράφωντας ἐν λευκόμα[τ]α | δεσκολώσαι πός τὸ βιολίν. 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.
¹⁰⁷⁸ IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 16-18, page 188.
¹⁰⁷⁹ IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 3. The formula ἔδοξε τοῖς Μαντινείσιν occurs only in this inscription.
Arcadia: Megalopolis

Megalopolis was formed in 368 BC by the Arcadian Confederacy, 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), Megalopolis was probably a democracy from the outset.

The earliest public enactments of Megalopolis refer to a council, with a prostatas boulas as presiding officer. Other officials included boards of damiorgoi. 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.

γραμματεύς 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 συνέδροις τοῦ δείνο...\(^\text{1084}\)

[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, and lists of benefactors to the city. Several lists of benefactors were set up between 145 and 130 BC, to record monetary contributions made towards repairs to the city walls.

\(^{1082}\) See n.962 for a definition of the Arcadian Confederacy.

\(^{1081}\) Larsen (1968) 180-181.


\(^{1083}\) IG V,2 431 (4C BC) 2-3.

\(^{1084}\) IG V,2 443 (mid 2/end 1BC) 1 (IPArk 32).

\(^{1085}\) IG V,2 443 1 & IG V,2 444 1 (mid. 2/early 1C BC) (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 γραμματεύς 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 ἐν ταῖ ἐπὶ Λυκίνωι ἐτέιαν γράφοντες ἐπιδειξάντων τὰ διὰ χρονιῶν ὑπὸ ἑαυτῶν καὶ καταμνήσαντες τὰν ἐπίθετον...

*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 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 νόμοις τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις, κύριον ἔστω τὸ ἐφέτος — c.7 — [...] ὡσσα καὶ δόξει τοῖς συνεδρίοις άδιοίκεται τὰ νομοθετεῖν [...] μη δὲ τις νομογράφος μὴ τῆς νομοθετείς προς ἀλλοτρίων θατράν [ἐπιτρέπει] [τω].

*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 Νικήρατος; IG V,2 441 (130 BC) 1-2: ἐπὶ γραμματέος τοῖς συνέδροις τὸ β’ Νικήρατος.

1088 I. Magn 38 (c.208/7 BC) 38-53 (SIG 3559); 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 papyri \[1092\] [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 polis \[1096\] at Orchomenos from the third century BC onwards. \[1097\] Its council could be referred to as either the allaia 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).
γραμματεύς (grammateus)

Further particulars

The *grammateus* of the council at Orchomenos is known from four third-century BC proxeny decrees. 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:

[ἔδοξε ταῖ πόλι· προξένος ἦ[ναι καὶ εὐεργέτας τ]ῶν Ἐρχομενίων τός η[ρεσβευτάς | τῶν Αθηναίων Κάλλιππος Μοιροκλέους Ἐλευσίνοιον, Ἀ]ρι[στείδη Μνησιθέου Λαμπτρέα, | Γ]αύκ]ωνα Ἐτεοκλέους Αἴθαλιδη[ν...]

... ἐπὶ Σίμμο[ι] σὺν θεαροῖς· προ[στάτας — | — τάς] ἁλιαίας Νικασίλαος· γρα[μματεύς — | —]τος.

*It was decreed by the polis: the [Athenian ambassadors] Kallippos son of Moirocles [of Eleusis], Aristeides son of Mnesithoeus [of Lamprai and Glaoukon] son of Eteokles of Aithalaidai are (to be) proxenoi [and benefactors] of the Orchomenians...*

... Under Simmos and the thearoi; presiding ... [of the] aliaia, Nikasilaos. Secretary —tos.

γραμματεύς 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:

Τὸ θεαροὶ τοὶ Θεολέα Θορουλ[ό]χου Πελλανέα πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέταν Ἡρεμβευτάς τῶν Ἐρχομενίων | σῶμα καὶ γένος. | Θεαροὶ οἱ περὶ Ἁγγέλων — ...

... γραμματεύς τῶν θεαρῶν Κάρλα Πελλανέα, | Ἀρτέμιδος Ιερεύς | Αἰγυπτοῦς.

*It was decreed by the Orchomenians: Neokles son of Thoroulochos of Pellane and his descendants are to be proxenoi and benefactors of the Orchomenians. Thearoi*

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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 Thermopylae in 279 BC, Aristeides was a general and archon, and Glaoukon held several magistracies in Athens.
1105 BCH 38 No.8 (3C BC) 2-8, 10-13 = Plassart & Blum (1914) 464–465.
serving with Agchi—...  

grammateus of the thearoi, Kallippos; priest of Artemis, 'Aigypios'.

The thearoi could be eponymous officials at Orchomenos (as in this decree), and both thearoi and prostata 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).

γραμματεύς τῶν συνέδρων (grammateus of the synedroi)

Activities

The grammateus of the synedroi is known from three manumission decrees inscribed on a single stele. The first of these decrees records that the money required for the manumission be deposited with the grammateus of the synedroi:

[έπειδη — c.8 —]έος Ὀρχομενῶι κατοικῶν εἰς τὸν γραμματῆ τῶν συνεδρῶν κατέβαλε ἐκ τᾶς ἀπελευθερώσιος ἀργυρίου ἡμίμναιον κατὰ τὸν νόμον...

[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. No officers were directly assigned the duty of writing either the manumissions or the decree(s).

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1106 Dubois (1988) 171-2: this appears to be a personal name from an otherwise unproductive family.
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.
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*:

\[ \text{μάρτυρες· δαμιοργῶν} || [- c.8—] \text{ἐος, γερουσίας Σωτέλης Λεπτίνα,} \text{γραμματεὺς} \text{συνεδρῶν} || [- c.3—] \text{ομενείδας Εὐκρήτου, ἰδιωτὰν Ἀπολλόδωνος} || [- c.10—] \text{Πόλλης Διονυσίου Ὀρχομένιοι.}\]


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 4C BC) 1-2: ‘Εδοξε τῷ πόλει τῶν Τεγε[σ.] τῶν...’

\(^{1120}\) IG V,2 43 (2C BC) 1; IG V,2 50 (165-166 AD) 78; IG V,2 11 (before 228 BC) 19.

\(^{1121}\) IG V,2 116 (3C BC) 7; IG V,2 12 (240-228 BC) 5; IG V,2 13 (before 228 BC) 9.

\(^{1122}\) IG V,2 24 (1BC before after) 4-5.

\(^{1123}\) IG V,2 16 (218 BC) 7-8.
γραμματεύς (grammateus)

The *grammateus* of the Tegean assembly is known from the following inscription only:

Joseph{ις} τοῦ δάμου· <three personal names>, στραταγοί· <eleven personal names>, ἵππαρχος· Τείσανδρος, γραμματεύς· Ἁγέας, || ιερεύς τῆς Αθηνᾶς· Εὐαινέτος.\footnote{IG V,2 11 (before 228 BC) 12-20.}


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*\footnote{IG V,2 43 (2C BC) 1-2.} 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* (Ἴλος), the man who provided olive oil at the baths.\footnote{IG V,2 50 (165-166 AD) 2-3 & 77-79.} 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)

*graphes*, the Arcadian form of γραφεύς,\footnote{Buck (1955) 91-2 §111 note 4.} 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*.\footnote{IG V,2 12 (240-228 BC) 5; IG V,2 13 (bef. 228 BC) 9; IG V,2 116 (3C BC) 7.} 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:

στραταγοὶ ἀνέθεν· | <seven personal names>, | ἵππαρχος· Γόργων Γοργιππος, | γραφής· Εὐαρέτους Σακλέος.\footnote{IG V,2 116 (3C BC) 1-7.}

*(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*.\footnote{IG V,2 12 (240-228 BC) 5; IG V,2 13 (bef. 228 BC) 9; IG V,2 116 (3C BC) 7.} However, both surviving
examples are fragmentary, and it is possible that \textit{grammateus} would fit equally well in the available space.\footnote{IG V,2 12 (240–228 BC) 2–3, 5; IG V,2 13 (bef. 228 BC) 8–9.} For example:

... καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις | προξένοις. στρατα[γοί· —c.14? — ] | Δυαῖος, προστάτας [τῷ δάμω· —c.6— γραφές·] || Ἀγέας, ἱαρής· Δαμ[— — ]. | \textit{vacat}\footnote{The editor appears to have restored \textit{graphes} based on the secure parallel IG V,2 116 (3C BC) 7 (page 196).}

...[and for the other] proxenoi. \textit{Stratagoi: <two or three personal names> Duaios, prostata [of the damos: <personal name>, graphes]: Hageas, priest: Dam—.}

\textbf{νομογράφος (nomographos)}

The \textit{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 αὐτοὺς ὁ ἐπιμελήτας διὰ τοῦ κάρυκος ἐν τοῖς δε[ί]|πνοις, γραψάτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ νομογράφοι νόμον περί τούτων.\footnote{IG V,2 24 (1C BC or after) 1–5. Larsen (1968) xxiv & notes 1 & 2.}

\textit{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 \textit{nomographoi} described are Tegean \textit{nomographoi}, or \textit{nomographoi} of the Achaian League (see page 226).\footnote{See Appendix B page 281 for \textit{nomographoi} in other locations in the Peloponnese.}

\textbf{στραταγός (stratagos)}

Activities

The \textit{stratagoi} (generals) were officers who formed part of the Tegean assembly.\footnote{See examples on pages 196 and 197.} One inscription also directs unnamed \textit{stratagoi} to write up an honorific decree:

όποτε Θεόκριτος καὶ Αμφάλκης τῶν πολεμίων | ἐπὶ<β> ἀντων ἐπὶ τὸ τείχεα ἄνδρες ἄγαθοι | ἐγένοντο μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τὰς πόλιος | ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίαυ | κατὸν νόμον, καὶ ἀνεγέρας τὸ ψάφισμα | τὸς στραταγός τὸς περὶ Στρατέαν | εἰς στάλαν ἀνθηναὶ ἐν τὰν ἀγοράν, δῶς και oἱ λοιποὶ

\footnote{Arcadian accusative plural.}
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, or instructions directed at ephors in various locations in Laconia.

**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. Again, it does not appear that this resolution was carried out.

**ἐπιμελητής (epimeletes)**

Thisoa seems to have produced very few inscriptions. Those that survive refer to epimeletai (a generic term for magistrates) 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.

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1138 γράφω is also used in Athenian inscriptions for additions to an existing text: IGII² 17 (394/3 BC) 8-11, 25-26; IGII² 19 (394/3 BC) A7-9, B7-10.
1141 E.g. IG V,1 962 (undated) 31-33 (Kortyrta). While it is possible that a Tegean grammae or graphes was involved in this process, there is no reason to omit him from the text.
1142 Paus. 8.27.4-7.
Attributes

The epimeletai could be directed to write up proxeny decrees, which were set up in the temple of the Great God (Zeus):

γράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸς ἐπιμελητὰς τὸ ψάφισμα | ἐγ χάλκωμα καὶ ἀναθῆναι ἐν τὸ ἱερὸν τῶ Μεγάν Θεώ. 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 grophes and katakooi at Stymphalos, who appear to have functioned as secretaries or administrators in a court setting,¹¹⁴⁶ and the grophus 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, grophes, or graphes,¹¹⁴⁹ but also occasionally grammateus of the synedrion.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.2C BC) 7-9.
¹¹⁴⁶ IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 2-26, page 184.
¹¹⁴⁷ IG V,2 550 (4C BC) 1-6, page 186.
¹¹⁴⁸ See IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 16-18, page 189.
¹¹⁴⁹ See e.g. IG V,2 116 (3C BC) 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 *thea roi* and polemarchs, two or more *damiorgoi*, and a *grammateus*,1154 while at Stympalos, 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.

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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 (2BC) 11-12.
1158 IG V, 2 433 (early 2BC) 6-11, page 191.
1159 IG V, 2 224 (1BC or after) 1-5, page 196.
1160 IG V, 2 345 (79–78 BC) 1-25, page 194.
1161 IG V, 2 550 (4BC) 1-6, page 186.
1162 See, e.g. IG V, 2 345 (79–78 BC) 1-2, page 194.
1163 IPAr 24 (273 BC) 8-11, 14-18, page 182.
Elis: Introduction

Elis is said to have contained sixteen cities.\footnote{Paus. 5.16.5.} 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.\footnote{Arist. Pol. 1306a13-19.} 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.\footnote{For these reasons, references to Elis (the state) should be taken to refer collectively to both Elis (the polis), and Olympia.}

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.\footnote{Roy (2004) 489, 495-7. All evidence for secretaries in Elis is from Olympia.} 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.\footnote{Jones (1987) 142-145; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 95.} The earliest evidence for a secretary, the \textit{gropheus}, also dates from the end of the sixth to the middle of the fifth century BC (see page 207).\footnote{IvO 2 (before 580 BC) 8: Πατρίας ὁ γροφεύς; SEG 31:358 (480-450 BC) 1-7. The earliest surviving examples of this designation.}

The situation and date for the start of democracy at Elis is not known, but may have been during the synoecism of 471 BC.\footnote{Roy (2004) 497-498, D.S. 11.54.1; Str. 8.3.2.} Elis then experienced several short oligarchic coups in the fourth century BC.\footnote{X. Hell. 7.4.15-16; D. 19.260, 294; Paus. 4.28.4; 5.4.9.} The only secretary attested during the earliest period of democracy at Elis is the \textit{bolographor} (βωλογράφορ), known from a single surviving text from the third century BC (see page 202).\footnote{IvO 39 (300-250 BC) 37.}

There is no evidence for an assembly from the fourth century BC to the second century AD.\footnote{Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 95-96. In this period, surviving decrees are enacted in the name of the polis or council (boule).} From the mid-third to the first century BC, there is also a gap in the evidence for secretaries. The \textit{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
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).

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*Table 8 – Attestations of secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in Elis.*

**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.

**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). 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 γεγονὸρ ἀπὸ τῶν βωλάρ γραφέν ἐγχάλκωμα ἀνατεθᾶι ἐν τῷ ιαρῷ τῶν Διὸρ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων | τὸν δὲ ἐπιμελέαν τῶν ἀναθέσιον ποῆσαι | Αἰσχίναν τὸν ἐπιμελητὰ τῶν ἰππῶν | περὶ δὲ τῶ ἀποσταλάμεν τοῖρ Τενεδίορ | τὸ γεγονὸρ ψάφισμα ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῆται | Νικόδρομορ ὀβωλογράφορ ὅπωρ δοθᾶι τοῖρ | θεαοῦρ τοῖρ ἐν Μίλητον ἀποστελλομένοιν ποτὶ τῶν θυσίαν καὶ τῶν ἀγῶνα || τῶν Διδυμείων.

... 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

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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.


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.

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 Didymelians.

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](image)

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.\textsuperscript{1180} It is unclear why this officer was involved in the process: it may be that Elis had few officers at this time.

\textit{γραμματεύς (grammateus)}

Activities

The designation \textit{grammateus} is by far the most frequently-occurring of the designations for secretary found in Elis.\textsuperscript{1181} The Elean \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{exegetes (ἐξηγητής)} or ‘interpreter’. Less frequently-occurring offices include curator or financial officer (ἐπιμελητής), butcher or cook (μάγειρος), and \textit{periegetes} (περιηγητής), someone who guided strangers around and showed them things of interest.\textsuperscript{1182}

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\textsuperscript{1180} IvO 39 (300-250 BC) 33-34.
\textsuperscript{1181} See Appendix B page 310 for a list of texts.
\textsuperscript{1182} E.g. IvO 110 (209-213 AD) 17-19. The office appears to be similar to that of ‘tour guide’.

204
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Official Role</th>
<th>Names and Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Those offering libations:</td>
<td>Archiadas — D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kleippos son of Aristodemos K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Herakleides S. N. Soothsayers:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mikkias son of Timon of the Klutiadai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aristarchos son of Kyros of the Iamidai Ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grammateus:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Damaristos son of Antiochos D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flute player: Zoilos S. G.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caretakers: Hippias son of Charops Ph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arkesos son of Harmodios T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Priest (offering daily sacrifice): Olympichos S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wood-provider: Sotion S. Doctor:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ammonios S. Ph. Architect:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pratakon S. Me. Interpreter:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polychares son of Aristokrates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chief cook / butcher: Alexandros S.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *periiegetes* in these texts indicate that cult activities were well-attended and could attract attendance from non-natives, 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. The meaning of the ligatures and single characters by many of the names in the text is unclear.

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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 (Epidaurus).

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(άρκος) Αποστόβιος Κόγνιτος. Ivo 102 (181-185 AD) 20-21 and Ivo 104 (185-189 AD) 23: *grammateus* Αριστόβιος Αριστόβιος; Ivo 103 (177-189 AD) 23, Ivo 105 (late 2/3CAD) 11-12 and possibly also Ivo 107 (late 2/3CAD) 16-17: *grammateus* Αριστόβιος. Ivo 121 (245-249 AD) 28 and Ivo 122 (265 AD) 24: *grammateus* Ερυμίης. Ivo 99 (after 165 AD) 19-20: *grammateus* Τ(το) Φιλίος [Αριστόβιος] 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 Νάρκισσος instead of Αριστόβιος, which may indicate a relative of Ivo 92 (113-117 AD) 16-17 Τ(το) Φιλίος Νάρκισσος. 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 (Ϙ) may also indicate a homonymous patronymic, i.e. Ἡρακλείδης ϝ: *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 Ὀλυμπικὴ βουλὴ Τιβ(έριον) Κλαύδιον Τιβ(ερίου) Κλαυδίου Ἱὲν καὶ Γιγανίας Πώλλης υἱὸν Λύσωνα Κοσμόπολιν,\(^{1191}\) ιερέα γ Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ ἀγορανόμον καὶ γυμνασίαρχον καὶ ἀλλυτάρχην καὶ ὑγιείαν κοσμοπολίτην...\(^{1192}\)

*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 police*\(^{1193}\) 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 synedron*.\(^{1194}\) 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*: *(ιερέα τοῦ Διος τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου, 1187)*

\(^{1189}\) Jones (1987) 145.

\(^{1190}\) For similar use of the reverse lunate sigma, see IG² 1774 (167/8 AD) on page 97.

\(^{1191}\) *Jo kosmopolis* was a magistrate at Locris (Plb. 12.16.6) and Thasos (IGXII,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: Τίβ[εριος] Κλαύδιος Λύσων Κοσμόπολις [Κλαύδιον Λουκηνόν | Σακλαράνων... 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.
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 τῷ β'). While it may have been possible for the *grammateus* at the temple of Zeus to serve for a second time, 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, 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).

### Other attributes

The *grammatistas* at Olympia is honoured, having held this and several other offices:

[— — — —]αντ[α — — — —], | [ἐ]πιμελητεύσαντα τοῦ Δ[ός, θε][κολήσαντα, ἀγοραπομῆσα[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. 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

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1196 IVΟ 460 (Roman) 3-4.
1197 IVΟ 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 IVΟ 468 (2/3CAD) 1-5.
1202 IVΟ 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 *πατρία* 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 ϝράτρα τοῖς Ὑαλείοις Πατρίαν θαρρεῖ καὶ γενεὰν καὶ ταύτα· | αἱ τις τα 
> μεληθεὶσθαι τὰ ζηκαῖα ὑπὲρ μέγιστον τέλος ἔχοι καὶ τοῖς βασιλέας, 
> ζέκα μναῖς καὶ ἢ ἀποτινοῖς. Πατρίας ὁ γροφεὺς ταὐτά καὶ πάσκοι, | [αἴ τ]ιν' 
> ἰμάσκοι. Καὶ Πατρίας ὁ γροφεύς ταὐτὰ καὶ πάσκοι, | vacat \(^{205}\)

*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\(^1\) 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 ζηκαῖα in 2 & 5: either *the rights* or *the punishments*. Buck also provides information on Ἰωπᾶ (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.

\(^{205}\) IvO 2 (before 580 BC) 1-9.
The name Patrias is otherwise unattested in Elis, suggesting that he may have been a foreigner. 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.

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. | καὶ Χαρίξενος καὶ τοὶ μαστροί | [τ]αιρ δίκαιας, 
> ταίρ κά(τ) τὸν Βοιοτόν Μένανδρος | [κ'] Ἀριστόλοχος τοῖρ Αθαναίος ἐδικαζένταν, | 
> [ἐ]πέγνον καὶ τοῖ(ρ) θεσπιέσσιν καὶ τοῖρ σὺν αὐτὸς | [σφ]ὲ δικαίος δικαστᾷμεν κ’ ἀπὸ 
> τὸν θεσ(σ)αλὸν [ἐ]πεδίκαζαν.  

*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), could alternatively be Pyrron (Πυρρὸν or Πύρρων). 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.

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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 Epidaurus (IG IV 2,1 73 (after 224 BC) 18-19).

1207 Minon (2007) 142, 144-148. Minon suggests that the stipulation regarding *katiarausis* (κατιαραύσις) in line 2 suggests that Patrias had the status of *iarios* 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.


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 (2BC) 13, (IGII² 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 gropeus 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 gropeus 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 gropeus 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.\footnote{1214}

Other attributes

The name of the gropeus in the earliest text, Patrias, is not otherwise attested;\footnote{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, ποινικαστάς) 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.\footnote{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 gropees.\footnote{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 gropeus is known from several other locations in the Peloponnese,\footnote{1218} and is most often associated with Argos (see page 137).

\footnote{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.}
\footnote{1215}{See footnote 1206.}
\footnote{1216}{Nomima 22 (c.500 BC) 1-5.}
\footnote{1217}{Minon (2007) 143; Nomima 23.}
\footnote{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 grophes (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

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3C BC</th>
<th>2C BC</th>
<th>1C BC</th>
<th>1CAD</th>
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<td>Grand total:</td>
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</table>

*Table 9 – Attestations of Achaian secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in Achaia.*

Achaia: Dyme

γραμματιστάς (*grammatistas*)

The secretary at Dyme was known as the *grammatistas.*

Activities

Inscriptions containing a *grammatistas* are interesting for the information they provide about local politics: granting citizenship to foreign soldiers, regulating citizenship, and announcing a decision on the death penalty for the falsification of coins. 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

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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 (3C BC) 27 on page 213.

inscription regulating citizenship at Dyme refers to the *grammatistas* only in his capacity as one of several officials involved in the enrolment of citizens:


[And they are to be registered] with the boularchos, the protostas and the damosiophylakes 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 protostas; 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:


*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 SIG3531 (3C BC) 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 SIG3531 (3C BC) 1-8.
grammateus of the Achaian League, [during] the first six months of the year, and the remainder ([in the X]) month, as the Achaeans reckon it. And if the [entire] amount is not given during the secretarship of Menandridas, but ... he is not to be granted citizenship. ...

Further particulars

The context and reference to a bouarchos 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).

éπι θεοκόλου Αριστολαίδα, | βουλάρχου Τιμοκράτεος, | προστάτα Κύλωνος, | γραμματιστά δαμοσιοφυλάκων Μενάνδρου | τούσδε ἁ πόλις πολί|τας ἐποιήσατο συμπολε|μήσαντες τὸ | πόλεμον καὶ τὰ πόλιν συνδιασώισαντες...

During the office of the theokolos Aristolaidas, the bouarchos Timokrates, the prostatas 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 bouarchos and prostatas. 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 Peloponnesse 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.
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, boularchoς and prostatas; an inference supported by the responsibility shared by the boularchoς, 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, γραμματέ|ος 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.
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 ἐμπρήσεις καὶ φθορᾶς τῶν ἀρχ<ε>ίων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων, ὃν ἔγερ|όνει ἁρχηγός της ὅλης συγχύσεως Σῶσος Ταυρομένος ὁ | καὶ τούς νόμους γράφας ὑπεναντίους τῇ ἀποδοθείσῃ τοῖς | [Ἁ]χαιοῖς ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων πολιτείας, περί ὃν τὰ κατά μέρος διή[(Λ]θο||μεν ἐν Πάτραις μετὰ τοῦ παρόν[το]ς συμβουλίου·


...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 Tauromen, who also drafted the laws contrary to the politeia set down for the Achaian 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


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 SIG 5684 (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 — —

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.

The number of nomographoi at any one time in Dyme is unknown, but there appear to have been at least two of them. 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. This case also suggests a strong working relationship between the nomographoi and (at least one) damiorgos.

Achaia: Patrai

γραμματεύς 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. The grammaeteus 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.
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.
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 Athena 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

damiorgós (damiorgos)

The damiorgoi were involved in the process of admitting newcomers to the citizen body at Tritaia. 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. If newcomers failed to pay this money back, the damiorgoi recorded this information for the polemarchs:


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.
1246 SEG 40:400 (3C BC) 17-19. 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.\(^\text{1249}\) Originally a league of the twelve Achaian poleis, the Achaian League was dissolved after the Wars of the Successors (323-281 BC),\(^\text{1249}\) and formed again soon after (281-280 BC).\(^\text{1250}\) In 281-280 BC, the member poleis were Dyme, Patrai, Titaia and Pherai. Approximately five years later, Aigion (also in Achaia) joined,\(^\text{1251}\) followed by several other poleis, including Sicyon (in 251-250) and Argos (in 229), taking the membership of the League to poleis outside Achaia.\(^\text{1252}\)

By 228 BC, the Achaian League also included Corinth, Megara, Aigina, Argos and Megalopolis.\(^\text{1253}\)

From 280/79 to 256/5 BC, the officials of the League included one *grammateus* and two *strategoi*, selected by rotation from among the Achaian poleis (see page 221). From 255/4 BC, the League had one *strategos*, elected annually.\(^\text{1254}\)

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.\(^\text{1255}\)

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\(^{1249}\) 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 *nauarch*, 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 Peloponnesian, 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 (1996a) 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.\(^\text{1256}\)

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.\(^\text{1257}\) In 198 BC the Hellenic League was dissolved, and its member poleis allied with Rome.\(^\text{1258}\) Several types of secretary of the Achaian League are known from this period. In addition to the eponymous *grammateus for the Achaians*;\(^\text{1259}\) 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*.\(^\text{1260}\)

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,\(^\text{1261}\) although a strict system of rotation does not seem to have been enforced.\(^\text{1262}\) The location of the administrative centre of the League at this time is unknown.\(^\text{1263}\) 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.\(^\text{1264}\)

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\(^{1256}\) See SIG³ 531 (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 Peloponnesse into the League.

\(^{1259}\) See IG IV², 160 (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, 160 (191 BC) 1, set up at Epidauros prior to this change, with (the fragmentary) IGIV², 161 (150 BC) 2, set up at Epidauros afterwards. Larsen (1968) 239.
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. 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 synedrion’, ‘the Achaians and the Panhellenes’ or ‘the Panhellenes’. 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.

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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 (γραμματεύς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς), the secretary of the League of Peloponnesian poleis from 281/280 BC to 147/6 BC (see following section).1266

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1265 Tarn (1952) 37-39.
1266 Oliver (1978) 185-191.
1267 Aigion: IG VII 188 (242-223 BC) 2-3; Dyme: SIG 3 531 (3C BC) 4, 27.
1268 Epidauros: IG IV,1 160 (191 BC) 1; IG IV,1 61 (150 BC) 2; IG IV,1 63 (115/114 BC) 17-18.
1269 Epidauros: IG IV,1 180 (34/35 AD) 5; IG IV,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.
1272 Orchomenos: IG V,2 2345 (79/8 BC) 1-2, 10-11, 13.
1273 Mantinea: IG V,2 313 (2C AD) 1-2.
1274 Aigion: I.Magn 39 (c.208/7 BC) 33-38, 43-45.
1276 Larsen (1968) 215-216; Tarn (1952) 37-39, 73.
The grammateus of the Achaians (γραμματεύς τῶν Ἀχαίων), the secretary of the Panachaian League created by Rome in 147/6 BC, which had no political power (see page 222).

γραμματεύς 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 τούτα πάλιν ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἕνα καθιστάνειν καὶ τούτῳ πιστεύειν 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.

γραμματεύς 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 (γραμματεύς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν),1283 the grammateus of the synedroi (γραμματεύς τῶν συνέδρων),1284 or the

1277 Plb. 2.43.1-2, describing the secretaries of 280-255 BC. Walbank (1957) 235.
1278 SIG 3 531 (3C BC) 4.
1279 IG IV2, 160 (191 BC) 1: [ἐνί]γραμματέος τοίς Ἀχαῖοις ...]; IG IV2, 161 (150 BC) 2.
1280 IG VII 188 (242-223 BC) 2-3: [ἐνί δὲ] ἧ [γραμματέος τοίς Ἀχαιοῖς Στράτωνος...]
1281 Larsen (1968) 221.
1282 IG IV2, 161 (150 BC) 2.
1283 IG VII 2711 (37 AD) 43-45: [γραμματέος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν] (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 99); IG IV 795 (103-113 AD) 12: γραμματέας τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.
1284 IG IV2, 163 (115/4 BC) 1, 17-18: ἔδοξε τοῖς συνεδροῖς καὶ τῷ δόμῳ... / ...[ὁ γραμματε]ύς.
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, 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 Ἀβεατῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν δόμα ἀνέθηκεν [ἐπὶ] γραμματέους Δάμωνος τοῦ | Αριστέα\(^{1286}\)

> The polis of the Abians\(^{1287}\) in accordance with the decision of the Achaians set (this) up in the secretaryship of Damon son of Aristeas.

After 146 BC, the League still bestowed honours, 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 Στατείλιος Τιμοκράτης ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος | καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τάγματος ἄπαντι τοῦ προβεβιωμένου σεμνῶς | καὶ θαυμαστῶς | διὰ ὅλου τῶι προβεβιωμένου σεμνοῦ τὸ τῆι ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδοθῆναι μὲν ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τάγματος ἄπαντι τοῦ προβεβιωμένου σεμνῶς | καὶ θαυμαστῶς. ἐπειδὴ ὡς ἑνὸς μὲν ἀνδρὸς μείζονας, ἑνὸς δ’ ἐνιαυτοῦ πλείονας, διὰ τοῦ προβεβιωμένου σεμνοῦ τὸ τῆι ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδοθῆναι ἑπειδὴ Τίτος Στατείλιος Τιμοκράτης ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος | καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τάγματος ἄπαντι τοῦ προβεβιωμένου σεμνῶς | καὶ θαυμαστῶς, διὰ τοῦ προβεβιωμένου σεμνοῦ τὸ τῆι ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδοθῆναι ἑπειδὴ Τίτος Στατείλιος Τιμοκράτης ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος | καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τάγματος ἄπαντι τοῦ προβεβιωμένου σεμνῶς | καὶ θαυμαστῶς, διὰ τοῦ προβεβιωμένου σεμνοῦ τὸ τῆι ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδοθῆναι ἑπειδὴ Τίτος Στατείλιος Τιμοκράτης ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος | καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τάγματος ἄπαντι τοῦ προβεβιωμένου σεμνῶς | καὶ θαυμαστῶς, διὰ τοῦ προβεβιωμένου σεμνοῦ τὸ τῆι ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδοθῆναι ἑπειδὴ Τίτος Στατείλιος Τιμοκράτης ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος | καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τάγματος ἄπαντι τοῦ προβεβιωμένου σεμνῶς | καὶ θαυμαστῶς, διὰ τοῦ προβεβιωμένου σεμνοῦ τὸ τῆι ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδοθῆναι ἑπειδὴ Τίτος Στατείλιος Τιμοκράτης ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος | καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τάγματος ἄπαντι τοῦ προβεβιωμένου σεμνῶς | καὶ θαυμαστῶς, διὰ τοῦ προβεβιωμένου σεμνοῦ τὸ τῆι ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδοθῆναι ἑπειδὴ Τίτος Στατείλιος Τιμοκράτης ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος | καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τάγματος ἄπαντι τοῦ προβεβιωμένου σεμνῶς | καὶ θαυμαστῶς

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1285 See IGIV\(^2\), 181 (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 IGIV\(^2\), 1 63 (115/4 BC) 9-13, 17-18; IGIV\(^2\), 1 81 (34/35 AD) 14-18; IGIV\(^2\), 1 80 (34/35 AD) 1-6.
καὶ Εὐβοεῖς καὶ Λοκροὶ καὶ Δωριεῖς Τίτον Στατείλιον Τειμοκράτη [γραμματέα] | [αὐτῶν γενόμενον ἀρετῆς ἑνεκα].

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.

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.

See also page 206 for two further possible instances where grammateis of the Achaians were honoured at Olympia.

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1289 IG IV 2, 181 (34/35 AD) 7-18. See also IV 2, 180 (34/35 AD) 1-6, the text from the statue base. See also SIG 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 IV 2, 182-84 & 85-86; Oliver (1978) 185-191.


The grammateus of the nomographoi of the Achaian League is known from a single, third-century BC sacred law from Epidauros.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1293}


damiorgòs tòv Ἀχαιῶν (damiorgos of the Achaian League)

Ten damiorgoi formed the governing body of the Achaian League in the period before 146 BC, along with the grammateus and strategoi or strategoi.\textsuperscript{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: \textsuperscript{1295}

... τούς δὲ δαμιοργοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψάφισμα τὸ παρὰ τὰς πόλις τῶν Μαγνήτων καὶ τὸ δόγμα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν | εἰς στάλαν λιθίναν καὶ ἀναθήμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν | τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἄμαρίου, ὅπως φανερὸν ἦι καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλάσιν...

...and the damiorgoi of the Achaian League are to write up the decree from the city of the Magnesians and the decision of the Achaian League 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.\textsuperscript{1297}

\textsuperscript{1292} IG IV\textsuperscript{2}, 173 (after 224 BC) 2-3, 29-30.
\textsuperscript{1293} For nomographoi with ephors at Thouria (Messenia), see page 177.
\textsuperscript{1294} Plb. 2.43.1-2; Larsen (1968) 217; Sherk (1990a) 257-8; SEG 14:375.
\textsuperscript{1295} I. Magn 39 (c.208-7 BC).
\textsuperscript{1296} I. Magn 39 (c.208-7 BC) 33-38 [Magnesia 8].
\textsuperscript{1297} I. Magn 39 (c.208-7 BC) 43-44. For further examples of damiorgoi acting as secretaries, see Appendix A page 278.
The nomographoi of the Achaian League are primarily known from a sacred law for the temple of Hygieia at Epidaurus.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.

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, Lycean 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 SIG ² 3531 (3CBC) 1-8, 25-32 on page 212.

¹³⁰⁵ See SEG 40:400 (3CBC) 11-19 on page 218.
single text provides evidence for the *grammateus of the synedrion* participating in arbitration between two poleis.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{1307} a function also served by the Achaian *grammatistai*.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1309}

Other officers of the Achaian League such as the *nomographoi* and *damiorgoi* appear to have taken active roles in arbitration,\textsuperscript{1310} or drafting laws,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1312} This incarnation of the Hellenic League (sometimes called the League of Corinth), was founded in 302 BC as an association of Greeks under Antigonus and Demetrius I Poliorcetes, based at Corinth. It was rendered obsolete the following year.\textsuperscript{1313}

The decree declares an alliance between Antigonos and Demetrios 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.\textsuperscript{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.

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1306} See ISE 51 (182-167 BC) 1-2 on page 217.
\item \textsuperscript{1307} See pages 222 and 223.
\item \textsuperscript{1308} See page 214.
\item \textsuperscript{1309} See IG V,2 345 (79-78 BC) 1-2 on page 194.
\item \textsuperscript{1310} E.g. the *damiorgoi* in I. Magn 39 (c.208-7 BC) 33-38, page 225.
\item \textsuperscript{1311} E.g. the *nomographoi* in IG IV\textsuperscript{2},1 73 (after 224 BC) 1-36, page 226.
\item \textsuperscript{1312} IG IV\textsuperscript{2},1 68 (302 BC) 78-83.
\item \textsuperscript{1313} Griffith (1979) 634-8.
\item \textsuperscript{1314} Ager (1996) 65-67.
\end{itemize}
[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.  

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. Since the earliest Peloponnesian grammateis for which we have secure evidence are the (Achaian) grammateis for the Achaian League, it is tempting to speculate that membership of the Hellenic League influenced Achaia’s use of the designation grammateus rather than grammatis or gropheus; however, this cannot be proven.  

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

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1315 IG IV², 168 (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 2CBC, uses the term grammateus rather than (e.g.) gropheus or grammatis in his description of the earliest secretary of the Achaian League (see page 221). By Polybius’ time of writing, both gropheus and grammatis had fallen out of usage.
locations in which to store official documents, and an early need to record financial information. 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.

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. The *gropheus* is first known from Olympia in the sixth and fifth centuries BC, 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. 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. 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. *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, and some of these bodies were more oligarchic than any at Athens. The public profile of the

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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 IV 2, 1108 (4/3C BC) 159-161, page 145.

1322 While early texts are inscribed on stone, the earliest formula stating this is in IG IV 2, 168, 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.


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.\textsuperscript{129}

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.\textsuperscript{130} Shortly afterwards, grammateus is used for secretaries of the Achaian League,\textsuperscript{131} and thereafter is used to indicate 'secretary' generally. Grophees and grammateis could be present in a polis at the same time,\textsuperscript{132} and the designation gropheus only fell out of use during the Roman occupation of the Peloponnese.\textsuperscript{133}

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,\textsuperscript{134} proxeny decrees,\textsuperscript{135} and registers of officers.\textsuperscript{136} Less frequently-occurring types of document are laws,\textsuperscript{137} records of arbitration between other poleis,\textsuperscript{138} temple accounts,\textsuperscript{139} and letters.\textsuperscript{140}

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.\textsuperscript{141} 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.\textsuperscript{142}

\textsuperscript{129} The exception is perhaps a false archaism, where a Roman officer is called gropheus rather than grammateus. See page 136.

\textsuperscript{130} See IG IV\textsuperscript{2},168 (302 BC) 78-83 on page 228.

\textsuperscript{131} See page 221.

\textsuperscript{132} See Figures 10 and 11 on pages 315 and 316.

\textsuperscript{133} The designation grammateus is used almost without exception for secretaries in the Roman period. See Figures 12-14 on pages 317-319.

\textsuperscript{134} E.g. honours written by the grammateis of a theatrical guild at Argos, page 133.

\textsuperscript{135} E.g. proxeny decrees written by ephors in several small poleis in Laconia, page 158.

\textsuperscript{136} E.g. registers of officers and those making libations at the temple of Zeus at Olympia, page 204.

\textsuperscript{137} E.g. laws written by nomographoi at Hermione, page 150.

\textsuperscript{138} E.g. arbitration written by an Argive gropheus at Cimolos, page 138.

\textsuperscript{139} E.g. temple accounts at Epidauros, page 145.

\textsuperscript{140} E.g. letters are used at Sparta, pages 165 and 177, and Dyme, page 215.

\textsuperscript{131} See artunas, damiorgos, epimeletes, stratagos, tamias and ephor in Figures 8-13, pages 313-318.

\textsuperscript{142} 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. 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.

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. One new duty is attested for the first time, however: that of storing documents in (and possibly also retrieving documents from) archives.

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

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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*.

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*,

1347 ‘under-secretaries’ also known from Athens and Delos from the fifth
and fourth centuries BC onwards. 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.

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.

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. 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 (4C BC) 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’,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{1360} making modifications to laws recorded on papyri,\textsuperscript{1361}

\textsuperscript{1359} Ath. Pol. 54.3, page 58.

\textsuperscript{1360} IG V, 17 (3C BC) 1-10, page 164, and SIG² 684 (c.144 BC) 6-11, 16-27, page 216.
writing texts to be stored in an archive, and writing letters. Other officers used wooden tablets or papyri for the registration of citizens, creating lists of victors, writing messages or letters, and making copies of decrees to be set up elsewhere.

From the fifth century BC (if not earlier) in Athens, and the second century BC in the Peloponnese, secretaries made use of archives. These could either take the form of document storage within a building which also served another purpose (such as a sanctuary), or be dedicated archive buildings.

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, 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.

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 (1C AD) 24-36, pages 177-178, and SIG 1 684 (c. 144 BC) 6-11, 16-27, page 216.
1364 The grammatistas, boularchos and prostatas of the damosiophylakes at Dyme: SIG 3 531 (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.
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.
1371 IG V, 1 1390 (92-91 BC) 112-114, page 170.
1372 E.g. the damosios at Dyme: SIG 1 684 (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 II 1 120 (353/2 BC) 13-19 on page 54.
1374 See, e.g. IG IV 2 749 (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.\footnote{See IGII² 496 (303/2 BC) 36-39 on page 65 and Table 14 on page 297.} Of equal (if short-lived) prominence were the *anagrapheis of the laws*, who revised some of the most significant Athenian documents,\footnote{Such as the homicide law (IG I¹ 104 (409/8 BC) 4-6) pages 38-40, and the Athenian sacrificial calendar, pages 40-41.} and the later (oligarchic) *anagrapheus*, who published the greatest number of decrees per year, in the years 321/0 to 319/18 BC.\footnote{See pages 46-47 and 60.}

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,\footnote{E.g. the *Grammateus of the phyle* at Athens, page 108, and the *dogmatographoi* at Amyklai, page 157.} or registers of magistrates.\footnote{E.g. the *grammateus for life* at Athens, page 111, and the *grammateus* at Elis, page 204.} 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.\footnote{The verbs *anagrapho* ([ID 88 (368-362 BC) 22-24]), *antigrapho* (IG II¹ 120 (358/7-354/3 BC) 15-17) and *grapho* + *antigraphon* (IGV,1 1336 (undated) 19) can all be used for ‘create a copy’.} 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,\footnote{IGII² 120 (353/2 BC) 13-19, pages 55 and 83.} and copies of decrees were also made by officers such as Argive *grophees*\footnote{ISE 40 (c.300 BC) 2-4, 27-33, page 139.} and Spartan *nomographoi*.\footnote{SEG 52:541 (3C BC?) 4-7, page 165.} 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,\footnote{See e.g. IG V,1 1432 (39 BC) 26-30 in n.979, page 175.} but could also be carried out by secretaries.

In Athens, some minor secretaries created boule accounts,\footnote{See e.g. IG V,1 1432 (39 BC) 26-30 in n.979, page 175.} assisted with the management of accounts submitted by magistrates at the end of their year in office,\footnote{See e.g. IG V,1 1432 (39 BC) 26-30 in n.979, page 175.} and catalogued...
treasury items (a duty also attested for secretaries in the Peloponnese and Delos). In the Peloponnese, where financial and accounting duties are attested, they could (presumably from necessity) be carried out by a polis’ only secretary.

Reading aloud

The reading of documents aloud by secretaries is attested only in Athens, and only by the grammae of the boule and the demos and the grammae who was clerk of the court (although the grammae of the boule may also have done so). 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 grammae of the boule, in which he was to complete and set up a stele containing a proxeny decree. There is no evidence to suggest that this time limit was enforced. 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.

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

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1385 See antigrapheus, page 49, and antigrammateus, page 110.
1386 See the secretary of the logistai and synegori (assessors), pages 98 and 104.
1387 In Athens, see the recording of objects in the Chalkotheke, page 81, and the grammae of the treasurers of Athena, pages 86 and 88. In the Peloponnese, the gropheus of the hieromnai may have written temple accounts, page 145. For Delos, see the grammae of the hieropoioi, page 330.
1388 The gropheus of the boa 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. Another decree notes that a document is to be written in the way specified by the synedroi.

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, and while the hypogrammateus is known from a range of contexts, he is not known from his duties. Other secretaries are known from honours only, from registers of magistrates only, or from the eponymous nature of their office only.

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, while at Dyme, citizens were registered with several officers including the grammatistas. At Argos, grophrees are associated with improvements to the temple of Pythian Apollo. 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. This wider range of activities appears to have been necessary in smaller administrations, which employed fewer officers.

While secretaries are known from legal contexts, 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.

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1395 ISE 51 (182-167 BC) 10-14, Patrai, page 218.
1396 IG V,1 1379 (2-1 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 IG V,2 345 (79-78 BC) 9-12, page 195.
1403 SIG 531 (3 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 (3 BC) 4-6, page 135. See also the naopoioi at Delos, page 338.
1405 IG V,1 1379 (2-1 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, ephors, epimeletai, stratagoi and tamiai in various locations could write decrees or honours. Officers other than secretaries could also make copies of decrees, write proposals or regulations, record names or the results of arbitration, assist with the registration of citizens, and transport and set up stelai. 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, and the tamiai, who were treasurers. 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.

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. 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

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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, IGV,11390 (92-91 BC) 112-114, page 170.
1415 E.g. the Athenian hellenotamiai, IG13 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 3-2 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 (ἐπιγραφείς) a memorial at Epidauros, IGIV2,1306 (c.206 BC) A1-C5, page 143.
completion of some work,\textsuperscript{1423} and rare occasions where the stonecutter is included at the end of a text that he engraved.\textsuperscript{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’\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1426} Wages of secretaries – where they existed\textsuperscript{1427} – 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{1430} and the secretaries for life of the ephebes.\textsuperscript{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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1423} E.g. the stonecutter working with *grammateis* at Delos, pages 331, 347-348.
\item \textsuperscript{1424} E.g. stonecutters working with *grammateis* at Thalamai, page 166.
\item \textsuperscript{1425} *Ath. Pol.* 54.3, page 57.
\item \textsuperscript{1426} Patrias the *gropheus*, IvO 2 (before 580 BC) 1-9, page 208.
\item \textsuperscript{1427} See page 118.
\item \textsuperscript{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.
\item \textsuperscript{1429} See page 41 for more on Nikomachos’ expertise.
\item \textsuperscript{1430} Hansen (1999) 244-5. See also Table 12 on page 288.
\item \textsuperscript{1431} See page 111.
\end{itemize}
magistrates was by lot, which made any previous relevant skills irrelevant, and selection on this basis impossible.  

Athenian secretaryships abolished before the mid-fourth century BC are known only to have elected by show of hands.  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.  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.  The duration of some minor secretarial offices is unknown; 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 inscription 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, while in the fifth century, the *syngrammateus* may have served for two years, and the *anagrapheus of the laws* had an office with no fixed term. In the Roman period, the minor offices of *hypogrammateus of the boule*, and *grammateus (of the epheses)* for life may have been held for several years, or for life.

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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 *synaprapheis*, 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 *antigrapheus*, page 51.

1436 E.g. the Athenian *grammateus of the thesmothetai*, page 91, and the *grammateus of the hippoclarchs*, 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.\textsuperscript{1443} Offices with a duration of more than a year are attested in three contexts, all from the Roman period. The office of gramma\ae\vs at the temple of Zeus in Olympia may have been hereditary, and held for many years;\textsuperscript{1444} one gramma\ae\for the synedroi at Megalopolis appears to have been gramma\ae\s twice;\textsuperscript{1445} and one Roman magistrate at Olympia appears to have been gramma\ae\s for a second time (for an unknown body or bodies), in addition to holding other magistracies during the course of his lifetime.\textsuperscript{1446}

In the Peloponnese, offices of less than a years’ duration are limited to cases where officers acted as secretary only when required, as with the grophees and katalogoi boulas at Epidauros,\textsuperscript{1447} and one or two cases where early secretaries were itinerant workers;\textsuperscript{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 gramma\ae\us of the boule was probably a member of the boule in the period before 367/6 BC;\textsuperscript{1449} however, this secretary could have either the same designation, or a different designation (grammateus kata prytaneian\textsuperscript{1450} or peri to bema\textsuperscript{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 gramma\ae\us for the Achaians (in the dative) was used only when the gramma\ae\s was from one of the member poleis of the Achaian League, and the designation gramma\ae\us 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

\textsuperscript{1443} See page 160.
\textsuperscript{1444} See page 205.
\textsuperscript{1445} See page 191.
\textsuperscript{1446} See page 207. Proxenos of Acherdos may also have been gramma\ae\us of the boule twice at Athens: see page 61.
\textsuperscript{1447} See pages 146-148.
\textsuperscript{1448} See page 233.
\textsuperscript{1449} See page 59.
\textsuperscript{1450} See pages 53 and 57.
\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1452} The only persons we can categorically say were *not* members of the body for which they worked were 'itinerant' secretaries,\textsuperscript{1453} and slaves.\textsuperscript{1454}

**Contexts**

Secretaries are known from a wide range of contexts. Both the Hellenic League and Achaian League had their own *grammateis*;\textsuperscript{1455} and boards of secretaries are attested both for leagues,\textsuperscript{1456} and for individual poleis.\textsuperscript{1457} The majority of secretaries are known from bodies at polis level: typically a *boule*\textsuperscript{1458} or *synedrion*.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1460}

Occasionally, secretaries are also found at sub-polis level in both Athens and the Peloponnese, for example secretaries for the *ephebes,*\textsuperscript{1461} or for theatrical guilds.\textsuperscript{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*
Nomographoi are also typically shown in the action of graphein + nomoi, but are also found in conjunction with ordinances (dogmata) which become laws, or that are incorporated into existing laws. Both duties could be seen as specialism. Similarly, in our one surviving instance of Laconian dogmatographoi, the dogmatographoi write up a dogma. 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. 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).

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 (παραλαβόντες) the homicide law passed to them by the basileus, and grophees at Argos make and put in place (κατεσκεύασσαν καὶ ἥσαντο) building work including a
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 citizens or management of treasuries; there may also have been a degree of collaboration between whoever wrote the text for a stele and the tamias who provided the funds; where a text was written by one officer and set up by another; or where a copy of a decree was sent away to another polis, and set up there.

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, and the syngrammateis and syngrapheis 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; 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); when two secretaries are chosen from the same board of magistrates; when two secretaries only ever appear together (such as the grammateus elected by hairesis, and the grammateus appointed by lot); or when groups of officers (such as the grammateus and hypogrammateus of the ephebes) serve ‘for life’.

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

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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 IGII² 120 (353/2 BC) 13-19, page 54.
1475 See e.g. IGII² 120 (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. IGII 1774 (167/8 AD) 7-9, 58-59, 62, 68-77, page 96.
1483 See page 94.
1484 See page 111.
information as directed by a  

tamias,

or when the  
grammateus

of the court reads out
decrees.

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.

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. Both factors help explain why there is less evidence for collaboration or collegiality in the Peloponnes.

**Other Attributes of the secretary and his office**

**Career path**

With very few exceptions, secretaries are known from one term of office only. 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, and some grammaei for life were also priests.

Other officers served as secretaries in an unofficial capacity as and when required, usually while holding other offices, such as the Peloponnesian katalogos boula and the 'one who writes for' the hiaromnamones 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, an Athenian hypogrammateus may have become grammateus

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1486 IG II² 1631 (323/2 BC) 377-380, page 90.
1487 E.g. Aeschin. 2.46, page 93.
1488 E.g. IG I² 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.\textsuperscript{1496}

Public profile

In Athens and various locations throughout the Peloponnese, secretarships 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{1496} See, in particular, the career of Aeschines on page 66.

\textsuperscript{1497} Compare the eponymous _grammateus of the boule_, page 62, with the eponymous _anagrapheus_, page 48.

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{1499} See page 175.

\textsuperscript{1500} See page 156.

\textsuperscript{1501} See e.g. IG IV\textsuperscript{2},149 (4/3BC) 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. 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 katalugeus. 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. 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.

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. With the exception of the anagrapheus and grammateus of the prytaneis, secretaries could also be included (as an honour) among the aesisitoi, maintained at public expense during meals in the Prytaneum. 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), and to judges and their *grammateus* in Messene (Messenia).

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. 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. In these cases, the reason for the honour almost always seems to be simply having held these magistracies.

**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, and *nomographoi* at Dyme also appear to have done this, in drafting laws contrary to the politeia. 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.

**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-

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1508 IG V,1 26 (2-1 BC) 1-8, 13-18, pages 156.
1509 IG V,1 1428 (late 2-1 BC) 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 SIG 3 684 (c.144 BC) 6-11, 16-27 on page 216.
1515 See SIG 3 684 (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.\textsuperscript{1516} The only Athenian secretarial office found in the Peloponnese was the\textit{ grammateus}, which in many respects was similar to that of the pre-existing\textit{ 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.

\textsuperscript{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

ἀγγραφᾶς or ἐγγροφᾶς (for engraving)  page 254
ἀναγραφεύς (anagrapheus)  page 254
ἀντιγραμματεύς (antigrammateus)  page 256
ἀντιγραφεύς (antigrapheus)  page 256
ἀρχιγραμματεύς (archigrammateus)  page 256
ἀρχιθιασίτης (archithiasites)  page 256
ἀρτύνας (artunas)  page 256
βωλογράφο (bolographor)  page 256
γραμματέα (grammateus of the demesmen)  page 256
γραμματεὺς (grammateus of the Treasurers of Athena)  page 260
γραμματεὺς αἱρετός (grammateus hairetos)  page 260
γραμματεὺς (grammateus of the bouleutai)  page 260
γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου (grammateus for life)  page 261
γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν (grammateus kata prytaneian)  page 262
γραμματεὺς κληρωτός (grammateus klerotos)  page 263
γραμματέως τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου (grammateus of the boule and the demos) Also the forms γραμματεὺς τῶι δήμωι (grammateus for the demos)  page 268
Also the forms γραμματευς τῶι δήμωι (grammateus of the demos) and γραμματεύς τῶι δήμωι (grammateus for the demos)
γραμματέως τῆς πόλεως (grammateus of the polis)  page 268
γραμματευς τῆς φυλῆς (grammateus of the chieftainship)  page 270
γραμματευς τῶι Ἀχαιῶν (grammateus of the Achaians)  page 270
γραμματευς τῶι ἐπιστάτων (grammateus of the epistatai)  page 271
Also the forms γραμματευς τῶι συνέδρῳ (grammateus of the synedroi)
γραμματευς τῶι συνεδρῶν (grammateus of the synedroi and γραμματευς τῶι συνέδροις (grammateus of the synedroi)
Also the forms γραμματευς τῶι συνεδρών καὶ γραμματευς τῶι συνέδροις (grammateus of the synedroi)
γραμματευς τῶι ἄμφικτυών (grammateus of the amphictyons)  page 271
γραμματευς τῶι ἐισαγωγῶν τῆς, <phyle name> (grammateus of the bouleutai of the <phyle name> phyle)  page 273
γραμματευς τῶι ἐισαγωγῶν (grammateus of the eisagogeis)  page 273
γραμματευς τῶι ἐπιστάτων (grammateus of the epistatai)  page 273
γραμματευς τῶι ἐνδέκα (grammateus of the Eleven)  page 273
γραμματευς τῶι ἱέρων (grammateus of the Hiero)  page 273
γραμματευς τῶι ἱππάρχων (grammateus of the Hipparchs)  page 275
γραμματευς τῶι ναυποιῶν (grammateus of the naopoioi)  page 275
γραμματευς τῶι νεωρίων ἐπιμελητῶν (grammateus of the naval dockyards)  page 275
γραμματευς τῶι πρυτάνεων (grammateus of the prytaneis)  page 275
γραμματευς τῶι στρατηγῶν (grammateus of the strategoi)  page 275
γραμματιστάς (grammatistas)  page 275
grammatistas of the damosiophylakes (page 275)

[ὁ] γράψας (the one who wrote [this]) (page 276)
gropheus, graphés (graphes) (page 276)
gropheus bolas (graphes of the polemarchs) (page 277)
gropheus tois stratagosis (graphes for the stratagoi) (page 277)
gropheus tois ὁγδοσιστεύοι (graphes for the Eighty) (page 277)
damiorgos (demiosios) (page 278)
dημαρχος (demarch) (page 278)
dημόσιος (demiosios) (page 278)
dogmatographos (page 278)
ἔγραψε καὶ ἐχάραξε (wrote and engraved) (page 278)
hellenotamiais (page 279)
ἐπιμελητής (epimeletes) (page 279)
[ὁ] ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα (secretary in charge of decrees) (page 279)
[ὁ] ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον (secretary for that which cannot be mentioned) (page 280)
[ὁ] ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους (secretary for the laws) (page 280)
ἑλληνοταμίας (page 279)
ἐπιτάμης (epitameis) (page 280)
κατακόος (katakoos) (page 280)
kathologos boulas (katalogos boulas) (page 281)
kérulos (herald) (page 281)
nomographos (page 281)
[ὁ] περὶ τὸ βῆμα (ho peri to bema, secretary 'in attendance' or 'at the platform') (page 281)
stצלוגρᾰφος (stalographos) (page 282)
στρατηγός (strategos) (page 282)
syγγραμματεύς (syγγραμματεύς) (page 282)
Also the forms συγγραμματεύς and χσυγγραμματεύς
syγγραμματεύς τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν (syγγραμματεύς of the eisagogeis) (page 282)
syγγραμματεύς τῶν ἐπιστάτων (syγγραμματεύς of the epistatai) (page 282)
syγγραφεύς (syγγραφεύς) (page 282)
Also the forms συγγραφεύς and χσυγγραφεύς
tαμίας (treasurer) (page 283)
ὑπηρέτης (hyperetes) (page 283)
ὑπογραμματεύς (hypogrammateus) (page 284)
ὑπογραμματεύς διὰ βίου (hypogrammateus for life) (page 289)
ὑπογραμματεύς τοῦ δήμου (hypogrammateus of the boule and demos) (page 289)
ὑπογραμματεύς τῶν ἀμφικτύων (hypogrammateus of the amphictyons) (page 289)
ὑπογραμματεύς τῶν ναοποιῶν (under-grammateus of the naopoioi) (page 289)
φαστριάρχος (phratriarch) (page 289)


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
  - ἀγγαραφᾶς Αριστοφάνης Ιερωνύμου, with other secretaries

- **Ag. 15:53 (324/2 BC)** 1.13-21
  - ὁ ἀγγαραφᾶς [- c.5 —] Ἰδῆς Κυκονίδα[[Παια]νήιως] with other secretaries

- **Ag. 15:58 (305/4 BC)** 32-37, 77-86
  - ἀγγαραφῆς | [Α[ισχές?]] Πραξιτέλου Κυδῶν honoured with other secretaries

- **Ag. 15:62 (303/2 BC)** 231-6
  - ἀγγαραφῆς Πάνθιος | Πυθοδέλου Ἐξ Ὀσιου with other secretaries

- **Ag. 15:243 (135/4 BC)** 36h-v
  - ἀγγαραφὰ Λυσανιον Ἀνα[καί][ε]] with other secretaries

- **Ag. 15:244 (135/4 BC)** 4
  - ἀγγαραφῆς Λυσανιον Ἀνακαί[ε] with other secretaries

- **Ag. 15:246 (131/0 BC)** fr.c22, 34
  - ἀγγαραφῆς and other secretaries honoured by prytaneis and aesisoi

- **Ag. 15:260 (start 1CB) 2, 26
  - ἀγγαραφῆς and other secretaries honoured by prytaneis and aesisoi

- **Ag. 15:261 (95/4 BC)** 45, 58
  - ἀγγαραφῆς and other secretaries honoured by prytaneis and aesisoi

- **Ag. 16:97[1] (321/20 BC)** 2-3
  - ἀγγαραφῆς Θρασύκλῆς Νουσικράτου[[θ[π]]/ὐσιος before ἐπι+ clause, grammateus

- **Ag. 16:100[1] (320/19 BC)** 2-3
  - (Anagrapheus in 11 decrees from 320/19 BC, underlined.)

- **Ag. 16:100[2] (320/19 BC)** 1-2
  - ἐπι[Νεα[θίου ἄρχοντος, ἦτ'] ἀγγαραφῆς[Δράκε]]δικοῦ τοῦ Ναυ[κρίτου Λαμπ]τρῆος / grammateus.

- **Ag. 16:100[3] (320/19 BC)** fr. a2-3
  - ἐπι[Νεα[θίου ἄρχοντος, ἦτ'] ἀγγαραφῆς[Δράκε]]δικοῦ τοῦ Ναυ[κρίτου Λαμπ]τρῆος / grammateus.

- **Ag. 16:100[4] (320/19 BC)** fr. a2-3
  - ἐπι[Νεα[θίου ἄρχοντος, ἦτ'] ἀγγαραφῆς[ Δράκε]]δικοῦ τοῦ Ναυ[κρίτου Λαμπ]τρῆος / grammateus.

- **Ag. 16:101 (319/8 BC)** 2-3
  - ἀγγαραφῆς Εὐκάδμος Ἀνακαί[ε]ως before ἐπι+ clause

- **Ag. 16:102[1] (319/8 BC)** fr. b3-4
  - ἐπι + ἀγγαραφῆς[Δράκε]ς Εὐκάδμου[Ἀ[ν]φα]ικέως

- **Ag. 16:103 (319/8 BC)** 1-2

- **Ag. 16:167 (293/2 BC)** 1-3

Dinsmoor 7 (293/2 BC) 1-2, 48-51

- **Dinsmoor 7 (293/2 BC)** 1-2, 48-51

Hesp. 7:97,17 (293/2 BC) 1-3

- **Hesp. 7:97,17 (293/2 BC)** 1-3

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ἀντιγραμματεύς (antigrammateus)

IG II² 2067 (154/5AD) 2-6, 203-4, 225-6  
γραμματεύς | Κώμαρχος Ὁχλα | ἀντιγραμματεύς | Πατρόβιος Ἀριστοβουλοῦ Κηφ.

ἀντιγραφεύς (antigrapheus)

Ag. 15:238 (145/4 BC) 2-3  
Ἐπίγενος Μοσχίωνος Λαμπτρεὺς ἐγραμμάτευν· ἀντιγραφεύς Ἀριστόβουλος Κηφ.

Ag. 15:239 fr. (145/4 BC) fr. a-b2-4, c13-14  
Ἐπίγενος Μοσχίωνος Λαμπτρεὺς ἐγραμμάτευν· ἀντιγραφεύς Ἀριστόβουλος Κηφ.

ἄρχιγραμματεύς (archigrammateus)

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

ἀρχιθιασίτης (archithiasites)

ID 1520 (153/2 BC) 1-2, 89-91  
ἀρτύνας (artunas)

IG IV 554 (480-470 BC) 1-7  
συναρτύοντας/γρασσμάτ

βωλογράφορ (bolographor)

IvO 39 (300-250 BC) 4-5, 30-40  
Ἀρχιθιασίτης

γραμματεύς (grammateus)

Also γραμματεύς τῶν δημοτῶν (grammateus of the demesmen)

ABSA 26 C4 (101-150 AD) 10  
Greek(ματεύς) ῾Ησυχος Νο — —

ABSA 26 20b (101-150 AD) 5-6  
Πλωτος — — — — | γραμμα[τεύς]

ABSA 26 20c (101-150 AD) 9-12  

Ag.19 Poletai (4C BC) PA8 5-6  
γραμματεύς Μυ[δί]ξ[ή]ς; [ὑπηρέτης]ς

BCH 38 No.5 (3C BC) 6-8  
γραμματεύς Σθενάλαος.

BCH 38 No.6 (3C BC) 12  
γραμματεύς Πολυκράτ[ης]

BCH 38 No.8 (3C BC) 2-8, 10-13  
γραμματεύς Θεαρων Κάλλι[ης]

Corinth 8,1 4 (mid 2C BC) 9  
γραμματεύς

Corinth 8,1 7 (undated) 1-2  
γραμματεύς or grammattistas?

Corinth 8,1 8 (undated) 1-2  
γραμματευς or grammattistas?
τὸν δογματογράφων νομογράφοι τοὺς ἐς στήλην λιθίνην

ὁ γραμματέα / εἰς στήλην δημοτῶν

τῶι δημοτῶν γραμματεύσαντα, καὶ ἱεροφαντήσαντα

ὁ οὖς ἕος ἑπιμελητὴς / ἔπιμελητὴς τοῦ μήνων ῥαμνούσιον.

τὸν ρος — ἐπιμελητὴς ἔπιμελητὴς τοῦ μήνων ῥαμνούσιον.
...
γραμματεύς (grammatus of the hellenotamiai)

IG I² 259 (454/3 BC) 72-73  
IG I² 383 (429/8 BC) 260-262

παρὰ ἴναλ[νομομαθήν], λαξίς] | Στράβωνοςς, ἱφραμάτευς
[έλλε]νοντα[ίναι ὁ ἰκανός — — — — — — — — — — ἐγ']ραμμάτευς
γραμματεύς (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 I² 292 (434/3 BC) 5-6

IG I² 293 (433/2 BC) 15-16, 24-25

IG I² 294 (432/1 BC) 27-30

γραμματεύς βουλευτῶν (grammateus hairetos)

IG II² 1710 (2C BC) 6-9

γραμματεύς αἱρετός | Δημήτριος Θεοδώρου Φαληρεύς | with grammateus klerotos

IG II² 1711 (mid. 2C BC) 6-19

γραμματεύς αἱρετός | Τιμογένης Αἰσχρίωνος | with grammateus klerotos and hypogrammateus

SEG 21:587 (beg. 2C BC) 12-19

[grammateus a]ἱρετός | — | olεύμου | with grammateus klerotos

SEG 21:588 (beg. 2C BC) 3-6

[grammateus a]ἱρετός | [— | ξ]υπεταιων | with grammateus klerotos

SEG 24:157 (222/1 BC) 1, 7-13

γραμματεύς αἱρετός | Ἡράκλειτος Τιμοθέου Κριωεὺς

γραμματεύς βουλευτῶν (grammateus of the bouleitai)

Ag. 15:366 (before 165 AD) 1-2

Ag. 15:367 (165/6 AD) 11-12

Ag. 15:372 (168/9 AD) 6-8

Ag. 15:376 (c.168 AD) 32

Ag. 15:385 (after 170/1 AD) 4-7 & 10-11

Ag. 15:392 (c.175 AD) 22-23

Ag. 15:406 (182/3 AD) 53

Ag. 15:421 (before end 2C AD) 17-19

Ag. 15:445 (c.200 AD) 11-12

[grammateus] | — | koνο|ς | before aiesitio

[grammateus] | — | α]iρετοσ | with other secretaries

[grammateus] | — | σω|ς | with other secretaries

— | ο γραμματευς | with other secretaries

γραμματεύς βουλευτῶν | Κρήτηνος Ἐορευκρισίων | — | with other secretaries

γραμματεύς βουλευτῶν | Εὐκάρπου Καρπαθίου | — | with other secretaries

γραμματεύς βουλευτῶν | Κατάλεως Βορύθρου | — | with other secretaries

γραμματεύς βουλευτῶν | Εὐσταθίου Χαλκιδίου | — | with other secretaries

γραμματεύς βουλευτῶν | Τιμοθέου Αἰσχίνους | — | with other secretaries

γραμματεύς βουλευτῶν | Κατάλεως Βορύθρου | — | with other secretaries

γραμματεύς βουλευτῶν | Εὐσταθίου Χαλκιδίου | — | with other secretaries

γραμματεύς βουλευτῶν | Τιμοθέου Αἰσχίνους | — | with other secretaries
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 hieres, 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.

γραμματεύς διὰ βίου

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γραμματεύς διὰ βίου

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 hieres, 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.
γραμματεύς 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

άναγράφει τόδε τὸ ψηφίσμα τοῦ γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λίθην

Ag.15:179 (185/4 BC) 9-13, 15-16, 27, 32-34

[ἡ θυσία] | τὸν γραμματέα Φιλόδημου | Ἑρακλείου / Στράτωνος Φιλόδημου μάστεων / [τὸν γραμματέα Φιλόδημου] | ἔναν διὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν | [ἐν στήλῃ λίθην]

Ag.15:322 (c.120 AD) 25-26

[ἀναγράφει / τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν] | ἐναγράφει τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λίθην

ID 1497bis (160/59 BC) 3-4, 28-31

[Σωτικής Ἐπιφανειάς Μενεκράτου Μαραθώνιος] | ἐγραμμάτευεν / [ἀναγράφει / τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λίθην]

IG II2 124 (357/6 BC) 1-3

[ἀναγράφει / τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν]

IG II2 120 (353/2 BC) 11-19

ἀναγράφει τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λίθην

IG II2 223 (343/2 BC) C1-2

[γραμματέας] | κατὰ πρυτανείαν | Κλεοστράτου Τιμοσθένους ἐν στήλῃ λίθην

IG II2 330 (315/14 BC) 1-2, 23-27


IGII1 331 (315/14 BC) 2-3

Πρόξενος Πωλαγόρου | [Ἀκροδώρου ἐγραμμάτευε] (see IG II 330, above)

IG II2 374 (aft. 319/8 BC) 19-22

[ἀναγράφει] / [τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν]

IG II2 483 (304/3 BC) 27-31

ἀναγράφει / τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν

IG II2 487 (304/3 BC) 17-20

ἀναγράφει / τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν
grammateús κληρωτός (grammateus klerotos)

Hesp. 6:445 No.2B (239/38 BC) 9-10
[καὶ τὸν κληρωτὸν γραμματέα Ξεροκλῆν Κρίνιδην]

ID 1500 (c.150 BC) 6-7, 25, 27-28
καὶ ὁ κ[ληρωτός] γραμματεῖς — — Μενεκλῆς Αἴσχρονος
Λ[ιθίνην] / [δοῦσιν] ἐγραμμάτευεν· Ἐλευθέρου | [γραμματείς]
κατὰ πρυτανείαν | [Εὐχαρίστου] Θεοδώρου

 SEG 21:272 (335/4 BC) 4-5
[Αχερδούσιος] δοῦσιν ἐγραμμάτευεν.
SEG 26:157 (c.200 AD) 3, 6
With other secretaries.

grammateús τής βουλῆς (grammateus of the boule)

Also the forms γραμματεύς τές βολεῖς and γραμματεύς βουλᾶς

See page 262 for the grammaeatus kata prytyaneian and page 281 for [ho] peri to bema. See page 297 for a table comparing the usage of grammaeatus kata prytyaneian and grammaeatus of the boule.

Time restrictions of ten days are underlined.
Κλεγόμενες Αναγράψεις Λευκονοιεὺς ἐγραμμάτευσεν
Καὶ δίσεκτα βολεῖς ἐγραμμάτευσεν Οἰνείμος ἐγραμμάτευεν
καὶ τὸν τοῦτον ἀναγράψατεν ἐγραμμάτευεν Ἀριστοκράτωρ
καὶ τὴν βουλῆς ἐγραμμάτευεν Ἑλευθέρου τοῦ.

Ἀμφικτυόνων ἑλληνικῆς ἑνδήκα· ἐγραμμάτευεν πολίταις ὁ Ἀχερωνίς.
Τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἑκατὸν πέντε· ἐγραμμάτευεν ὁ Ἄμφιππος τῷ Πολύπολιν.

Ἀναγράψατεν δεὶξαν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης λιθίνης ἑλληνικῶν ἑνδήκα· ἐγραμμάτευεν ὁ Ἀχερωνίς ἐπὶ τὸν Πολύπολιν στίλβος.
Διογέ[νες ἔγραμμάτευε] | [— 9 —] ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἢ
Μετα[νέεσ] ἡ[ς ἢ ἐγράφαμ] | [μάτευε] / Ἔπικες ἐγράφαμ[άματε]ύε
Θορίου[ος] — Inscription also contains the secretory of the
treasurers of Athena, and secretary of the hellenotamiai.

IG II 508 (562-558 BC) A5-B6

ε[γραμμάτευε —]

IG II 509 (c.550 BC?) 2-3

— ἔγραμμάτευε Φαίδρο —

IG II 1453 B/G (425/4 BC?) 10.1

προσγράφασι δὲ πρὸς τὸν δικόν | τῶν τῆς βολῆς τὸν γραμματέα
tῆς ἤ| [βολῆς. Archons in the cities also write the decree (8.1-2).

IG II 1 (403/2 BC) 1-6, 38-42, 56-57

[ἀναγράφασι | τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς μετὰ τῶν |
[στρατηγῶν ἐστήλη λίθινην] / Κηφισοφῶν | εἶπεν / Κηφισοφῶν
Παντός[α]νευτ[c] | [ἐγραμμάτευε Cephasphon is proposer of
decree; Cephasphon is secretary.

IG II 2 (405/4 BC) 1-2, 6-7

[Ἀγύρριος Κολλυτεύς ἐγραμμάτευε(ε) / [Ἀγύρριος]
[ἐγραμμάτει(ε)]]

IG II 13 (399/8 BC) 1-2, 6-7, 8-13

[Λυσιάμος Κουλωνθέβην ἐγραμμάτευε. / Λυσιάμος]
[ἐγραμμάτευε / ἀνα[πάραγραφα] ἡ[γράμματα] τῆς | [βολῆς ἐν

IG II 26 (394-387 BC) 1-8

Χαρίδημος Θεοτέκλος, Λαμπρεύς ἐγραμμάτευεν. no archon.

IG II 33 (c.385 BC) 2-3, 8-9

[ΔΔ | δραχμάς τινω | [μαμματός τής βολῆς | ἐγράφασι δὲ |
[στήλην δέ / τὰ ἀνόματα] / τοῦ γραμματεί 

IG II 37 (after 383 BC) 20-23

ἀναγράφασι / τὰ | ἡ[ν] | [ἀπογράφασι] | [ἀπογράφασι] | [ἐθά| τῶν ἀνόματα

IG II 44 (378/73 BC) 1-3, 5-6, 15-18

[Ἀριστοτέλης | [Ἀριστοτέλης] ἐγραμμάτευε(ε) / [Ἀριστοτέλης]
[ἐγραμμάτει(ε)]]

IG II 49 (beg. 4BC) 1

[Κυθήνων Κυθήνων ἐγραμμάτευε. No archon.

IG II 53 (after 387/6 BC) 5-9

ἀναγράφασι τοῦ γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς | [εἰς ὁ| ἐγράφασι της |
[τὴν στήλην δέναι] / τῶν δικαίων ΔΑ δορίδος |
[τῶν] / τινω | [μαμματός] τῆς βολῆς |

IG II 58 (bef. 378/7 BC) 1-6

[Ἐὐθρόωμᾶς ὠς ἐγραμμάτευε(ευν) / [Χαρδόνιος. No archon.

IG II 77 (375 BC) 1

Σμύκωνος Χαρδόνιος ἐγραμμάτευε. No archon.

IG II 107 (368/7 BC) 4-7, 18-24

Μισιάμος Κουλωνθέβην ἐγραμμάτευεν / ἐγράφασι / τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς | [εἰς ὁ | ἐγράφασι της |
[τὴν στήλην δέναι] / τῶν δικαίων ΔΑ δορίδος |
[τῶν] / τινω | [μαμματός] τῆς βολῆς |

IG II 109 (363/2 BC) 1-5, 24-29

Νικόστρατος Φιλοστο[ρότο] Παλληνεύς ἐγραμμάτευεν /
[ἐγράφασι τω | τοῦ γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς | ἐγράφασι της |
[τὴν στήλην δέναι] / τῶν δικαίων ΔΑ δορίδος. Last attestation

IG II 110 (363/2 BC) 2-6

Νίκοστρατος ἐγραμμάτευεν Same grammatueus as IG II 109,
published in a different prytany.

IG II 111 (363/2 BC) 2-4, 23-7

Νικόστρατος Παλληνεύς ἐγραμμάτευεν. Same grammatueus as IG II 109, published in a different prytany.

IG II 120 (358/7–354/3 BC) 11-19

The Chalkotheke inscription. See page 54.

IG II 127 (356/5 BC) 1

[γραμματεὺς Λούκω Λού —. No archon.

IG II 130 (355/4 BC) 4-5, 15-19

Πάνδης Ὀξελέος ἦ Οἶο ἐγράφον | [μάτευεν] / [γραμματ[έα] τῆς βολῆς | ἐγράφασι |
[ναι ἐγράφασι] / τὴν στήλην δέναι | τὸν θεοὺς / τοῦ | κατὰ | θεοὺς |

IG II 133 (355/4 BC) 5-7, 14-20

Πάνδης Ὀξελέος ἦ Οἶο ἐγράφον | [μάτευεν] / [γραμματ[έα] τῆς βολῆς | ἐγράφασι |

[δέκα θεοὺς

IG II 138 (353/2 BC) 3

Δωροθέο Παλλην [ε[ύς ἐγραμμάτευεν

IG II 139 (353/2 BC) 3-4

[Δωροθέο Παλλην [ε[ύς ἐγραμμάτευεν...

IG II 141 (376/5 BC) 12-15

[ἀναγραφα]το ὁ γραμματεύς τῆς βολῆς | ἐστήλη λίθινη δέκα
θεοὺς

IG II 149 (after 355 BC) 17-23

[ἀναγραφα]το / [γραμματ[έα] τῆς βολῆς ἐν στήλην 

δέκα θεοὺς

265
IG II² 204 (352/1 BC) 23-24
gράφατο τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς εἰς δίο καὶ [το]πέριο

IG II² 206 (349/8 BC) 2-3, 28-34
Διεύθυντος Δημάρχου Φρεαρίου ἐγραμμάτευεν. ἀναγράψασθαι / γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς, καὶ στηρίζει δέκα ημέρων.

IG II² 207 (349/8 BC) 1
[Διεύθυντος Δημάρχου Φρεαρίου ἐγραμμάτευεν].

IG II² 208 (349/8 BC) 3-4
Διεύθυντος Δημάρχου Φρέαρίου ἐγραμμάτευεν.

IG II² 224 (343/4BC) 2
Κλεόπατρου Τιμοθέου Αἰγίλεου ἐγραμμάτευεν.

IG II² 225 (343/2BC) 4-5
[Κλεόπατρος Τιμοθέου Αἰγίλεου ἐγραμμάτευεν].

IG II² 228 (341/0 BC) 5-6
Ονήσιππος Ἀραφίνος ἐγραμμάτευεν: grammateus ceases to be member of boule.

IG II² 229 (341/0 BC) 3-4
[Ονῆσιππος Συκίος Αἴγιλεύς ἐγραμμάτευεν]. grammateus ceases to be member of boule.

IG II² 235 (336/5 BC) 26-34
[ἀναγράψατο δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν προκάταλλην εἰς ἑπτά ημέραις]: grammateus ceases to be member of boule.

IG II² 238 (338/7 BC) 14-17
[ἀναγράψατο δὲ]: γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἕτερην θυσίαν.

IG II² 253 (bef. 336/5 BC) 4-10
ἀναγράψατο: γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ.

IG II² 274 (after 336/5 BC) 1-3
[ἀναγράψατο: γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ].

IG II² 278 (336/5 BC) 10-12
[καὶ ἀναγράψατο]: ἔθεσα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ.

IG II² 287 (336/5 BC) 12-16
ἀναγράψατο: ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν δέκα ἕημεροι.

IG II² 289 (336/5 BC) 8-11
[ἀναγράψατο: ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν δέκα ημέροι].

IG II² 373 (322/1 BC) 9-15
ἀναγράψατο: ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν δέκα ἕημεροι.

IG II² 381 (320/19 BC) 1-6
ἀναγραφεῖ Κλεόπατρος Αἰγίλευς ὧν ἑβατεύσεις ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ.

IG II² 410 (c.330 BC) 37-39
ἀναγράψατο: τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ.

IG II² 913 (c.200 BC) 7-11
ἀναγράψατο: τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ.

IG II² 914 (c.200 BC) 7-9
ἀναγράψατο: τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ.

IG II² 915 (c.200 BC) 7-11
ἀναγράψατο: τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ.

IG II² 1061 (1 BC) 15-19
ἀναγράψατο: τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ.

IG II² 1078 (c.220 AD) 2
Εὐπροσδόκω γραμματέων.

IG II² 1136 (106/5 BC) 23-25
γραμματέως οὗτος: διατάξει τοῦ Καλλικράτης ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ.

IG II² 1789 (c.175 AD) 4-7
[γραμματεῖς βουλῆς]: ἐνεργεῖ καὶ ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ.

IG II² 1973 (40/1-53/4 AD) 5
γραμματεῖς τοῦ Εὐφροσύνου Σεληνίας.

IG II² 2006 (early 1 AD) 6
[γραμματεῖς: —]

IG V,1 20 (98-117 AD) A3, 85
ἀναγράφομεν οἱ γραμματεῖς ἐν τῷ κυματείῳ / γραμματεῖς βουλῆς.

IG V,1 32 (after 125 AD) A15
ἐπὶ ἀκάστω τοῦ γραμματέως βουλῆς.

1517 With IG II² 1749 (341/0 BC) 63-5. Ὅνησιππος Αραφίνος Ἀραφίνος is the secretary of both IG II² 228 and 229, but does not appear in the list of bouleuta chosen from the Αραφίνοι. Rhodes (1972a) 135.

1518 See n.1517, above.
IG V, 1 34 (117-138 AD) 3-13
[γρ(αμματεύς) Βουλ(άς) ἐ]̄[ηι Σπόμο[ν]
IG V, 1 37 (138-161 AD) 1
[γρ]αμματεύς Βουλ[άς]
IG V, 1 39 (mid 2/CAD) 23-25
γρ(αμματεύς) [β(ουλάς)] ἐπὶ Κασ(sίου) Ἀριστ(ο)τέλους
IG V, 1 40 (138-180 AD) 9-11, 13-14
γρ(αμματεύς) ἐπὶ Προτο[νίκου καὶ] ἱερ(είς) Οὐρανίων /[γ(αμματεύς) Βο(υλάς)] ἐπὶ Πολυεύκτου
IG V, 1 46 (late 2/CAD) 8-11
γραμματεύς Βουλάς
IG V, 1 60 (117-138 AD) 4
γραμματεύς <β>ου<λ>άς Κλέ<ων> <Ω> Τυνδάρι κάσες<ν>.
IG V, 1 71 (mid 2/CAD) III.4
ἐπὶ Σήμανοι γραμματεύς Βουλάς
(with grammatical halves at II.17, III.15, 34, 52)
IG V, 1 110 (mid 2/CAD) 5
γραμματεύς Βουλάς
IG V, 1 112 (138-161 AD) 11
Μ[άρκος] Ο[ὐλίπιος Λαβόντης γρ(αμματεύς)]Βουλάς.
IG V, 1 116 (161 AD or later) 6-9
γραμματεύς Βουλάς· Ἀριστ(ο)νικίδας Νικηφόρου
IG V, 1 118 (undated) 1
—[γραμματεύς Βουλάς]
IG V, 1 137 (98-117 AD) 1-25
γραμματεύς· Δαμιάνδος, Ἡς Στ[ερ]>ότον· ὑπογραμματεύς· Εὐδο[μίων, Κ]Λέων, [Ε]ὐδο[μίων]·· [γραμματεύς]· βο(υλάς?)
IG V, 1 162 (mid 2/CAD) B.19
[γραμματεύς] Βουλάς;
IG V, 1 206 (1/C BC) 5
γ(ραμματεύς) βο(υλάς) ΡΑΜΜής
IG V, 1 479 (131/132 AD) 1-14
Σέκ(στον] Παυ[ρήιν] Επικτάν, τὸν γραμματέα τῆς Βουλάς
Meiggs & Lewis (1989) 111-117 No.45 (450-446 BC) 12
προσάραξις ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρκον τῆς τῆς τῆς τῆς Βουλής εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν τα[ῦ]δικαστήριον τὸν προσαραξισμὸν ἐπειδῆ Χαρίστρατος ὁ γραμματεύς ὁ κατὰ προσαραξισμὸν τὴν ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγεγραμμένην ἐξαίρετον ἐν τῷ ὑπογραμματεύς· Αριστοκράτους, Διονυσίου, Ἰωάννου, Ἀρτεμισίας, Ἰωάννου]; Αβραάμιας, Παύλου, Αυξιοῦ, Γρηγορίου, Παύλου; Παῦλου, Χαρίστρατου, Μαρκου, Αντιπάτου, Μακεδονικού, Καραϊβάτου, Καραϊβάτου, Καραϊβάτου;
IG V, 1 14 (mid 2/CAD) 7
[επειδῆ Χαρίστρατος ὁ γραμματεύς ὁ κατὰ προσαραξισμὸν τὴν ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγεγραμμένην ἐξαίρετον ἐν τῷ ὑπογραμματεύς· Αριστοκράτους, Διονυσίου, Ἰωάννου, Ἀρτεμισίας, Ἰωάννου]; Αβραάμιας, Παύλου, Αυξιοῦ, Γρηγορίου, Παύλου; Παῦλου, Χαρίστρατου, Μαρκου, Αντιπάτου, Μακεδονικού, Καραϊβάτου, Καραϊβάτου, Καραϊβάτου;
IG V, 1 14 (mid 2/CAD) 7
[επειδῆ Χαρίστρατος ὁ γραμματεύς ὁ κατὰ προσαραξισμὸν τὴν ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγεγραμμένην ἐξαίρετον ἐν τῷ ὑπογραμματεύς· Αριστοκράτους, Διονυσίου, Ἰωάννου, Ἀρτεμισίας, Ἰωάννου]; Αβραάμιας, Παύλου, Αυξιοῦ, Γρηγορίου, Παύλου; Παῦλου, Χαρίστρατου, Μαρκου, Αντιπάτου, Μακεδονικού, Καραϊβάτου, Καραϊβάτου, Καραϊβάτου;
IG V, 1 14 (mid 2/CAD) 7
[επειδῆ Χαρίστρατος ὁ γραμματεύς ὁ κατὰ προσαραξισμὸν τὴν ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγεγραμμένην ἐξαίρετον ἐν τῷ ὑπογραμματεύς· Αριστοκράτους, Διονυσίου, Ἰωάννου, Ἀρτεμισίας, Ἰωάννου]; Αβραάμιας, Παύλου, Αυξιοῦ, Γρηγορίου, Παύλου; Παῦλου, Χαρίστρατου, Μαρκου, Αντιπάτου, Μακεδονικού, Καραϊβάτου, Καραϊβάτου, Καραϊβάτου;
IG V, 1 14 (mid 2/CAD) 7
[επειδῆ Χαρίστρατος ὁ γραμματεύς ὁ κατὰ προσαραξισμὸν τὴν ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγεγραμμένην ἐξαίρετον ἐν τῷ ὑπογραμματεύς· Αριστοκράτους, Διονυσίου, Ἰωάννου, Ἀρτεμισίας, Ἰωάννου]; Αβραάμιας, Παύλου, Αυξιοῦ, Γρηγορίου, Παύλου; Παῦλου, Χαρίστρατου, Μαρκου, Αντιπάτου, Μακεδονικού, Καραϊβάτου, Καραϊβάτου, Καραϊβάτου;
IG V, 1 14 (mid 2/CAD) 7
[επειδῆ Χαρίστρατος ὁ γραμματεύς ὁ κατὰ προσαραξισμὸν τὴν ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγεγραμμένην ἐξαίρετον ἐν τῷ ὑπογραμματεύς· Αριστοκράτους, Διονυσίου, Ἰωάννου, Ἀρτεμισίας, Ἰωάννου]; Αβραάμιας, Παύλου, Αυξιοῦ, Γρηγορίου, Παύλου; Παῦλου, Χαρίστρατου, Μαρκου, Αντιπάτου, Μακεδονικού, Καραϊβάτου, Καραϊβάτου, Καραϊβάτου;
Also the abbreviated forms γραμματέως τοῦ δήμου (grammateus of the demos) and γραμματεύς τοῦ δήμου (grammateus for the demos)
grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the hieropoioi, both restored
grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the hieropoioi, both restored
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi, restored, twice
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi, restored
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi, restored, twice
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
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grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi, restored
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
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grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi
grammateus of the polis and grammateus of the hieropoioi, restored
grammateus of the phyle

grammateus of the Achaian

grammateus of the demos

grammateus of the epimeletes
Also the forms γραμματεύς συνεδρίων (grammateus of the synedroi) and γραμματεύς τοῖς συνέδροις (grammateus for the synedroi)
The following table lists inscriptions that include the **grammateus of the amphictyons, grammateus of the naopoioi, and hypogrammateus of the amphictyons**:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Payment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>378/7 BC</td>
<td>Χαρένεως Λαμπτρεύς</td>
<td>likely Athenian copy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>377-373/2 BC</td>
<td>Διδύμους Ὀλυμπιοδόρος</td>
<td>Σκαμβωνίδης</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>373/2-367 BC</td>
<td>Νικόλεως Θο— Εξ Θρο</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>364/3 BC</td>
<td>Προστέλης Προξένου Κεραλήθεν</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363/2 BC</td>
<td>Μένης Μενεκλέους Πήλης</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>353/2-352/1 BC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345/4 BC</td>
<td>Αρισθέτειας Αγαμούρας</td>
<td>/ For previous year: ίλο Ἀγαμόλεως</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341/0 BC</td>
<td>Τεισίδης Τεισίππου Σφήττιος</td>
<td>/ For previous year: Ετεοχάρος</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11 – **Grammateis and hypogrammateis of the amphictyons**.  

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 II 1 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 II 1 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 ὑπογραμματεύς (τῶν ἀμφικτυόνων) on page 289.

γραμματεύς τῶν βουλευτῶν τῆς <phyle name> φυλῆς
(grammateus of the bouleutai of the <phyle name> phyle)

IG II 1775 (168/9 AD) 5-8 (Ag.15:373)  
ὁ γραμματεύς τῶν βουλευτῶν τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος φυλῆς
φιλομενὸς Ἐρωτος Κεφαλήθεος τιμήσας τούς συνάρχοντας καὶ
τοὺς ἀισίτους ἀνέγραψεν.

IG II 1777 (168/9 AD) 4-6 (Ag.15:385)  
[ο γραμματεύς τῶν βουλευτῶν (?) τῆς Κεκροπίδος]  
φυλῆς.

Ag.15:400 (c.180 AD) 2-4  
grαμματεύς τῶν βουλευτῶν folium Κάλλων Φιλοκράτους
Κυδαθῆναικεῖς τιμήσας

γραμματεύς τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν (grammateus of the eisagogeis)

IG I 2 71 (425/4 BC) 2-3, 7-8, 21-22  
τούτους δὲ [Ἀλέσθαι καὶ γραμμα]τέα καὶ χαζ[γραμματέα ἐχ]
σφῆν αὐτῶν.

γραμματεύς τῶν ἐπιστάτων (grammateus of the epistatai)

IG I 2 465 (437/6-433/2 BC) 114-125  
…παρὰ τοῦ προσέπλησεν ἐπιστατῶν ὁ δεύτερος ἐπιστατῶν τῶν
[Ἐπικύδους] ἐπιστατῶν ἐγράμματευεν Θορίκιος …

IG II 1 1544 (333/2 BC) 1, 5-6  
ἐπισταταί / ὁς ἐγραμμάτευεν Ἀγγέλεας

IG II 1 1669 (367/6 BC) 1-4  
[συνήρροφοι] με[γάλ]ής στήλης / δ[ι]πόσιας Ἐπικυδωνίας
ἐπιστατούντων / α[ὐ]ς ε[γ]ραμμάτευεν [Ἐπικύδωντες — — —]

γραμματεύς τῶν ἐνδικα (grammateus of the Eleven)

IG II 1 1631 (323/2 BC) 377-380, 385-393  
ἀναγράψατον εἰς τῆν στήλην ἢ ὁ γραμματεύς τῶν ἐνδικα

γραμματεύς τῶν ἱεροποιῶν (grammateus of the hieropoioi)

ID 290 (246 BC) 143  
grαμματεύς τῶν ἱεροποιῶν τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Κλε[οίδεκ]?[ο]ν

ID 291 (246 BC) fr.a1 2  
[να]ποιότης βουλῆς καὶ γραμματέων

ID 298 (240 BC) A2-3  
grαμματεύς τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Ἑρικόδου

ID 316 (231 BC) 3-4, 9-10  
grαμματεύς τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Τηλεοπλέου

ID 354 (218 BC) 3, 17  
grαμματεύς τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Εἰκάνδρου

ID 355 (217 BC) 3-4  
grαμματεύς τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Τύκηνων τοῦ

ID 362 (209 BC) A7-9, 14  
grαμματεύς τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Τελεστοκρίτου

ID 365 (208 BC) 54-55  
…γραμματέων ὁ παρέξουσιν Πόλυβος καὶ Εὐδομήσιος

ID 368 (206 BC) 5-6  
grαμματεύς τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Τυκίακου

ID 372 (200 BC) 99-100  
grαμμα|τέα Παρμενίων Π̣ΔΔΔ̣·

Ἐπιχάρμου γραμματεών Ἑρμοδότου· ἡ τοῦ Κλεινοδίκου Ἀριστέου παρόντων Αὐτοκλέους ἀπὸ τῆς Πολεως καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν… ἡ τοῦ Εὐδίκου· ἡ τοῦ Τιμοξένου Πατροκλέους. ἡ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος ἡ τοῦ Εὐδίκου· ἡ τοῦ Τιμοξένου Πατροκλέους.
γραμματεύς τῶν ἱππάρχων (grammateus of the Hipparchs)

Hesp.6:460,8 (after 166 BC) 4-20
various minor secretaries / [γραμματεύς ἱππάρχων φυ[λετῶν] / various other minor secretaries
SEG 21:525 (282/1 BC) 40-44
ἀναγράφαι / τοὺς γραμματεῖς τῶν ἱππάρχων | [ἔν] στήλαις λήθαις διεῖσθαι
SEG 46:167 (282/1 BC) 14-16, 40-43
ἀναγράφαι / ἐν στήλης λείπην τοὺς | γραμματεῖς τῶν ἱππάρχων

γραμματεύς τῶν ναοποιῶν (grammateus of the naopoioi)

ID 104-5 (359/8 BC) 14-15
γραμματεύς | [(ναοποιῶν?] (ὑπο?)γραμματεύς ν ΔΔΓ:
ID 104-23 (346/5 BC) 2, 4-5, 13-15
ναοποίο[ι] / [γραμματεύουσι] | Ἑτεοχάρας Λεωχάρη / γραμματεύς
ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 1-17
λόγος Φιλιστίδος | Κεφαλῆς | γραμματεύον τὸς Ἐτεοχάρος Λεωχάρος

γραμματεύς τῶν νεωριων ἐπιμελητῶν (grammateus of the naval dockyards)

IG II 2 1631 (323/2 BC) 410-415
οἱ τῶν νεωριων ἐπιμελητῶν / ὁ γραμματεύς αὐτῶν / ὧν γράψαντες εἰς τὴν στήλην...

γραμματεύς τῶν πρυτάνεων (grammateus of the prytaneis)

SEG 28:52 (333 BC) 22-29
[ἀναγράψιμο] / [γραμματεύς τῶν πρυτάνεων] / στήλη τηλητηθην
Ag. 15:259 (97/6 BC) 85
[γραμματεύς τῆς Πτολεμαίου] Ὀλυμπίας Φυλεύς | with other secretaries, including grammateus kata prytaneion
Ag. 15:322 (c.120 AD) 1-3
Φειδιάς Χ [Ῥαμνούσιος] γραμματεύς τῶν πρυτάνεων | ἐπείνα
| with aeisitoi
IG II 2 1806 (190-200 AD) 1, 19-24 (Ag. 15:424)
περὶ τὸ βῆμα Ἐπι — / γρ(αμματεύς) π[ρυτάνεων Ν

γραμματιστάς (grammatistas)

IvO 468 (2-3CAD) 1-7
ἀπογρ[α]φθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄνομάτα πρὸς τὸν γραμματεύς [το] / [γραμματιστᾶς τῶν στρατηγῶν]
SEG 30:990 (c.325-275 BC) 2-4
[Ἐπὶ] γραμματιστᾶς Εὐθεία;
SIG 3 530 (end C3 BC) 1-3
ἐπὶ θεοκλήος Θιλοκλέος, | [γρ]αμματιστᾶ Δαμοκρίτου
SIG 3 531 (3C BC) 1-8, 25-32
ἐπὶ γρ(αμματιστᾶς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν) Μενανδρίδου / γραμματιστάς

γραμματιστάς δαμοσιοφυλάκων (grammatistas of the damasiophylakes)

SIG 3 529 (219 BC) 1-11
γραμματιστᾶ δαμοσιοφυλάκων
[ό] γράφας (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 Neogenēς τήν στήλην γράφειν ... ΗΠΔΔΔ μόλις βδομίδος ΓI· ἔβλεπε ΗIII

ID 291 (c.248 BC) fr. d 15-16 Neogenēς γράφας ... — — τήν στήλην ἔβλεπε·

ID 440 (198-180 BC) A45-47 τ[δι] γράφων[(τ)]ΗΠΔΑ / τοῦ γράφων ΔΔΓ· λ·

ID 1520 (153/2 BC) 60-61 ο γράφως ἢ ο εἶπας ἢ ο ἄναγγειος

IGII2 1672 (329/8 BC) 187-8: τοῖς γράφοντο τὰ κυμάτα Δαξθέων ἐμ Μελίτει σώζοντι :Γ·

IG IΙ2 11169, adn (undated) 1-2 Κόμος κο[λός] καὶ ο γράφως.

IG V, 1 1390 (92/1 BC) 61-2 καὶ ο γράφως ἀποτεεισάτω δραχμάς διοικής·

IG XI, 2 147 (c.300 BC) A20 [γ]ράφωνος Δεινομένου ΓΠΔ·

IG XI, 2 159 (280 BC) A66 γράφων τῆς στήλης Δεινομένου, γράμματα τρισκαία τῆς δραχμῆς·

IG XI, 2 161 (278 BC) A90-91, 118-9 γράφωνος Δεινομένου Γ· γράφων τὴν στήλην Δεινομένων<κο> | τῆς δραχμῆς γράμματα τρισκαία, τὰ πάντα γράμματα τρισμύρια, μιθῶς δραχμαί· Η·

IG XI, 2 162 (278 BC) A52 γράφωνος Σοσιάμενος ΗΗΗη·

IG XI, 2 219 (c.265 BC) 19 γράφωνος Ναννάκως ΓΗ·

IG XI, 2 287 (250 BC) 197 Νεογένες γράφων τὴν στήλην ΗΠΔΔ· δέλταν πας ΗΗΗη· τοῖς εἰς τὴν δέλταν γράφοντα τὰ ἐκ τῆς στήλης ΗΗΗη· τοῖς τὴν στήλην ἀναγγούοι Γ·

Lang (1976) 13 (475-450 BC) C18 1-2, Pl.5 Σοσίας καταπύγων / λόγος φηλον λο γράφος

SEG 1:25 (undated) 1-2 Κόμος κο[λός] καὶ ο γράφως.


γροφεύς (gropheus) and γραφής (graphes)

See also γροφεύς βιωλς, below.

Buck 87 (3C BC) 4-20 γροφεύς Αἰαχύλου Αραχνάδος, Τρύγης Αθωνίδος

IG IV 498 (after 195 BC) 4-7 [γ]ροφεύς [γ]ροφεύς

IG IV1, 103 (4C BC) 143 γροφεύς Αλκαβίω

IG IV7, 1 106 (4C BC) 6, 10, 13-14, 30-1, 75-6 γροφεύς | Κλεδίκω / grophe of hiaromnanes: unknown; Dionysios; Kallinos; Timokles; -r-8.

IG IV7, 1 108 (4C BC) 82, 107, 111-2, 116, 123-5 καταλόγος boulas, γροφ[ε̣]ς Αλεξίμυ[ι]ω / οίς ἐγεραφαρρίχιτόλης γροφευς of hiaromnanes:...

IG IV7, 1 109 (early 3CBC) II, back 146 γροφεύς Μνασικλεῖ

IG IV7, 1 165 (4C BC) 1-8 γραφής | Τιμι[λ]— — | Α...[— —]

IG IV 609 (Roman) 5-8 γροφεύς

IG V, 2 12 (240-228 BC) 5 γ(ροφής· — c.11? — )

IG V, 2 13 (bef. 228 BC) 9 [τ]ό δάμω· — c.6 — γροφής·

IG V, 2 116 (3C BC) 7 γροφής: Εὐάρ[το]ς Σκάλκος

IG V, 2 550 (320/1-304/3 or 304/3) 1-6, 27-29 γροφεύς | δαμιοργάνων | Εστάτας.

IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 2-26, 193-4 (IG V, 2 357) τός δὲ πόλις | ἄρρετειν ... τὸν γροφή τῆς γροφεύνοις [δίκας] | φρέμ[ο]ντας | κατακοσ

IvO 2 (before 580 BC) 1-9 (Buck 61) Πατρίας ο γροφεύς
γροφεύς βωλάς (gropheus bolas)

Mitsos (1947) A1 (4/3BC) 1-8 (IG IV, 1 69) [βωλάς γροφεύς]
IG XII, 3 1259 (after 338 BC) 1-17 γροφεύς βωλάς: Πέρσηλλος πεδινός.
ISE 40 (c.300) 2-4, 27-33 γροφεύς βωλάς Τιμικλῆς Φολυγάδος Πρόσμυμα.
ISE 41 (1st half 3C BC) 1-3, 10-13, 18-20 ἐπὶ γροφέος τῶι βουλάδι Θεοδέκτα, | τοῖς δὲ στραταγοῖς Δαμέα
Magnesia 55 (undated) 1, 9, 16-18 [I.Magn 41] τὸν γροφὴ τῶι βωλάς τῇ ἕκ τὸν πινακίδων
Mnem. 3: 43:C (248-245) 4 γροφεύς βωλάς
Mnem. 3: 43:D (247-244) 3 γροφεύς βωλάς
Mnem. 3: 43:F (before 243) 5-6 γροφεύς Ἰδαίος Ἀ[...] | Φολυγάς
Mnem. 3: 43:G (before 229/8) 4-5 [γροφεύς βωλάς Θιαμήθης]
Mnem. 3: 43:K (before 229/8?) 2-3 [γροφεύς] | βωλάς, ἱμα...
SEG 13:240 (3C BC) 1-2 γροφεύς Παναίτιος Βραχαί Κλεαδάδας
SEG 13:243 (3C BC) 2 γροφεύς βωλάς Αριστάφρων Δαμής--
SEG 16:247 (3C BC) 3-4 [γροφεύς βωλάς Θιότιμος] | Θιοκλέος Μόκλας[ς Λαγαρία.
SEG 17:141 (3C BC) 4, 12-14 γροφεύς Λεωνίδας Παιονίς/ ἀγνά· | δὲ ἐν στάλαι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Λυκείου ἱαρῶι
SEG 17:142 (3C BC) 3 γροφεύς βωλάς Νικόδαμος Ἀρχιός
SEG 17:144 (3C BC) 1-5 γροφεύς βωλάς | Αριστεύς Μνατῆμος Παλλᾶς
SEG 30:355 (c.330-300 BC) 2-3, 11-12 γροφεύς | Μνα/λήμαχος Πρόσμυμα
SEG 30:356 (c.300 BC) 3-4 γροφεύς | Τίμαιος Εὐσκλίδας
SEG 30:357 (c.300 BC) 3, 10-11 γροφεύς ΔΠ | Π/ ἀγγραψαι δέ τὸ δόκημα ἐν στάλαι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Λυκείου
SEG 30:360 (early Hellenistic) 6, 16-18 γροφεύς Κλεαδάδος Κολωνίς | ἀν/γράψαι τὸ δόκημα ἐν στάλαι ἐν τῶι τοῦ | Λυκείου ἱερῶι
SEG 31:306 (Hellenistic) 9 γροφεύς βωλάς
SEG 33:278 (before 229/8?) 2 (Vollgraff Mnem.43 (1915) 379-379; Charmeux BCH 107 (1983) 266) [γροφεύς βωλάς Θιο— | —— ]
SEG 39:345 (3C BC) 3-4 [γροφεύς βωλάς | Θιότιμος] Θιοκλέος Μόκλας Λαγαρία
SEG 41:280 (3C, possibly before 224) 3 γροφεύς Ερμής Αισχάδας Ζάρας
SIG 3 644-5 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 69) gropheus

γροφεύς πολεμάρχων (gropheus of the polemarchs)

Piérart (1987b) 306-9 (4C BC?) (SEG 37:280) gropheus of the polemarchs?

γροφεύς τοῖς στραταγοῖς (gropheus for the stratagoi)

ISE 41 (1st half 3C BC) 1-3, 10-13, 18-20 τοῖς δὲ στραταγοῖς, ὁς γράφει Δαμέα, ἀ[ν]· ἐγράψαι ἐν τοῖς στάλαις

γροφεύς τοῖς ὑγδοκοστεύσι (gropheus for the Eighty)

SEG 33:286 (4C BC?) B5-6 γροφεύς
δαμιοργός (damiorgos)

I.Magn 39 (c.208/7 BC) 33-38, 43-45
[Magnesia 8]

τοὺς δὲ δαμιοργοὺς τῶν ᾠδακίων | ἀναγράφαι τὸ ψάφισμα τὸ παρὰ τὰς η[δ].]λοις τῶν Μαγνητίων καὶ τὸ ὅψις τῶν Ἀχαιῶν | εἰς στόλον λέβην καὶ ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ εἰρήν | τοῦ Δώνος τοῦ Ἁμαρίου, ὡς φανερὸν ἢ καὶ τοῖς | λοιποῖς Ἑλλασιν Magnesian nomographoi, Magnesian grammatheis

IPArk 24 (273 BC) 8-11, 14-18
[πολιτογραφθέντες] / δαμιοργοί
tὸν δὲ στόλαν γραφοντες οἱ δαμιο[ρ]γοί

δήμαρχος (demarch)

IG I² 138 (after 434 BC) 5-6

ὅς δὲ δημαρχ[χοι] παρὰ ἀπάντων τῶν | ἐς τὸ λεχσίαρχον γραφέντον.

IG II² 1176 (c.360 BC) 2-6, 18-21

ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸν δήμαρχον καὶ τοὺς ταιμας ἀντίγραφα τῶν συνθηκῶν εἰς στήλην λέβην / παραγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸ | ὅνωμα...

IG II² 1177 (mid 4BC) 13-14, 21-24

ἀναγρ[αφ]ίαι δὲ τὸ ψάφισμα τοὺς ἀριστάς μετὰ τοῦ | δημαρχ[iou

IG II² 1182 (mid 4BC) 16-26

ἀναγράφου| / κον ὅνωμα εἰς στήλην λέβην

IG II² 1188 (mid 4BC) 16-19, 31-33
[γράψαι δὲ τὸ ψάφισμα τὸ ὅνωμα][χρον ἐν στήλην ἃτην]

IG II² 1193 (end 4BC) 1-2, 10-13, 27-31

ἀναγραφ[α] / κον ὅνωμα [ἄρχων Ἰσαρχεὶ ἐν στήλη] (λ)θεῖνε

IG II² 1197 (c.330 BC) 18-21

ἀναγράφαι / εἰς στήλην λέβην Φιλόθηρον τὸν δήμαρχον

IG II² 1198 (326/5BC) 2-3, 18-22

ἀναγράφαι / τὸν δήμαρχον Δωρόθεον εἰς στήλην (λ)θεῖνε

IG II² 1202 (313/2BC) 3-10, 18-21

ἀναγράφαι / εἰς στήλην λέβην τὸν δήμαρχον Ηγησίως ἤ καὶ τοὺς ταιμας

SEG 43:26 (315/4BC) A22-27, B14-15

ἀναγράφαι / ε ἀπήλει | λέβην τὸν γραμματέα τῶν δημοτῶν / | ἀναγράφαι / ἐν | στήλην λέβην [τὸν δήμαρχο]

δημόσιος (demosios)

Ag.16:322 (c.120 BC) 1, 3-4


IG II² 120 (358/7-354/3BC) 11-19
Ε(ύκλ)ει τῶι δημοσιώι... γρα(ψύμειν)

IG II² 463 (307/6BC) 28-9
... τοῦ τείχους καὶ εἰς τὸ μ[π]ροϊον πρό(ς] τὸν δημ[ου] [ιον –18– ἀναγραφ[ε] / τὸ τε όνομα τοῦ μεμισθημ[εν]ου] καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ὀσ(ου] / [ἀν μισθώσωι...

IG II² 583 (end 4BC) 1-10
[τῶι] δημοσίωι τὸν ἐκ τού Μητρώιου

δογματογράφος (dogmatographer)

IG V,1 26 (2-1BC) 1-8, 13-18
δογματογράφοις Λυσινίκου τοῦ Σωμπρίδα / τὸν γραμματέα αὐτῶν

έγραψε και ἐξάραξε (wrote and engraved)

IGV,1179(Roman)8, 10
γραμματέως [— c.5 —] / ἔγραψε Ἀν[— c.5 —]

IGV,1210(1BC)44-46, 58
γραμματ[ε] ψις] Αριστοκλῆς | Φλονικίδα / ἐπὶ γραφῶν Σωίνικος[c].

IG V,1211(1BC)50, 52
γραμματεύς Κλήνικος Ὁ / ἐπὶ γραφῶν Εὐθύμορος.

IGV,1212(1BC)45-46, 59-60
γραμματεύς | Κλέων ἐξ Αγίας / ἐπὶ γραφῶν Σωίνικος. γρα(μματέως) Κλεο(ύδικος) Ανεκήκτος Πονκ(— | ἔγραψε[ως] καὶ ἐξάραξε Δαμονίκης[c].
**έλληνοταμίας (hellenotamias)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Εκδοτικές Ονομασίες</th>
<th>Περίοδοι</th>
<th>Ετήσιοι Άρτοι</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IG I² 34 (448/7 BC)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG I² 68 (426/5 BC)</td>
<td>18-21</td>
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<td>IG I² 104 (409/8 BC)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Επιμελητής (epimeletes)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ag.16 136 (4C BC) 6-7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.16 202[3] (mid 3C BC) 7-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG II 829 (mid 3C BC?) 1-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG II 1138 (c.403/2 BC) 7-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG II 1139 (c.403/2 BC) 6-8</td>
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<tr>
<td>IG II 1140 (c.386/5 BC) 15-19</td>
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<tr>
<td>IG II 1144 (early 4C BC) 6-11</td>
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<tr>
<td>IG II 1147 (after mid 4C BC) 11-13</td>
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<tr>
<td>IG II 1148 (after mid 4C BC) 11-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG II 1157 (326/5 BC) 11-15</td>
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<tr>
<td>IG II 1163 (c.288/7 BC) 22-28</td>
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<tr>
<td>IG II 1277 (c.278/7 BC) 3-6, 33-36</td>
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<td>IG II 1319 (end 3C BC) 11-14</td>
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<tr>
<td>IG II 1327 (c.178/7 BC) 26-29</td>
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<tr>
<td>IG V,2 510 (3/e2C BC) 7-9</td>
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<tr>
<td>IG V,2 511 (undated) 10-12</td>
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<tr>
<td>IParK 9 (c.350-340 BC) 3, 16-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEG 23:78 (361/0 BC) 8-12 (Reinmuth, EI 1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Εκδοτικές Ονομασίες</th>
<th>Περίοδοι</th>
<th>Ετήσιοι Άρτοι</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ag.15:34 (323/2 BC)</td>
<td>C3-4</td>
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<td>Ag.15:43 (335/4 BC)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:58 (305/4 BC)</td>
<td>83-84</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.15:62 (303/2 BC)</td>
<td>200-203</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:243 (135/4 BC)</td>
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<td>Ag.15:244 (135/4 BC)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:246 (131/0 BC)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:259 (97/6 BC)</td>
<td>85-96</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:260 (early 1C BC)</td>
<td>28-29</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:261 (95/4 BC)</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG II 223 (343/2 BC)</td>
<td>C3-4, B4-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG II 1700 (335/4 BC)</td>
<td>216</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[ὁ] ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον (secretary for that which cannot be mentioned)

Ag.15:243 (135/4 BC) 36u ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον Ἡλιόδωρον Παιαν[νίας]
Ag.15:244 (135/4 BC) 7 [ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον Ἡλιόδωρον Παιανέα]
Ag.15:259 (97/6 BC) 90 [— c.12 — ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον Φιλωνίδης Αφιδ[ν]άιος]
Ag.15:260 (start 1C BC) 29-30 [τὸν ἐπὶ τὸ] [ὁ]ἀπόρρητον Δ[ — —]
Ag.15:261 (95/4 BC) 60 [τὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον Σίδωνα Λακιάν]
SEG 21:466 (135/4 BC) 6-7 τὸν] [ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον Ἡλιόδωρον Παιανέα]
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 νόμους] [Εἰρηνοκλῆς] [– —] Ἀθμονεύ[ς]
Ag.15:58 (305/4 BC) 78-79 ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους] [Δήμος] [– — —]
Ag.15:62 (303/2 BC) 235-6 ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους Φαύλλος] [Φαίκας] Ἐστιαὶθέν
Ag.15:259 (97/6 BC) 92-93 ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους — c.6 —]

ἐφόρος (ephor)

IG V,1 931 (after 146 BC) 34-37 [ἀναγράφαι] / εἰς στ[ύλον λείθαν τοὺς] / ἐφόρους
IG V,1 962 (undated) 31-38 (Emprunt 25) ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸν προξενίαν τοῦτον / τοὺς ἐφόρους
IG V,1 965 (2C BC) 16-20 τὸν δὲ προξενίαν τὸν ἐφόρον ἀναγράψασθαι οἱ ἐφόροι
IG V,1 1110 (after 146 BC) 9-16 τὰν δὲ προξενίαν] τὸν ἐφόρον τοὺς ἐφόρους]
IG V,1 1111 (after 146 BC) 26, 34-38 τὸν [δὲ] τὸν προξενίαν τὸν ἐφόρον τοὺς ἐφόρους]
IG V,1 1113 (undated) 9-13 τὸν δὲ προξενίαν τοὺς ἐφόρους]
IG V,1 1114 (1C BC) 2-4, 27-30 [ἐγγόνωσαν] | [δὲ οἱ] ἐφόροι στάλειν λείθαν καὶ
IG V,1 1144 (c.80 BC) 20-21, 33-36 οἱ δὲ ἐφόροι οἱ ἐπὶ Κλεάνθος τοῦτον | τοῦ νόμου ἀντίγραφον εὐτάλαν λείθαν γράφωσαν τις
IG V,1 1145 (70 BC) 4-5, 10, 44-51 ...τὸν δὲ προξενίαν τὸν ἐφόρον] [οἱ] ἐπὶ στραταγοῦ
IG V,1 1146 (71/70 BC) 51, 52-54 (Emprunt 24) [Βιδά] ἀναγράφασθαι[τοὺς εἰς[]]
IG V,1 1336 (undated) 17-22 ἀναγράφαι τὸν προξενίαν / τὸν προξενίαν / γράψατε δὲ καὶ ἀντίγραφον τὰς προ[Ξ]ενίας
SEG 11:974 (1CAD) 14-15, 24-36 καὶ οἱ μετὰ Μενὲ[ξ] ἐφόροι εἰκόνα αὐτῶν ῥαπτόν / οἱ νομογράφους / ἀναγράψασθαι τὸν προξενίας

ἱερεύς (priest)


κατακόος (katakoos)

IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 2-26, 193-4 (IG V,2 357) grophes / καὶ τὸ κατακόο εἰσόδαντο τὸν ζα[ν] ἄρχουσιν

280
κατάλογος βουλᾶς (katalogos boulas)

IG IV,1 49 (4/3C BC) 1-15  
IG IV,1 51 (4C BC) 14  
IG IV,1 53 (4C BC) 12-13  
IG IV,1 54 (4C BC) 9-10  
IG IV,1 58 (4/3C BC) 4-5 & 12-14  
IG IV,1 96 (c.300-250 BC) 44-50  
Peek NI 11 (undated) 14  
Peek NI 12 (undated) 9  
Peek NI 13 (undated) 11-13  
Peek NI 15 (2C BC) 14  
SEG 11:413 (mid 3C) 24  
SEG 26:445 (c.350 BC) 17-20

κήρυξ (herald)

IG IV,1 83 (40-42 AD) 7, 14-19

νομογράφος (nomographos)

IG IV 679 (late 3/2 BC) 4-13, 23-31  
IG IV²,1 73 (after 224 BC) 1-36  
IG V,1 7 (3C BC) 1-10  
IG V,2 24 (1C BC or after) 4-5  
IG V,2 433 (early 2C BC) 4, 6-11 (IPArk 30)  
I.Magn 38 (207/6 BC) 38-53 [Magnesia 44]  
[SEG 559]  
SEG 11:974 (1C AD) 14-15, 24-36  
SEG 48:470 (115-138 AD) 5  
SEG 52:447 (c.190-180 BC) 31  
SEG 52:541 (3C BC) 4-7  
SIG² 684 (144 AD) 1-2, 6-11, 16-27

[ό] περί τὸ βῆμα ([ho peri to bema, secretary 'in attendance' or 'at the platform'])

Ag. 15:312 (96/97 AD) 43-44  
Ag. 15:410 (185/6 AD) 7, 11  
IG II² 1077 (209/10 AD) 2-3, III.38, III.47-50  
(Ag. 15:460)  
IG II² 1759 (90-100 AD) 43-44 (Ag.15:312)  
IG II² 1806 (190-200 AD) 20 (Ag.15:424)
Also the forms συγγραμματεύς and χσυγγραμματεύς

See also grammateus and syngrammateus of the eisagogeis (pages 273 and 282) and syngrammateus of the epistatai (page 282).

σταλογράφος (stalographos)

Also the forms συγγραμματεύς and χσυγγραμματεύς

στρατηγός (strategos)

καὶ ὁ στρατηγός τὸ ψάφισμα | τὸσ τὸς στρατηγός τὸς περὶ

συγγραμματεύς (syngrammateus)

τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν (syngrammateus of the eisagogeis)

τούς ἐπιστάτους (syngrammateus of the epistatai)

συγγραφεύς (syngrapeus)

Also the forms συγγραφεύς and χσυγγραφεύς

Also the forms συγγραφεύς and χσυγγραφεύς

οἱ σταλογράφοι / ἐπιμελητάς

καὶ ὁ στρατηγός τὸ ψάφισμα | τὸσ τὸς στρατηγός τὸς περὶ

Στρατέαν | ές στάλαν
ταμίας (treasurer)

IG I² 3806 (end 2C AD) 1-3
IG I² 5506 (117-138 AD) 1-3
L.Patras 364 (mid 2C AD) 13-14

Πομπηιανὸν Καὶ οἱ τῶν συγγραφεία
Μόσχος λεμπρότος καὶ Δορίδος ἁλαίεος, ἡ συγγραφεία.
ταμίαν Σκελίας, τὸν συγγραφέα. (Historian.)

ταμίας

IG I³ 4 (485/4 BC) B3-4 & 23-25
IG I² 109 (363/2 BC) fr.b.24-29
IG I² 1078 (c.220 AD) 39-43
IG I² 1176 (c.360 BC) 5-6, 18-21
IG I² 1335 (102/1 BC) 2-14
IG I² 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)

νομίζεται τὸν συγγραφέα.

υπηρέτης

Ag.15:37 (343/2 BC) 1-4
IG I² 1710 (beg. 2C BC) 6-11
SEG 21:587 (beg. 2C BC) 12-19

υπηρέτης (hyperetes)

The hyperetes as possible replacement to the antigrapheus.
grammateus klerotos, grammateus hairetos, υπηρέτης
grammateus klerotos, grammateus hairetos, υπηρέτης — χοι
The following graph and table show the number of surviving inscriptions containing the word *hypogrammateus* by century and type.

![Graph showing the number of surviving inscriptions containing the word *hypogrammateus* by century and type.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Century</th>
<th>5C BC</th>
<th>4C BC</th>
<th>3C BC</th>
<th>2C BC</th>
<th>1C BC</th>
<th>1CAD</th>
<th>2CAD</th>
<th>3CAD</th>
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<tr>
<td>Fragmentary / misc.</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Boule / demos</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 7 – Athenian inscriptions containing a hypogrammateus.*

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* Υπογραμματέας Θέλγων (Θέλγοντος).

*Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα [ΕΠΙΚΛΗΣ] Καλλιάρχο | Ισιστία in corona

*Officers including* τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Νικόμαχον Νίκωνος Γαργήττιον and other officers

*Officers including* τὸν ὑπογραμματέα — — — —

*Officers including* τὸν ὑπογραμματέα and other officers

*Officers including* τὸν ὑπογραμματέα

*Officers including* τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Τιμοκράτην Κυδ [Δαιπηνάεια]

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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 917+Ag. 15.128))

Ag.15:129 (222/1 BC) 48-58

Ag.15:130 (220/19 BC) 47-58, 128-149

Ag.15:132 (215/4 BC) 9-22

Ag.15:145 (end 3C BC) 2-5

Ag.15:158 (beg. 2C BC) 1-9

Ag.15:160 (beg. 2C BC) 5-7

Ag.15:162 (beg. 2C BC) 6-17

Ag.15:168 (193/2 BC) 35-47

Ag.15:170 (190/89 BC) 7-16, 109-112

Ag.15:173 (189/8 BC) 11-20

Ag.15:179 (185/4 BC) 25-36

Ag.15:187 (180/79 BC) 16-30

Ag.15:189 (180 BC) 4-11

Ag.15:191 (after 178/7 BC) 2-11

Ag.15:193 (after 178/7 BC) 1-11

Ag.15:194 (178/7 BC) 34-42

Ag.15:204 (176/5-170/69 BC) 2-17

Ag.15:205 (176/5-170/69 BC) 6-16

Ag.15:206 (173/2 BC) 53-65

Ag.15:212 (169/8 BC) 48-60

Ag.15:213 (168/7 BC) 8-20

Ag.15:216 (166/5 BC) 10-21

Ag.15:217 (167/6-165/4 BC) 7-18

Ag.15:220 (164/3 BC) 48-61

Ag.15:221 (164/3 BC) 3-14

Ag.15:222 (161-60 BC) 9-16

Ag.15:226 (155 BC) 5-16

Ag.15:239 (145/4 BC) 5-17

Ag.15:240 (140/39 BC) 45-55

Ag.15:243 (135/4 BC) 36l-36y

Ag.15:246 (131/0 BC) 29-37

Ag.15:247 (130 BC) 7-14

Boule honour [tὸν ὑπογραμματέα Τιμοκράτου] in Τιμοκράτους
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Τιμοκράτου] in Τιμοκράτους
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Όνησίου] in Όνησίου
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα — c.17 —] in Φιλάσιον
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour [tὸν ὑπογραμματέα — c. 15 —] and others
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Officers including τὸν ὑπογραμματέα —]ικὼν
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour [— καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Σωφ[—] and others
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour [tὸν ὑπογραμματέα Εὐδόμουχον Ἑρακλάρου ἔκ | Κηραμίσιον] and others
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour [tὸν ὑπογραμματέα Δημήτριου Κήπου | Προβαλίσιον] and others
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Ἡγελόχου | [Ἀξιώματος Αὐτοῦ] and others
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Ἀρτακτοκράτους Ἀρτάκτα | [Ἀξιώματος Αὐτοῦ] and others
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Λυσίμαχον | [Ἀριστοκράτους Λυσίμαχον] and others
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Ἐργοχάρουν | [Ἀριστοκράτους Ἐργοχάρου] and others
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Λεόντα | [Ἀριστοκράτους Λεώντα] and others
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Λανθύνην | [Ἀριστοκράτους Λανθύνην] and others
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Ἐρμηνιάδου | [Ἀριστοκράτους Ερμηνιάδου] and others
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Χρυσοκλάδου | [Ἀριστοκράτους Χρυσοκλάδου] and others
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Κυριακῆν | [Ἀριστοκράτους Κυριακῆν] and others
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Χαριποπόλεως | [Ἀριστοκράτους Χαριποπόλεως] and others
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]

Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Αὐτὸπολίον | [Ἀριστοκράτους Αὐτὸπολίον] and others
Ka[δάθηναι καὶ and others officers]
Ag.15:261 (95/94 BC) 51-65  
*Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Εὔμαχον | [— c.16 —] and other officers

Ag.15:290 (29/8-22/1 BC) 56-60  
*Officers including ν ὑπογραμματέας Πτολεμαίου ννν | [Μ]ἄνδρος Μεν[ἀνδρου] Αλσιδικός

Ag.15:311 (end 1AD) 4-10  
*Officers including ὑπογραμματεύς [c] | Νεκόμαχος [— — —]

Ag.15:367 (165/6AD) 1-12  
*Officers including [ὑπ(ο)]γρ(αμματέας) Εἰσδότος Ἐ [Μαρ]ρωτός | [Μαρ]ρωτός

Ag.15:369 (166/7AD) 53-66  
*Officers including ὑπογραμματεύς [Εἰσδύδοτος | [ἐπὶ Σκιάδος Αρρόδιαῖος]

Ag.15:372 (168/9AD) 31-40  
*Officers including ὑπογραμματεύς | Εἰσδύδοτος Ὁ Μαρα(θωνίος) | ἐπὶ Σκιάδος | Ἐ στο

Ag.15:378 (169/70AD) 42-45, 60-72  
*Officers including ὑπογραμματεύς Μύρων.

Ag.15:381 (169/70AD) 1-8  
*Officers including ὑπογραμματεύς | Μύρων Λαμπρινίης

Ag.15:386 (173/4AD) 1-10  
*Officers including [ὑπ(ο)]γρ(αμματεύς Μύρων | Λαμπρινίης

Ag.15:402 (180/1AD) 29-41  
*Officers including ὑπογραμματεύς Μύρων Λαμπρινίης

Ag.15:406 (182/3AD) 53-63  
*Officers including ὑπογραμματεύς Μύρων Λαμπρινίης

Ag.15:412 (184/5AD) 1-7  
*Officers including [ὑπ(ο)]γρ(αμματεύς | [Δημ]ήπτριας | [— — —] 

Ag.15:410 (185/6AD) 3-12  
*Officers including [ὑπ(ο)]γρ(αμματεύς Πι]ωταγήνης

Ag.15:411 (186/7AD) 23-42  
*Officers including [ὑπ(ο)]γρ(αμματεύς [— — —]

Ag.15:414 (187/8AD) 1-11  
*Officers including [ὑπ(ο)]γρ(αμματεύς — — —) p vacat

Ag.15:415 (188/9AD) 1-6  
*Officers including [ὑπ(ο)]γρ(αμματεύς — — —]

Ag.15:417 (188/9AD) 1-9  
*Officers including [ὑπ(ο)]γρ(αμματεύς — — —]

Ag.15:419 (188/9AD) 43-51  
*Officers including [ὑπ(ο)]γρ(αμματεύς Πιρατόγνης]

Ag.15:420 (190/91AD) 13-29  
*Officers including ὑπογρ(<p>αμματεύς<ν>ς [— — —]

Ag.15:442 (198/9AD) 1-11  
*Officers including [ὑπ(ο)]γρ(αμματεύς Μη]νόφλος

Ag.15:443 (c.198 AD) 22-33  
*Officers including [ὑπ(ο)]γρ(αμματεύς Μηνόφλος Παραμόνου

Ag.15:445 (c.200 AD) 10-17  
*Officers including ἐπὶ Σκιάδος [— — —] | [ὑπ(ο)]γρ(αμματεύς — — —]

Hesp. 16:161,58 (c.200-37 BC) 1-6  
*Officers including τὸν ὑπογραμματεύα | [— — — — —]στο[—]

Hesp. 16:161,59 (2BC) 1-3  
*Officers including ὑπογραμματεύς [— — — — —]

Hesp. 79:418,1 (165/6AD) 1-4 (Corinth I 2649)  
ὑπογραμματεύς | Εἰσδύδοτος Ε Ὁ Μαρα(θωνίος) | ἄνθροπους Ν[—

IG I 476 (408/7 BC) 61-2, 268-9  
*ὑπογραμματεύα Πυργίων | ἀποτελείται ΔΔΔE Erechtheum accounts.

IG II 76 (276/5 BC) 51-52  
τ(όν ὑπογραμματεύα | — — οικλήν

IG II 848 (219/18 BC) 33-46  
*Boule honour [τὸν ὑπ(ο)]γρ(αμματεύα Ἐν — —] and other officers

IG II 876 (end 3BC) 2-4  
*Boule fragment [Σ]ηματ(ί)δην | [τά]ν ὑπογραμματεύα και ἄλη

IG II 912 (after 200 BC) 10-20 (Ag.15:138)  
*Boule honour [ὑπογραμματεύα — — — Ἀλέξ] ξάνδρου

IG II 913 (c.200 BC) 1-11, 32-37 (Ag.15:137)  
*Boule honour [τὸν ὑπ(ο)]γραμματεύα Τιμοκλῆν Με[— c.7 —]

IG II 914 (c.200 BC) 2-11  
*Officers including [τὸν ὑπ(ο)]γραμματέα [α — —]

IG II 915 (c.200 BC) 17-29, III.30-35  
*Boule honour [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Πρωτομένην (Ag.15:147) Eirei[ον] and other officers

IG II 918 (beg. 2BC) 4-15 (Ag.15:214)  
*Boule honour [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα — — — Λ]γην(ε)α], and other officers

IG II 952 (161-60 BC) 9-15  
*Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα — — — and other officers

IG II 972 (140 BC) 2-13  
*Boule honour τὸν ὑπογραμματέα | [— — —] and other officers

IG II 1059 (beg. 1BC) 1-9  
*Officers including ὑπογραμματεύας Πάτρων νας: Φιλήμονος

IG II 1077 (209/10 AD) III.38-56 (Ag.15:460)  
*Officers including ὑπογραμματεύς | Μηνόφλος Παραμόνου
Table 12 – Hypogrammateis who may have served for more than a year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
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<th>References</th>
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<tr>
<td>165/6AD - 166/7AD, 168/9AD</td>
<td>Εἰσιδόπος Ὁ Μαραθώνιος</td>
<td>Ag.15:367; Ag.15:369; Ag.15:372; IG II 1774 (Ag.15:371); IG II 1775 (Ag.15:373); Hesp. 79:418,1</td>
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<td>180/1AD + 182/3AD</td>
<td>Μύρων Ὁ Λαμπρέως</td>
<td>Ag.15:406 63; IG II 1794 (Ag.15:402); IG II 1795 (Ag.15:407) 55-57</td>
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<td>185/6AD + 188/9AD</td>
<td>Πρωταγόρης</td>
<td>Ag.15:410 12; Ag.15:419 51</td>
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<td>198/9AD + 209/10AD</td>
<td>Μηνύρριος Παραμόνου</td>
<td>Ag.15:442 11; Ag.15:443 27; IG II 1077 55-56</td>
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</table>

Athenian hypogrammateis of the boule known from two or more years

Agora numbers are bracketed when the Agora inscription is a copy of the IG text.
ύπογραμματεύς διὰ βίου (hypogrammeus for life)

IG II² 2199 (c.200 AD) 41-43, 66-7
Ephebes, γραμματεύς διὰ βίου | ιερεύς Στράτων Κλαυδίανος Ἀρχοντες / υπόγραμμα: ΑΛ Εὐχαρία στος Φωλή

IG II² 2243 (243/4 AD) 1,26, 32-33
Ephebes, οἱ διὰ βίου / υπόγραμμα(είς) | Αύρ Νόησιος

IG II² 2245 (262/3 or 266/7 AD) 29-408
οἱ διὰ βίου | γραμματεύς ΚΛ Αντίλαχος / υπόγραμμα Αύρ Ελευσίανος Ε / Ephebes from all 12 tribes

SEG 33:158 (late 3CD) 11, 48-51
Ephebes, οἱ διὰ βίου / γραμματεύς Αλκιβίαδης / υπόγραμμα(είς) Αλκιβίαδης

SEG 39:189 (226/7–234/5 AD) 8-9, 60, 65-66
(IG II² 2235)
Ephebes, γραμματεύοντος διὰ βίου ιερεύς Συντρόφου τοῦ Εὐκαρπίου ἐκ Κολύτης | οἱ διὰ βίου / υπογραμματεύς | ΟΝΗΣΙΟΣ ΕΥΚΑΡΠΙΟΥ ἐκ Κολύτης

ύπογραμματεύς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου (hypogrammeus of the boule and the demos)

Ag.15:225 (155/4 BC) 52-65
Boule honour τοῦ υπογραμματεύτου τοῦ [δήμου] [[Πυθαγόραν]] Αμαξο[γ] 

Ag.15:259 (97/96 BC) 85-96
Officers including: υπογραμματεύτους βουλῆς καὶ δήμου

Ag.15:260 (beg. 1BC) 10-32
Boule honour τοῦ υπογραμματεύτου τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου 

SEG 19:190 (bef. 200 BC) 2-5
Boule fragment. υπογραμματεύτου τῆς βουλῆς[ι] | καὶ τοῦ δήμου

ύπογραμματεύς τῶν ἁμφικτυόνων (hypogrammata of the amphictyons)

ID 98 (377-373 BC) A49-50, 74-75
εἰς τά [έπιτήδεα καὶ γραμματέα καὶ υπογραμμα]|[τό — ΔΑΔ | eis [tis[di][tis[ai] kai kai grammae kai | [u hypogrammaei XPMPP|]—|—|

ID 104-9 (355/4 BC) vers 2.1-2
[-- — Λα] [[μπ]]τρεις ἐγραμμ[τε]υε, υπεγραμμάτευε δὲ — —

ID 104-12 (353/2 – 352/1 BC) 3-4

ID 104-28 (341/0 BC) 1, 5-6, 8
tάδε ἐρατέων ἁμφικτυόνων Αθηναίων / οἱ ἐγραμμάτευες Τεισίδης Τεισίππου Σφήττιος, υπεγραμμάτευε δὲ [Μ — — — —]

ID 104-31 (333-331 BC) 1, 3-4

ύπογραμματεύς τῶν ναοποιῶν (hypogrammatae of the naopoi)

ID 104-5 (359/8 BC) 14-15
γραμματει | [(ναοποιῶν?) υπογραμμα ΔΑΓ:

φρατρίαρχος (phratriarch)

IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 121-6
τὸν δὲ φρατρίαρχον [ρχον υπογραμμα] ἀμείβον άναγράψαντα ἐκ[πεθανοὶ δο] ἐν Δεκ[επέλεξε προσφοράς / with hier]
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.

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1 ἀναγραφεύς: Earliest: IG I2 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 ἀντιγραμματεύς: 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 ἀρχιγραμματεύς: 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.
8 γραμματεύς: Athens: Earliest: IG II2 537 (end 4C BC) 4-8; Latest: IG II2 1368 (aft. 178 AD) 155-6.
9 γραμματεύς: Peloponnesse: Earliest: IG IV1,1 68 (302 BC) 79, 81; Latest: IvO 122 (265 AD) 24.
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10 γραμματεύς: Delos: Earliest: ID 104-3 (c.367 BC) 9-10; Latest: ID 1505 (146/5 or 145/4 BC) 34-37, page 337.
14 γραμματεύς βουλευτών: Earliest: SEG 32:339 (1-2CAD) 1; Latest: Ag.15:491 (c.231/2 AD) 38.
15 γραμματεύς διά βίου: Earliest: IG II 2110 (179/80-190/1 AD) 7-8; Latest: SEG 33:158 (late 3CAD) 11, 48-51, page 111.
17 γραμματεύς κατὰ πρυτανείαν: Earliest: IG II 124 (357/6 BC) 1-3; Latest: IG II 1789 (c.175AD) 4-7.
20 γραμματεύς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου: Earliest: IG II 1740 (388/7 BC) 53-6; Latest: IG II 1077 (209/10AD) III.47-49, page 56.
21 γραμματέως τῆς πόλεως: Earliest: IG XI,2 142 (315-300 BC) 23; Latest: IvO 460 (Roman) 3-4.
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22 γραμματεύς τῆς φυλῆς: Earliest: SEG 23:78 (361/0 BC) 22-26; Latest: Hesp.6:460,8 (after 166 BC) 8-20, page 98.
23 γραμματεύς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς: Earliest IG VII 188 (242-223 BC) 2-3; γραμματεύς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν: Latest: IG IV 1,81 (34/35 AD) 10, 17, page 223.
25 γραμματεύς 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 γραμματεύς τοῦ πολεμάρχου: IG II 545 (318/7 BC) 15-17, page 89.
29 γραμματεύς τῶν βουλευτῶν: Earliest: IG II 1775 (168/9 AD) 5-8, n.469; Latest: Ag.15:437 (end of 2 CAD) 3-7.
30 γραμματεύς καὶ συνγραμματεύς τῶν ἐσσαγωγῶν: IG I 71 (425/4 BC) 7-8, 21-22, page 68.
31 γραμματεύς καὶ συνγραμματεύς τῶν ἐσσαγωγῶν: All dated to the same, five-year period, e.g.: IG I 446 (447/6-433/2 BC) 312-314, page 100.
32 γραμματεύς τῶν ἔνδεκα: IG II 1631 (323/2 BC) 377-380, 388-393, page 90.
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34 γραμματεύς 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.
38 γραμματεύς τῶν στρατηγῶν: IG II 545 (318/7 BC) 15-17, page 89.
39 γραμματοστάς: Earliest: SIG3 531 (3C BC) 4, 27; Latest: IvO 468 (2-3CAD) 5, page 207.
40 γραμματοστάς δαμοσιοφυλάκων: SIG3 529 (219 BC) 4-5, page 214.
42 γροφεύς: 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. 43:G (before 229/8) 4-5.
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44 γροφεύς πολεμόρχιν: Piérart (1987b) 306-9 (4C BC?).
45 γροφεύς τοίς στραταγοῖς: ISE 41 (1st half 3C?) 10-11, page 140.
49 δημάρχος: Earliest: IG II 120 (358/7-354/3 BC) 13-17, page 82; Latest: IG II 583 (end 4C BC) 5-7.
50 δημάρχος: Earliest: IG V,1 26 (2-1C BC) 1, 17, page 156.
51 ἐλληνοταμίας: Earliest: IG I 1 34 (448/7 BC) 43-45; Latest: IG I 104 (409/8 BC) 9.
54 [ὁ] ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον: Earliest: SEG 21:466 (135/4 BC) 6-7; Latest: Ag.15:261 (95/4 BC) 60.
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58 κατακόδος: IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 7-10, 19-26, page 184.
60 κήρυξ: IG IV 1 83 (40-42 AD) 17-18, page 103.
62 σταλογράφος: IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 18, page 188.
63 στρατηγὸς: IG V,2 16 (218 BC) 7-9, page 197.
64 συγγραμματεύς: Earliest: IG I 269 (443/2 BC) 36; Latest: IG I 270 (442/1 BC) 1-2, page 74.
65 συγγραφεύς: Earliest: IG I 21 1-3 (450/49 BC), page 75; Latest: IG II 3 3806 (end 2CAD) 2-3.
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| υπηρέτης | | | | | | | | | |
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| υπογραμματεύς (Peloponnese) | | | | 69 | | | | | |
| υπογραμματεύς δια βίου | | | | | | | | | 70 |
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| υπογρ. τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων | 72 | | | | | | | | |
| υπογραμματεύς τῶν ναοποιῶν | | | | | | 73 | | | |
| φρατρίαρχος | | | | | | | | | 74 |

**Table 13 – Secretaries and magistrates associated with the writing of public documents.**

*For γρ., read γραμματεύς.*

---


70 υπογραμματεύς δια βίου: Earliest: IG II² 2199 (c.200 AD) 41-43, 66-7; Latest: SEG 33:158 (late 3C AD) 11, 49, 51.


74 φρατρίαρχος: IG II² 1237 (396/5 BC) 121-6, page 106.
Instances of *grammateus of the boule, grammaeus kata prytaeiian* and *grammateus of the boule and the demos*

The following table illustrates the usage of the designations *grammateus of the boule* and *grammateus kata prytaeiian*. It lists all inscriptions in IG I$^3$ and IG II$^2$ 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 prytaeiian*.

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*.

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$^{1610}$ 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*.  

297
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<td>IG I² 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 5-9; 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</td>
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<td>400-376</td>
<td>IG I² 228 7-9; 229 4-6; II² 17 8-11; 28-31; 19 17-9, 68-10; 21 1; 22 66-8; 24 5-6-10; 25 7-10; 29 7-11; 31 12-14; 32 7-9; 33 6; 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; 96 6-9; 141 12-18; 245 2-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>375-351</td>
<td>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 II² 120 15-17; 124 1-3; 198 1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350-326</td>
<td>II² 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 2-6; 287 12-16; 288 9-12; 289 9-11; 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 II² 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 24-29; 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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>325-301</td>
<td>II² 365 12-16; 373 9-12; 448 66-73; 607 5-6 II² 360 21-24; 374 19-22, 243 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 5-9; 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</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Designations:</td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>grammateus of the boule</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IG inscription and line references:</td>
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<tr>
<td>300-276</td>
<td>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 61-5; 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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>275-251</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250-226</td>
<td>II² 775 23-25; 776 30-32; 780 22-24; 786 32-34; 788 26-28; 798 4-7; 790 26-28; 792 11-14; 808 24-26; 810 4-6; 835 27-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225-201</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-176</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175-151</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150-126</td>
<td>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</td>
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<tr>
<td>125-101</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-76</td>
<td>II² 1061 15-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-51</td>
<td>II² 1062 6-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-26</td>
<td>II² 1041 5-6; 1047 2-3; 1049 17-19; 1050 14-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-125</td>
<td>II² 1073 6-7</td>
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<td>176-200</td>
<td></td>
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<td>201-225</td>
<td>II² (1077) 47-49</td>
</tr>
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</table>

*Table 14 – Use of the designations *grammateus of the boule*, *grammateus kata prytaneian*, and *grammateus of the boule and the demos*. 299
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 \textit{grammateus of the boule} or the \textit{anagrapheus}; however, the \textit{syngrammateus}, \textit{grammateus} of the treasurers of Athena, \textit{grammateus} of the \textit{epistatai} and \textit{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 \textit{grammateus of the boule} became annual and selected by lot, and the first brief period in which the \textit{anagrapheus} replaced the \textit{grammateus of the boule} as the most prominent secretary in Athens (321/20 to 319/18 BC).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secretaries of the boule and demos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Anagrapheus}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag. 16.97[1] (321/20 BC) 2-3 and SEG 21:304 (321/0 BC) 1</td>
<td>The \textit{anagrapheus} Thrasykles is the first officer mentioned in two decrees from 321/0 BC. His name and designation are given before the eponymous archon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. IG II(^{2}) 381 (320/19 BC) 1-10, page 48(^{1613})</td>
<td>The \textit{anagrapheus} Archedikos is known from eleven surviving decrees from the year 320/19 BC, and is the first officer mentioned in seven of them. In IGII(^{2}) 383b (320/19 BC) 1-2, Archedikos' name and designation are given before 'theoi'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag. 16:101 (319/8 BC) 2-3</td>
<td>The \textit{anagrapheus} Eukadmos is the first officer mentioned, before the eponymous archon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Grammateus of the boule}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG I(^{3}) 99 (410/09 BC) 1-2</td>
<td>Fragmentary decree. The first two lines comprise the name and designation of the \textit{grammateus}. These are the same size as the remaining text, but separated from it by an etched line.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG I(^{3}) 104 (409/8 BC) 1-2, page 40</td>
<td>The law on homicide. Line one contains the \textit{grammateus}; 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, 'protos axon' is also given in larger letters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG I(^{3}) 127 (405/4 BC) 1-2 (See IG II(^{2}) 1, page 25)</td>
<td>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 \textit{grammateus}; 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</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{1611}\) I.e. it does not include the single inscription in which the designations of the \textit{metronomoi} and \textit{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 on page 94.

\(^{1612}\) Ag.15:322 (c.120 AD) 1-3, page 69.

\(^{1613}\) See also IG II\(^{2}\) 380 (321/0-319 BC) 1-4, IG II\(^{2}\) 382 (320/19 BC) 2-5, IG II\(^{2}\) 383 (320/19 BC) 1-2, IG II\(^{2}\) 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IG I 3 261 (452/1 BC) 1</td>
<td>Record of tribute. The prescript comprises a single line, which includes the name and designation of the <em>grammateus</em>, but no other officers. The effect is accentuated as the prescript spans the five columns of the remaining text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG I 3 262 (451/0 BC) 1</td>
<td>Record of tribute. As above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG I 3 269 (451/0 BC) 1</td>
<td>Record of tribute. As above. The final line contains a similar prescript: the start of a subsequent text on the same stele.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG II 2 2 (405/4 BC) 1-2, 6-7</td>
<td>Proxeny decree. The first line comprises the name designation of the <em>grammateus</em>. This is separated from the remainder of the text. The name and designation of the <em>grammateus</em> is given again in lines 6-7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG II 2 13 (399/8 BC) 1-2, 6-7</td>
<td>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 <em>grammateus</em>. This is followed by the name of the honorand. The name and designation of the <em>grammateus</em> is then repeated in the prescript.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG II 2 26 (394-387 BC) 1-3, page 62</td>
<td>Honorific decree. The first three lines comprise the name and designation of the <em>grammateus</em>. This is in larger text than the remainder of the decree. The name and designation of the <em>grammateus</em> is then repeated in the prescript.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG II 2 44 (378/73 BC) 1-3, 5-6</td>
<td><em>Symmachia</em> (alliance) with the Chalcidians. Lines one and two comprise the name and designation of the <em>grammateus</em>; 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 <em>grammateus</em> is then repeated in the prescript.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG II 2 127 (378/73 BC) 1</td>
<td><em>Symmachia</em> with Thrace. The name and designation of the <em>grammateus</em> are written as <em>agent noun + personal name</em> in the nominative, on a pediment, separate from the remainder of the text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG I 3 270 (442/1 BC) 1-2, page 74</td>
<td>Record of tribute. The prescript comprises two lines, containing the name and designation of the secretary, the <em>hellenotamias</em>, and the <em>syngrammateus</em>. Both lines span the five columns of the remaining text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag 15:322 (c.120 AD) 1-3, page 69</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG II 2 1428 (367/6 BC) 1, 4-5</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG II 2 1669 (367/6 BC) 1-4</td>
<td>Building account. The first four lines comprise a prescript. The first words are (uniquely) &quot;ሳписатьµοραιottie/.µε[ŋ]άληςς σπήληςς&quot; The prescript contains the names of the <em>epistatai</em> and their secretary.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Stymphalos, 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 748 11-12  
*grammateus of the demos*  
Before 160 BC

IG IV 749 34-35, 38, 45-46, 51-53  
*grammateus of the demos*  
158-144 BC

(= Dittenberger IG IV 1)

Corinthia

4C BC

IG IV 1, 68 78-83 (Peek, Asklepieion 23)  
*grammateus* (two, Hellenic League)  
302 BC

1615 E.g. Buck No.87 (3C BC) 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 (1C AD) 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) ἐπὶ + grammatistas c.325-275 BC

2C BC
Corinth 8,1 4 9 grammateus Mid 2C BC
Corinth 8,1 7 1-2 grammateus Undated
Corinth 8,1 8 1-2 grammateus Undated

1C BC
Corinth 8,3 46 b2-5 grammateus 44 BC

3C AD
SEG 26:396 2 (Corinth 8,3 486) grammateus Mid 3C AD

Sicyon

3C BC
Magnesia 55 1, 9, 16-18 [I.Magn 41] gropheus bolas Undated

Argolid

Argos

5C BC
IG IV 554 1-7 (Buck 84) artunas 480-470 BC

4C BC
IG XII,3 1259 1-17 (Buck 86) gropheus bolas After 338 BC
ISE 40 2-4, 27-33 gropheus bolas c.300 BC
Piéart (1987b) 306-9 (SEG 37:280) gropheus of the polemarchs? 4C BC?
SEG 30:355 2-3, 11-12 gropheus bolas c.330-300 BC
SEG 30:356 3-4 gropheus bolas c.300 BC
SEG 30:357 3, 10-11 gropheus bolas c.300 BC
SEG 30:360 6, 16-18 gropheus bolas Early Hellenistic
SEG 33:286 B5-6 gropheus of the 80 4C BC?

3C BC
Buck 87 4-20 gropheus (two) 3C BC
ISE 41 1-3, 10-13, 18-20 ἐνι + gropheus bolas 1st half 3C BC?
ISE 41 1-3, 10-13, 18-20 gropheus for the stratagoi 1st half 3C BC?
Mnem.2 43:C 4 gropheus bolas 248-245 BC
Mnem.2 43:D 3 gropheus bolas 247-244 BC
Mnem.2 43:F 5-6 gropheus bolas Before 243 BC
Mnem.2 43:G 4-5 gropheus bolas Before 229/8 BC
Mnem.2 43:K 2-3 gropheus bolas Before 229/8 BC?
SEG 13:240 1-2 gropheus bolas 3C BC
SEG 13:243 2 gropheus bolas 3C BC
SEG 16:247 3-4 gropheus bolas 3C BC
SEG 17:141 4, 12-14 gropheus bolas 3C BC
SEG 17:142 3 gropheus bolas 3C BC
SEG 17:144 1-5 gropheus bolas 3C BC
SEG 33:278 2 gropheus bolas Before 229/8 BC?
SEG 39:345 3-4  
SEG 41:280 3  
2C BC  
IG IV 498 4-7  
IG IV 558 29-43  
IG IV 609 5-8  
Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 69 (A.i)  
Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 70 (A.vi.a)  
SEG 31:306 9  
SIG 3 644 4.1 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 69)  
1C AD  
IG IV 589 2-5  
IG IV 606 1-5  
SEG 13:244 7-8  

**Epidauros**

For Achaian League inscriptions published in Epidauros, see page 312.

4C BC  
IG IV²1 49 1-15 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74)  
IG IV²1 51 14 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74)  
IG IV²1 53 12-13 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74)  
IG IV²1 54 9-10 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74)  
IG IV²1 58 4-5, 12-14 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74)  
IG IV²1 103 143  
IG IV²1 106 6, 10, 13-14, 30-1, 75-6, C40-43  
IG IV²1 108 82, 107, 111-2, 116, 123-5, 141  
IG IV²1 144, 150, 155-6, 159-167  
Mitsos (1947) A1 (4/3C BC) 1-8 (IG IV²1 69 3)  
SEG 26:445 17-20 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74)  

3C BC  
IG IV²1 96 44-50  
IG IV²1 109 II.146  
IG IV²1 306 A1-C5  
Peek NI 11 14 (SEG 26:446)  
Peek NI 12 9  
Peek NI 13 11-13  
Peek, NI 18 19-20  
Peek, NI 19 C11  
SEG 11:413 24 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74)  

SIG 3 644 4.1 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 69)
2C BC
Peek NI 15 14 | ἐπὶ κατάλογος βουλας | 2C BC?
Peek NI 32 1-7 | grammateus | Undated

2C AD
IG IV,1 25 2 | grammateus | 117-138 AD

Troizenia and Hermione

Hermione
2C BC
IG IV 679 4-13, 23-31 | nomographos (two?) | Late 3/2 BC
(Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 76 & 78)

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
IG 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
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<th>Title</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<td>Gytheion</td>
<td>1C BC</td>
<td>IG V, 1 1144 20-21, 33-36</td>
<td>ephor (three)</td>
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<td>c.80 BC</td>
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<td>1C BC</td>
<td>IG V, 1 1145 4-5, 10, 44-51</td>
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<td>c.70 BC</td>
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<td>1C BC</td>
<td>IG V, 1 1146 51, 52-54 (Emprunt 24)</td>
<td>ephor (three)</td>
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<td>71/70 BC</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kortyrta</td>
<td>2C BC</td>
<td>IG V, 1 962 31-38 (Emprunt 25)</td>
<td>ephor (three)</td>
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<td>Undated</td>
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<td>2C BC</td>
<td>IG V, 1 965 16-20</td>
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<td>IG V, 1 7 1-10</td>
<td>nomographos (two?)</td>
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<td>SEG 52:541 4-7</td>
<td>nomographos</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mid 1C BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>grammateus of the boule</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1C BC</td>
<td>IG V, 1 208 7</td>
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<td>IG V, 1 209 26</td>
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<td>IG V, 1 210 44-46, 58</td>
<td>grammateus, stonecutter</td>
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<td>grammateus, stonecutter</td>
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<td>IG V, 1 212 II.45-46</td>
<td>grammateus, stonecutter</td>
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<td>1C BC</td>
<td>SEG 48:455 25-26 (ABSA 93 427-429 no.1)</td>
<td>grammateus, hypogrammateus</td>
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<td>IG V, 1 20 A3-4, B5</td>
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<td>98-117 AD</td>
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<td>IG V, 1 97 25 (ABSA 27 E1)</td>
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<td>ABSA 27 E30 3-4</td>
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grammateus of the boule

After 125 AD

117-138 AD

138-161 AD

Mid 2AD

138-180 AD

Late 2/3C AD

Mid 2AD

grammateus of the boule

117-138 AD

grammateus

138-161 AD

Mid 2AD

161 AD or later

Undated

grammateus (two), hypogrammateus (three), grammateus of the boule

98-117 AD

grammateus

Early 2CD

2CD

Mid 2AD

Late 2/3C AD

Roman

Roman

131/132 AD

Roman Imperial

Undated

grammateus of the boule

Mid 2AD

98-138 AD

98-117 AD

160-165 AD

150-155 AD

98-117 AD

160-165 AD

115-138 AD

nomographos

115-138 AD

3C AD

SEG 34:308 7

grammateus

225-250 AD

Tainaron

2C BC

IG V,1 1226 17-21

tamias

2/1C BC

IG V,1 1227 2-7

tamias

undated

Thalamai

2C AD

IG V,1 1314 12

grammateus

117-138 AD
Messenia

Andania

1C BC

IG V,1 1390 1, 49, 52, 56-7, 61-62, 89, 112-114, 132-7, 185-6  
grammateus of the synedroi  
and ho grapsas  
92/91 BC

Asine

2CAD

IG V,1 1412 1-9  
grammateus  
193-5 AD

Kolonides

2BC

IG V,1 1402 1  
ioi + grammateus  
Late 2BC

Korone

1C BC

IG V,1 1392 1-4  
ioi + grammateus of the synedroi  
58 BC

Kyparissos

1C BC

IG V,1 1559 2-3  
ioi + grammateus  
Undated

Messene

3C BC

SEG 51:474 II.1-6  
gropheus  
3C BC

2C BC

SEG 31:346 (all)  
grammateus  
Hellenistic

IG V,1 1428 3-5  
grammateus of dikasts  
Late 2-1C BC

1C BC

IG V,1 1432 2, 13-30, 41-42  
grammateus of the synedroi  
39 BC

IG V,1 1463 3  
ioi + grammateus of the synedroi  
1BC

1C AD

IG V,1 1448 2  
grammateus of the synedroi  
14 AD

IG V,1 1449 8  
grammateus of the synedroi  
54-68 AD

IG V,1 1467 7  
grammateus  
1CAD

SEG 23:208 2, 15-29  
grammateus  
42 AD

2CAD

IG V,1 1469 6  
grammateus  
126 AD

SEG 23:206 1-2  
grammateus of the synedroi  
2-3CAD

Thouria

2C BC

IG V,1 1379 14-16, 18, 23  
grammateus  
2-1C BC
ISE 51 1-2, 10-14  
grammateus of the synedroi  
One from Thouria (in prescript),  
one from Patrai (writes decree)  
182-167 BC

1CAD  
SEG 11:974 14-15, 24-36  
nomographos (two?), ephor (three)  
1CAD

Arcadia

Alipheira  
3C BC  
IPArk 24 8-11, 14-18  
damiorgos (two?)  
273 BC

Heraia  
3C BC  
IG V,2 415 5-6 (IPArk 23)  
grammateus  
3C BC

Kletor  
2C BC  
IG V,2 367 1, 20, 23, 49 (IPArk 19)  
grammateus of the synedrion  
168-146 BC

Lykaia  
4C BC  
IG V,2 550 1-6, 27-29  
gropheus of the damiorgoi  
304/3 or 320/1-304/3 BC

Mantinea  
4C BC  
IPArk 9 3, 16-21  
stalographos (two?), epimeletes  
c.350-340 BC

2C AD  
IG V,2 302 1-8  
grammateus  
125-128 AD

Megalopolis  
3C BC  
I.Magn 38 38-53 [Magnesia 44] (SIG 3 559)  
nomographos (two?)  
207/6 BC

2C BC  
IG V,2 433 4, 6-11 (IPArk 30)  
nomographos (one)  
Early 2C BC

IG V,2 439 1  
ěni + grammateus of the synedroi  
145 BC

IG V,2 440 1  
ěni + grammateus of the synedroi  
131 BC

IG V,2 441 1-2  
ěni + grammateus of the synedroi  
130 BC

IG V,2 443 1 (IPArk 32)  
ěni + grammateus of the synedroi  
Mid 2/early 1C BC

IG V,2 444 1 (IPArk 32)  
ěni + grammateus of the synedroi  
Mid 2/early 1C BC

SEG 52:447 31  
nomographos (two?)  
c.190-180 BC

Orchomenos  
3C BC  
BCH 38 No.5 6-8  
grammateus  
3C BC

BCH 38 No.6 12  
grammateus  
3C BC
BCH 38 No.8 2-8, 10-13  
ISE 53 1-5, 9-11 (BCH 38 no.1)  
SEG 33:319 3-6, 17-19 (BCH 38 No.11)  

**Stymphalos**

4C BC  
IPArk 17 2-26,193-4 (IG V,2 357)  
katakoos (two), gropheus  
303-300 BC  

3C BC  
IG V,2 351 10-12  
grammateus of the demos (?)  
c.266-219 BC  
IG V,2 356 1, 5-8  
grammateus  
240 BC  

**Tegea**

3C BC  
IG V,2 11 19 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 91)  
grammateus  
Bef. 228 BC  
IG V,2 12 5 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 90-91)  
graphes  
240-228 BC  
IG V,2 13 9  
graphes  
Bef. 228 BC  
IG V,2 16 7-9  
stratagos  
218 BC  
IG V,2 116 7  
graphes  
3C BC  

2C BC  
IG V,2 43 1  
grammateus  
2C BC  

1C BC  
IG V,2 24 4-5 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 91)  
nomographos (two?)  
1C BC or after  
2CAD  
IG V,2 50 78  
grammateus  
165/166 AD  

**Thisoa**

3C BC  
IG V,2 510 7-9 (IPArk 36,r)  
epimeletes (two?)  
3C/early 2C BC  
IG V,2 511 10-12  
epimeletes (two?)  
Undated  

**Elis**

**Olympia**

6-5C BC  
IvO 2 1-9 (Buck 61)  
gropheus  
Bef. 580 BC  
SEG 31:358 1-7 (SEG 26:475)  
gropheus  
480-450 BC  

3C BC  
IvO 39 4-5, 30-40 (Buck 66)  
bolographor  
300-250 BC  

1C BC  
IvO 59 14-15  
grammateus  
36 BC  
IvO 61 4  
grammateus  
After 36 BC  
IvO 62 1-17  
grammateus  
36-24 BC  
IvO 64 24-25  
grammateus  
28-24 BC  

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<td>*IvO 80 9-10 grammateus *c.57 AD</td>
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<td>*IvO 82 16 grammateus *c.67 AD</td>
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<td>*IvO 85 15 grammateus *77-81 AD</td>
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<td>*IvO 86 11 grammateus *85-93 AD</td>
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<td>*IvO 91 21 grammateus *113-117 AD</td>
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<td>*IvO 92 16-17 grammateus *After 113-117 AD</td>
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<td>*IvO 105 11-12 grammateus *Late 2-3CAD</td>
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<td>*IvO 430 6-7 grammateus (to b’) *Not bef. beg. 2CAD</td>
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<td>*IvO 460 3-4 grammateus of the polis *Roman</td>
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<td>*IvO 468 1-7 grammateus</td>
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<td>*IvO 110 17-19, 27 two periegetai, grammateus *209-213 AD</td>
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<td>*IvO 117 22 grammateus *237-241 AD</td>
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<td>*IvO 121 28 grammateus *245-249 AD</td>
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<td>*IvO 122 24 grammateus *265 AD</td>
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</table>

**Achaia**

**Dyme**

**3C BC**
- SIG\(^3\) 529 1-11 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 97) grammatistas of the damosiophylakes \*219 BC
- SIG\(^2\) 530 1-3 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 97) grammatistas \*End C3 BC?
- SIG\(^3\) 531 1-8, 25-32 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 97) ἐνὶ + grammateus for the Achaian League, grammatistas \*3C BC

**2C BC**
- SIG\(^2\) 684 1-2, 6-11, 16-27 (RDGE 43, CQ\(^2\) XLV 1995 129-53, Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 97) ἐνὶ + grammateus of the synedroi, nomographos (two) \*144 BC

**Patrai**

**2C BC**
- ISE 51 1-2, 10-14 grammateus of the synedroi \*182-167 BC

One from Thouria (In prescript), one from Patrai (writes decree) 311
Tritaia

3C BC
SEG 40:400 7, 11-19 
damiorgos (two?) 3C BC

Achaian League

Achaia: Aigion

3C BC
IG VII 188 2-3 
I.Magn 39 33-38, 43-45 [Magnesia 8] 
(Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 99) 
ēni + grammateus of the synedroi 242-223 BC
(Achaian) damiorgos (two?), (Magnesian) nomographos, grammateus c.208/7 BC

Achaia: Dyme

3C BC
SIG3 531 1-8, 25-32 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 97) 
ēni + grammateus for the Achaian League, grammatistas 3C BC

Argolis: Epidauros

3C BC
IG IV,1 73 1-36 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 98) 
nomographos (twenty-four), grammateus After 224 BC

2C BC
IG IV,1 60 1 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 74) 
ēni + grammateus for the Achaian League 191 BC
IG IV,1 61 2 
ēni + grammateus for the Achaian League 150 BC
IG IV,1 63 9-13, 17-18 
gramma teus (of the Achai ans?) 115/114 BC

1CAD
IG IV,1 80 1-6 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 99) 
grammateus of the Achai ans 34/35 AD
IG IV,1 81 7-18 (Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 99) 
grammateus of the Achai ans 34/35 AD

Argolis: Troizen

2CAD
IG IV 795 3-15 
grammateus of the Achai ans c.103-114 AD

Messene: Abia

2CAD
IG V,1 1352 7-11 
ēni + 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

1C AD
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

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1620 Argos artunas: IG IV 554 (480-470 BC) 2, 4 (one). Olympia gropeus: Ivo 2 (Bef. 580 BC) 8; SEG 31:358 (480-450 BC) 1 (two). Total: 3
Figure 9 — Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the fourth century BC.\textsuperscript{1621}

\textsuperscript{1621} Argos grooveus: 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); grooveus for the 80: SEG 33:286 (4C BC?) 5-6 (two); grooveus of the polemarchs Piérart (1987b) 306-9 (SEG 37:280) (4C BC?) (one). Corinthia grooveus [Hellenic League] IG IV, 1 68 (302 BC) 79, 81 (two); grooveus: SEG 30:990 (c.325-275 BC) 2 (one).

Epidaurus grooveus: IG IV, 1 136 (4C BC) 143; IG IV, 1 106 (4C BC) 40-41; IG IV, 1 108 (4/3C BC) 160 (three); grooveus boulas: Mitsos (1947) A1 (4/3C BC) 3 (one); grooveus of the hiaromamones: IG IV, 1 106 (4C BC) 6, 10, 13-14, 30-1, 75-6, C41-3, C115-6, 107; IG IV, 1 108 (4/3C BC) 82, 107, 111-2, 116, 123, 141, 144, 150, 155-6, 160-1, 167; IG IV, 1 165 (4/3C BC) 6 (eleven); katalogos boulas: IG IV, 1 49 (4/3C BC) 14-15; IG IV, 1 51 (4C BC) 14; IG IV, 1 53 (4C BC) 12-13; IG IV, 1 54 (4C BC) 9-10; IG IV, 1 58 (4/3C BC) 4-5, 12-14; SEG 26:445 (c.350 BC) 17-20 (six). Lykia grooveus [dimiorgon]: IG V, 2 550 (304/3 or 320/1-304/3) 4-6 (one). Mantinea grooveus and stalographoi: IPArk 9 (c.350-340 BC) 16-21 (two each). Symphalios grooveus: IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 19-21 (one); katakoos: IPArk 17 (303-300 BC) 7-10, 22-26 (two). Total: 41
Figure 10 – Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the third century BC.\textsuperscript{1622}

\textsuperscript{1622} Achaian League at Aigion grammateus for the Achaians: IGVII 188 (242-223 BC) 2-3 (one); damiorgos: I.Magn 39 (c.208/7 BC) 33-38 (two?); Alpheia damiorgos: IPark 24 (273 BC) 14-15 (two?). Argos grophere bolas: ISE 41 (1\textsuperscript{st} half 3C BC) 2-3; Mnem.\textsuperscript{4} 43:C (248-245) 4; Mnem.\textsuperscript{7} 43:D (247-244) 3; Mnem.\textsuperscript{7} 43:F (Before 243) 5-6; Mnem.\textsuperscript{7} 43:G (before 229/8) 4-5; Mnem.\textsuperscript{7} 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?) 2-3; SEG 39:345 (3C BC) 3-4; SEG 41:280 (3C BC) 3 (fifteen); grophere for the stratagoi: ISE 41 (1\textsuperscript{st} half 3C BC?) 10 (one); gropherees: Buck 87 (3C BC) 4-5 (two).

Dyme grammateus: SIG\textsuperscript{3} 3529 (219 BC) 5; SIG\textsuperscript{3} 3530 (end C3 BC?) 1-3; SIG\textsuperscript{3} 3531 (3C BC) 4, 27 (three); Achaian League at Dyme grammateus for the Achaians: SIG\textsuperscript{3} 3531 (3C BC) 4, 27 (one).

Epidauros grophere: IG IV\textsuperscript{2},1 109 (early 3C BC) 2, 146; Peek, NI 19 (4/early 3C BC) 10-11 (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 IV\textsuperscript{2},1 306 (c.206 BC) A2, C3 (two); Achaian League at Epidauros grammateus and nomographos: IG IV\textsuperscript{2},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 grophere: SEG 51:474 (3C BC) II.1-2 (one). Olympia bolographor: 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 grophere 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 grophere: 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.}
Figure 11 – Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the second century BC. \textsuperscript{1623}

\textsuperscript{1623} Alina grammateus of the demos: IG IV\textsuperscript{2} 748 (241-197 BC) 11-12; IG IV\textsuperscript{2} 749 (158-144 BC) 45-46 (two). Amyklai grammateus, dogmatographos: IG V,1 261, (2/1BC) 17 (one, three). Argo 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; SIG\textsuperscript{3} 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) (one). Corinthia grammateus: Corinth 8, 1 4 (Mid 2BC) 9; Corinth 8, 1 7 (undated) 1; Corinth 8, 1 8 (undated) 1 (three). Dyme grammateus of the synedrion, nomographoi: SIG\textsuperscript{3} 684 (144 BC) 1-2, 6-11, 16-27 (one, two). Epidaurus grammateus: Peek NI32 (undated) 6-7 (one); katalogos boulas: Peek NI 15 (2BC?) 14 (one). Achaian League at Epidaurus grammateus for the Achaians: IG IV\textsuperscript{2},1 60 (191 BC) 1; IG IV\textsuperscript{2},1 61 (150 BC) 2; IG IV\textsuperscript{2},1 63 (115/114 BC) 18 (three). Epidauros Limera ephor: IG V,1 931 (after 146 BC) 34-36 (three). Gerania ephor: IG V,1 1336 (undated) 17-19 (three). Geronthrai ephor: IV 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 3/2BC) 23-31 (two each); Kletor grammateus of the synedroi: IG V,2 367 (168-146 BC) 1, 20 (one). Kolonides grammateus: IG V,1 1402 (late 2BC) 1 (one). Koryrta ephor: IG V,1 962 (undated) 31-38; IG V,1 965 (2BC) 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.1BC) 1; IG V,2 444 (Mid.2/E.1BC) 1 (five); nomographos: IG V,2 433 (early 2BC) 9-10; SEG 52:447 (c.190-180 BC) 31 (three?). Messene grammateus: IG V,1 1428 (late 2-1 BC) 4; SEG 31:346 (Hellenistic) (all) (two). Tainaron tamias: IG V,1 1226 (2/1 BC) 17-21; IG V,1 1227 (undated) 2-7 (two). Tegea grammateus: IG V,2 43 (2BC) 1 (one). Thouria grammateus of the synedroi: IG V,1 1379 (2-1BC) 14-16, 18, 23; ISE 51 (182-167 BC) 10-14 (two). Total: 69
Figure 12 – Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the first century BC.\textsuperscript{1624}

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item Andania grammateus of the synedroi: IG V, 1 1390 (92/91 BC) 1, 134-5 (one).
\item Corinthia grammateus: Corinth 8, 3 46 (44 BC) b3 (one).
\item Geronthrai: ephor: IG V, 1 1114 (1C BC) 27-30 (three).
\item 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).
\item Korone grammateus of the synedroi: IG V, 1 1392 (58 BC) 2 (one).
\item Kybarissos grammateus: IG V, 1 1559 (undated) 2-3 (one).
\item Messene grammateus of the synedroi: IG V, 1 1432 (39 BC) 2, 13-25, 41-42; IG V, 1 1463 (1C BC) 3 (two).
\item Olympia grammateus: IVO 59 (36 BC) 14-15; IVO 61 (after 36 BC) 4; IVO 62 (36-24 BC) 7-8; IVO 64 (28-24 BC) 24-25 (four).
\item 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) 23-26 (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.
\end{itemize}

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{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 (58 BC) 2 (one). Kybarissos 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 (36 BC) 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) 23-26 (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.
Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the first century AD.

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**Figure 13** – Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the first century AD.\(^{1625}\)

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\(^{1625}\) Argos *grammateus*: IG IV 589 (undated) 2-4; IG IV 606 (Roman Imp.) 3; SEG 13:244 (Roman Imp.) (three). Achaian League at Epidaurus *grammateus of the Achaians*: IG IV\(^2\),1 80 (34/35 AD) 5; IG IV\(^2\),1 81 (34/35 AD) 10, 17 (two). Messene *grammateus*: IG V,1 1467 (1 CAD) 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 (5 AD) 17-18; IvO 74 (Bef. 57 AD) 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 1 CAD) 25 (four). Thouria *ephor*: SEG 11:974 (1 CAD) 24-28, 34-36 (three); *nomographos*: SEG 11:974 (1 CAD) 29-30 (two?). Not on map (origin unknown): *grammateus of the Achaians*: IG VII 2711 (AD 37) 43-45. **Total: 28**
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). Epidauros grammateus: IG IV,1 25 (117-138 AD) 2 (one). Mantinea grammateus: IG V,2 302 (125-128 AD) 5-6 (one). Achaian League at Mantinea grammateus of the synedrion: IG V,2 313 (2 CAD) 1-2 (one). Messene grammateus: IG V,1 1469 (126 AD) 6 (one); grammateus of the synedrion: SEG 23:266 (2-3 CAD) 1 (one). Olympia grammateus: Ivo 91 (113-117 AD) 21; Ivo 92 (af.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 2-3 AD) 11-12; Ivo 107 (Late 2-3 CAD) 16-17; Ivo 430 (Not b.f.2 CAD) 6-7 (nine); grammateus of the polis: Ivo 460 (Roman) 3-4 (one); grammatis: Ivo 468 (2-3 CAD) 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 2 CAD) 4; IG V,1 137 (98-117 AD) 3-9, 23-24; IG V,1 147 (early 2 CAD) 13-14; IG V,1 152 (2 CAD) 9; IG V,1 168 (Late 2/3 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 boules: 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) 4; 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) 1; IG V,1 34 (117-138 AD) 7; IG V,1 37 (138-161 AD) 1; IG V,1 39 (Mid 2 CAD) 26; IG V,1 40 (138-180 AD) 9-11, 13-14; IG V,1 46 (Late 2/3 CAD) 8-9; IG V,1 60 (117-138 AD); IG V,1 71 (Mid 2 CAD) III.4; IG V,1 110 (Mid 2 CAD) 5; IG V,1 112 (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 2 CAD) 29; IG V,1 479 (131/132 AD) 2-4; SEG 30:410 (Mid 2 CAD) 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 2 CAD) A4; IG V,1 137 (98-117 AD)
3C AD

Figure 15 – Secretaries or other officials charged with writing a text in the third century AD.\textsuperscript{1627}


\textsuperscript{1627} Corinthia grammateus: SEG 26:396 (mid 3C AD) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Designation(s)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>See:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argos</td>
<td>IG IV 589 2-10</td>
<td>officer of the ephebes, grammateus, tamias, agonothetes</td>
<td>undated</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argos</td>
<td>IG IV 606 1-6</td>
<td>aedile, grammateus, hierophant, agonothetes</td>
<td>Roman Imp.</td>
<td>page 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argos</td>
<td>IG IV 609 5-8</td>
<td>agoranomos, public buyer of corn, gropheus</td>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>n.727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argos</td>
<td>SEG 13:244 1-11</td>
<td>gymnasiarch, agoranomos, grammateus, tamias</td>
<td>1C BC-1CAD</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troizen</td>
<td>IG IV 795 3-14</td>
<td>strategos, agonothetes, grammateus of the Achaians</td>
<td>103-113 AD</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epidauros</td>
<td>IG IV²,1 25 3-10</td>
<td>grammateus, ambassador, gymnasiarchos, agoranomos</td>
<td>117-138 AD</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achaia</td>
<td>IG IV²,1 81 7-18</td>
<td>grammateus</td>
<td>34/35 AD</td>
<td>page 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(and IG IV²,1 80)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sparta</td>
<td>IG V,1 479 3-8</td>
<td>grammateus of the boule, hipparch, agonothetes</td>
<td>131/132 AD</td>
<td>page 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asine</td>
<td>IG V,1 1412 7-9</td>
<td>grammateus</td>
<td>193-5 AD</td>
<td>page 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mantinea</td>
<td>IG V,2 313 1-4</td>
<td>grammateus of the synedrion, agonothetes</td>
<td>2CAD</td>
<td>n.1072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elis</td>
<td>IvO 430 6-7</td>
<td>stratagos, grammateus (twice)</td>
<td>2-3CAD</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elis</td>
<td>IvO 433 1-6</td>
<td>priest of Zeus Olympios, agoranomos, gymnasiarch, chief of police, grammateus</td>
<td>after c.95 AD</td>
<td>page 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elis</td>
<td>IvO 460 3-4</td>
<td>priest of Zeus Olympios, grammateus of the polis, president of Achaian League</td>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>page 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elis</td>
<td>IvO 468 1-7</td>
<td>epimeletes, priest, agoranomos, chief of police, magistratistas</td>
<td>2/3CAD</td>
<td>page 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corinth</td>
<td>SEG 26:396 2</td>
<td>—arch, tamias, grammateus, agoranomos, strategos</td>
<td>3CAD</td>
<td>page 128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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 secretarships – 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. 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. 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. During this period, the island and treasury were administered by Athenian *hellenotamiai* (treasurers), who were elected by lot, from the *pentakosiomedimnoi*, 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.

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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 *neokori* (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.
The first reference to administration by four Athenian magistrates – called amphictyons – dates to 410 BC.\textsuperscript{1633} The amphictyons managed Delos and its treasuries from the end of the fifth century BC until 314/3 BC,\textsuperscript{1634} assisted by their \textit{grammateus} and \textit{hypogrammateus} (see page 325).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1636} From 359 BC, a second board of Athenians, the \textit{naopoioi} ("temple-builders"), were formed as an architectural commission\textsuperscript{1637} responsible for building and repairing these temples. This group also had their own \textit{grammateus} and \textit{hypogrammateus} (page 338).

From the end of the fifth century BC, Delian decrees were enacted by its boule and the Delians (the demos).\textsuperscript{1638} However, evidence for a Delian \textit{grammateus of the boule} is scarce, and when the designation occurs in inscriptions, it may refer to the \textit{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 \textit{grammateus of the boule} is invisible in the epigraphic record, and the (possibly synonymous) designation \textit{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 \textit{hieropoioi} (ministers of the sacrifice, or 'doers of sacred things'), who met in the Neokorion.\textsuperscript{1639} When Delos gained independence in 314 BC, it took control of its own sanctuaries, and the \textit{hieropoioi} took on the bureaucratic and administrative duties that had previously been carried out by the amphictyons.\textsuperscript{1640} The Delian \textit{hieropoioi} had their own \textit{grammateus}, who recorded the contents of the treasuries, in much the same way that the \textit{grammateus of the amphictyons} had done; effectively continuing a tradition of 'Athenian-
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).\footnote{OCD 320-321; Hamilton (2000) 60; Laidlaw (1933) 83-84, 95-96, 101-102.}

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,\footnote{E.g. ID 1450 (140/39 BC) A2; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 243.} 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.\footnote{OCD 320-321.}  Epigraphic evidence from this period is scarce, with treasury records not extant after 169 BC.\footnote{ID 461 (169 BC).} The cleruchy appears to have been dissolved after a slave uprising, after which Delos became an organisation of Athenians and foreign traders.\footnote{OCD 320-321.}

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 stonemasons (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.\footnote{For example ID 78 and ID 79, 4BC proxeny and honorific decrees.} Texts also rarely include the epigraphic formulae which direct officers to write and set up stelai.\footnote{Where given, formulae can also provide the names of groups responsible, and omit the names and designations of specific officers. See IGXI,4813 (start 2BC) 17-20 on page 328.}
Secretaries of the boule and demos

γραμματεῦς 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. The first reference to administration by four Athenian magistrates – called amphictyons – dates to 410 BC. This group had their own grammateus and hypogrammateus (page 335).

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. These officers were ‘amphictyons’ in name only, functioning neither as representatives of a league of neighbouring states, nor as part of a religious foundation. 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. 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.

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.

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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.


1651 Laidlaw (1933) 78.


1653 Str. 8.6.14; Constantakopoulou (2007) 30-32.


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. 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.

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. 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.
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.\(^{1663}\)

**γραμματεύς 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.

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\(^{1660}\) ID 104-23 (346/5 BC) 9: [παρὰ γρα]ν ματέως 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: τάδε ἔπραξεν ἀμφικτύνοις Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Καλλέα ἄρχοντος μέχρι τὸ Θαργηλίωνος μηνός τὸ ἐπὶ Ἰπποδάμαντος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήναι, ἔν Δῆλῳ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἑπιγένους ἄρχοντος μέχρι τὸ Θαργηλίωνος μηνός | τὸ ἐπὶ Ἰππίου ἄρχοντος, ὁποῖων όσον ἐκκατόσερος αὐτῶν ἦρεν, οἱ Διὸς ὄλυμπος Ὀλυμπιοδῶρος Σκαμβωνίδης ἐγραμμάτευσεν... 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.


\(^{1664}\) 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 proxeny 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:

\[
\text{ἀναγράψαι δὲ | τὸδὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τῇ μὲν βουλῇ εἰς τὸ βου|λευτήριον, τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιοῖς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν | εἰς στήλην.}
\]

*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:

\[
\text{... ἔγγυοι· Ἀνδρο[μ]ένης Δημόνου, Νίκων Δημόνου. μάρτυρες οἴδε· ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ο[ἱ]}\]  
\text{ένδεκα καὶ [οι γραμματεῖς· | <eleven personal names>: γραμματεύς βουλῆς Διόγ[νη]τος Τι — — — | γραμματεύς 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 proxeny decrees or honorific inscriptions.
... Providing sureties: Andromenes son of Demonous, Nikon son of Demonous. The witnesses as follows: from the polis, the Eleven and [the grammateis]: eleven personal names; grammateus of the boule Diognetos Ti--, grammateus of the hieropoioi and of the agoranomoi Theognotos son of Patrokles; treasurer of the polis, Tlesimenes son of Erasinos; 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. At Delos, this board appears to have a different function: to appear as witnesses for contracts for public building works. 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.

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).

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.

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. Ολυμπιόδωρος Ελικάνδρου, Επιθάλης Αριστοδίκου and possibly also [Αντί]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 IGII² 233 (340/39 BC) 15-16: μηδὲ τοῖς συνεδροῖς εἰναι | κατατόταξεί ἐν τοῦ χρόνῳ το[ὐτωι....
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.

γραμματεύς τῶν ἱεροποιῶν (grammateus of the hieropoioi)

The hieropoioi were Delian temple officials, attested from the fourth to the second centuries BC. During the Athenian administration of the island, the hieropoioi functioned as minor officials, and administration of temple finances was carried out by Athenian amphictyons. During the period of Delian independence, however (314-166 BC), the hieropoioi took on the duties previously carried out by the amphictyons; 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. 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). From all instances of both designations, there is only one example of a verb of writing directly associated with either office, 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.)

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1676 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 297-166 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 γραμματεύς ὁς | καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν καὶ ἀναθεματίσας | ἐκεῖ τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς ἄναγκεν καὶ ἀναθεματίσας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ τῇ ἐκείνῳ. ...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, and can also record a variety of other things, such as rents collected from sacred and other properties, debts and loans, monthly expenditure, dedications of phialai, and even transactions pertaining to the trade in wheat.

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.

...γραμματεύς Νεοκροντίδης ΠΔΔΔ. ἀγάλμα τοῦ Διονύσου Π... | ... | ...[πέτευρα ταῖς] δι[εγ]γυήσεις καὶ ταῖς συγγραφαῖς ΓΗ-Υ- έις Θεσμοφόρια τῇ Δήμητρι ὑς ἐγκύμων ΔΑΔΗ-... 

...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

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1682 ID 442 (179 BC) A195-207.
1683 ID 442 (179 BC) A140-152.
1684 ID 442 (179 BC) A159-180 & 240-252.
1686 ID 442 (179 BC) A180-194.
1687 ID 442 (179 BC) A224-225.
1689 ID 442 (179 BC) A198, 200, 203-204.
Although Athenian accounts are similar (for example recording expenditure on decrees or amounts payable to various officers),\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1693} However, there are also running totals given through the text, and these are cumulative.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1696}

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\textsuperscript{1691} See examples on pages 54, 88 and 106.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1693} Vial (1984) 220.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1695} Vial (1984) 220.

\textsuperscript{1696} See example on page 328.
Further particulars

Each Delian temple inventory contains the transactions for a single year. 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.

The board of hieropoioi was supposed to contain four members, although there were frequently only two hieropoioi, and sometimes one. 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.

γραμματεύς 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. 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. The grammateus of the polis is recorded alongside the bouleutai, while the grammateus of the boule is not (see example on page 334).

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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 παρελβόθεμεν ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι Παρὰ ἱεροποιοῖς Τέλεσαρχιδίῳ τοῦ Εὐδίκου, Προσεξεμένου τοῦ Πριαμίδης, παρούσης βουλῆς καὶ γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Δημοσκυνήτου τοῦ Τιττοῦ | [τ]άδε παρελβόθεμεν τοῦ Πριαμίδης, Προσεξεμένου τοῦ Ἐνδίκου τοῦ Εὐδίκου, Προσεξεμένου τοῦ Πριαμίδης, παρούσης βουλῆς καὶ γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Δημοσκυνήτου τοῦ Τιττοῦ. 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 Demonstratos son of Diogenes, and that of the hieropoioi, Aristophanes son of , and we handed over to the hieropoioi Krittes son of Nikarchos, and Synnomos son of Hierombrotos, in the presence of the boule and the grammateus of the polis Antigonos son of Teisikles, and that of the hieropoioi, Choirilus 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, Reger (1994) 7.

1699 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, where he is shown (with only one exception) 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:

> [λόγος ἱεροποιῶν τῶν ἱεροποιησάντων ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μενεκράτου, Δημόνου τοῦ Νίκωνος, Π]Ι[στου] τοῦ [Ξενοκλέους, Ξενοκλέους, Αριστοθέου, παρ[όνων βου]λευτῶν | και γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Δημητρίου, τοῦ τίῶν ἱεροποιῶν Κλεινοδίκου τοῦ Κλεινοδίκου ὃ]ραχμᾶς ·ΜΜΜΜΧΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΗ-Ο | ... ।

Account of the hieropoioi who held office as hieropoioi during the archonship of Menekrates, [Demonous 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 Aristoteles], 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*.

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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.
1705 LGPN I 128.
1706 For example: IG XI,2 161 (278 BC) A124-126: παρόντων βουλευτῶν καὶ γραμματέων, τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Κλεινοδίκου τοῦ 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.\(^{1707}\)

\[\text{hypogrammateus} (\text{hypogrammateus})\]

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.

\[\text{Ἀμφικτύοσιν Ἀθη

\[\text{polation εἰς [τ]άπ[ι]τήδει[α κοι γραμματεί κα]]|[i \text{ hypogrammate}

\[\text{ΧΧ} \text{𐅅} \text{Η} \text{𐅄} \text{𐅃} \text{𐅂} \text{𐅂} \text{𐅁} 1709\]

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, -ουσικλῆ[ς] Α[ἰ]γιλ[ιε]ύς (–ysikles of Aigilia), confirms (μάρτυρες). During the period of Delian independence, a contract is also laid down (κειμένη) in the presence of one grammateus of the hieropoioi (IGXI,4 1028 (start of 3C BC) fr. bc.1-4).

\(^{1698}\)

\(^{1707}\) See n.1698.


\(^{1709}\) Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 144.
that he (along with the amphictyons) was an Athenian. In the period in which this inscription was created, Delian officials were once again filling minor administrative offices on the island. 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

γραμματεύς (grammateus)

The designation grammateus (γραμματεύς) 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 Κασσανδρεύς, γραμματεύς | 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 θιασί|τῶν τὸν | γραμματέα | Ἀπολλώνιον | μελανηφό|ρον.1713

To Sarapis, Isis and Anubis: The association of the enatistai, whose archithiasites is Dionysios son of Noumenios of Kassandreia, grammateus Apollonios melanephros <list of members> <honours for the archithiasites> The association of the guild (honour) the secretary Apollonios melanephros.

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.\(^\text{1714}\)

**κληρωτὸς γραμματεύς (*klerotos grammateus*)**

The designation *klerotos grammateus* appears in a decree and inscription honouring the *agoranomoi* and their *grammateus*.\(^\text{1715}\) Klerotos refers to the method of selection of the *grammateus*, i.e., appointed by lot. See page 94 for the *klerotos grammateus* in Athens.

**γραμματεύς 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.\(^\text{1716}\)

**γραμματεύς 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*.\(^\text{1717}\)

The *grammateus of the epimeletes* was the official responsible for writing an honorific inscription praising the *agoranomoi* (market overseers) and a secretary from Rhamnous.

\[\text{ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν ἐπιμελητοῦ διογεῖτων Διογνήτου Ῥαμνοῦσιον καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι ἐνίαυτόν· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Διογεῖτων Διογνήτου Ῥαμνοῦσιον καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι ἐνίαυτόν· καὶ δικαιοσύνης.}\(^\text{1718}\)

*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 Lysiades. 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.*

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\(^{1714}\) Delos: Orph. H.42.9; SIG977 2 (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[λητούς γραμματεύς: —. The stele honouring the officers: ID 1833 (undated) 6-7: ὁ κληρωτὸς γραμματεύς | Μενεκλῆς Ἀϊσχρωνος Ἀλαιεύς.

\(^{1716}\) 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*.

**γραμματεύς 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. There were three *naopoioi*, plus a secretary. 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.

The *naopoioi* and their *grammateus* were Athenian; 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:


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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 Anagyrus, 360 drachmas and a quarter obol. From this account comes my wage, according to the decree of Aresimbrotes: 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….

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. From the money provided by the amphictyons, Philistides drew the amount for his own wage: ἀπὸ τούτου μισθὸν ἐμαυτῶι τὸ γιγνόμενον, 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...

References:

1723 ID 104-24 (345/4 BC) 1-17. The grammateus Aristhetairos in 5-6 is the grammateus of the amphictyons.
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.\\footnote{1726}{The account is unusual in specifying the display of temporary media on the acropolis.}

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 \textit{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 \textit{grammateus of the naopoioi}.

Chankowski suggests that the duties of the \textit{grammateus of the naopoioi} may have differed from the duties of the \textit{naopoioi} themselves, with the secretary in charge of inspecting building work already completed, and fining those who provide sub-standard work, while the \textit{naopoioi} were in charge of creating contracts.\\footnote{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 \textit{grammateus}, which is otherwise almost entirely absent. See also Prêtre (2002) 56.}

Further particulars

If Chankowski’s theory about the difference between the duties of the \textit{grammateus of the naopoioi} and the duties of the \textit{naopoioi} is correct, the \textit{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 \textit{naopoioi}.

For a similar, Athenian, \textit{grammateus} working with an architectural commission, see \textit{grammateus of the epistatai} on page 100.

\textbf{Other officers}

\textit{ἄρχιθιασίτης} (archithiasites)

An \textit{archithiasites} was a leader of a religious guild. During the Roman period, the \textit{archithiasites} was, for a while, the presiding official for meetings of the ekklesia of the temple of Apollo.\\footnote{1728}{ID 1519 (153/2 BC) 1-3: ἐπὶ Φαίδριοι ἄρχοντος, Ἐλαφηβολίωνος ὄγδοες, ἔκκλησει· ἀν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· Διονύσου Διονυσίου | ἄρχιθιασίτης εἶπεν· At this time, the sanctuary also had a \textit{grammateus} (line 46). SEG 42:740 bis.}

\begin{flushright}
340
\end{flushright}
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


*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, 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 stonemasons) 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 Δήλω κοινοῖ Βηρυτῶν Πασχίδω[[ο]]ν [νιστόν ἐμπόρῳ]ν καὶ ναυληθέρων [κοι] ἔδοξεν, 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 αὐλή, and a place is to be given to him in the courtyard, suggesting that other honours are also set up here.


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 \textit{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 \textit{grammateus of the boule} at Athens of a decree passed on Delos,\textsuperscript{1733} and copies of treasury accounts were also supplied to Athens on this medium.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{grammateus of the hieropoioi} (who compiled treasury accounts) and the \textit{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 \textit{anagrapheus, antigrapheus,} and \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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

\textsuperscript{1733} See ID 88 (368-362 BC) 20-28 & 31-37 on page 326.

\textsuperscript{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.

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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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inscription</th>
<th>Officers honoured, in the order in which they are honoured</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(b) = of the boule</td>
<td>(b&amp;d) = of the boule and demos</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:89 (254/3 BC) 31-40</td>
<td>tamias (b), grammateus, herald (b&amp;d), grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:115 (235/4 BC) 29-37</td>
<td>tamias, tamias (b), hiereus, herald (b&amp;d), grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.15:128 (223/2 BC) 51-63</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, hiereus, tamias (b), herald (b&amp;d), grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.15:129 (222/1 BC) 48-58</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, tamias (b), hiereus, herald (b&amp;d), grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.15:130 (220/19 BC) 47-58</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, hiereus, tamias (b), herald (b&amp;d), grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.15:132 (215/4 BC) 9-22</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, hiereus, tamias (b), herald (b&amp;d), grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.15:145 (end 3C BC) 2-5</td>
<td>hiereus, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:160 (beg. 2C BC) 5-7</td>
<td>grammateus, hiereus, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:162 (beg. 2C BC) 6-17</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, tamias (b), hiereus, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:168 (193/2 BC) 35-47</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:170 (190/89 BC) 7-16</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, hiereus, tamias (b), grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inscription</th>
<th>Officers honoured, in the order in which they are honoured</th>
<th>(b) = of the boule</th>
<th>(b&amp;d) = of the boule and demos</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:173 (189/8 BC) 11-20</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, hiericus, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
<td>herald (b&amp;d), aulettes</td>
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<td>Ag.15:179 (185/4 BC) 25-36</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, hiericus, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
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<td>tamias (b), herald (b&amp;d)</td>
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<td>Ag.15:187 (180/79 BC) 16-30</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
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<td>herald (b&amp;d), aulettes</td>
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<td>Ag.15:189 (180 BC) 4-11</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, hiericus, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
<td>herald (b&amp;d), aulettes</td>
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<td>Ag.15:191 (after 178/7 BC) 2-11</td>
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<td>herald, aulettes</td>
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<td>Ag.15:194 (178/7 BC) 34-42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:204 (176/5-170/69 BC) 2-17</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, hiericus, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
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<td>Ag.15:205 (176/5-170/69 BC) 6-16</td>
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<td>hypogrammateus</td>
<td>herald (b&amp;d), aulettes, tamias (b)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:206 (173/2 BC) 53-65</td>
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<td>hypogrammateus</td>
<td>herald (b&amp;d), aulettes, tamias (b)</td>
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<td>Ag.15:212 (169/8 BC) 48-60</td>
<td>grammateus, hiericus, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
<td>herald (b&amp;d), aulettes, tamias (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.15:213 (168/7 BC) 8-20</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, hiericus, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
<td>herald (b&amp;d), aulettes, tamias (b)</td>
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<td>Ag.15:216 (166/5 BC) 10-21</td>
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<td>hypogrammateus</td>
<td>herald (b&amp;d), aulettes, tamias (b)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:217 (167/6-165/4 BC) 7-18</td>
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<td>hypogrammateus</td>
<td>herald (b&amp;d), aulettes, tamias (b)</td>
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<td>Ag.15:220 (164/3 BC) 48-61</td>
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<td>Ag.15:222 (161-60 BC) 9-16</td>
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<td>hypogrammateus</td>
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<td>Ag.15:225 (155/4 BC) 52-65</td>
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<td>Ag.15:226 (155 BC) 5-16</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, hiericus, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
<td>herald (b&amp;d), aulettes, tamias (b)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:239 (145/4 BC) 5-17</td>
<td>tamias — —</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
<td>herald (b&amp;d), aulettes, tamias (b)</td>
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<td>Ag.15:240 (140/39 BC) 45-55</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
<td>herald (b&amp;d), aulettes, tamias (b), hiericus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inscription</td>
<td>Officers honoured, in the order in which they are honoured</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:243 (135/4 BC) 36i-36y</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
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<td>hypogrammateus</td>
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<td></td>
<td>herald (b&amp;d), hieres, auletas, tamias (b), antigrapheus, anagrapheus, secretary in charge of decrees, grammateus kata prytaneian, secretary for that which cannot be mentioned</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:246 (131/0 BC) 29-37</td>
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<td></td>
<td>hypogrammateus</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>herald (b&amp;d), hieres, anagrapheus, secretary in charge of decrees, antigrapheus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ag.15:260 (beg. 1 BC) 22-32</td>
<td>tamias (b), grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>hypogrammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>herald (b&amp;d), hieres, tamias (b), antigrapheus, anagrapheus, secretary in charge of decrees, antigrapheus for that which cannot be mentioned, auletas</td>
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<td>Ag.15:261 (95/94 BC) 51-65</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
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<td>hypogrammateus</td>
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<td>herald (b&amp;d), hieres, tamias (b), auletas, antigrapheus, anagrapheus, secretary in charge of decrees, grammateus kata prytaneian, secretary for that which cannot be mentioned, auletas</td>
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<td>IG II² 848 (219/8 BC) 37-46</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, tamias (b), hieres, herald (b&amp;d), grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
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<td>IG II² 912 (after 200 BC) 10-20 (Ag.15:138)</td>
<td>grammateus, hieres, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
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<td>herald (b&amp;d), auletas.</td>
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<td>IG II² 913 (c.200 BC) 1-11 (Ag.15:137)</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, hieres, herald (b&amp;d), grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
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<td>IG II² 914 (c.200 BC) 2-11</td>
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<td>IG II² 915 (c.200 BC) 17-29 (Ag.15:147)</td>
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<td>hypogrammateus</td>
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<td>herald (b&amp;d), auletas.</td>
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<td>IG II² 918 (beg. 2 BC) 4-12 (Ag.15:214)</td>
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<td>hypogrammateus</td>
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<td>herald (b&amp;d), auletas, tamias (b)</td>
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<tr>
<td>IG II² 952 (161-60 BC) 9-15</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, hieres, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
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<td>hypogrammateus</td>
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<td>herald (b&amp;d), auletas, tamias (b)</td>
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<tr>
<td>IG II² 972 (140 BC) 2-13</td>
<td>tamias, grammateus, hieres, grammateus (b&amp;d)</td>
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<td>hypogrammateus</td>
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<td>herald (b&amp;d), auletas, tamias (b)</td>
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</table>

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:

- ὁγραφαῖς or ὁγραφαῖς ‘for engraving’, found at Epidauros (see page 350).
- ἔγραψε καὶ ἔχραξε ‘wrote and engraved’, found at Thalamai, Laconia (see page 351).
- ἔγραψε ‘has written’, or ἔγραψίν ‘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. 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 grapsantι) or γράψαντι (grapsantι), 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 (SEG21:586 (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 XII,2 162 A46: τοῖς λιθουργοῖς Λεπτίνη καὶ Βακχίϊῳ ‘ΠΔΔ’, 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’.

...στηλὼν δύο | [Ἡ|ΠΔ] | ΔΔ· ... τ[οι] γράψαντι[τι] Η[ΠΔ]· μολύβδου Γ· ἤ· δέλτου κυπαρισσίνης ΔΓ· τοί γράψαντι ΔΔΓ· Ά.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:

ἐργασαμένων το ἄγαλμα λριστοθάλει Ἄ· Γ· γράψαντι Δεινομένει Ἄ· Ε· εἰς κόσμησιν τοῦ ἄγαλμα[τος] Ἄ· ἴ· Η-ΙΙΙ· ... γράψαντι τὴν στήλην Δεινομέν<ε> | τής δραχμής γράμματα τρισκάσσα, τά πάντα γράμματα τρισμύρα, μισθός δραχμάι Ἄ· ἴ· μολύβδος Ἄ· Ε· ξύλα Ἄ· Ι· τοίς στήσασι τὴν στήλην Ἄ· ἴ· Η-ΙΙΙ.1740

1737 Temple inventory: IG XI,2 162 (278 BC) A3, 52: γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Δημητρίου, τοῦ τ[οι]ν ἱεροποι[ῶν] Κλεινοδικοῦ τοῦ Κλεινοδικοῦ; γράψαντι Σωσίμενει Ἄ· ἴ· Η-ΙΙΙ·. Building contract: IG XI,2 219 (c.265 BC) 19 γράψαντι Ναννάκῳ· Γ· ἤ·

1738 ID 440 (198-180 BC) A45-47.

1739 The high figure allocated to the stonemaster is most likely the amount for cutting both stelai.

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.

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 κυμάτια Δεξιθέωι ἐμ Μελίτει οἴκοιντι :Γ’

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 τῆ[ν στήλην γρά][ψαντι Η]ΡΔΔΔ ...· μύλυβδος Γ’· ξύλα Ι-ΙΠ.1745

For Neogenes, [for having inscribed] the [stele], 180 drachmas... lead, 6 drachmas, wood, 1 drachma 3 obols.

1742 IG II² 1672 (329/8 BC) 187-8.
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) Α3 γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Φιλαδέου τοῦ Νησιώτου, του τῶν ιεροποιῶν Σωστράτου τοῦ Στράτωνος; Α61 γραμματεῖ Σωστράτωι :ΡΔΔΔ:
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.  

*άγγραφάς or ἐγγροφάς (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 ἐγγλυμάτων ἐργασιάς τοῖς καταλοβεύσῃ καὶ ὑπερθύρῳ τῶν δεδοκιμασμένων Ἀττικοῦ ὂν...  

... ἐγγροφᾶς εἰς τὰν στάλαν Σαννίωνι...IC

*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.*

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1746 IG XI,4 1184 (2C BC) 4: Πολιάνθης Κυρηναῖος ἔποιε. Austin (2004) 1243, no.1028: Κυρηναῖος (*Cyrenaicos*) 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’ (ἐπόιε) 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[χιλιών ὀκτακο[σίων εἰς τὸν στάλων ἄγγραφο[ς, ἐλο][ένω τὰ ἐκατόν πέντε' ὀβολῶν, γίνεται δραχμ[αι [|=]: Η λόγος δανά[νος ΧΡΗΗΗΗ[=::II].

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.

έγραψε καὶ ἔχαραξε (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 ἔχαραξε 'wrote and engraved,' ἐπιγραφῶν 'for writing,' or ἔγραψε 'has written'. 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 ἔχαραξε to the Latin scripsit et sculpsit, indicating the preliminary drawing and engraving of a text; however I have been unable to find any conclusive Greek parallels for this.
[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’, as in this piece of Athenian graffiti from the early fifth century BC:

Σοσίας καταπύγον | ἡς φησιν ὁ ἡγράφσας

*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.

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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 grapsas* in epigrams and memorials.

Glossary of technical terms

_Aeisitoi_ (ἀίσειτοι, ἀἰσιτοι) Sg. _aeisitos_ (ἀεἰσιτος). Those who are 'always fed', i.e. maintained at public cost during meals held at Athenian Prytaneum.

_Agoranomos_ (ἀγορανόμος) ‘Clerk of the market'; the officer who regulated buying and selling.

_Aliaia_ (ἀλιαία) One of the two councils at Argos, sometimes known as the _bola_ (βωλά). The other council was the Eighty.

_Aliaia teleia_ (ἀλιαία τελεία) The monthly meeting of the _aliaia_ at Argos.

_Amphictyons_ Athenian magistrates who managed the treasuries at Delos from the end of the fifth century BC until 314/3 BC.

_Apodektai_ (ἀποδέκται) The ten ‘receivers’ at Athens who reviewed, amended and edited financial records.

_Artunai_ (ἀρτύναι) Treasurers at Argos.

_Boila_ (βωλά) One of the two councils at Argos, usually known as the _aliaia_ (ἀλιαία). The other council was the Eighty.

_Boularchos_ (βουλαρχος) One of the primary officers at Dyme.

_Bouleutes_ (βουλευτής) At Athens, the _bouleutai_ were the 500 councillors who were the members of the boule. The _bouleutai_ were chosen by sortition from each of the ten Athenian tribes, fifty per tribe. For 1/10th of the year, each group of fifty formed the executive officers of the boule, during which time they were known as _prytaneis_ (sg. _prytanis_).

_Chalkotheke_ (χαλκοθήκη) At Athens, the treasury in which all metal objects were stored.

_Cheiroskopos_ (χειροσκόπος) Official responsible for ‘an account of the votes’, Orchomenos.

_Damios_ (δαμίος) In various locations, a generic term for ‘magistrate’. The _damios_ was, for a while, the eponymous official at Orchomenos.

_Damosiophylakes_ (δαμοσιοφυλάκες) ‘Guardians of the demos.’ A board of magistrates at Dyme.

_Damosios_ (δαμοσίος) The public archive at Sparta (δαμόσιος), or the building containing the public records at Dyme (δημόσιος).

_Demarch_ (δήμαρχος) Lit. ‘chief official of a demos’. An official who performed a wide range of duties related to deme administration.

_Demosios_ (δημόσιος) A public slave who could be employed by the boule as a clerk.

_Diagramma_ (διάγραμμα) A register of taxable properties.

_Dogma_ (δόγμα) (pl. _dóγματα, dogmata_) Decisions or ordinances which required ratification before becoming law. (See esp. Laconia.)

_Dogmatographos_ (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 _aliaia_. Also the name given to the governing body in pre-Roman Corinth.

_Eisagogeus_ (εἰσαγωγεύς) Magistrate who brought the lawsuits of the tribes to court. There were five _eisagogeis_, each acting on behalf of two phylai.
Eleven, The (οἱ ἕνδεκα) Archons who enforced legal decisions of the courts at Athens.

Ephor (ἔφορος) Lit. ‘overseer’; magistrate of Laconia. Sparta had five ephors; evidence suggests that other poleis had three.

Epimeletes (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.

Epistates (ἐπιστατής) ‘Commissioner’ or ‘overseer’. Boards of epistatai (ἐπιστόται) oversaw building work on the Acropolis at Athens, and also at Epidaurus. Epistates was also the title given to Attalos Philadelphos as commissioner of Aigina.

Epistoleus (ἐπιστολεὺς) 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.

Gerousia (γερουσία) The council of elders at Sparta. Membership consisted of 28 men over sixty years old, plus the two Spartan basileis.

Grammateus (γραμματεύς) (pl. γραμματεῖς, grammateis) The most commonly-occurring term for ‘secretary’ in the ancient Greek world.

Grammatistas (γραμματεῖς) A Corinthian and Achaian dialect word, roughly equivalent to grammateus.

Grammatophylax (γραμματοφύλαξ) At Sparta and Megalopolis, ‘guardian of the laws’ or ‘registrar’, whose duties remain uncertain. The grammatoophylakes appear to have acted as guards or administrators of archives.

Grammatophylakion (γραμματοφυλάκιον) At Sparta and Megalopolis, a repository or archive of bureaucratic and legal documents.

Grapheus (γραφεύς) Informally, ‘painter,’ ‘writer’ or ‘personal secretary’.

Gropheus (γροφεύς) (pl. γροφές, grophees) The most commonly-occurring term for ‘secretary’ in the Peloponnese. The term fell out of usage c.146 BC, and the term grammateus was used instead.

Gymnasiarch (γυμνασίαρχος) Officer in charge of a gymnasium, the school in which ephebes (ἐφήβοι) were trained.

Hairesis (αἱρετός) To be elected by hairesis was to be elected by show of hands. This term can be found in conjunction with klerotos (κληρωτός), elected by lot.

Hellanodikas (ἐλλανοδίκας or ἐλλανοδίκας) 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.

Hellenotamias (ἐλλενοταμίας) The chief financial officer of the Delian League (at Delos), and later, sacred treasurer; one of the treasurers of Athena at Athens.

Hieromnimon (ἱερομνημόνιον) Temple official at Argos and Epidaurus, responsible for the management of sacred treasuries.

Hieroeles (ἱεραύλης) Flute-player at sacrifices.

Hierofanes (ἱεροφανής) A priest; officer who performed sacred rites and sacrifices.

Hieropoios (ἱεροποιός) A temple official at Delos who managed the sacred treasuries. Possibly an equivalent office to that of hieromnimon.
Hipparch (ἵππαρχος) Commander of cavalry.

Hyperetes (ὑπηρέτης) A generic term for servant; also a minor officer of the Athenian boule.

Katakooes (κατακόος) A minor clerical officer at Stymphalos. The term can be interpreted as either ‘listener’, ‘official witness’, or ‘clerk of the court’.

Katalogoeus (καταλογεύς) At Athens, one of the ‘registrars’ appointed to register citizens for the Five Thousand.

Katalogos boulas (κατάλογος βουλᾶς) Officer of the boule and demos at Epidauros.

Kerux (κήρυξ) Herald, public messenger.

Klerotos (κληρωτός) Elected by lot. This term can be found in conjunction with hairesis (αιρετός), elected by show of hands.

Kolakretai (κωλακρέται) Financial officers at Athens in the period before 450 BC, at which point this responsibility was given to the hellenotamiai.

Kosmetes (κοσμητής) An officer of the ephebes.

Mastro (μάστρος) Magistrate or financial officer at Elis.

Metronomos (μετρονόμος) Inspector of weights and measures at Athens.

Metroön (μητρόων) Temple of Demeter or Cybele. At Athens, the depository of the state archives.

Nomodeiktes (νομοδείκτης) Officers involved in the drafting of laws at Andania, Messenia.

Nomographos (νομογράφος) Officer who drafted and revised laws. Nomographoi are usually found as boards of officials working together for a polis or league.

Nomophylax (νομοφύλαξ) ‘Guardian of the laws’ or archive.

Nomophylakion (νομοφύλακιον) ‘Law-repository’ or archive.

Nomos (νόμος) A law, statute or ordinance.

Nomothetes (νομοθέτης) Lit. ‘lawgiver’. At Athens, officers elected to review the laws of Solon and Draco.

Oi dia biou (οἱ διὰ βίου) Officers of the ephebes who hold their offices ‘for life’.

Pentakosiomedimnos (πεντακοσιομέδιμνος) Those men at Athens who owned land producing 500 medimnoi each year. The ‘first class’, according to the Solonian constitution.

Pentekostys (πεντηκοστύς) A division of the Argive people, the precise nature of which is unknown. It may have been a toponym of some sort, synonymous with kome.

Phratriarch (φρατριάρχος) Chief officer of a phratry.

Polemarch (πολεμάρχος) Generally, ‘leader’, or military commander.

Proboulos (πρόβουλος) Member of the council at Corinth.

Propylaia The monumental gateway at the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis.

Prostata boulas (προστάτας βουλᾶς) Presiding officer of the council at Orchomenos. Dyme also had an officer called a prostatas.

Proxenos (πρόξενος) A proxenos 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.

**Prytanis** (πρύτανις)  The *prytaneis* 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 *prytaneis* ate at public expense in the *tholos* (i.e. *aeisitoi*). Each day, one member of the *prytaneis* was selected by lot to act as foreman (*epistates*)—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 *proedroi*. A *prytanis* was known by this title only when in office. For the remainder of the year he was a *bouleutes*.

**Psephisma** (*ψηφίσμα*)  (pl. *psephismata*, *ψηφίσματα*) Decree passed by majority vote in an assembly.

**Skytale** (σκυτάλη)  Method used by magistrates in Laconia as a way to send short messages to other magistracies and commanders in the field.

**Strategos** (στρατηγός)  Lit. ‘general’. A magistrate; an eponymous officer at Corinth, and an officer of the Achaian League and at Dyme.

**Synarchos** (συνάρχος)  Leading magistrate at Troizen.

**Syndikoi** (συνδίκοι)  Advocate at Megalopolis; magistrate at Patrai.

**Synedrion** (συνέδριον)  Assembly or council holding formal sessions. *Synedrion* was the name for the council in many poleis in the Peloponnese.

**Synegoros** (συνήγορος)  One of the ten assessors who, 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.

**Synlutai** (συνλύται)  The members of the court at Stymphalos.

**Tamias** (ταμίας)  Generally, a treasurer; someone who managed the funds of an organisation. In Athens, the most important treasurers were the treasurers of Athena (*hellenotamiai*).

**Thearodokos** (θεαροδόκος)  At Sicyon and Epidaurus, an officer who received *thearoi*, envoys from other poleis.

**Thearos** (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.

**Theokolos** (θεοκόλος)  A magistrate known only from Dyme.

**Thesmothetes** (θεσμοθέτης)  Lit ‘law-giver’. At Athens, one of six junior archons, who, together with three senior archons and a *grammateus* formed the board of archons. These officers wrote up legal judgements and handled irregularities in other magistrates’ accounts.

**Thesmothearoi** (θεσμοθεαροί)  ‘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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