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SECRETARIES OF THE ATHENIAN
BOULE IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

Since Penndorf and Ferguson compiled lists of Athenian Secretaries in 1897 and 1898, many new names have come to light. Consequently a revised list should be of value as a supplement to the Fasti of the editio minor of the first volume of the Corpus, especially as the Corpus index, strictly limited in scope, does not contain much of the material which has been gathered together in tabular form in this paper.

Wherever possible, I have compared the inscription itself with the transcript given in the Corpus, and in a number of cases it has been necessary to deviate from Corpus readings, both as to single letters and as to the length of lacunae. Occasionally, it has been possible to give more precise dates to inscriptions. Finally, a re-examination of the evidence has made it possible to identify a few of ~~these~~ secretaries with men of the period prominent in Athenian public life.

In the following table the fourth column gives the number of the tribe of the secretary as determined by the official order. The sixth column gives the official number of the tribe in prytany, while the seventh column gives the number of the prytany when the secretary named in the second column was in office.

// SECRETARIES OF THE BOULE IN THE

DATE	NAME AND DEME OF SECRETARY	TRIBE OF SECRETARY	NO
c.465-4	¹ [Ο]νάτιππος		
After 462-1	² Παραβάτης	—	—
453-2	— — — —		
	— — — —	—	—
450-449	Εύκ]λης... ⁸ ...		
c.449-446	... ⁶ ...κ[λης	—	—
c.448-447	Α ⁷ ...?	—	—
448-7 ante 446-5	[Αριστοκ]ράτης ... ⁸ ...	—	—

1The name ¹Ονάτιππος occurs only here.
 2.It is worth noting that the formula of this inscription is of a stage that is transitional. The Salamis inscription, I.G., I², 1 which is dated at the end of the sixth century has as an opening-formula ²έδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ and a closing formula ταῦτ' έδοξεν: [ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς πρώτης] The β which is the last letter on the stone may be the first letter of an archon's name as the Appendix of the Corpus suggests, instead of βουλῆς. If the reading βουλῆς is correct it must be observed that mention of it is brought in in the closing formula as a mere device for dating, not with full credit to its power as in later years. I², 4 of 485-4 has the closing formula ταῦτ' έδοξεν: τῷ δήμῳ ἐπὶ Φιλοκράτος ἄρχοντος; τὰ ἐν τούτῳ λίθῳ τούτῳ. The inscription with which we are concerned here is the first to give the name of the secretary. Its formula is έδοξεν [ἐπὶ βουλῆ] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ: ὅτε Παραβάτης έγγραμμάτευε.

TRIBE IN PRYTANY	NO.	NO. OF PRYTANY	REFERENCES
Ἀκαμαντὶς	5		I.G.I ² , 16 I.G.I., 5
Κεκροπίς	7		I.G.I., 19 I.G.I ² , 20
{ Ἀκαμαντὶς Πανδίωνίς	3 5		I.G.I ² , 22
{ Δεοντίς Αἰαντίς	4 9		I.G.I ² , 31 I.G.I ² , 26
Δεοντίς	4		I.G.I ² , 27; 143 I.G.I ² , 338.

2, (continued)

In I.G.I. 16 we have complete for the first time the formula $\epsilon\delta\omicron\chi\epsilon\nu$
 τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ἀκαμαντὶς [ε]πρυτάνευε, [ο]νάτλιππος
 ἕγραψεν, Ἐπικληδὸς ἐπιστατῆς, Δέων εἶπε.

The Boule is ceded its full importance as a law making body. The prytany system has been set in motion, and the prytanizing tribe begins here to be named in decrees. The name of secretary is given exactly as it appears in later times, i.e., without the $\omicron\tau\epsilon$ which introduces I.G.I., 5. The epistat and the proposer of the decree are both named. In short, one sees here that the whole machinery of government has begun to function. Wilhelm dates I.G.I., 16 about 465. But in the light of constitutional history the conspicuous position accorded the Boule seems of especial significance. Is it not possible that both I.G.I., 5 and I.G.I., 16 may date after the reforms of 462 which overthrew the supremacy of the Areopagus and restored sovereign power to the people? The formula of I.G.I., 16 would warrant such a conclusion.

The name Παραβάτης occurs only twice: here, and in a list of those who fell at the naval battle of Cynossema in 412-411 (?) I.G. I., 930, l. 152.

DATE	NAME AND DEME OF SECRETARY	TRIBE OF SECRETARY	NO.	TRIBE IN PRYTANY	NO.	NO. OF PRYTANY	REFERENCES
ante 446-5 446-5	... ⁶ ... ¹⁶ Δι[.....] -- όκλης Φι[λαίδης]	Αἰγυίς	2	{ Οἰνηίς Αἰγυίς	2 6	-	I.G.I ² , 338. I.G.I ² , 30
	Ἄντ[ι]δο[τος]					1	I.G.I ² , 340
After 445-4	-----			{ Κεκροπίς Ερξοβηίς Αντιοχίς	7 1 10		I.G.I ² , 35
	2 Ἀρχέστ[ρα]τος					1	I.G.I ² , 358
443-2	.....⁹ ...ος					1	I.G.I ² , 343
440-439	-- Ρα[μνίουσιος]--	Αἰαντίς	9			1	I.G.I ² , 50
439-8	c.7					1	I.G.I ² , 347
437-6	Πιθ[ι]άδης					1	I.G.I ² , 349
436-5	.....¹³					1	I.G.I ² , 350
435-4	.....⁸ ¹⁰ ...[α[ς]]} -					1	I.G.I ² , 351; 365

1. This name is restored in the Corpus as Ἀντίδωρος That is a name that occurs twenty-two times but the name Ἀντίδοτος exactly fills the lacuna. The latter is a less common name, appearing only six times, but there is an Ἀντίδοτος of such prominence that he might well have been secretary of the Boule. Diodorus, XI, 91, mentions him as archon in 451-0. Whether ex-archons were eligible for membership in the Boule is not known but if they were Ἀντίδοτος is a conspicuous possibility. To cite a parallel case, Drerup suggests that the Διότιμος who was secretary in 432-1 may be the same who served as archon in 428-7. See Drerup: Uber den Staatschreiber von Athen, Philologisch-historische Beitrage, Curt Wachsmuth zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag Uberrecht. Leipzig, Teubner, 1897.

2. Penndorf, De Scribis Rei Publicae Atheniensium, I.B. Hirschfeld, Lipsiae, 1897 identifies this Ἀρχέστρατος with the general mentioned in Thucydides I, 57, the proposer of C.I.A. I^a, 27^a, and the treasurer of Athena of I, 237.

3. According to the new Corpus there is no evidence that Τεμόθεος was a secretary of the Boule. See Dinsmoor, "Attic Building Accounts" A.J.A. 1913, p. note. Another secretary in Ferguson's list must be discarded: Ἀγνόδημος, dated c. 454, was not a secretary but epistat of I.G.I², 25.

DATE	NAME AND DEME OF SECRETARY	TRIBE OF SECRETARY NO.	TRIBE IN PRYTANY	NO.	NO. OF PRYTANY	REFERENCES
434-3	1 Μεταγένης				1	I.G. I ² , 366
433-2	2 Κριτιάδης Φασίνου Τειθράτιος, Αίγυψίς	2	Αιαρτίς	9	1	I.G. I ² , 51; 52; 295; 353
	3 Χαρίας		Άγκυραντίς	5		I.G. I ² , 51, 52.
432-1	4 Διότιμος Έγγυθ..... ⁹				1	I.G. I ² , 296.
431-0 or 430-429	Μηγήθεις		Κεκροπίς	7		I.G. I ² , 91.
Date un- known	.....¹⁰ Μυρρινόσιος, Πανδιονίς	3			+	I.G. I ² , 360.
"	5 Οϊόνι[χ]ος Άλωπεκῆθεμ, Άντλοχίς	10	Άντλοχίς		1	I.G. I ² , 359.
"	Άμείνοκ --					I.G. I ² , 164.

1. Drerup identifies Μεταγένης as the architect of the Telesterion at Eleusis, citing Plut. Perik., 13. There he is mentioned as ἑσπετιών, which would fix his tribe as that of Κεκροπίς following Drerup's suggestion.

2. Κριτιάδης is mentioned as secretary in four inscriptions but only in I.G. I², 295 is his name given with patronymic and demotic.

3. Perndorf identifies this man with Χαρίας Δαίδαλίδης P.A. 15340

4. Drerup identifies Διότιμος with the one who was archon-in-428-7.

5. P.A. does not have this occurrence of the name. It appears only once in P.A., from Arist. Knights, 1287. This can be no other name than Οϊόνιχος. The letters -ονι- are very clear and all other names which contain -ονι- are too long for the space.

6. The name Άμείνοκ appears in a grave list of 425-4, I.G. I², 949

DATE	NAME AND DEME OF SECRETARY	TRIBE OF SECRETARY	NO.	TRIBE IN PRYTANY	NO.	NO. OF PRYTANY	REFERENCES
431/0-422/1.							
430-29	¹ Χαρολάδης			Ἀρτιοχίς	10		I.G. I ² , 56.
429-8	³ Σκόπας ² Κ[α]λλίστρατος Ἐμπέδου Ὀρθέν] Οἰνηίς.			Ἐρεχθίς	1		I.G. I ² , 57.
426-5	Μεγακλείδης Λευκονιεύς Δεοντίς		4			1	I.G. I ² , 302, 310.
425-4	⁴ Πλειστίας			Ἡλιποθωντίς	8	1	I.G. I ² , 57, 368, 324.
	⁵ c.10 ἔγραμμάτευσ , c.5]ορος					1	I.G. I ² , 63, 324.
	⁵ ...ων			Αἰγυίς	2		I.G. I ² , 63.
424-3	⁶ ...ΛΥΚΟΣ --- ἘΛΥΚΟΣ			Αἰγυίς (?)	2		I.G. I ² , 63.
	⁷ ...?...ης			Αἰγυίς	2	1	I.G. I ² , 324. I.G. I ² , 68.
	⁸ Φαίνιππος Φρυγίχου Φιλ ----			Κεκροπίς	7		I.G. I ² , 57.
	---			Ἀκαμαρτίς	5	6 or 7	I.G. I ² , 57, 70; Thuc. IV, 118.
423-2	Δημήτριος Κολλυτεύς	Αἰγυίς					I.G. I ² , 69.
	⁹ Τιμοτέλης Ἀχαρνεύς	Οἰνηίς	6			1	I.G. I ² , 324.
?	¹⁹			Κεκροπίς	7		I.G. I ² , 76.
				Ἀρτιοχίς	10		I.G. I ² , 72.

1. Drerup and Penndorf identify Χαρολάδης with the general of Thuc. III, 86, 90. Drerup also cites Diod. XIII, 54.
 2. The lacuna after the name Καλλίστρατος in I.G. I², 310 is exactly filled by Ἐμπέδου Ὀρθέν. Καλλίστρατος was general 418-7, I.G. I², 302, obviously the same man as the Hipparch, Καλλίστρατος Ἐμπέδου who fell in Sicily in 413, Prosop. Att., 8143; Paus. VII, 16, 4. For the reading of I.G. I², 302, see Miss McCarthy's paper. It is quite probable that Callistratus the secretary was also general and Hipparch, and I have restored the name accordingly in I.G. I², 310.
 3. For the date of Σκόπας see West, "Methone and the Assessment of 430," A.J.A., 1925, p. 440. Penndorf identifies him with
 4. Drerup and Penndorf identify this man with the ambassador to Perdicas, I.G. I², 57.
 5. It is impossible to tell whether Αἰγυίς is correctly restored as the name of the prytanizing tribe in line 1 of I.G. I², 63. If Αἰγυίς held the prytany when both decrees were passed, the secretaries are the same

6. Careful scrutiny of the stone establishes this name as ...ΛΥΚΟΣ. The most probable restoration is Ἐπίλυκος, and since Epilycus the son of Teisander, uncle of the orator Andocides, in the very next year was sent as ambassador to the King of Persia, Andoc., III, 29; I, 117; Prosop. Att., 4925, the identification of secretary with ambassador is not at all improbable.
 7. The corpus assigns this decree to 424-3, with a note to the effect that Kirchhoff had assigned it to 426-5. If the latter is right, I.G. I², 324 shows that the prytany of Kekropis in that year was the second.
 8. Drerup suggests that Aristophanes, Achar., 602 f., refers to this Phainippos. The decree quoted by Thucydides fixes the prytany as the sixth or seventh, IV, 118.
 9. This man is not listed in Prosop. Att., and there is no other man of that name known.

Date	NAME AND DEME OF SECRETARY	TRIBE OF SECRETARY	NO.	Tribe in Prytany	NO.	NO. OF PRYTANY	REFERENCES
422-0	7		K			1 (?)	I.G. I ² , 311.
422-0	2 Πρέπλις Εύφηρου			Αιγυίς	2	1	I.G. I ² , 81.
Date unknown	Πολέμαρχος			Ἐρεχθίς	1		I.G. I ² , 77.
"	7			Κεκροπίς	7		I.G. I ² , 65 ⁻ I.G. I ² , 75
"	1 Φαντοκλής			... 5... ίς			I.G. I ² , 78.
"	Ἀντικρατίδης						
421/0-403.	3 Μενέκλῃς Ἀναφλύττιος	Ἄντλοχίς	10				I.G. I ² , 220, 370.
420-0	4 Προκλέης Ἀτάβου Εὐωνυμεύς, Ἐρεχθίς		1		8		I.G. I ² , 82, 84; cf. p. 292, 38.
							I.G. I ² , 370, 311.
420-19	5 Χαρίνος Πύληξ	Λεοντίς	4	Αιγυίς			I.G. I ² , 25, 87, 145.
	6 Νεοκλείδης			Παρδιονίς Ἀκαμαρτίς	3 or 5		I.G. II ² , 8.
	Σ...					1	I.G. I ² , 311.
419-8	9			Οἰνηίς Αιγυίς	6 2		I.G. I ² , 93.
419-8 or 413-2	7 Θ[Ε]αῖος						

6. Ferguson suggests that I.G. I², 145 is of the same date as I.G. I², 25 and 87, and that the secretaries are the same. Measurements of the stone prove that his conjecture is right and that the corpus restoration is wrong. There are twenty-four, not twenty-six, letters in a line, and there are six letters for the name of the ~~Αιγυίς~~ ^{the} prytanizing tribe. The character of the writing is such that one need not hesitate assigning the inscription to the year 420-19. Drerup identifies Neocleides with the man mentioned by Aristophanes, Eccl., 254, 398; Plut., 716. A Neocleides was also ^{ἐπιστάτης} in the time when the decree I.G. II², 8 was passed. Unless there were two men of this name in the Boule about 420, I.G. II², 8, must date in 420-19. Thus we have another secretary for this year.

7. This name appears in Ferguson's list as ... LOS, 414-3 (or in 419-8 B.C.) There is no γραμματεὺς of this name in Prosop. Att.

1. Penndorf and Drerup identify Φαντοκλής with the proposer of the decree I.G. I², 45.

2. Drerup identifies Πρέπλις with a man of that name mentioned by Aistophanes, Achar., 843.

3. There is no Μενέκλῃς γραμματεὺς in Prosop. Att. But probably the secretary is identical with Prosop. Att., 9905, Xen. Hell., I, 7, 34, the man who objected to the proposal of Euryptolemus that the generals of Arginusae be tried under the decree of Cannonus, i.e., each man separately (206-5).

4. Drerup identifies Προκλέης with the man of Thuc., V, 19 who was among those ratifying the treaty of 421.

5. Drerup identifies Χαρίνος Πύληξ with Χαρίνος Ἀλεξισμάχου Πύληξ² who was head of the board of treasurers of Athena in 419-8, I.G. I¹, 283, 130. He suggests too that the same man proposed the anti-Megarian decree of Plutarch, Pericles, 30.

DATE	NAME AND DEME OF SECRETARY	TRIBE OF SECRETARY	NO.	TRIBE IN PRYTANY	NO.	NO. OF PRYTANY	REFERENCES
418-7	1. 7... Αφιδνατος	Αϊαντίς	9	//		1	I.G. I ² , 370, 302.
	Αριστόχ[σ]ενος			Πανδλονίς	3		I.G. I ² , 94.
417-6	9					1	I.G. I ² , 302.
	2. 6... ὄδορος Ποδύχαρος Ἀχαρνεύς, Οἰνηίς		6	Αϊαντίς	9	8 or 9	I.G. I ² , 96.
416-5	6					1	I.G. I ² , 302.
415-4	5... ἰδης					1	I.G. I ² , 302.
414-3	- - - -					1	I.G. I ² , 297.
412-1	3 Αἰσχύλο[s]			Ἡπιδοντίς	8		I.G. I ² , 103, 104.
411-0	4 Φιλ[ε]εύς			Ἀκαμαντίς	5		I.G. I ² , 105.
	Δεμόνικος Ἀλωπεκῆθεν Ἀντιλοχίς		10				Plut., Vit. X Or., 833.
	κρ]άτης Ἴκαριεύς Αἰγυηίς		2				I.G. II ² , 12.
410-09	5 Κλειγένης Ἀλαεεύς Αἰγυηίς		2			1	I.G. I ² , 304; Andoc. I, 96.
	Σιβυρτιάδης			Δεοντίς	4		I.G. I ² , 108
	6 Φίλιππος... εοδ--Οἰ[να]τος Ο.						I.G. I ² , 109.
	Δόβων ἐκ Κηδων						I.G. I ² , 109.
	Ἀμυθ[ε]ίων						I.G. I ² , 110.
				Ἐρεχθίς		1	I.G. I ² , 110 a.

In I.G. I², 302, the blank for the name of the first secretary of the year contains seven letters, not eight as given in the Corpus. Consequently I.G. I², 302 and 370 are now in agreement. See Miss McCarthy's paper.

A payment in 416-5 was made for the expedition to Melos in the prytany of Aiantis. Since the number of the prytany contained six letters, we can restore **Ἡέκτης ὀυδός** or **ἐνάτης**. The expedition took place in the spring, ~~but~~ the sixth prytany ~~was~~ fell ~~in~~ in February. Thus Aiantis held either the eighth or the ninth.

Prosop. Att., 434 and 435 takes the position that the Αἰσχύλο[s] of 103 is a different man from that of I.G. I², 104, citing Köhler, Hermes, XXXI, 140. Penndorf believes they are the same, op. cit., 192.

- The name appears in Ferguson's list as ...εύς 429-84
- Identified by Drerup with the Cleigenes of Arist., Frogs, 707.
- Dr Leonardos has a penciled note in the Museum copy of the Corpus suggesting the demotic **Οἰνατος** as much more likely than **Ὀρηθεν**. This is one of the names that has the demotic after **εγραμμάτευε**. That order is not usual with secretaries of the Boule. Of the twenty seven whose names are followed by demotics three (perhaps four) have it after **εγραμμάτευε** instead of the more common order of name, patronymic, demotic. Drerup identifies this man with the Philippos of Arist. Wasps 421, and Birds 17pp.

DATE	NAME AND DEME OF SECRETARY	TRIBE OF SECRETARY	NO.	TRIBE IN PRYTANY	NO.	NO OF PRYTANY	REFERENCES
409-8	Νικοφάνης Μαραθώνιος	Αιαντής	9	Κεκροπίς	7	1	I.G. I ² , 372.
	.....¹⁸						I.G. I ² , 116.
	Διόγνητος Φρεάριος	Λεοντής	4	Άκαμαντής	5		I.G. I ² , 115.
408-7	Δωρόθεος Εὐκλείδης			Ἄντιλοχίς	10	1	I.G. I ² , 313, 120. I.G. I ² , 118.
	Κλέαρχος		1				I.G. I ² , 121.
	Κράτης			Κεκροπίς Ἐρεχθίς Ἄντιλοχίς	7, 1, or 10		I.G. I ² , 117. I.G. I², 119.
407-6	Λυσικλῆς			Αἰγής	2		I.G. I ² , 123.
406-5	[Σωτίων Ἐλευσ]-[ἴ]νιος,	Ηιππόθοντις	8				I.G. I ² , 124.
405-4	Πόλυμνος Εὐωνυμεύς	Ἐρεχθίς	1				I.G. I ² , 126,
	Πολυάρατος Χολαργεύς	Αἰγής Λεοντίς	4	Κεκροπίς	7		I.G. I ² , 125.
Date Unknown	Αρχίνης] Ῥαιεύς	Πανδιονίς	3				I.G. I ² , 144.
"	.....ος						I.G. I ² , 179.
"	Στέφανος Θουκυδίδου						Athenaeus, ^{IV} 81, p.294E

1. This name has been erased with such thoroughness that no letter can be deciphered. There is no secretary of 409-8 whose name fits the rasura of 18 letters.

2. This Δωρόθεος was probably the ambassador to the King of the Persians in 409. Xen. Hell., I, 3, 13; Prosop. Att., 4589.

3. Drerup identifies Euclides with the Archon of 403-2 and with the member of the Thirty, Xen. Hell., II, 3, 2, of that name.

4. Prosop. Att. suggests that this man is the Κλέαρχος listed in I.G. I², 398, Ἀγρυλεύς. Cf. Penndorf, op. cit., p. 115.

5. Επιγένης was written first and later erased to make room for Κράτης. The erasure was no complete so that the first six letters of are quite clear.

6. Drerup suggests that Lysicles is the proposer of I.G. I² 128, also the secretary of the ^{ταμίας} in 417-6, I.G. I², 244, 245, 269, 270, 302. If this is correct his name and demotic are Λυσικλῆς Δρακοντίδου Βατηθεν.

7. Polyaratos was πρόεδρος Ἑλληνογενῶν in 410-9, I&G., I² 304; Prosop. Att., 11907.

8. This name appears in Ferguson's list as - - - - - εὐς.

9. Penndorf identifies this man as the son of Thucydides, son of Melesias, Arist. Ath. Pol., 28, 2, 5; Plutarch, Nicias, 2.

DATE	NAME AND DEME OF SECRETARY	TRIBE OF SECRETARY	NO.	Tribe in Prytany	NO.	NO. OF PRYTANY	REFERENCES
Date unknown	Ἴερο-- Ἀλωπεκῆθεν	Ἀντιοχίς	10				I.G. I ² , 162.
"	..... 12 S			Οἰνυίς Αἰγυίς	6 pr 2		I I.G. I ² , 149.
"	..... 9			Οἰνυίς	6		I.G. I ² , 160.
403-2	Κηφισοφῶν Παλαρεύς	Πανδιονίς	3	Ἐρεχθίς	1		I.G. I ² , 126; II ² , 1.
	Δεξιθέος (may date after 403-2)			Οἰνυίς	6		I.G. II, 3, 5. (II ² , 6, 7)
	Ἀγύρριος Κοκλυτεύς	Αἰγυίς	2				I.G. IV, 2, i b; i d.
	Κηφισοφῶν Παλαρεύς	Πανδιονίς	2				(I.G. II ² , 12)
				Πανδιονίς	3		
				Ἐρεχθίς	1		I.G. II ² , 1
				Αἰαντίς	9		I.G. II ² , 3

1. Drerup and Drerup identify Κηφισοφῶν as a treasurer of Athena and the Other Gods in 398-7. His son was a secretary for Ἡπποβοαντίς in 378-7. I.G. II, 17 (II², 43). A grandson was the proposer of I.G. II, 114 B. (II², 227)

2. Penndorf identifies this secretary as the Ἀγύρριος of Dem. XXIV, 134; Arist., pol. 4, 1, 3; Harpocration, s. v., Isoc. XVII, 31; Andocides, I, 133. Drerup notes as well that a descendant of this man was the proposer of I.G. II, 311, in 286-54

Patience Haggard