

PROSOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON ATHENIAN TREASURERS

A. THE TREASURERS OF ATHENA

430/29

BUSOLT identified the fragmentary inscription *I.G.*, I², 378 as a *traditio* of this year because the name of the secretary mentioned in it could be restored as Θέο[λλος Χρομάδο Φλυεύς].¹ The chairman would, then, be -----ένης Δεμοκ----- . This fragment, however, does not resemble the usual inventories of the Pronaos, the Hekatompedon, and the Parthenon in the least and, if it refers to the treasurers of Athena, it must be an extraordinary document. Although Theollos is the only known secretary of the treasurers of Athena in the fifth century whose name begins Θεο ---, there are many common names which begin this way, and the secretary may well have served some other officials, such as epistatai. There is, then, no evidence for the restoration of the inscription printed in the *Editio Minor* (nor any justification for the length of line suggested there.)

429/8

There is no real evidence for the demotic Φλυεύς? restored for the chairman Archestratos in *I.G.*, I², 237, line 54. The correct number of spaces for the demotic there is six since the inscription is regularly stoichedon 61; the same number in *I.G.*, I², 261, line 32 would complete the normal line of sixty-seven letters.

428/7

The chairman for this year was Pantakles, reading Παντακ[λές] in *I.G.*, I², 238, line 65; the kappa was read by Lebas and Rangabé.² A demotic of ten letters would fill the usual sixty spaces in that line and with an additional blank space would complete the regular sixty-one spaces in *I.G.*, I², 262, line 38. For the family connections of the secretary, Megakles, cf. T. L. Shear, Jr., *Phoenix*, XVII, 1963, pp. 99-112.

427/6

It was Busolt who first suggested that the name of the chairman for this year was Charmantides Paianieus, on the basis of the preserved letters in the heading of the Hekatompedon inventory for the year: [Χαρ]μαντ[ίδες Παϊανιεύς].³ Since the length

¹ "Bruchstück einer attischen Schatzmeisterurkunde," *Hermes*, XXV, 1890, pp. 461-463.

² Ph. Lebas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, I, Paris, 1853, no. 160; A. R. Rangabé, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, no. 248; Rangabé *Antiquités helléniques*, I, Athens, 1842, no. 93.

³ *I.G.*, I², 263, line 49; Busolt, "Zur Ergänzung der attischen Schatzmeisterurkunden," *Hermes*, XXV, 1890, pp. 567-569.

of line in this inscription varies from sixty-three to sixty-six letters, 20-23 spaces are available for the name.⁴ The name must also be restored in the Pronaos inventory for the year, where the lines vary from fifty-eight to sixty letters so that 20-22 spaces are available for the name of the chairman.⁵ Accordingly, the twenty letters of Charmantides Paianieus make a possible restoration in both of these inventories.

The name of Charmantides is also restored in the heading of the Pronaos inventory of 426/5:⁶

[τάδε παρέδοσαν *ἡαι τέτταρες ἀρχαὶ* *ἡαὶ ἐ*]δίδοσαν τὸν λόγον ἐκ
Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθέναια· [ἡοι τ]—
[αμίαι Χαρμαντίδες Παι(ανιεύς) καὶ χσυνάρχοντε]ς, *ἡοῖς* Εὐβολος
[Φιλ]ογείτονος Ἀχαρνεύς ἐγραμμάτ[ευέ]

Only three spaces here are available for the demotic, or four, if the first line of the inventory filled the maximum number of spaces.⁷ Thus it is necessary to assume an abbreviation of the demotic, which does not occur elsewhere in the inventory and, in fact, occurs in only one of the more than sixty pre-Eukleidean inventories.⁸ Even with this abbreviation, the restoration is not satisfactory since Charmantides and his colleagues (for whom Eubolos was secretary) stand in apposition to *ἡαι τέτταρες ἀρχαί* but they are, in truth, not the Four Archai. These Four Archai are the forty (or somewhat fewer) treasurers who served annual terms during the Panathenaic penteteris 430/29-427/6, including Charmantides and his colleagues. If this inscription means what it says, the treasurer listed here is chairman of the Four Archai, not of the treasurers of 427/6.

One might argue that because this is the only example of a treasurer and a secretary named in apposition to *ἡαι τέτταρες ἀρχαί*, this anomaly is simply sloppy workmanship and not a true indication of Athenian administrative procedure. However, every inventory of the first year of a penteteris in the fifth century explicitly states that it was the Four Archai (not merely the treasurers of the preceeding year) who handed over the *anathemata*. Accordingly, the heading of the first inventory differs from the headings of the second, third, and fourth inventories of a penteteris, which all mention *traditiones* by a *single* board. My suggestion is, therefore, that the chairman designated here is the chairman of the Four Archai and that the secretary is their secretary as well as the secretary for the treasurers of 427/6. The chairman

⁴ Cf. A. M. Woodward, "Some more Fragments of Attic Treasure-Records of the Fifth Century," *J.H.S.*, XLVIII, 1928, pp. 167-168. The division between lines 49 and 50 should be [κα|ί].

⁵ *I.G.*, I², 239, lines 76-77.

⁶ *I.G.*, I², 240, lines 90-91.

⁷ Cf. E. L. Hicks, *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, I, Oxford, 1874, pl. XXV.

⁸ *I.G.*, I², 266.

is not Charmantides, however, since his name is too long for the available space. This chairman may have been one of the earlier annual chairmen during the penteteris or another treasurer.⁹ This suggestion would account for the impossibility of restoring *Χαρμαντίδης Παιανεύς* and for the wording of the heading.¹⁰

Did, however, the functions of the Four Archai require a chairman? It is stated by eminent authorities that the inventories were inscribed at the end of the penteteris.¹¹ This simply is not correct and is disproved by the different stoichedon patterns among the inventories of any given penteteris inscribed on the same stone.¹² This claim is also invalidated by several egregious miscalculations in the process of inscribing the inventories, such as the necessity of lengthening the line of the fourth inventory of a penteteris to more than one hundred twenty-five letters instead of the usual sixty or seventy in order to squeeze the inventory onto the stone.¹³

The two groups of treasurers who served during the Julian year 411/0 had an especially difficult time. Their predecessors had already had their stelai engraved *ἡαι τέτταρες ἀρχαί*, not expecting that the revolt and expulsion of the Four Hundred would require two archons and two sets of treasurers in a single year, five groups in all for the penteteris.¹⁴ Not much room was left on the stele containing the Pronaos inventories, and the stoichedon arrangement was abandoned;¹⁵ since, moreover, no room was left on the stele containing the Parthenon inventories of 414/3-412/1, the remaining pair from this penteteris had to be inscribed elsewhere.¹⁶ Clearly, then, the Four Archai did not gather at the Great Panathenaia to have their inventories inscribed. Rather, the inventories were inscribed at various times during the penteteris.

Nevertheless, the very rubric *τάδε παρέδωσαν ἡαι τέτταρες ἀρχαί* should indicate

⁹ The names Arcestratos . . .⁹ . . . and Pantakles¹⁰ would be too long.

¹⁰ K. J. Dover, in "ΔΕΚΑΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΣ," *J.H.S.*, LXXX, 1960, pp. 61-77, argues that there was no "chairman" of the treasurers of Athena or of other boards and that the eponym could change without indicating any significant change in administrative procedure. However, evidence for the existence or non-existence of "chairmen" of other groups of magistrates should not be used to determine whether or not the treasurers of Athena had a chairman. The limited amount of evidence gathered by Dover which relates only to the treasurers of Athens seems to indicate that they did have a chairman.

¹¹ M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B. C.*, Oxford, 1933, pp. 170-171; W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, pp. 69-70.

¹² Cf., e.g., R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1938, p. 34 (for *I.G.*, I², 240-243, 256-258, and 282-283).

¹³ *I.G.*, I², 283.

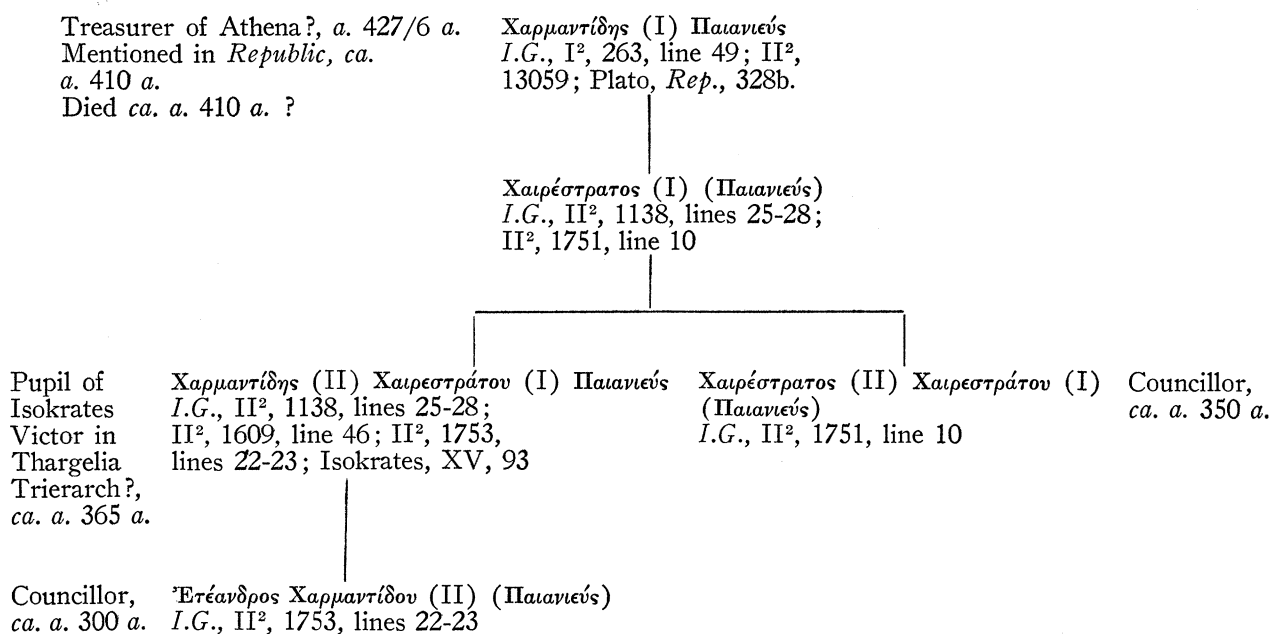
¹⁴ *I.G.*, I², 248, line 210. There is no evidence to support Ferguson's claim (*op. cit.*, p. 100, note 1) that the treasurers under the Four Hundred were ostracized by the other boards of the penteteris: the position of their accounts of loans (*I.G.*, I², 298) on the lateral face of a stele does not differ from the arrangement of the First Stele of the Tribute Lists or of the Parthenon accounts (*I.G.*, I² 339-353), and *I.G.*, II², 1498 is entirely a matter of restoration.

¹⁵ *I.G.*, I², 251-253; cf. Woodward, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-167.

¹⁶ Cf. *I.G.*, I², 286-288.

that all the treasurers of a penteteris oversaw the transfer of the dedications at this time. We do know that the Second Kallias Decree required the Four Archai of the years 438/7-435/4 to assist the treasurers of 434/3 in inventorying the *anathemata*¹⁷ and that on at least one occasion the Four Archai of a penteteris set up a commemorative bronze stele.¹⁸ Thus it would appear that the members of the Four Archai did have occasion to act together and may have needed a chairman to act at least as presiding officer. If this is a correct interpretation of the evidence, the name in the heading of the Pronaos inventory of 426/5 will cause no difficulty and cannot be restored.

To return to the problem of the name of the chairman for 427/6, we have the following stemma for Charmantides Paianieus:



This stemma is based on Kirchner's work,¹⁹ but the distribution of the data largely follows Lewis,²⁰ who points out the difficulty of Kirchner's assumption that it is Charmantides (II) who is mentioned in the *Republic* (dramatic date *ca.* 410):

¹⁷ B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, Princeton, 1949, D2, lines 26-29.

¹⁸ *I.G.*, II², 1498, line 7.

¹⁹ Cf. *P.A.* 15501 and 15502 and his commentary on *I.G.*, II², 1753. I am greatly indebted to Professor Meritt for many of the references in this section. I have not seen the article cited in note 24, *infra*.

²⁰ "Notes on Attic Inscriptions (II)," *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 17-24. I have conjecturally assigned to Charmantides (I) the funerary inscription *I.G.*, II², 13059, which, in view of its discovery at Varvakion, probably came from the ancient cemetery near the north gate of the city wall.

namely, that his brother served in the Boule sixty years later and that his son was a member more than a century later. Lewis, accordingly, suggests that the figure in the *Republic* is Charmantides (I). He has also shown that the list of choregic victors which includes Charmantides (II), *I.G.*, II², 1138, is not to be dated *paullo post a.* 403/2 and that these victories can have been won anytime between that date and *ca.* 370 or even later. In naming some of his pupils who have been crowned by the city, Isokrates (XV, 93) divides them into two chronological groups (*ἐν πρώτοις* — — — — — *μετὰ τούτους*). A Charmantides comes at the end of the second group, following a Philomelos. A Philomelos is also mentioned in the list of choregic victors. Thus we have a late date for the victory of Charmantides.

One important difficulty still remains. If the stemma is correct, Charmantides (II) and his son Eteandros must have served in public office *ca.* sixty-five years apart. Although this is possible, it may indicate that these men are *two* generations apart, not one. We would, then, have to assume a Charmantides (III) as father of Eteandros. The occurrence of the same name in two consecutive generations in this family would be paralleled by Chairestratos, the son of Chairestratos.

It would appear that this family had great wealth since Charmantides (II) was a pupil of Isokrates, a choregic victor, and (probably) a trierarch. His ancestor, then, Charmantides (I), who seemingly associated with the wealthy family of Lysias,²¹ would probably have had the monetary qualifications to be a treasurer of Athena.²²

There are, however, certain other men named Charmantides who might qualify: a Charmantides, the son of Euxitheos, from an Eleusinian dedication of the fifth century;²³ and the father of Polystratos Halaieus, of the fourth century.²⁴

In addition to Charmantides, at least two other names are possible: Apemantos and Apemantokles. There are several people known whose name was Apemantos: a fifth century misanthrope (*P. A.* 1346); the father of the Eudikos who appears as a young interlocutor in the *Hippias Minor*, dramatic date unknown, *ca.* 425? (*P. A.* 1347); an Athenian hieromnemon to Delphi *ca.* 330 (*P. A.* 1347a); and two men of this name, father and son (the latter a councillor), from the first half of the third century, of the deme Phlya.²⁵ An Apemon from the same deme, *ca.* 360, was probably a relative of this pair (*P.A.* 1351). Thus Apemantos and Charmantides are fairly rare names at Athens, but both occur in at least three different centuries.

Apemantos was also the name borne by certain Athenian partizans in Thasos at

²¹ Plato, *Rep.*, 328b.

²² Status as a pentekosiomedimnos was required by a Solonian law, according to Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, XLVII, 1, and it is unlikely that this law became obsolete while the office was still very important.

²³ Cf. W. Peek, "Attische Inschriften," *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, no. 48.

²⁴ Cf. Δελαρ., XI, 1927/8, p. 40, lines 7-8. *P.A.* 15500 and 15503 are too late to be considered, as is an Adamantios in *I.G.*, II², 13143.

²⁵ Cf. B. D. Meritt, "The Inscriptions," *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 61, no. 50, line 6.

the end of the fifth century: the property of two men of this name was made public;²⁶ the sons of an Apemantos were Athenian proxenoi on the island;²⁷ and the son of (probably this same) Apemantos was among the Thasians exiled [ἐπ' Ἀ]πτικισμῶι.²⁸

Finally, the name Apemantokles occurs at least twice. It is found in the following inscription from a sepulchral relief, dated *ca.* 430:²⁹

Εὐνομος Ἀδαιμάντου Τρικ[ορύσιος.]
Χαιρελέα. Ἀπημαντοκλήης. Ἀδ[είμαντος.]

A man and a boy are represented in the preserved portion of the relief. The boy should be Apemantokles, the son of Eunomos. An Apemantokles also occurs as epistates when a proxeny decree was voted, *ca.* 403/2.³⁰ The prytanizing phyle was Aiantis, which included the deme Trikorynthos. The two references, then, are very probably to the same person. His ancestor, whether Apemantos or Apemantokles, may have been treasurer in 427/6. This family was wealthy enough to afford a large funeral relief and, accordingly, may have been able to supply a treasurer of Athena.

In summary, then, although Charmantides Paianieus is certainly a plausible candidate, we do not know the name of the chairman of the treasurers of Athena for 427/6.

424/3

West has identified the secretary of this year with the epistates who served on the day when two decrees were voted, *I.G.*, I², 60 and 111 and, also, as the father of an epistates of the cult statues of the Hephaisteion, Ἀπόλεχσις Σμικύθο [Ἰ]φιστιάδες (*I.G.*, I², 370).³¹ The identification is not secure because twenty-seven Smikythoi are listed in the *Prosopographia Attica* (nos. 12772-12798) and eight are found in the *Index to Hesperia*, I-X. Political activity by two Smikythoi at this time would be no more remarkable than the activity of the two men named Thucydides, the historian and the treasurer of Athena of this year (*P. A.* 7271).

418/7

For the chairman of this year cf. A. Andrewes and D. M. Lewis, *J.H.S.*, LXXVII, 1957, p. 178.

²⁶ *I.G.*, XII, 8, 263, lines 8 and 13.

²⁷ *I.G.*, II², 6.

²⁸ *I.G.*, II², 33, line 26; for an account of events in Thasos at this time cf. Jean Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos*, I, Paris, 1954, pp. 135-192.

²⁹ *I.G.*, II², 7551; cf. Alexander Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin, 1893-1922, no. 1270.

³⁰ *I.G.*, II², 3, lines 4-5. Cf. D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, p. 33.

³¹ *Apud* James Morton Paton, *The Erechtheum*, Cambridge, Mass., 1927, pp. 647-648. He also connects this man with a character mentioned in Aristophanes, *Knights*, line 969. The name there and in the scholia to the line is Smikythes, but this may be a pun on the name Smikythos, since the person is being called a homosexual. The scholia, however, do not recognize such a pun.

416/5

The chairman is listed in *I.G.*, I², 269 as Δεχσιθέο[ι Φυλασ]ί[ο]ι and in *I.G.*, I², 270 as Δεχ[σίθεο]ς [Φυλά]σιο(ς). Θριάσιος is equally likely as the demotic. For the family of the secretary, Lysikles, cf. D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 1-7.

414/3

The name of the treasurer listed in *I.G.*, I², 247, line 194 is Melesias, reading Μελε[σ]ία[ι], where the left bar of the alpha is visible on the stone.

B. THE TREASURERS OF THE OTHER GODS

429/8

There is no direct connection between the secretary for this year and the general in 418/7, and Lewis has noted the wide distribution throughout the demes of the name Kallistratos.³² However, the restoration of the secretary's name as Κ[α]λλίστρατο[ς Ἐμπέδο Ὀθέεν] in *I.G.*, I², 310 is supported by the rareness of the combination of such a short patronymic and demotic.³³

421/0

The accounts of the epistatai of the cult statues of the Hephaisteion (*I.G.*, I², 370/1) include several lists of treasurers of the Other Gods. That for 421/0 contains the following names in order: Stratokles Kephaleus (V), Aristophon Athmoneus (VII), Lysimachos ek Kedon (I), Thodoros — — —, Antimachos Hoaeus (III), Xeno — — — — tios, Onomakles Perithoides (VI), Nikobolos ex Elaias (VIII), Xenophon Rhamnosios (IX), and Sostratos Aigilieus (X). Tribal order is partially followed. Wilhelm restored the two missing names (in the genitive) as Θεόδωρ[ο] ἡεστιάεος] (II) and Χσενοί[το{το} Προσπαλ]τίο (V).³⁴ Although the latter must be rejected, it is impossible to restore this name as a representative of Leontis (IV), for which only [Κερ]τίο is possible. The longest possible name would yield Χσενοκ[ράτος ... Κερ]τίο. Therefore, Aigeis (II) must be represented here and the name is Χσενοκ[..... Γαργερ]τίο. Xenokrates, Xenokleides, or Xenokleitos are possible. No

³² *Op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

³³ The restoration and identification were originally suggested by Patience Haggard, *T.A.P.A.*, LVII, 1926, p. xxxii and, also, *The Secretaries of the Athenian Boule in the Fifth Century B.C.*, Diss., University of Missouri, 1930, p. 13, note 21. Adopted by J. Johnson for the new standard text of the inscription, "A Revision of *I.G.*, I², 310," *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 31-43, the restoration has been discussed recently by S. Dow, "The Attic Demes OA and OE," *A.J.P.*, LXXXIV, 1963, p. 177, and by B. D. Meritt, "Kallistratos of Oe," *A.J.P.*, LXXXIV, 1963, p. 421.

³⁴ "Zu griechischen Inschriften und Papyri," *Anz. Akad. Wis. Wien*, LIX, 1922, pp. 43-48.

restoration of the demotic of Thodoros, the representative of Leontis, should be attempted, and the restoration [Σο]σιστράτο Αἰγυλιῶς may easily be [Δυ]σιστράτο.

420/19

Meritt suggested that the treasurer whose demotic is [Κο]λονᾶθεν represents Leontis (IV) and not Aigeis (II).³⁵ Lewis has now shown good reason to believe that this demotic is never to be connected with Aigeis.³⁶ Note that the treasurer Boutalion Marathonios was attacked by Aristophanes ἐπὶ μωρίᾳ and that his ancestor of the same name and deme was a candidate for ostracism in the 480's.³⁷

418/7

The treasurers for this year are listed in the Hephaisteion accounts in the following order: Philyllos Eleusiniος (VIII), Antiphanides Ε---, ---s Kydantides (II), Euthykrates Kydathenaieus (III), Teisikrates Potamios (IV), Sosichios Hagnosios (V), Pasimenes T---, --- ---eus, Diophantes Aphidnaiος (IX), and Charikles Palleneus (X). My examination of the stone in Athens showed that the initial tau of the demotic of Pasimenes is certain (in addition to the cross bar, the upper tip of the vertical hasta is visible) and that the left tip of a horizontal stroke is preserved at the top of the following stoichos, where the stone breaks away. Epigraphically this reading would indicate the demes Teithras (II), Trikorynthos (IX), or Trinemeia (VII), but *not* Titakidai (IX) or Tyrmeidai (VI). Of the possible demes only Trinemeia belonged to a phyle otherwise unrepresented, Kekropis (VII).

Although I did not notice it in my examination of the stone, my squeeze clearly preserves a small, very deep mark after the initial epsilon of the demotic of Antiphanides, once again where the stone breaks away. It certainly appears to be the result of a blow by a chisel, not a scratch. Although the mark, as preserved, is too short to allow one to state definitely whether it is vertical or diagonal, its position so close to the top stroke of the preceeding epsilon that the two almost touch indicates that the letter is almost certainly upsilon. In the phylai Erechtheis (I), Oineis (VI), and Kekropis (VII) only three demes begin with epsilon: Euonymon, Epikēphisia, and Epieikidai, one from each phyle, respectively. Since the letter after the epsilon must be either upsilon or pi, the former is certainly the correct choice because in this inscription frequently the top stroke of epsilon almost touches or does touch the following upsilon, while there is regularly considerable space between epsilon and pi.

Finally, the representative of the remaining phyle, Oineis (VI), must be an Acharnian since the only other demotic of the consonant declension in this phyle should

³⁵ *Athenian Financial Documents of the Fifth Century*, Ann Arbor, 1932, pp. 102-103.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 12-17.

³⁷ Suidas, *s.v.* Βουταλίων; Eugene Vanderpool, "The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft," *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 272.

produce Δοσιῶς as the genitive in this inscription.³⁸ The new restorations are Ἀντιφανίδο Εὐ[ονυμέος,⁸]ς Κυδαντίδο in line 15 and Πασυμένος Τρ[ινεμειῶς,³⁹⁶ . . . Ἀχαρν]έος in line 16. Tribal order is preserved, except for the prominent position of the name of the chairman, Philyllos, and for the interchange of the representatives of Oineis (VI) and Kekropis (VII).

WESLEY E. THOMPSON

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
DAVIS

³⁸ Cf. A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B. C.*, Oxford, 1933, p. 61. All forms of the demotic from Gomme's Oa in Oineis terminate in -θεν; cf. Dow, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-178.

³⁹ If the form is to be contracted from Τρινεμειῶς; Τρινεμέος would produce Τρινεμείος, as in Κεφαλείος in line 7.