**Selected Sources for Archaic *tamiai*, *grammatistai/grammateis*,and *naukraroi***

**ταμίη** **in Homer**

Iliad (tr. after *The Iliad with an English Translation* by A.T. Murray, Harvard University Press, 1924) Heinemann, Ltd. 1924.)

6.381

τὸν δ᾽ αὖτ᾽ ὀτρηρὴ **ταμίη** πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν:

Then a busy house-dame spoke to him, saying …

6.390 (same person)

ἦ ῥα **γυνὴ ταμίη**, ὃ δ᾽ ἀπέσσυτο δώματος Ἕκτωρ

τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν αὖτις ἐϋκτιμένας κατ᾽ ἀγυιάς.

So spoke the house-dame, and Hector hasted from the house back over the same way along the well-built streets.

24.302

ἦ ῥα καὶ **ἀμφίπολον** **ταμίην** ὄτρυν᾽ ὃ γεραιὸς

χερσὶν ὕδωρ ἐπιχεῦαι ἀκήρατον: ἣ δὲ παρέστη

χέρνιβον ἀμφίπολος πρόχοόν θ᾽ ἅμα χερσὶν ἔχουσα.

Thus spoke the old man, and bade the housewife that attended to pour over his hands water undefiled; and the handmaid drew nigh bearing in her hands both basin and ewer.

Odyssey (tr. after *The Odyssey with an English Translation* by A.T. Murray, Harvard University Press, 1919).

1.139 = 4.55 = 7.175 = 10.371 = 15.138 = 17.94 = 17.259

σῖτον δ᾽ αἰδοίη **ταμίη** παρέθηκε φέρουσα

And the grave housewife brought and set before them bread …

3.392

οἴνου ἡδυπότοιο, τὸν ἑνδεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ

ὤιξεν **ταμίη** καὶ ἀπὸ κρήδεμνον ἔλυσε:

Sweet wine, which now in the eleventh year the housewife opened, when she had loosed the string that held the lid.

7.166

ἄλλ᾽ ἄγε δὴ ξεῖνον μὲν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου

εἷσον ἀναστήσας, σὺ δὲ κηρύκεσσι κέλευσον

οἶνον ἐπικρῆσαι, ἵνα καὶ Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ

σπείσομεν, ὅς θ᾽ ἱκέτῃσιν ἅμ᾽ αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ:

δόρπον δὲ ξείνῳ **ταμίη** δότω ἔνδον ἐόντων.

Come, make the stranger to arise, and set him upon a silver-studded chair, and bid the heralds mix wine, that we may pour libations also to Zeus, who hurls the thunderbolt; for he ever attends upon reverend suppliants. And let the housewife give supper to the stranger of the store that is in the house.

8.449

αὐτόδιον δ᾽ ἄρα μιν **ταμίη** λούσασθαι ἀνώγει

ἔς ῥ᾽ ἀσάμινθον βάνθ᾽ . . .

Then forthwith the housewife bade him go to the bath …

9.207

χρυσοῦ μέν μοι ἔδωκ᾽ ἐυεργέος ἑπτὰ τάλαντα,

δῶκε δέ μοι κρητῆρα πανάργυρον, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

οἶνον ἐν ἀμφιφορεῦσι δυώδεκα πᾶσιν ἀφύσσας

ἡδὺν ἀκηράσιον, θεῖον ποτόν: οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν

ἠείδη δμώων οὐδ᾽ ἀμφιπόλων ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,

ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς ἄλοχός τε φίλη **ταμίη** τε μί᾽ οἴη.

And he gave me splendid gifts: of well-wrought gold he gave me seven talents, and he gave me a mixing-bowl all of silver; and besides these, wine, wherewith he filled twelve jars in all, wine sweet and unmixed, a drink divine. Not one of his slaves nor of the maids in his halls knew thereof, but himself and his dear wife, and one house-dame only.

17.495 = 18.169

τὴν δ᾽ αὖτ᾽ Εὐρυνόμη **ταμίη** πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν:

And again the housewife Eurynome said to her . . .

19.96

ἦ ῥα καὶ Εὐρυνόμην **ταμίην** πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν

With this she spoke also to the housewife Eurynome, and said . . .

23.154

αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσῆα μεγαλήτορα ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ

Εὐρυνόμη **ταμίη** λοῦσεν καὶ χρῖσεν ἐλαίῳ

Meanwhile the housewife Eurynome bathed the great-hearted Odysseus in his house, and anointed him with oil . . .

2.345

ὣς φάν, ὁ δ᾽ ὑψόροφον θάλαμον κατεβήσετο πατρὸς

εὐρύν, . . .

. . .

κληισταὶ δ᾽ ἔπεσαν σανίδες πυκινῶς ἀραρυῖαι,

δικλίδες: ἐν δὲ **γυνὴ** **ταμίη** νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ

ἔσχ᾽, ἣ πάντ᾽ ἐφύλασσε νόου πολυϊδρείῃσιν,

Εὐρύκλει᾽, Ὦπος θυγάτηρ Πεισηνορίδαο.

τὴν τότε Τηλέμαχος προσέφη θαλαμόνδε καλέσσας:

μαῖ᾽, ἄγε δή μοι οἶνον ἐν ἀμφιφορεῦσιν ἄφυσσον

ἡδύν, ὅτις μετὰ τὸν λαρώτατος ὃν σὺ φυλάσσεις 350

κεῖνον ὀιομένη τὸν κάμμορον, εἴ ποθεν ἔλθοι

διογενὴς Ὀδυσεὺς θάνατον καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξας.

So they spoke, but he [sc.Telemachus] went down to the high-roofed treasure-chamber of his father . . . the double doors, close-fitted, were shut; and there both night and day a stewardess abode, who guarded all in wisdom of mind, Eurycleia, daughter of Ops, son of Peisenor.To her now Telemachus, when he had called her to the treasure-chamber, spoke, and said: “Nurse, draw me off wine in jars, [350] sweet wine that is the choicest next to that which thou guardest ever thinking upon that ill-fated one, if haply Zeus-born Odysseus may come I know not whence, having escaped from death and the fates.

3.479

ὣς ἔφαθ᾽, οἱ δ᾽ ἄρα τοῦ μάλα μὲν κλύον ἠδ᾽ ἐπίθοντο,

καρπαλίμως δ᾽ ἔζευξαν ὑφ᾽ ἅρμασιν ὠκέας ἵππους.

ἐν δὲ **γυνὴ ταμίη** σῖτον καὶ οἶνον ἔθηκεν

ὄψα τε, οἷα ἔδουσι διοτρεφέες βασιλῆες.

So he spoke, and they readily hearkened and obeyed; and quickly they yoked beneath the car the swift horses. And the housewife placed in the car bread and wine and dainties, such as kings, fostered of Zeus, are wont to eat.

16.152

ἀλλὰ σύ γ᾽ ἀγγείλας ὀπίσω κίε, μηδὲ κατ᾽ ἀγροὺς

πλάζεσθαι μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον: ἀτὰρ πρὸς μητέρα εἰπεῖν

**ἀμφίπολον ταμίην** ὀτρυνέμεν ὅττι τάχιστα

κρύβδην: κείνη γὰρ κεν ἀπαγγείλειε γέροντι.

But go and give your message, then make haste back and wander not over the fields in search of Laertes. Tell my mother to send forth her handmaid, the housewife, secretly, and at once for she might bear word to the old man.

**ταμίης** **in Homer**

Iliad

19.44

καί ῥ᾽ οἵ περ τὸ πάρος γε νεῶν ἐν ἀγῶνι μένεσκον

οἵ τε κυβερνῆται καὶ ἔχον οἰήϊα νηῶν

καὶ **ταμίαι** παρὰ νηυσὶν ἔσαν σίτοιο δοτῆρες,

καὶ μὴν οἳ τότε γ᾽ εἰς ἀγορὴν ἴσαν, οὕνεκ᾽ Ἀχιλλεὺς

ἐξεφάνη, δηρὸν δὲ μάχης ἐπέπαυτ᾽ ἀλεγεινῆς.

And even they that aforetime were wont to abide in the gathering of the ships—they that were pilots and wielded the steering-oars of the ships, or were stewards that dealt out food—even these came then to the place of gathering, because Achilles was come forth, albeit he had long kept him aloof from grievous war.

4.84

‘ἦ ῥ᾽ αὖτις πόλεμός τε κακὸς καὶ φύλοπις αἰνὴ

ἔσσεται, ἢ φιλότητα μετ᾽ ἀμφοτέροισι τίθησι

Ζεύς, ὅς τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων **ταμίης** πολέμοιο τέτυκται.

Verily shall we again have evil war and the dread din of battle, or else friendship is set amid the hosts by Zeus, who is for men the dispenser of battle.

19.224

αἶψά τε φυλόπιδος πέλεται κόρος ἀνθρώποισιν,

ἧς τε πλείστην μὲν καλάμην χθονὶ χαλκὸς ἔχευεν,

ἄμητος δ᾽ ὀλίγιστος, ἐπὴν κλίνῃσι τάλαντα

Ζεύς, ὅς τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ταμίης πολέμοιο τέτυκται.

Quickly have men surfeit of battle, wherein the bronze streweth most straw upon the ground, albeit the harvest is scantiest, whenso Zeus inclineth his balance, he that is for men the dispenser of battle.

Cf. Pl. Rep. 379e

οὐδ’ ὡς ταμίας ἡμῖν Ζεὺς—

ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε τέτυκται.

[nor will we tolerate the saying that] Zeus is dispenser of good and evil for the mortals”

Odyssey

10.21

κεῖνον γὰρ ταμίην ἀνέμων ποίησε Κρονίων,

ἠμὲν παυέμεναι ἠδ’ ὀρνύμεν, ὅν κ’ ἐθέλῃσι.

For the son of Cronos had made him keeper of the winds, both to still and to rouse whatever one he will.

**Homeric Hymn to Demeter**, 105

(tr. after *The Homeric Hymns and Homerica* with an English Translation by Hugh G. Evelyn-White, Harvard University Press 1914.)

ἕζετο δ’ ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο φίλον τετιημένη ἦτορ   
Παρθενίῳ φρέατι ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται   
ἐν σκιῇ, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε πεφύκει θάμνος ἐλαίης,      
γρηῒ παλαιγενέϊ ἐναλίγκιος, ἥ τε τόκοιο  
εἴργηται δώρων τε φιλοστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης,  
οἷαί τε τροφοί εἰσι θεμιστοπόλων βασιλήων  
παίδων καὶ **ταμίαι** κατὰ δώματα ἠχήεντα.

Vexed in her dear heart, she sat near the wayside by the Maiden Well, from which the women of the place were used to draw water, in a shady place over which grew an olive shrub. And she was like an ancient woman who is cut off from childbearing and the gifts of garland-loving Aphrodite, like the nurses of kings' children who deal justice, or like the house-keepers in their echoing halls.

**Theognis**, 504. (tr. after *Elegy and Iambus* with an English Translation by. J. M. Edmonds, Harvard University Press, 1931. Vol. 1)

Οἰνοβαρέω κεφαλήν, Ὀνομάκριτε, καί με βιᾶται

οἶνος, ἀτὰρ γνώμης οὐκέτ’ ἐγὼ **ταμίης**

ἡμετέρης, τὸ δὲ δῶμα περιτρέχει. ἀλλ’ ἄγ’ ἀναστάς

πειρηθῶ, μή πως καὶ πόδας οἶνος ἔχει

καὶ νόον ἐν στήθεσσι· . . .

My head is heavy with drink, Onomacritus, and wine constrains me; I am no longer the dispenser of my own judgment, and the room runs round. Come, let me rise and try if wine possess my feet as well as my wits.

**Herodotus**

(tr. after *Herodotus*, with an English translation by A. D. Godley, Harvard University Press, 1920.)

2.121a

Πλοῦτον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλέϊ γενέσθαι ἀργύρου μέγαν, τὸν οὐδένα τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιτραφέντων βασιλέων δύνασθαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι οὐδ’ ἐγγὺς ἐλθεῖν. Βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλείῃ τὰ χρήματα θησαυρίζειν οἰκοδομέεσθαι οἴκημα λίθινον, τοῦ τῶν τοίχων ἕνα ἐς τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς οἰκίης  ἔχειν. Τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον ἐπιβουλεύοντα τάδε μηχανᾶσθαι· τῶν λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι ἕνα ἐξαίρετον εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ῥηιδίως καὶ ὑπὸ δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἑνός. Ὡς δὲ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ οἴκημα, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίσαι τὰ χρήματα ἐν αὐτῷ, χρόνου δὲ περιιόντος τὸν οἰκοδόμον περὶ τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου ἐόντα ἀνακαλέσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας (εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο), τούτοισι δὲ ἀπηγήσασθαι ὡς ἐκείνων προορέων, ὅκως βίον ἄφθονον ἔχωσι, τεχνάσαιτο οἰκοδομέων τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέος· σαφέως δὲ αὐτοῖσι πάντα ἐξηγησάμενον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τοῦ λίθου δοῦναι τὰ μέτρα αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα ὡς ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοντες **ταμίαι** τῶν <τοῦ> βασιλέος χρημάτων ἔσονται.

This king (they told me) had great wealth in silver, so great that none of the succeeding kings could surpass or come near it. To store his treasure safely, he had a stone chamber built, one of its walls abutting on the outer side of his palace. But the builder of it shrewdly provided that one stone be so placed as to be easily removed by two men or even by one. So when the chamber was finished, the king stored his treasure in it, and as time went on, the builder, drawing near the end of his life, summoned his sons (he had two) and told them how he had provided for them, that they have an ample livelihood, by the art with which he had built the king's treasure-house; explaining clearly to them how to remove the stone, he gave the coordinates of it, and told them that if they kept these in mind, they would be the custodians of the king's riches.

8.51

Καὶ αἱρέουσι ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ καί τινας ὀλίγους εὑρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἐόντας, **ταμίας** τε τοῦ ἱροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἳ φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρῃσί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἠμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ’ ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες

ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον τὸ ἡ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε, «τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσεσθαι»

When they took the town it was deserted, but in the sacred precinct they found a few Athenians, stewards of the sacred precinct and poor people, who defended themselves against the assault by fencing the acropolis with doors and logs. They had not withdrawn to Salamis not only because of poverty but also because they thought they had discovered the meaning of the oracle the Pythia had given, namely that the wooden wall would be impregnable.

Cf. **γραμματιστής**

7.100.1 and 8.90.4: scribes accompanying Xerxes.

3.123

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας [ὁ] Πολυκράτης ἥσθη τε καὶ ἐβούλετο· καί κως ἱμείρετο γὰρ χρημάτων μεγάλως, ἀποπέμπει πρῶτα κατοψόμενον Μαιάνδριον Μαιανδρίου ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν, ὅς οἱ ἦν **γραμματιστής**· ὃς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τούτων τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρεῶνος τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον ἀνέθηκε πάντα ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον.

Hearing this, Polycrates was pleased and willing; and since he had a great desire for money he first sent one of his townsmen, Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, to have a look; this man was his scribe; it was he who not long afterwards dedicated in the Heraeum all the splendid furnishings of the men's apartment in Polycrates' house.

142-143

Τῆς δὲ Σάμου Μαιάνδριος ὁ Μαιανδρίου εἶχε τὸ κράτος, ἐπιτροπαίην παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν· τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ ἀνδρῶν βουλομένῳ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἐξεγένετο. . . . Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σαμίοισι ἐπηγγέλλετο, τῶν δέ τις ἐξαναστὰς εἶπε· «Ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἄξιος εἶς σύ γε ἡμέων ἄρχειν, γεγονώς τε κακῶς καὶ ἐὼν ὄλεθρος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅκως **λόγον δώσεις** (143) τῶν μετεχείρισας χρημάτων.» Ταῦτα εἶπε ἐὼν ἐν τοῖσι ἀστοῖσι δόκιμος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Τελέσαρχος. Μαιάνδριος δὲ νόῳ λαβὼν ὡς, εἰ μετήσει τὴν ἀρχήν, ἄλλος τις ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ τύραννος καταστήσεται, οὐ δὴ ἔτι ἐν νόῳ εἶχε μετιέναι αὐτήν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μεταπεμπόμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον ... **ὡς δὴ λόγον τῶν χρημάτων δώσων**, συνέλαβέ σφεας καὶ κατέδησε.

Now Samos was ruled by Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, who had authority delegated by Polycrates. He wanted to be the justest of men, but that was impossible. … Such was Maeandrius' offer to the Samians. But one of them arose and answered: “But you are not even fit to rule us, low-born and vermin, but you had better give an account of the monies that you have handled.” [143] This was the speech of Telesarchus, a man of consequence among the citizens. But Maeandrius, realizing that if he let go of the sovereignty someone else would make himself sovereign instead, resolved not to let it go. Withdrawing into the acropolis, he sent for the citizens individually as if he would give an account of the money; then he seized and bound them.

2.28, 1 and 5: ‘secretary-treasurer’

Τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε Λιβύων οὔτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀπικομένων ἐς λόγους οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Σάϊ πόλι **ὁ γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων** τῆς Ἀθηναίης. . . . Οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ **γραμματιστής**, εἰ ἄρα ταῦτα γενόμενα ἔλεγε, ἀπέφαινε, ὡς ἐμὲ κατανοέειν, δίνας τινὰς ταύτῃ ἐούσας ἰσχυρὰς καὶ παλιρροίην, οἷα [δὲ] ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῖσι ὄρεσι, <ὥστε> μὴ δύνασθαι κατιεμένην καταπειρητηρίην ἐς βυσσὸν ἰέναι.

Let this be, then, as it is and as it was in the beginning. But as to the sources of the Nile, no one that conversed with me, Egyptian, Libyan, or Greek, professed to know them, except the recorder of the sacred treasures of Athena in the Egyptian city of Saïs. . . . [5] This recorder, then, if he spoke the truth, showed, I think, that there are strong eddies and an upward flow of water, such that with the stream rushing against the hills the sounding-line when let down cannot reach bottom

3.128, 3 and 5: ‘royal secretaries’

Λαχὼν δὲ ὁ Βαγαῖος ποιέει τάδε· βυβλία γραψάμενος πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν λέγοντα πρηγμάτων   
σφρηγῖδά σφι ἐπέβαλε τὴν Δαρείου, μετὰ δὲ ἤιε ἔχων ταῦτα ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ καὶ Ὀροίτεω ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν τῶν βυβλίων ἓν ἕκαστον περιαιρεόμενος ἐδίδου **τῷ γραμματιστῇ τῷ βασιληίῳ** ἐπιλέγεσθαι (**γραμματιστὰς δὲ βασιληίους** οἱ πάντες ὕπαρχοι ἔχουσι)· . . . Ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτό σφεας ὁ Βαγαῖος πειθομένους τῷ βυβλίῳ, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ θαρσήσας τὸ τελευταῖον τῶν βυβλίων διδοῖ τῷ γραμματιστῇ, . . .

When he got there and came into Oroetes' presence, he took out each letter in turn and gave it to one of the royal scribes to read (all of the governors of the King have scribes) . . . [5] When Bagaeus saw that they obeyed the letter so far, he was encouraged and gave the last roll to the scribe, . . .

**Naukraroi**

AP = [Aristotle], *The Athenian Constitution,* tr. afterAristotle in 23 Volumes, Vol. 20, translated by H. Rackham, Harvard University Press, 1952.

AP 4, reforms of Drako

Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη πολιτεία ταύτην εἶχε τὴν ὑπογραφήν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα χρόνου τινὸς οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἐπ’ Ἀρισταίχμου ἄρχοντος, Δρά[κ]ων τοὺς θεσμοὺς ἔθηκεν· ἡ δὲ τάξις αὐτοῦ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον εἶχε. ἀπεδέδοτο μὲν ἡ πολιτεία τοῖς ὅπλα παρεχομένοις· ᾑροῦντο δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐννέα ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ταμίας οὐσίαν κεκτημένους οὐκ ἐλάττω δέκα μνῶν ἐλευθέραν, . . .

And after this when a certain moderate length of time had passed, in the archonship of Aristaechmus, Draco enacted his ordinances; and this system was on the following lines. Citizenship had already been bestowed on those who provided themselves with arms; and these elected as the Nine Archons and the Treasurers, who were owners of an unencumbered estate worth not less than 10 minae, . . .

AP 7-8, Solonic reforms

7 ἄρχειν ἐκ πεντακοσιομεδίμνων καὶ ἱππέων καὶ ζευγιτῶν, τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς **ταμίας** καὶ τοὺς πωλητὰς καὶ τοὺς ἕνδεκα καὶ τοὺς κωλακρέτας, ἑκάστοις ἀνάλογον τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ τιμήματος ἀποδιδοὺς τὴν ἀρχήν· τοῖς δὲ τὸ θητικὸν τελοῦσιν ἐκκλησίας καὶ δικαστηρίων μετέδωκε μόνον. . . .

8 . . . σημεῖον δ’ ὅτι κληρωτὰς ἐποίησεν ἐκ τῶν τιμημάτων ὁ περὶ **τῶν ταμιῶν νόμος**, ᾧ χρώμενοι δια[τελ]οῦσιν ἔτι καὶ νῦν· κελεύει γὰρ κληροῦν **τοὺς ταμίας** ἐκ πεντακοσιομεδίμνων. [Σόλ]ων μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐνομοθέτησεν περὶ τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων· τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον ἡ ἐν Ἀ[ρεί]ῳ [πάγῳ βου]λή, ἀνακαλεσαμένη καὶ κρίνασα καθ’ αὑτήν, τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἐφ’ ἑκάστῃ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐπ’ [ἐν]ια[υτ]ὸν [διατάξα]σα ἀπέστελλεν. φυλαὶ δ’ ἦσαν δʹκαθάπερ πρότερον, καὶ φυλοβασιλεῖς τέτταρες. [ἐκ] δὲ [τῆς] φυ[λῆ]ς ἑκάστης ἦσαν νενεμημέναι τριττύες μὲν τρεῖς, **ναυκραρίαι** δὲ δώδεκα καθ’ ἑκάστην· ἦν δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν **ναυκραριῶν** ἀρχὴ καθεστηκυῖα **ναύκραροι**, τεταγμένη πρός τε τὰς εἰσφορὰς καὶ τὰς δαπ[άνας] τὰς γιγνομένας· διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς Σόλωνος οἷς οὐκέτι χρῶνται πολλαχο[ῦ γέ]γραπται, ‘τοὺς **ναυκράρους** εἰσπράττειν’, καὶ ‘ἀναλίσκειν ἐκ τοῦ **ναυκραρικοῦ** ἀργυρ[ίο]υ’.

[he distributed] the other offices to be held from among the Five-hundred-measure men, Horsemen and Teamsters—the Nine Archons, the Treasurers, the Vendors of Contracts, the Eleven and the Paymasters, assigning each office to the several classes in proportion to the amount of their assessment; while those who were rated in the Laborer class he admitted to the membership of the assembly and law-courts alone. . . . 8. . . . And a proof that he made the offices elective by lot according to assessments is the law in regard to the Treasurers that remains in force even at the present day; for it orders the Treasurers to be elected by lot from the Five-hundred-measure men. Solon, therefore, legislated thus about the Nine Archons; for in ancient times the Council on the Areopagus used to issue a summons and select independently the person suitable for each of the offices, and commission him to hold office for a year. And there were four Tribes, as before, and four Tribal Kings. And from each Tribe there had been assigned three Thirds and twelve *naukrariai* to each, and over the *naukrariai* there was established the office of *naukraroi*, appointed for the levies and the expenditures that were made; because of which in the laws of Solon, which are no longer in force, the clauses frequently occur, 'the *naukraroi* are to levy' and 'to spend out of the *naukraric* Fund.'

AP 21, Cleisthenic reforms

κατέστησε δὲ καὶ δημάρχους, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας ἐπιμέλειαν τοῖς πρότερον **ναυκράροις**. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς δήμους ἀντὶ τῶν **ναυκραριῶν** ἐποίησεν. προσηγόρευσε δὲ τῶν δήμων τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κτισάντων· οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντες ὑπῆρχον ἐν τοῖς τόποις. τὰ δὲ γένη καὶ τὰς φρατρίας καὶ τὰς ἱερωσύνας εἴασεν ἔχειν ἑκάστους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ταῖς δὲ φυλαῖς ἐποίησεν ἐπωνύμους ἐκ τῶν προ-

κριθέντων ἑκατὸν ἀρχηγετῶν, οὓς ἀνεῖλεν ἡ Πυθία δέκα.

And he also appointed Demarchs, having the same duties as the former *naukraroi,* for he put the demes in the place of the *naukrariai*. He named some of the demes from their localities, but others from their founders, for the demes were no longer all corresponding to the places. The clans and brotherhoods and priesthoods belonging to the various demes he allowed to remain on the ancestral plan. As eponymous deities of the Tribes he instituted ten tutelary heroes selected by an oracle of the Pythian priestess from a previously chosen list of a hundred.

Herodotus, 5.71

Οἱ δ’ Ἐναγέες Ἀθηναίων ὧδε ὠνομάσθησαν. Ἦν Κύλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης· οὗτος ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε, προσποιησάμενος δὲ ἑταιρηίην τῶν ἡλικιωτέων καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη· οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρατῆσαι ἱκέτης ἵζετο πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα. Τούτους ἀνιστᾶσι μὲν **οἱ πρυτάνιες τῶν ναυκράρων**, οἵ περ ἔνεμον τότε τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑπεγγύους πλὴν θανάτου· φονεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς αἰτίη ἔχει Ἀλκμεωνίδας.

How the Accursed at Athens had received their name, I will now relate. There was an Athenian named Cylon, who had been a winner at Olympia. This man put on the air of one who aimed at tyranny, and gathering a company of men of like age, he attempted to seize the citadel. When he could not win it, he took sanctuary by the goddess' statue. He and his men were then removed from their position by the presidents of the *naukraroi*, the rulers of Athens at that time. Although they were subject to any penalty save death, they were slain, and their death was attributed to the Alcmaeonidae.

Photius

**Ναυκραρία**: τὸ πρότερον οὕτως ἐκάλουν **ναυκραρία** καὶ **ναύκραρος**· **ναυκραρία** μὲν ὁποῖον τι ἡ συμμορία καὶ ὁ δῆμος· **ναύκραρος** δὲ ὁποῖον τί ὁ δήμαρχος, Σόλωνος οὕτως ὀνομάσαντος· ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης φησί· καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις δὲ ἄν τις **ναυκραρίας** ἀμφισβητῆ· καὶ τοὺς **ναυκράρους** τοὺς κατὰ **ναυκραρίαν**· ὕστερον δὲ ἀπὸ Κλεισθένους δῆμοι εἰσίν· καὶ δήμαρχοι ἐκλήθησαν· ἐκ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους Πολιτείας, ὃν τρόπον διέταξε τὴν πόλιν ὁ Σόλων· φυλαὶ δὲ ἦσαν τέσσαρες καθάπερ πρότερον καὶ φυλοβασιλεῖς τέσσαρες· ἐκ δὲ τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης ἦσαν νενεμημέναι, τριττύες μὲν τρεῖς, ναυκραρίαι δὲ δώδεκα καθ’ ἑκάστην· ὁ Κλείδημος ἐν τῆι τρίτη φησὶν, ὅτι Κλεισθένους δέκα φυλὰς ποιήσαντος, ἀντὶ τῶν τεσσάρων, συνέβη καὶ εἰς πεντήκοντα μέρη διαταγῆναι. αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐκάλουν **ναυκράρια**· ὥσπερ νῦν εἰς τὰ ἑκατὸν μέρη διαιρεθέντα καλοῦσι συμμορίας.

Naukraria: ancient people spoke of naukraria and naukraros. Naukraria is something like a symmoria and a deme; naukraros is something like a demarche, as Solon calls them, according to Aristotle. And in the Laws [one reads], “if someone disputes *naukraria*,” and “naukraroi in each naukraria.” Later under Clesthenes they became demes (*demoi*), and demarchs were named. According to Aristotle’s Constitution, Solon organized the State in thus: “there were four tribes, as before, and four tribal kings; and each tribe was divided into three Thirds and twelve naukrariai each.” Kleidemos in his third book says that, after Cleisthenes created ten tribes in place of four, there was also a division into fifty parts. Them (?) they called *naukraria*, just as now the divisions into hundred parts are called *symmoriai*.

Ammonius, 330

ναύκληροι καὶ **ναύκραροι** διαφέρουσιν. ναύκληροι μὲν γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ναῦς κεκτημένοι, **ναύκραροι** δὲ οἱ εἰσπρασσόμενοι τὰ δημόσια κτήματα. καὶ **ναυκράρια** οἱ τόποι ἐν οἷς ἀνέκειτο τὰ κτήματα. ἐλέγοντο δὲ ὁμοίως ναύκληροι καὶ οἱ μισθωτοὶ τῶν συνοικιῶν.

*Naukleroi* and *naukraroi* are different. *Naukleroi* are those who possess ships, while *naukraroi* are those who levy the public funds. And *naukrariai* are places in which these possessions are located. *Naukleroi* and the contractors are chosen similarly from the community.

Pollux 8, 108

δήμαρχοι οἱ κατὰ δήμους ἄρχοντες. ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ τέως **ναύκραροι**, ὅτε καὶ οἱ δῆμοι **ναυκραρίαι**.

**ναυκραρία** δ’ ἦν τέως φυλῆς δωδέκατον μέρος καὶ ναύκραροι ἦσαν δώδεκα, τέτταρες κατὰ τριττὺν ἑκάστην. τὰς δ’ εἰσφορὰς τὰς κατὰ δήμους διεχειροτόνουν οὗτοι καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναλώματα. **ναυκραρία** δ’ ἑκάστη δύο ἱππέας παρεῖχε καὶ ναῦν μίαν, ἀφ’ ἧς ἴσως ὠνόμαστο.

Demarchs are the foremen of the demes. Earlier they were called *naukraroi* and the demes *naukrariai*. *Naukraria* at that time was a twelfth part of a tribe and there were twelve *naukraroi*, four in each Third. They decided by a vote of hands concerning the matters of public income and expenses from this income. Each *naukraria* provided two cavalrymen and one ship, from which they apparently took their name.