

UC Berkeley

UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

The List as Treasury in the Greek World

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9n3549kc>

Author

Kirk, Athena

Publication Date

2011

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

The List as Treasury in the Greek World

By Athena E. Kirk

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Classics

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Leslie V. Kurke, Chair

Professor Andrew Garrett

Professor Nikolaos Papazarkadas

Professor Ronald S. Stroud

Fall 2011

Abstract

The List as Treasury in the Greek World

by

Athena E. Kirk

Doctor of Philosophy in Classics

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Leslie V. Kurke, Chair

Some of the earliest written records in the greater ancient world are lists of objects: we find catalogues of gods, kings, jewels, archaic vocabulary items, and exotic birds in Sumerian, Egyptian, Akkadian and Hittite, and many scholars surmise that a penchant for this kind of record-keeping fueled the very invention of writing. The Greeks, however, have long been considered distinct from other literate peoples both for their innovations with regard to the writing system they borrowed from the Phoenicians and for their application of that system, as they (a) were the first to denote vowels with stand-alone symbols, and (b) seem to used the alphabet to record poetry, not archival information, before anything else. In fact, it is not until several hundred years after these first ‘literary’ texts that the alphabetic Greeks begin to produce the government inventories, war memorials, or tribute lists akin to those of their Near Eastern and Mycenaean predecessors.

In this project, I study these kinds of official epigraphic written lists alongside lists from Archaic and Classical Greek literature in an effort to reorient the discourse surrounding the Greeks’ literacy and use of writing, and its purported uniqueness. I work specifically with those lists that enumerate physical objects, beginning from the assertion that we can trace a tradition of listing objects in the Greek world that exists independent of the literacy *versus* orality binary invoked by most scholarship for the last several decades. By looking at, e.g., a catalogue of gifts in the *Iliad* alongside an inventory of dedications from an Athenian sanctuary, I suggest that lists themselves are the salient phenomenon to be identified and analyzed, rather than the medium (written or oral) in which we find them.

My central thesis is that Greek object-lists in their disparate contexts—oral poetry, narrated prose history, publicly displayed records, performed drama—all share a

common function vis-à-vis the objects they represent, namely, that when they are presented to their various audiences, they serve as surrogates for the objects in question and in many cases take on an authority beyond that of any physical collection, which ultimately perishes. In their role as extant text-monuments, I argue, they embody and preserve the details of remote times and spaces.

I present four case studies of texts that contain lists from the archaic through the classical period, and one later example of the same tradition. The chronological progression emphasizes how the Greek literary and documentary traditions build upon and interact with one another, and by attending to the two together, I begin to build a more comprehensive portrait of the listmaking meme.

C O N T E N T S

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	
The Listing Media.ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.	xiv
CHAPTER 1	
A Number of Things.	1
CHAPTER 2	
A History of Collecting.	35
CHAPTER 3	
Stone Treasuries.	69
CHAPTER 4	
Performed Inventories.	110
EPILOGUE	
They Had Been Inscribed.	151
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	165

INTRODUCTION

THE · LISTING · MEDIA
THE · LISTING · MEDIA
THE · LISTING · MEDIA
THE · LISTING · MEDIA
THE · LISTING · MEDIA

quam innumerabilia variis artibus et opificiis, in vestibus, calciamentis, vasis et cuiuscemodi fabricationibus, picturis etiam diversisque figmentis atque his usum necessarium atque moderatum et piam significationem longe transgredientibus addiderunt homines ad inlecebras oculorum...

Innumerable things of various arts and makes, in clothes, shoes, drinking vessels, and all such products, even pictures and other adornments, all far exceeding their appropriately modest use or their pious purpose—innumerable things have men added to entice the eyes...

Augustine *Confessions* 10.34.53

This study stems from a desire to rethink and reframe some questions about Greek reading and writing. Many have posed and variously answered the first: “For what purpose did the Greeks adapt the alphabet?”¹ While that inquiry has produced many fruitful results, without further explicit evidence it can result in no definitive account, and so it now seems equally and perhaps more pertinent to wonder instead why the Greeks wrote down what they did after they had learned letters, however they may

¹ Among others: Goody and Watt (1963); Havelock (1982); Guarducci (1987); Harris (1989); Jeffery (revised 1990); Powell (1991); Thomas (1992) chapter 4; Ruijgh (1998).

have done so. I propose to examine the Greeks' application of the alphabetic system as a consequence of, not a motivation for, technological advancement. Another problem that has dominated the subfield concerns the number of literates in a given social group. In this case too, the general lack of quantitative evidence has yielded a surplus of accounts based on a diverse range of sources (inscriptions, epic poetry, papyri, vase painting, among others). Those who advocate early widespread literacy often find proponents of late orality fanciful, while the latter only occasionally engage with the technical, object-oriented work of the former.² The study of literacy could stand to benefit from more approaches that lay aside quantitative issues and concentrate instead on the fact that undoubtedly the majority of inhabitants of the Greek world, from prolific prose-writer to unlettered slave, interacted with written texts in some way or other. Moreover, as we may also agree that anyone spending time in public places would have come in contact with a great deal of writing, it seems all the more worthwhile to consider the range of reactions different viewers had to a given text.

THEORETICAL BASES

These problems fall under the general rubric of representation and into the general domain of human memory. Writing, in turn, is characterized as one of many tools that organize sense perceptions.³ We might invoke the well-rehearsed discussion of *signans* and *signatum*⁴ as a model of the relationship between sound and meaning or language and writing, but Plato provides a contemporary meditation which is just as useful at *Cratylus* 432d:

γελοῖα γούν, ὧ Κρατύλε, ὑπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων πάθοι ἂν
ἐκεῖνα ὧν ὀνόματά ἐστιν τὰ ὀνόματα, εἰ πάντα πανταχῆ

² A primary criticism of studies such as, e.g., Thomas (1992).

³ The hero of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* (460-461) mentions writing in his list of inventions, all of which allowed ignorant mankind to make full use of his senses (442-444): τὰν βροτοῖς δὲ πῆματα ἰ ἀκούσαθ', ὧς σφας νηπίους ὄντας τὸ πρὶν ἰ ἔννουσ ἔθηκα καὶ φρενῶν ἐπηβόλους. Compare here Aristotle's hierarchy of the levels of perception, where certain living things are capable of αἴσθησις but not μνήμη, such that they cannot engage in φρόνιμα (*Metaphysics* A 980a-b).

⁴ Jakobson (1984/1959) especially makes several useful revisions to Saussure's scheme, among which two are most applicable to this study: (1) far from being arbitrary, symbols and their interpretation are heavily dependent on context (28-29), and (2) "the *signans* must necessarily be perceptible whereas the *signatum* is translatable" (30).

αὐτοῖς ὁμοιωθεῖη. διττὰ γὰρ ἂν που πάντα γένοιτο, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν <οὐδεὶς> οὐδέτερον ὀπότερόν ἐστι τὸ μὲν αὐτό, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα.

Then those things of which names are the names would suffer absurdities at the hands of their names if they were completely the same as them. For they would all be doubles, I suppose, and no one would be able to tell which one was on the one hand the thing itself, and which was, on the other, the name.

Jowett streamlines the rather cumbersome prose: “But then how ridiculous would be the effect of names on things, if they were exactly the same with them! For they would be the doubles of them, and no one would be able to determine which were the names and which were the realities.” In his struggle to define objects using names, Socrates points us to a central tension between the physical world and the attempt to describe it verbally. Though his discussion remains fairly abstract, the passage serves as a useful point of departure for studying how the Greek world represents physical objects using words. In Socrates’ formulation, there exists a one-to-one correlation between concepts (or nameable things) and names, but the object and the label are distinct entities and separable. The label can in turn be manifested at a second level of representation—as text. The studies here work with the text both as a representation of the object and, subsequently, as an object to behold itself.

F O C U S

With a view to studying the connections between words and things, I take as my topic ancient lists of objects. While studies of ancient literacy unfailingly turn to a wide variety of texts to inform their analyses, they pause far less often to reflect on the genre, content, and purpose of that material. I maintain that a more focused corpus, chosen specifically on typological grounds, could reorient the discussion; thus I will include lists from varying historical periods, preserved in diverse media. Lists pertain to literacy not only on an analogical level. It is common knowledge that they tend to be one of the first applications of writing in early literate societies, yet no one has fully

treated their relationship to oral and written culture in Greece.⁵ In particular, catalogues of objects deserve special attention for a few reasons. First, they embody three forms of communicative media: the physical or tactile (objects to be listed), the aural or audible (spoken or recited enumerations) and the visual or representational (written words). For the purposes of the ancient historian, then, they constitute at once material, traditional, and textual evidence, an unusually rich spectrum that can shed light on a large synchronic section of the population. Moreover, since they undoubtedly exist in some form in both pre- and post-alphabetic Greece, lists, unlike many other types of texts, are well suited to a diachronic study.

Working with a wide range of sources, I argue on the one hand that we ought to see the list of objects as a continuous cultural product in the Greek world from at least the archaic period on.⁶ At the earliest stages, it is realized orally in Homeric poetry; later, it manifests itself in texts such as the prolific archival records of the fifth and fourth centuries. At intermediate moments, we may point, e.g., to Herodotus' inventoring in his accounts. I see the list of objects, then, not as a creation of Athenian 'document-mindedness,' but as a singular tradition extant both orally and in writing, sometimes at once. On the other hand, I aim to show how the relationship between physical objects and the lists that describe them can reveal shifts in the literate population, and how analysis of such generic tendencies as the speaking object, text-as-object, or archive-turned-monument ought to inform our understanding of representation as it occurs between the spoken and the written word.⁷

⁵ Most frequently, lists crop up briefly in discussions of archives in general, thus Thomas's *Appendix on Early Greek Lists* (1992: 287-288), Davies (2003) 323-324, or Sickinger (1999) 40.

⁶ It is tempting to adduce Mycenaean evidence in this context, but I concentrate in the scope of this dissertation on post-Geometric Greece.

⁷ I find grounding for this in part in Foucault's *aemulatio*, resemblance that takes place at a distance. As opposed to other forms of similitude that require an object to stand near its representation, "[t]he relation of emulation enables things to imitate one another from one end of the universe to the other without connection of proximity" (1994 [1966]: 19). Foucault provides as examples the stars in relation to the plants on earth, with humans as intermediaries, but we might consider here ancient lists of objects: the objects, like the plants, have a certain distant similitude to the larger, more audible or visible and more permanent text that lists them, but the relationship can function only through human interaction and specifically communicative behavior, whether oral or literate.

STRUCTURE AND SCOPE

The project comprises a group of case studies, analyses of texts and text-objects that either have not traditionally entered into discussions of literacy, or that have but require a second look through a different lens. These texts cover a wide chronological and generic range. Some are epigraphic, some are literary; some are products of oral composition, while others arguably first appeared in writing. I contend that tracing the evolution of them in both their oral and written forms can provide both a more nuanced and a better holistic understanding of listmaking in general.

As the Greek corpus is replete with catalogues, it is useful to define what does and does not count as a list of objects for my purposes. Two recent studies have treated Homeric catalogues and Indo-European lists respectively, but this project is concerned chiefly with texts that enumerate groups of objects *as collections*.⁸ That is, while the Athenian tribute lists or archon list, for example, are arguably catalogues of material things, they do not represent a unified physical reality inasmuch as their constituents never all stood together in one place at one time. The lists at issue here, in conception, provide verbal snapshots of grouped objects compiled in a particular place or on a certain occasion. Thus *Iliad IX* contains everything that would be presented to win back Achilles; a temple inventory shows what was at one point or another amassed in one precinct; and grocery lists or a catalogue of soldiers walking by or a burial inscription for the dead of a given battle behave the same way. In examining these documents, however, one finds that the relationship between list and collection is not as straightforward as it may seem. On the one hand, these snapshots do not always present an accurate portrait of the objects they purport to document, but on the other they rival them in importance.

THEMATIC OUTLINE

If one judges from material evidence, it would appear that the inhabitants of the Greek world deemed it important to document their wealth from the Mycenaean period on. While we may rightly conceive of the catalogue as an inextricable building block of the oral tradition, we can just as easily envision Agamemnon's list of reparations for Achilles in *Iliad IX* documented on clay tablets.⁹ That the list resides comfortably in

⁸ Sammons (2010) and Galjanic (2007).

⁹ Its parataxis, especially, is reminiscent of the format of Mycenaean documents, which list objects, descriptions, and numbers.

both oral and literate contexts need not breed contention. Rather, lists like this can serve as wormholes, so to speak, that allow their audiences to pass between apparently disparate spaces: prehistory and history, legend and record, poem and document. I argue that lists of objects in particular can inform how we understand the Greeks' sense of their own literate and documentary past. Thus this project looks not only at the Greeks' use of writing but also at their own consciousness of that usage.

Each chapter focuses on one author or genre's lists of objects, either epigraphic or literary. This set of texts is necessarily and purposefully selective and is not intended as a comprehensive corpus of all ancient object catalogues; instead, I aim to draw together texts that scholars do not so often juxtapose (e.g. the Homeric catalogue of Achaean warriors and the Lindian Chronicle, or the Acropolis inventories and the comedies of Aristophanes). Seen as a constant, the list as examined across a broad chronological range emphasizes the variation of literate behavior in the Greek world, and an anthropology of list-making can lead to conclusions about the Greeks' use of writing in general."

I will outline here some principles as an organizational framework for this study, and to which my consideration of various texts will return. This thesis sets forth the proposition that in Greek, and perhaps universally, listmaking or inventorying of objects involves four distinguishable yet overlapping acts: naming, counting, collecting, and containing. NAMING comprises the sense of both 'dub' and 'invoke,' onetime name-giving as well as reiterative name-saying. We might think of the first as empowering the object or 'signified,' the second as empowering the list. While both are essential to listing, the latter creates the list itself, as in, say, a Homeric catalogue. COUNTING entails the ordering of a group of things one by one into a series, but, as we see in the case of archaic poetry, in a text it is only marginally distinguishable from naming, such that poets speak of "things too many to name" in a conflation of the two. Furthermore, if actual objects are absent to show in the counting, added to which numbers tend to be less descriptive than names, naming becomes in our texts tantamount to numbering. Yet inventory-takers and cataloguer-poets would insist, I think, that counting things up was at least part of their goal. Thus perhaps we might conceive of 'naming' as the realization of the perceived intent 'numbering.' COLLECTING properly refers to a physical amassing of sundry objects, but a kind of verbal collecting results directly from repeatedly naming off said objects. The collection, almost by definition (a 'grouping together'), cannot really be infinite or

¹⁰ One model here is the work of Svenbro (1993[1988]), whose structure presents an appealing mode of organization.

even too severely disparate or ambiguous,¹¹ and in theory, just as one ought to be able to hold a physical collection within some kind of storage space, a verbal collection should also fit into a formatted encapsulation, such as a certain size page or concludable utterance. CONTAINING describes the delineation of that space. So in brief, then, naming (dubbing) enables counting; naming (invoking) realizes counting; collecting results from reiterative naming, and containment is crucial to our comprehension of the collection, which requires boundaries to function as an integrated unit.

L I S T S O U T L O U D

The first part of the dissertation treats lists of objects, mainly in Homeric epic, that either originate orally or are intended to be spoken and heard, rather than read in their literary context or in a performance of the work that hosts them. The catalogue can almost be said to flourish as a genre unto itself in this period, in which lists appear worked into the pastiche of lyric and epic, but they clearly could also serve as set pieces for isolated performance and arguably formed discrete compositions.¹² At *Iliad* 2.484–493, as preface to the catalogue of ships, the Homeric poet reveals that producing a memorized list requires divine assistance:

Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι·
 ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαὶ ἐστε πάρεστε τε ἴστε τε πάντα,
 ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν·
 οἳ τινες ἡγεμόνες Δαναῶν καὶ κοίρανοι ἦσαν·
 πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω,
 οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν,
 φωνὴ δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη,
 εἰ μὴ Ὀλυμπιάδες Μοῦσαι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο
 θυγατέρες μνησαίαθ' ὅσοι ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθον·
 ἀρχοὺς αὖ νηῶν ἐρέω νῆάς τε προπάσας.

Tell me now, you muses who hold Olympian homes,
 for you are goddesses and present and know all,
 while we only hear the report but know nothing

¹¹ *pace* Eco (2009).

¹² The Hesiodic *Ehōeae* are by now paradigmatic of the genre; on this see Martin (2007) and D'Alessio (2007); Hunter (2007) for the text's influence on Hellenistic cataloguing.

of who were the Danaans' leaders and their ships.
And I could not speak nor name off their multitude,
not even if I should have ten tongues and ten mouths,
and an unbroken voice, and in me a bronze heart, 490
should the Olympian muses, aegis-bearing Zeus'-
's daughters, not remind how attacked Troy;
I now will speak the ships' leaders and all the ships.

This self-conscious admission serves as a grounding for my discussion of Homer. Beginning here, how does the archaic world subsequently record its commodities? What role does the list play in collective memory and accounting? While many studies have treated catalogues in archaic poetry,¹³ far fewer consider them alongside the non-literary written record. I argue that the archaic catalogue fulfills a social function similar to that of the recorded list in later periods of increased literacy and challenge the notion that “orality knows no lists or charts or figures.”¹⁴ Subsequent sections examine the list of reparations Agamemnon offers to Achilles (*Iliad* 9. 121–156, repeated at 264–299), or Odysseus' repetition of Laertes' catalogue of trees.¹⁵

L I S T S I N F L U X

The tradition of listing in epic is often characterized as a hallmark of a purely oral, memory-driven society,¹⁶ but we can also see the abundant archival evidence of the fifth and fourth centuries as a continuation of this tradition through a new medium, rather than a break or completely novel concept.¹⁷ Though parts of the literary tradition may well retain oral components at this point, inscribed lists patch a gap in

¹³ Most recently Sammons (2010) (for Homer) and Galjanic (2007) (for Indo-European poetry).

¹⁴ Ong (1992) 97.

¹⁵ It seems fitting to include in this section at least some discussion of Mycenaean palace records, arguably linked to the tradition upon which the Homeric poems draw, though naturally I am loath to postulate that the poet has any conscious awareness of them.

¹⁶ Thus recently Detienne (2007) (transl. Lloyd) 42.

¹⁷ Numerous models describing Greek literacy and orality have emerged in the last several decades; for a recent survey of the literature see, e.g. Pébarthe (2006) Introduction, also pages 33–38).

documentation and memory that the waning tradition of oral poetry once filled.¹⁸ Thus even without recourse to theories of a literate revolution, we can nonetheless identify in the distribution of literary and material sources a shift in how the Greek world catalogues things of value. (It is not completely arbitrary, I think, that the gradual disappearance of the composer-bard coincides with the arrival in spurts of epigraphic inventories.)¹⁹ At a microcosmic level, we can see this transfer of power as early as ca. 500 BC in the Cretan Afrati (“*ποινικαστάς*”) inscription, in which the city mandates public funds and a tax break for the local “remembrancer” (lines 3–8):²⁰

ὥς κα πόλι τὰ δαμόσια τά τε θιήια καὶ τὰνθρώπινα |
 ποινικάζεν τε καὶ μναμονεύην· ποινικάζεν δὲ | [π]όλι καὶ
 μναμονεύφεν τὰ δαμόσια μήτε τὰ θιήια μήτε τὰνθρώπινα
 μηδέν’ ἄλλον αἰ μὴ Σπενσίθ[ι][ο]ν αὐτόν τε καὶ γενιὰν τῶνυ...

...so that he be for the city its scribe and recorder in public affairs both sacred and secular. No one else is to be scribe and recorder for the city in public affairs, neither sacred nor secular, except Spensithius himself and his descendants...

(trans. Jeffery and Morpurgo Davies)

Spensithius’ two functions, *ποινικάζεν* (“Phoenicianize,” i.e. “write down”) and *μναμονεύην* (“remember”), correspond to the mental and physical, or oral/aural and written, components of his position. While the exact scope of the *ποινικαστάς*’s duties remains obscure, it is clear that at this stage writing has become an explicit component of public memory. Furthermore, the separation of the two verbs suggests that at an earlier time just *μναμονεύην*, remembering, may have sufficed, but no longer.

¹⁸The degree to which oral traditions persist remains a perennial point of contention. Havelock (1982) and to some extent Robb (1994) have argued most loudly for the profound effects of writing on Greek thought; as the pendulum continues its swing, Thomas (1992) has gone to great lengths to show that the same literary tradition may not be as grapho-centric as we thought even before Havelock.

¹⁹ This is not to say that the two traditions are mutually exclusive and divisible by some clean break: juxtapositions such as the bard on a Pylos fresco not far from the palace archives suggest that even the most active participants in the Bronze Age oral culture may have encountered written materials.

²⁰ For the *editio princeps* see Jeffery and Morpurgo Davies (1970), whose dating I am inclined to accept despite its heavy reliance on letter-forms.

The lists I turn to in the middle chapters complicate the designations of *oral* and *written* and the relationship of object and textual list-entry. Like the Cretan *ποινικαστάς*, these lists reveal shifting functions and media. Herodotus' accounts of the riches of foreign rulers and the abundances of foreign sanctuaries, for instance, straddles this grouping and the one I have designated as oral. So too do the inscribed inventories from fifth- and fourth-century Athens and other *poleis* inspired by Athenian documentary practice. Greek inventories have only relatively recently received much attention even in the epigraphic world, and the rest of the field rarely discusses them save as evidence for certain types of items or materials.²¹ In fact, inventories speak to a new use of writing for the codification of wealth and assertion of public ownership. Though the move to erect *stelai* to this effect may be Periclean, surely the basis for listing wealth takes its origins in older traditions.²² Consequently too, official lists like these arguably inspire informal private endeavors such as the fourth-century 'shopping list' graffito from the Athenian Agora.²³ In short, all these texts indicate an effort to make written records of objects worth remembering.

At the same time, inventory-like lists appear in more unexpected contexts, such as Plathane's interrupted account of all that Heracles has eaten at Aristophanes' *Frogs* 549–560, or the Theban seller's exotic list of wares at *Acharnians* 873–880. Since employing a particular form for comedic effect implies—requires, even—a measure of recognition on the audience's part, we may say that there is some public familiarity in the fifth century with this kind of documentation, written or not. Moreover, that even in a performative context the actor must number off all that he has reiterated the importance of *naming* commodities as opposed to just *showing* them. In Aristophanes, I examine the economics of inventorying in public practice, observing how the characters on stage play out the obsessive reckoning habits of *ταμίαι*.

I M A G I N E D C O L L E C T I O N S

The final section of this narrative deals with catalogues abstracted to the point that whatever things the list lists (Socrates' *ἐκεῖνα ὧν ὀνόματά ἐστὶν τὰ ὀνόματα*) are

²¹ Lewis (1986) is largely interested in how inventories inform our knowledge of metalwork; Harris (1995) has made the drastic implication that in replicating the elusive contents of buildings they can substitute for excavation.

²² For the dating see e.g. Evans (1986) 72, citing Meiggs and Lewis 58 (=IG I² 91–92) and likely drawing on their discussion, page 158.

²³ Agora P10810.

subordinate to the text itself. While I hesitate to press a chronological correlation, the fact the primary material at stake here invariably postdates the *floruit* of the inventory suggests a certain growing flexibility within the genre. Because they are recreated year after year, standard inscribed inventories assume a significance divorced from the objects they list; so much is clear.²⁴ As items shift to new positions within the text, and items absent from the display space remain counted on the list, the text grows increasingly abstract. At the end of the dissertation, I examine a text at the height of this abstraction: a collection of objects that exists exclusively in writing and in many cases never had a physical manifestation even when the texts first appeared in antiquity. The Lindian Chronicle (99 BC) takes the form of a regular inventory but clearly must record some items that the list-makers have never seen, and some which arguably never existed at all.²⁵ Whereas the Classical Attic inventories seem to operate on the premise—regardless of the reality—that every object on the list is or was extant, the Lindian Chronicle unabashedly does not. Whatever the intended purpose of this text, it implies a willingness to accept text as wealth without seeing material evidence, and public cooperation with some sleight-of-hand.²⁶ In postmodern terms: “to represent means to have a kind of magical power over appearances, to be able to bring into presence what is absent, and that is why writing, the most powerful means of representation, was called ‘*grammarye*,’ a magical act.”²⁷

The Lindian Chronicle is not alone in privileging the written word, and catalogues of objects clearly form an important component of memory. I argue that compiling a list of things serves as a way of asserting ownership over them; further, that these lists function similarly in both oral and written contexts. Finally, I suggest that at certain stages, listing physical objects obviates the need to see them at all. The

²⁴ While she does not make so general a claim, Linders (1988) must implicitly rely on this principle in her conclusion as to the Delian evidence, that, quite apart from serving as reliable facsimiles of storehouse contents, “inventories are primarily records of *paradoseis*, i.e. transactions in which the outgoing *hieropoioi* personally inspected and handed over the treasures to their successors in the presence of the Council” (46). Scott in an unpublished article grapples with the same problem, concluding that inventories clue their readers into a series of relationships related to their locations: human and divine, individual and civic, allied and independent.

²⁵ Higbie (2003) rightly identifies the list-makers’ use of the perfect or pluperfect to encode the distinction (174–176).

²⁶ As to its intent, Higbie (*ibid.*) makes a case for identity-building and creation of a history: for the “Lindians, as for other Greeks, the preservation of the past was inescapably linked to objects” (249). Bresson (2006) and Marincola (2005) express some appropriate skepticism.

²⁷ Tyler (1986) 131.

broader question emerges, then, of how and when writing takes on enough social and cultural significance that it can stand in for things entirely. Whereas on the earliest inscriptions a line of text or name of a dedicator initially adorns an object, always subordinate to its medium and acting as a label at best, the balance of object and text shifts such that at a certain point, text not only is removed from objects but also replaces them in lists. A gradual change in popular literate mentality must accompany such a shift: it is not so much the case that unwritten lists lose authority as that written descriptions become an acceptable substitute.

I believe this project can have a variety of implications within Classics and beyond the discipline. Generally, it presents an innovative theoretical framework that can accommodate a wide cross-section of data, treating texts that have been considered only sporadically and by independent specialists. While I consider the case studies of the dissertation most immediately pertinent, different and longer studies may still examine the vast array of relatively undiscussed list-evidence of, e.g., the Hellenistic period, or of the Greeks' foreign neighbors. In addition, the varied critical approaches on which I draw—epigraphy, cultural poetics, semantics and semiotics—and the uncommon juxtaposition of primary sources allows for fresh readings of each text. The discussions of inscriptions illuminate a set of texts that tend to receive little or no attention from students of literature, and only a limited amount from epigraphic specialists. I hope that including them here can situate previously isolated Greek data in the growing body of scholarship that examines the material power of the written text in human cultural history.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

This is a study about lists: of names, of gifts; of debts, of losses. I am grateful here to be able—be required, even—to offer one of my own, and all the more grateful to the many people who have occasioned it. This text is as much theirs, should they wish it, as mine.

Through the generosity of the Sara B. Aleshire Center for Greek Epigraphy and the American School of Classical Studies, I was a fortunate guest researcher at various archives and museums from 2008 to 2010. The staff at the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen, the British Museum, and the Athens Epigraphical Museum were especially kind attendants to my neophyte requests.

At Berkeley, the four members of my committee have offered exceptional wisdom and patience. Andrew Garrett taught me how to study language change, and Nikolaos Papazarkadas lent sage advice even from afar. Ron Stroud first introduced me to stone inventories and their unexpected appeal; Leslie Kurke guided every stage of my graduate career and motivated my study of Greek thought. Both have shaped this project in every conceivable way, and what strengths it may have are thanks to their unwavering support, editorial acumen, and keen insights.

Many others have furnished invaluable aid. Virginia Lewis and Donald Mastronarde gave their time and astute comments. Gareth Long melded word and image. Nandini Pandey and Johanna Hanink inspired by example. Jennifer Nelson abided my attempts at verse. Felipe Rojas made me believe what I think.

I am confident these pages would be blank were it not for the love of superior friends and incomparable family. To them; to Andrew; to Kimon; to my mother and father, I offer every affection and any accomplishment.

1

A · N U M B E R · O F · T H I N G S
A · N U M B E R · O F · T H I N G S
A · N U M B E R · O F · T H I N G S
A · N U M B E R · O F · T H I N G S
A · N U M B E R · O F · T H I N G S

*da mi basia mille, deinde centum,
dein mille altera, dein secunda centum,
deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum;
dein, cum milia multa fecerimus,
conturbabimus illa, ne sciamus,
aut ne quis malus invidere possit
cum tantum sciat esse basiorum.*

Give me a thousand kisses, then a hundred,
then another thousand, then a second hundred,
then on top of that another thousand, then a hundred,
then, when we have made many thousands,
we'll jumble them up, so we won't know—
or so no wicked person will be jealous
when he knows—the sum of our kisses.

Catullus v.7-13

Any study that proposes to deal with the topic of word-catalogue—of nearly any period or culture—may quite naturally begin with Homer. It has often been observed that catalogues appear in similar forms throughout epic cross-culturally, and that the

Homeric examples do not emerge as particularly unique in comparative study.¹ At the same time, a significant volume of scholarship has been devoted to the study of Homeric catalogues in their own right, apart from their clear parallels in other literatures. Perhaps due to their conspicuous form, their archaic curiosity—or their odd familiarity—lists in Homer have inspired a long tradition of critical attention.

Several lengthy studies have been devoted exclusively to multiple aspects of the topic and continue to make up a sizeable portion of contemporary discourse surrounding epic poetry.² A great portion of this work has focused, fruitfully and with good reason, on the function of lists and catalogues within the narrative framework of the poem.³ Many are the conclusions to be drawn about lists and many more still the insights to be gained about Homeric poetry in this vein. This chapter, however, takes a distinct and arguably more modest aim. The possible directions for working with lists in literature abound, and among other things, one can examine “what objects the poet lists, what syntactic and marking techniques he uses in composing lists, how he orders his subjects, whence he devices his particulars, and so forth.”⁴ Most directly, I am interested in how the “syntactic and marking techniques” in Homer both reveal the action of the list in the immediate poetic world and reflect functions of lists that appear far outside the genre and era of epic. Many of the key features established here will emerge in different guises in later Greek texts. Thus rather than augment the body of work examining how catalogues fit into epic narrative *per se*, I hope to set in place and begin to describe what I shall suggest is a continuous listmaking meme

¹ See e.g. Foley (2004: 184), who cites examples of African codifications of historical events and South Slavic muster-lists.

² The most recent and most complete study is Sammons (2010), who deals with a commendable number and variety of examples. Austin’s 1965 dissertation is probably the most immediate predecessor to Sammons in scope and length, but the work is far more limited and by now outdated and largely inaccessible. Shorter studies on catalogue in general include Beye (1964) and Minton (1962). The Catalogue of Ships on its own has enjoyed an especially longstanding history of scholarly attention, beginning in antiquity and not limited to later treatments by Niese (1873), Allen (1910) and (1921), Leaf (1922), Crosset (1969), Edwards (1980), Heiden (2008), Minchin (1996). The work of Barney (1981) on Chaucer might be mentioned here as a resource and indeed model for analysis of the definitions of lists and their relationship to poems and audiences.

³ One rationale for this line of inquiry seems to be the commonplace that lists are the opposite of narrative and innately at odds with it, a definition ultimately as old as Aristotle (see e.g. Beye (1964: 345) and Barney (1981:191-192)) and related to the rationale behind Pucci (1996). Cf. Edwards (1980: 101ff), who analyzes “the catalogue form as a basis for narrative” rather than an interruption thereof.

⁴ Barney (1981) 190.

throughout the Greek textual consciousness, and in turn situate the Homeric poems within that tradition. While the modes, uses, and behaviors of lists undoubtedly change through time, certain features and functions remain consistent and are visible even in the remote poetry of the past.

Before turning to the poems themselves, let us begin with some inescapable preliminary questions: what does it mean to speak of a ‘catalogue’ in Homer, and by what criteria have I chosen the examples discussed below. Definitions and characterizations of the epic catalogue can be found in many studies. Beye’s description, if not his analysis of it, still provides a useful baseline in its liberal scope:⁵

[The catalogues in Homer] all share in the essential quality of a list, namely, isolated pieces of information that gain a modest coherence or unity by the simple fact of juxtaposition.

This study, too, treats anything that has connected items as a list. Generally such a definition would be limited to a series of, at the minimum, three elements.⁶ It seems perhaps clearer to use the term ‘list’ rather than ‘catalogue,’ because many commentators tend to reserve the latter for texts that show either extensive quantity or baroque elaboration—qualities which not all the examples in this chapter share. In general, the examples that follow are pertinent more for their elements of shared stylistics, diction, and behavior, than how comparable their contents may be.

As to the second question—what are the criteria for inclusion in this chapter—I can offer a relatively simple answer: this study treats mainly lists that talk about objects in the world of the poem. In a non-literary context, we refer to such enumerations as “inventories,” presumably because they purport to have some kind of utility related to the items they include and at the very least describe a particular material situation. Thus in the cases that follow, I concentrate on lists of actual objects that could be considered collections of goods, theoretically grouped together in a particular time or space. By this logic, certain common subgroups of catalogues, such as those of people

⁵ Beye (1964) 345. His further interpretation of this quality as “something alien to narrative, no matter how paratactic the style in which the narrative is cast” is a conclusion which I will not readily espouse nor treat extensively here. I will maintain, however, that a highly paratactic narrative can have list-like qualities such that it can be nearly impossible to distinguish between the two.

⁶ Three may seem paltry, but there seems to be an identifiable poetics of groups of more-than-two in Indo-European, which form the subject of Galjanic’s dissertation (2007).

τῶν μὲν ἄρ' οὐ τι πόθει·

“Ah me, what people’s land have I come to this time?
Men arrogant and savage and not civilized,
or ones hospitable and of god-fearing minds? 205
Where should I bring all these goods? And I, where shall I
take myself to? I should have stayed right where I was
in Phaeacia, and then I would have come to meet
another mighty king who would have welcomed me
and sent me home. But as it is, I do not know 210
where I should store them, nor will I just leave them here,
in case to my chagrin they become others’ loot.
Gah! Not wholly in their right minds nor civilized
were they, the Phaeacian leaders and counselors,
who led me to some other land, when they told me 215
they’d take me to fair Ithaca, but let me down.
May Zeus punish them, Zeus who cares for suppliants,
who surveils men and punishes whoever sins.
But come, I shall count up the goods, and let me see
if they’ve robbed me of any from the hollow ship.” 220
And saying thus he counted the gorgeous tripods
and cauldrons; the gold and the lovely woven clothes.
From these nothing was missing.

This episode raises an issue which this chapter takes up: the habit of the noble and powerful to count what they own. The theme emerges as follows. Odysseus voices multiple anxieties in his inner monologue—Where is he? Where will he store his precious newly acquired possessions? Why has he not reached Ithaca, and, again, where will he store his possessions? With a resumptive ἀλλ’ ἄγε, he proposes a plan to himself, presented as a solution of sorts: he will go and take inventory of what he brought, count it up in case anything is missing, and so he does. But taking account of the treasures solves nothing and if anything it merely reiterates the problem of storage. Though we might say Odysseus here just takes a first step in the face of general ἀπορία, his listing the items—the tripods and cauldrons and gold and garments—does more. By making an inventory he performs an accounting role that,

as I shall argue, obtains for kingly figures throughout Homeric epic.⁷ In taking his own stock of the treasure, Odysseus asserts his authority and ownership, and does so at the very apt moment of his return. Once again in the realm over which he rules, he once again behaves like a king. The act of counting, ἀριθμεῖν, reflects both his possession of wealth and his ability to manage it, while his performance of counting here symbolically reestablishes his sovereignty.⁸

In fact, this moment would not be particularly effective in re-establishing Odysseus—after all, these were merely guest-gifts from Alcinous—but for its invocation of a common Homeric trope whereby figures of authority engage in counting, while those of lower stature are shown to lack comparable skills. The distinction emerges clearly at the start of *Iliad* 2, where Agamemnon describes to his troops how greatly the Greek forces outnumber the Trojan ones (2.123–128):

εἴ περ γάρ κ' ἐθέλοιμεν Ἀχαιοί τε Τρῶές τε
 ὄρκια πιστὰ ταμόντες ἀριθμηθήμεναι ἄμφω,
 Τρῶας μὲν λέξασθαι ἐφέστιοι ὅσσοι ἔασιν, 125
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐς δεκάδας διακοσμηθεῖμεν Ἀχαιοί,
 Τρώων δ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστοι ἐλοίμεθα οἴνοχοεῦειν,
 πολλάί κεν δεκάδες δευοίατο οἴνοχοοιο.

For if in fact we wished to cut a solemn oath
 and have our sum numbered, of Greeks and Trojans both—
 collect as many Trojans as are living here, 125
 and split up us Achaeans into groups of ten—
 and each ten then chose one Trojan to bear their wine,
 many a group of ten would be winebearerless.

⁷ I use the term ‘king’ and its derivatives loosely to refer to wealthy and powerful elite characters and not necessarily hereditary monarchs, which it is well known that βασιλείς in Homer does not exclusively describe. For one statement of this idea and further pertinent scholarship on the concept of kingship before the sixth century BC see Morris (1986) 99.

⁸ While I am putting much weight on its poetic value here, this practice must not be wholly divorced from the palace records of goods so well-preserved for Mycenaean culture. Clearly the text in Bronze Age Greece had become an established means of documenting wealth, and making a list of important items appears to have been a regular administrative practice well before the Homeric poems became solidified. To fully examine and situate the Linear B tablets within the tradition I am outlining here is beyond the scope of this dissertation but would make for productive future study. For more general ideas about the function of the written tablets, see e.g. Palaima (1987) and (2003) and Schwink (1999).

Agamemnon, while he himself comprehends the absolute values, guides his audience to a relative, non-arithmetic understanding of the enemy forces, putting into perspective for them what he knows numerically. His ability both to digest and to reformulate the data for his subordinates sets him apart from the rest and reinforces his own status. The numbering in ἀριθμηθήμεναι in fact is not borne out by the rest of the description, for Agamemnon never gives a specific number; he merely asserts his own knowledge of it and provides a significant impression to those who may not otherwise find one in a figure.

Indeed, he again asserts his supremacy in numbering men soon after this gathering, when he goes about the camp and chastises misbehaving soldiers, exhorting them to pay attention to their superiors (2.200–206):

δαιμόνι' ἀτρέμας ἦσο καὶ ἄλλων μῦθον ἄκουε,	200
οἱ σέο φέρτεροί εἰσι, σὺ δ' ἀπτόλεμος καὶ ἄναλκις	
οὔτε ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ ἐναρίθμιος οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ·	
οὐ μὲν πῶς πάντες βασιλεύσομεν ἐνθάδ' Ἀχαιοί·	
οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω,	
εἷς βασιλεύς, ᾧ δῶκε Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω	205
σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνά σφισι βουλεύησι.	

Come on: sit still and listen to what others say,	
those better than you. Fightless and mightless are you,	200
and count for naught in battle and assembly.	
Now we can't <i>all</i> be kings here, we Achaians, no:	
Pan-sovereignty is no good; let there be one lord,	
one king, to whom crooked-counseling Cronus' son	205
gives scepter and divine right, which he counsels with.	

Agamemnon essentially criticizes his men for not observing rank in that they both fail to obey their superiors and hubristically behave as if they have authority they lack. He expresses his distaste, however, with οὔτε ἐναρίθμιος, reminding them of their null numeric value, of no worth in important matters. At the same time, his statement

suggests, as does the previous passage, that *he* alone as king reckons the data, and *his* tally alone is the correct one: they count as zero because he says so.⁹

Zeus—a logical parallel to Agamemnon—also seems endowed with power to control reckoning and senses of worth. Thus when Diomedes and Glaucus exchange armor following their meeting on the battlefield, the god controls the transfer (6.234–236):

ἔνθ' αὖτε Γλαύκῳ Κρονίδης φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεύς,
ὅς πρὸς Τυδεΐδην Διομήδεα τεύχε' ἄμειβε 235
χρύσεια χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι' ἔννεαβοίων.

Then Zeus the son of Cronus usurped Glaucus' sense,
as he exchanged with Diomedes Tydeus' son 235
gold armor for bronze, hundred-oxen-worth for nine.

Zeus distorts the actualities of value for Glaucus, momentarily changing disparate amounts into equal ones, at least in Glaucus' benighted sight.¹⁰ Again, the most powerful participant in the transaction (Zeus) is the ultimate arithmetician.¹¹

I raise these examples with a view to establishing the connection between royal authority and the ability to count, but also as an introduction to the suggestion I shall present as this chapter proceeds: that counting in Homer occurs via listing, and that a list of important or valuable objects performs their presence, serving as record of their existence. It is a curious feature of epic poetics, however, that the very precious goods wealthy people often count are not only listed, but also described as uncountable in some way. Let us return to the example with which we began, that of Odysseus counting up his goods from the Phaeacians. Earlier in *Odyssey* 13, when Odysseus

⁹ Cf. Achilles' comment to Agamemnon during their initial quarrel, which invokes the near-synonym *οὐτίδανος* (1.293–294): ἦ γάρ κεν δειλός τε καὶ οὐτίδανός καλεοίμην | εἰ δὲ σοὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὑπεῖξομαι ὅτι κεν εἴπης·

¹⁰ This final injustice possibly relates to the views the two heroes have expressed previously regarding how the gods treat humans, as Diomedes (in the story of Lycurgus) suggests they give and take fairly, while Glaucus (through Bellerophon) “shows mortals as [their] victims” (Gaisser 1969: 175). Zeus' actions here would prove both men right.

¹¹ Varying interpretations of this rather odd moment abound, e.g. Calder (1984) claims Glaucus made the uneven exchange on purpose to assert his superiority over Diomedes, while Donlan (1989) contends that Glaucus' intention was in fact to elevate *Diomedes* in a reversal of the more standard display of *ξενία* wherein the nobler party gives the more generous gift.

first leaves Scheria asleep on the ship, the poet first mentions the gifts from Alcinous (13.134-138):

οἱ δ' εὐδοντ' ἐν νηϊ̄ θοῆ̄ ἐπὶ πόντον ἄγοντες
κάτθεσαν εἰν Ἰθάκῃ, ἔδοσαν δέ οἱ ἄσπετα δῶρα, 135
χαλκόν τε χρυσόν τε ἄλις ἐσθῆτά θ' ὑφαντήν,
πόλλ', ὅσ' ἂν οὐδέ ποτε Τροίης ἐξήρατ' Ὀδυσσεύς,
εἷ περ ἀπήμων ἦλθε, λαχῶν ἀπὸ ληϊδος αἴσαν.

They led him asleep on the swift ship over seas
and sent him to Ithaca, gave him countless gifts: 135
bronze and gold and woven clothes, in heaps, many,
so as Odysseus would never have won at Troy,
had he come back with ease, taking his lot of spoil.

These ἄσπετα δῶρα are, of course, the very same ones that Odysseus will count once he awakes in Ithaca. On the one hand, the apparent inconsistency of being able to count the explicitly countless is remedied by any number of solutions. First, we need not require the episodes to be related, and 80 lines, while it seems close in our version of the text, means little in the context of composition or performance. Alternatively, we may pronounce the text unsound and read instead ἀγλαὰ δῶρα on the basis of the same collocation's appearance at the end of line 230 in book 16.¹² Finally, maintaining ἄσπετα, we could argue that the semantics are similar enough to another formula, ἀπερείσια ἄποινα, “boundless ransom” that they might stand here, especially because δῶρα and ἄποινα are interchangeable elsewhere (e.g. with ἀγλαά). Regardless, a stock epithet of course need not be congruous with the immediate context in which it appears.¹³ The fact remains, however, that many of the things described as ἀπερείσια

¹² The reading ἄσπετα δῶρα, rejected by many editors, is defensible on analogy with *Odyssey* 20.342, where Telemachus receives the same. Those who print ἀγλαά seem to have based the choice of adjective on frequency (it appears fairly commonly with δῶρα and ἄποινα in the same metrical position, while ἄσπετος accompanies δῶρα only one other time and in a different part of the line).

¹³ Parry (1971[1928]:14[16-17] and 21[25-26]-23[27-28]) first insisted that the “ornamental epithet” functions exclusively as a compositional building block, having “no relation to the ideas expressed by the words of either the sentence or the whole passage in which it occurs” (quotation 21[25]). Sale (1993: 139-140) has discussed instances in which a normal formula is replaced with a less-common one to avoid such potential absurdities as ‘Of the Cretans, Idomeneus, leader of the Cretans, was the leader.’ Janko (1992) calls to these substitutes

and ἄσπετα do in fact get enumerated, and for this reason I would like to suggest that more is at work in these repeated designations of quantified amounts as infinite than simply a semantically bleached epithet. Here, both the adjective ἄσπετος and the quantifying statement in line 137 (πόλλ', ὅσ' ἂν οὐδέ ποτε Τροίης ἐξήρατ' Ὀδυσσεύς) emphasize the vastness of the treasure, and the latter perhaps momentarily calls into question his deserving it. But the doubt does not linger long, for his counting the goods upon reaching Ithaca confirms his rightful ownership of them. Though their exact sum might elude a less-skilled character, Odysseus, like Agamemnon and Zeus, is set apart by his ability to count what most people cannot. The short list of items at lines 217-218, ὧς εἰπὼν τρίποδας περικαλλέας ἠδὲ λέβητας | ἠρίθμει καὶ χρυσὸν ὑφαντά τε εἶματα καλά, which echoes (but does not repeat) the description of them here at 137 (χαλκὸν τε χρυσὸν τε ἄλις ἐσθῆτά θ' ὑφαντήν), gives more detail of what the objects were as Odysseus is described counting them, and thereby both enacts his inventory and affirms his right to them.¹⁴

INFINITIES OF LISTS

This instance of Odysseus' counting the countless is not singular. Infinite sums are invoked many times throughout the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Scodel, followed by Sammons, has identified ἀπερείσιος “boundless” as the regular epithet describing ransoms, as the collocation appears 11 times, and usefully explored the poetics at work in her discussion of ἄποινα and ποινή.¹⁵ Noting that ransoms are always described as ‘boundless’ from the point of view of the ransom-giver, she argues that “the person offering the ransom sees it as boundless not because of its economic value, but by transference from the good he seeks to recover, whose value to him is limitless.”¹⁶ Here I focus on the rhetorical interaction of boundlessness and lists, which I argue emerges in ransoms and other examples. Often, a ransom described as boundless gets enumerated in the same breath. While it might initially appear that cataloguing of this

“equivalent formulae.” Edwards (1997: 272-277) summarizes further scholarship on the topic, to which we may add later references given by Latacz (2000: 52-57) and Hackstein (2010: 417-418).

¹⁴ Pucci (1996) 12 suggests something similar for the catalogue of trees Odysseus gives his father in Book 24, which stands as proof of Odysseus' identity and existence. I shall return to this passage and concept below.

¹⁵ Scodel (2008) 76-80, Sammons (2010) 111.

¹⁶ Scodel (2008) 80.

kind “lays bare the rhetoric of limitlessness,”¹⁷ in fact the enumeration of the infinite serves as both an assertion of the character’s wealth and the speaker’s skill in being able to list it, as well as a more general expression of abundance. Let us begin with a famous example, the ransom Priam brings Achilles for Hector in *Iliad* 24. Priam first compiles it in a catalogue after he stands firm in his plan to visit Achilles’ hut (24.228–237):

Ἦ καὶ φωριαμῶν ἐπιθήματα κάλ’ ἀνέωγεν·
 ἔνθεν δώδεκα μὲν περικαλλέας ἔξελε πέπλους,
 δώδεκα δ’ ἀπλοῖδας χλαίνας, τόσσους δὲ τάπητας, 230
 τόσσα δὲ φάρεα λευκά, τόσσους δ’ ἐπὶ τοῖσι χιτῶνας.
 χρυσοῦ δὲ στήσας ἔφερον δέκα πάντα τάλαντα,
 ἐκ δὲ δύο αἴθωνας τρίποδας, πίσυρας δὲ λέβητας,
 ἐκ δὲ δέπας περικαλλές, ὃ οἱ Θρῆκες πόρον ἄνδρες
 ἐξεσίην ἐλθόντι μέγα κτέρας· οὐδέ νυ τοῦ περ 235
 φείσατ’ ἐνὶ μεγάροις ὃ γέρων, περὶ δ’ ἤθελε θυμῷ
 λύσασθαι φίλον υἷόν.

He spoke and opened up the lovely coffer-lids.
 From these he took out very lovely broadcloths, twelve,
 also twelve simple cloaks, and just as many rugs, 230
 and as many white shrouds, also as many vests.
 He weighed and brought out gold—all told ten talents’ worth,
 and brought out two glittering tripods, four cauldrons,
 and then a very lovely cup the men of Thrace
 once gave him on an embassy—a great treasure. 235
 Not even this did the old man save in his home,
 so did he wish in his heart to ransom his son.

Immediately the listener conceives of the offering as a lavish but finite collection, drawn generously from Priam’s rich stores and tailored to please its recipient. Yet in the remainder of Book 24 we hear the ransom spoken of as *ἀπερείσια*, boundless, not once but three times. It is first described as such as Priam’s sons load it onto his chariot (276), then by Priam himself as he tells Achilles what he has brought with him (502), and finally again as Achilles accepts the gifts and Achilles’ men unpack them (576).¹⁸

¹⁷ Sammons (ibid.).

¹⁸ As Scodel (2008: 76) observes, “[i]ts limits are completely palpable.”

While the epithet, again, is standard, we need not dismiss its connection to this enumeration. Rather, I would like to suggest that the explicit listing of the ransom, far from contradicting it, in fact reinforces its so-called boundlessness. The stark enumeration with its repeated quantifying words (*δώδεκα*, *τόσσα*, etc.), as MacLeod noted, emphasizes quantity, while the parataxis and regular connection with *δέ* give privilege to the items.¹⁹ As a whole, the effect on an audience is—perhaps ironically—one of abundance rather than limits, for listeners receive an onslaught of items rather than any specific number of them. Moreover, the list primes them to think of the ransom as exceedingly large later on, when it is described as such. The list form, I would like to suggest, presents the sum of the ransom’s parts as overflowingly abundant and *potentially* infinite, with the possibility of another addition at any point to the constituent parts. Though the list reaches a climactic finale with the unique heirloom cup, the previous items (just as many...just as many...) could continue recursively. Moreover, once the poet focuses in on the last item, the audience is distracted from the exact count of how many came before.

Other famous Homeric moments show a similar co-occurrence of list and the claim to endless abundance. When Odysseus returns to Ithaca in disguise and converses with the shepherd Eumaios about himself, Eumaios reflects on the former wealth of his master (14.96-104):

ἦ γὰρ οἱ ζώῃ γ' ἦν ἄσπετος· οὐ τι νι τόσση
 ἀνδρῶν ἠρώων, οὐτ' ἠπείροιο μελαίνης
 οὐτ' αὐτῆς Ἰθάκης· οὐδὲ ξυνεείκοσι φωτῶν
 ἔστ' ἄφενος τοσσοῦτον· ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι καταλέξω.
 δώδεκ' ἐν ἠπείρῳ ἀγέλαι· τόσα πώεα οἰῶν, 100
 τόσσα συῶν συβόσια, τόσ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν
 βόσκουσι ξεῖνοί τε καὶ αὐτοῦ βώτορες ἄνδρες·
 ἐνθάδε τ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν ἔνδεκα πάντα
 ἔσχατιῇ βόσκοντ', ἐπὶ δ' ἄνδρες ἔσθλοὶ ὄρονται.

Indeed was his wealth boundless. Not so great was that
 of any lordly man, not on the dark mainland,
 nor in Ithaca itself. And not to twenty men
 was there such plenteousness. I'll recount it for you:
 On the mainland twelve herds of cows, so many sheep, 100

¹⁹ McLeod (1982) 108, with reference to similar use of repeated quantifiers elsewhere in Homer.

so many droves of pigs, so many packs of goats
 as pasture goatherds, foreign or of his own kind.
 And also here feed packs of goats, elevenfold,
 on the outskirts, and skilled men keep watch over them.

After claiming that Odysseus' livelihood was *ἄσπετος*, 'endless,' he proceeds to the list, quite literally performing the verb *καταλέξω*.²⁰ Its components include the same kind of quantifying words used of Priam's ransom. The enumeration here does not prepare a listener for the later-stated boundlessness of the listed items as it did in *Iliad* 24, but rather confirms it, proving through an actual tally just how abundant was the wealth in question. In a variety of combinations then, the two components—a statement of boundlessness plus a list—together result in signifying true magnitude, both within the narrative and to the audience.

We can observe the same tendency writ large in Agamemnon's famed inventory of conciliatory offering to Achilles in the *Iliad*. When Agamemnon tells it to Nestor, he introduces the list with the 'boundless ransom' collocation (9.119-121):

ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀσάμην φρεσὶ λευγαλέησι πιθήσας,
 ἄψ ἐθέλω ἀρέσαι δόμεναί τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα. 120
 ὑμῖν δ' ἐν πάντεσσι περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνομήνω...

But since I was a fool to trust my sorry heart,
 now I want to appease and boundless ransom give. 120
 Before you all I shall name off illustrious gifts:

This passage and the extensive catalogue that follows it, naming precisely every one of the *ἀπερείσια ἄποινα*, has received an amount of scholarly attention eclipsed perhaps only by the catalogue of ships. Debate has often focused on Agamemnon's underlying intentions in his offer: is this a genuine act of recompense and sincere display of generosity, or is Agamemnon, as Donlan has most staunchly advanced, merely reasserting his superiority in an exchange system where the higher-status party gives more lavishly to the lower.²¹ In this kind of interpretation, Agamemnon's gift-

²⁰ Christensen (2010) treats the use of first-person futures in Homer in performative utterances, presenting it as a precursor to the similar phenomenon well documented in epinician poetry.

²¹ Mainly Donlan (1993), supported by e.g. Lateiner (2004) 25-26, Muellner (1996) 141-142 and Wilson (2002) 78-80; see also Donlan (1989) 5-6, Redfield (1994 [1975]) 103-106 and, on exchanges more generally, Donlan (1982). Scodel (2008) does not reject Donlan but does have a different theory of what the terms of the exchange mean. Sammons (2010: 121-122) has

And I could not speak nor name off their multitude,
 not even if I should have ten tongues and ten mouths,
 and an unbroken voice, and in me a bronze heart, 490
 should the Olympian muses, aegis-bearing Zeus'-
 's daughters, not remind how many went to Troy;
 I now will speak the ships' leaders and all the ships.

In these lines, the poetic voice claims to be unable to describe the multitude in two senses: neither *μυθέομαι* nor *ὀνομήνω*. The first verb implies that the poet is unable to tell about them in some more general or analytical way—perhaps simply state their number, “539.” *ὀνομήνω*, however, like *καταλέγω*, implies an enumeration, a naming off. The poet initially stands back from giving a list. Of course the catalogue follows, with 383 lines of this unnamable *πληθύν*. Commentators tend to explain the initial lines as functioning to highlight the difference in skill between the poet, who cannot compute the number, and the muses, who can.²³ Admittedly the muses' inspiration and the poet's instrument are in consistent tension from which this passage is not excluded. Nevertheless, it introduces the same rhetorical elements that other catalogues—which the poet has no trouble recounting—employ.²⁴ Like boundless ransoms and Agamemnon's limitless gifts, the catalogue of ships follows a statement of unfathomable—unspeakable, even—size, and includes a performative verb of listing (*ὀνομήνω*). The elaboration and inclusion of the muses need not pose a significant interpretative distinction, for here—before the longest catalogue of the poems and likely one of its most challenging passages for recitation—would be a highly appropriate moment to invoke the muses for assistance.

As the list to end all lists, the Iliadic catalogue of ships should well share and even amplify the rhetorical features of lists we have identified above. But similar configurations emerge in less evident places too. In fact, a version of the formula at *Iliad* 488 appears several more times in the *Odyssey*. A speaker, as opposed to stating that she or he cannot name the *πληθύν*, uses a form of *πᾶς*, positioned at the start of

²³ Kirk (1985) 167: “With the Muses' help he can manage to deal with the leaders, but the troops lie beyond his powers - not beyond the Muses', presumably, but their instrument is too fragile, the sheer numbers are too large.” Cf. Allen (1921) 34: “Dignity is given to the list by the repeated similes emphasizing the size of the multitude, and by the invocation to the muses to help the poet in his hard task.”

²⁴ cf. Beye (1965:352), who in his discussion of battle-lists refers briefly to line 2.488, which he compares to other phrases that “indicate[s] the enormity of the list.”

the first line, and a quantitative correlative introducing a clause beginning in the second line specifying the unit, as it were. Thus Helen says to Telemachus at *Odyssey* 4.240–241 (cf. 11.328 ad 11.517, identical save for different inflection of *πᾶς/ῶσος*):

πάντα μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω, 240
 ὅσσοι Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονός εἰσιν ἄεθλοι·

And I could not describe nor name off all of them, 240
 how many are determined Odysseus' struggles.

Here, *ὀνομήνω* again refers to a theoretically nameable yet, in context, explicitly unquantifiable entity. I have highlighted before the correlation of the uncountable with a verb of naming in the presence of a list or catalogue. Here, though, at first glance, a proper list does not seem to follow Helen's lines: the formula appears sincere, for it introduces her account of the very specific event of Odysseus' clandestine entry into the Trojan city.²⁵ At the same time, its use here would seem to suggest that one could just enumerate Odysseus' travails, as in the other instances of *ὀνομήνω*. And indeed, while the formula does introduce the singular story Helen tells, at the same time it serves also to forecast the remainder of the poem as we have it following the Telemacheia. Beginning in book 5, the *Odyssey* amounts to a narrative catalogue of precisely what Helen says she cannot tell: the *ἄεθλοι* of Odysseus. And, while perhaps any one version of the epic may not name them *all*, each version gives a large enough set to fulfill the requirements of abundance and, like the catalogue of ships, approximate completeness.²⁶

De Jong and others have identified the narratological form Helen invokes as a *recusatio* motif, a priamel in which the speaker warns that there is too much to tell but gives instead a paradigmatic example in the form of an embedded narrative.²⁷ In instances such as this and the catalogue of ships, however, the priamel in fact

²⁵ In this it is similar to the focusing devices common in epinician, in which the poet alludes to many possible creative directions before following a particular one.

²⁶ If the idea that the rest of the poem serves as the real telling of the Odysseus' many woes seems too far-fetched, consider a more focused, local example. At the start of Book 5, Athena sits among the assembly of the gods and is said to remind them of the hero's plights (5.5–6: τοῖσι δ' Ἀθηναίη λέγει κήδεα πόλλ' Ὀδυσῆος | μνησαμένη)—a statement reminiscent of Helen's. Her list that follows (5.7–20) accomplishes what Helen says she could not, though of course Athena could not be said to really do justice to the *κήδεα πόλλα* in the limited examples she gives.

²⁷ de Jong (2001: 102–103).

introduces a fairly comprehensive explanation, emerging ultimately more as *praeteritio* than *recusatio*. In instances such as these the epic audience, I would assert, is acculturated to expect the so-called infinite to be illustrated with a finite set.²⁸ The actual arithmetic difference between the quantity actually listed and infinity, however, is within this rhetorical framework not a significant one. Rather, abundance is conceptualized in a way that a modern reader might find irrational: as closer to infinity than to a countable number.²⁹ In the next section, I further explore the correlation of *ὀνομαίνω* and counting.

ENAMERATION AND ONOMBRASTICS

In commenting on the lines that immediately precede the catalogue of ships (2.491–493, quoted above), G.S. Kirk finds—and solves—an issue which he explains as follows, with reference to early commentators (167–168):

These three verses, which look almost like an afterthought, are at first sight puzzling. The poet has declared that he can deal with the leaders, provided the Muses help him; the troops would be beyond his powers even if he had ten tongues, and so on – *unless the Muses reminded him of how many came to Troy*. In other words, it is not after all the sheer size of the task (requiring ten tongues), it is lack of knowledge that is the impediment. However, the sequence of thought is made clearer (as Aristarchus seems to have proposed, Nic/A on 488–92) if 489C, like 485, are treated as firmly parenthetical. That leaves a chiasmic statement which can be summarized as follows:

²⁸ We can perhaps reconcile this incongruity with appeal to a supposedly absolute concept such as the superlative, which so often in Greek denotes just a very, very high degree of the adjective—not the highest to the exclusion of others. We might also compare Allen’s own account of the ancient scholarship related to the catalogue of ships: “Endless works were written either upon it or upon its subject, the nations and families that went to Troy” (1921:31).

²⁹ If this is so, the Homeric Greeks would not be unique in their (to our sensibilities) distorted perception. It has been observed that cultures that do not deal with large-number arithmetic treat smaller, single-digit integers as if they were spaced further apart than large, far-off ones. The system functions much as does visual perspective, in which distant objects appear to be closer together than immediate ones. For a recent study see e.g. Bellos (2010) 13–41.

484 Tell me, Muses,
487 who were the leaders;
488 the troops I could not recount
491f. unless the Muses reminded me.

Close attention to the wording can now suggest how the 'reminding' (492 μνησαίαθ') can be reconciled with the poet's professed physical inability to deal with such large numbers: he is not about to tell *who* were the troops as he had with the leaders (οἱ τινες at 487 implying family and place of origin as well as name: so bT on 488 [comment *a* in Erbse]), but rather *how many* they were, 492 ὄσοι.

Kirk seems to undo the problem successfully, but he has perhaps made too much of it in the first place. For *ὀνομαίνω*, technically a verb of naming, relates so closely to listing that it loses to some extent its radical meaning and takes on one more akin to 'count.' Thus to "name the *πληθύν*" is in fact tantamount to counting it. In fact, the real issue seems to arise from the interpretation of *πληθύς*: does it refer to 'the number,' or specifically to the 'troops-as-opposed-to-leaders'? That is, in the catalogue that follows, does the poet in fact name the *πληθύν*, or not? Is his programmatic statement one of *recusatio* or of *praeteritio*? I venture that we might take a more generalized meaning for *πληθύν* here, "the multitude," which includes the leaders and the ships.³⁰ If this is so, then naming the multitude consists of listing several names such that an idea of the size of multitude emerges.³¹ This is, in fact, precisely what occurs in other moments of listing that employ the vocabulary of naming. If we return to Agamemnon's catalogue of gifts, we recall that he introduced them to the assembled commanders at 9.121 by saying *ὑμῖν δ' ἐν πάντεσσι περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνομήνω*—and among you all I shall name splendid gifts. And in doing so, he makes a count of them, for their quantity is arguably of greater importance in many cases than their individual identities. In fact, his list includes several items not given by name *per se*, but rather counted up in subtotals, as at the very beginning (9.122-124=9.264-266):

³⁰ Heiden (2008), while not making this point specifically examines the catalogue of ships from various perspectives (placement, content, and poetics) and concludes that the piece is a democratic commemoration that privileges the common soldiers and the communities back home as a whole rather than an aristocracy of military leaders.

³¹ One may also compare Thucydides' understanding that numbers of ships imply numbers of men.

ἔπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
αἴθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἑείκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους
πηγούς ἀθλοφόρους, οἱ ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄροντο.

Unburnished tripods seven, and ten gold talents,
and twenty glittering cauldrons, and twelve horses
strong, prizebearing, who raise up prizes with their feet.

A similar transference takes place in the other passages dealing with ransoms. The speaker says that he will ‘name’ the boundless ransom, but in fact in doing so he counts it up, states its sum, by means of a list. The equation of naming to listing and counting emerges even more clearly in the reprise of Agamemnon’s catalogue, which Odysseus recounts for Achilles in his hut. When Odysseus tells him of the gifts, repeating the list verbatim, Agamemnon’s original offering statement is changed. Instead of the a third-person version of lines 120-121 (*ἄψ ἐθέλω ἀρέσαι δόμεναί τ’ ἀπερείσι’ ἄποινα / ὑμῖν δ’ ἐν πάντεσσι περικλυτὰ δῶρ’ ὀνομήνω*), Odysseus says (262-263):³²

εἰ δὲ σὺ μὲν μευ ἄκουσον, ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι καταλέξω
ὅσσα τοι ἐν κλισίησιν ὑπέσχετο δῶρ’ Ἀγαμέμνων·

Come then, if you will, listen to me, and I will enumerate
for you how many gifts in his hut Agamemnon has promised:

The combination of *καταλέξω* and *ὅσσα* replaces the former verb of naming, *ὀνομήνω*, and the statement of infinity (*ἀπερείσια ἄποινα*).³³ In such a clear reiteration of the previous scene, also evident is the notion that Agamemnon and Odysseus are performing similar actions in relating the list. Odysseus’ explicit statement that he will “list how many” for Achilles allows for a similar effective meaning for Agamemnon’s *ὀνομαίνω*-plus-statement of infinity. Moreover, as kings,

³² For the minor differences between the passages at 264-299 and 122-157 and an interpretation see e.g. Hainsworth (1993) 98. He does not, however, comment on these preceding lines.

³³ *καταλέγω* is of course an apt verb for listing, but even when it does not denote what its English cognate does it seems to have some relationship to counting, e.g. when Laertes asks Odysseus (in disguise) to recount for him how many years it is since he (allegedly) saw his son (Odyssey 24.287-289): ἀλλ’ ἄγε μοι τόδε εἶπε καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον· ἰ πόστον δὴ ἔτος ἐστίν, ὅτε ξείνισσας ἐκείνον, ἰ σὸν ξεῖνον δύστηνον, ἐμὸν παῖδ’, εἴ ποτ’ ἔην γε;

both characters are endowed with superior counting (and thus listing) skills—one of the several reasons Odysseus and none of the other members of the embassy speak the catalogue. Hainsworth insists that “Odysseus’ verbatim report is not so much a careful statement of the terms of a contract as the normal epic convention when orders, messages, etc. are delivered,” I maintain that this *is* a special case, for Odysseus is not the average messenger, nor are the message and its contents anything short of extraordinary.³⁴ We might in fact liken Odysseus’ position to that of the poet in book 2, whom the muses—who themselves have the power to know all the opposing forces—endow with the ability to name and count them. Agamemnon, who himself has the official tally, passes along both its verbal incarnation and power of attorney, so to speak, to Odysseus with a number of witnesses present.

And in fact, to effect the official offer, Odysseus not only makes mention of it but rather gives its full terms in a list—hence *καταλέγω*, previously *ὀνομαίνω*.³⁵ Since he deals in a non-monetary system of exchange, however, he cannot just quote Achilles a figure: he must do the equivalent of give a count, which occurs via naming. A more mathematical verb such as *ἀριθμέω* would properly refer only to counting one kind of thing, not a collection of varied items. This equivalency, furthermore, is more than just an inevitable practicality of not having coined money, for counting and naming maintain a somewhat enmeshed linguistic lineage.³⁶ Both morphologically and semantically, then, the act of naming, performed repeatedly, results in counting off. *ὀνομαίνω*, mainly a Homeric derivation, is a denominative of ‘name,’ and, while it can maintain a meaning akin to the more common *ὀνομάζω* ‘call by name, name,’ it equally often refers to naming off or listing. The word is attested thirteen times in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, most often in one of two formulaic sequences. The first is a line—

³⁴ Quotation from Hainsworth (1993) 98, citing Bowra (1952) 254–258.

³⁵ The semantic difference is made clear in the collocation of *μυθήσομαι* and *ὀνομήνω* at 2.288, which are not synonymous.

³⁶ Even the relevant cognates seem to develop some kind of etymological attraction despite deriving, purportedly, from separate roots. English *name* derives from PIE **nōmn* (as do Lat. *nōmen*, Gk. *ὄνομα*, OHG *namo*, etc.); *number*, via 12th century Anglo-Norman *nombre* < Lat. *numerus*, is thought to be related to PIE **nem-* (whence Gk. *νέμω*). Curiously, though, aforementioned Old French *nombre* ‘number,’ from Latin *numerus*, resulted from a process of syncope and epenthesis (excrescence) similar—and consequently ended up identical—to Spanish *nombre* ‘name,’ ultimately from Latin *nōminem*. While they too inherited a version of the same syncopated Anglo-Norman form for ‘number,’ the Romance languages later adopted the learned form *numero* from Latin, as if to keep it differentiated from *nombre* ‘name.’

ending hemistich following the masculine caesura that refers to calling on a comrade (*Iliad* 10.522, 23.178, 24.591):

...φίλον δ' ὀνόμηνεν ἑταῖρον

...and he named his dear companion

Here the verb is a simple denominative, synonymous with *ὀνομάζω*, denoting a singular and non-repetitive act of naming out loud.³⁷ The second—and for this argument more interesting—formula in which *ὀνομαίνω* appears is some version of that which we have seen above (*Iliad* 2.488; *Odyssey* 4.240, 11.328, 11.517):

...[QUANTITY] δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω

...and I could not speak nor name the [QUANTITY]

We might think of the line that begins the catalogue of ships as a slight variation on the other lines, all from the *Odyssey*, which all contain a form of *παῖς* in the first foot (the Iliadic line gives, as discussed above, *πληθύν*). A close semantic parallel we have already noted is Agamemnon's naming of his offer at 9.121, where he uses the same verb, but not negated, to introduce his catalogue. The remaining six attestations of the verb do not appear in either formula but can shed light on the semantic shift from denominative to list. One such instance occurs when Hypnos asks Hera to swear that she will uphold her promise to give him the grace Pasithea in marriage (*Iliad* 14.278):

ᾠς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη,
ὄμνυε δ' ὥς ἐκέλευε, θεοὺς δ' ὀνόμηνεν ἅπαντας
τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους οἱ Τιτῆνες καλέονται. 280

He spoke, and white-armed Hera did not disobey,
but swore to his command. She named off all the gods
the ones called Titans, dwelling under Tartarus. 280

³⁷ Two other instances, at *Iliad* 23.90 and *Odyssey* 11.251 can be likened semantically to this formula. The former line ends ...καὶ σὸν θεράποντ' ὀνόμηνεν, while the latter occurs in the underworld story of Tyro, whom Poseidon impregnates and bids not to share his name (before he discloses his identity): νῦν δ' ἔρχεαι πρὸς δῶμα καὶ ἴσχεο μηδ' ὀνομήνης· ἰ αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοί εἰμι Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων.

Here we can observe an intermediate semantic context, in which the radical meaning “call by name” is in the midst of a shifting to something closer to “enumerate.” Eventually, given frequent enough usage of *ὀνομαίνω* in contexts without names made explicit, the enumeration the verb implies need not be a list of names proper, but can be extended to refer to a list of any kind of items. Thus we can glean further understanding of another much-discussed listing passage—the catalogue of trees that Odysseus, in disguise, relates to Laertes at his farm in *Odyssey* 24. At the start of the scene between the two men, Odysseus’ words seem to provide a glimpse of the catalogue of trees he will later submit as proof of his identity, commenting to his father (24.244–247):

ὦ γέρον, οὐκ ἀδαημονίη σ’ ἔχει ἀμφιπολεύειν
 ὄρχατον, ἀλλ’ εὖ τοι κομιδὴ ἔχει, οὐδέ τι πάμπαν, 245
 οὐ φυτόν, οὐ συκῆ, οὐκ ἄμπελος, οὐ μὲν ἐλαίη,
 οὐκ ὄγγνη, οὐ πρασιή τοι ἄνευ κομιδῆς κατὰ κῆπον.

Old man, you show no ignorance of orchard-tend-
 ing; no, your care is good, and not in any way, 245
 not plant, nor fig, nor vine nor even olive branch,
 nor pear nor plot goes uncared for in your garden.

While his casual listing of items in the garden could otherwise appear as a mere rhetorical device to emphasize his tribute to its well-kept appearance, it also hints at the disguised Odysseus’ intimate knowledge of its contents. Soon after, as (invented) evidence that he shared a bond of guest-friendship with Odysseus, he presents a slightly more formalized inventory of the gifts he gave him (24.273–279):

καί οἱ δῶρα πόρον ξεινήϊα, οἷα ἐώκει.
 χρυσοῦ μὲν οἱ δῶκ’ εὐεργέος ἑπτὰ τάλαντα,
 δῶκα δὲ οἱ κρητῆρα πανάργυρον ἀνθεμόεντα, 275
 δώδεκα δ’ ἀπλοῖδας χλαίνας, τόσσους δὲ τάπητας,
 τόσσα δὲ φάρεα καλά, τόσσους δ’ ἐπὶ τοῖσι χιτῶνας,
 χωρὶς δ’ αὐτε γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας
 τέσσαρας εἰδαλίμας, ἃς ἤθελεν αὐτὸς ἐλέσθαι.”

...and I furnished him guest-friend gifts, such as befit.
 I gave him seven talents’ worth of well-wrought gold,

and gave to him a silver flowered mixing bowl, 275
 also twelve simple cloaks, and just as many rugs,
 as many lovely shrouds, also as many vests.
 Apart from these, four women, knowing blameless works
 attractive ones, whom he himself was glad to choose.

Here again, the disguised Odysseus presents a catalogue as proof, both of the story he tells of the meeting and as a testament to his upright character. Thus well before revealing his identity to Laertes he has established himself as both an appreciator of the orchard and trees, and a friend to Odysseus with intimate knowledge of his possessions. Taken together, these two lists set up for the one Odysseus presents as ultimate proof—which his father accepts—that he is himself the son of Laertes, and in which *ὀνομαίνω* introduces indirect discourse in a formalized statement of bequest (24.338–344):

διὰ δ' αὐτῶν

ἰκνεύμεσθα, σὺ δ' ὀνόμασας καὶ ἔειπες ἕκαστα.
 ὄγχνας μοι δῶκας τρεῖσκαίδεκα καὶ δέκα μηλέας, 340
 συκέας τεσσαράκοντ'· ὄρχους δέ μοι ὧδ' ὀνόμηνας
 δώσειν πενήκοντα, διατρύγιος δὲ ἕκαστος
 ἦην· ἔνθα δ' ἀνὰ σταφυλαὶ παντοῖαι ἔασιν,
 ὅππότε δὴ Διὸς ὦραι ἐπιβρίσειαν ὑπερθευ.

We walked

through them, and you named off and spoke each one.
 You gave me thirteen pear trees and ten apple trees, 340
 and forty figs. Thus you spelled out that you would give
 me fifty vine-rows, each one to be gathered in
 succession. And they have all kinds of clumps of grapes
 whenever Zeus' seasons rain down over them.

LSJ/Autenrieth render *ὀνόμηνας* at 341 “promise to do,” based on a meaning such as “speak.”³⁸ In effect this is what Laertes has done, but the definition depends on both

³⁸ Heubeck et al. (1992:399) liken *ὀνομαίνω* + future infinitive to *ὑπισχνέομαι* but admit that the usage “lacks close parallels in epic” (the further interpretation of *Iliad* 18.449 and 9.515 as having an implied future infinitive seems somewhat dubious as well). Given the scanty evidence it seems quite plausible that we are dealing here with a semantic shift in progress.

the presence of the cognate *ὀνομάζω* in 339 and the special resonance of the denominative of *ὄνομα* with listmaking to a transactional end.³⁹ Here, as we have seen it used before, the verb is deployed specifically in recounting, naming off again for inventory purposes, a series of commodities for exchange. It is my contention that the semantics function this way because both formal proofs and formal offers are submitted in the form of a list.⁴⁰

I N V E N T I N G T H E I N V E N T O R Y

In the preceding pages I have made several varied points about lists in the Homeric poems and the semantics surrounding them. First, I argued that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* represent the ability to deal accurately in numerical sums and values as the province of elite characters. The connection emerges both through kings' and generals' performance of counting (often in list form) and through their offering up an enumeration to validate or prove their elite status: among the examples of this last group, we ought now to consider Odysseus' cataloguing of Laertes' trees, which now appears as a variation of his earlier inventorying of his gifts from Alcinous with which this chapter began.

Subsequently, I examined more closely the rhetoric of counting and listmaking, drawing a link between the two acts, which are tantamount to the same act when different kinds of items must be counted. The programmatic language that surrounds lists of things thus contains some commonly repeated elements: a statement of boundlessness or infinity and a verb of naming. Far from invalidating the list, claims that its contents cannot be counted in fact emphasize their abundance as to approach infinity and, as this chapter sets forth, are part of an established poetics of object-cataloguing. Since listing in Homer functions as a counting of the rhetorically (but not actually) infinite, and listing occurs via naming, it furthermore emerges that naming is difficult to separate from counting, and thus verbs based on *ὄνομα* come to denote listmaking. The verb *ὀνομαίνω* in particular accompanies lists of things to be

³⁹ *ὀνομάζω* seems to overlap somewhat in semantic range, appearing at *Iliad* 18.449 and 9.515 in reference to Agamemnon's "promise" of gifts. We might adduce here Thetis' language as she explains to Hephaestus and Charis the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, recounting key events including the embassy and Agamemnon's offer, *Iliad* 18.448-449: τὸν δὲ λίσσοντο γέροντες / Ἀργείων, καὶ πολλὰ περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνόμαζον.

⁴⁰ To be clear: I thus challenge the theory that the use of *ὀνομαίνω* to mean 'promise' + future infinitive results from an extension of a bleached meaning (simply) 'speak, say' (as LSJ et al. imply).

reckoned and presented in an official presentation, either of goods or of evidence. It is the enumeration and its utterance—by either character or narrator—that makes the offer official.⁴¹

The next section revisits Agamemnon’s list of reparations for Achilles as a case study. This list functions as an exemplar of all the features that this chapter has set out, as well as being one of the paradigmatic lists that will resonate with the texts treated in the remainder of this dissertation. The text, as I have mentioned already, appears twice—first as Agamemnon tells it to the assembled Greek commanders at Nestor’s urging, and then later as Odysseus recounts it to Achilles when he, Ajax, and Phoenix visit him in his hut. The introductory and concluding lines differ between the two presentations, which are otherwise identical except for pronouns and person (direct first person first and then third person, when Odysseus quotes what Agamemnon said). I present the texts with their initial and final variants here but leave the list in the first-person (*Iliad* 9.119–121 and 260–263 (preludes); 122–156 (catalogue); 157 and 299 (conclusions)).

ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ἀασάμην φρεσὶ λευγαλήεσσι πιθήσας,
 ἅψ’ ἐθέλω ἀρέσαι δόμεναί τ’ ἀπερείσι’ ἄποινα. 120
 ὑμῖν δ’ ἐν πάντεσσι περικλυτὰ δῶρ’ ὀνομήνω

σοὶ δ’ Ἀγαμέμνων 260
 ἄξια δῶρα δίδωσι μεταλήξαντι χόλοιο.
 εἰ δὲ σὺ μὲν μευ ἄκουσον, ἐγὼ δὲ κέ τοι καταλέξω
 ὅσσά τοι ἐν κλισίησιν ὑπέσχετο δῶρ’ Ἀγαμέμνων·
 * * *

ἔπτ’ ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
 αἴθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἑείκοσι, δώδεκα δ’ ἵππους
 πηγούς ἀθλοφόρους, οἱ ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄροντο.
 οὐ κεν ἀλήϊος εἴη ἀνὴρ ᾧ τόσσα γένοιτο, 125
 οὐδέ κεν ἀκτῆμων ἐριτίμοιο χρυσοῖο,
 ὅσσά μοι ἠνείκαντο ἀέθλια μώνυχες ἵπποι.
 δώσω δ’ ἑπτὰ γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας
 Λεσβίδας, ἅς ὅτε Λέσβον εὐκτιμένην ἔλεν αὐτὸς

⁴¹ A full discussion of things like the “palpable tension between the poet’s cataloguing and the king’s” (Sammons (2010:113), in reference to Priam’s ransom) is beyond the scope of this study but not outside its interests. In extended lists, my suspicion is that the speaker and narrative voice become indistinguishable. This may be similar to the view of genealogy as para-narrative presented by Alden (2000: 153–178).

ἐξελόμην, αἶ κάλλει ἐνίκων φῦλα γυναικῶν.	130
τὰς μὲν οἱ δώσω, μετὰ δ' ἔσσεται ἦν τὸτ' ἀπηύρων	
κούρη Βρισῆος· ἐπὶ δὲ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι	
μή ποτε τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι ἠδὲ μιγῆναι,	
ἢ θέμις ἀνθρώπων πέλει ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν.	
ταῦτα μὲν αὐτίκα πάντα παρέσσεται· εἰ δέ κεν αὔτε	135
ἄστῳ μέγα Πριάμοιο θεοὶ δώσωσ' ἀλαπάξαι,	
νῆα ἄλις χρυσοῦ καὶ χαλκοῦ νησάσθω	
εἰσελθῶν, ὅτε κεν δατεώμεθα ληϊδ' Ἀχαιοί,	
Τρωϊάδας δὲ γυναῖκας ἑίκοσιν αὐτὸς ἐλέσθω,	
αἶ κε μετ' Ἀργεῖην Ἑλένην κάλλισται ἕωσιν.	140
εἰ δέ κεν Ἄργος ἰκοίμεθ' Ἀχαιϊκὸν οὔθαρ ἀρούρης	
γαμβρός κέν μοι ἔοι· τίσω δέ μιν ἴσον Ὀρέστη,	
ὅς μοι τηλύγετος τρέφεται θαλίῃ ἐνὶ πολλῇ.	
τρεῖς δέ μοι εἰσι θυγατρὲς ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ εὐπήκτῳ	
Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα,	145
τάων ἦν κ' ἐθέλησι φίλην ἀνάεδνον ἀγέσθω	
πρὸς οἶκον Πηλῆος· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ μείλια δώσω	
πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσ' οὔ πώ τις ἔῃ ἐπέδωκε θυγατρί·	
ἑπτὰ δέ οἱ δώσω εὖ ναιόμενα πτολίεθρα	
Καρδαμύλην Ἐνόπην τε καὶ Ἴρην ποιήεσσαν	150
Φηράς τε Ζαθέας ἠδ' Ἀνθειαν βαθύλειμον	
καλὴν τ' Αἴπειαν καὶ Πήδασον ἀμπελόεσσαν.	
πᾶσαι δ' ἐγγυὺς ἀλός, νέαται Πύλου ἡμαθόεντος·	
ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται,	
οἳ κέ ἐ δωτίνησι θεὸν ὧς τιμήσουσι	155
καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ σκῆπτρῳ λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας.	
* * *	
ταῦτά κέ οἱ τελέσαιμι μεταλήξαντι χόλοιο.	157
ταῦτά κέ τοι τελέσειε μεταλήξαντι χόλοιο.	299
Since I was crazed, in thrall to my conniving heart,	
Now I wish to appease, give boundless recompense.	120
Before you all I shall name off excellent gifts.	
Agamemnon gives	260

you worthy gifts if you leave off from your anger.
If you just hear me out: I shall recount for you
all the gifts Agamemnon offered in his hut.

* * *

Seven unfired tripods, ten talents of gold,
and twenty gleaming cauldrons, ten prize-bearing strong
horses, who raise up victory prizes with their feet.
Not mean would be the man who got so many things, 125
nor would he be in want of highly precious gold,
who attained all the prizes my swift horses won.
And I will give him seven women, Lesbian,
who know of blameless works, whom I myself picked out
when I sacked well-built Lesbos, who surpassed races 130
of women in their beauty. These I'll give to him,
and with them will be Briseus' daughter, whom I took
from him. And I will swear a solemn oath that I
at no point mounted her bed or mingled with her
as is the norm for humans, for women and men.
All these things will be his right now; and if later 135
the gods grant us to ravage Priam's great city,
let him go in and load his ship with gold and bronze
in heaps. When we Achaeans divvy up the spoil,
let him choose twenty Trojan women for himself
who are (after Argive Helen) the loveliest. 140
And should we reach Achaean Argos, lushest land,
he'd be my son-in-law, of equal honor to
my favored son Orestes, raised in great plenty.
I have three daughters in my well-constructed halls—
Chrysothemis, Laodike, Iphianassa— 145
let him lead off the one likes with no bride-price
to Peleus' house. I'll give dowry-gifts besides,
so much as none has given for his daughter yet.
And I will give him seven well-settled cities,
Kardamyle, Enope and grassy Hire, 150
and divine Pherae and rich-meadowed Antheia
and lovely Aipeia and viny Pedasus.
And they're all by the sea, near to sandy Pylos.
In them live men rich-flocked in cattle and in sheep

who will bestow him god-like honor with their gifts and under the scepter complete his splendid will.	155
This I'd do for him should he leave off his anger.	157
This I'd do for you should you leave off your anger.	299

In addition to including verbs of naming/counting and a statement of infinity, which we have already discussed, this list also demonstrates a feature that will persist in later literary catalogues: the framing of the listed items with identical statements at beginning and end. To be sure this kind of ring composition is not unique to lists and appears commonly all over Homer, but taking note of its presence here will forge a path for subsequent analysis. Here the collocation *μεταλλάξαντι χόλοιο* at 261 and 299 signals the beginning of the catalogue and then refers to its contents at the finish with the backward-pointing deictic *ταῦτα* (as opposed to the common noun with which the list began). Moreover, aside from its status as a typical poetic device, the repetition of the phrase serves, I would suggest, a more iconic function, for it literally cordons off the collection of objects as if they were a discrete unit and contained collection of goods, not just words emerging seamlessly out of the narrative. This quality, while not always present in Homeric catalogues, will be a distinguishing characteristic of later Greek lists but is present already here, and in more modest cataloguing moments such as when Adrastus begs Menelaus to spare him in exchange for a ransom at *Iliad* 6.45-50:

Ἄδρηστος δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα λαβῶν ἐλίσσεται γούνων· ζώγρει Ἄτρεος υἱέ, σὺ δ' ἄξια δέξαι ἄποινα· πολλὰ δ' ἐν ἀφνειοῦ πατρὸς κειμήλια κέϊται χαλκός τε χρυσός τε πολὺκμητός τε σίδηρος, τῶν κέν τοι χαρίσαιο πατὴρ ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα εἴ κεν ἐμὲ ζῶν πεπύθοιτ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.	45 50
---	--------------------------

Then Adrastus clasped him by the knees and begged: Take me living, son of Atreus, and yourself receive a worthy ransom: because many lie the treasures in my wealthy father's residence. Bronze and gold and iron, wrought laboriously, from which my father would give you boundless ransom should he learn I'm alive by the Achaean ships.	45 50
--	--------------------------

First the speaker describes and defines the contents of the list (*ἄξια ἄποινα, κειμήλια*), and then he elaborates with a very brief (in this case) list (*χαλκός, χρυσός, πολύκμητος σίδηρος*). Following the contents, the speaker restates (perhaps in synonymous terms) the heading: *ἀπερείσια ἄποινα*. That this kind of framing occurs even with so brief an enumeration suggests this a formulaic feature and not a practical one—surely an audience would not lose track in one or two lines of what was being described.⁴²

Another feature has been noted for Agamemnon’s gift-list, most recently by Sammons. He observes of the catalogue:

[T]his begins as an unusually generous but quite conventional list of objects: seven tripods, ten talents of gold, twelve horses, seven Lesbian women, and Briseis. The latter items are again made less generic by means of short elaborative description[.]⁴³

While others have been interested in the compositional and rhetorical implications of the later entries in the catalogue vis-à-vis oral poetry, I would like to highlight the use of extended description as a practical feature of inventories of goods. While perhaps we can relate the elaborations here to the general magnificence of this particular catalogue, they also take part in an extended history of describing items for identification purposes. As we will see in subsequent chapters, more mundane lists such as Herodotus’ enumeration of Croesus’ dedications to Delphi or Athenian sacred inventories all employ stock modifiers to describe items, adding more on at will. The inventory entry is an expandable (and collapsible) form that employs mainly a limited vocabulary of stock phrases (thus behaving somewhat like formulaic poetry) with occasional specialized descriptions of standout items.⁴⁴

⁴² A similar kind of framing occurs in dedication scenes, such as Hector’s injunction to Hecuba to bring an offering to Athena (*Iliad* 6.269–279), which begins and ends with the words *ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν πρὸς νηὸν Ἀθηναίης ἀγελείης ἔρχεο (ἔρχεο)*.

⁴³ Sammons (2010) 117.

⁴⁴ Cleland (2005) in her work on the treasure inventories of Brauronian Artemis has pointed out that formulaic language is responsible for the repetitive nature of the entries, which mainly rely on a stock group of descriptors and adjectives, like formulaic epithets, to characterize the clothing they discuss. These constraints, she argues, mean that we may not be able to specify details of garment-types, colors, or fabrics with certainty because only a finite number of

We can see the practice at work in such moments as the descriptions in dressing scenes and offerings. The following passage describes the gifts Antinoos and others bring for Penelope, *Odyssey* 18.290-303:

ὥς ἔφατ' Ἀντίνοος, τοῖσιν δ' ἐπιήνδανε μῦθος. 290
 δῶρα δ' ἄρ' οἰσέμεναι πρόεσαν κήρυκα ἕκαστος.
 Ἀντινόω μὲν ἔνεικε μέγαν περικαλλέα πέπλον,
 ποικίλον· ἐν δ' ἄρ' ἔσαν περόναι δυοκαίδεκα πᾶσαι
 χρύσειαι, κληῖσιν εὐγνάμπτοις' ἀραρυῖαι·
 ὄρμον δ' Εὐρυμάχω πολυδαίδαλον αὐτίκ' ἔνεικε, 295
 χρύσειον, ἠλέκτροισιν ἐερμένον, ἠέλιον ὥς·
 ἔρματα δ' Εὐρυδάμαντι δύω θεράποντες ἔνεικαν
 τρίγληνα μορόεντα, χάρις δ' ἀπελάμπετο πολλή·
 ἐκ δ' ἄρα Πεισάνδροιο Πολυκτορίδαο ἄνακτος
 ἴσθμιον ἤνεικεν θεράπων, περικαλλές ἄγαλμα· 300
 ἄλλο δ' ἄρ' ἄλλος δῶρον Ἀχαιῶν καλὸν ἔνεικεν.
 ἡ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀνέβαιν' ὑπερώϊα διὰ γυναικῶν,
 τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἄμ' ἀμφίπολοι ἔφερον περικαλλέα δῶρα·

Thus spoke Antinous, and what he said pleased them, 290
 and each man sent a herald forth to bear his gifts.
 Antinous' brought a great and very lovely cloak,
 multi-colored. And on it were twelve brooches all
 in gold, and fitted on with bending fasteners.
 Eurymachus' then brought a cleverly-wrought chain, 295
 golden, adorned with amber, gleaming like the sun.
 And servants brought to Eurydamas two earrings,
 triple-clustered, and shining from them much grace.
 A servant from lord Peisander, Polycctor's son
 brought out a necklace, a very lovely trinket. 300
 And different servants brought out different lovely gifts.
 But she, noblest of women went up to her loft,
 and there her handmaids brought the very lovely gifts.

words were available to the inventory-makers. Furthermore, just because a certain entry does not contain a certain descriptor may not mean the item lacked that feature.

In the passage, we see a collection of items intended for a woman, described in reasonable but not terribly original detail: remarkably, we see *περικαλλής* three times in the identical line position. Though some of the collocations of the gifts are unique in Homer (e.g. *περικαλλέα πέπλον*), the most arguably elaborate entry is that of the earrings, which are the same as those Hera dons at *Iliad* 14.183 (identical to line 298 here). The use of stock adjectives (such as *περικαλλής*) comes as no surprise in the context of oral formulaic verse: the poet has a few descriptors and some longer phrases, as for the earrings, and arranges them together to make a catalogue, condensing and embellishing at will.⁴⁵ We associate this shuffling of stock words and phrases with oral composition in particular, where a poet relies on known building blocks to form original arrangements. But recent study has suggested a similar mode of composition for a particular type of later, purely written document: the inscribed inventory.⁴⁶ An especially apt comparandum may be found in the treasure records of Artemis Brauronia, which list primarily articles of clothing dedicated to the goddess in the 4th century. The entries tend to be repetitive and formulaic, employing a handful of uncommon yet limited adjectives and garment-types: bordered, dark blue, sea-green, short tunic, shawl, and so forth. The repetition also emphasizes the use of stock phrases in making the list and an expandability principle, whereby any one item can receive a fuller treatment or have further attributes added to it.⁴⁷ That the list is expanded here instead of just summarized as *περικαλλέα δῶρα* without elaboration suggests that it is important to inventory items for this kind of scene and describe them in some detail. At the same time, it is an example to keep in mind in subsequent chapters, where we examine the formulaics at work in official inventory texts of the fifth and fourth centuries.

Ο Δ Υ Σ Σ Ε Υ Σ Τ Η Ε Τ Ρ Ε Α Σ Υ Ρ Ε Ρ

I have made mention of but not explicitly outlined the semantic difference between *καταλέγω* and *ὀνομαίνω*. Agamemnon's list of gifts again provides useful material for comparative study, for he first presents it with *ὀνομαίνω*, as we have seen, whereas in repeating it Odysseus uses *καταλέγω*. This diction highlights a contextual difference between the two characters' acts that will prove instructive for the remainder of this study. Here, I have argued that counting in Homer consists in

⁴⁵ Minchin (1996).

⁴⁶ Cleland (2005), especially Chapter 2.

⁴⁷ Minchin (1996).

listing, which in turn amounts to naming a series of things, as Agamemnon and others do throughout the poems, using the verb *ὀνομαίνω* to describe the process. *καταλέγω*, however, seems to refer not to the initial inventory-taking and performance but to its quotation and re-iteration—thus Odysseus’ action is more properly described using it. A comparable usage occurs in *Odyssey* 14, in a moment of dramatic irony in which the shepherd Eumaeus tells Odysseus (who is disguised) of his master’s former wealth, describing it both with a countless-word (*ἄσπετος*, a future of *καταλέγω*, and a short enumeration, per the scheme we laid out earlier (96–104):

ἦ γάρ οἱ ζῶή γ’ ἦν ἄσπετος· οὐ τι νι τόσση
 ἀνδρῶν ἠρώων, οὔτ’ ἠπεῖροιο μελαίνης
 οὔτ’ αὐτῆς Ἰθάκης· οὐδὲ ξυνεείκοσι φωτῶν
 ἔστ’ ἀφενος τοσσοῦτον· ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι καταλέξω.
 δώδεκ’ ἐν ἠπεῖρω ἀγέλαι· τόσα πῶεα οἰῶν, 100
 τόσσα συῶν συβόσια, τόσ’ αἰπόλια πλατέ’ αἰγῶν
 βόσκουσι ξεῖνοί τε καὶ αὐτοῦ βώτορες ἄνδρες·
 ἐνθάδε τ’ αἰπόλια πλατέ’ αἰγῶν ἔνδεκα πάντα
 ἔσχατιῇ βόσκοντ’, ἐπὶ δ’ ἀνέρες ἔσθλοὶ ὄρονται.

Indeed was his wealth boundless. Not so great was that
 of any lordly man, not on the dark mainland,
 nor in Ithaca itself. And not to twenty men
 was there such plenteousness. I’ll recount it for you:
 On the mainland twelve herds of cows, so many sheep,
 so many droves of pigs, so many packs of goats
 as pasture goatherds, foreign or of his own kind.
 And also here feed packs of goats, elevenfold,
 on the outskirts, and skilled men keep watch over them.

Here, though this exact catalogue has not appeared within the narrative before, Eumaeus nonetheless recounts it as an inventory of an already-established collection that no longer exists (or so he thinks): ἦ γάρ οἱ ζῶή γ’ ἦν ἄσπετος. This is not the first inventory of Odysseus’ wealth, nor are the items laid out to be presented. While we might draw many a parallel between this scene and Odysseus’ later encounter with Laertes, recall that there Odysseus used *ὀνομάζω* and *ὀνομαίνω* in reference to his father’s showing him the orchard so many years ago. Eumaeus, by contrast, uses *καταλέγω* for his act of recollection and restating—not making or himself reckoning—

the inventory. In the exchange with Laertes, then, it is Odysseus himself who is recollecting, restating, that is: doing the action implicit in *καταλέγω*—even though this is not made explicit.⁴⁸

In fact, this is neither the first inventory of Odysseus’ resources nor the first time Odysseus has acted as treasurer, as he does in repeating the catalogue first named to him by his father. As we move to discuss Herodotus and the historical treasures of foreign kings, we might bear in mind a brief but telling moment, just after the passage that began this chapter, in which Odysseus anxiously counted his treasure following his arrival in Ithaca. With Athena’s help, after he takes inventory of them, Odysseus safeguards the goods in a cave (*Odyssey* 13.366–371):

ὥς εἰποῦσα θεὰ δῦνε σπέος ἠεροειδές,
 μαιομένη κευθμῶνας ἀνὰ σπέος· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
 ἄσσον πάντ’ ἐφόρει, χρυσὸν καὶ ἀτειρέα χαλκὸν
 εἵματά τ’ εὐποίητα, τὰ οἱ Φαίηκες ἔδωκαν.
 καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ κατέθηκε, λίθον δ’ ἐπέθηκε θύρῃσι 370
 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη, κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

Thus spoke the goddess and went into the dim cave,
 contriving hiding places there. And Odysseus
 carried everything near, gold and unyielding bronze
 and well-made clothes, which the Phaeacians had given him.
 These he safeguarded well, and Pallas Athena 370
 daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus walled up the door.

Again, though we have seen a small list of the items already, a brief catalogue renames them following (and thus defining) *πάντα: χρυσὸν καὶ ἀτειρέα χαλκὸν | εἵματά τ’ εὐποίητα...* With the re-cataloguing and the act of storing the goods behind a closed door, Odysseus enacts both the essential functions of a treasurer, with the goddess at hand to witness careful curatorship of precious items just as she would be in a sacred storage space. The list—as it will continue to do throughout Greek literary and administrative tradition—unfailingly accompanies the storage and safeguarding of those objects most precious to be remembered and, through poetic text, preserved.

⁴⁸ Pucci (1990: 6) makes a related general point, stressing the role of kinship: “By learning the names of trees, the infant enters into the world of language in the wake of the father, into an orderly cataloguing of things, alien to all inventive rhetoric.”

In this Odysseus returns to the role in which we first observed him, a legendary king reclaiming to his place of power and accounting for everything under his ownership. We also see, however, the outline of a practical method for reckoning wealth: using a list, plainly introduced as such, and presented to its audience as definitive evidence. In the next chapter, I shall explore the function of treasure-lists for historical kings who appear in legendary guise in Herodotus' *Histories*. While the characters at play and the language of their stories has changed, we will see more of what—for a different kind of audience and from a singular authorial voice—lists can do.

2

A · H I S T O R Y · O F · C O L L E C T I N G
A · H I S T O R Y · O F · C O L L E C T I N G
A · H I S T O R Y · O F · C O L L E C T I N G
A · H I S T O R Y · O F · C O L L E C T I N G
A · H I S T O R Y · O F · C O L L E C T I N G

During its first generation, photography recorded scores of the great works and legendary places that formerly had been known to the outside world only through the interpretations of a few scholars and travelers. The objectivity and accuracy of these photographs were so implicitly—and naively—trusted that they were regarded virtually as surrogates for the subjects themselves. Very rapidly, our world was made a small and familiar place.

John Szarkowski, *Looking at Photographs* (1973)

We have seen in the previous chapter that lists in Homeric poetry function as set pieces, marked off by boundaries and able to be recited as units. I argued that this is an early step in the materialization or objectification of a list of words that denote physical things. In this chapter I present a case study of Herodotus' *Histories*, which will ultimately prove fruitful ground for comparison with both the epic tradition and the later listmaking habits of Athenian documentary culture. Readers of Herodotus will be familiar with his tendency to catalogue. While studies of lists in literature have generally tended to focus on poetry, Herodotus provides no shortage of analyzable data.¹ He enumerates all manner of things from Croesus' offerings to Delphi (1.50-52),

¹ I will not directly discuss the connections Herodotus might have had to poets and composers of other kinds of texts, but it is relevant here to remember that the *Histories* did not fit into one clear ancient genre. Thomas (2000, 2006) has highlighted several less-

Amasis' dedications (2.176, 182), and the gifts Cambyses sends for the Ethiopians (3.20), to the rivers in Scythia (4.48–49), the animals in Libya (4.192), the cities of the Hellespont (6.33), or the nations in the Persian infantry (7.61–99). Here I examine a selection of lists, focusing on those of physical, ownable objects—in anthropological terms, moveable wealth—as opposed, in the main, to people and geographical items, though these will figure somewhat into the discussion as well, insofar as both can have value as quantifiable resources.

Let us move to the text beginning from a rather evident observation: that clearly many of the characters in the *Histories* place great value on their possessions.² Herodotus often reiterates the distinction between quantifiable goods, like Croesus' treasures at 1.30, and true fortune. This notion perhaps lies behind the suggestion that plundering its goods is not the same thing as sacking a city (1.6.3), or that there is more than one way to show a people's might, as in the case of Babylon (1.192.1):

Τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι
δηλώσω ὅση τις ἐστί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε.

As to the power of the Babylonians, I shall show by many other
ways how great it is but especially by this:

He then counts off the holdings and wealth of the satrapy that supply the king's army, apparently moving from the largest (land holdings) to the smallest (dogs), all of which the king holds in addition to tribute (*πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου*),³ concluding (1.92.8):

evident members of a larger intellectual community surrounding the work, including medical and scientific treatise-writers; Sergueenkova (2009) again looks at Herodotus in context, specifically that of natural history. In addition to some earlier work, three recent doctoral dissertations take up the theme: Sammons (2010) on Homer, Galjanic (2006) on Indo-European, and Asquith (2006) on Hesiod to Callimachus.

² See e.g. Konstan (1987).

³ Δωδέκα ὧν μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσίη. Οὕτω τριτημορίη ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρα τῆς δυνάμει τῆς ὅλης Ἀσίας. Καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι σατραπήν καλέουσι, ἐστὶ ἀπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλόν τι κρατίστη, ὅκου Τριτανταίχημ τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέος ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον ἀργυρίου μὲν προσήιε ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβη μεστή (ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη μέτρον ἐὼν Περσικὸν χωρεῖ μεδίμνου Ἀττικοῦ πλέον χοίνιξι τρισὶ Ἀττικῆσι). Ἴπποι δὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἰδίη, πάρεξ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας ὀκτακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ βαινόμεναι ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μύρια· ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐρσένων τούτων εἴκοσι ἵππους. Κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσοῦτο δὴ τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο ὥστε τέσσερες

Τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε ἔόντα.

These sorts of things were the holdings that belonged to the ruler of Babylon.

The implication of the passage is that the terms at Herodotus' disposal for quantifying the non-Greeks especially remain largely material, and like their own chroniclers (e.g. the Persian *λόγιοι*), he too uses these methods of measurement and often also a direct verbal showcase of their holdings to prove their might, rather than having his audience take it on faith. It is not enough for Herodotus merely to state that a particular group has a certain degree of wealth; he inserts a list to make quantities convincing and imaginable. This kind of inventorying, I argue, proves a given assertion by encoding the physical in words. While autopsy of a particular collection of important items might be the very best evidence, a facsimile in list form is an acceptable substitute. Furthermore, once contained, this substitute-collection takes on a certain material quality of its own and in some instances it is able to supersede the authority of the physical collection.

But why should Herodotus do this? A simple answer might appeal to the idea of Herodotus as “both a *logopoios* and an historian, who molded the two fields into a unity.”⁴ In that case, we might map the two roles onto the difference between content and form. As historian on the one hand he presents the content of lists as a record of physical evidence, perhaps even autopsy, and a pledge of authenticity. As *logopoios*, he employs the form of the list in accordance with an old and authoritative tradition of the catalogue in his literary predecessors, as well as in the written documents of the non-Greeks he presents. In this view, the historian deals in data, the *logopoios* in its arrangement. Herodotus, though, is explicitly *not* a *logopoios*; in fact, he uses the term disparagingly, first of the fabulist Aesop and then soon thereafter of Hecataeus of

τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐοῦσαι ἀτελέες, τοῖσι κυσὶ προσετέταχτο σιτία παρέχειν.

⁴ Pritchett (1993:5). The scholarly instinct to characterize Herodotus' use of sources, method, and aims—and of course his authorial lineage—remains robust and often results in similar formulations. Vannicelli (2001) studies Herodotus' often autophobic glorification of the Egyptian *λόγιοι* as foundational historiographers, pointing out, nevertheless, that for all this Herodotus still has a “unitary historical vision” in which he inserts Greek tradition (234). Luraghi (2006) has usefully discussed what *historie* is and is not and, further, reorients the question in such a way as to bridge the divide between the so-called ‘liar school of Herodotus’ and those who named it, pointing out, typically, that there are more than two sides to that particular coin.

Miletus, placing that historian's work in negative contradistinction to his own.⁵ *Logoiptoioi*, as he casts them, contrive pleasant fictions; Herodotus deals in something rather more serious, and rather more true.

If he does not use the list form as the *logopoiios* would, then, to what end does he employ it? One way to conceive of this has been to suggest that lists answer an implicit question, and that this question doubles as the heading of the list.⁶ Thus just 'eggs, milk, tomatoes, bread' suggests 'What do we need from the grocery store?,' 'eight hundred stallions, sixteen hundred mares, and a huge amount of dogs' answers, 'Why should we believe you about the Babylonians?'. This all amounts to a kind of speech act that functions much as would a magical list, which most agree is essential to a charm's efficacy.⁷ In authored literary texts too, lists serve a specific and identifiable function beyond the decorative or the expository.

Instead of effecting a charm or curse, though, the non-magical list, being a means to present a facsimile of a physical reality to an audience as evidence, has a curatorial aim. As such, certain features of Herodotus' lists function to impart value to a collection that may no longer exist, or that his audience for other reasons would be unable to see. In his textual presentation of them too, they have the ability to be contained as a unified collection: as I will discuss in further detail below, Herodotus frames his lists with introductory and conclusive statements, treating them as contained units. This structure lends them a kind of prominence approaching that of a

⁵ Beecroft (2010) 133–139 explores this facet of Herodotus' rhetoric; see also Luraghi (2009) and Kurke (2011) chapter 10.

⁶ Here I draw on educational psychology, in which listmaking constitutes an 'epistemic game' of implicit questions, wherein "if the answer to these questions must be discovered, rather than recalled or looked up, then the list-making process is an inquiry process and the resulting list constitutes new knowledge." (Collins and Ferguson 1993: 27).

⁷ The exact principles by which the list works in ancient magic remain contested. In summarizing several views in his discussion of extensive body part lists on curse tablets, Collins (2008: 83–86) surmises that neither (1) a sense of completeness nor (2) parallels to administrative text style provide adequate explanation for the list's ubiquitous presence. He partially espouses rhetorical explanations such as those of Weiner (1983) and Gordon (1999) but stresses the importance of cross-cultural influences on the Greek and Roman world too. (For a recent summary of the complications of that topic as regards the Near East see Noegel (2007:22–23)). Collins is right, I think, to introduce the connection of body part enumerations with healing *ex votos* that depict body parts; I will work further with the relationship of the dedicated object to the list that includes it here and in subsequent chapters. An approach to a related topic that examines compositional, rhetorical and cross-cultural elements of healing together is that of Watkins (1995:537–539) on Indo-European medical doctrine.

physical container, such as might an actual treasury full of dedications or other important objects. Ultimately, I will argue, Herodotus' lists function in much the same way as a physical storehouses, but through verbal means.

S H O W • T E L L • N A M E

I have proposed that a list can stand in for a set of valuable objects and as a kind of evidence; if this is the case, we should further expect lists to take on some features of physical collections, such as being on display. If we conceive of the inventory as simulating a treasury, a container of precious objects, then it should also take on its functions. Neer characterizes architectural treasuries as follows:⁸

The evident purpose of a treasury is to hold costly dedications. But mere storage, mere practicality, is not enough to account for the existence of such a building....I suggest that a treasury's purpose is not just to store votives but to nationalize them, and with them a dedicant's privileged relationship to the gods.

In this formulation, the extravagant architecture of the treasury—and not just its contents—itsself signifies the importance of what it houses. It is not only the fact of the goods, but the manner of their display that imparts their worth and communicates their relationship to their owners or dedicators.

In this section, I examine moments of inventorying in Herodotus and their connections with the concept of display. I offer an inductive investigation of lexical items as evidence that Herodotus' diction signals the transfer of authority from precious things themselves to the words for those things. Informing this section is the notion that various scholars have stated in various versions: that a written list functions as a virtual collection, either a facsimile of the physical or a usurpation of it.⁹ I have shown that in Homeric poetry the oral catalogue can act as a surrogate for a collection not at hand, and that denominative verbs based on *ὄνομα* accompany the symbolic

⁸ Neer (2003) 129.

⁹ The idea manifests (once again!) McLuhan's inescapable medium-as-message, though he perhaps never addressed lists specifically; similarly Foucault's four kinds of representation; Belknap; more at museum studies, Swann; Crane; for magic, Gordon and Collins; most recently Eco, whose *The Infinity of Lists* (2009) essentially consists of an exhibition catalogue of the artworks/artefacts on display at the Louvre that denote different types of visual lists grouped with interpretive essays.

transfer. It seems that the *Histories* is the first work we know of to refer to a similar shift, now between the physical display of goods or power to a symbolic display, via either a monument, or, ultimately, the written word.

Specifically, I shall argue that the semantics of the verb *ἀποδείκνυμι* and its derivative *ἀπόδειξις* signal the various concepts I outlined above. A study of the diachronic semantic progression of the compound reveals that it first refers to the physical, and later to the verbal. The shift from a physical display to a verbal one, in list form, is precisely the one we observe in Herodotus' enumerations of objects. In archaic poetry, *ἀποδείκνυμι* in its relatively few attestations refers to physical displays, often of status or power,¹⁰ and certainly not of words. Thus at *Prometheus Bound* 1080–1090 we see the verb used of the winds arraying their forces, as one of a series of apocalyptic terrors occurring physically, not in word alone:¹¹

Πρ. καὶ μὴν ἔργῳ κούκετι μύθῳ	1080
χθῶν σεσάλευται,	
βρυχία δ' ἦχῶ παραμυκᾶται	
βροντῆς, ἕλικες δ' ἐκλάμπουσι	
στεροπῆς ζάπυροι, στρόμβοι δὲ κόνιν	
εἰλίσσουσι, σκιρτᾶι δ' ἀνέμων	1085
πνεύματα πάντων εἰς ἄλληλα	
στάσιν ἀντίπνουν <u>ἀποδεικνύμενα</u> ,	
ξυντετάρακται δ' αἰθὴρ πόντῳ·	
τοιᾶδ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ῥιπὴ Διόθεν	
τεύχουσα φόβον στείχει φανερῶς.	1090

And in fact in deed and no longer in word	1080
the earth shakes,	
and the roaring echo of thunder	
bellows beside, and the flaming rings of	
lightning flash blaze forth,	
and the whirlwinds swirl the dust,	1085
and the gusts of all the winds flit about	
displaying blows of strife against each other,	

¹⁰ Other forms of literal illumination, as of a path or way, are possible too. Thus Athena says to the Eumenides in Aeschylus' eponymous tragedy (1003–1006): χαίρετε χύμεις, προτέραν δ' ἐμὲ χρῆ/στείχειν θαλάμους/ ἀποδείξουσιν πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν/ τῶνδε προπομπῶν.

¹¹ Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

and sky and sea are all confused.
 Such a storm from Zeus moves against me
 visibly wreaking fear. 1090

Pindar, in a typical instance of shuttling between material and verbal, literal and metaphoric, provides a less straightforward example vis-à-vis the Aiakidai at Nemean 6. 45–49:

πλατεῖαι πάντοθεν λογίοισιν ἐντὶ πρόσοδοι 45
 νᾶσον εὐκλέα τάνδε κοσμεῖν· ἐπεὶ σφιν Αἰακίδαί
 ἔπορον ἕξοχον αἴσαν ἀρετὰς ἀποδεικνύμενοι μεγάλας,
 πέταται δ' ἐπὶ τε χθόνα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης τηλόθεν
 ὄνυμ' αὐτῶν·

Wide all round are the avenues for the *logioi*
 to adorn this renowned island, since the Aiakidai 45
 furnished an outstanding lot, displaying their great excellent deeds,
 and their name flies over the earth and far across the sea.

We can see in this passage some of the synapses that will begin to fuse in Herodotus. In making display of their excellence, possibly not only in deed but via victory and monument (be it in statue or poem form) the Aiakidai have equipped those who are *λόγιοι* (e.g. Pindar) to extol them. If we take the poet at his word, it seems the final clause suggests that the vehicle facilitating this visual manifestation of ἀρετὰς is none other than ὄνυμα. For Herodotus, I suggest, ἀποδείκνυμι will refer not only to physical displays of wealth and worth as put on by the rich and famous, but also to the verbal accounts of them.¹² These verbal accounts, in turn, comprise lists of named items.

It will be useful to trace this semantic shift. Herodotus uses both verb and noun to refer to a display, both of the older variety and of a newer, more metaphoric one. The data fall into three fairly well-delineated subgroups, of which a few examples will suffice for each. First, the literal and, I would argue, earlier sense, ‘make a physical display’ is standard usage.¹³ Thus at I.113.2, Herodotus describes Mitridates’

¹² Some terminology: for the sake of clarity and diplomacy I intend ‘verbal’ to refer to the use of words, be it by pen or by tongue. I will use ‘written’ and ‘oral’ (or ‘spoken’) when impelled to refer to the ever-weakening poles of the literacy debate. On the notion of verbal accounts of the physical, and ἀπόδειξις, cf. Immerwahr (1960) and Nagy (1987), (1990).

¹³ Under this large semantic class I place such common specialized usages as ‘appoint as leader’ (presumably accomplished originally with an indicative gesture) and ‘submit as evidence.’

presentation to Harpagus of the dead child supposed to be Cyrus:

φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν, ἔλθων δὲ ἐς τοῦ Ἄρπάγου
ἀποδεικνύναι ἔφη ἕτοιμος εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν.

Leaving his post and coming to the palace of Harpagus he said that he was ready to make a showing of the boy's corpse.

Similarly the verb can refer to actions that demonstrate a certain human trait, as at 7.23.5, which echoes Pindar's characterization of the Aiakidai:

Οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες σοφίην ἔν τε τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔργοισι ἀποδείκνυνται
καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ·

And the Phoenicians make show of their skill, among their other deeds, especially in that.

The crucial distinction I wish to draw is between these sorts of uses and those that involve words instead of deeds. I would venture to argue that as *ἀποδείκνυμι* begins to extend to verbal showing, speakers must specify the means by which they do this showing. Thus in several instances in Herodotus we see the (later pleonastic) collocation *ἀποδείκνυμι (τῷ) λόγῳ* or *ἀποδείκνυμι γνώμην*, or sometimes both (2.18.1):¹⁴

Μαρτυρέει δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι τοσαύτη ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος ὅσην
τινὰ ἐγὼ ἀποδείκνυμι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὸ Ἄμμωνος χρηστήριον
γενόμενον.

Moreover [the answer given by the Oracle of Ammon] bears witness in support of my opinion that Egypt is of the extent which I show it to be in my account (trans. Macaulay, modified)

In Greek after Herodotus, *ἀποδείκνυμι* can refer to a verbal showing or account used

Examples of the former can be found at 1.126, 1.127, 3.63, 4.167, 5.29, 5.32, 5.83, 5.99, 6.5, 7.3, and 7.178.

¹⁴ The former construction also occurs at 2.15 and 5.94. (This list includes the variant *ἀποδείκνυμι λέγων*, which I consider equivalent, *λέγων* being supplementary). For examples of the latter see: 1.170, 4.97, 4.137, 6.41, 7.3, 7.6, 7.10, 7.46. 1.207, 2.18, 3.82 show the full construction, *γνώμην ἀποδείκνυμι λόγῳ*.

absolutely, without a qualifying word that specifies word or speech. However, I find no examples of the verbal sense without an accompanying *λόγῳ* / *λέγω* or *γνώμην* in Herodotus. In light of this data, it is reasonable to assert that the transference of *ἀποδείκνυμι* to verbal utterances is a relatively new one in Herodotus' time, and one still in flux in Greek during the mid-fifth century. Moreover, as for any semantic shift, we would be justified to return to the text to seek intermediate examples that might provide a bridge between visual and verbal displays. In what kinds of moments does the slippage begin to occur?

The context in question, I think, accounts for the remaining examples of the verb: those in which *ἀποδείκνυμι* denotes neither a strictly physical, yet not necessarily a strictly verbal display. Many of these occur in discussions of various influential public figures' displaying their wealth, and most constitute lists of some sort. In fact, in two brief articles nearly a century ago, S. Casson suggested that both Thucydides and Herodotus use the verb *ἀποδείκνυμι* and its derivative *ἀπόδειξις* to refer to the creation of inventories.¹⁵ His interest was military and so he argued that the term was part of the legalese referring to the army's practice of taking inventories as a safeguard or as collateral,¹⁶ yet his observations have consequence for this very different study, for they imply that the inventory functioned as a substitute for physical goods, a concept to which I shall return often. Yet beyond Casson's identification of this technical usage, a fresh look at *ἀποδείκνυμι* reveals that it can mean "to make a list or inventory" in a less specific sense.

Among the many examples of the verb that I would term 'intermediate,' an extended series occurs in Book 2, perhaps unsurprisingly, for these are the sections in which Herodotus refers to the Egyptian dynasties, using forms of *ἀποδείκνυμι* three times to denote their own records of people and accomplishments, as related to Herodotus by the priests. And so first he applies it to a genealogy of priests at 2.142.1:

¹⁵ Casson (1914) and (1921).

¹⁶ "This process of inventory taking was, I suggested, a recognized military method of ensuring the neutrality of the party taking the inventory. If that party infringed its neutrality, everything set down on the list was seized by those who held the inventory" (1921: 144), in reference to Casson (1914). I should clarify that while I concur with his semantic analysis, I seriously doubt Casson's overarching assertion (1914) that the Persian expedition to Delphi at VIII.35 was for the purpose of inventorying and not for plunder; part of Herodotus' point is that Xerxes *already* knew the contents of the treasury at Delphi, at least by word of mouth: Ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτη ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅπως συλήσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλεῖ Ξέρξη ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα· πάντα δ' ἠπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.

Ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε τοῦ λόγου Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔλεγον,
ἀποδεικνύντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ἕς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸν
ἱερέα τοῦτον τὸν τελευταῖον βασιλεύσαντα μίαν τε καὶ
τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας ἀνθρώπων γενεὰς γενομένας καὶ
ἐν ταύτησι ἀρχιερέας καὶ βασιλέας ἑκατέρους τοσούτους
γενομένους.

To this point of the account the Egyptians and the priests told me,
enumerating, from the first king to this last one, the priest of
Hephaestus, that there were three hundred forty-one generations of
men, and that in these there were so many high priests and kings,
respectively.

While others seem to interpret *ἀποδείκνυμι* here to refer to some statement that the priests made of these far-reaching generations, I argue that it does not denote a plain unmarked verbal declaration here; instead, this is a bridging context.¹⁷ Although it is closely linked to *ἔλεγον*, the rest of the passage reveals that the priests are doing more than just speak. They are making a formal verbal display of the generations of the past, one by one, in list form. Moreover, each of the items in the list, in addition to representing something physical (a human being) has an object correlate on display in the temple. This material component of the priests' display emerges in the next section, in which Herodotus describes the wooden likenesses of the priests he saw in the temple, a new one of which is erected for each. These statues stand as the material representation of the verbal genealogy, composing a physical collection whose verbal analogue is the list (2.143.1-2.144.10):

Πρότερον δὲ Ἑκαταίῳ τῷ λογοποιῷ ἐν Θήβησι γενεηλογήσαντί
[τε] ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι τὴν πατριὴν ἕς ἑκκαδέκατον θεὸν
ἐποίησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Διὸς οἷόν τι καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐ γενεηλογήσαντι
ἑμεωυτόν. Ἐσαγαγόντες ἕς τὸ μέγαρον ἔσω ἐὸν μέγα ἐξηρίθμιον
δεικνύντες κολοσσούς ξυλίνους τοσούτους ὅσους περ εἶπον·
ἀρχιερεὺς γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτόθι ἰστᾶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ζόης εἰκόνα
ἑωυτοῦ· ἀριθμέοντες ὧν καὶ δεικνύντες οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐμοὶ ἀπεδείκ-

¹⁷ For the unmarked interpretation cf. e.g. de Sélincourt ed. Marincola, "They declare that three hundred and forty-one generations separate the first kind of Egypt from the last I have mentioned—the priest of Hephaestus—and that there was a king and a high priest corresponding the each generation."

νυσαν παῖδα πατρὸς ἑωυτῶν ἕκαστον ἑόντα, ἐκ τοῦ ἄγχιστα
 ἀποθανόντος τῆς εἰκόνος διεξιόντες διὰ πασέων, ἐς ὃ ἀπέδεξαν
 ἀπάσας αὐτάς. Ἐκαταίῳ δὲ γενεηλογήσαντι ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἀνα-
 δήσαντι ἐς ἕκκαιδέκατον θεὸν ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν ἐπὶ τῇ
 ἀριθμήσι, οὐ δεκόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἄν-
 θρωπον. Ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν δὲ ὧδε, φάμενοι ἕκαστον τῶν
 κολοσσῶν πύρωμιν ἐκ πύρωμιος γεγονέναι, ἐς ὃ τοὺς πέντε καὶ
 τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίους ἀπέδεξαν κολοσσούς πύρωμιν ἐκ
 πύρωμιος γενόμενον, καὶ οὔτε ἐς θεὸν οὔτε ἐς ἥρωα ἀνέδησαν
 αὐτούς. Πύρωμις δὲ ἐστὶ κατ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν καλὸς κάγαθος.
 Ἦδη ὧν τῶν αἰ εἰκόνες ἦσαν, τοιούτους ἀπεδείκνυσάν σφεας
 πάντας ἑόντας, θεῶν δὲ πολλὸν ἀπαλλαγμένους. Τὸ δὲ πρό-
 τερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχον-
 τας οἰκέοντας ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἓνα τὸν
 κρα-τέοντα εἶναι. Ὑστατον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι Ὡρον τὸν
 Ὅσιριος παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἑλληνας ὀνομάζουσι· τοῦτον
 καταπαύσαντα Τυφῶνα βασιλεῦσαι ὕστατον Αἰγύπτου.

And before, when Hecataeus the *logopoios* gave his own
 genealogy in Thebes and traced back his lineage to a god sixteen
 generations back, the priests of Zeus did the same thing for him as
 they did for me, though I did not give my own genealogy:
 Bringing [each of us] into the great temple, they showed us wood-
 en statues and counted them up, as many as the number I said, for
 each high priest erects right there a likeness of himself during his
 life. Thus as they counted them and showing them, the priests
 began listing for me each one of them, being the child of the father
 [who came before him], going through all of them from the
 likeness of the one who died most recently up until they had listed
 absolutely all of them. And when Hecataeus had traced his descent
 and connected his family with a god in the sixteenth generation,
 they traced a descent in opposition to this, besides their numbering,
 not accepting it from him that a man had been born from a god;
 and they traced their counter-descent thus, saying that each one of
 the statues had been *piromis* son of *piromis*, until they had declared
 this of the whole three hundred and forty-five statues, each one
 being surnamed *piromis*; and neither with a god nor a hero did
 they connect their descent. Now *piromis* means in the tongue of

Hellas "honorable and good man." From their declaration then it followed, that they of whom the images had been were of form like this, and far removed from being gods: but in the time before these men they said that gods were the rulers in Egypt, not mingling with men, and that of these always one had power at a time; and the last of them who was king over Egypt was Oros the son of Osiris, whom the Hellenes call Apollo (trans. Macaulay, slightly modified)

Again, several factors preclude the verb's meaning merely 'show' or 'prove.' First, the sequence ἀριθμέοντες ὧν καὶ δεικνύντες οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐμοὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, all with continuous aspect, implies that the two participles together form some part of the action of the main verb. That is to say, ἀποδείκνυμι is an ongoing action that consists in both counting and showing. To interpret it as 'prove' or 'demonstrate' would both render δεικνύντες somewhat redundant and, more importantly, demand an explanation for the imperfect. The subsequent iteration of the verb in the aorist after the listing is complete—ἐς ὃ ἀπέδεξαν ἀπάσας αὐτάς—gives further support, for it sums up, simply, the fact that the priests just gave the run-through, from the first to the last. (English idiom favors a pluperfect with past uses of 'until' for good aspectual reason). Moreover, to interpret ἀπεδείκνυσαν παῖδα πατρὸς ἑωυτῶν ἕκαστον ἔοντα as a head verb and participial indirect statement, as opposed to an attributive participle, renders the parallel ἀπέδεξαν ἀπάσας αὐτάς either violent in its change in usage or just nonsensical, and this may account for some translators' choice to translate only one of the two ἀποδείκνυμι phrases.¹⁸ Finally, the discussion of the honorific πῖρωμις that follows reconfirms that ἀποδείκνυμι describes a demonstrative sequence, a list. Since the priests have just stated that each statue represents the son of the previous πῖρωμις, (φάμενοι ἕκαστον τῶν κολοσσῶν πῖρωμιν ἐκ πῖρώμιος γεγονέναι) it does not follow that the next clause should mean that they 'asserted' or 'proved' this, but that they listed each example in succession, ἐς ὃ τοὺς πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίους ἀπέδεξαν κολοσσούς πῖρωμιν ἐκ πῖρώμιος γεγόμενον. Herodotus finally reverts to the imperfect in an abbreviated account of how the listing progressed,

¹⁸ Contra Powell (1938:38) and Filbey (1917:13-14), who cites this passage in an account of ἀποδείκνυμι plus supplementary participle but remains vague as to how his general rule would apply here: "Hdt. uses ἀποδείκνυμι with a s.p. to indicate the proving of what should rather be regarded as a hypothesis than a fact." As to his question of why the passage "lapses into the infinitive," surely we might simply classify these last sentences as indirect statements dependent on an implicit verb that is not ἀποδείκνυμι.

from first to last.

But aside from semantics, what of the curious contents of this collection themselves? Imagine for a moment its composition: a group of countable and visually quantifiable objects, representative of prestigious humans, arranged in the so-called ‘great hall’ of the temple. Herodotus himself understands, as he distances himself from Hecataeus, that these statues constitute a visual genealogy, commensurate with the succession list he knows and serving the same function as if they were a tally of names. For this reason the priest not only shows them to him but also counts them. *ἀπεδείκνυσαν* then refers not so much to their showing or proving this progression to Herodotus as to their enumerating it before him. The statues, meanwhile, stand as a ‘visual list,’ a surrogate for the actual humans that make up the genealogy and a precursor to the kind of list that would contain them, which may exist in written form but at the very least here exists inasmuch as the priest verbalizes it. What the priests provide Herodotus, at least as he describes it, then, is a kind of proto-inventory, a verbal account that must take place in real time alongside its physical contents. *ἀποδείκνυμι* refers to these two qualities—the listing (verbal) and the showing (physical). At its roots, then, the inventory starts as an accompaniment to a collection but will gradually displace its very *raison d’être*. The implications for the list are that its use as a kind of ritual substitute starts here. While the true physical artefacts begin as authentic entities, the verbal record eventually supersedes them.¹⁹

For Herodotus, then, that display and its verbalization in a series constitute a—perhaps *the*—fundamental method of making history. This, I think, is the crucial difference between what Herodotus does and what Hecataeus purportedly did, which was essentially to regurgitate his own genealogy in the Ionian tradition when presented with the same showing.²⁰ What Herodotus does is to engage with the physical Egyptian collection as a group of objects, not as a list of names, and describe it in Greek terms, as an *ἀπόδειξις*. This moment with the priests, then, serves as a lens through which we can view both authors’ entire works, Hecataeus’ as *γενεαλόγια*, Herodotus’ as *ἀπόδειξις*. If we turn to the prologue, we recall that Herodotus famously names what he is offering the audience as *ἡδε ἀπόδειξις*.²¹

¹⁹ I use the term “ritual substitute” metaphorically here, but I argue in chapter 3 that temple inventories in fact do serve as an acceptable sacred substitute for dedications in a cult context.

²⁰ See Murray (1987/2001: 22–23) on the general lack of a tradition of genealogy in Greece; also West (1991), who argues that Herodotus fabricated the entire episode.

²¹ Of which much has been made already, especially in reference to the word *ἀπόδειξις*, by many including but not limited to those given by Asheri (2007:72 ad loc.), to whose list I would add especially Bakker (2002).

Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησέος ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλέα γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

This is the display of inquiry of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, so that neither the events of men become effaced in time, nor great and wondrous deeds, some done by Greeks and others by non-Greeks, become unspoken of, nor above all the causes for which they fought against one another.

This represents the methodology and the product of examining the physical and representing it with the verbal, a process with both innovative and inherited qualities—but not from other ‘historians.’ On the one hand it recalls epic systems of using lists to represent object collections like those we have seen in the last chapter. On the other, though, it foreshadows the events, deeds, and physical wealth that Herodotus will collect in words as the work progresses.²² The objects of this accounting, τὰ γενόμενα, could, as has been noted, be just about anything.²³ But it is ἀπόδεξις that saves them from effacement, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται. If ἐξίτηλος can refer to erased inscriptions, as it seems it at least eventually did,²⁴ then the ἀπόδεξις emerges as a grand verbal catalogue, an inventory, of all the discrete goings-on of Herodotus’ world, each one an entry to be accounted.²⁵

²² See Immerwahr (1960) especially pages 264–266.

²³ Bakker (2002)

²⁴ As suggested by Pollux (*Onomastikon* 149–150) of old inscribed words:

Γράμματα ἐν στήλαις ἐγγεγραμμένα, ἐγκεχαραγμένα, ἐγκεκολαμμένα, ἐνσεσημασμένα, ἐντετυπωμένα, ἐγκείμενα, ἐναποκείμενα ἐγκατακείμενα, ἐμπεποιημένα, ἐνειργασμένα, ἐνόνητα, ἐγγεγλυμμένα. [...] τὰ δ' ὑπόγεια, ἀφανῆ, ἄδηλα, τὰ δὲ χρόνια, ἀρχαῖα παναρχαῖα, παλαιὰ παμπάλαια, ἄσημα, ἀσαφῆ, συγκεχυμένα, ἀμυδρά, ἀμαυρά, ἐξίτηλα, ἀθέατα, δυσθέατα, δύσγνωστα ἄγνωστα, δυσγνώριστα ἀγνώριστα, ἀτέκμαρτα, δυσόρατα ἀνόρατα ἀδιόρατα, κατερρηκτότα ἐξερρηκτότα διερρηκτότα, δυσσύμβολα ἀξύμβολα, δυσεῖκαστα, ὑποπτα ἀνύποπτα.

²⁵ Because this project concerns the use of a small sub-genre (the catalogue) more than the reclassification of a large one (history), I do not necessarily intend to press this reading much further. We might add, though, that in this reading οἱ λόγιοι, who come up in the following section and with whom Herodotus arguably aligns himself (see Luraghi (2006), Nagy (1987)

This idea emerges more clearly in the context of other examples of ἀπόδειξις as applied to situations that are superficially quite distinct from this one. In his description of the deeds of the Egyptian kings Herodotus includes two examples of the root, one noun and one verb (2.101):

Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων, οὐ γὰρ ἔλεγον οὐδεμίαν ἔργων
ἀπόδειξιν, κατ' οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητος, πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐσχάτου
αὐτῶν Μοίριος· τοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μνημόσυνα τοῦ
Ἡφαίστου τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τετραμμένα προπύλαια,
λίμνην τε ὀρύξαι, τῆς ἢ περίοδος ὅσων ἐστὶ σταδίων ὕστερον
δηλώσω, πυραμίδας τε ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομήσαι, τῶν τοῦ μεγάθεος
πέρι ὁμοῦ αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ ἐπιμνήσομαι. Τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα
ἀποδέξασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδένα οὐδέν.

But as to the other kings, because they did not state any ἀπόδειξις of their deeds, none is particularly outstanding besides one towards the end, Moiris. This one, as the record shows, built the gates of the Hephaestus temple facing north, and the harbor, the measurements of whose perimeter I shall mention later, and built the pyramids on it, whose size I shall recount to be about the same as that harbor. This one made a display of so many deeds, but none of the others made any.

When Herodotus says that Moiris “made a display of so many things,” I would argue that he is speaking not of the physical buildings but must rather be referring to a verbal or written account of them, as must be the meaning of ἀπόδειξις at the start of the passage. It may denote something very formal, such as a boasting inscription of the type common among Egyptian and near Eastern kings, or merely an account such as that given to Herodotus by the priests. Ones from other kings no longer exist and the priests thus cannot relate their deeds to him. Again from an initial physical show or display ἀποδείκνυμι takes on a specialized meaning, still with the sense of a visual display, but in words, as a boasting text would. (This semantic range seems particularly fitting in the case of a monumental inscription, the kind of text that makes an iconic as well as a verbal impact on a viewer or reader.) The change entails a

and (1994), act truly as chroniclers, reckoners, makers of λογίσματα. (cf., though, Luraghi (2009)). This interpretation also sheds light on Plutarch’s label for Herodotus as a “collector of men’s calamities,” Mal. Hdt. 855 d4–6: ὁ δὲ παρενθήκην λόγου τὸ βλασφημεῖν καὶ ψέγειν ποιούμενος ἔοικεν εἰς τὴν τραγικὴν ἐμπίπτειν κατάραν, θνητῶν ἐκλέγων τὰς συμφοράς.

metaphoric leap on the part of the user: whereas one can quite literally make an ἀπόδεξις of a physical collection of goods, there must be a general faith in the authority of inscriptions or words for these to serve as ‘displays’ of wealth and in turn for ἀπόδεξις to refer to them.²⁶

But ἀποδείκνυμι does not just mean show in words of any kind. As we see in the passage above, it entails a *listing* of things. For someone in the possession of a collection of goods or impressive works, to display them is to present a catalogue of them, and to catalogue them is to display them. Once the semantic range of ἀποδείκνυμι has begun to allow for this less physical sense “display a collection in words,” it can extend from this context to a verbal display of the non-list variety, but not in isolation in Herodotus: for this reason we see that use accompanied by a form of λέγω or γνώμην, whereas ἀποδείκνυμι ‘catalogue’ can stand alone.

Approximately concurrent with the semantic shift of ἀποδείκνυμι in Greek to mean the figurative display of a collection—a shift which has already happened by Herodotus’ time—is the appearance of written inventories in the archaeological record. This surely is no coincidence, and these inventories are the subject of the next chapter; for the moment, though, I turn to how Herodotus makes and uses his own inventories.

F R A M E · N A M E · C O N T A I N

Herodotus alerts the reader to his devices when he includes lists, often containing them between a heading and concluding tail, or at the least one of the two. References to the beginning and the end of a series appear throughout and usually take the form of a demonstrative pronoun or other deictic element. It is not enough simply to allow an enumeration to speak for itself; stylistics, or perhaps even genre, seems to dictate that it be both introduced and acknowledged afterward.

The tendency must be related to the fact that, due to their necessary containment, lists can be referred to in abbreviated form by their first and last elements, as in a passage discussed above, 2.144.2:

Τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας οἰκέοντας ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ
τούτων αἰεὶ ἓνα τὸν κρατέοντα εἶναι. Ὑστατον δὲ αὐτῆς
βασιλεῦσαι Ἔρωρον τὸν Ὀσίριος παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἑλληνες

²⁶ This is one manifestation of ‘material engagement’ of a symbolic sort, as outlined, e.g., by Renfrew (2004).

ὀνομάζουσι·

But in the time before these men they said that gods were the rulers in Egypt, not mingling with men, and that of these always one had power at a time; and the last of them who was king over Egypt was Oros the son of Osiris, whom the Hellenes call Apollo. (transl. Macaulay)

Perhaps the desire to frame the list derives from its inevitable condition as already contained in brackets. The technique of setting the whole thing off with pronouns, though, of course also calls attention to the content in the middle, much as a ring composition can bound a detachable segment in Homeric verse, as I have discussed in the last chapter. Herodotus' inclusion of narrative boundaries for lists not only reveals their function as discrete set pieces within the narrative but also suggests that he treats the contents of the lists as a verbal collection, containable in something approaching a material way. Just as a physical group of items can have a distinct boundary, so too can a list: verbal reference points, not spatial ones, create the effect.²⁷

Thus often Herodotus begins and ends a list formulaically: 'these are the X' [list of X] 'these are the X.' One could dismiss this kind of presentation as a mere practicality, for surely a reader or listener might forget after a long series what Herodotus had been describing. And though many paragraphs have recognizable beginnings and ends, listed elements have particularly marked ones, as at 1.101.1, of the Medean tribes:

Ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοσάδε γένεα· Βοῦσαι, Παρητακηνοί, Στρού-
χατες, Ἀριζαντοί, Βούδιοι, Μάγοι. Γένεα μὲν δὴ Μήδων ἔστι
τοσάδε.

And there are this many tribes of the Medes: the Bousai,
Paretakenoi, Strouchates, Arizantoi, Boudioi, Magoi. This many
are the tribes of the Medes.

The list is so short that clearly no one would need reminding of its content, yet

²⁷ This framing is not specific to object lists or inventories alone: Herodotus often introduces and concludes sections such as descriptions. This general tendency accords with the idea, presented above, that the entire work constitutes a grand list, *ἀπόδεξις*, of events and deeds and people and places.

formulaics and the need for a contained set of elements require both a head and a tail. Among the many permutations of this feature, most have a more consistent ‘tail’ that often includes an apparently backward-looking μέν.²⁸

A similar albeit varied structure appears, perhaps predictably, in the accounts of Croesus’ offerings to Delphi. The description 1.50–52 (which is resumed at 1.92), the first instance of an extended catalogue of objects in the *Histories*, begins (1.50.1):

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλησι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἰλάσκειτο.

After this, (Croesus) made an effort to propitiate the god in Delphi with great offerings.

Though the introduction is perhaps unremarkable at the outset, it signals that an expansion might follow in its fronting of the word for the sacrifices, *θυσίησι*, and in fact the list of gifts follows, with a few descriptive elements, but mainly in paratactic style, for two chapters (1.50–52). As the final bracket to the list Herodotus summarizes (1.53.1):

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε·

These things he sent to Delphi.

The catalogue section itself clearly sounds like an actual treasury record, whose specifics I will discuss further in chapter 3.²⁹ Yet the final bracketing statement does not feature in extant inscribed inventories of the fifth century; they tend to have introductory material without concluding statements at the end.³⁰ Instead, the style

²⁸ Probably most easily analyzed as having a resumptive force to begin the next section, thus “so much for the tribes of the Medes, now (δέ) onto ...” But we should not, I think, disregard its reflection of the opening list bracket as well.

²⁹ The more direct problem of whether it in fact derives from some actual record is in some senses moot here, for my point remains that Herodotus uses a documentary *format* as opposed to a *source*. For attempts to disentangle that fraught question see among others Fehling (1989) and West (1985) (with Pritchett (1993)).

³⁰ Of course most extant inventories are now incomplete, but from the older examples it seems clear that they merely finish the list of goods and weights before moving onto the next year, e.g. in *IG I³ 292–295*, the earliest records from the Pronaos. These documents begin each year’s entry *τάδε*, followed by some permutation of *παρέδοσαν* and the treasurers as subjects. The reconstruction of the formula at the start of each entry can be deemed secure from such extant fifth century examples as those from the inventories of the Hekatompedon, as *IG I³ 325–*

parallels Homeric lists like Agamemnon's propitiatory gifts for Achilles, each iteration of which (first by Agamemnon as told to Nestor, then by Odysseus to Achilles himself) includes both a head and tail, as at 9.120-121 (first instance):

ἄψ' ἐθέλω ἀρέσαι δόμενά τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα.
ὕμῃν δ' ἐν πάντεσσι περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνομήνω

I want to please him and give him boundless recompense. And I
will name among you all the famed gifts.

Once the embassy has found Achilles, Odysseus gives this version of the introduction before repeating the offer, at 9.262-263:

εἰ δὲ σὺ μὲν μευ ἄκουσον, ἐγὼ δέ κε τοι καταλέξω
ὅσά τοι ἐν κλισίῃσιν ὑπέσχετο δῶρ' Ἀγαμέμνων·

If you'd just listen to me, I'll catalogue for you
all the gifts Agamemnon promised you in his tent.

I have discussed Odysseus' awareness of the fact that he is presenting a copied list, a facsimile of the original catalogue (itself at a remove from its physical contents) made by Agamemnon, in connection with the semantic shades of the verbs *ὀνομήνω* and *καταλέγω*. Here, though, I aim to highlight the similarity in function of these two headings, despite their clear differences of expression; each in its own context must alert the audience that a catalogue will follow, just like Herodotus' preface to Croesus' gifts to Delphi. Moreover, the capping elements of the Homeric lists are quite close to Herodotus' *ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε*, the first from Agamemnon himself, then as told by Odysseus:

ταῦτά κέ οἱ τελέσαιμι μεταλήξαντι χόλοιο. (9.157)
ταῦτά κέ τοι τελέσειε μεταλήξαντι χόλοιο. (9.299)
These things I would fulfill for him if he'd leave his anger.
These things he would fulfill for you if you'd leave your anger.

Whereas the heading is variable, the concluding bracket around the list appears much

332. The point, to which I will return in detail in chapter 3 on the inscriptions, is that the end of the stone acts as the end-frame for the list, and further specification would be unnecessary.

more fixed: it is important that a demonstrative refer to the entire collection as antecedent to mark the end of the catalogue. This kind of deixis is quite unnecessary on a stone inventory; the demonstrative is implicit and replaced, so to speak, by the physicality of the medium on which the list is written. Herodotus, then, inasmuch as his work relied on some degree of aural transmission and would at any rate not have had a separated page for a catalogue alone, employs Homeric bracketing techniques to mark off the list as a separate entity and a discrete collection unto itself. We need not label this as a peculiarly ‘oral’ feature so much as one of a continuous and perishable text, written or not, in contradistinction to one on a discrete stone.³¹

Compare to this section the descriptions of the dedications Amasis sent to Greece. Again the list is bracketed as if it might be a stand-alone piece (2.182):

Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ὁ Ἄμασις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθηναίης καὶ εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ γραφῆ εἰκασμένην, τοῦτο δὲ τῆ ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἀθηναίῃ δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθινα καὶ θώρηκα λίνεον ἀξιοθέητον, τοῦτο δ’ ἐς Σάμον τῆ Ἥρῃ εἰκόνας ἑωυτοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αἱ ἐν τῷ νηῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἰδρύατο ἔτι καὶ τὸ μέχρις ἐμέο, ὅπισθε τῶν θυρέων. Ἐς μὲν νυν Σάμον ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίην τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, ἐς δὲ Λίνδον ξεινίης μὲν οὐδεμιῆς εἶνεκεν, ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἶρόν τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς τοῦ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ἰδρύσασθαι, προσσχούσας ὅτε ἀπεδίδρησκον τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ἄμασις.

³¹ By this I do not mean to deny the importance of the oral-written debate for Herodotus but to show that it is largely irrelevant to our understanding of the listing subgenre. As an author undoubtedly in contact with both oral and written texts, Herodotus employs features of each (and the assumption that all Greeks of the late archaic and classical periods had some kind of interaction with the written word shall persist throughout the entire dissertation). I insist, though, that how one chooses to group his work from this evidence has received sufficient scholarly attention and is not really at stake here. At the same time, the view I take will conflict in some ways with implications such as those of Murray (1987, reprinted 2001) when he states that “the few [lists] that survive in city archives...and temple shrines...all postdate the introduction of writing, and were anyway not widely disseminated until the generation after Herodotus” (23, see also 36–37). At issue for me, however, is not so much what predates what in some clear linear progression—for a more web-like literary world seems to have existed for Herodotus—as whether it is possible to trace the outlines of a fairly cohesive subgenre of inventory-making that cuts across the oral-written divide.

Amases dedicated offerings in Hellas; first a gilded statue of Athena and an image of his own likeness in painting, then to the temple of Athena at Lindos two stone statues and a linen corslet worthy being seen; then at Samos to Hera a pair of images of himself made out of wood, which were standing in the great temple even up to my own time, behind the doors. Now, at Samos he made dedications because of the guest-friendship between himself and Polycrates the son of Aeaces, but at Lindos on account of friendship with no one, but because the daughters of Danaus are said to have founded the temple of Athena at Lindos when they arrived on land there in their flight from the sons of Aegyptus. These things Amasis dedicated.

The concluding sentence recapitulates both the introductory clause and, with *ταῦτα*, the series of demonstratives *τοῦτο μὲν... τοῦτο δέ... τοῦτο δέ*. This deictic language, along with such details as *ὄπισθε τῶν θυρέων*, has the effect of a virtual display, approximating an autopsy of these items for the audience in words. In fact, this kind of spatial situating also occurs fairly frequently in epigraphic inventories, which commonly include such locative phrases as *ἐμ πλαισίῳ* “in the box,” or *περὶ τῷ ἔδει*, “by/on the statue.” Scholars interpreting these words speculate widely about the placement and storage practices for dedications in sanctuaries; I suspect that minute practicalities aside, spatial cues serve both in Herodotus’ text and in inscriptions to align the lists’ contents as closely as possible with the collections they describe. Moreover, that tendency only grows stronger as the verbal medium supersedes the physical collection, and written records and archives become both increasingly authoritative and ever more abstracted from the contents they represent. Herodotus, although he presents a collection of goods that never stood together physically, can nonetheless perform a kind of verbal curatorship to amass them in text. It seems imperative that the text realize this material quality formally; thus the last sentence of the passage forms a precise parallel to Croesus’ *ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε* at 1.52. In leading up to that ending, however, Herodotus has characteristically interpolated into the list tangential anecdotes about the various dedications to the point that the modern reader might beg within a catalogue that some translators even omit *ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέξθηκε ὁ Ἄμασις*, presumably since it seems to create a *non sequitur*. It attests to the established formulaics of the list that the Greek includes this bracketing sentence nevertheless.

A similar phenomenon occurs in the description of Scythian burial practice and

again reveals that the end-bracket is essential, even to the point that logic is compromised (4.71):

Ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντας περιέλθωσι τὸν νέκυν κομίζοντες, ἐν Γέρροισι ἔσχατα κατοικημένοισιν εἰσι τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐν τῆσι ταφῆσι. Καὶ ἔπειτα, ἐπεὰν θέωσι τὸν νέκυν ἐν τῆσι θήκησι ἐπὶ στιβάδος, παραπήξαντες αἰχμὰς ἔθεν καὶ ἔθεν τοῦ νεκροῦ ξύλα ὑπερτείνουσι καὶ ἔπειτα ῥίψι καταστεγάζουσι, ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ εὐρυχωρίῃ τῆς θήκης τῶν παλλακέων τε μίαν ἀποπνίξαντες θάπτουσι καὶ τὸν οἰνοχόον καὶ μάγειρον καὶ ἵπποκόμον καὶ διήκονον καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρον καὶ ἵππους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας· ἀργύρω δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρέωνται·

...and when they have gone round to all conveying the corpse, then they are in the land of the Gerrians, who have their settlements furthest away of all the nations over whom they rule, and they have reached the spot where the burial place is. After that, having placed the corpse in the tomb upon a bed of leaves, they stick spears along on this side and that of the corpse and stretch pieces of wood over them, and then they cover the place in with matting. Then they strangle and bury in the remaining space of the tomb one of the king's mistresses, his cup-bearer, his cook, his horse-keeper, his attendant, and his bearer of messages, and also horses, and a first portion of all things else, and cups of gold; for silver they do not use at all, nor yet bronze. (trans. Macaulay)

What begins as part of a sentence soon morphs into a verbal collection of what is in the tomb. This becomes clear as the original sense of strangling, properly stemming from ἀποπνίξαντες, must peter out by the time we reach the horses and certainly the final completely inanimate treasures, which no one can argue would be subject to strangulation. Some translations do not render this passage in its Greek order but move the participle to a more logical location and employ *variatio*, thus Sélincourt *ad loc.*:

...various members of the king's household are buried beside him: one of his concubines, his butler, his cook, his groom, his steward, and his chamberlain—all of them strangled. Horses are buried too, and gold cups (the Scythians do not use silver or bronze), and a

selection of his other treasures.

While the solution may give better English readability, it disposes of the catalogue altogether in favor of increased hypotaxis. The Greek passage, though, reveals that the list is not just a feature of Herodotean parataxis but also a set piece and embodiment of the collection.³² It is of the utmost importance to the authenticity of Herodotus' narrative, and to the impressiveness of the kings' burial habits, that Herodotus list and not merely mention the items that go into the tomb. Selincourt's text glosses over this generic specificity in favor of better logic (i.e. since presumably gold cups were not strangled); yet the autonomous, framed, and thus modular list remains unbroken for a reason.

A more extended example occurs at the start of the catalogue of the rivers in Scythia, which Herodotus introduces as follows:

“Ὅσοι δὲ ὀνομαστοὶ τέ εἰσι αὐτῶν καὶ προσπλωτοὶ ἀπὸ
θαλάσσης, τούτους ὀνομανέω· Ἴστρος μὲν πεντάστομος, μετὰ δὲ
Τύρης τε καὶ Ὑπανίς καὶ Βορυσθένης καὶ Παντικάπης καὶ
Ἵπάκυρις καὶ Γέρρος καὶ Τάναϊς...

And however many of (the Scythian rivers) are nameable and accessible by sea, these I will name: first the five-mouthed Ister, then the Tyre and the Hypanis and the Borysthenes and Pantikapēs and Hypakyrīs and Gerros and Tanais...

Instead of a simple “these are the rivers of Scythia,” Herodotus states that he shall give all of the ones that are ὀνομαστοί. We have discussed the semantics of naming, ὀνομήνω, and its application to listmaking in epic. Though Herodotus uses ἀποδείκνυμι, apparently innovatively, to refer to lists, Homeric semantics still obtain to some extent too. Elsewhere, οὐκ + ὀνομαστός has referred to things possible to name, but untellable for some reason: as in the Hesiodic catalogue of women (Most fragment 31= fragment 33a 17-19 Merkelbach-West), of Neleus' son Periclymenos:³³

εἶχε δὲ δῶρα παντοῖ·
οὐκ ὀνομαστά, τά μιν καὶ ἔπειτα δόλωσε βιοιυλιῆι Ἀθηναίης·

³² On parataxis in Herodotus see especially Immerwahr (1966).

³³ Or at *Theogony* 147-149 of the unnameably strong hundred-handed children: ἄλλοι δ' αὖ Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἐξεγένοντο | τρεῖς παῖδες μεγάλοι <τε> καὶ ὄβριμοι, οὐκ ὀνομαστοί, | Κόττος τε Βριάρεώς τε Γύγης θ', ὑπερήφανα τέκνα. This passage is remarkable for listing precisely what it says can or should not be.

He had gifts of so many types as to be unnamable, and they eventually caught him up by Athena's devising...

Understood in the context of the archaic semantics, Herodotus in saying certain Scythian rivers are *ὀνομαστοί*; by then listing those that are, he performs an act of counting, too. In the next section I examine further ways of counting.

COLLECT AND COUNT (A VISUAL LIST)

We have seen so far that Herodotus uses lists to showcase objects as a kind of evidence and furthermore frames these lists so as to make them into contained collections. Of the subsets of listmaking outlined in the introduction, these two tendencies address collecting, containing, and naming. I observed then that the fourth subset, counting, often becomes subsumed under naming for rhetorical and practical reasons, and I focused on the genealogy of priests in Book 2 as an example. Yet that same passage also addresses counting proper, for Herodotus makes a series of calculations based on the 341 generations of Egyptian men in the section before that (2.142). The generations of priests have a physical manifestation as a collection of statues whose names are important, but another chapter of the *Histories* presents a similar yet anonymous counting moment. The story of the Scythians' bronze krater comprises the counting of an entire population of men and then its collection and representation through a representative display (4.81.1-4.82.1):

Πλήθος δὲ τὸ Σκυθέων οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγενόμην ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι,
ἀλλὰ διαφόρους λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἤκουον· καὶ γὰρ
κάρτα πολλοὺς εἶναι σφεας καὶ ὀλίγους ὡς Σκύθας εἶναι.
Τοσόνδε μέντοι ἀπέφαινον μοι ἐς ὄψιν. Ἔστι μεταξὺ
Βορυσθένεός τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑπάνιος χῶρος, οὐνομα δὲ οἷ ἔστι
Ἐξαμπαῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον,
φάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνην ὕδατος πικροῦ εἶναι ἀπ' ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ
ἀπορρέον τὸν Ὑπανὶν ἄποτον ποιέειν. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χῶρῳ
κεῖται χαλκήιον, μεγάθει καὶ ἔξαπλήσιον τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ
Πόντου κρητῆρος, τὸν Πausanίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἀνέθηκε· ὃς δὲ
μὴ εἶδέ κω τοῦτον, ὧδε δηλώσω· ἑξακοσίους ἀμφορέας εὐπετέως
χωρεῖ τὸ ἐν Σκύθησι χαλκήιον, πάχος δὲ τὸ Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο

χαλκήϊόν ἐστι δακτύλων ἕξ. Τοῦτο ὧν ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀπὸ ἀρδίων γενέσθαι. Βουλόμενον γὰρ τὸν σφέτερον βασιλέα, τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Ἀριάνταν, βουλόμενον τοῦτον εἰδέναι τὸ πλῆθος τὸ Σκυθέων κελεύειν μὲν πάντας Σκύθας ἄρδιν ἕκαστον μίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴστου κομίσει· ὃς δ' ἂν μὴ κομίση, θάνατον ἀπέειλε. Κομισθῆναί τε δὴ χρῆμα πολλὸν ἀρδίων καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἕξ αὐτέων μνημόσυνον ποιήσαντι λιπέσθαι· ἐκ τουτέων δέ μιν τὸ χαλκήϊον ποιῆσαι τοῦτο καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν Ἐξαμπαῖον τοῦτον. Ταῦτα δὴ περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους τοῦ Σκυθέων ἤκουον. Θωμάσια δὲ ἡ χώρα αὕτη οὐκ ἔχει, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι ποταμούς τε πολλῶν μεγίστους καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλείστους.

How many the Scythians are I was not able to ascertain precisely, but I heard various reports of the number: for reports say both that they are very many in number and also that they are few, at least as regards the true Scythians. Thus far however they gave me evidence of my own eyesight: there is between the river Borysthenes and the Hypanis a place called Exampaeus, of which also I made mention somewhat before this, saying that there was in it a spring of bitter water, from which the water flows and makes the river Hypanis unfit to drink. In this place there is set a bronze bowl, in size at least six times as large as the mixing-bowl at the entrance of the Pontus, which Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus dedicated: and for him who has never seen that, I will make the matter clear by saying that the bowl in Scythia holds easily six hundred amphors, and the thickness of this Scythian bowl is six fingers. This then the natives of the place told me had been made of arrowheads: for their king, they said, whose name was Ariantas, wishing to know how many the Scythians were, ordered all the Scythians to bring one arrowhead, each from his own arrow, and whosoever should not bring one, he threatened with death. So a great multitude of arrowheads was brought, and he resolved to make of them a memorial and to leave it behind him: from these then, they said, he made this bronze bowl and dedicated it in this place Exampaeus. This is what I heard about the number of the Scythians. Now this land has no marvelous things except that it has rivers which are by far larger and more numerous than those of any other land. (transl. Macaulay)

The story stems from Herodotus' admission that although he has been unable to count for certain the population of the Scythians he can show a visual approximation (*δήλωσω*) based on the vastness of the krater that king Ariantas had forged from a collection of arrowheads, one from each Scythian. Though no verbal list of men is associated with the collection, the device of representing each as an inanimate physical object is similar in structure and function to the representative statues of the Egyptian priests. The Scythians, though, go one step further in displaying and containing this visual list, for they not only amass the arrowheads but also physically meld them into a unified whole.³⁴

It is the krater, and not the population it represents, that takes on value for those who see and hear about it from Herodotus.³⁵ The melded result and the fact that it is meant to give some approximation of the population speaks also to a different kind of reckoning than one might expect: Herodotus' Scythians seem to relate to a mass quantity rather than one that can be tallied. The terms *πλήθος* and *ἀριθμός* exemplify the difference, as the latter refers to a precise count and the former simply to a general, possibly nebulous quantity, a "multiplicity."³⁶ Thus Herodotus notes that he was unable to learn the *πλήθος* precisely by inquiry (*ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι*), because he kept getting reports of different *ἀριθμοί*. As the story progresses, however, we learn that he was able to learn something of the *πλήθος* via autopsy and the story behind the krater: ταῦτα δὴ περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Σκυθέων ἤκουον. Thus while he begins the

³⁴ The krater is a monument in the sense that Immerwahr identified for *ἔργον* (1960: 266-267), but not of the fame of a ruler so much as of the quantity, *πλήθος*, of his men. Great numbers are in themselves of course worthy of wonder too, as the end of the passage suggests in highlighting the number and size of the rivers in the region, as opposed any particular quality they possess.

³⁵ Dewald (1993:56) gives the krater as the opening example of "the vivid but highly ambiguous relationship between material, tangible things and their meanings within the larger narrative" she identifies in Herodotus. She goes on to conclude that in general "Herodotus' willingness to let a multivalent object carry the weight of an important passage [is] frustrating, because as readers we want Herodotus to tell us not just what happened but what it meant—or at least what he thinks it means...Herodotus is more interested in pointing to objects that he thinks important and interesting than in giving them a clear and fixed signification that makes it possible for us to know that we are understanding them correctly" (68).

³⁶ Klein (1968), especially 46-52. Aristotle gives the relationship between the two (*Metaphysics* I 1057a 2-5): τὸ δὲ πλήθος οἶον γένος ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. "The *πλήθος* is, so to speak, the stock of the *ἀριθμός*."

passage uncomfortable with impressionistic Scythian counting, he ends up presenting their object-based system as evidence comprehensible to a Greek audience.

In fact, non-Greek counting methods appear elsewhere as a preoccupation for Herodotus. Besides not involving any arithmetic, the krater asserts the supremacy of the object-based representation from its very inception. After all, Ariantas' threat of death to those men who fail to provide an arrowhead cunningly tweaks the amount of people to fit the method of reckoning instead of finding a way to account for how many there actually are. The story of the Persian Oroetes' book-cooking deception of Polycrates presents a similar instance of doctored record-keeping. In an effort to lure him to his death, Oroetes promises Polycrates he has funds at his disposal that the two can share (3.122-123):

Εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστέεις τὰ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, πέμψον ὅστις τοι πιστότατος τυγχάνει ἐών, τῷ ἐγὼ ἀποδέξω.» Ταῦτα ἀκούσας [ὁ] Πολυκράτης ἤσθη τε καὶ ἐβούλετο· καὶ κως ἰμείρετο 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 Ἑραιον. Ὁ δὲ Ὀροίτης μαθὼν τὸν κατάσκοπον ἐόντα προσδόκιμον ἐποίηε τοιάδε· λάρνακας ὀκτὼ πληρώσας λίθων πλὴν κάρτα βραχέος τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ χεῖλεα, ἐπιπολῆς τῶν λίθων χρυσὸν ἐπέβαλε, καταδήσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας εἶχε ἐτοίμας. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος καὶ θεησάμενος ἀπήγγελλε τῷ Πολυκράτει.

“And if you do not believe what I say about the money, send someone, whoever happens to be most trusted by you, and to him I will show it.” Polycrates having heard this rejoiced, and was disposed to agree; and as he had a great desire, it seems, for wealth, he first sent Maiandrius the son of Maiandrius, a native of Samos who was his secretary, to see it: this man was the same who not long after these events dedicated all the ornaments of the men's chamber in the palace of Polycrates, ornaments well worth seeing, as an offering to the temple of Hera. Oroetes accordingly, having heard that the person sent to examine might be expected soon to come, did as follows, that is to say, he filled eight chests with stones except a small depth at the very top of each, and laid gold above

upon the stones; then he tied up the chests and kept them in readiness. So Maiandrius came and looked at them and brought back word to Polycrates. (trans. Macaulay, slightly modified)

Oroetes, knowing that a reliable account of his money will entice Polycrates to Sardis, appeals to the same principle of visual display-as-counting that the Scythian krater, and for that matter, the Egyptian priest statues do. Instead of reporting records or claiming some amount, he puts on a show which he allows Maiandrius to observe, knowing that making an ἀπόδειξις (τῷ ἐγὼ ἀποδέξω) will be authoritative and impressive.³⁷ Meanwhile, the seemingly tangential details about Maiandrius' later dedications to the Heraion emphasize that secretary's interest in prestige objects and thus suitability to the scouting task, though that very fact (and perhaps an implicit greed) contributes to Polycrates' destruction.

In all of these characters—the Egyptian priests, the Scythians, Polycrates—Herodotus highlights accounting practices that rely on the physical as opposed to the textual. Understanding the sum of what is in a collection of priests, of Scythians, or of gold depends on seeing some visual representation of the goods. In the latter two instances, however, we learn that these purely material ἀπόδειξεις are simply not to be trusted as accurate counts: the Scythian krater remains imprecise, and, worse, Oroetes' chests remain full of stones. I suggest that by telling these stories Herodotus implicitly endorses an alternative and better model of making counts—one based on verbal rather than physical display. This endorsement informs his presentation of such details as the Persian tribute (arguably from written sources) and also Oroetes' own death, which he casts as his comeuppance. In the episode (3.128), Oroetes meets his demise through the authority of the written word, for Darius sends a letter that impresses Oroetes' guards both in form and content, to the effect that they turn mutinous and kill him. Perhaps part of Polycrates' mistake, then, too was to trust the ἀπόδειξις without any real documentation—certainly he showed none of the caution Herodotus did about accepting the number of Scythians based on the size of the krater.

I N V E N T O R Y • T H E S A U R O S

We have seen in the Oroetes episode and in the description of the Scythian krater that Herodotus is aware of the function of material goods within the narrative,³⁸ and that

³⁷ For a reading of the narrative arc that operates through Oroetes' counterfeiting and Polycrates' failure to read it see Kurke (1999) 113-115.

³⁸ Dewald (1993) 56.

he works with some conservation of matter principle whereby he accounts for where precious metals ended up, as in the arrowheads-turned-krater. These moments, I suggested, present a contrast to more precise, arithmetic-based accounts of collected wealth. When he can, Herodotus makes an effort not just to call a man rich but to provide verbal proof as such, usually in the form of an inventory of objects. Thus we hear that Croesus, the most famously wealthy of Herodotean characters, dedicated not just a great number of things or a vast quantity of treasure to Delphi; rather, Herodotus provides an exhaustive list (1.50–52):³⁹

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μέγαλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἰλάσκετο· κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιθῶνας νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην κατέκαιε, ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοισι ἀνακτήσεσθαι, Λυδοῖσί τε πᾶσι προεῖπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τοῦτο ὃ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἑξατάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριτάλαιστα, ὕψος δὲ παλαιστιαιᾶ, ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. Ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἔλκουσιν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα· οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεῖτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηός, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοισι ἴδρυτο) καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον· ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον. Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε εἰς Δελφούς καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἅμα τοῖσι· κρητῆρας δύο μέγαθῃ μεγάλους, χρύσειον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσειος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι εἰς τὸν νηόν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ’ ἀριστερά· μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακαέντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσειος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν εἴνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δωδέκα μνέας, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηΐου τῆς γωνίης, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους· ἐπικίρνεται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανίοισι· φασι δὲ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι. Καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους

³⁹ In appearances, at least—the goal is verisimilitude and a plausible comprehensive feel, not necessarily absolute accuracy (cf. West (1983) 280).

τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οἱ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἑστᾶσι, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φάμενον εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγον· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστί, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον. Ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοισι ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἶδωλον χρύσειον τρίπηχυ, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. Πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε·

After this with great sacrifices he endeavored to win the favour of the god at Delphi: for of all the animals that are fit for sacrifice he offered three thousand of each kind, and he heaped up couches overlaid with gold and overlaid with silver, and cups of gold, and robes of purple, and tunics, making of them a great pyre, and this he burnt up, hoping by these means the more to win over the god to the side of the Lydians: and he proclaimed to all the Lydians that every one of them should make sacrifice with that which each man had. And when he had finished the sacrifice, he melted down a vast quantity of gold, and of it he wrought half-plinths making them six palms in length and three in breadth, and in height one palm; and their number was one hundred and seventeen. Of these four were of pure gold weighing two talents and a half each, and others of gold alloyed with silver weighing two talents. And he caused to be made also an image of a lion of pure gold weighing ten talents; which lion, when the temple of Delphi was being burnt down, fell from off the half-plinths, for upon these it was set, and is placed now in the treasury of the Corinthians, weighing six talents and a half, for three talents and a half were melted away from it. So Croesus having finished all these things sent them to Delphi, and with them these besides: two mixing bowls of great size, one of gold and the other of silver, of which the golden bowl was placed on the right hand as one enters the temple, and the silver on the left, but the places of these also were changed after the temple was burnt down, and the golden bowl is now placed in the treasury of the people of Clazomenae, weighing eight

and a half talents and twelve pounds over, while the silver one is placed in the corner of the vestibule and holds six hundred amphors (being filled with wine by the Delphians on the feast of the Theophania): this the people of Delphi say is the work of Theodoros the Samian, and, as I think, rightly, for it is evident to me that the workmanship is of no common kind: moreover Croesus sent four silver wine-jars, which stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, and two vessels for lustral water, one of gold and the other of silver, of which the gold one is inscribed "from the Lacedemonians," who say that it is their offering: therein however they do not speak rightly; for this also is from Croesus, but one of the Delphians wrote the inscription upon it, desiring to gratify the Lacedemonians; and his name I know but will not make mention of it. The boy through whose hand the water flows is from the Lacedemonians, but neither of the vessels for lustral water. And many other votive offerings Croesus sent with these, not specially distinguished, among which are certain castings of silver of a round shape, and also a golden figure of a woman three cubits high, which the Delphians say is a statue of the baker of Croesus. Moreover Croesus dedicated the ornaments from his wife's neck and her girdles. These are the things which he sent to Delphi. (transl. Macaulay)

The account amounts to a fairly spare piling up of all Croesus' treasure, complete with an end-bracket and descriptions of weights and measures. It is enhanced with short occasional asides, but it looks in structure and execution like a fifth-century Athenian-style inventory of the type I examine in the next chapter, whose basic elements include the name, dedicator, perhaps weight of the object, and any other relevant details such as inscriptions or embellishments. Often, too, *polis* inventories include details about the state of preservation and placement of the dedications in the temple or treasury. *Communis opinio* coupled with common sense holds that such details have practical purposes and allow for easier administration of funds and treasure. One perhaps cannot with absolute certainty deny that published *polis* inventories served some use other than symbolic display, as I shall discuss in further detail in the next chapter. Herodotus' inventory, by contrast, is intended explicitly for an audience with limited access to its physical contents: the first set of items were burned at the outset, and some of the others either moved or were lost altogether when the temple burned. In theory, though, these objects were all collected in one place, at least at a certain point, and Herodotus' description accords. He is careful, however, just as in the case of the Scythian metal, to account also for any discrepancies in the dedicated objects over the

years: thus he explains that the lion, once a full ten talents, now weighs in at six-and-a-half.⁴⁰ While this kind of detail may have some rhetorical merit, I suggest that it both stems from an older tradition of listmaking and prefigures the Athenian inventorying habit that arises in the middle of the fifth century, despite claims to their having “invented” the practice.⁴¹ We must conclude that Herodotus either has been in contact with these kinds of official documents, or that they form part of the same tradition that he continues.

In any event, the result remains that the list of objects in both the epic and political tradition functions as a replacement or outright surrogate for an actual collection. So where Croesus’ original set of dedications no longer exists, Herodotus can reconstruct it for us via the catalogue medium, much as a stone inventory could reproduce an old iteration of the contents of a temple for an Athenian. It is a snapshot of a collection at a particular moment, with footnotes as to the changes. In this way an inventory of objects takes on a material quality of its own, replacing physical prestige items. For this reason too it is essential that the list provide as physically detailed a record of the contents of a discrete collection as possible: this is evident in such spatial details as *ἐμ πλαισίῳ* that we will see in the next chapter. The inescapable perishability of treasure—as Herodotus well knows and as is a central conceit of his tale of Croesus—demands that some record of wealth besides the physical exist. Then, once the physical treasure collection becomes fragmented, melted, appropriated, lost, or stolen, the list persists not only as an acceptable substitute but also as a new original.⁴²

⁴⁰ Measurements such as these, which Herodotus could not have performed as a casual observer, suggest access to some kind of record, either written or from a knowledgeable informer, to which West alludes (1983: 280).

⁴¹ Hamilton (2000:1).

⁴² Moreover, if the contents were of no import, the list would not be necessary either. Compare this abridged catalogue (8.86):

Ἔχω μὲν νυν συχνῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξαι τῶν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλόντων, χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορος τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. Τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρα ἐδωρήθη πολλῇ.

I have it at my disposal to list the names of the of the many captains who captured the Greeks’ ships, but I will make use of none save Theomestor the son of Androdamos and Phylacus the son of Istiaeus, both Samians. I mention

This chapter has outlined several ways Herodotus interacts with lists. I first established a semantic and thematic connection between display and listmaking through the range of meanings expressed by *ἀποδείκνυμι*. Subsequently, the discussion turned to instances of verbal framing or ring composition as a way of containing and lending a material quality to a verbal collection, much as a stone text might. These points in turn led us to examine ways to count using visual display. Finally, the argument addressed two more formally recognizable inventories of dedicated treasures, specifically those of Croesus and Amasis, as both examples of these characteristics within the non-Greek world.

What, then, is at stake for Greek listmaking on the one hand and Herodotus on the other? First of all, we can observe in the *Histories* a new process and protocol for accounting for possessions. While other peoples have made inventories before, Herodotus introduces the Greek audience to the legitimate way of counting: through naming and illustrative listing, *ἀπόδειξις*. Though a somewhat similar process occurs in the Homeric poems, the objects there lack the cultural immediacy of those in Herodotus. The poet does not catalogue Priam's ransom or Agamemnon's offering for the audience because they need to be convinced of the lavishness of their contents, but does so rather out of formulaic protocol and attention to record keeping and memory practices of the legendary past. Herodotus, by contrast, acts as ambassador to an audience preoccupied with two key phenomena: the luxuriousness of the East, and the burgeoning prosperity of Athens. It is of vital importance that he provide both an accurate representation of what exists in the others' world, and a usable example for the Hellenes of how to count their own things.

At the most basic level, cataloguing the possessions, natural resources, or even practices of the enemy or object of conquest is a mode of taking ownership. So, for instance, Cortés famously reported the wonders he encountered upon arrival in what would become Mexico City. While Herodotus' aims may be more modest, he operates on a similar principle, namely that the first step in appropriating the riches of the barbarian is to collect them. Since he cannot amass them in the physical world, he must do so verbally. While this kind of representation is not exclusively or originally Greek, and indeed Herodotus seems to have had plenty of contact with foreign inventories, his own rhetorical practice, especially in cataloguing, draw on Homeric

them alone because Theomestor became king of Samos on account of his deed when the Persians rose up, and Phylacus was enrolled as a benefactor of the king and received much land as a gift.

epic, wisdom literature, and the discourses of medicine, science, and law.⁴³ By presenting things this way Herodotus succeeds in making two translations: the first of object into word, and the second of foreign into Greek—a rather clever turn. It is an act of cultural transference not unlike the one Croesus articulates when he tells Cyrus that his men are plundering a city that now belongs to him (1.88), yet of course by happy circumstance he might say: the objects he is inventorying for the Greeks are now their own.

That the first Athenian records of this kind begin to appear during the same time frame as Herodotus' composition of the *Histories*, then, should come as no surprise. A new influx of possessions inspires new ways of keeping records of them and coincides with archival technologies. In the next chapter, I turn to the published *παραδόσεις* of the Athenian *ταμίαι*, beginning with the earliest extant inventories from the 430s and examining their trajectory until the *polis* officials appear to have stopped making them at the end of the fourth century, “when they had nothing to hand over because at the last minute Demetrios had swiped the lot.”⁴⁴ In the intervening years, though, the tradition once manifest in literary evidence comes to its full, monumental expression in the archaeological record.

⁴³ Things generally in the domain of the canonical seven sages, themselves the elements of many a list and with a rich history of dedications, as at Delphi:

ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἀπόλλ-ωνι εἰς τὸν νεῶν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, γράψαντες ταῦτα
 ἃ δὴ πάντες ὑμνοῦσιν... (Plato *Protagoras* 343b1-3.)

For Herodotus' adoption of medical style (mainly lexical), in addition to the thematic 'links' between his and these texts, see Thomas (2000) 73 on gynecological recipes, which provide a good structural comparandum for these lists; Totelin (2009) deals with these texts afresh.

⁴⁴ Davies (1994) 202.

3

STONE · TREASURIES
STONE · TREASURIES
STONE · TREASURIES
STONE · TREASURIES
STONE · TREASURIES

Sometimes I would exercise my memory on my bedroom and, starting from a corner, make the round, noting every object I saw on the way. At first it was over in a minute or two. But each time I repeated the experience, it took a little longer. I made a point of visualizing every piece of furniture, and each article upon or in it, and then every detail of each article, and finally the details of the details, so to speak: a tiny dent or incrustation, or a chipped edge, and the exact grain and color of the woodwork. At the same time I forced myself to keep my inventory in mind from start to finish, in the right order and omitting no item. With the result that, after a few weeks, I could spend hours merely in listing the objects in my bedroom. I found that the more I thought, the more details, half-forgotten or mal-observed, floated up from my memory. There seemed no end to them.

Albert Camus, *The Stranger* (1942)

The previous chapters have dealt with lists that, even as they describe and perhaps also substitute for the material and physical, come to us in purely verbal form. In this chapter, I examine the stone publication of inventories in the Greek world, a tradition whose evidence we first see in fifth-century Athens but which is taken up by other cities in and after the Classical period.¹ As we will see, the epigraphic medium imparts

¹ By “published” and “publication” I intend the technical epigraphic sense “made public,” which describes documents etched on a lasting medium (stone, bronze, perhaps wood) and put

a special character to the list, whereby its identity vacillates between the material (the collection of objects) and the verbal (the list of them) and the material again (the inscription). The stone itself along with its inalienable text bring the material qualities we have observed in Homeric and Herodotean lists into full relief, reifying—so to speak—words that already play the parts of things.

N A M E A N D D I S P L A Y

In Homer, we have seen that the poetics of list-making ally closely with semantics surrounding counting and naming. The epic list, I argued, is introduced with vocabulary such as *ὀνομαίνω* and *καταλέγω* because it counts via reiterative naming. On the other hand, Herodotus' listing relates to the compilation and display of information, as *ἀπόδειξις*. A reader familiar with inscriptions from the Greek world will have perhaps anticipated some of the ways in which these rhetorical nuances emerge in the epigraphic record. Classical Athens, it seems, was full of examples comprising the very topics outlined in the last two chapters: lists of names on display. The polis erected stelae commemorating war dead, listing names at the grave at Marathon and the cenotaph in Athens. Not only did these texts combine both poetry and prose; they also stood for their physical counterparts—the fallen men—in a most explicit way.

The accounting of names was of course not limited to casualties: the Athenian archon list, despite its poor state of preservation, suggests a continued attention to counting-by-naming. In conjunction with the well-documented use of archons' names for dating, the correlation between onomastics and numeration becomes all the more apparent. Furthermore, other regions of the Greek world engaged in similar displays of officials' names, much as Herodotus' Egyptian priests: we might compare the Milesian list of *stephanophoroi*, updated annually.

Finally, the Athenian tribute lists stand as perhaps the most conspicuous of all these examples and the ones most superficially close to what one encounters in Herodotus and, to a lesser degree, Homer. These tallies of names and quotas, begun as early as 454 BC, not only illustrate the continued importance of cataloguing both names and precious items in one cohesive text, but also reveal the degree to which such documents were engineered for public consumption. Among them the largest inscribed piece of marble ever quarried in Athens, the tribute lists on prominent

on display for the community to see. Records not copied and displayed in this way but rather kept in an archive or available only for official consultation do not fall into the same category.

display on the Acropolis seems to have been all but impossible for most residents and visitors to ignore. The fact that they would have included funds long gone from the polis economy also point to the rising supremacy of text—and monumental text-object—over physical goods.

To be sure, all these examples relate intimately to the discussion presented thus far; yet, both the necessary limitations of the dissertation and the fact that they have already been the subjects of considerable study provide reason to examine a less-common genre of inscription: the inventory. In this chapter, therefore, I shall focus on the many accounts of the trinkets, heirlooms, statues, and bric-a-brac that filled the sanctuaries and temples of the Greek world. These lists of objects, while they may appear trifling in isolation, together account for a significant portion of sacred administrative attention and communication with the public. Let us examine them in further detail.

ENTER THE INVENTORY

The first evidence of epigraphic inventories comes from the Acropolis at Athens, and the practice of producing these monumental stone documents seems to have begun there sometime in the mid-fifth century.² The earliest extant inventory, *IG I³ 292*, comes from the *pronaos* (eastern portico) of the Parthenon, dated by archon to 434 BC. From at least this time on, the treasurers of Athena continued to keep and publish yearly inventories of the treasures stored in the buildings on the Acropolis until the practice ended, for reasons not altogether obvious.³ In addition to the treasuries of Athena and the Other Gods, a large body of stone inventories from the Athenian Asklepieion survives documenting the dedications made to Asklepios. In the Hellenistic period, sanctuaries outside Athens also produced similar texts, and in addition to Delos, Brauron and Eleusis, lists of offerings are preserved from Didyma, Miletus, Samos, Ilion, Halicarnassus, and Perge and several other sites.⁴ The texts from Didyma are especially notable, because, unlike most of the other texts, they seem to have their own style and are not modeled after the Athenian examples. Evidence such as this suggests that some regions published regular inventory texts independently of

² This date takes into account the likelihood that there was some kind of temporary record-keeping system in place before our evidence of the first publicly-displayed inventories.

³ Davies (1994: 202) alludes to the fact that there was nothing left to account for; Lewis (1988:304–305) suggests on the basis of the late inventory texts where crowns have been erased that the system stops following Demetrius' seizure of treasure in 304/303.

⁴ See Dignas (2002: 236n12) for relevant bibliography.

Athens, and it is likely that Didyma was not the only one. In fact, in recent years further lists have emerged from Argos and Mylasa. While the evidence is scattered and the product of accidental preservation, scholarly consensus maintains that the officials in most Greek sanctuaries on the mainland and in Asia Minor likely engaged in some form of temporary record-keeping that involved compiling the accumulated dedications in writing. It appears, however, that far fewer areas chose to publish and display these documents. The motivations behind their doing so have raised much curiosity and will occupy our subsequent discussion below.

Because these texts do not always enter the discourse of non-epigraphic scholars, and receive limited attention even among epigraphers, I will begin with a brief definition of what texts count as inventories for the purposes of this study, and what remains of them exist. As to the first matter, the scholarly world regularly designates as an inventory any of three basic types of list-inscription. These typologies are based on the varying prescripts to the extant lists and, by extension, our perceived nuances of their administrative purposes. They correspond to three different official actions: *παράδοσις*, by far the most common, a text that records the handover of treasure from one set of officials to the next; *ἐξέτασμος*, which designates items that received a special, off-schedule inspection for some reason or other, and *καθαίρεσις*, a record of items destroyed or removed from the treasury. These types have been to some extent defined by the stones themselves, which make statements about their contents and contexts. All three relate to goods stored in a precinct and often in an explicitly-designated architectural space. Harris (1995: 22-25) sketches out a possible portrait of how yearly record-keeping practices for the Parthenon and Erechtheion may have been structured; others have offered interpretations for other major groups of texts.⁵ Several scholars have drawn a distinction between these regularly administered yearly records and isolated lists of treasure, such as *IG* 12.261, which records items stored in the Heraion at Samos, terming the latter ‘offering lists’ and not ‘inventory’ because of their *ad hoc* or irregular creation.⁶ On the other hand, in this scheme hypothetical annual documents on perishable materials would count as inventories because of their repeated composition. This grouping of evidence makes sense for the study of ancient civic/cult administration, as ‘singleton’ inventories provide little insight into the practices of the sanctuary officials.

This chapter, however, takes a somewhat different focus. As I have noted, the epigraphic record has preserved inventories from a smattering of places across the

⁵ Tréheux (1960) [dissertation] (*non vidi*) and Hamilton (2000) for Delos; Aleshire (1989) for the Asklepieion. Linders (1972) for the Artemision and (to the extent possible) Brauron.

⁶ Dignas (2002) and Aleshire (1979) 103.

Greek world, and it is probable that many more sanctuaries kept temporary records on perishable media.⁷ Here I discuss the records unequivocally copied onto stone in antiquity and displayed in public places for citizens and visitors to observe, and the effects of such a practice. To this end, I group all stone lists of prestige goods together, treating them as one genre, in an effort to see why civic administrative bodies felt so compelled to display text-versions of their riches, whether just once or at regular intervals over the course of many years. I concentrate on the inscribed stelae themselves and the varied messages they could convey to passers-by, with less emphasis on what items dwelt in a sanctuary or who specifically handled them, as both these questions have already received significant attentions and also leave non-yearly texts out of the picture.⁸ Making and displaying an inventory text, I shall argue, visually and verbally communicates the city's physical collection of monies and goods to a public that may otherwise not see them. Far from just creating a useful index for official reference, inscribed inventory stelae make a show and an account of civic wealth that an ancient viewer can comprehend in a number of ways, many of these not dependent on his level of literate skill. Moreover, these stelae eventually become objects worthy of viewing and valuable in their own right long after the items they describe have themselves perished.

WHAT INVENTORIES DO: RECENT SCHOLARSHIP

The first extant inscribed inventories are those of the treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods, the earliest of which date from 434/433. In subsequent years and in the fourth century, the city administration produced regular records for precious goods stored in or related to the various chambers of the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, and the Asklepieion, as well as in the sanctuaries of Eleusis and Brauron. The inventories of sacred items housed at the temple of Apollo on Delos span the years 364 to 166 BC and are generally grouped according to the status of the island at the time as independent or subject to Athens. This body of evidence, compiled within *IG I*³ 292-362 (for the fifth century) and *IG II*² 1370-1492 (for the fourth), has caused much speculation on the purpose of the offering-lists it contains, seen as “the crucial issue of the

⁷ Of course, fortune's caprice frequently makes it difficult to distinguish between local variations and accidents of preservation; we knew nothing, for example, of the considerable record-keeping practices of Argos until bronze tablets were discovered there recently. The chapter attempts to draw conclusions that are not overly specific to one *polis* or set of texts.

⁸ The energies of over a century of commentators have been explicitly focused on this topic, e.g. Homolle (1886: 468) for Delos, and those referred to above, n5.

inventories.”⁹ The main divergence of opinion regards whether the lists were really intended as functional archives to be consulted by those who saw them or as mere symbolic records of some sort. What scholars decide tends to correlate to the particular evidence upon which their attentions focus, from which they reasonably generalize to similar texts. Thus Linders has argued on the basis of the Delian inventories—in which dedications move, disappear, and reappear at random—that all *παράδοσις* inventories function as a record of the safe exchange of goods from one set of officials to the next—the act of *παραδίδομι*, specifically and above all else.¹⁰ More generally, inventories in this view record relationships and transactions of officials rather than serving as financial documents, and accordingly the lists that accompany the prescripts remain largely symbolic.¹¹ In studying the inventories of Asclepius, however, Aleshire defends the validity of these and other such archives as usable documentary records.¹² Harris, who has made extensive study of the inventories from the major buildings on the Acropolis, has drawn on Thomas and Linders to argue subsequently that these texts hold the polis administration accountable to the citizens and “attest[] to the power of the public concerning the right to know.”¹³

Studies of the last decade have tended toward a more holistic approach, analyzing less commonly-cited and more recent evidence alongside the Attic stones to conclude, perhaps as a result, that inventories in fact may have served a variety of purposes for the public and the administrative bodies responsible for their publication. The focus has shifted somewhat away from how magistrates may have employed these records to their meaning vis-à-vis the individuals who view them and whose names are recorded on them. Scott has argued that inventories link citizens to city administration and include them in various facets of polis life, especially the religious and political spheres.¹⁴ Liddel’s discussion examines them alongside other epigraphic lists, describing their role as “monuments of fulfilled civic obligations,” not unlike honorary decrees.¹⁵ Because of the relative ease of reading lists of names, he argues for their use as *both* practical documents and symbols, “more frequently geared to recording obligations already fulfilled by citizens rather than listing those citizens liable to particular obligations.”¹⁶

⁹ Harris (1995) 63.

¹⁰ Linders (1988) 37-47 (see last page for generalization to all Greek *παράδοσεις*.)

¹¹ This, indeed, is the thrust of Linders (1992).

¹² Aleshire (1989) 103.

¹³ Harris (1994) 214.

¹⁴ Scott (unpublished 2008) conference paper.

¹⁵ Liddel (2007) 182-183 and 194-195.

¹⁶ Liddel (2007) 184.

Liddel's interest in lists' highlighting of individuals in some ways builds conceptually on Dignas' study of the texts from Didyma and other cities in Asia Minor. The latter recognizes the complexity of the question of the purpose of lists but maintains that "[i]t seems problematic...to argue that the lists demonstrate the zeal and correctness of the officials and at the same time do not live up to basic requirements of book-keeping."¹⁷ Nonetheless, she concludes that temple offering lists from Asia Minor exhibit a movement toward emphasizing the individuals involved (especially through naming them) and "are apparently not the place to learn about treasures and the wheels of temple administration."¹⁸ But why should they be? The creators of large inscribed monuments surely intended them eventually for some imagined posterity, but hardly to facilitate the research of economic historians of the post-Enlightenment tradition into the workings of ancient bureaucracies. Rather, their value to future viewers, even in antiquity itself, was as a testament to the organization and grandeur, and indeed the vast resources, of the body that created them. Through the course of this chapter, then, I advance a thesis that probes two areas of the recent discussion: the idea, which Liddel has presented generally, that the inventories may be at once consultable and symbolic, and the notion that "the Greeks might have had different ideas both of book-keeping and of what they wanted temple records for."¹⁹ I argue for the truth of both these formulations on the basis of very specific grounds. First of all, the Greek official inventory tradition takes root in a cultural context already disposed, at least since archaic times, to the use of lists as a means of displaying and codifying wealth, and it in fact may in part stem from it. Furthermore, the diction, physical nature, content, and display of the *stelae* suggest that these texts serve a bookkeeping purpose on a larger scale than one might expect, documenting the overall grandeur of the treasuries as well as the exact reality of each of its contents. Yet by approximating an itemized account and showing a version of one, however inaccurate, the administrators of Greek treasuries succeeded in producing long-lasting analogues of physical collections of precious goods which in turn, by their conspicuousness and permanence, constitute a virtual display of wealth for all who see them.

¹⁷ Dignas (2002) 241.

¹⁸ Dignas (2002) 243.

¹⁹ Dignas (2002) 241.

A C L O S E R L O O K

To familiarize the reader with the style and content of a typical Athenian inventory text and establish a few key points for discussion and analysis, Figures 1-3 give a photograph and text of *IG I³ 353-354*, inventories of 420/419 and 419/418 from the so-called “Parthenon” (in fact probably just one chamber of the entire temple.)²⁰ Both texts appear on a well-preserved fragment of a large opisthographic stele, 0.48 m. high and 0.2m. wide, now in the Athens Epigraphical Museum, which shows four years of inventories on one side. Like other inventories of the mid-fifth century and later (the genre is rather conservative), the text begins with a prescript specifying the names of the treasurers in charge of handing over goods from the previous year to the following one, as the first lines clearly state (*IG I³ 354.72-74*):

τάδε οἱ ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας Λύκων
Πρασιεὺς καὶ χσυνάρχοντες, [οἷς Λυσίδικος Γαργέτιος
ἐγραμμάτευε, παρέδοσαν τοῖς ταμίαισι, οἷς Φορ]- ἰ μίον
Κυδαθηναίου ἐγραμμάτευε, Χαρίνοι Ἀλεξιμάχο [Π]έλεκι <καὶ
χσυνάρχοσι>, παραδεχσάμενοι παρὰ [τῶν προτέρων ταμιῶν, οἷς
Ἐπιγένης Αἰγίλιεὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν, ἐν τῷ Παρθε]νῶνι·

These things the treasurers of the sacred goods of Athena Lycon of Prasiae and colleagues in office, for whom Lysidicus of Gargettus was secretary handed over to the treasurers, for whom Phormion of Kydathenaea was secretary, to Charinus son of Aleximachus of Pelekes and his colleagues in office having received them from the previous treasurers, for whom Epigenes of Aigilia was secretary, in the Parthenon.

The prescript begins with a demonstrative pronoun *τάδε*, “the following things.” When multiple years are published on the same stone, as they are here, the formula persists in successive paragraphs. The entries then list dedications either singularly or in groups, specifying the material, weight when possible, and sometime other

²⁰ The inventories specify items as being both *ἐν τῷ παρθενῶνι* or *ἐν τῷ ἑκατομπέδῳ*; this implies storage in more than one space. Harris (1995: 4) identifies the “parthenon” with the western chamber, leaving slightly open the possibility of its including the western portico as well.

distinguishing characteristics. Sometimes numbers or entries are separated with a mark or space; in this text three-dot interuncts surround the numerals.

Let us pause to consider in more depth the physical details of the *stelae* on which texts like this were inscribed. The curious care and meticulous assiduousness with which the displayed inventories were created should not be overlooked, especially considering the large audiences that they would have been exposed to on public display: citizens, tourists, slaves, merchants, women and children. While they may not be the very largest stelae erected on the Acropolis, the published inventories of the treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods present an imposing stature. The stone containing *IG I³ 354* above is missing a large portion of its top section, yet still measures nearly 0.5 m. tall. It may easily have been twice this height, and a new one would have been erected every few years once it became full of text.²¹

The heights and arrangement of letters also reveal that the creators of these texts were attentive to visual display. Some inventories show a large and widely-spaced

Θ E O I

as a heading, a reminder to viewers and a pious display of whom both treasure and record are intended to honor and perhaps address.²² The large lettering and liberal use of stone space not only suggest that the inscriptions might reach the gods' eyes but also shows that their creators were sufficiently concerned with matters of formatting and visual layout as to leave valuable space blank. Moreover, the earlier years on the stele have letters of about 0.01 m. in height—not the largest among Athenian inscriptions, but certainly not tiny and visible from a distance, especially considering they were painted. After the entries for the year 420/419, however, the formatting changes: we see in the entry for 419/418 (*IG I³ 354*) letter heights of 0.006 m.—little more than half the size of previous years—and stoichedon rows of 127 letters each (versus earlier 78). It is possible the stonemasons feared they would not have space to complete the inventory at the bottom of the stele, but should this have been their only motivation, they certainly downsized quite significantly, for there is a sizeable *vacat* at the bottom of the stone. Aside from this example, inventory letters from the fifth century tend to stay quite close to 0.01 m. tall.

²¹ A record of the practice in progress is provided by later inventories from Didyma.

²² Note that I am not suggesting the inventories may be intended solely for the gods' eyes as have others (e.g. Harris 1995: 17) but rather acknowledging their attempt to send multiple messages to multiple audiences.

During the fourth century, however, there appears to be a tendency toward smaller lettering, though the stelae themselves maintain a similar scale to earlier ones. Thus an intact stele listing dedications from the Athenian Asklepieion from 329/328 (*IG II² 1532s* = Aleshire III) measures 1.265 m. (excluding a tenon, later trimmed) with small, so-called Lycurgan lettering, a scant half the height of earlier examples (0.04 m.).²³ Again, despite the tiny close stoichedon-style formatting, the letters would have been made more legible from their being painted. In addition to being able to accommodate more information, smaller print on a stele of the same size creates an effect of more and closer-knit writing. For the viewer, the impression that emerges is, I think, twofold. On the one hand, an overall sense of abundance emerges: the tiny words and stoichedon text gives a block-like impression to the list, which does not have a columnar format or suggest itself as a tally. Up close, of course, it would be possible to scrutinize each entry one by one, but not to glean an idea of both the individual entries and their overall mass at the same time. In contrast, modern editions that include capital letters, accents, word boundaries, and breath marks, while they offer the reader a more familiar-looking text, can obscure the semiotic cues the inscriptions would have afforded an ancient observer. Figure 4 shows a less-normalized representation of an excerpt of the extant text (*IG I³ 354.72-78*) and gives a better sense of the arrangement of the text and its effects.

Such long lines (which are only about half the length of what the restored text may have contained) make it possible either to scrutinize very closely one entry at a time, or to survey the whole from a great distance. What would be extraordinarily difficult would be to gain a quick sense from a text like this of exactly how many items had been tallied for the year. Such a calculation would almost require making a whole other, differently-formatted list from which to add up totals. Why not produce a more use-friendly layout, a table, such as we observe in the Athenian tribute lists? One response might be to invoke Linders' suggestion, that these texts exist primarily to record the handover of goods from one set of treasurers to the next. But then why go to trouble of reproducing so many entries at all?

I would like to suggest that the choice of only either very-far or very-close counting echoes some of the tendencies we have observed in the literary listmaking tradition. In chapter 1, I argued that the poetics surrounding catalogues of gifts and precious items in the Homeric poems involve statements about their infiniteness ("too many to count") coupled with seemingly paradoxical tallies of their exact, finite contents and descriptions of each item. This rhetoric, I have said, focuses the audience on (1) the overall magnificence of the collection and (2) the details of each specific

²³ Aleshire (1989) 127-128.

item, providing both a wide-angle- and a telephoto-lens view, but no intermediate (normal) one. Inscribed inventories, I suggest, stand as visual analogues of this same boundless-but-delineated system: from afar, the viewer is faced with an uncountable and undelineated mass of catalogue entries, visible only as a very large group that might extend indefinitely. Up close, a viewer can read each element one by one and even see a few details, taken from a stock repertoire of descriptors (*IG I³* 353 lines 66-68):

: ἀσπί[ις ἐγ Λέσβο ἐπίσεμος : κράνος ἐγ Λέσβο Ἰλλυρι]-
κὸν χαλκῶν : φιάλα ἀργυρᾶ : II : καρχέσιο ἀργυρὸ : II :
σταθμὸ[ντούτον : ΠΠΔΔΔ : Λέσβιοι κότυλοι ἀργυροῖ III : στ]-
αθμὸν τούτον : ΗΗΗΠΔΔ : στέφανος χρυσὸς, σταθμὸν τούτο
: [ΔΓΓΓΓΠΠ : στέφανος χρυσὸς, σταθμὸν τούτο : ΔΔΓ]

Shield from Lesbos, embossed. Helmet from Lesbos Illyrian bronze. Silver bowls, 2. Silver tumblers, 2. Weight of these: 580D. Silver Lesbian cymbals, 3. Weight of these: 370D. Gold crown, weight of this: 18T3. Gold crown, weight of this: 25T.

We gather from this excerpt a snapshot of the collection, enough to persuade us of its importance and size and perhaps garner some intrigue in a few items (what of these Lesbian cymbals?). One would have to do a fair amount of dedicated running arithmetic, however, to gain a sense of the total numerical wealth present in these items and get any clear idea of overall city finances. What the inventory accomplishes, it seems, is to make them seem generally abundant, and specifically precious.

Other iconic features of these inscriptions help convey non-verbal meaning to an audience. While we tend to associate stoichedon lettering with less legibility, both 5th and 4th century Attic inventories often feature sequences that separate weights and measures with interpuncts in the middle of entries. A sequence like the one below appears at *IG I³* 353 line 64:

ΦΙΑΛΑΙΑΡΓΥΡΑΙ : ΠΠΠ : ΣΤΑΘΜΟΝΤΟΥΤΟΝ : ΠΗΗΗΓΓΓ :

The numeric values themselves have a relatively conspicuous and distinctive look relative to words because of their specialized signs and unpronounceable phonetic values, while providing ample punctuation around them in the form of triple-pointed colons results in an iconic display. Additionally, they generally do not follow the stoichedon precisely, as punctuation interrupts the flow of text and unit-measures may be grouped into one quadrant, and so forth. Thus even if the actual text is difficult to read because it is small and devoid of word boundaries or because the viewer has limited literate abilities, a semblance of the numbers emerges clearly. What is more, one need not interpret their exact values to get a sense of the size of the treasure, since the sign-value notation system often reflects larger numbers with a larger number of signs. This is not always the case, of course (e.g. Η, 100, is greater than ΔΔΔ, 30) but even a quick glance at a sequence such as the one above allows one to see ΗΗΗ, three hundred drachmas, right away and thus glean an overall impression of magnitude. This kind of snapshot reckoning calls to mind mental images of individual items, while again, the wide-angle view of the stone offers the global sense of abundance. The overall numbers, though, remain, as ever, somewhat hazy. It is possible to make out the magnitude of each of the treasure's parts, but not so easy to reckon their sum—its very details and unbroken layout contribute to its seeming unquantifiably large. In this way the inventories are not so much inaccurate as they privilege information other than what a modern viewer might expect in their visual display. Moreover, they impart this information to their lay audience on perhaps a more impressionistic, but not a completely abstract level. Thus to return to the various contentions regarding their purpose, we may say perhaps that they are not wholly 'practical' nor fully 'symbolic,' but neither are they both: rather, they are something intermediate.²⁴

In analyzing the modes by which these texts communicate I have been struck by the rhetoric of J.K. Davies in his hope, as he voiced it, to “exploit afresh the endless riches and (it seems) unfathomable complexities of democratic Athens.”²⁵ The collocation “endless riches” seems ironic: after all, what might financial records tell us if not that Athens lacked infinite resources, and that the city strove to count what it had quite precisely? His comment is surely figurative but nonetheless raises the issue of the Greeks' own conceptions of wealth, in both the epigraphic record and moments in the legendary past. We have seen that when Agamemnon lists his offering of gifts for Achilles, in *Iliad* 9, he describes them as his ἀπερείσια, “boundless,” “limitless,” (a

²⁴ Dignas (2002: 241), partially in response to statements made by Harris (1995), has written that it is “problematic to reconcile” the symbolic and practical aspects of inventory texts, but I think that we might give more credit to the ways in which the iconic features of the inventories' formatting on the stela worked to enhance, rather than undermine, their functionality as documents.

²⁵ Davies (1994) 202.

common epithet for a ransom ἄποινα.) We may agree with some scholars that then inventorying exactly what's in the ransom "necessarily lays bare the rhetoric of limitlessness."²⁶ But by the end of his catalogue, once one has listened to a lengthy recitation of it, we lose count, and the overall sense is one of vague immensity, infinite in that it cannot be tallied. In this way, a monumental piece of marble, filled with small letters in close *stoichedon*, could also simulate for a viewer not only an invisible physical treasure but the city's supposedly "endless riches." Put on display it becomes an expression of the treasures' individual merits and collective bulk, as well as something to come see in its own right.

From the working of the text as it is inscribed and formatted, we might proceed to consider how the stele functions as a whole. Davies has argued for a multi-stage model whereby ancient documents undergo a process of "monumentalization," shifting from their origins as archives into publicly displayed objects.²⁷ While his study does not focus on inventories in particular, they too share the qualities he outlines: the inventory, much like a decree, becomes ratified such that people recognize it as an "entity," belonging to a certain category and endowed with certain administrative significance and power, and not just an isolated text, particularly when it placed side by side with similar stelae.²⁸ I have suggested in previous chapters that the list-type is already long been a recognizable and identifiable genre in the Greek literary world in such contexts as the Homeric catalogues and in the marked-off inventories in Herodotus' *Histories*, which stand apart from the narrative flow as delineated, modular items. These examples fulfill the requirement that in order for a text to become a monument it must have an established and agreed-upon typology.²⁹ Athenian culture of the mid-fifth century (when inscribed inventory stelae first appeared) already was familiar with the list as a mode of recording and preserving collections of valuable items. The epic and historical traditions had long since established this function, and government inventories may also have been an established part of Athenian documentary culture in the sixth century.³⁰ Thus having

²⁶ Sammons (2010) 111.

²⁷ Davies (2003), especially 324-326 and 335-337 (for outline of steps).

²⁸ Davis (2003) 324.

²⁹It is perhaps helpful to conceive of inventory lists as counting among John Searle's "institutional facts," that is, entities not naturally occurring in the universe but made so by communal agreement.

³⁰ Sickinger (1999:38-41) suggests that, though we have but scanty epigraphic evidence as such, there was a small and growing practice of taking regular inventories of treasures in Athens in the sixth century. Most of these documents, he suggests, were "rudimentary" and kept on temporary materials such as wood or bark. He concedes, however, that it was not

taken this first step on the path of record to monument through both their broader literary and immediate documentary past, the Athenians had a significantly shorter distance to go before producing large *stelae*. The creation of a written record, its preservation, and its placement on public display and subsequent maintenance can then follow. The *stelae*, both grounded in an established and recognizable listing tradition and realized as large imposing displayed structures then function as something for a public to seek out and look at as objects in themselves, steeped in two cultural traditions.

HEAD (AND TAIL)

In addition to their evocative appearance, the structure of the inventory texts reinforces their status as monuments. Rather than merely listing, they begin with formulaic prescripts that outline the administrative process, listing the officials involved, date (by archon), and nature of the transaction. By far the most common type is the *paradosis*, which records the exchange from one set of *ταμίαι* to the next on a yearly basis. We have seen above a typical *paradosis* prescript from an Acropolis inventory (*IG I³ 354* lines 72-74):

τάδε οἱ ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρεμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας Λύκων
 Πρασιεὺς καὶ χουνάρχοντες, [οἷς Λυσίδικος Γαργέτιος
 ἐγραμμάτευε, παρέδοσαν τοῖς ταμίαισι, οἷς Φορ]- ἰ μίον
 Κυδαθηναίεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε, Χαρίνοι Ἀλεχσιμάχο [Π]έλεκι <καὶ
 χουνάρχοσι>, παραδεχσάμενοι παρὰ [τῶν προτέρων ταμιῶν, οἷς
 Ἐπιγένης Αἰγίλιεὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν, ἐν τῷ Παρθεῖ] ἰ νῶνι·

These things the treasurers of the sacred goods of Athena Lycon of Prasiae and colleagues in office, for whom Lysidicus of Gargettus was secretary handed over to the treasurers, for whom Phormion of Kydathenaea was secretary, to Charinus son of Aleximachus of Pelekes and his colleagues in office having received them from the previous treasurers treasurers, for whom Epigenes of Aigilia, in the Parthenon.

until much later that the Athenians began committing these records to stone, which development concerns us here.

The formula shows considerable consistency throughout the 150-year *floruit* of the inventory: it gives the names and demotics of the sets of officials responsible for the handover, the officials they gave the treasures to, and whom they received them from the previous year. Slight variations occur as the names may be extended, the syntax and order may shift minimally, but one element remains absolutely constant: the initial *τάδε*. Where the top of the stones are extant, they invariably begin with the neuter plural near demonstrative, “these things,” which makes reference to both the list of objects that follows (“the following things”) and the physical collection of treasure that accompanies the handover (“these things here”). It possibly even refers to dedications displayed in the company of the inscription, though this seems a less likely scenario in many cases.³¹ The word is always fronted, or pre-posed, and illustrates the general principle that “in isolation, *ὅδε* signals in ongoing narrative the particular salience of a piece of information being introduced.”³² This comes as no surprise given the information about to follow the pronoun.

More specifically, however, the near demonstrative has a long and established history as setting up a list of things on display in Greek, in both oral and written media. We have seen in chapter two that in Herodotus, catalogues of objects conceived of as collections employ the demonstrative pronouns as framing devices, beginning with a form of *ὅδε* and concluding with a form of *οὗτος* pointing backward (*Histories* 1.51):

Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἅμα τοῖσι· κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλους, χρύσειον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσειος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηόν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ’ ἀριστερά· μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακάντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσειος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν εἵνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δωδέκα μνέας, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου τῆς γωνίης, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους· ἐπικίρνεται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανίοισι· φασὶ δὲ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι. Καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οἱ ἐν

³¹ Several factors preclude the inscriptions’ placement near the actual dedications they depict, such as the fact that only the temple administration could gain access to certain repositories like the west cella of the Parthenon, as noted by Harris (1995: 4–5, 81), or the apparent habit of displaying inventories of objects dedicated elsewhere, as in the case of the records for Artemis Brauronia, for which see Linders (1972: 71–72). I will discuss these “divorced” lists further below.

³² Bakker (2010) 158.

τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἑστᾶσι, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν τῷ χρυσεῷ ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φάμενον εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγον· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροῖσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστί, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον. Ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοισι ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰδῶλον χρύσειον τρίπηχυ, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροῖσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. Πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε.

And Croesus having finished all these things sent them to Delphi, and along with them the following other things: two great big mixing bowls, one gold and the other silver, of which the golden bowl was set on the right hand side as you enter the temple, and the silver on the left, but these also were changed around after the temple burned down, and the golden bowl now lies in the treasury of the people of Clazomenae, having a weight of eight and a half talents and twelve pounds more, while the silver one lies in the corner of the foyer and holds six hundred amphoras. For these get filled with wine by the Delphians on the feast of the Theophania: this the people of Delphi say is the work of Theodorus the Samian, and I think they are right. For the work does not seem common to me. And [Croesus] also sent four silver wine-jars, which stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, and two vessels for lustral water, one gold and the other silver, of which the gold one is inscribed "from the Lacedaemonians," said to be a dedicatory offering, but not rightly; for this also is from Croesus, but one of the Delphians wrote the inscription on it wishing to show favor to the Lacedaemonians. and though I know his name I will not mention it. Now the boy through whose hand the water flows, he is from the Lacedaemonians, but not either of the vessels for lustral water. And along with these Croesus sent many dedicatory offerings, not inscribed, including round silver cast bowls, as well as a golden likeness of a woman three cubits high, which the Delphians say is a statue of Croesus' baker. Moreover Croesus dedicated the

ornaments from his own wife's neck and her girdles. So those things he sent to Delphi.

Here and elsewhere, Herodotus introduces the objects starting with *τάδε*, and at the end concludes with *ταῦτα*, referring to the list he just gave.³³ Note that he also describes where in the treasury the objects are situated and even includes weights, possibly based on records of the sanctuary officials, (though perhaps not published ones on stone). The initial demonstrative signals that a list will follow, and the final one brackets or frames it as a stand-alone piece. As I have argued in chapter 2, the list takes on a material quality because the framing device treats it as a freestanding object, just as do the features in Homeric poetry discussed in chapter one. The epigraphic inventory employs forward pointing deixis but generally does not end with a final or capping pronominal statement, at least as far as the extant stones with intact endings suggest. In some ways, it stands to reason that they should not, for inscribed inventories, repeated every year on the same stone, represent a work in progress—a text under regular revision, and one that does not have a formal ending until official procedure ceases. The temple, of course, continues to welcome more gifts. In not putting an end on the list, the inscription also allows for its potential to expand indefinitely, outside the frame created by the stone.

A fortuitous comparandum arises for this scheme when we consider some inventory-like “offering lists” from traditions outside the Athenian context.³⁴ Didyma provides some of the only evidence of repeated recording of *παράδοσις*-style transactions outside the Athenian tradition.³⁵ These third-century texts, also inscribed on large (1.0–2.0 m.) stelae with letter heights of 0.01–0.015 m., record dedications to Apollo under the watch of local officials. The prescripts seem relatively distinct from the Athenian ones, providing comparable information, perhaps, but in a very different format and style. Didyma 432 (271/210 BC) provides a typical (and complete) example:

ἐπι στεφανηφόρου Ποσειδωνίου τοῦ Θευδέκτου[ς]
ταμιευόντων τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῶν κατὰ

³³ In discussing the functions of the demonstratives in Herodotus, Bakker (2010: 157–158) gives an example from 7.61.1, which begins the catalogue of Xerxes’ army: οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἶδε ἦσαν. Once he has named all the peoples who served he concludes at 7.81.1: *ταῦτα* ἦν τὰ κατ’ ἡπειρον στρατευόμενά τε ἔθνεα καὶ τεταγμένα ἐς τὸν πέζον.

³⁴ I adopt this terminology from Dignas (2002), who has argued for a key generic distinction between the Athenian/Delian-type recording system, undertaken on a regular basis and managed under strict bureaucracy, and the ones suggested by the slightly different inventory-like lists from Ionia.

³⁵ Didyma 424–478.

τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Διδύμοις Ἀθηναίου τοῦ Μενε-
 κράτους καὶ Αἰσχυλίδου τοῦ Ἀριστογένους
 τάδε ἀνετέθη τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι·
 φιάλαι δύο ἐκ Κυζικοῦ, ἅς ἀπήνεικαν ἐκ τῶν
 τεμενῶν τῶι θεῶι, τούτων μία ὀμφαλωτή,
 ἑκατέρας ὀλκή Ἀλεξάνδρεια δραχμαὶ ἑκα-
 τόν· φιάλη λεία ὀμφαλωτή, ἀνάθημα Ἰασέων,
 ὀλκή δραχμαὶ Ἀλεξάνδρει<α>ι
 {one line erased}
 ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα· φιάλη ὀμφαλωτή πρόσω-
 πον ἔχουσα ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ Ποσειδῶνος,
 ἀνάθημα Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Μένωνος, ὀλκή Ἀλε-
 ξάνδρεια δραχμαὶ [ἑχξήκοντα]· <παρὰ Ἀρτέμιδι·>
 φιάλη, <ἦ>ν Αἰσχυλὶς Ἀναξιθέμιος ἀνέθηκεν
 Ἀρτέμιδι, ὀλκή Ἀλεξάνδρεια δραχμαὶ τεσσαερά-
 κοντα ἑπτὰ· ὑπομηλὶς χρυσῆ, ἣν ἀνέθηκεν
 Αἰσχυλὶς Ἀναξιθέμιος Ἀρτέμιδι, ἡμιχρύσου·
 αὕτη προσεκοσμήθη πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα.
 ταῦτά τε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα παρελάβομεν παρὰ τῶν
 ταμιῶν τῶν ἐπὶ Σίμου τοῦ Ποσειδίππου παρε-
 δώκαμεν τοῖς ταμίαις τοῖς ἐπὶ Λυκόφρονος τοῦ
 Εὐδήμου Φαιδίμωι Διαγόρου, Ἐστιαίωι Ὀρνυμενοῦ.

In the term of Poseidonios son of Theudektes,
 when the treasurers of the sacred goods in
 the temple in Didyma were Athenaios son of Mene-
 krates and Aischylis son of Aristogenes,
 the following things were dedicated to Apollo:
 Two bowls from Kyzikus, which they carried off from the
 precincts for the god, one of these omphalic,
 weight of each, one hundred Alexandrian drachmas.
 Smooth omphalic bowl, dedication of Iasians weight
 ninety-nine
 {erased text}
 Alexandrian drachmas. Omphalic bowl having
 the face of Poseidon on the boss,
 dedication of Hecataeus son of Menon, weight
 [60] Alexandrian drachmas. <For Artemis.>
 Bowl, which Aischylis son of Anaxithemis dedicated

to Artemis, weight forty seven Alexandrian drachmas. Gold eastern thorn, which Aischylis son of Anaxithemis dedicated to Artemis, a half-stater.

This was added as an ornament to the statue.

These and as many other things as we received from the treasurers in the term of Simus son of Poseidippus, we handed them over to the treasurers in the term of Lykophron son of Eudemos, (namely) Phaedimus son of Diagorus, Hestiaeus son of Ornymenes.

The prescript begins with a dating formula and the names of the officials, and then a statement again beginning with, as expected, the near demonstrative: *τάδε ἀνετέθη τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι*. While *τάδε* may not be in the same prominent position as in the Athenian examples, it appears nonetheless to introduce the list. The most salient difference in formulaics, though, is the postscript that follows the inventory, here visible in lines 20–23. Whereas the inventories of the Athenian tradition give no final statement, the Didyma example proceeds with the same kind of framing we have observed in Herodotus, with the far demonstrative *ταῦτα* pointing back to the list. As in the *Histories*, the brackets not only physically contain the verbal list between them but their strict formulaics lend it a certain authority. Here, moreover, the pre- and post-scripts even receive almost as much surface area as the offering list itself, and the mention of *ὅσα ἄλλα* suggests that the latter remains brief by design. The framed offering list presented in this formalized structure emerges as more than just an inventory or a record: rather, it contains its contents in an approximation of a physical treasury. This textual treasury, the stele, then becomes something to behold on its own merits, independent of the treasures it denotes. The deictic prescripts of the Athenian-style texts and the pre- and post-scripts of the Didyma texts, while they may confirm official procedure, also stand in for the material collection for all who come to see the *stelae* and themselves show, rather than merely tell, the gods' riches.

HOW TO SHOW QUANTITIES

Chapter treated the semantics of list-presentation in Herodotus, tracing the verb *ἀποδείκνυμι* from its initial physical sense of 'display' to the more figurative meanings 'show in words' and 'inventory.' There, this semantic broadening was linked to the Greek list's ability to make a showing. The verb and the noun *ἀπόδειξις* maintain the technical sense of 'inventory' in the fifth and fourth centuries (and well beyond).

Casson (1921) observed and discussed instances of this usage in Thucydides and Plutarch.

More specifically, *ἀποδείκνυμι* and its related cognates shows a semantic range that includes both “put on display” and “make a textual account.” It is in Herodotus, I argue, that the shift from a physical to a verbal show manifests itself. In inscriptions, however, the *ἀπόδειξις* is generally not verbally explicit. On the one hand, it need not be, for the stone more clearly makes a visual display than an orally transmitted text, or even one on a temporary, moveable medium. On the other, this function of the inventories, as displays as well as records, has not been so obvious. Teasing out what purpose these published texts serve, as the survey of recent scholarship above may have suggested, in the eyes of many “leaves us with more questions than answers and does not enable us to assess the quantitative wealth of the gods.”³⁶ After considering the tradition of lists in Greek literature, however, and their ability to communicate very general impressions of abundance along with very detailed descriptions of individual items but little in between, I might venture that inscribed inventories were not intended to enable anyone to assess that wealth in a quantifiable way. Far from it: while they seem at first as if they ought to be a most commendable act of financial transparency on the part of the state, they privilege only part of the whole picture, like bank statements with no running ledgers.

Further conclusions, however, can emerge from both comparative and internal study, and one inscription speaks in support of another, related notion: that the stone functions as display-case for its verbal contents, not just “to show that the officials involved in the sacred administration, above all the hieropoioi, had fulfilled their duties as regards the votives.”³⁷

I refer to a curious clause in the prescript of one of the best-preserved examples of the inventories from the sanctuary of Delos. *ID* 104 is a nearly complete inventory of the contents of Temple of the Athenians (later the Temple of the Seven Statues), dated by Athenian archon to 364. Unlike its Athenian precedents, whose style figures largely in the composition of the early (Amphyctionic) Delian inventories, it has two verbs in the prescript (*ID* 104 line 2), not just a form of *παραδίδομι*:

τάδε ἀπέφηναν ἐν τῷ Ἄρτεμισίῳ καὶ
παρέδοσαν σταθμῶι καὶ ἀριθμῶι...

The following things [the officials] showed forth and
handed over, with weight(s) and count(s)...

³⁶ Dignas (2002) 243.

³⁷ Linders (1988) 45.

The appearance of the verb *ἀποφαίνω*, radically “show forth,” “display” is unique in this text and is extant in the prescripts of no other *παράδοσις* inventories, from Delos or elsewhere (aside from its restoration, based on this text, at *ID* 104(12) line 1). Whereas inventory prescripts normally state a record of the handover from one set of officials to the next, this one seems to make explicit mention of inventory-taking itself.³⁸ Much like *ἀποδείκνυμι* and *ἀπόδειξις*, *ἀποφαίνω* and *ἀπόφασις* have initially spatial, physical senses that come to describe virtual displays, and both appear in the specific technical use of “inventory.”

Even in earlier sources the word seems to have some relationship to a list. Thus Solon describes *εὐνομία*, lawfulness, as being able to *ἀποφαίνειν* the right values of the city (fr. 4 lines 30–39):

ταῦτα διδάξει θυμὸς Ἀθηναίους με κελεύει,	30
ὥς κακὰ πλεῖστα πόλει Δυσνομίη παρέχει·	
Εὐνομίη δ' εὐκοσμία καὶ ἄρτια πάντ' ἀποφαίνει,	
καὶ θαμὰ τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἀμφιτίθησι πέδας·	
τραχέα λειαίνει, παύει κόρον, ὕβριν ἀμαυροῖ,	
αὐαίνει δ' ἄτης ἄνθεα φυόμενα,	35
εὐθύνει δὲ δίκας σκολιάς, ὑπερήφανά τ' ἔργα	
πραΐνει· παύει δ' ἔργα διχαστασίης,	
παύει δ' ἀργαλέης ἔριδος χόλον, ἔστι δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς	
πάντα κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἄρτια καὶ πινυτά.	

This my heart orders me teach the Athenians:
 bad rule provides the city many ills.
 But good law makes clear all that's fit and decorous,
 and swiftly binds the unjust round with chains:
 It smoothes the jagged, halts excess, insolence blinds,
 and desiccates the budding bloom of bane.
 It straightens crooked justice, actions arrogant

³⁸ Though the prescripts tend to be “to a great extent word for word the same” (Linders 1988: 44), slight variation occurs even in records from the same official body. It is reasonable to surmise, I think, that the inclusion or omission of various pieces of the formula, such as *ἀπέφηναν*, depends on the whim of the stonemason and year's administrative staff rather than denoting an actual shift in purpose and procedure; thus the action and implications of *ἀπέφηναν* apply to more texts than just this one. Major reorganizations, such as that which occurred following the Independence period at Delos ca. 200 BC, result in more obvious superficial changes (see e.g. Hamilton (2000: 26n92)).

it mitigates. It halts sedition's work,
And halts the mean anger of strife. By her doing
are all things apt and prudent for mankind.

As the collocation *ἔυκοσμα καὶ ἄρτια πάντ' ἀποφαίνει* gives a heading of what is to follow—a list of all the remedial measures *εὐνομία* effects, the verb itself also prefigures the list. This is perhaps related to the reiterative property possible in the prefix *ἀπό*: lawfulness “makes clear again and again” (cf. *ἀποδίδωμι* in the sense “return, recur”). The enumeration of verbs and complements that follows plays out the iterations of that general sentiment.

The interest of the word in *ID* 104, then, again involves its double significance. I have argued above that the Athenian inventories of the fifth century, regardless of how precise their relationship as records to actual items in sanctuaries may be, provide their viewers a substitute for seeing the actual collection by approximating the grandeur and scale of the treasures. The presence of *ἀποφαίνειν* here prefigures the role of the inscription to make a showing, an inventory, to the viewer. Its inclusion in the prescript formula implies that the officials feel *ἀπόφασις*—not just *ἀπόδοσις*—to be an integral part of the procedure and record, and so the stone itself, as well as the text recorded on it, performs the display of the treasure for the audience.

Q U A N T I T A T I V E D I S P L A Y

Inscribed inventories perform an even more exaggerated version of *ἀπόδειξις* than literary texts, as their monumental physical nature as well as their content and the nuances of the visual display of the text illustrate. In doing so, they not only adhere to an older tradition but also fulfill many of the requirements for the effective imparting of quantitative data, including those outlined by design theory, which suggests that “attractive displays of statistical information” achieve the following:³⁹

- have a properly chosen format and design
- use words, numbers, and drawing together
- reflect a balance, a proportion, a sense of relevant scale
- display an accessible complexity of detail
- often have a narrative quality, a story to tell about the data
- are drawn in a professional manner, with the technical details of production done with care

³⁹ Quotation and bullet points, Tufte (2001) 175.

-avoid content-free decoration, including chartjunk

The format and design—an oblong stele slightly smaller than human size—conveys the grandeur of the information contained in it. The words and numbers together give an idea of both quantities, of course, but also privilege the individual kinds of items. The entries themselves, in generally having the components of item type, number of items, and an optional description, allow the viewer to see the relevant basic ideas and to look into more levels of detail if necessary. While the layout of the inventories contradicts the notion that numbers of things always display more clearly in list than in paragraph style, the sentence-like form allows the inventories to have the “narrative quality” Tufte encourages. Thus, whether or not one reads every word of it, a section of text such as the following offering list from Samos, contains a relatively large amount of information in a relatively concentrated space (*IG* 12.261 lines 31–36):

ἐπὶ Δημητρίου ἄρχοντο[ς]
κιθῶνες δύο τούτους ἢ θεὸς ἔχει: ἱμάτια Ἑρμέω: κιθῶνες ΔΔΔΓΙΙΙ τ[ο]-
ύτων ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἓνα ἔχει: ἱμάτια: ΔΔΔΔΓΙΙΙ τούτων ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἔχει ἓν, ἀπ[ὸ]
τούτων τῶν ἱματίων ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὁ ἐν Ἀφροδίτης ἔχει δύο στρουθοὶ ὑπὸ τῆ[ι]
τραπέζῃ: στρουθοὶ ἐπίχρυσοι δύο, στρουθοὶ ὑπάργυροι δύο, τῶν
στρουθῶν τῶν ἐπιχρύσων ἐγλείπει τὰ ὀρσοπύγια:

In the archonship of Demetrios:
Chitons, two, these the goddess has. Cloaks of Hermes. Chitons, 38, of
these Hermes has one. Cloaks: 48, of these Hermes has one, from
these cloaks the Hermes in the [temple?] of Aphrodite has two. Sparrows under
the table: two gold-plated sparrows, two silver-plated sparrows, of the gold-
plated sparrows the rumps are missing.

The inscription is particularly rich in both details and logistical information, such as precisely where certain objects are. An observer of the text, if he or she so chooses, can look at either the raw numbers and stop, or read on for further specifics. The pronoun referents that follow the named objects—τούτους, τούτων—emphasize the paratactic linear syntax (one could imagine different and more integrated ways of structuring the text). This narrative style not only allows the viewer to use the document in various ways but also, taken as a whole, sets a scene and places the dedications within it, suggesting their state, placement, and layout even for those who can see them.

I N V I S I B L E D I S P L A Y S

The Samian offering-list seems to refer to objects on display in and around the Heraion, placed on shelves and draped on statues, put near furniture or hung on walls, with no indication that these treasures or the spaces in which they were stored were off limits to the public. Still, the modes of description provide enough detail to reconstruct much of what the temple may have looked like: in addition to placement of votives, their decorations, and their state of preservation (witness the sparrows' missing tails), inventories often arrange them in some kind of spatial order, by numbered ῥυμός, a row or shelf. Thus the final section of the Samian stone records (lines 56-79):

ἐπὶ Πεισίλεω ἄρχοντος, μηνὸς Ποσιδειῶνος τετράδι φθίνοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς |
 Πανδιονίδος πέμπτης πρυτανείας μίαι καὶ τριακοστῆ παρέδοσαν οἱ τα- |
 μίαι τῆς θεοῦ οἱ ἐπὶ Θεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, Σωσθένης Εὐων(υμεύς):
 Ἄγνοκράτ- | ης Ἄλαι(εύς): Ἀλκίας Πρασι(εύς): Φιλόστρατος ἔξ Οἴ(ου):
 Ἀρίσταρχος Ἄγνού(σιος): Ἀγασίας Ἀχα[ρ](νεύς) | Ῥαίδιος Μελ[ι](τεύς):
 Ἀντιφῶν Ἐλευ(σίνιος): Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδν(αῖος): Ἀμφικλῆς Αἰγίλ(ιεύς): |
 καὶ προέδρων ἐπεστάται Εὐβουλίδης: Ἄλα(ιεύς): συμπρόεδροι
 Διονυσόδωρος Φ[η]- | γού(σιος): Εὐθίας: Χολλεί(δης): Χαίρων:
 Κικυν(νεύς): Γλαυκίας: Ἀχαρ(νεύς): Δημήτριος Αἰξω(νεύς): Ἥγίας |
 Ἐλευ(σίνιος): Ἀντιγένης: Ῥαμν(ούσιος): Ἀρχέβιος: Παλλη(νεύς): πρῶτος
 ῥυμὸς φιάλαι Δ ἦγε | [Ῥ]ΗΗΗΗΔΓΓΓΓΓΓ: δεῦτερος ῥυμὸς φιάλαι: Δ ἦγε:
 ῬΗΗΗΗῬΔΔΔΔΓΓ<Ι>
 τέταρτος ῥυμὸς φιάλαι: Δ: ἦγε: ῬΗΗΗΗ | ΓΓ ... ΙΙΙ: πέμπτος ῥυμὸς
 φιάλαι: Δ: ἦγε ῬΗΗΗΗΔΓ ΓΓ: ἕκτος ῥυμὸς φιάλαι: [Δ] | ἦγε: ῬΗΗΗΗ
 ΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓ: ἕβδομος ῥυμὸς φιάλαι: Δ: ἦγε: ῬΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΠ ὄγ[δοος] |
 ῥυμὸς φιάλαι: Δ: ἦγε: ῬΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΠ: ἕνατος ῥυμὸς ἦγε φιάλαι: Δ:
 ῬΗΗΗΗ | ῬΔΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓ: δέκατος ῥυμὸς φιάλαι: Δ: ἦγε: ῬΗΗΗΗΓ ΓΓ:
 ἐνδέκατος | ῥυμὸς φιάλαι: Δ: ἦγε: ῬΗ ΗΗΗῬΓΓΓΓΠ: δωδέκατος ῥυμὸς
 φιάλαι: Δ: ἦγε | ῬΗΗΗΗΓΓΓΓ: τρίτος καὶ δέκατος ῥυμὸς φιάλαι: Δ: ἦγε:
 ῬΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ ΓΓΓΓΓΓ: τέ- | ταρτος καὶ δέκατος ῥυμὸς φιάλαι: Δ: ἦγε: ῬΗΗΗΗ
 ΗῬΓΓΓ: πέμπτος καὶ δέκα[α]- | [τος] ῥυμὸς φιάλαι: Δ: ἦγε: ῬΗΗΗΗῬΔΔΔΔΠ :
 ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος ῥυμὸς φιάλα[ι] | [Δ: ἦγε: ῬΗ]ΗΗΗῬΓΓΓ ΓΓΓΓ: ἕβδομος
 καὶ δέκατος ῥυμὸς φιάλαι: Δ: ἦγε: ῬΗΗΗΗ[.] | [.4.. ὄγδοος] καὶ δέκατος
 ῥυμὸς φιάλαι: Δ ἦγε: ῬΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΠ: ἕνατος | [καὶ δέκατος ῥυμὸς
 φιάλαι: Δ: ἦ]γε: ῬΗΗΗΗΓΓΓΓΓ δέκατος ῥυμὸς φιάλαι: Δ: ἦγε: ῬΗΗΗΗΔ: |

[... [εἶς καὶ εἰκοστὸς] ῥύμους φιάλαι: Δ: ἦγε: ΠΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΓ: δεύτερος καὶ
 ε[ι]- |
 [κοστὸς ῥύμους ...c.9...]ωμη.4..ων[—]ΗΗΗΗΠΔ |

In the archonship of Pesilaus, on the fourth day of last decad of the month Posideion, in the fifth presidency of Pandionis, the thirty one treasurers of the goddess in the archonship of Theokles, Sosthenes of Euonymon, Hagnokrates of Halae, Alkias of Prasiae, Philostratus from Oion, Aristarchus of Hagnous, Agasias of Acharnae, Raidius of Melite, Antiphon of Eleusis, Callimachus of Aphidna, Amphicles of Aegilia, and Euboulides of Halae was in charge of the presiding officers; the co-officers Dionysodorus of Fegous, Euthias of Cholleidae, Chaeron of Kikynna, Glaukias of Acharnians, Demetrius of Aixone, Hegias of Eleusis, Antigenes of Rhamnous, Archebius of Pallene: first row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*919. Second row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*952, 4 obols. Third row, weight, 10 phialae: *Dp*892, 1 obol. Fourth row, 10 phialae, weight *Dp*903, ?3 obols. Fifth row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*911, 3 obols. Sixth row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp* 944, 3 obols. Seventh row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*927, 2 obols. Eighth row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*937, 2 obols. Ninth row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*894, 4 obols. Tenth row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*907. Eleventh row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*953, 2 obols. Twelfth row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*908. Thirteenth row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*929. Fourteenth row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*956. Fifteenth row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*890, 2 obols. Sixteenth row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*953, 4 obols. Seventeenth row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp* 8??. Eighteenth row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*936, 3 obols. Nineteenth row, 10 phialae, weight: 908. Tenth [*sic*] row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*905. Twenty-first row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*845. Twenty-second row, 10 phialae, weight: *Dp*?945.

The order of the text by successive *ῥύμοι*, shelves or perhaps just arranged rows of dedications, mimics the placement in the temple, not just giving identifying details, but allowing for a complete visual picture.⁴⁰ This might be a useful way to organize a reference text for a set of officials, but, as we have established, the inventories do not seem to be wholly functional in this way. Moreover, even if they were sufficiently accurate, their publication on stone suggests that they serve a purpose for a public whose goal does not always include the assiduous tallying and tracking of treasures and matching of text to object. It seems that part of the objective of making such a

⁴⁰ One is reminded of Near Eastern treaties and conquest inscriptions, which list cities in geographical order.

detailed snapshot of what the treasury room looked like would be to approximate it for an audience who did not have access to it—in this case, posterity. Publication on a stone monument furthers the cause.

In several cases, however, even the ancient viewer of a published inventory would have no access to the physical objects on it. Why make them, then? Apparently, for this exact reason: seeing the stone was tantamount to seeing the treasure. I begin with some smaller-scale examples and proceed to entire collections of votives completely divorced from the published inventories that correspond to them.

Κ Α Θ Α Ι Ρ Ε Σ Ι Σ

In much of this discussion I have focused on the *παράδοσις* inventories, but I have mentioned above and would like now to return to the *καθαίρεσις* genre of text. While examples of these tend to be rather few and far between, the habit of inventorying objects either gone or slated for removal emerges every so often. Perhaps the most well-studied examples are the texts given at *IG II² 1553–1578*, (third quarter of the fourth century BC) which catalogue collections of silver phialae, once dedications from freed slaves, subsequently melted down to make silver hydriae.⁴¹ Lewis’s re-editing and rearrangement of *IG II² 1554–1558*, with additional fragments, supposes an opisthographic stele with five columns of stoichedon text, 16–17 letters in length, containing a highly abbreviated text chiseled on one of the two faces, as Lewis judged, in a “slovenly hand” by a “near illiterate.”⁴² More recently, Meyer has usefully reexamined the texts and collected them in a single publication.⁴³ A better-preserved excerpt proceeds as follows (*IG II² 1559* lines 32–39 = Meyer 1559A lines 144–151):

Ὁφελίων ἐν Κολλυ οἰ-
κῶ κλινοπ ἀποφυγῶν
Εὐπόλεμον Εὐπολέμ-
ο Ἄγρυ, φιάλ σταθμὸ :Η·

35

⁴¹ *IG II² 1469* lines 12–17 and *IG II² 1480* lines 9–11 make mention of the new vessels and the provenance of the metal.

⁴² Lewis (1959) 208 and 208 n. 2. The inflammatory adjectives appear to refer to the remarkably inconsistent letter forms, stoichedon, and orthography, all features which likely contributed to the interpretation of the fragments as forming parts of a single stele.

⁴³ Meyer (2010), pages 81–144 for updated texts and discussion. The arrangement of fragments in drawings on pages 84–85 makes for an especially impressive rendering of the reconstructed “great stele”.

Μοσχίων ἐμ Πειρ ο[ῖκ]-
ῶ ἔμπορο ἀποφυγ[ῶ]ν ν
Λύκιν Βίωνος [Ἀχαρν],
φιάλ σταθμὸν [:Η]· νννν

Ophelion, a bedmaker in
the house of Kolly., manumitted
from Eupolemus son of Eupolem-
us of Agryle, a phiale, weight : 100 35

Moschion a metic in
the house of Peir., manumitted
from Lykis son of Bion of Acharnae,
a phiale, weight: 100

A full entry contains the name of the dedicator (the manumitted slave) along with his former owner, owner's deme, and the slave's profession, followed by the dedication and its weight; this passage includes most of the details. Abbreviations abound especially among the occupations and, inconsistently, in the records of the phialae and weights. On the one hand, we might interpret the proportionally large space given to the freedpeoples' identifiers rather than the phialae as evidence of inventories' increasing emphasis on dedicants rather than dedications, "cement[ing] the commemorative aspect of the act."⁴⁴ Yet at the same time, these dedication lists immortalize the phialae themselves before an audience that may never see them. The record of their existence is so important, in fact, that their impending destruction would cause it to be created for the first time. In the case of these particular dedications, we learn from two inscriptions that they were melted and reshaped into hydriae, apparently for purposes of consolidation,⁴⁵ though this is not made explicit in the fragmentary lines that refer to them (IG *II*² 1469 lines 12-17, along with IG *II*² 1480 lines 9-11):

ὕδριαι
[ἀργυραῖ ...], ἃς ἐ[π]οι[ή]σ[αν]το τ-
[αμίαι οἱ ἐπ]ὶ Νεαί[χ]μου [ἄρ]χοντ-
[ος ἐκ τῶν φ]ιαλῶν τῶν [ἐ]ξελευθ[ε]- 15

⁴⁴ Liddel (2007) 192. See also Dignas (2002) 242 for a similar conclusion about lists from Asia Minor.

⁴⁵ Harris (1988) 331n6.

[ρικῶν ἄς] Νικοκράτ[ης] ἐκ Κ[ο]λωνο-
[ῦ ἐποίη]σεν.

Hydriae
[silver...] which [the treasurers in the]
archonship of Neaichmus had made
out of the phialae presented by freed-
men, (and) which Nikocrates from Colonus
made.

15

This practice of melting groups of smaller precious metal objects and reforming them into larger ones has been associated with Lycurgan reforms,⁴⁶ but it also calls to mind Herodotus' description of the Scythian krater, made from the melted ceremonial arrowheads of the entire male population (*Histories* 4.81.1). Like that monumental vessel, these hydriae comprise tokens of a collection of individuals, and their size attests to the number of component dedications there were. In contradistinction to Herodotus' Scythians, however, the Athenians preserve the original objects in written form. The *καθαίρεσις* list then exists to take the place of the destroyed objects as well as honor those who dedicated them. The laconic catalogue, abbreviated and delineated with spaces between each dedication, contributes to the approximation of the collection with its suggestive layout and repeating ΦΙΑΛ ΣΤΑΘ Η at the end of each entry, creating a pattern easily identifiable even for a "near-illiterate."

F R A G M E N T S I N T E X T

The *kathairesis* inscription self-consciously presents objects that will not survive far into the future and which it will, by design, outlast. Their impending destruction provides the impetus behind the text's creation, and its replacement of them begins almost immediately. Other inventories, though, describe dedications in a middling state of preservation, objects lacking in integrity but not slated for melting down. Thus in the Delian texts we find examples of "old couches in the Hieropoion," (*ID* 147) and words such as ῥάκος scattered throughout the inventories of Artemis Brauronia seem to refer to threadbare garments. Perhaps the most striking example of such an account comes from Miletus.

⁴⁶ By e.g. Schwenk (1985) and Meyer (2010) 59–60, who discusses Lycurgan style and format features. On a separate note, one can also envision a viewer with limited literacy being able to decipher a name in addition to the other formulaic features.

The Milesians' most often noted contributions to the inventory genre come from the sanctuary at Didyma, where regular accounts were maintained of the copious amounts of new dedications to the temple of Apollo from far and wide, from the end of the fourth century into the 270s. But the following text represents a less-common example of the accounts of a sanctuary within the city.⁴⁷ An offering list found in the Heroon shows a series of dedications described in varying states of preservation. No opening or closing formulas are attested and the stone may be an example of a different and apparently less-formulaic subgenre of inventory. The text is now also given in *Inscriptionen von Milet* VI.3.1357, from which I excerpt as a sample lines 7-11:

παλαιὸν ἡχρειωμένον, ἀλουργέα παλαιὰ κατακεκομμένα
ἀχρεῖα ὀκτώ, χλανίδες παλαιαὶ ἀχρεῖαι κατακεκομμένα τ-
[ρ]εῖς, ἰμάτια πορφυρᾶ βαπτὰ ἀχρεῖα κατακεκομμένα τρία, κά[ρ-]
πρασος παλαιός, σινδονίτης παλα[ι]ὸς ἀχρεῖος, ὀθόνας λιναῖ π- 10
[α]λαιαὶ ἀχρεῖαι τρεῖς, ἄλλα ἡ[μ]ιτριβεῖς κεκομμένα δύο...

...old, damaged; eight old sea-purple items, threadbare,
unusable; three old shawls, unusable, threadbare;
three cloaks dyed purple, unusable, threadbare; an old
linen item; an old Sidonian garment, unusable; three fine linen 10
garments, old, unusable; two more half-worn threadbare ones;

As has been noted in previous treatments of the text, the entire contents of the list seem to be objects in disuse. The catalogue comprises primarily garments of various kinds, variously described as some combination of old (*παλαιά*), tattered (*κεκομμένα*), in disrepair or disuse (*ἀχρεῖα*), or something similar. The adjectives are repeated so often as to seem to have official meanings in the local dialect of legalese that render the objects, once so described, void in the sacred administrative context. As far as concerns the purpose of the document's publication, both Günther and the editors of *Inscriptionen von Milet* acknowledge the limitations posed from the broken beginning of the stone, but the latter suggest that it may be a list of disintegrating items meant for removal from the sanctuary. The descriptions of the state of each item, though, in addition to documenting for removal, also serve to create a snapshot of the collection exactly as it stands at a particular moment in time. Entries such as *ἰμάτια πορφυρᾶ βαπτὰ ἀχρεῖα κατακεκομμένα* not only point to disuse but give a picture of how the objects might have appeared to a subsequent viewer of the text. Furthermore, the general lack of named dedicators in the inscription testifies to the continued

⁴⁷ Günther (1988) 219.

importance of these things themselves, not just of the recognition of individuals. Perhaps some critical event called the inscription into existence and the treasurers felt compelled to compile an inventory; perhaps the gradual accumulation and disintegration of so many items led to their being decommissioned and this record's being created. One could also imagine its import as a consultable document should anyone question the removal of an item from the sanctuary: the party in question could then prove it had been classified as defunct.

REMOVAL AND REPRESENTATION

The Milesian offering list has long been compared to a better-known and more extensive collection of texts: those inventories found on the slopes of the Athenian Acropolis listing dedications made to Brauronian Artemis.⁴⁸ These inscriptions show yearly offerings from primarily the 340s, mainly of women's clothing.⁴⁹ Though they contain some objects in precious metal, the bulk of the texts describe individual garments along with the names of the women who dedicated them and includes multiple references to their locations within the dedicatory space, as at *IG II² 1514* lines 38–43:

κατάστικτον διπτέρυγον περὶ τῷ ἔδει [τῷ]
 ἀρχαίῳ· χλανὶς καρτὴ ἄγραφος παράβολον ἔχο[υσα]·
 παιδίου χλανίσκιον λευκὸν καρτόν, ἱερὸν ἐπιγ[έγ]- 40
 ραπτὰ Ἀρτέμιδος, παράβολον ἔχει φοινίκιον· χι[τ]-
 ωνίσκος κτενωτὸς περιποίκιλος, περὶ τῷ ἀγάλμ[α]-
 τι τῷ ὀρθῷ· χιτωνίσκος κτενωτὸς περιήγητος·

A spotted mantle around the old
 statue. A smooth wool garment, uninscribed, having border.
 A smooth wool white child's cloak, inscribed as sacred 40
 to Artemis, having a red border. A scallop-edged
 cloak, embroidered, around the upright
 statue. A scallop-edged cloak with border around it.

⁴⁸ So Debord (1982) 419 n 15, who also compares the Samian offering list, *IG XII 262*. Cf. Günther (1988) 231 for comparison to Brauron.

⁴⁹ *IG II² 1514–1531*, with additional fragments in *Hesperia* 32 (1963) nos. 7–10 (pages 169–182), now organized by Linders (1972).

In addition to frequent names of dedicators (elsewhere on the stones) and descriptions of the appearance of the items, here we observe attested two physical details, referring to one dedication's placement by "the old statue" and another's by "the upright statue." An apparent third statue emerges elsewhere and posed problems of identification given the evidence from the Acropolis. Further interpretive difficulties arise from references in the inventories to two buildings: the "Parthenon" and the "old temple," neither of which labels seemed apt to describe the Athenian sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis in the southwestern section of the Acropolis, in (or near) which the dedications were thought to have resided.⁵⁰ Not until the mid-20th century, when excavations of Brauron yielded an inscription mentioning these two buildings by the same name, did it become clear that the dedications in the inventories are stored not in Athens but at a sanctuary some 40 kilometers away.⁵¹ Though there were parallel records at the sanctuary itself, the presence of these copies at Athens speaks to a different kind of representational force to the inventory stele: to stand in for items far away but felt as state possessions. Without making the long pilgrimage to Brauron, a visitor to the Acropolis and to the Brauroneion there could at a glance observe an approximation of the bulk of the sanctuary's riches, and, if he or she desired, glean a quite comprehensive portrait of just what kinds of things were on display where, and dedicated by whom. He or she might even choose to seek out a specific dedication or detail. Commentators have rightly emphasized the practicality of these inventories' entries for sanctuary officials because of their code-like descriptive words and categories, where the garment titles and adjectives adhere to a finite set of options from which to choose.⁵²

To examine this notion further, we might return to certain ideas traced out in our discussion of Homer in chapter one for further insight into the Brauron texts. In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, I argued, catalogues take precious items and display them as a unified collection but also highlight specific items, using the stock words and phrases upon which formulaic poetry is based. As I pointed out there, Cleland has argued for formulaics in clothing descriptions in the Brauronian catalogues. One lexical example might serve to show how these quite disparate genres work on their audience in similar ways. Of the many curiosities of the Brauron texts we find repeated 14 times throughout an adjective *περιποίκιλος*, describing at least four different kinds of garment: eleven times *χιτωνίσκοι* (*κιθωνίσκοι*), and one *ἔγκυκλον*, one *τρύφημα*,

⁵⁰ *IG II²* 1517 lines 217 and 3, respectively. For discussion see Linders (1977) 70–73.

⁵¹ The inscription in question still awaits publication but is mentioned by Papademitriou (1961:24), (1963: 118), Robert (1963) no.91, Kondis (1967: 169).

⁵² Cleland (2005) Chapter 2.

and one *κάνδυς*.⁵³ The word appears nowhere else in classical literature save once in Xenophon's *Cynegeticus*, composed, like these texts, in the mid-fourth century. In a section in which he describes two varieties of hare—one larger and one smaller—he says of the two related creatures (5.23):

τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν οἱ μὲν κύκλῳ περιποίκιλον, οἱ δὲ παράσειρον.

The (larger) ones have a tail colored all around in a circle;
the (smaller) ones on one side.

The prefix *περι-* seems to have its radical spatial connotation related to the arrangement of the coloring, implying that in one hare the color goes all around, whereas the smaller hares have color just on one side of the tail. In fact, the European hare, of which Xenophon likely speaks along with a relative, has a tail that is colored on top but white beneath, whereas some other varieties have a uniformly colored one. The prefixed adjective *περιποίκιλος*, then, reflects the meaning given by *κύκλῳ* and describes the distribution of the color on the material in question. *παράσειρον*, then, we may take as adverbial, parallel to *κύκλῳ* rather than *περιποίκιλον*. The “color” adjective is implicit, but in its simplex form, *ποίκιλον*. In the case of the Brauron garments, I would suggest the word refers to some piece of them colored in a circular way: perhaps a collared band, or, in the case of the *ἔγκυκλον*, the entire circular garment. The rarity and specificity of the adjective suggest just how precise and technical the Brauron entries are, but also how prone to their own brand of formulaic vocabulary. We might compare the description of the offering Hecuba brings Athena in book six of the *Iliad* and repeated in the *Odyssey* as Helen gives a similar item to Telemachus in the palace of Menelaus (*Iliad* 6.289–290):⁵⁴

ἔνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλα ἔργα γυναικῶν
Σιδονίων... 290

...where were the embroidered woven cloths, works of
Sidonian women... 290

⁵³ *IG* II² 1514.8, 1514.42, 1515.2 (restored) 1516.20, 1517.131, 1517.154–155, 1523.24, 1524.146, 1524.195, 1524.197, 1524.199, 1529.5 (restored), 1530.2–3.

⁵⁴ cf. *Odyssey* 15.104–105: Ἑλένη δὲ παρίστατο φοριαμοῖσιν, | ἔνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, οὓς κάμεν αὐτή.

The compound *παμποίκιλος* is slightly more common than *περιποίκιλος*, but it appears in only a few attestations between Homer and fourth century.⁵⁵ While the two words are of course different, they are of similar formation and have similar distributions of usage. The point is, then, that the composers of object-descriptions in both epic and the Brauronian tradition make use of relatively rare, technically specific words that they then employ as formulaic terms, over and over, describing supposedly unique and different offerings with exactly the same words. While I do not claim that the Brauron officials were drawing specifically on Homer, it does seem that a similar brand of poetics is at work in both texts and has traveled through an entire tradition of inventory-making in both literary and administrative contexts.⁵⁶

While it is true, then, that the inventories thus do not give an individualized description of each object, and that in some sense “the relationship between the real and ‘written’ garment is one of equivalence rather than identity,” the display of the stelae renders the distinction somewhat moot to viewers in Athens.⁵⁷ For them, the garments on the stone do equal what is at Brauron, whether or not there is specific meaning in the code-like use of fashion terminology. While much study of yearly inventories imagines their utility as related to tracing a particular object through time, both the monolithic stele medium and the textual layout equally well—and perhaps more obviously—provide a synchronic snapshot of a collected treasure. Therein, I think, lies much of their effect on a lay viewer.

T I M E A N D S P A C E I N T E X T

Those familiar with inventories will quickly and correctly point out that the more extensive Delian texts, in addition to including items in disuse and poor condition, existed in duplicate both on Delos and in Athens, just like the Brauron scheme.⁵⁸ Here too I would reiterate that the inventory serves as a replacement, which the different phases of the Delian records emphasize further. The corpus comprises inventory texts

⁵⁵ Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* 89; Pindar N.10.36, Euripides *Helen* 1359, Herodotus *Histories* 2.116.11.

⁵⁶ One could expound further on the resonances between the composer-bard tradition and the temple official one. Both, for instance, rely on the regular transmission of information and modes of expression to a changing of authors, who in turn produce another version of essentially the same text.

⁵⁷ Quotation, Kosmetatou (2006) 2.

⁵⁸ For this reason the Delian records continue to provide a convincing argument in support of the Brauron dedications’ being divorced from their inventories, as outlined by Linders (1972) 72.

grouped into three chronological phases on the basis of variations in style, composition, and titling of officials from the Amphictionic period, the period of Delian independence, and the group produced under Athenian control. Scholars have tended to associate the Independence era texts with a haphazard, even anarchic brand of record keeping, for dedicated objects in these inventories shift, apparently at random, from year to year in their arrangement, weight, and order of record.⁵⁹ The records of the Athenian period, by contrast, give a far greater semblance of order: objects maintain consistent weights throughout, and the *epeteia*—new offerings from the last year—are listed in a separate group rather than mixed in with the old items. The contrast has led to a general consensus that the Independence texts would have been all but useless for fact-checking to yearly officials.⁶⁰ Yet, by the very fact of their inconsistency, these texts can be seen to reflect a more thorough examination on the part of the officials, who, so to speak, re-invent the wheel every time they make them, re-weighing metals and re-composing the list as opposed to merely annotating it. This is a cumbersome practice, to be sure, and one that would produce texts ill-suited to later collation, but it does meet the requirements of inventory-taking itself.⁶¹ Moreover, each varied iteration of the list results in a new snapshot of what is in the temple at the moment, taken from a different angle with different details in focus, and valid for one year. If we cast the inventory thus, as a facsimile of the collection, the Independence texts from Delos present a shifting portrait very much in keeping with a physical reality, not just a disjointed narrative.

As Hamilton and others have noted, the inventories from Athens also undergo an evolution whereby accounting practices, as well as personnel, shift between the first extant inventories of 434 and the last ones at the end of the fourth century.⁶² As the inventories are consolidated they become further organized into an order better suited to collation of texts than to an arrangement in a room. Thus, while the first fifth century texts include many years of inventories of one room on the same stone, with

⁵⁹ Hamilton (2000) performs extensive review and re-display of the extremely convoluted data, showing through a number of charts that attempting to trace one object through the years quickly becomes unfeasible. In conjunction with my own study, in my descriptions of the overall state and content of these texts I have benefitted from his summary comments on pages 2 and 7-9, and from his tables throughout. Tréheux's unpublished doctoral dissertation apparently groups the independence texts into three phases between 314 and 279, after which they seem to become standardized and follow a regular format.

⁶⁰ This notion is the main impetus behind Linders (1988) and the dissertation of Tréheux; see also Aleshire (1989) 107 n 3.

⁶¹ This is what compels Linders (1988) to say that the Delian text are records of the handover from one set of officials to the next rather than usable documents.

⁶² See e.g. Hamilton (2000) 274.

the contents arranged in no consistent order, later texts group *ἐπέτεια*, the yearly additions, and arrange the rest by material.

The resulting evolutionary model is something of a punctuated equilibrium, in which relatively marked changes occur at once every so many decades as opposed to their emerging through minute gradual change. It seems that at Delos similar advancements were adopted also within the period of Delian independence between 314–279, when a standard format that listed separate accounts and yearly acquisitions was adopted.⁶³ The texts, if we can identify any particular directionality, in becoming less consolidated seem to strive for increasing iconic value, organized to reflect more directly the placement of items within the treasury and group similar items together. This shift, contrary to some conclusions that have been drawn about inventories, suggests that with time the texts are placing greater emphasis on the organization of collections, and their physical and chronological details, as opposed to just grouping endowments together regardless of acquisition date. In the later Delian scheme, then, a viewer could gain an idea of what was in the collection when, like a series of snapshots.⁶⁴

On the other hand, the inventories of the Athenian period deal with Athenian resources remotely located but centrally controlled. While the majority of items in the Independence corpus are precious metals, the Athenian-era texts include a more diverse body of dedications, including objects of less value. Based partly on our conception of the development of the Athenian tradition, we might draw the tentative conclusion that the Athenian texts reflect a concern to document each and every physical item, not just those of value, much as we have seen in the case of the Miletus text and the Brauronian inventories. Taken to an extreme, this almost obsessive attention to record-keeping might remind us of the hyper-enthusiastic archivist, the subject of a common apocryphal anecdote, often retold in some version of the following:⁶⁵

This man was a great taxonomist of the old school—detailed, ordered, meticulous, and industrious to a fault. I was told that two boxes had been found in a desk drawer after his death—one

⁶³ Hamilton (2000) 26, drawing heavily on Tréheux.

⁶⁴ Also of great interest to scholars has been the debate over why the Delian texts seem selective, not inclusive of all dedications in all years. Hamilton (2000: 31) claims that “...whereas Tréheux argued for “deliberate” incompleteness, I argue for “inadvertent” incompleteness;” I am inclined to believe that the display of these records involved a fair amount of careful design such that most texts (save occasional errors and omissions) were intended to show very specific and not always comprehensive information.

⁶⁵ Purcell and Gould (1992) 44.

marked “pieces of string for future use,” the other marked “pieces of string not worth saving.”

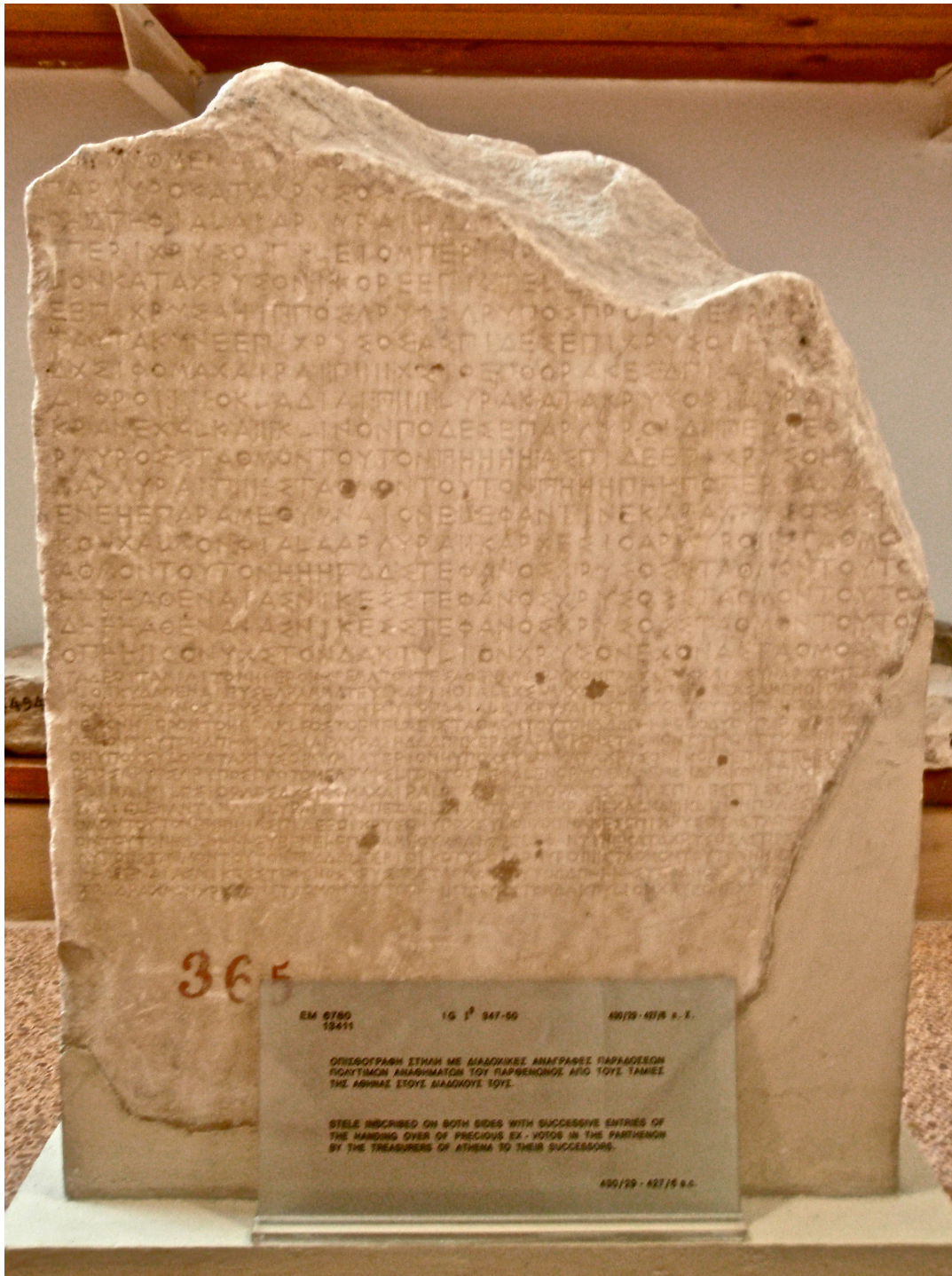
STONE AS REPOSITORY

In inscribed inventory texts, as I have pointed out before, two things come across to a viewer: first, the specific details, which call to mind mental images of individual objects, and second, a global sense of abundance. The organization, recording, and selective display of all this information on stone have various effects on a viewer of an inscribed inventory that set it apart from other kinds of inscribed lists. In many ways, these texts find more resonance with the literary catalogues of Greek poetry and historical narrative than they do with other government documents. First, they share with both Homeric catalogues and Herodotus’ lists their conversion of a physical collection of precious items, into words on a singular basis—one entry for each item. Furthermore, they engage in the subsequent collation and display of the ensuing word-list, as if it were an artifact in itself. Just as a narrator introduces a catalogue into a narrative with deictic language and prefatory statements, the makers of these inscriptions index, frame, and adorn the texts with every means at their disposal. That these texts describe a physical reality, brought together and housed in one time and place, means that they stand as distinct from other kinds of lists. Tribute lists, casualty lists, and temple finance accounts are perhaps the most obvious comparanda that come to mind, but while they share some basic affinities with inventories, I have intended to single out here those stones that record a physical collection of diverse, describable objects, arranged as a group and curated, so to speak, as a collection. The contents may shift from year to year, but the bulk remains a constant. Just as an epic bard might present a different permutation of the catalogue of ships or Agamemnon’s offerings to Achilles each performance, so too the inventory changes from year to year, and from one set of officials to the next. The notion that there is an actual material analogue to the text—a physical reality to which to return and refer—makes us consider each year’s inventory, and each bard’s *Iliad* 9 catalogue, a version of the same essential text.

But whereas in the cases of Homer and Herodotus we dealt with virtual collections best known to modernity and antiquity from their textual analogues, the inscriptions treat groups of items whose physical nature was, even at the time of composition, central to their worth. Moreover, their value consisted not merely in their face value or weight, but in their belonging to a particular class of sacred dedicated items. The treasure as a whole, not just any one of its members, motivates value. All this said, it must have been a clear enough eventuality to the makers of the

inventories that the inscribed *stelae* in most cases would both outlast the objects they represent and be viewed by more people. We might venture that given the prominence of epigraphic texts in general in fifth-century Athens and the growing authority of both the written word and the monumental display, the stone lists might have begun to have more authority than the treasures themselves, and be more visible to the public, even when they co-existed alongside them. The following chapter will turn to the comedy of Aristophanes to examine further the interaction of lists and valuable objects as it appears in Athenian culture of the fifth and early fourth centuries.

FIGURE 1: *IG I³ 353-354 = EM 6780*



Personal photograph

[τάδε *hoi* ταμίαι τὸν *hierōn* χρεμάτων τῆς Ἀθυναίας Εὐφύλιτος Κερ]ισιεύς και *chounárchontes, hoís*]
 [Ἐπιγένης *Anosándros* Δίγλιεύς ἐγραμμάτευε, παρεδούσαν τοῖς ταμίῃσι : *h[oi]s* *Anosídikos*9.....]
 [Γαργέτιος ἐγραμμάτευε : *Aníkoni* Πρασιεῖ και *chounárchousi*, παρ]λαδέχασάμ[ενοι παρὰ τὸν προτέρου τα]-
 [μίου, *hoís* *Nikeás* *hadimósios* ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐν τοῖ Παρθενών]. στέφανος χρυσὸς σταθμὸν τούτου : [PΔ : v]
 [φιάλα]μ [χ]ρ[υσά]τι Γ, σταθμὸν τούτου ΠΗΗΗPΔΔΔΗ-· χρυσίον ἄσημον, στ]αθμῖον [τούτο ΠΙΠΙ· καρχέσιον χρυσὸν]
 [τ]ὸμ πυθμένα *hupárghypon* ἔχον, *hierōn* τὸ *heraklées* τὸ ἐν Ἐλαεῖ, στ]αθμῖον τούτου : ΗΔΔΔΓΗΗ-· ἔλο δύο *hν*]-
 παργύρου καταχρῦσο, σταθμὸν τούτου : ΗPΔΔΔΔΗΗΗ-· πρόσσιον *hupárghyon* κατάχρυσον, σταθμὸν τούτ]-
 ο : ΗΔΓΗ-· φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ : ΗΔΔΔΔ[Γ]ΠΙΠΙ : κέρας ἀργυρὸν σταθμὸν τούτου : ΤΤΧΧΧΗΗΗΗΓΗΗ-· ἀριθμὸν τάδε· ἀκινάκα]-
 1 περίχρυσοι : ΓΙ : Λέιον περίχρυν[σον, στάχυνε] : ΔΠΙ : κανὸ *hupochoúlo* καταχρῦσο : ΠΙ : θυμιατέριον *hupochoyn*]-
 λον κατάχρυσον : Ι : κόρε ἐπὶ στέλ[εις κατάχρ]υστος : Ι : κοῖτε *hupochoúlos* κατάχρυσος : Ι : γοργόνειον, κάμπ]-
 ε ἐπίχρυστα· *híptos* : γρύψ, γρυπὸς προτομέ : γρ[ύ]ψ, Λέοντος κεφαλέ, *hórhmios* ἀνθέμιον, δράκον, ἐπίχρυσα]
 ταῦτα· *kyne* ἐπίχρυσος : ἀσπίδες ἐπίχρυσοι *h[upochoúlo]* : ΔΓ : κλίβαι Χιοργές : ΓΠΙ : κλίβαι Μιλεσιоргές :]
 Δ : χοιφομάχαιραι : ΓΠΙΠΙ : χοῖφε : Γ : θόρακες : ΔΓΙ : ἀσπίδες ἐπίσημοι : ΓΙ : ἀσπίδες ἐπίχάλκοι : ΔΔΔΙ : θρόνοι : ΓΙ :]
 Δίφροι : ΠΙΠΙ : ὀκλαδίαι : ΓΠΙΠΙ : λύρα κατάχρυσος : Ι : λύραι [ἐ]λεφάντιναι : ΠΙΠΙ : λύραι : ΠΙΠΙ : τράπεζα ἐλεφαντομένε].
 κράνε χαλκᾶ : ΠΙ : κλινὸν πόδες ἐπάργυροι : ΔΠΙ : πέλτε : φιλᾶλαι ἀργυραῖ : ΠΙΠΙ : κυλι..ίο *huppargyro* Π : *híptos* ἀ]-
 ργυρὸς : σταθμὸν τούτου : ΠΗΗΗΗΗ : ἀσπίδε ἐπιχρῦσο *hup[er]lochoúlo* : ΠΙ : ἀκινάκες ἐπίχρυσος, ἄσταθμος· φιάλα]-
 1 ἀργυραῖ : ΓΠΙ : σταθμὸν τούτου : ΠΗΗΗΗΓΗΗ-· ποτέρια Χαλ[κ]ικὰ ἀργυρᾶ : ΠΙΠΙ : σταθμὸν τούτου : ΗΔΔΔΗΗΗ-· σνβ]-
 ἐνε *he* παρὰ Μεθιμναῖον ἐλεφαντίνε κατάχρυσος : ἀσπί[ς ἐγ Λέσβο ἐπίσημος : κράνος ἐγ Λέσβο Ἰλλυρι]-
 κὸν χαλκὸν : φιάλα ἀργυρᾶ : ΠΙ : καρχέσιον ἀργυρὸ : ΠΙ : σταθμῖον τούτου : PΠPΔΔΔ : Δέσβιοι κότυλοι ἀργυροῖ ΠΙ : στ]-
 αθμὸν τούτου : ΗΗΗΗPΔΔΔ : στέφανος χρυσὸς, σταθμὸν τούτο : [ΔΓΗΗΗ-ΠΙΠΙ : στέφανος χρυσὸς, σταθμὸν τούτο : ΔΔΓ]
 ΗΗΗΗ : Ἀθυναίας Νίκης στέφανος χρυσὸς, σταθμὸν τούτο : [ΔΔΓΗΗΗΗ-· στέφανος χρυσὸς, σταθμὸν τούτο : ΔΔ]
 ΔΗΗΗ : Ἀθυναίας Νίκης στέφανος χρυσὸς, σταθμὸν τούτο : [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ-· τετράδραχμον χρυσὸν, σταθμὸν τούτ]-
 ο : ΓΗΗΠΙΣ : ὄνυχς τὸν δακτύλιον χρυσὸν ἔχον, ἄσταθμος *vn* [vacat]

FIGURE 3: IG I³ 354

τάδε οἱ ταμίαι τὸν μισθὸν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηνῶν Δικῆν Πρασιῶν καὶ γυνάργωντες [οἷς Ἀσιθῆκος Γαργύπιος ἐγραμμάτευε παρεδόσαν τοῖς ταμίαισι, οἷς Φορ]-
 μῶν Κυδοθέβαιαις ἐγραμμάτευε. Χερῖνοι Ἀεχσιμαχο [Π]ἸἸεκι', παρὰδεχομέναι παρὰ [τὸν προτέρον ταμίον, οἷς Ἐπιγένης Διγίλαις ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐν τοῖ Παρθε]-
 νῶνι στέφανος χυσιός, σταθμῶν τοῦτο Π^α·φιάλαι χυσιοῖ Γ', σταθμῶν τοῦτον Π^ηΗ^ηΠ^αΔΔΔ+- χρ[ιστόν] ἀσθεμον, σταθμῶν τοῦτο Η-III. καργέσιον χυσιὸν τὸν μηθιένα [αὐτάργυρο]-
 ν ἔχων, μισθὸν τὸ μερκαλέος τὸ ἐν Ἴεκαεῖ, σταθμῶν τοῦτο ΗΔΔΔΓ^ηΗ+- ἔλο δῖο [αὐταργύρο] καρ[γυρίστο], σταθμῶν τοῦτον Η^ηΠ^αΔΔΔΗΗΗ+- πρῶσιον [αὐτάργυρον] κατὰ χυσιόν, στ]-
 αθμῶν τοῦτο ΗΔΓ^η- φιάλαι ἀργυροῖ ΗΔΔΔΓ^ηII, κέρως ἀργυρῶν, σταθμῶν τοῦτον ΤΤΧΧΧΗΗΗΗΓ^ηΗ+- ἀρθμῶν τὰδε ἀκινάκται περιχρυσῶσι Γ^η: Λέιον περιχρυσῶν, σταχῆς ΔII· καν]-
 ὸ [αὐτοχρῶλο] κατὰ χυσιὸν II· θημιατέριον [αὐτοχρῶλο] κατὰ χυσιόν I· κορὴ ἐπὶ στελας κατὰ χυσιὸς I· κοῖτε [αὐτοχρῶλο] κατὰ χυσιὸς I· γοργύνειον, κέμιτε ἐπιχρυσῶσι η]-
 πτιος· γρύπος γρυπὸς προτομιέ γρύπος Λέωντος κεφαλαί, ἰόρμος ἀνθήμιον, δρᾶκον, ἐπιχρυσῶσι τὰτα· κινε ἐπιχρυσῶς· ἀσπίδες [αὐτοχρῶλο] ΔΓ^η· κἀνα Χιοργῆς ΠIII·
 κἀνα Μικετοργῆς Δ· χοιρομάχοισι ΠIII· χοστῆ Γ^η· θύρακες ΔΓ^η: ἀσπίδες ἐπίσμοι Γ^η: ἀσπίδες ἐπιχρῶσαι ΔΔΔI· θρόνοι Γ^η· δίφροι III: ὀκαδοῖαι Γ^ηIII: λῖρα κατὰ χυσιὸς I· λ]-
 ῖρα ἐκείρανηται III: λῖρα III· τράπεζα ἐκείρανηται κρῆνε γὰρ κἀ III· κἀνων πόδες εἰπάργυροι ΔIII· πέλτε· φιάλαι ἀργυροῖ III, κινάκ. [αὐτοχρῶλο] II, ἡπτιος ἀργυρός, στα]-
 θμῶν τοῦτον Π^ηΗΗΗΗ· ἀσπίδες ἐπιχρῶσαι [αὐτοχρῶλο] II· ἀκινάκτες ἐπιχρυσῶς, ἀσπίδοις φιάλαι ἀργυροῖ ΠIII· σταθμῶν τοῦτον Π^ηΗΗΗΓ^ηΗ+- ποτέρια Χαλκιδικά ἀργυροῖ III, σταθμ]-
 ῶν τοῦτον ΗΔΔΔΗΗ+- σιβένη με παρὰ Μεθιμωσίον ἐκείρανη κατὰ χυσιὸς ἀσπίς [ἐγ Λέσφο] ἐπίσμοι κρῶνος ἐγ Λέσφο Ἰθαυρικὸν γὰρ κἀ II, καργέσιό ἀρ]-
 γυροῖ II, σταθμῶν τοῦτον Π^ηΠ^αΔΔΔ· Λέσφοι κἀ κἀ ἀργυροῖ III, σταθμῶν τοῦτον ΗΗΗΗΠ^ηΔΔΔ· στέφανος χυσιός, σταθμῶν τοῦτο ΔΓ^ηΗΗΗ-III: στέφανος χυσιός, σταθμῶν τοῦτο ΔΔΓ^ηΗΗ-]
 Η+- Ἀθηνῶν Νίκης στέφανος χυσιός, σταθμῶν τοῦτο ΔΔΓ^ηΗΗ+- στέφανος χυσιός, [σταθμῶν τοῦτο ΔΔΔΗΗ+- Ἀθηνῶν Νίκης στέφανος χυσιός, σταθμῶν τοῦτο ΔΔΔΗΗ+- πῆ]-
 τρᾶδραχμῶν χυσιόν, σταθμῶν τοῦτο Γ^ηΗΗC· ὄνως τὸν δακτυλῶν χυσιόν ἔχων, ἀ[σταθμῶς vacat]
 vacat

I <καὶ γυνάργωσι>

4

P E R F O R M E D · I N V E N T O R I E S
P E R F O R M E D · I N V E N T O R I E S
P E R F O R M E D · I N V E N T O R I E S
P E R F O R M E D · I N V E N T O R I E S
P E R F O R M E D · I N V E N T O R I E S

Many Dutch still lifes that portray fruits, meats or fish are apparently composed as a form per se, not only because of the fact that they are delimited by a frame but because they are usually piled up in the center. But so clear is the intention to attain the effect of abundance, of the ineffability of variety suggested, that we can number them among examples of visual lists. And there is an allusion to lists, albeit well composed, in the Dutch still lifes known as Vanitas, which mix up objects apparently devoid of any reciprocal relationship, but which stand for all that is perishable, and invite us to think of the transience of worldly goods.

Umberto Eco, *The Infinity of Lists* (2010)

Epigraphic inventories form part of the visual text-world in which fifth century Athenians spent much of their daily lives. As we imagine it, a citizen or visitor in Athens would have encountered all manner of inscriptions on stone and other materials in public spaces. Even if they were not equipped to read every word of these texts or just did not take the time to do so, inscriptions nonetheless played a significant role in the visual landscape. In this chapter, I explore another genre of publicly disseminated text that came into view not long after displayed inventories in Athens: Aristophanic comedy. I examine Aristophanes' use of lists and enumerations not only because they are roughly contemporaneous with the epigraphic inventories, but because they evince thematic correspondences with them and with the earlier literary

lists I have already considered. In reading Aristophanes, we might begin to gain a richer sense of how the public interacted with the documentary catalogues displayed all around them, and how in turn these texts find resonance in Aristophanes' own presentation of Athenian culture.

To the reader interested in less mundane aspects of Greek comic verse, an enumeration of a few items that an Aristophanic character speaks passes by noted, but perhaps only duly so. Humor, we seem to feel, cleaves inherently to nursery-rhymish paratactic strings and no one doubts that these sequences must have provoked laughter. Why else, but for the sake of amusement, would the hoopoe in the *Birds* punctuate his sentences with quaint illustrative quartets, whether innocently informing the audience of avian domestic habits (160-161)?¹

TE. Νεμόμεσθα δ' ἐν κήποις τὰ λευκὰ σήσαμα
καὶ μύρτα καὶ μήκωνα καὶ σισύμβρια.

We live in gardens, on white sesame,
and myrtle, poppyseeds, and bergamot.

Or expressing unbridled enthusiasm at the prospect of forming a bird-nation (193-194)?

TE. μὰ γῆν, μὰ παγίδας, μὰ νεφέλας, μὰ δίκτυα,
μὴ ἔγωγὸν νόημα κομψότερον ἤκουσά πω·

By earth, by traps, by cloudy skies, by nets!
I never heard as slick a plan as that.

And what of Lysistrata's logic that women can save the city with their adornments, which will charm the men into ending the war? (46-48):

LY. ταῦτ' αὐτὰ γάρ τοι κάσθ' ἃ σώσειν προσδοκῶ,
τὰ κροκωτίδια καὶ τὰ μύρα καὶ περιβαρίδες
χῆγχουσα καὶ τὰ διαφανῆ χιτώνια

These very items, see, will save us all:
our saffron robes, perfumes, and peep-toe flats,
our bronzers and our diaphanous wraps.

¹ Translations are my own unless noted otherwise.

Scholars tend to recognize these moments as a feature of comedy but make only general suggestions as to why they are there.

In a recent survey of the linguistic features of Old Comedy, Andreas Willi comments that, after the comic compound of the old tradition waned, “long, asyndetic lists, especially of consumption goods, gained in importance,” adding that such examples in Old Comedy likely served as “virtuoso pieces” for lickety-split recitation.² These are true enough observations, perhaps, but why should such a shift occur, and how do the numerous more integrated examples of lists throughout the Aristophanic corpus behave in the drama? Not all these lists look like virtuoso pieces, and even for those that do, the very notion of virtuosity remains more descriptive than explanatory. In this chapter I attempt to examine where the Aristophanic catalogue comes from. In doing so, I propose neither a single origin nor one that accounts for each and every example; rather I look at a selection of passages mainly from *Clouds*, *Birds*, *Assemblywomen*, and *Wealth* as exemplifying a few varied yet interrelated listing habits. My approach takes as a guiding principle the notions that comedy (a) has a multifaceted function and (b) “finds amusement at social, legal, and religious derelictions which in life would not amuse.”³ I aim, though, to identify some of the rationales behind that amusement.

We have seen so far in previous chapters that lists of prestige objects in Greek figure prominently in at least three quite varied genres of text: oral/epic poetry, narrative history, and official documents. In what follows I will suggest that the catalogues in the comedies of Aristophanes intersect with those of two of these other genres, epic poetry and inventories. Comedy in the fifth and fourth centuries finds itself in the peculiar position to be able to cull from several areas of literature and culture without necessarily needing to fulfill any of their requirements of content or even structure. Thus a comic playwright is at liberty to empty the contents of an existing literary form, like an icetray, and refill it with whatever lexical liquid he pleases.⁴ Such humor only achieves its effects, however, before an audience versed in

² Willi (2010: 487). Gilula (2001:87) identifies this same virtuosity in his study of Hermippus fr. 63, where “the delivery is important in itself, and there must be a change of style, perhaps a change of pace, and a sharp focus on the performer and his skills, as in the case of the performance of a modern list, that of fifty-seven Russian composers belted out by Danny Kaye in one of his movies.” Many Gilbert and Sullivan pieces, for instance, famously operate on similar techniques.

³ Carey (1994) 82 and 79 (for the quotation).

⁴This is akin to the parody’s functioning “to exploit the humorous potentialities of incongruity by combining high-flown tragic diction and allusions to well-known tragic situations with

the parodic source. This point may seem absurdly self-evident, yet it is worth noting now as a reminder that Aristophanes writes for an audience saturated with exposure to catalogues of various kinds. Even those Athenians with little awareness of the epic tradition would surely have had regular contact with the inscribed lists displayed in public civic spaces and arguably would have become caught up themselves in accounting and record-keeping. Observing these same tendencies in Aristophanes' characters, then, argues for their existence in the Athenian social landscape not because we cast Aristophanes as a realist but because of the inherent nature of humor-making. While his use of the list form maintains its functions of naming, displaying, and counting, it exposes these same practices to ridicule, and with them the preoccupations of the Athenian populace.

A R I S T O P H A N E S ' T E I C H O S C O P I A

Much scholarship has addressed Aristophanes' interaction with the tragic tradition, which is indeed frequent and worthy of discussion. His use of lists, however, represents an innovation that draws on literary predecessors largely outside the scope of other dramatic genres.⁵ In search of comparanda for these moments we must look elsewhere, and at a degree further separated from Aristophanes than tragedy, we come to the epic tradition. Admittedly, epic-style moments do not leap out at the modern reader of Aristophanes, but when the Athenian comic audience encountered lists in performed plays, the Homeric poems would have stood as a familiar—if not a most immediate—exemplar.⁶ The presence of a catalogue on its own, though, does not

vulgarity or trivial domestic predicaments” and humor lying in the exaggerated new use of an old literary form (Dover (1972) 73, 76). Silk (2002) perhaps summarizes the situation most elegantly (99) “...over and over again [Aristophanes] fills the air with verbal presences evocative of earlier and contemporary literature—evocative of all and any literature, from the old epic to the New Dithyramb, from oratory to oracles, from sophistic quibbles to Aesopian fables—but, above all, evocative of tragedy.”

⁵ That is not to say that catalogue falls wholly outside the tragic repertoire: notable examples include the Chalkidean women's catalogue of the Greek fleet at Euripides' *Iph. Aul.* 231-303, Antigone's description of the army at *Phoenissae* 110-117. Scodel (1997) compares both to their Homeric precedents. For an informative if antiquated reading of the former see Allen (1901).

⁶ Platter (2007: 109) attributes the lack of epicism in Aristophanic comedy to the considerable attention and imitation that genre already received from the literary tradition itself (109). Harriott (1986: 63-64) seems to recognize some epic flavor in *Knights*; McLeish (1979: 56)

necessarily and obviously dictate an epic precedent, and the influence of the archaic version of the list form does not emerge so clearly as does, say, Aristophanes' use of the hexameter, and so there is need for more nuanced analysis.⁷

Here I consider Tereus' introduction to Euelpides and Pisthetaerus of the bird-chorus as an example of a catalogue that, despite its tragic allusion and wordplay, shares the formal characteristics of a Homeric passage. Once Euelpides and Pisthetaerus have arrived in what will become *Νεφελοκοκκυγία*, Tereus summons the birds for the two companions and then describes them to his wonderstruck guests, some as they parade out, then others that have accumulated on stage (lines 268–310).⁸ The scene as a whole might call to mind in an audience one of the Homeric similes that precedes the Iliadic catalogue of ships, which compares the marshalled forces to so many assembled birds (2.459–468):

Τῶν δ' ὡς τ' ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ
 χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων 460
 Ἄσιῳ ἐν λειμῶνι Καῦστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα
 ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ποτῶνται ἀγαλλόμενα πτερύγεσσι
 κλαγγηδὸν προκαθιζόντων, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λειμῶν,
 ὡς τῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιάων
 ἐς πεδίον προχέοντο Σκαμάνδριον· αὐτὰρ ὑπὸ χθῶν 465
 σμερδαλέον κονάβιζε ποδῶν αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἵππων.
 ἔσταν δ' ἐν λειμῶνι Σκαμανδρίῳ ἀνθεμόεντι
 μυρίοι, ὅσά τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίγνεται ὥρη.

And just as the many types of winged birds,
 the wild geese, or the cranes, or the swans with long-necks, 460
 in the Asian meadow by Caüstrius' streams,
 fly to and fro rejoicing in their wings' delight,

acknowledges Homeric precedents for comic hero-types. Willi (2010: 496) essentially dismisses engagement with epic outside of hexameter oracles and metrical puzzle pieces. Parodies of Homeric catalogue itself, such as Hermippos fr. 63 (Gilula 2001) have not to my knowledge received much attention.

⁷ For a study based on five hexameter scenes, see Platter (2007: 111)), who claims that “in each case a speaker attempts to assert rhetorical control of a situation by appeal to epic-oracular authority” (111).

⁸ Gelzer gives a colorful and useful account of the expectations that Aristophanes sets up and dashes for the audience throughout the parodos and introduction to it (1996: 206–207).

perch with shrill chirping, and the whole meadow resounds,
 so too out of the ships and huts their many tribes
 poured out onto the Scamandrian plain; the earth 465
 beneath echoed with sounds of their horses and feet.
 And in the ever-blooming Scamandrian plain
 they stood, countless, just as the leaves and buds in spring.

There are, however, more specific resonances. Throughout the first part of the conversation there is a pattern wherein, triggered by the sight of a bird, one of the visitors asks (often with a deictic reference) which bird it is that presents itself before him, and Tereus answers with a short description and name, as at 269–273:

Ευ. νῆ Δί' ὄρνις δῆτα. τίς ποτ' ἐστίν; οὐ δήπου ταῶς;
 Πε. οὗτος αὐτὸς νῶν φράσει· τίς ἐστὶν οὔρνις οὔτοσί; 270
 Τε οὗτος οὐ τῶν ἠθάδων τῶνδ' ὧν ὀρᾶθ' ὑμεῖς αἰί,
 ἀλλὰ λιμναῖος.
 Ευ. βαβαί, καλός γε καὶ φοινικιοῦς.
 Τε. εἰκότως <γε>· καὶ γὰρ ὄνομ' αὐτῷ ὅτι φοινικόπτερος.

Ευ. Well, that sure is a bird. What is it? Not a peacock, right?
 Πε. This guy here will tell us. What bird is this over here?
 Τε. That one isn't one of those ones that you see every day;
 It's a marsh bird.

Ευ. Oh wow, look, he's so pretty and rubied!
 Τε. He sure is! And that's how come he's called the ruby-throat.

This exchange continues as the birds emerge first in dribs and drabs, then as a body on stage, and Pisthetairos and Euelpides come to know through inquiry the number and names of the residents they plan to colonize. The expert and ambassador, Tereus, explains who each bird is and gives some salient attributes, and a catalogue of the twenty-four members of the chorus is the result. Commentators come to few conclusions as to why the chorus comprises these species to the exclusion of others.⁹ For the most part, they note this scene's reference to tragic diction and quotation and

⁹ “[t]he evidence suggests that, although the majority would be familiar to Athenians by sight and/or sound, Ar. was moved to include at least three...by his experience of poetry rather than of birds; but...colour-effects were also in his mind” (Dunbar 1995: 244).

proceed to study each name in detail.¹⁰ But in content and structure, and in some sense effect, the scene bears a close resemblance to a very different poetic predecessor: the *teichoskopia*, Helen’s account to Priam of the Greek commanders as they both look on them from the walls of Troy, at *Iliad* 3.162-242. That dialogue functions in a similar manner, through (1) sighting trigger (2) question and (3) descriptive answer. Summoning Helen to his side, Priam asks her in succession—marked by ordinal numbers—who each warrior is. Thus in the case of Odysseus, the second figure identified and discussed, the exchange proceeds as follows (191-202):

Δεύτερον αὖτ' Ὀδυσῆα ἰδὼν ἐρέειν' ὁ γεραίός·
 εἶπ' ἄγε μοι καὶ τόνδε φίλον τέκος ὅς τις ὄδ' ἐστί·
 μείων μὲν κεφαλῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο,
 εὐρύτερος δ' ὤμοισιν ἰδὲ στέρνοισιν ἰδέσθαι.
 τεύχεα μὲν οἱ κεῖται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ, 195
 αὐτὸς δὲ κτίλος ὥς ἐπιπωλεῖται στίχας ἀνδρῶν·
 ἀρνεῖσθ' μιν ἔγωγε εἴσκω πηγεσιμάλλω,
 ὅς τ' οἴων μέγα πῶϋ διέρχεται ἀργεννάων.
 Τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειθ' Ἑλένη Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα·
 οὔτος δ' αὖ Λαερτιάδης πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς, 200
 ὃς τράφη ἐν δήμῳ Ἰθάκης κραναῆς περ ἐούσης
 εἰδὼς παντοίους τε δόλους καὶ μήδεα πυκνά.

Second the old man asked, seeing Odysseus,
 “Tell me, dear child, this one, who is this man right here?
 He’s shorter, true, than Agamemnon Atreus’ son,
 but broader, looks like, in his shoulders and his chest.
 His armor all lies on the all-nourishing earth,
 but he treks like a ram through rank and file of men.
 Really, he looks like a thick-fleecy lamb to me,
 meandering through the great flock of shining-white sheep.”
 Then Helen, born from Zeus’ line, replied to him:
 “That is wily Odysseus, Laertes’ son,
 raised in the land of Ithaca, rough though it be,
 who knows of cunning tricks and clever-plotted plans.”

¹⁰ E.g., line 275 adapts Sophocles’ *Tyro* fr. 65, and in 276 Pishetaerus asks which bird is the *μουσομάντις*, an Aeschylean compound.

At a structural level, both scenes showcase an expert and a novice, a compatriot sharing his or her familiarity with a ξένος requesting information. Helen and Tereus occupy the same role in identifying for Priam on the one hand, and Euelpides and Pisthetaerus on the other, the members of the opposing force from an insider’s position. And both sets of descriptions, which include names and a few attributes, once they are complete, form a small catalogue. Both also allow the audience to observe main characters as they self-consciously look on a third display, not quite a play-within-a-play, but something further into the depth of the scene, what we might think of as endotheater.¹¹ The act of observation, as marked by ὀράω, is common and essential to each, though it must be narrated in the epic poem (Ὀδυσῆα ἰδὼν ἐρέειν’ ὁ γεραιός) while it occurs within the dialogue of the drama in *Birds*, e.g. 263–268:

Πε. ὀρᾶς τιν’ ὄρνιν;
 Ευ. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω ἴγῳ μὲν οὔ·
 καίτοι κέχηνά γ’ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπων.
 Πε. ἄλλως ἄρ’ οὔποψ, ὡς ἔοικ’, εἰς τὴν λόχμην
 ἐμβὰς ἐπόπωζε χαραδριὸν μιμούμενος. 265
 Τη. τοροτίξ τοροτίξ.
 Πε. ὦγάθ’, ἀλλ’ <εἶς> οὔτοσὶ καὶ δὴ τις ὄρνις
 ἔρχεται.

Pe. You see a bird yet?
 Eu. By Apollo, no, not me.
 Though I’ve been looking open-mouthed up at the sky. 265
 Pe. I guess then the Hoopoe mimicked the mountain stream
 going into the woods and crying epopoi!
 Te. Torotix, torotix!
 Pe. I’m sure he did pal, but look here, here comes a bird!

Just as in the Homeric example, a verb of seeing introduces the object to be asked about and then catalogued by the interlocutor. After several iterations of the process,

¹¹ Narratology prefers the terms metadiegetic or hypodiegetic. For a treatment of the similar phenomenon of the play-within-a-play, see Redfield (1990: 316–317). In this example, though, both *epos* and *drama* behave in the same way, since Pisthetaerus acts as diegetic narrator, as does Helen. The displays they narrate, however, function both within and outside the narrative, for they are cataloguing for both a diegetic interlocutor and for an extradiegetic audience.

we end up in both passages with a list of names and attributes that correspond to actual physical entities within the world of the literary work. The catalogue represents the collection of these entities as a whole, while each entry represents an individual member of that collection. Priam and Helen’s catalogue-dialogue closes after three lengthy entries, and the Aristophanic bird-catalogue begins in like manner, with four protracted examples, until the Athenian visitors notice the full chorus of birds collected at the stage entrance (294–296):

Πε. ὦ Πόσειδον, οὐχ ὄραξ ὅσον συνείλεκται κακὸν
 ὀρνέων; Εὐ. ὦναξ Ἄπολλον, τοῦ νέφους. ἰοὺ ἰοῦ, 295
 οὐδ’ ἰδεῖν ἔτ’ ἔσθ’ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πετομένων τὴν εἴσοδον.

Pe. Poseidon! Don’t you see that there are hella birds
 collecting? Eu. Lord Apollo, what a cloud! Gol-ly! 295
 You can’t see the door anymore with them flying!

The exclamation of *νέφος* subtly lends the scene more Homeric flavor: we first see the figurative use of *νέφος* for a collection of animate beings at *Iliad* 4.274, *ἅμα δὲ νέφος εἶπετο πεζῶν*, “and a cloud of footmen followed at the same time,” and at *Iliad* 17.755, the Achaean forces descending on Aeneas and Hector are compared to *παρῶν νέφος... ἠὲ κολοιῶν*, a cloud of starlings or jackdaws.¹² After hundreds of years in the poetic tradition the cloud might seem a somewhat bleached metaphor, but the decision to name the city *ἐκ τῶν νεφελῶν καὶ τῶν μετεώρων χωρίων*, “based on the clouds and the lofty places,” (and so *Νεφελοκοκκυγία*), argues that the idea retains some charge. Though the new state must indeed be replete with literal clouds, later references confirm that the “clouds” also refer metonymically to the citizens within them. Moreover, Homeric clouds reappear later in the play: the oracle read at 977–978 states that anyone who follows its orders “will become an eagle among the clouds” (*αἰετὸς ἐν νεφέλῃσι*), while the one who does not will be not even a turtledove, a thrush, or a woodpecker (*οὐ τρυγῶν, οὐ λάϊος, οὐ δρυκολάπτῃς*). A subsequent injunction asks that the law enforcement smite all phony participants at the sacrifice and “cut no slack, not even for an eagle among the clouds” (*φείδου μηδὲν μηδ’ αἰετοῦ ἐν νεφέλῃσιν*) (987). The phrase *αἰετὸς ἐν νεφέλῃσι* also recalls Homeric imagery, even if it is not an attested epic collocation itself.

¹² Dunbar (1995) notes the parallel. The application to an army occurs again with the repetition of *εἶπετο νέφος πεζῶν* at *Iliad* 23.133 (of the Myrmidons at Patroclus’ funeral), while there is a dark cloud of Trojans at *Iliad* 16.66.

The two examples diverge, though, as the scene in *Birds* progresses and accelerates. The comic elements also build, so that the capping entries to the bird catalogue are first a joke, then an accelerated list. Thus when Euelpides notices an owl has entered, Pisthetaerus responds (301):

τί φής; τίς γλαῦκ' Ἀθηνάζ' ἤγαγεν;

What? Who brought an owl to Athens?

The echo of the proverbial 'owls to Athens' is completely for the audience's amusement and receives no response from the next speaker, who immediately recites a rapid-fire list of bird names as the scene comes to its dramatic peak (302-304):¹³

κίττα, τρυγών, κορυδός, ἔλεᾶς, ὑποθυμῖς,
περιστερά, νέρτος, ἰέραξ, φάττα, κόκκυξ,
ἔρυθρόπους, κεβληπυρις,
πορφυρίς, κερχνής, κολυμβίς, ἀμπελῖς, φήνη, δρύοψ.

Jay. Turtledove. Lark. Reed Warbler. Thyme finch. Rock Dove. Vulture.
Hawk. Ring Dove. Cuckoo. Redshank. Red-head Shrike. Porphyryon.
Kestrel. Dabchick. Bunting. Lammergeier. Woodpecker.

(Trans. Henderson)

Here, instead of the extended and amplified entries earlier in the scene, Aristophanes alters and condenses the catalogue, reducing both form and content to the absurd. At the same time, the apparent abstruseness of many of the species and tongue twisting exemplify just the kind of virtuosic performance that a serious poetic recitation could have imparted, rendering the parodic force all the stronger. This condensed version, finally, comes with none of the optional bells and whistles of catalogue but only the essential elements: *names*.

At the most basic semiotic level, names are the minimal part of the catalogue that the experts supply, and what is missing for the asking observers. For this reason Priam asks specifically that Helen come near him not to tell him who the Greek leaders

¹³ Dunbar (1995) gives these lines to Tereus; Henderson (2000) places them in Euelpides' mouth; Sommerstein (1987) prints the text as alternating between the two Athenians, based on the comparandum of Chremylos and Karion's alternating list of things men can have their fill of at *Wealth* 190-192.

are or where they are from, but in order that she speak out their names, beginning with Agamemnon, who he sees first: ὣς μοι καὶ τόνδ' ἄνδρα πελώριον ἔξονομήνης (3.166). I have argued earlier that for the Homeric poems, naming is tantamount to listing, as well as to counting, and that verbs of naming introduce lists when things being counted are not all the same unit. We can see the same preoccupation at work here at moments such as *Birds* 287–288:

Ευ. ὦ Πόσειδον, ἕτερος αὖ τις βαπτὸς ὄρνις οὐτοσί.
 τίς ὀνομάζεται ποθ' οὗτος;
 Τε. οὐτοσί κατωφαγᾶς.

Eu. Poseidon! there's some other bright-dyed bird now, that one there.
 Whatever could that one be named?
 Te. That there's a vultureglut.

In asking Tereus to name the bird, Euelpides essentially prompts the catalogue. But the underlying trigger of his question in the first place is the fact that they are on display, physically on stage before both audiences. The strong *deixis* only emphasizes the physical presence, but in some sense the catalogue already incarnates the birds for the two characters and for the audience. But in naming them off, it also gives their sum.

T O O M A N Y T O C O U N T

Part of the reason naming relates so closely to counting in the Greek system is due to the way ancient counting functioned. The connection arises at least in part from the semantics of the word ἀριθμός. Though we tend to render it simply ‘number,’ ἀριθμός in fact denotes an amount of entities being counted and inevitably implies some tangible partitive or genitive of the whole: in other words, a count, “a definite number of definite things.”¹⁴ Discussions of the word in Plato and Aristotle have led to the view that in the Greek consciousness, “a number is always and indissolubly related

¹⁴ Klein (1968: 46). For a reevaluation of Greek precision in scientific counting and discussion of Greek conceptions of numbers alongside Chinese ones, see Lloyd (1987: 257–270) and (2002: 44–46).

to that of which it is the number.”¹⁵ For our purposes, this means that when the Greeks count, they are always counting *something*, and pure numbers rarely find practical use for the average citizen. Under these circumstances, if one must count disparate types of items, then the ἀριθμός manifests itself as the names of all the things one is counting.¹⁶ Stated together then, those names become a list.

Because a number in Greek presupposes a unit, or a coefficient, counting takes place on a very physical and material level. By the same token, lists of things that seem to be statements of quality in fact become indistinguishable from statements of quantity, or counts. For example, as a frequent setup for a list, a comic speaker may state a platitude or a truth, then proceed to give the evidence for his claim using a multifaceted example as an illustration of the point or evocative description. Thus proceeds Strepsiades’ account (*Clouds* 49–52) of his upwardly-mobile marriage, where he “climbed into the bed/smelling like young wine, dried figs, fleece, surplus, / and she, like perfume, saffron, French kissing, / feasts, decadence, Koliass, Genetyllis”; likewise Trygaios’ vision of what the former, peaceful life entailed (*Peace* 571–581):¹⁷

ἀλλ’ ἀναμνησθέντες, ὦνδρες,
 τῆς διαίτης τῆς παλαιᾶς,
 ἣν παρεῖχ’ αὐτῆ ποθ’ ἡμῖν,
 τῶν τε παλασίων ἐκείνων,
 τῶν τε σύκων, τῶν τε μύρτων, 575

¹⁵ Klein (1968: 48), citing Plato *Theaetetus* 198c on the definition of ἀριθμεῖν, i.e. to observe how great an ἀριθμός there happens to be, and Plato *Republic* 525d, on numbers’ having visible and tangible bodies. Finally he adduces Aristotle *Physics* D.14.224a2, which draws a distinction between counts and pure numbers (even if there are no words for them as such). We might give an example similar to Aristotle’s decads of animals, that there is a common concept of ‘twelve’ between a dozen eggs and a dozen doughnuts, but the ‘dozen’ as a set implies and includes the entity being counted and thus remains distinct.

¹⁶ A key conceptual element here is that listing the name of a given thing, ‘plate,’ or ‘a plate,’ (since Greek lacks indefinite article) is equal to saying ‘1 plate.’ One need specify numbers only for quantities greater than one. The tendency to think of numbers as concrete in this way also makes the concept of ‘zero’ difficult, inasmuch as ‘0 plates’ would be rendered just by the absence of the word ‘plate.’ In their correlation to the physical, then, Greek lists have a greater materiality than lists that would represent a physical absence with a sign such as 0, which threatens “the simple picture of an independent reality of objects providing a pre-existing field of referents for signs conceived after them, in a naming, pointing, ostending, or referring relation to them” (Rotman 1987: 27).

¹⁷ Translations are my own.

τῆς τρυγός τε τῆς γλυκείας,
τῆς ἰωνιᾶς τε τῆς πρὸς
τῷ φρέατι τῶν τ' ἔλαῶν
ῶν ποθοῦμεν,
ἀντὶ τούτων τήνδε νυνὶ
τὴν θεὸν προσεῖπατε. 580

But, remember, gentlemen, please
the life we knew in the old days,
which this goddess then gave to us:
the life of those little fruitcakes,
life of figs, and life of cherries,
and of new wine, and of sweetness,
and the bed of violets over
by the well, and of the olives
that we long for,
in exchange for all these things, now,
to this goddess give your thanks.

As I noted earlier, one discursive function of lists is to answer some implicit question, and so we might reconstruct the one here as ‘What characterizes country life?’.¹⁸ In addition, like exhibits of evidence, lists lend credence to what the speaker has said. In this way, the comic exemplifying list functions not unlike one in a magical text, which effects its desired outcomes by enumerating body parts to be harmed or ne’er-do-wells to be cursed after stating a general desired outcome.¹⁹ Lists can effect magic successfully because in their completism they account for any possible scenario so the magic does not fail. In reciting them, then, the speaker or listmaker aims to encompass all possibilities. This ever-extendable quality of the list, along with the related notion that it contains all the members of a defined set, or possible answers to its implicit

¹⁸ The tendency is highlighted by Collins and Ferguson (1993) and, for a Greek context, by Gordon (1997), who discusses the role of listing in Greek and Roman curses. This behavior of lists is considered independently widespread, if not universal, and finds its way into non-written cultures: Halverson (1992:307) cites a central African oral epic in which the hero lists the possessions of the enemy in an attempt to magically transfer them to his own domain.

¹⁹ Gordon (1997)

question, has led to the idea that the list has the potential to contain the infinite.²⁰ And in having an infinite capacity, the list allows for the comprehension of a vast quantity, unit by unit.²¹

In Aristophanes, those lists that appear at the outset to illustrate a qualitative point rather make a quantitative reckoning of the contents of a closed set, e.g., *all* the good things that peace affords. Diction supports this claim, for the introductions to these enumerations tend to contain a quantitative marker, such as a form of the demonstrative *ὅσος* or the adjective *πᾶς*—a correlative whose interrogative equivalent would not be ‘what kind,’ but rather ‘how many.’ Thus in response to Dicaeopolis’ asking what goods he has brought with him, the Theban peddler says (*Acharnians* 873–876):

ὅσ’ ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ Βοιωτοῖς ἀπλῶς,
 ὀρίγανον, γλαχῶ, ψιάθως, θρυαλλίδας,
 νάσσας, κολοιῶς, ἀπταγᾶς, φαλαρίδας, 875
 τροχίλως, κολύμβως.

Just all the good things that Boeotia has:
 oregano, mint, rushes, candlewicks,
 ducks, jackdaws, francolins, baldheaded coots, 875
 plovers and pigeons.

The Theban’s response, beginning with *ὅσα*, thus reformulates the list to answer a question that would be posed by *πόσα*: “How many good things does Boeotia have?” A similar example occurs after Bdelycleon’s promise to accommodate his father (*Wasps* 736–740):

καὶ μὴν θρέψω γ’ αὐτὸν παρέχων
 ὅσα πρεσβύτη ξύμφορα, χόνδρον
 λείχειν, χλαῖναν μαλακὴν, σισύραν,
 πόρνην, ἥτις τὸ πέος τρίψει

²⁰ Eco (2009: 17). Like zero, speaking of infinity may seem anachronistic for ancient thought, but Drozdek (2008) has recently pointed out that even though Greek philosophers may not discuss it explicitly, the notion of the infinite is present behind their theories and a necessary prerequisite for many of them.

²¹ Eco (2009: 17) defines the list or catalogue as a kind of representation that “suggests infinity almost *physically*, because it in fact *does not end*, nor does it conclude in form” (his emphases). I would revise the formulation slightly to suggest that the form may appear to end, but its recursive potential to contain the infinite persists.

καὶ τὴν ὄσφυν.

740

And I will care for him, providing him
everything healthful for an old man: gruel
to lick, a soft mantle, a goat-hair cloak,
a prostitute who'll wear his penis down,
his tailbone too.

740

A variation of the same scheme, with (ἀ)πάντα in place of the demonstrative pronoun, occurs late in *Acharnians* with a list of dinner preparations, and in the Stronger Argument's list of all one misses out on by being decent (σωφρονεῖν) in *Clouds*.²² In each instance, the list responds to the quantifying word and answers the same implicit "how many?" However, should we abstract the implicit question "How many things are helpful for an old man?", the most natural answer would be a number ("15"). The list, in providing the answer instead, acts as a count, and fills in for a number.²³

Quantifiers like ὅσα sometimes do not have such precise numeric semantics (they can appear in contexts almost interchangeably with the relative). Nevertheless, Aristophanes reminds the audience of their radical force by correlating them to actual numbers as well. So Dicaeopolis' lament starts *Acharnians* (1-6):

ὅσα δὴ δέδεγμαι τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ καρδίαν,
ἦσθην δὲ βαιά, πάνυ δὲ βαιά, τέτταρα.
ἂ δ' ὠδυνήθην, ψαμμακοσιογάργαρα.
φέρ' ἴδω, τί δ' ἦσθην ἄξιον χαιρηδόνοσ;
ἐγὼ δ' ἐφ' ᾧ γε τὸ κέαρ ἠὺφράνθην ἰδῶν·
τοῖσ πέντε ταλάντοισ οἷσ Κλέων ἐξήμεσεν.

5

How many times I'm bitten in my heart,
and had paltry pleasures, most paltry: four.
But pains I've suffered? Sandgrainjillions.

²² *Acharnians* 1089-1094; *Clouds* 1071-1074.

²³ This is not unlike Barney's assessment of lists in Chaucer, which treats them as "adjectival," stating that "the ingredients of a list are more specific and concrete than the general and abstract principle on which the list depends." For this reason, he points out, Chaucer uses the word "undo," (in the sense of "tease out,") to describe what a list does for a more abstract rubric (Barney 1982: 191). Thus for Aristophanes Gruel, Mantle, Cloak, and Whore "undo" the general idea of Old Men's Needs.

Let's see—what pleasure I've had worth a smile?
 I know, when I saw this my heart rejoiced: 5
 Those five talents, the ones Kleon coughed up.

The humor arises initially because the first line smacks of the tragic, and because *ὄσα* causes the audience to anticipate a vague exclamation that might end without a real quantification, after *βαιά*.²⁴ The punchline, though, lies in the unexpected and overly-specifying *τέτταρα*, which interrupts the maudlin flow with a specific count and renders absurd the question implicit in *ὄσα* and continued in the next line.²⁵ *Τέτταρα* also sets up an aftershock punchline in the next line, where the listener, now wise to the game, anticipates another cardinal number but gets a tongue-twisting neologism instead: *ψαμμακοσιογάργαρα*. This form entertains at the outset for its structural parody of heavily-compounded Greek arithmetical jargon words, such as *ἑπτακαιεικοσαπλάσιος*, “twenty-seven fold.” But its comic thrust extends yet further, for its three components (‘grains of sand,’ *-illion*, and a word like ‘gaggle’) recall the frequent literary use of sand to denote the infinite, or at least uncountable, as expressed, e.g. in Pindar (*O*.2.98–100 and *O*.13.43–46):²⁶

ἐπεὶ ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφευγεν,
 καὶ κείνος ὅσα χάσματ' ἄλλοις ἔθηκεν,
 τίς ἂν φράσαι δύναιτο; 100

...Since sand has fled numeration,
 and how many joys that man has made for others,
 who would be able to speak? 100

ὅσσα τ' ἐν Δελφοῖσιν ἀριστεύσατε,

²⁴ Olson (2002: 64) points to Euripides fr. 696.8 (=PMed. i. 15. 8) as the tragic source; Starkie (1909) had thought it might parody the lost beginning of *Telephus*.

²⁵ This number poses a problem for commentators because Dicaeopolis then goes on to name only two pleasures. The suggestion of Blaydes (1887) that *τέτταρα* means ‘some, a few’, or is somehow otherwise idiomatic (Dover 1987: 227) seems unnecessary. Rennie (1909: 86) seems closer to an explanation in pointing to its contrast with *ψαμμακοσιογάργαρα*, while Olson (2002: 66) recognizes the word as a punchline but ventures no further.

²⁶ Olson (2002: 66) supplies this and other relevant citations, to which I would add, along with *O*.13., Plato *Th.* 173d. The sentiment, in any case, has paratragic overtones generally, and specifically of uncountable troubles, as the chorus at Sophocles *OT* 168–169: ὦ πόποι, ἀνάριθμα γὰρ φέρω | πήματα.

ἤδ' ἐν χόρτοις ἐν λέοντος, δηρίομαι πολέσιν
περὶ πλήθει καλῶν· ὥς μὰν σαφές 45
οὐκ ἂν εἰδείην λέγειν ποντιᾶν ψάφων ἀριθμόν.

And as to how many times you emerged the best in Delphi,
and among the grasslands of the lion, I contend with many
concerning the count of your wins, since I would not know 45
to tell clearly the number of the pebbles in the sea.

In these instances, the poet invokes sand to avoid disclosing an actual sum or even engaging in further discussion (though he has of course already made some approximation of the victor's acts of generosity and successes known over the course of the ode). In similar fashion, upon pronouncing them countless, Dicaeopolis proceeds to list those very troubles in alternation with his joys in the lines that follow. With this numeric *praeteritio*, he also engages in the same kind of scheme as the Homeric narrator of the catalogue of ships, *Iliad* 2.488–489:²⁷

πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω,
οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν

And I could not speak nor name the multitude,
not even if I should have ten tongues and ten mouths...

As in *Acharnians*, an account of the 'multitude' in catalogue form follows the speaker's very refusal to state one. This leads to two further points: first, that here too, as we have seen in the case of Homeric epic in chapter one, and fifth century Athenian inventories in chapter three, counting and cataloguing are inseparable activities. Second, Dicaeopolis' opening lines foreshadow a desire to quantify that will preoccupy the characters on the comic stage before an audience embedded in a city familiar with the same concerns.

ARITHMETIC LESSONS

Dicaeopolis opens *Acharnians* by treating the physically immaterial—banes and

²⁷ This introduction and the lengthy but finite catalogue that follows it in part influences Eco's formulation as quoted above, page 3 note 7.

blessings—as something tangible and countable in his enumeration.²⁸ In fact, lists in Aristophanes more frequently intersect with characters’ concerns about their own possessions and livelihoods, and the very act of listing appears to be symptomatic of anxiety about whether it is possible to reckon what one has, and, if so, how to do it. Characters exhibit an interest in accounting for what they own but an inability to do so precisely, and this tension reaches perhaps its fullest exposition in *Clouds*.

For Strepsiades, an attempt to make an accurate count of his money drives the entire course of his action throughout the play. The progression works something as follows. At the start of the play he demonstrates the difficulty of counting his debts when he attempts to do so (18–24):

ἄπτε, παῖ, λύχνον
 κᾶκφερε τὸ γραμματεῖον, ἴν’ ἀναγνῶ λαβῶν
 ὅπόσοις ὀφείλω καὶ λογίσωμαι τοὺς τόκους. 20
 φέρ’ ἴδω, τί ὀφείλω; δώδεκα μνᾶς Πασία.
 τοῦ δώδεκα μνᾶς Πασία; τί ἐχρησάμην;
 ὅτ’ ἐπριάμην τὸν κοππατίαν. οἴμοι τάλας,
 εἴθ’ ἐξέκοπην πρότερον τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν λίθῳ.

Slave, light the lamp,
 and bring out the account book so I that can read
 to how many I owe and reckon the interest. 20
 Now let’s see, what I owe—Pasias, twelve minas.
 Pasias, twelve minas, what did I use them for?
 Oh, when I bought that thoroughbred, oh dear me suds,
 I should have sooner knocked my eye out with a stone.

He eventually trails off, ostensibly because the lamp runs out of oil (a further repercussion of insufficient funds), but just as much because he cannot readily recall the collection of possessions or services that he paid for with borrowed money and fails to make an accurate reckoning.²⁹ He relates the problem later to Socrates, who

²⁸ Blurring the distinction between literal and figurative and material and immaterial is a well-documented Aristophanic device: witness the sustained wordplay surrounding *σπονδή* (treaty, but also libation) in *Acharnians* (Bowie 1997: 15–18).

²⁹ Dover (1968: 101) notes that the lamp’s failure is “dramatically necessary,” presumably as a pretext to end what would otherwise become an endless recitation of debts, and that “we are left to imagine that there are many more.” Strepsiades’ inability to complete his reckoning is equally dramatically necessary, though, as an impetus to join the Thinkery.

questions him about his mnemonic skill (482-485):

Σω. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ βραχέα σου πυθέσθαι βούλομαι,
εἰ μνημονικὸς εἶ.
Στ. δύο τρόπῳ, νῆ τὸν Δία.
ἦν μὲν γ' ὀφείληται τι μοι, μνήμων πάνυ,
εἴαν δ' ὀφείλω σκέτλιος, ἐπιλήσμων πάνυ. 485

So. No, but I want to learn from you, in brief, that is,
If you have a good memory.
St. Well, yes and no:
If something is owed to me, I'll remember well,
But if I owe something, poor me, I'll well forget. 485

The precise and technical problem of debts at the start of the play and again here drives him to seek out the knowledge to count successfully. It also, I contend, accounts in part for his starstruck astonishment at feats such as Socrates' measurement of the flea's footstep (148-153):

Στ. πῶς δῆτα διεμέτρησε;
Μα. δεξιότατα.
κηρὸν διατήξας, εἶτα τὴν ψύλλαν λαβῶν
ἐνέβαψεν εἰς τὸν κηρὸν αὐτῆς τῷ πόδε,
κᾶτα ψυχείσῃ περιέφυσαν Περσικαί.
ταύτας ὑπολύσας ἀνεμέτρει τὸ χωρίον. 150
Στ. ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς λεπτότητος τῶν φρενῶν.

Str. How did he measure it then?
Stu. -Very cleverly.
He melted down some wax, then took hold of the flea, and
dipped its two feet down into the wax, and then 150
when it had cooled, wax Persian boots were stuck to it.
He loosened them off and measured the jump's distance.
Str. O Zeus the king! The subtlety of intellect!

On the surface of his exclamatory genitive dances the glimmer of hope that in this place, from this master, he might learn to count accurately, a sense to which the

semantics of *λεπτότης* may also contribute.³⁰ When later Socrates presents him with options for what to study first, we cannot then be surprised that Strepsiades chooses the subfield he erroneously associates most closely with counting (636–645).

Σω. ἄγε δὴ, τί βούλει πρῶτα νυνὶ μανθάνειν ὧν οὐκ ἐδιδάχθης πρόποτ' οὐδέν; εἰπέ μοι. πότερα περὶ μέτρων ἢ περὶ ἐπῶν ἢ ῥυθμῶν;	
Στ. περὶ τῶν μέτρων ἔγωγ'. ἔναγχος γάρ ποτε ὑπ' ἀλφिताμοιβοῦ παρεκόπην διχοινίκῳ.	640
Σω. οὐ τοῦτ' ἐρωτῶ σ', ἀλλ' ὅτι κάλλιστον μέτρον ἦγεῖ· πότερα τὸ τρίμετρον ἢ τὸ τετράμετρον;	
Στ. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδέν πρότερον ἡμιέκτεω.	
Σω. οὐδέν λέγεις, ὦνθρωπε.	
Στ. περίδου νυν ἑμοί, εἰ μὴ τετράμετρόν ἐστιν ἡμιέκτεων.	645

So. So come, what do you want to learn now first, of ev- erything that you've never been taught before; tell me: about metrics? Or epic verse? About rhythms?	
St. About metrics, for sure! cause just the other day My barley guy ripped me off, for two kilograms!	640
So. That's not what I mean: what's the prettiest measure? The three-measure, do you think, or the four-measure?	
St. Well I think nothing's better than the half-liter.	
So. You're out of your mind, pal.	
St. You want to make a bet, that the half-liter's not a kind of four-measure?	645

Beneath its punning exterior, the dialogue—along with the two characters themselves—embodies the jockeying forces of poetic counting and practical, economic counting. Whereas Socrates participates in an ethereal commerce of impractical precision and has the power to make completely unnecessary measurements,

³⁰ This passage exemplifies the cautionary observation of Lloyd (1987:282) that “[i]t is too simple to say that what ancient science needed was a greater appreciation of the value of exact measurement: such a judgement would ignore the point that in some contexts counting and measuring were overvalued, and some ancient scientists were rightly suspicious of phoney precision.”

Strepsiades longs to apply some of Socrates' elevated mnemonic and logistic skill to his utterly commonplace problems.

This perceived subtlety of reckoning motivates Strepsiades again later in the play, when he attempts to use his newfound skills to evade one of his creditors by questioning the nature of interest and thereby shirk his debts. His argument turns on the difference between money and water, which he invokes to prove to the creditor that amounts cannot spontaneously change, and accordingly that interest cannot grow from nothing (*Clouds* 1278-1297):

Στ.	κάτειπέ νυν· πότερα νομίζεις καινὸν αἰεὶ τὸν Δία ὔειν ὕδωρ ἐκάστοτ', ἢ τὸν ἥλιον ἔλκειν κάτωθεν ταῦτ' οὗθ' ὕδωρ πάλιν;	1280
Χρ.	οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγωγ' ὀπότερον, οὐδέ μοι μέλει.	
Στ.	πῶς οὖν ἀπολαβεῖν τὰργύριον δίκαιος εἶ, εἰ μηδὲν οἶσθα τῶν μετεώρων πραγμάτων;	
Χρ.	ἀλλ' εἰ σπανίζεις τὰργυρίου μοι τὸν τόκον ἀπόδοτε.	1285
Στ.	τοῦτο δ' ἔσθ', ὁ τόκος, τί θηρίον;	
Χρ.	τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ κατὰ μῆνα καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν πλέον πλέον τὰργύριον αἰεὶ γίγνεται ὑπορρέοντος τοῦ χρόνου;	
Στ.	καλῶς λέγεις. τί δῆτα; τὴν θάλατταν ἔσθ' ὅτι πλείονα νυνὶ νομίζεις ἢ πρὸ τοῦ;	1290
Χρ.	μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἴσην. οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον πλείον' εἶναι.	
Στ.	κᾶτα πῶς αὕτη μὲν, ὧ κακόδαιμον, οὐδὲν γίγνεται ἐπιρρεόντων τῶν ποταμῶν πλείων, σὺ δὲ ζητεῖς ποῆσαι τὰργύριον πλέον τὸ σόν; οὐκ ἀποδιώξει σαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας; φέρε μοι τὸ κέντρον.	1295

Str.	Now tell me: do you believe that Zeus always rains down on us the water anew every time, or does the sun draw from below that very same water again?	1280
------	---	------

Cr. I don't know which, and it's of no concern to me.
 Str. Then why do you deserve to get your money back
 If you know nothing of the workings of the sky?
 Cr. Hey—if you're strapped for cash, pay me the interest 1285
 on the sum.
 Str. This—this “interest,” what animal is it?
 Cr. What else, but that, from month to month and day to
 day the sum of money grows greater and greater still,
 as time goes sliding along by.
 Str. You've spoken well.
 What about this? The sea, do you believe that it 1290
 is greater now than before?
 Cr. No way; the same size.
 For it's not right that it should be greater.
 Str. Then how,
 you loser, does the sea grow no greater even
 as rivers go sliding into it, but now you
 seek after making your money greater then, hmm? 1295
 Why don't you prosecute yourself out of my house?
 Bring me my goad.

In his failure to understand interest, Strepsiades illustrates a denigration of money in favor of tangible goods—recall his need at the start of the play to recall what he bought with his twelve minas in order to calculate the interest. Already we should be suspicious of his comprehension of money-lending, because he is too focused on goods.³¹ But the absurdity of Strepsiades' case also lies in his conflation of a key distinction between these two entities: that money, on the one hand, has what linguists term a “collective construal,” whereas water does not. That is to say, we can think of a pile of money as a collective comprising many constituent minimal parts, but not so water.³² This feature, in conjunction with the belief that both money and

³¹ As such he exemplifies an extreme version of the notion that the ancient world “was predominantly a world of use value, and not a system of exchange value or market economy” (Meikle 2002: 235, see also Finley 1985: 21).

³² Nicolas (2008) proposes the useful distinction of collective vs. non-collective for subsets of the so-called ‘mass’ nouns (as opposed to ‘count’ nouns) that linguists regularly invoke. His examples of silverware (collective) and wine (non-collective) map well onto those of Strepsiades.

water are finite and adhere to a conservation principle, would render the concept of interest very counter-intuitive indeed.³³ In forcing a comparison between water and money, Strepsiades questions Athenian modes of reckoning altogether and, again, the practice of using money for more than an even exchange. For him and other non-elite characters in the plays, material wealth represents a more legitimate and tangible asset, and counting it necessarily involves listing.³⁴ Strepsiades' introduction of water, however, requires two theoretical leaps. The first involves abstracting money from material, object-based wealth; the second involves separating that entity, to the modern mind countable, from something unquantifiable such as water, which I would suggest is akin in the Greek imagination to grains of sand. It is as if Strepsiades understands that some kind of cognitive jump is required of him but fails to land it.

The reader may at this point wonder how all this relates to lists. In Strepsiades' case, the answer is that it does not, for his attempt at learning to count fails. A positive model of what might have been, though, is presented in a scene in *Wasps* between Bdelycleon and his father Philocleon, a character who sounds not so unlike Strepsiades in his "being treated as a fool by a group of political swindlers, who claim to be his protectors but are in fact manipulating the city's affairs for their own benefit and who accordingly laugh at him behind his back."³⁵ In attempting to convince him that this is not what is happening, his son bids him take stock and count the ways the city's powers-that-be actually take all the goods for themselves. This account is realized as a list and thus Bdelycleon is able to help his father to come up with a sum at the end, something Strepsiades never succeeds in doing (*Wasps* 655-663):

ἀκρόασαί νυν, ὦ παππίδιον, χαλάσας ὀλίγον τὸ μέτωπον· 655
καὶ πρῶτον μὲν λόγισαι φαύλως, μὴ ψήφοις ἀλλ' ἀπὸ χειρός,
τὸν φόρον ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων συλλήβδην τὸν προσιόντα·

³³ As has been perceived at various points in its controversial history, not least by Aristotle at Pol. 1258b: εὐλογώτατα μισεῖται ἢ ὀβολοστατικὴ διὰ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ νομίσματος εἶναι τὴν κτήσιν καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐπορίσθη: "Usury is a source of hatred for good reason, since it is wealth attained from money itself and not on the basis of anything which is being provided."

³⁴ We can observe a reversal of roles here, I think, that has occurred from the archaic period, in which the reactionary elite seeks to maintain a traditional economic order that privileges material wealth above coined money, for which see Kurke (1999: 32-40 and 2002: 93-94) alongside the model proposed by Morris (1996) of the existence of 'middling' and 'elitist' viewpoints in archaic poetry.

³⁵ Olson (1996: 135). The statement would of course apply to Strepsiades with Socrates and his followers in place of the politicians, and the Thinkery in place of the city.

κᾶἔω τούτου τὰ τέλη χωρὶς καὶ τὰς πολλὰς ἑκατοστὰς,
 πρυτανεῖα, μέταλλ', ἀγοράς, λιμένας, μισθώσεις, δημιόπρατα.
 τούτων πλήρωμα τάλαντ' ἐγγὺς δισχίλια γίγνεται ἡμῖν. 660
 ἀπὸ τούτου νυν κατάθες μισθὸν τοῖσι δικασταῖς ἑνιαυτοῦ
 ἕξ χιλιάσιν—κούπτω πλείους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κατένασθεν—,
 γίγνεται ἡμῖν ἑκατὸν δῆπου καὶ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα.

Now listen to me, daddy-o, and unfurrow your brow a bit, 655
 and first count up approximately, not with stones but on your hands,
 the tribute that comes in to us from the cities in total sum.
 And separately from this count up the taxes and the one percents,
 Court dues, mines, markets and harbors, rental fees, foreclosure fines.
 The sum of these that comes to us is two thousand talents, about. 660
 Now from that figure set aside the yearly pay the jurors get,
 all six thousand—for not more yet have come to inhabit this land—
 it comes out to be one hundred and fifty talents, I reckon.

When he reiterates his point just a few lines later and explains everything the corrupt city leaders are given, Bdelycleon provides another list for his father to emphasize the unfair treatment of average Athenian citizens, who receive no such gifts (675–677):

τούτοισι δὲ δωροφοροῦσιν 675
 ὕρχας, οἶνον, δάπιδας, τυρόν, μέλι, σήσαμα, προσκεφάλαια,
 φιάλας, χλανίδας, στεφάνους, ὄρμους, ἐκπώματα, πλουθυγία.

These men they present with bribes: 675
 pickle jars, wine, tapestries, cheese, honey, sesame, headrests,
 saucers, mantles, garlands, necklaces, drinking-cups, health and wealth.

Indeed the enumeration is a mark of abundance, replete with “goods which represent the high-life generally and a very luxurious banquet and symposium in particular.”³⁶ But the collection of items here, in form and content, also echoes the kind of inventory that the very officials in question might cause to be made of state treasure on display. The next section of this chapter examines that correspondence more closely.

³⁶ Olson (1996: 135)

THE FULLNESS THEREOF

In *Clouds*, we observed a private citizen's difficulties in accounting for his own resources; in *Wasps*, another private citizen with similar personal concerns witnesses the inequitable distribution of goods at the state level. For Philocleon, domestic and public life become increasingly indistinguishable as he struggles to maintain a sense of authority as citizen and *paterfamilias*, if we may apply the term, culminating in his replication of the law-courts in his home. In the later plays, characters' preoccupation with keeping tabs on their private wealth, and concomitantly their own relationships to the state's economic wellbeing, reaches its most explicit expression. This development is concurrent with the increasingly visibility of public records and documentary culture in Athens. In *Assemblywomen* and *Wealth* especially, works that probe the ethics of wealth and poverty and present alternative scenarios to the problems of resource distribution in early fourth century Athens, Aristophanes integrates the language and style of public records within the dramatic dialogue.³⁷

The plot of *Wealth*, in which the protagonists plan both to restore the deified entity of wealth to health and to redefine it as an attribute of the good—and not the corrupt—citizen, makes plain the basic issue. More specifically, though, Chremylus all but defines the concept of wealth in terms of the official polis administration of it. As he announces to bystanders (1191–1193):

ἰδρυσόμεθ' οὖν αὐτίκα μάλ'—ἀλλὰ περίμενε—
τὸν Πλοῦτον, οὗπερ πρότερον ἦν ἰδρυμένος,
τὸν ὀπισθοδόμον ἀεὶ φυλάττων τῆς θεοῦ.

³⁷ I make this argument regardless of Aristophanes' own political motivations, which in the context of both this play and the corpus as a whole remain a source of critical dispute. For some more recent aspects of the problem see: Konstan and Dillon (1981), who argue that Aristophanes shifts the central issue from unequal distribution to that of abundance versus dearth. In a response to the large body of scholarship that espouses Wilamowitz's 'ironic' reading of the play (e.g. Heberlein (1981), Flahar (1967), and Süß (1954)), Sommerstein (1996) makes the useful suggestions that the politics of the playwright (a) can shift over a lifetime (b) should not be assumed to be reflected accurately in all his works and (c) need not interfere with all our interpretations of them. Zumbrunnen (2006: 319) takes a unifying approach, arguing that *Wealth* presents a useful economic model that "instills in [its] audience a complex and challenging sensibility that holds fantasy and irony in tension with one another." More recently, Sidwell (2009) has seen the parabasis of *Clouds* as indicative of Aristophanes' support of a radical democracy.

Let's stand him up then right back here—hold on a sec—
Wealth, I mean, right where he stood in place before,
ever guarding the treasury of the goddess.

To position Wealth thus before the Opisthodomos, the rear chamber of the old temple on the Acropolis, is to install him before the city treasury, a repository and display site for precious items and the inventories that account for them. The imagery of a repository, which begins at the civic level, also infiltrates Chremylus' perception of private prosperity. Wealth, as deified quality, both exists in the form of movable goods and countable wares and causes mortals to have them. Because of its fundamental physicality and presence in a collection, by extension, conceptions of fullness figure the idea of having wealth. So just as a full treasury signifies wealth for the polis, a full home signifies wealth for a private citizen. Chremylus' language as he entreats wealth reflects this notion (*Wealth* 230–233):³⁸

Σὺ δ', ὦ κράτιστε Πλοῦτε πάντων δαιμόνων, 230
εἴσω μετ' ἐμοῦ δεῦρ' εἴσιθ'· ἡ γὰρ οἰκία
αὕτη 'στὶν ἦν δεῖ χρημάτων σε τήμερον
μεστὴν ποῆσαι καὶ δικαίως κἀδίκως.

And you, Wealth, powerfulest of all deities, 230
come inside, enter here with me. For this is the
house that you have to make full of goods today,
whether you get it done by just or unjust means.

³⁸ Absolute values aside, many students of the Athenian inventories admit at least in part to their symbolic use and the officials' display of "a stamp-collector's pleasure in the quiddity of the specimens in their charge, together with a stamp-catalogue compiler's professional satisfaction with the degree of lucidity with which an inventory could be compiled. For these and other reasons we can probably detect a tension between the values of such curatorship (and even connoisseurship) on the one hand and, on the other, the more direct fiscal preoccupations of a Kallias or an Androtion or a Lycurgus" Davies (1994: 209). Finley (1985:35) also recognizes the "curious abundance of precise figures, readily and publicly proclaimed, of the size of individual fortunes or at least of individual financial transactions." In fact, it becomes difficult within this play to imagine Wealth existing as a concept rather than something somehow physical. Wealth is either an anthropomorphic entity or a collection of goods and property.

In fact, the imagery of fullness regarding riches has already emerged earlier in the play as Cario and Chremylus set out to show Wealth that he is in fact more powerful than Zeus. They begin by citing examples of all the actions he influences, speaking in rhetorical questions to his incredulous replies, but the climactic moment occurs as they conclude that of Wealth alone men can never have a surfeit, listing all manner of items for which this is not the case (188-197):

Χρ. ὥστ' οὐδὲ μεστός σου γέγον' οὐδεὶς πώποτε.
 Τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ἐστὶ πάντων πλησμονή·
 ἔρωτος, — 190
 Κα. ἄρτων, —
 Χρ. μουσικῆς, —
 Κα. τραγημάτων, —
 Χρ. τιμῆς, —
 Κα. πλακούντων, —
 Χρ. ἀνδραγαθίας, —
 Κα. ἰσχάδων, —
 Χρ. φιλοτιμίας, —
 Κα. μάζης, —
 Χρ. στρατηγίας, —
 Κα. φακῆς, —
 Χρ. σοῦ δ' ἐγένετ' οὐδεὶς μεστός οὐδεπώποτε.
 Ἄλλ' ἦν τάλαντά τις λάβη τριακαίδεκα,
 πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμεῖ λαβεῖν ἑκκαίδεκα· 195
 κὰν ταῦθ' ἀνύσσηται, τετταράκοντα βούλεται,
 ἢ οὐ φησιν εἶν' αὐτῷ βιωτὸν τὸν βίον.

Chr. So no one ever gets his fill of you.
 One can get full of every other thing:
 Of love, 190
 Ca. of bread,
 Chr. of music,
 Ca. of hors d'oeuvres,
 Chr. Of honor,
 Ca. pancakes,
 Chr. uprightness,
 Ca. dried figs,
 Chr. Ambition!

Ca. Dough!
 Chr. Being General!
 Ca. Lentil soup!
 Chr. But of you? Never—no one gets his fill.
 Nope! If he gets his hands on thirteen bucks,
 then all the more he'll wish he had sixteen. 195
 And if he gets that, forty's what he wants,
 or else life's just not worth living, he says.

The comic elements are clear: the alternation of Chremylus' weighty abstract concepts with the silly food items supplied by Cario (who demonstrates a slave's stereotypical preoccupations), along with the inevitable culmination in lentils, must have made for entertaining trimeters.³⁹ But they also illustrate the ease and familiarity with which Aristophanes presents and manipulates the list form before an audience who has come to recognize it, using a familiar form with surprise items in it.⁴⁰ The fullness that

³⁹ For similar tactics cf. *Knights* 1007 and Henderson fragments 164 (=158 Kock, Edmonds =6 Meineke) and 404 (=387a Edmonds).

⁴⁰ For similar semantics, compare Dicaeopolis' description of what the city would have been like had the offense that began the war occurred against an Athenian ally (even one so insignificant as Seriphos), full (πλέα) of all kinds of preparations, figured as actual contents but eventually just concepts (*Acharnians* 544-551):

καὶ κάρτα μὲντᾶν εὐθέως καθείλκετε
 τριακοσίας ναῦς, ἣν δ' ἂν ἡ πόλις πλέα 545
 θορύβου στρατιωτῶν, περὶ τριηράρχου βοῆς,
 μισθοῦ διδομένου, παλλαδίων χρυσομένων,
 στοᾶς στεναχούσης, σιτίων μετρομένων,
 ἄσκων, τροπότηρων, κάδους ὠνουμένων,
 σκορόδων, ἐλαῶν, κρομμύων ἐν δικτύοις, 550
 στεφάνων, τριχίδων, ἀλητρίδων, ὑπωπίων·

Even more so! You would immediately have hauled
 three hundred ships, and the city would have been full 545
 of soldiers' clamor, shouting round the admiral,
 wages being paid, Pallas-statues being gilt,
 the stoa groaning, foodstuffs being measured out,
 wineskins, leather oar thongs, people purchasing jugs,
 garlic, and olives, and onions in mesh net bags, 550
 garlands, anchovies, flute girls, black eyes.

characterizes prosperity lies in the adjective *μεστός* in *Wealth*, and in Attic inventory lists, the only genre of inscription in which the word appears, we find descriptions of various dedicated objects as being full of gold or other precious substances, e.g. at *IG II² 1638.61*, a fourth century inventory from the Acropolis, of a krater full of gold, or *IG II² 1643* and *IG II² 1644*, which seem to list *μῆλα χρυσά κηρωτῆς μεστά*, golden apple-shaped vessels filled with balm. In *Wealth*, we find that Aristophanes takes technical language of luxurious items writ large, where the cup runs over on the scale of the entire house, treasury, or city. Thus at the end of the play, Cario speaks out a grand inventory of new possessions after *Wealth* has graced his home (802–816):

ὥς ἡδὺν πράττειν, ὦνδρές, ἐστ' εὐδαιμόνως,
καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν ἐξενεγκόντ' οἴκοθεν.
ἡμῖν γὰρ ἀγαθῶν σωρὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
ἐπεισπέπαικεν οὐδὲν ἡδικηκόσιν. 805
οὕτω τὸ πλουτεῖν ἐστὶν ἡδὺν πράγμα δή.
ἢ μὲν σιπύη μεστή 'στι λευκῶν ἀλφίτων,
οἱ δ' ἀμφορῆς οἴνου μέλανος ἀνθοσμίου.
ἅπαντα δ' ἡμῖν ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσοῦ
τὰ σκευάρια πλήρη 'στίν, ὥστε θαυμάσαι. 810
τὸ φρέαρ δ' ἐλαίου μεστόν· αἱ δὲ λήκυθοι
μύρου γέμουσι, τὸ δ' ὑπερῶιον ἰσχάδων.
'Οἷξις δὲ πᾶσα καὶ λοπάδιον καὶ χύτρα
χαλκῆ γέγονε· τοὺς δὲ πινακίσκους τοὺς σαπρούς
τοὺς ἰχθυηροὺς ἀργυροῦς πάρεσθ' ὄραν. 815
'Ο δ' ἵπνὸς γέγον' ἡμῖν ἐξαπίνης ἐλεφάντινος.

How sweet it is to be affluent, gentlemen,
and—what's more—have none of it taken from the house.
For a mountain of goods has fallen on our home,
although we've not in any way been wrongdoers. 805
Yes, it sure is a sweet thing to get rich like that.
The grain silo is full of barley shining bright,
the amphoras, of inky wine with sweet bouquet.
And absolutely all our vessels are full of
silver and gold: you'll wonder at the sight of it. 810
The well is full of olive oil, our salve-flasks brim

with perfume, and the crawl space is stuffed with dried figs.
Every cruet and ramekin and casserole
has turned to bronze; and you can even take a look
at those old rotten planks for fish—they're silver now. 815
And our furnace has suddenly become ivory.

Again Aristophanes emphasizes the vocabulary of fullness (*πλήρη, μέστον, γέμουσι*). Just like the kraters and small vessels on the Acropolis, the household vessels are also full of gold, silver, and perfume. The transformations of everyday cooking items to bronze and ivory, too, turns them not only into the possessions of a rich person but also into the special kinds of items one would dedicate rather than use. As Cario describes it, the overall impression comes through that his home itself has become a treasury, with the administrative features of a sacred one. As in the case of the *Opisthodomos*, the form and vocabulary of his inventory list effect that impression.

DOMESTICATION OF THE CIVIC MIND

So far, I have pointed out that Aristophanes inherits some formal catalogue characteristics from Homer, as illustrated not only by his listing objects within a particular meter, but also in more extended modelings such as the introduction of the chorus of *Birds*, discussed in the previous section of this chapter. The subsequent passages in this chapter revealed a rather different comic theme: private citizens' anxieties about keeping track of and counting their own funds in the context of the unstable state financial climate. These moments, rather than aligning with the poetic tradition, form a closer parallel to the Athenian documentary habit. There are, of course, alternative explanations as to why Aristophanes chooses to have his characters recite lists of their possessions. Perhaps he is providing visual cues for props that a faraway theatergoer would be unable to distinguish.⁴¹ Perhaps the staging of the plays varies, sometimes relying more on verbal cues, other times on physical elements on stage.⁴² Without dismissing the validity of such factors, I would argue that public

⁴¹ Deictic pronouns are taken to imply that there were objects on the Aristophanic stage as part of the set even when they were not described (Whitehorne 2002: 33-34).

⁴² English (2005: 4) has argued that the earlier plays show more reliance on physical objects on stage, while in the later ones words assume this same dramatic work: "Without a doubt, there is a noticeable decrease in the number of stage properties required for an Aristophanic production near the end of the Peloponnesian War as well as a marked preference for humble,

display of catalogues has also influenced comic fashion. By the last quarter of the fifth century, the gaze of any visitor to the Athenian Acropolis and its sacred monuments would have been overwhelmed with trinkets and vessels, wreaths and statues accumulated every which way throughout both indoor and outdoor spaces.⁴³ These collections, moreover, did not stand undocumented but were subject to a rigorous process of registration and cataloguing that culminated in the publication of annual records on stone of their content and administration, also set up for public consumption.⁴⁴ Aristophanes' audience and characters, then, inhabit an environment in which the city has imparted a specific formula for dealing with items of value: collect them; put them on display; count them; display the account. By the early fourth century, the symbolic correlation of the inventory document to the concept of wealth sits squarely within the Athenian popular consciousness.

A further scene from *Wealth* reiterates this point with its language and setting. Cario uses the vocabulary of inventories in his account of what went on overnight at the sanctuary of Asclepius, where Wealth has incubated to have his blindness cured (667-683).⁴⁵

...Ὡς δὲ τοὺς λύχνους ἀποσβέσας
 ἡμῖν παρήγγειλεν καθεύδειν τοῦ θεοῦ
 ὁ πρόπολος, εἰπὼν, ἦν τις αἴσθηται ψόφου,

everyday objects rather than the luxury wares coveted during the 420s. Aristophanes also seems to have stopped using objects as the foundation for key dramatic action.”

⁴³ The earliest of the published *paradoseis*, records of the transfer of goods from one set of treasurers to the next, begin in the mid 430s, but that does not preclude earlier such records on temporary media. For more brief overviews of the evidence, see Davies (1994), with Lewis (1986). Harris (1995) has made a comprehensive study of the Acropolis texts and their placement.

⁴⁴ Questions about how these texts functioned has bred much controversy: Linders (1988), followed by Thomas (1989: 82-83), Davies (1994: 202-203, 212), Harris (1994: 214), has advanced the thesis that inscribed inventories functioned symbolically, while Aleshire (1989) and Sickinger (1999) have maintained that they were practical documents for consultation. Regardless of this issue, which I treat more fully in Chapter Three, it is certain that these stones were intended for public interaction.

⁴⁵ Sommerstein *ad loc.* (181): “Carion’s assumption that the priest is stealing the offerings would be perceived as either disingenuous or, more likely, comically naïve.” At the same time, I would not rule out the possibility that Aristophanes may intend a dig at temple administration too. As to the location of the temple, Aleshire (1989) argues that Aristophanes likely means the sanctuary at Zea and not Athens or Epidaurus.

σιγᾶν, ἅπαντες κοσμίως κατεκείμεθα. 670
 Κἀγὼ καθεύδειν οὐκ ἔδυναμην, ἀλλὰ με
 ἀθάρης χύτρα τις ἐξέπληττε κειμένη
 ὀλίγον ἄπωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς του γραδίου,
 ἐφ' ἣν ἐπεθύμουν δαιμονίως ἐφερπύσαι.
 Ἔπειτ' ἀναβλέψας ὄρῳ τὸν ἱερέα 675
 τοὺς φθοῖς ἀφαρπάζοντα καὶ τὰς ἰσχάδας
 ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς ἱερᾶς. Μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ
 περιῆλθε τοὺς βωμοὺς ἅπαντας ἐν κύκλῳ,
 εἴ που πόπανον εἶη τι καταλελειμμένον·
 ἔπειτα ταῦθ' ἤγιζεν εἰς σάκταν τινά. 680
 Κἀγὼ νομίσας πολλὴν ὄσιαν τοῦ πράγματος
 ἐπὶ τὴν χύτραν τὴν τῆς ἀθάρης ἀνίσταμαι.

...And when the god's attendant snuffed
 the lights announcing it was time to sleep,
 and added that, if someone heard a sound
 he should keep mum, we all lay down to bed. 670
 I couldn't sleep though, 'cause there was this
 pot of porridge set by some old lady's head
 nearby that just was driving me insane—
 the need to sneak up there possessed me so.
 But then I look up and I see the priest 675
 snatch up the golden bars and the dried figs
 from off the offering-table. After that,
 he went round to the altars one by one
 to see if there were any biscuits left,
 then dedicated them into his sack! 680
 So seeing it would be a holy act,
 I went right up to that cauldron of gruel.

The account makes the whole incubation system and the administration of the sanctuary out to be a sham, though in fact priests regularly collected ritual foodstuffs and left them for the needy. As religious participants, visitors to the sanctuary would generally suspend disbelief, regarding foods as going to the gods without

acknowledging what really became of them behind the ritual scenes.⁴⁶ But Cario refuses (or is too ignorant) to play along, instead casting the priest as corrupt, someone who squirrels away dedications and proceeds from altar to altar to steal foods from the god. In his narration of the events, Cario uses the vocabulary of ritual administrative texts. His lexicon accords with inventories of the fourth century, where *πόπανα*, cakes, *ισχάδες*, dried figs, and *φθοῖς*, solid bars of precious metal appear alongside descriptions of their placement in the sacred space, as in this record of the Hecatompedon from 344/3 (*IG II² 1443* lines 12-16):

[ἀσή]μου ἀργυρίου τοῦ εἰς τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἐξαίρεθέντ-
 [ος] παρὰ ταμίου στρατιωτικῶν παρελάβομεν Νικηράτ-
 [ου] Κυδαντίδου σταθμῶν πρώτος ῥυμός, ἵνα τὸ : Α : πρώτ-
 [ος] φθοῖς : ΧΗΗΗΗ : δεύτερος : ΧΗΗΗΗ : τρίτος : ΧΗΗ^ΑΔ 15
 [ΔΔ]ΔΓΗΗΗΗΗΗ : τέτατος : ΧΗΗΗΗ : πέμπτος : ΧΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΗ.

The uncoined silver removed for military funds, we received from the treasurer of the military funds, Nikeratos of Kydantidai the first shelf (?) by weight, where there was (A): first row (?): bars : 1,203 drachmas : second: 1,200 drachmas 3 obols: third: 1,199 drachmas 3 obols : fourth : 1,201 15 drachmas : fifth : 1,202 drachmas 3 obols.

This text, like many inventories, specifies the delineated areas in which the treasure lies, here in the form of metal bars of various weights, in the same way that Cario has in his description, and recreates the dedicatory scene verbally.⁴⁷ Another Acropolis account of the early fourth century, *IG II² 4962*, describes a similar scenario (lines 1-18):

θεοί
 κατὰ τάδε προθύεσθα-
 ι· Μαλεάτηι πόπανα τρ-
 ία· Ἀπόλλωνι πόπανα τ-
 ρία· Ἑρμῆι πόπανα τρί- 5
 α· Ἴασοῖ πόπανα τρία· Ἀ-
 κεσοῖ πόπανα τρία· Πα-

⁴⁶ I have benefited greatly from the ideas and comments of Donald Mastrorarde about these practices and this scene.

⁴⁷ *ῥυμός*, radically a pole, then wooden log, but in the inventory context apparently a set of shelves; cf. the inventory of the Samian Heraion, *IG 12.262*.

νακείαι πόπανα τρία·
 κυσὶν πόπανα τρία· κυ-
 νηγέταις πόπανα τρί(α). 10

vac. 0.13

Εὐθύδημος
 Ἐλευσίνιος
 ἱερεὺς Ἀσκληπιῶ
 τὰς στήλας ἀνέθηκ[ε]
 τὰς πρὸς τοῖς βωμοῖς 15
 ἐν αἷς τὰ πόπανα πρῶτος
 ἐξηκάσατο, ἃ χρὴ πρ[ο]-
 θύεσθ[αι] — —

Gods.

These things were consecrated
 as follows: to Maleates, thr-
 ee biscuits. To Apollo three
 biscuits. To Hermes three b- 5
 biscuits. To Iaso three bisc-
 uits. To Akeso three biscui-
 ts. To Panakeia three biscui-
 ts. To the dogs three biscuit
 s. To the hunter thr(ee) biscuits. 10

Euthedemos
 of Eleusis
 priest of Asklepios
 set up the stelai
 by the altars 15
 on which he first
 made likenesses of the biscuits
 which it was fitting to offer to...

Here the stone not only lists similar items to the ones Cario mentioned but also seems to provide some information about what priests officially do with dedications like *πόπανα*—that is, represent them on a stele—as opposed to the fraudulence Cario thinks he has observed. The humor of the scene depends on both the audience’s recognition of Cario as obtuse, and Cario’s own concept of sound ritual practice and

sacred administration as presented in official documents.

Assemblywomen provides a final case study of Aristophanes' inventory poetics at work. Throughout the play, Praxagora's expression of her plans for a reformed economic system in which all citizens share all their resources shows clear influence from Athenian accounting culture. The connection is apparent from the moment she announces her proposition (210-212):

ταῖς γὰρ γυναιξὶ φημὶ χρῆναι τὴν πόλιν 210
ἡμᾶς παραδοῦναι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις
ταύταις ἐπιτρόποις καὶ ταμίαισι χρώμεθα

I say, we ought to put the city in 210
The women's hands! For in our homes
We employ them as guards and treasurers.

Already Praxagora has appropriated the title of an official position in the polis administration, the *ταμίαις*, and applied it to home economics.⁴⁸ Thus from the start of the drama the male domain of the *polis* and the female one of the home become defined against one another. Praxagora's casting of women as treasurers, though, pervades more than just her diction. In her speech before the assembly made in male disguise, as Chremes quotes it, she argues that women are better and more discreet financiers than men, and more trustworthy in an exchange economy (446-450):⁴⁹

ἔπειτα συμβάλλειν πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἔφη
ἱμάτια, χρυσί', ἀργύριον, ἐκπώματα,
μόνας μόναις, οὐ μαρτύρων ἐναντίον,
καὶ ταῦτ' ἀποφέρειν πάντα κούκ ἀποστερεῖν,
ἡμῶν δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔφασκε τοῦτο δρᾶν. 450

⁴⁸ This is not to say that the term originates in the *polis* context; that use likely developed from the domestic context. It appears in Homer of stewards who distribute food (*Iliad* 19.44), and Pindar refers to peace as *τάμι' ἀνδρασι πλούτου* (O.13.7). Herodotus applies it to the Athenian treasurers (8.51). That Xenophon uses the term in *Oeconomicus* (9.10.2, 9.11.1, etc.) suggests that it had been transferred to denote a member of the household by the date of that text (perhaps 362, nearly 30 years after the production of *Assemblywomen*), or perhaps had remained in use in private contexts.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Women at the Thesmophoria* (819-823).

Then he said that women lend to one another
 their dresses, their gold jewelry, silver, drinking cups,
 among themselves, private, and without witnesses,
 and that they return everything and never steal,
 whereas most of us men, he claimed, we do just that. 450

At first glance, this list of exchanged goods might appear a simple extended example, like this ones I discussed at the start of this chapter, a means of sounding more convincing than just a mere statement of purported truth. But in enumerating the very objects of worth women exchange—*ίμάτια, χρυσί, άργύριον, έκπώματα*—Aristophanes creates a list of them of the sort that an actual record of such an exchange would entail. From Chremes' mouth comes not an argument, but a virtual inventory, which he has presumably repeated from Praxagora's statements in the assembly, much as someone might later in reading an official document. Women, as domestic *ταμίαι*, make listed accounts of goods just like actual city officials.⁵⁰ An extended entry in a home-catalogue of the sort imagined by Aristophanes here looks very much like one from an actual Attic record. These same items appear in inventories from the Acropolis, in a format such as this example from c. 400 (*IG II² 1382.11-13*):

ύπό[σ]ταθμον χρυσόν [άσταθμ]-
 [ον]· καρχήσιον άργυρόν Διός Πολ[ιώς, στ]-
 [αθμ]όν Η^ΡΔΔΔΔΓ^ΗΗ^Η· έκπωμα άργυ[ρόν].

A weight? of gold, ?unweighed.
 Silver drinking cup of Zeus Polias, weight:
 199 drachmas. Silver beaker.

Moreover, we have ample evidence of the inventorying of women's dedications, such as *IG II² 1514.17-18*, the catalogue of dedications to Brauronian Artemis, which specifies the names of the dedicators along with the objects:

Ναυσις ίμάτιον γυναικείον πλατυαλουρ-
 γές περι[κυ]μάτιον

⁵⁰ Bowie (1993: 256) observes a similar infiltration of the public lexicon: "Praxagora calls the store-rooms 'stoas' and the word is significant, because 'stoa' is not found of the store-rooms of houses, but always of the large public ones[.]"

Nausis, a woman's dress, with a wide purple border winding (?) around it.

So Aristophanes presents Praxagora to an audience not only in general political terms, but using pointed bureaucratic diction and, more importantly for this study, the list format. There would be no reason for this, nor any effect, for an audience not already familiar with how official accounting functioned, and by the time of *Assemblywomen's* production between 392 and 388, annual inventories would have been published for the Acropolis for the better part of the last half-century.⁵¹

It is with close attention to this official tincture, then, that we should examine Praxagora's more extended description of her plan as she outlines it to her skeptical husband Blepyrus later on in the play (588–607):

Πρ. μή νυν πρότερον μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἀντίπηρ μηδ' ὑποκρούση,
πρὶν ἐπίστασθαι τὴν ἐπίνοϊαν καὶ τοῦ φράζοντος ἀκοῦσαι.
κοινωνεῖν γὰρ πάντας φήσω χρῆναι πάντων μετέχοντας 590
κάκ ταύτου ζῆν, καὶ μὴ τὸν μὲν πλουτεῖν, τὸν δ' ἄθλιον εἶναι,
μηδὲ γεωργεῖν τὸν μὲν πολλήν, τῷ δ' εἶναι μηδὲ ταφῆναι,
μηδ' ἀνδραπόδοις τὸν μὲν χρῆσθαι πολλοῖς, τὸν δ' οὐδ'
ἀκολούθῳ· ἀλλ' ἓνα ποιῶ κοινὸν πᾶσιν βίωτον καὶ τοῦτον
ὅμοιον.

Βλ. πῶς οὖν ἔσται κοινὸς ἅπασιν;

Πρ. κατέδει πέλεθρον πρότερός μου. 595

Βλ. καὶ τῶν πελέθρων κοινωνοῦμεν;

Πρ. μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἔφθης μ' ὑποκρούσας.

τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμέλλον ἐγὼ λέξειν· τὴν γῆν πρώτιστα ποιήσω
κοινήν πάντων καὶ τὰργύριον καὶ τᾶλλ', ὅπόσ' ἐστὶν ἐκάστῳ.
εἴτ' ἀπὸ τούτων κοινῶν ὄντων ἡμεῖς βοσκήσομεν ὑμᾶς
ταμιευόμεναι καὶ φειδόμεναι καὶ τὴν γνώμην προσέχουσαι. 600

Γε. πῶς οὖν ὅστις μὴ κέκτηται γῆν ἡμῶν, ἀργύριον δὲ
καὶ Δαρεικούς, ἀφανῆ πλοῦτον;

Πρ. τοῦτ' εἰς τὸ μέσον καταθήσει.

Βλ. κεῖ μὴ καταθεῖς ψευδορκήσει; κακῆσατο γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο.

⁵¹ The *terminus post quem* for the play comes from internal evidence, 392 being the first time during the Corinthian War in which the Athenians might have reason to express any optimism, such as occurs at lines 202–203. The *terminus ante quem* is the date of the production of *Wealth*.

- Πρ. ἀλλ' οὐδέν τοι χρήσιμον ἔσται πάντως αὐτῷ.
 Βλ. κατὰ δὴ τί;
- Πρ. οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν πενία δράσει· πάντα γὰρ ἔξουσιν ἅπαντες, 605
 ἄρτους, τεμάχη, μάζας, χλαίνας, οἶνον, στεφάνους, ἐρεβίνθους.
 ὥστε τί κέρδος μὴ καταθεῖναι; σὺ γὰρ ἐξευρῶν ἀπόδειξον.
- Pr. First, none of you respond or interrupt
 until you know the plan and have heard the one explaining it.
 For I'll say that everyone ought to share everything in common and
 live off the same resources, 590
 and that one man should not be rich while another is destitute, nor one
 farm a large piece but another not have a burial plot,
 nor one enjoy the use of many captive slaves while another
 not have even an attendant; rather, I would make everyone's livelihood a
 common entity, one and the same. 595
- Bl. So how will it be common to absolutely everyone?
 Pr. You'll eat dung before I do.
- Bl. And will we share the dung?
 Pr. By Zeus, you're preempting me with your interruptions!
 For I was about to say that I first will make the land
 the common property of everyone, and the money and everything else
 each person has in his possession.
 Then from these things, being now common property,
 we will feed, acting as treasurers, sparing and attentive to you. 600
- Bl. What about those of us who don't have land, but silver
 and gold coins, invisible wealth?
 Pr. They'll put that in the kitty too.
- Bl. And what if they swear falsely and don't put it in? For that's how they
 acquired it in the first place.
 Pr. But there will be no point in their doing that.
 Bl. How come?
- Pr. No one will do anything out of poverty, for everyone
 will have everything [they need]: 605
 bread, cold cuts, barleycakes, shawls, wine, garlands, chickpeas.
 So what would he gain by not putting his money in the pot? Think
 about it—show me.

I have stated earlier that Greek literary tradition and fifth century Athenian *polis*

administration function similarly with respect to what to do with precious objects: amass them into a contained collection, put them on display, count them in an inventory, and then display the account. Praxagora aims to effect precisely this scheme for the resources, once private and soon to be communal, of the whole population. In the first phase of the plan, participants bring all precious objects together in one place. This collection, composed of both money and goods (*καὶ τὰργύριον καὶ τᾶλλ'* (598)) will reside *εἰς τὸ μέσον* (602), that is, in a literal central space for a figurative shared benefit.⁵² The *μέσον*, then, functions as would a city treasury: as a physical repository. And like the collections of funds on the Acropolis, Praxagora's too require officials to keep watch over them, which roles the women will serve *ταμειυόμεναι καὶ φειδόμεναι*, acting as treasurers and being frugal (600). It is not surprising that Praxagora invokes some of the language of the Athenian treasurers—for what other terms would be at her disposal?—yet she also replicates its record-keeping practices in the verses themselves.⁵³ For the end of this passage provides the fourth element of official financial management: the inventory. Praxagora's list of ἄρτους, τεμάχη, μάζας, χλαίνας, οἶνον, στεφάνους, ἐρεβίνθους takes account not just of all that each citizen might require, but also of the physical material in the collection—in other words, the very contents of *τὸ μέσον*.⁵⁴ The enumeration does not simply exemplify the oft-invoked yet oversimplifying observation that “there is, of course, in comedy, much emphasis on food.”⁵⁵ Instead, it signals the complete integration of the poetic and the documentary list. I would venture, finally, that Praxagora's challenge to Blepyrus at 607 that, if he can think of anything that a would-be hoarder would gain, “to make it clear,” *ἀπόδειξον*, generally taken to mean “prove it,” in fact recalls accounting language as well, where an *ἀπόδειξις* is an inventory.⁵⁶ Thus Praxagora asks Blepyrus here that he literally make a list, following upon her own, of any other

⁵² Ussher (1973: 159).

⁵³ A more obvious instance of this kind of diction that has not escaped the notice of commentators is Blepyrus' question *τί δῆτ' ἔδοξεν* (455), inverting the formulaic words of inscribed resolutions of the *dēmos* and *boulē*.

⁵⁴ That this list may fail to comprise quite *all* that one might require does not pose an interpretive roadblock. For one thing, official accounts did not always provide perfectly correlated records either. Quite apart from that question, poetic license here and the time constraints of dramatic performance call for a shorter list, but the list form always has the ability to invoke the infinite (see above page 4, notes 8-9).

⁵⁵ Ussher (1973: 160)

⁵⁶ For the semantics and their relationship to the display of objects in Herodotus, as well as pertinent bibliography see chapter two.

valuable items.

The exchange also highlights Blepyrus' instinctive mistrust both of those with resources, and, even more so, of coined money as being of questionable ownership and questionable acquisition. On a rudimentary level, it reveals that he seems to define the difference between the two kinds of wealth as being that one can be pooled, but the other cannot, presumably by virtue of its *ἀφάνεια*. Certainly by the mid-fifth century suspicion about coined money is no new phenomenon, and the history of ancient attitudes toward it has received significant attention.⁵⁷ What stands out here as a new strain of the debate, though, is the concept of *πλοῦτος ἀφανής*, 'invisible,' and thus hoardable, wealth.⁵⁸ For though clearly the collocation refers to the coins, to which it stands in apposition, in what sense are these very physical items invisible? In light, it seems, of their having no use save for exchange.⁵⁹ They thus have no place in Praxagora's communal system, in which all resources are shared and there is no such thing as money. Even more important, they are of no use to a potential hoarder because he could glean no *κέρδος* from them. Praxagora's initial attempts to explain this to Blepyrus meet with stubborn opposition from him, and in exasperation she resorts to the only available mode of describing an imaginary (or in this case potential) collection: a list. For the purposes of her argument as well as a description of the new system, naming off a group of actual resources serves as a mode of reckoning where a more representative system does not exist. Cumbersome but colorful, the catalogue accomplishes for the non-moneyed world something a bank statement could in a single number. And again, counting visible and diverse objects is tantamount to listing.

Blepyrus' insistence and Praxagora's response bring to light a peculiar feature of

⁵⁷ Again we see a shift from the scenario described above, note 34, in which the reactionary elite—as opposed to Blepyrus' working class—advocates for the traditional economic system.

⁵⁸ *ἀφανής οὐσία* is the normal designation, as opposed to *φανερὰ*, the latter for visible possessions such as land. Lysias' description of two brothers' management of their inheritance elucidates the same difference that Blepyrus will allude to some ten years later: Ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, Διόδοτος καὶ Διογείτων ὁμοπάτριοι καὶ ὁμομήτριοι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀφανῆ οὐσίαν ἐνείμαντο, τῆς δὲ φανεραῦς ἐκοινώνουν. "There were two brothers, jurors, Diodotos and Diogeton, of the same mother and father, and they divided the invisible but shared the manifest wealth." (*Κατὰ Διογείτονος* 4). For further discussion of these term see Gabrielson (1986) and Ferucci (2005).

⁵⁹ Exchangeability is one of three defining features post-Keynesian writers have used to define types of money, the other two being (a) inherent prestige and, in its absence, (b) value imparted by communal agreement. Galbraith (1975: 72) sees all three as different versions of the "fact of scarcity," common to all, and which would not figure into Praxagora's new order.

lists in Aristophanes: that despite their echoes of documentary texts, they persist in occupying an intermediate space between traditional modes of reckoning wealth and innovative record-keeping practices, a binary that in the scheme of our evidence maps onto a balance between archaic poetic evidence on the one hand and Athenian public records on the other. Aristophanes' lists are the pivot, in a sense, between the old financial model and the new, rooted in old cultural practice yet essential to any economic system, real or, as so often in comedy, imagined. Aristophanes exploits both these associations, sometimes in the selfsame catalogue, to his comedic advantage.

In this section, I hope to have drawn a picture of listmaking in Aristophanes that looks something like this. Characters like to enumerate things to a greater extent in comedy than in other genres, arguing their points and punctuating their claims with them. This tendency, I argue, is aligned both with archaic expressions about infinity and a preoccupation with making accurate counts of real, non-infinite goods. I outline a progression from a more impressionistic and personal approach to reckoning, such as *Strepsiades* shows and attempts to remedy, to the domestication of *polis* administrative practice that emerges in *Assemblywomen* and *Wealth*. The implications of Aristophanes' use of the list form in all these spheres are manifold. Including mock inventories on the one hand reinforces the legitimacy of comedy as "a sophisticated dramatic form utilizing public-spirited themes and offering timely political advice."⁶⁰ At the same time, these lists and characters' interactions with them reflect a population perhaps seriously concerned about their livelihoods in the possible economic downturn of the early fourth century, but, quite independent of fiscal realities, enthralled by government practice in dealing with resources. In *Wealth*, the notion emerges that each man's house is a treasury, a place to collect and display his goods. Consequently, like city officials, the characters of private citizens exhibit "a tension between the values of such curatorship (and even connoisseurship) on the one hand and, on the other, the more direct fiscal preoccupations of a Kallias or an Androtion or a Lycurgus—a tension perhaps further complicated by considerations of cultic or human propriety."⁶¹ Scenes such as Cario's description of the newly filled house do not simply reflect a backward-looking picture, "conjur[ing] up the spontaneous abundance of the golden age."⁶² Rather, these moments evoke a mindset rooted in poetic forms of the legendary past, but ultimately blossoming in very immediate Athenian soil.

⁶⁰ Edwards (1991: 157), building on the foundation laid by Taplin (1983).

⁶¹ Davies (1994: 209)

⁶² Quotation from Konstan and Dillon (1981: 380)

EPILOGUE

T H E Y · H A D · B E E N · I N S C R I B E D
T H E Y · H A D · B E E N · I N S C R I B E D
T H E Y · H A D · B E E N · I N S C R I B E D
T H E Y · H A D · B E E N · I N S C R I B E D
T H E Y · H A D · B E E N · I N S C R I B E D

‘But of course the British Museum or (now) the British Library is not going to last for ever. It too will crumble and decay, and the books on its shelves turn to powder. And anyhow, long before that day, as the acid gnaws away at the paper, as the demand for space grows, the ugly and unread and unwanted will be carted off to some facility or other and tossed into a furnace, and all trace of them will be liquidated from the master catalogue. After which it will be as if they had never existed.

‘That is an alternative vision of the Library of Babel, more disturbing to me than the vision of Jorge Luis Borges. Not a library in which all conceivable books, past, present and future, coexist, but a library from which books that were really conceived, written and published are absent, even from the memory of the librarians.’

J.M. Coetzee, *Elizabeth Costello* (2003)

The chapters of this dissertation have presented four groups of texts that engage the list form in varied settings, to varied ends. In the Homeric poems, I argued in chapter one, figures of authority arrange precious objects, imaginary or otherwise, into catalogues as a method of performing transactions with them and even making them seem tangible. In pre-alphabetic Greece, a spoken catalogue with set boundaries and relatively fixed order acts as an oral record of a physical collection, a delineated text that functions much as might a later written document. When Priam counts off his ransom for Hector, or the disguised Odysseus counts off the gifts he gave Laertes’ son,

they use inventories as evidence of value and in this appear to illustrate some formalized listmaking norms. Of course neither of these catalogues can be seen to represent a real group of objects: the former exists as part of the fictional world of the epic, while the latter is fictive even within the poem itself. And therein lie the seeds of the notion that any collection of objects, real or imagined, can exist in the form of a list, even exclusively so. Not only do the Homeric characters' object catalogues echo historical practices such as Mycenaean record-keeping; in their very fictionality, they also suggest that a list may become a reasonable substitute for a physical collection.

These two last points inform the reading of Herodotus' *Histories* given in chapter two. In descriptions of prestige objects amassed by foreign kings and Greeks, I argue, the *Histories* reveal that the qualities I defined in Chapter One for object catalogues persist in a context that we can label more literate and more historical than the epic one.¹ Like the Homeric poems, however, Herodotus accompanies displays of wealth with descriptions of them in inventory form. Again, these inventories may be based on actual documentary practice, especially of the Near Eastern kings. At the same time, Herodotus' audience may never see many of the collections, and even those who would be able to pay them a visit (say, to Delphi) would not see them in their original state, altered as they are by time and financial needs. Thus Herodotus' object lists intend at least in part to create a replacement for the items in them, presenting them to his audience in lieu of a physical display of them. The semantics of ἀπόδειξις, literally a "showing" but also, in specialized cases, an "inventory," speak to this intersection of physical collection and verbal display of it.

It has been argued that Eastern traditions influence Herodotus' lists of extravagant possessions and dedications, not least because many of those things he describes belong to Eastern rulers.² It even seems likely that Herodotus had some form of access to Persian records as sources for the catalogue of the army, lists of tributaries, and holdings of the satrapies. But in the Greek-speaking world, no such inventories or tribute lists appear until sometime after the period of Herodotus' study, emerging in Athens sometime in the years during which he composed the *Histories*. The epigraphic world associates the rise of displayed published stone inventories in Athens with Callias' decree concerning various polis financial practices, in which he

¹ I use the comparatives purposefully, with the intent to imply that both of these qualities ('literate' and 'historical') exist on a spectrum and are not absolute terms in a binary.

² Konstan (1987).

states, among other things, that regular inventories should be made of the treasures on the Acropolis (IG I3 52A, lines 13–30):³

... ταμίας δὲ ἀποκυαμεύε-

[ν το]ύτον τὸν χρεμάτων *ἡ*όταμπερ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς, καθάπερ τὸς τὸν *ἡ*ι-
 [ερὸ]ν τὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίας. *ἡ*οῦτοι δὲ ταμειυόντων ἐμ πόλει ἐν τοῖ Ὀπισθ- 15
 [οδό]μοι τὰ τὸν θεὸν χρέματα *ἡ*όσα δυνατὸν καὶ ὅσιον, καὶ συνανοιγόν-
 τον καὶ συγκλειόντων τὰς θύρας τῷ Ὀπισθοδόμο καὶ συσσεμεινόςσθo-
 ν τοῖς τὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίας ταμίαις. παρὰ δὲ τὸν νῦν ταμιῶν καὶ τὸν ἐπισ-
 τατῶν καὶ τὸν *ἡ*ιεροποιῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς *ἡ*ιεροῖς, *ἡ*οὶ νῦν διαχερίζο[σι]-
 ν, ἀπαριθμεσάσθον καὶ ἀποστεσάσθον τὰ χρέματα ἐναντίον τῆς βολ[ῆ]- 20
 ς ἐμ πόλει, καὶ παραδεχσάσθον *ἡ*οὶ ταμίαι *ἡ*οὶ λαχόντες παρὰ τὸν νῦ[ν]
 ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐν στέλει ἀναγραφσάντων μιᾷ ἅπαντα καθ' ἕκαστόν τε
 τὸν θεὸν τὰ χρέματα *ἡ*οπόσα ἐστὶν ἕκαστοι καὶ συμπάντων κεφάλαιο-
 ν, χωρὶς τό τε ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀναγραφόντων *ἡ*-
 οὶ αἰεὶ ταμίαι ἐς στέλεν καὶ λόγον διδόντων τὸν τε ὄντων χρεμάτων 25
 καὶ τὸν προσιόντων τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐάν τι ἀ[π]αναλίσκεται κατὰ τὸν ἐ-
 νιαυτόν, πρὸς τὸς λογιστάς, καὶ εὐθύνας διδόντων. καὶ ἐκ Παναθηναί-
 ον ἐς Παναθέναια τὸλ λόγον διδόντων, καθάπερ *ἡ*οὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίας τ-
 [α]μειυόντες. τὰς δὲ στέλας, ἐν αἷς ἂν ἀναγράφοσι τὰ χρέματα τὰ *ἡ*ιερ-
 [ά, θέ]ντων ἐμ πόλει *ἡ*οὶ ταμίαι. 30

...And (it is resolved that) to select by lot treasurers of these goods at the same time as the other offices, in the manner of the treasurers of the sacred goods of Athena. And these (treasurers) should keep watch for the city over all the treasures of the gods in the Opisthodomos (15), as many as it is possible and sanctioned to, and let them open and close the doors of the Opisthodomos along with the treasurers of the treasures of Athena. And alongside the current treasurers and managers and sacred overseers in the temples who currently manage them, let (the new officials) count up and weigh the moneys in the presence of the council (20) on the Acropolis, and let the allotted treasurers taking over from the current archons inscribe on a single stele all the treasures, one by one (25), of the gods, as many as there

³ = ML 58 (51). The date of the inscription is the subject of longstanding debate, but there is general consensus on 434/433, and even possible later alternatives still fall within the range of Herodotus' composition.

are to each one, and their total sum, and the silver and gold separately. And from now on let the current treasurers inscribe (the inventory) on a stele and let them give an account of the moneys existing and coming in to the gods, and the expenditure, if there is any, during the year, before the auditors, and let them give public examination of their conduct. And let them make the account from Panathenaea to Panathenaea, as in the case of those managing the treasures of Athena. And as to the stelae on which they inscribe the sacred treasures, let the treasurers set them up on the Acropolis (30).

This section of the decree clearly makes provision for the appointment of annual treasurers, and, more pertinent for our purposes, annual inventories to be made. The exact motivations of Callias' proposal and the reasons behind making the inventories are not so obvious. It is rather glib to say that "we can be...semi-confident that the treasurers of Athene started to publish their *paradoseis* in 434/3 not just because Callias' first decree told them to, but also and mainly because they had in the Parthenon new and better places to store things [.]"⁴ These realities may accompany the creation of inventories, but they certainly do not explain them. If we consider certain details, though, a different—and tantalizing—chronology emerges: Herodotus speaks of *ἀπόδεξις* and foreign treasure collections between the 450s and the 420s, presenting these marvelous phenomena to an audience otherwise unable to view them. Then in the 430s, following the Callias decree, the displayed inventories of the treasurers on the Acropolis emerge. Not long after this, Aristophanes' first extant play is performed in 425, and the old comic tradition develops over the rest of the fifth century as a critical apparatus for Athenian social and political life. Among many topical motifs, Aristophanes treats the record-keeping and accounting practices of polis and citizen, even as the city's own financial systems are beginning to gel. His dramatic use of lists, I have argued, resonates with this piece of administrative practice. I suggest that all these texts, even in their diversity, share the capacity to serve as substitutes for the treasures they describe. Published stone inventories perhaps provide the most compelling material evidence to that effect.

By the end of the fourth century, though, the treasurers of Athena and their inventories fall by the wayside, and the argument that these documents act as lasting public substitutes for actual treasure becomes more a necessary outcome of a dwindling tradition. How can we know that this was more than mere coincidence? To cast light across the lingering shadows of doubt, I present one final list. This

⁴ Davies (1994) 202, reiterating Gomme (1945–1956) II.31.

unique text-object, the list of dedications from the temple of Athena at Lindos lies far removed in space and time from fifth-century Athens but shares crucial features with the inventories I have discussed throughout this dissertation. Its publication and display accomplish for the people of first-century Rhodes what I have argued occurs via other texts in the archaic and classical periods.

It has not gone unnoticed that the authors of the so-called Lindian Chronicle⁵ may have had the earlier Greek inventory tradition in mind when they published the text known to us most recently from the 2003 monograph by Higbie, and previously from the 1941 text of Blinkenberg in *Fouilles de Lindos* II.2, his third publication of the stone.⁶ Neither has the scholarly world ignored the interpretive difficulties inventory texts pose, struggling to reconcile their theoretical purposes with their imperfect manifestations.⁷ I propose here that the Lindian Chronicle presents us with a permutation of the quintessential inventory, one that calls into question the continuity of the cataloging genre as a whole in the Greek world, signaling a new level of abstraction in Greek collecting and list-making.

In 1922, less than a decade after Blinkenberg's *editio altera*, Elizabeth Douglas Van Buren published what is possibly the first brief treatment in English of the inscription. Due perhaps to some combination of its opaque title, anthropological approach, and journal of publication, her article, "Museums and Raree Shows in Antiquity," receives little attention from present students of the Lindian Chronicle. Yet Van Buren makes an astute observation in her claim that the Lindian temple of Athena functioned much as the modern museum, where objects "by degrees accumulated a hoary crust of traditions, never allowed to lack picturesqueness by the custodians who discoursed to an admiring crowd of sight-seers about the treasures which enriched the sanctuary."⁸ This portrait, couched as it is in baroque prose, does not differ so greatly from Higbie's dramatization of an ancient trip to Rhodes: "a visitor might have gleaned information... from conversations with a local priest or

⁵ Blinkenberg (1915). The designation "chronicle," as noted by Higbie (2003:159) and Chaniotis (1988:53-54), is of course specious and misleading; yet as it has endured for the better part of a century since its appearance in the *editio princeps* (Blinkenberg 1912), insisting on a better-suited title seems needlessly confusing.

⁶ Higbie 2003 (155n1) notes structural similarities, especially the tri-columnar layout, citing Harris (1995) (for the inventories of the Parthenon and Erechtheion) and Linders (1972) for those of Artemis Brauronia.

⁷ More meditations of this sort can be found in Aleshire (1989:107 with 107n3), Linders (1989), Hamilton (2000: Introduction 1-2), and Scott (forthcoming).

⁸ Van Buren 1922 (338). These points are explored more fully by Shaya (2005), drawing on Shaya (2002).

from reading the inscriptions on display. He might have come across the most important survivor of these inscriptions, the stone now known as the Chronicle of Lindos, and he could have learned from it something about those early centuries of the sanctuary.”⁹ Undoubtedly the two works do not share scholarly objectives, yet both insist on the significance of the tourist—the viewer—at this sanctuary and especially in the face of this text. This is an important intersection, and less self-evident than it seems, if we are to consider the Lindian Chronicle alongside the inventories of the fifth-century Attic tradition. Whereas these texts seem to exist, at least in theory, to provide an account of extant items,¹⁰ the inscription from Lindos states its purpose as precisely the opposite (lines 2-10 Blinkenberg (1941); my emphases):¹¹

...ἐπεὶ τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἀθήνας τῆς Λινδίας ἀρχαιότατόν τε καὶ ἐντιμό[τα]- | τον ὑπάρχον πολλοῖς κ[αὶ καλοῖς ἀναθέμασι ἐκ παλαιοτ]άτων χρόνων κεκόσμηται διὰ τὰν τῆς θεοῦ ἐπιφάνειαν, | συμβαίνει δὲ τῶν ἀνα[θεμάτων τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μετὰ τῶν ἐ]πιγραφῶν διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐφθάρθαι, τύχαι ἀγαθαὶ δεδόχθαι [μ]αστροῖς καὶ Λινδίοις κυρ[ωθέντος τοῦδε τοῦ ψαφίσματος ἐλέ]σθαι ἄνδρας δύο, τοὶ δὲ αἰρεθέντες κατασκευαζάντω στάλαν | [λ]ίθου Λαρτίου καθ’ ἃ καὶ ὁ ἀρχ[ιτέκτων γράψῃ καὶ ἀναγραψάντ]ω εἰς αὐτὰν τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα, ἀναγραψάντω δὲ ἕκ τε τῶν | [ἐπ]ιστολῶν καὶ τῶν χρηματ[ισμῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων μαρτυρί]ων ἃ καὶ ἦ ἀρμόζοντα περὶ τῶν ἀναθεμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας | [τ]ῆς θε<ο>ῦ ποιούμενοι τὰν ἀ[ναγραφὰν παρεόντος καὶ τοῦ γρ]αμματέως τῶν μαστρῶν τοῦ νῦν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἑόντος, τοὶ δὲ ἱεροτα- | μίαι τελεσάντω τοῖς αἰρεθεῖσι [τέλεσμα εἰς τὰν κατασκευὰν τᾶ]ς στάλας καὶ τὰν ἀναγραφὰν μὴ πλεῖον οὗ ἀποφαίνεται Πυργο- | τέλης ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων δραχμῶν διακοσιῶν.

Since the hieron of Athena the Lindian, both the most archaic and the most venerable in existence, has been adorned with many beautiful

⁹ Higbie 2003 (5).

¹⁰ *pace* Linders (1988: 45–47 especially), who puts forth the view through a close study of the notoriously inconsistent Delian evidence that these texts are meant to be records of the exchange *paradoseis* of conservation roles from one set of *hieropoioi* to the next. While Linders succeeds in identifying a plausible use for a disorganized inventory, I hesitate to equate that result with its authors’ intent: the theoretical purpose of inventories, realized or not, still remains to list all the contents of temples and treasuries, as stated in Callias’ decree above.

¹¹ I have quoted this version as Higbie’s text follows it quite closely; I will, however, discuss the textual debates of line 4 later on.

offerings from the earliest times on account of the visible presence of the goddess, and since it happens that most of the offerings together with their inscriptions have been destroyed on account of time, it has been resolved with the presumption of good fortune by the mastroi and the Lindians, with the authorization of this decree, that two men be selected. Let these men, once selected, set up a stele of stone from Lartos according to what the architect writes and let them inscribe on it this decree. Let them inscribe from the letters and from the public records and from the other evidence whatever may be fitting about the offerings and the visible presence of the goddess, making the copy of the stele with the secretary of the mastroi, the [secretary] now in office. (trans. Higbie)

Even if we momentarily disregard the disputed restorations of the fourth line, it is clear from what remains that we must understand some accusative as complement to τῶν ἀνα[θεμάτων] and, more importantly, subject for ἐφθάρθαι. Thus as opposed to a usual inventory, whose prescripts state at the outset that a given set of officials (ταμίαι) handed over (παρέδοσαν) the following things (τάδε), the Lindian Chronicle takes as its responsibility everything that is no longer in the temple. To what end? Higbie has advanced the thesis that the Chronicle served to resurrect the sanctuary's now-faded glory; Bresson rejects the historical bases of the claim, concluding that the Chronicle "n'était donc nullement destinée à ressusciter le passé du sanctuaire. Un seul et même principe de rédaction avait été établi: celui de dresser la liste de toutes les dédicaces importantes qui n'étaient plus visibles ou identifiables en 99 a.C."¹² Nevertheless, given that the Chronicle, displayed for all to see among the various treasures of Athena, would have had the superficial effect of an inventory, it seems pertinent to press further to identify other cultural motivations that would inspire a text such as this. I propose that the Chronicle represents the ultimate extension of the inventorying genre, to the point that no real amount of money or prestige objects is at stake anymore. It is the act of listing that matters to the list-makers, and to visitors to the sanctuary, who come to see a list rather than a collection of actual goods. The collection, once physical, now has a solely textual manifestation.¹³

¹² Bresson (2006) 547.

¹³ Swann (2001), page 9 and especially chapter 3 has presented several studies of textual collecting in early modern England, and the temple administrative body at Lindos seems to operate on principles similar to those she identifies in English individuals of the 17th century.

We can perhaps trace roots of textual collecting in any inventory that alludes to the placement of physical objects and subsequently removes them from view. This practice occurs repeatedly in the fourth-century Brauronian inventories, in which entries include descriptions of where offerings were located in relation to statues, e.g. in another section of the text quoted in chapter 3, *IG II² 1514* lines 34–37:

ἀμπέχονον, Ἄρτ-

έμιδος ἱερὸν ἐπιγέγραπτ[α]ι, περὶ τῷ ἔδει τῷ ἀρ[χ]- 35
αίωι, Θεανώ· ἀμπέχονον περὶ τῷ ἔδει τῷ ἀρχαίω[ι, Π]-
εντετηρ[ί]ς·

A shawl, inscribed as sacred to Artemis, around the old
statue, Theano. A shawl around the old statue, Penteteris.

The same text specifies certain items as being ἐμ πλασίωι, “in the box.” While one might reasonably argue that these details merely aid the ταμίαι in their subsequent accounting, such an analysis becomes unsustainable for inventories eventually far removed from their sanctuary contexts, as the copies of the Brauronian series likely were.¹⁴ The very act of describing locations, found elsewhere in the Greek world as well, implies that the inventory takes on a status equaling or surpassing that of the dedications themselves.¹⁵ References to the decay or loss of objects in inventories indicate a similar shift in focus from object to text. In the Brauronian inscriptions, mentions of a ῥάκος likely refer to garments once intact but now threadbare, while accounts at Delos contain entries that seem to disappear, only to return in subsequent

¹⁴ Though the complete relevant material and epigraphic evidence remains unpublished, excavations at Brauron made it clear that the inventories found in Athens corresponded to buildings at Brauron, not in Athens, on which see first Linders (1972: 71–73), more recently Despinis (2005). The latter treats the statues mentioned in the inventories, defending the opinion (first of Papademetriou) that all of them were located at Brauron—nowhere, in his view, do the stones refer to statues at Athens. Even if some Brauronian treasures eventually ended up in Athens via some transfer, one set of inventories would have remained orphaned of its corresponding items.

¹⁵ e.g. on Samos, where the inventory 346/5 seems to refer to another statue in the entry: ἰμάτιον λευκόν, ἣ ὄπισθε θεὸς ἔχει (*IG XII.6 261.27*).

years.¹⁶ Thus the inventory even in earlier times has begun to assume an autonomous existence and a power unto itself.¹⁷

In the case of the Lindian Chronicle, the relationship of object to text becomes further complicated because almost all of the dedications in question were themselves inscribed at some point, arguably before publication of inventories (or perhaps even inventorying itself) was prevalent in the Greek world. Each entry in the Chronicle systematically lists the dedicators along with known physical details of the offerings, but then expends the most chiseling on the citation of the inscriptions and their sources. Entry VIII(=B48-53) provides a typical example:

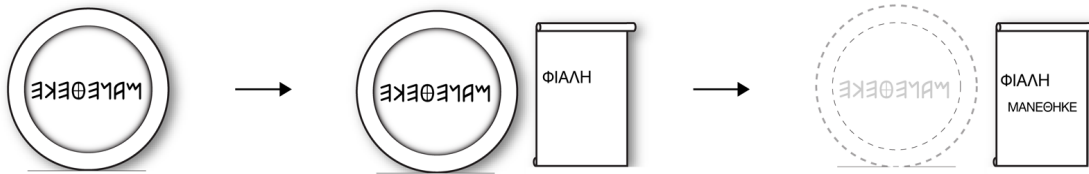
[Τήλ]εφος φιάλαν χρυσόμφαλον, ἐφ' ᾗς ἐπεγέ-
[γρ]απτο· Τήλεφος Ἀθάναι ἰλατή[ρι]ον, ὡς ὁ Λύκιος
Ἀπόλλων εἶπε. περὶ τούτων ἰστ[ορ]εῖ Ξεναγόρας 50
ἐν ταῖ α τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξις, Γόργων
ἐν ταῖ α τᾶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθένης ἐν ταῖ ἐ-
πιστολαῖ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν ταῖ ἐπ[ιστολαῖ].

Telephus, a phiale with a golden boss. On which had been inscribed: 'Telephus to Athena a supplicatory gift, as Lycian Apollo said.' About these things Xenagoras (50) reports in his investigations in the first book of his Annalistic Account, Gorgon in this first book of his work About Rhodes, Gorgosthenes in his letter, Hieroboulus in his. (trans. Higbie)

¹⁶ This tendency has famously plagued Tréheux and Hamilton in their attempts to trace an object through the lists and has caused Linders to conclude that inventories were not ultimately intended for fact-checking objects.

¹⁷ Gordon (1999) has done extensive analysis of the list form as it relates to magical texts, which surely bear structural and symbolic connection to inventory lists. He claims that magical texts usurp public record formats in the classical period by using columnar lists for incantations and spells (256-257), but most relevant here is his explanation for the list's significance: "What is not listed slips out of ken. The contents of the list come to seem, through the device of enumeration, the most important matters in the present connection. By its very nature, the list grabs attention, claims authority for its way of representing the world" (241). Gordon has rhetorical lists in mind here, but inventory lists that come to take the place of disappeared objects exhibit this same tendency to 'grab attention' while anything not included 'slips out of ken.' I hope to explore the connections between magic texts and inventories further in subsequent versions of this section.

Thus from the time of the dedication—sometime in the distant or legendary past—to the time of the Chronicle, the original text has been cut off from its context but reattached to another one. The steps in making this one stele represent on a small scale the historical progression of the dedicatory text’s relation to the dedicatory object in Greece: beginning as part of it, and ending up as completely divorced from it. A diagram helps elucidate these stages:



At the first stage, characteristic of our earliest alphabetic Greek texts and possibly many of the archaic votives in the Lindian Chronicle, the dedicatory text exists only as a physical part of the object. In the middle stage, an inscribed stele describing the dedications stands alongside the object (inscribed or uninscribed), as is characteristic of standard inventories throughout the Greek world.¹⁸ The third stage signals the disappearance of the votive for some reason and subsequent grafting of its dedicatory text onto the accompanying stele, which then becomes the only item on display, as is the case at Lindos.

One might justifiably express skepticism at the leap from classical inventories in stage II, many of them from fifth-century Attica, to the context of the Lindian Chronicle in the Roman east at the start of the first century BC. While we may speculate as to thematic continuities, such as a desire on the part of the Rhodians to align themselves with the Athenian tradition, the second-century BC offering-list from Miletus we have discussed earlier, for an unidentified treasury, provides a fortuitous thematic and chronological link. Though the stone’s height is incomplete, its width of 66 cm (compared to the Lindian Chronicle’s 85 cm) suggests a comparably monumental piece. I reproduce here the excerpt given earlier in chapter 3 (*Inschriften von Milet* VI.1357 7–11):¹⁹

παλαιὸν ἡχρειωμένον, ἀλουργέα παλαιὰ κατακεκομμένα

¹⁸ They frequently identify objects as ἀνεπίγραφος, a designation I would adduce as further evidence for the inventory’s superseding the object, for the specification implies that the text must reflect exactly what is or is not physically manifest on it.

¹⁹ With Günther (1988: 220–221), including critical notes.

ἀχρεῖα ὀκτώ, χλανίδες παλαιαὶ ἀχρεῖαι κατακεκομμένα τ-
 [ρ]εῖς, ἱμάτια πορφυρᾷ βαπτὰ ἀχρεῖα κατακεκομμένα τρία, κά[ρ-]
 πρᾶσος παλαιός, σινδονίτης παλα[ι]ὸς ἀχρεῖος, ὀθόναι λιναῖ π- 10
 [α]λαιαὶ ἀχρεῖαι τρεῖς, ἄλλα ἢ[μ]ιτριβεῖς κεκομμένα δύο...

...old, damaged; eight old sea-purple items, threadbare,
 unusable; three old shawls, unusable, threadbare;
 three cloaks dyed purple, unusable, threadbare; an old
 linen item; an old Sidonian garment, unusable; three fine linen 10
 garments, old, unusable; two more half-worn threadbare ones;

What is remarkable about this list is that a majority of the offerings, mainly textiles, are described as *κατακεκομμένα*, “shredded to bits,” and apparently listed according to their state of conservation.²⁰ Thus in the second century in Asia Minor we can identify some intermediate stage between II and III outlined above, in which the dedication has not completely disappeared but is clearly on its way to oblivion. Günther’s suggestion that this inventory lists items still extant but too dilapidated to be considered for *παράδοσις* supports this hypothesis.²¹

With these thematic considerations in mind, and especially in light of the Lindian Chronicle’s abstraction of dedicatory text from dedicatory object, let us return to the fourth line of the text, whose restoration has inspired significant debate. The proposals for the effaced middle of the line—essentially all suggestions of the accusative subject for *ἐφθάρθαι* that is partitive to *τῶν ἀνα[θεμάτων]*—generally fall into two groups: those that highlight the age of the destroyed dedications, and those that emphasize their quantity. Thus alongside Blinkenberg’s *ἀρχαιότατα* we see *ἀρχαιότερα* (Wilhelm 1930), while Higbie, following Blinkenberg’s 1915 text (=Holleaux 1913) for reasons somewhat obscure, gives *τὰ πλειστά*.²² In his review of Higbie, Bresson most recently has provided a convincing rationale for his own restoration *τούτων τὰ πολλά*, which he presents as a “more neutral” text, since it does not make a direct claim as to the relative age of the destroyed objects or imply that

²⁰ Günther (1988) 231, with reference to *ῥάκος* in the Brauronian texts, which he agrees implies a deteriorated offering and not an already-worn vestment given to Artemis.

²¹ The other point we may consider is one that Bresson dismisses parenthetically but which could benefit from further attention: arguably many of these dedications may never have existed at all. “...la Chronique donnait la liste de la plupart des dédicaces qui avaient été faites, ou étaient supposées avoir été faites (la distinction entre dédicaces mythiques et dédicaces réelles n’était pas pertinente aux yeux des Grecs)” (2006: 547).

²² Text and critical apparatus, page 18; commentary, page 54.

none of the old dedications survived the years or the fire of 330.²³ A summary of the proposed restorations, which have between 26–29 letters (based on Blinkenberg’s estimate of a 27–letter lacuna), is as follows:

1a. Blinkenberg (1912, reprinted 1941)

συμβαίνει δὲ τῶν ἀνα[θεμάτων τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μετὰ τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν
διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐφθάρθαι

1b. Wilhelm (1930)

συμβαίνει δὲ τῶν ἀνα[θεμάτων τὰ ἀρχαιότερα μετὰ τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν
διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐφθάρθαι

2a. Blinkenberg (1915), maintained by Higbie (2003)

συμβαίνει δὲ τῶν ἀνα[θεμάτων τὰ πλεῖστα μετὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγραφῶν
διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐφθάρθαι

2b. Bresson (2006)

συμβαίνει δὲ τῶν ἀνα[θεμάτων τούτων πολλὰ μετὰ τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν
διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐφθάρθαι

Though I do not aim wholly to discount Bresson’s plausible suggestion, I maintain that despite these changes, the end of the lacuna still poses a sense problem: what do the authors of the decree mean when they allegedly specify *μετὰ τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν*? Higbie translates text (2a) as “most of the offerings together with their inscriptions,” but surely this would be self-evident and redundant. If the offerings have perished, clearly the words inscribed on them normally would have suffered the same fate. One might also expect the decree text in line 7 (quoted above, page 3) to mention the dedicatory inscriptions again: “let them inscribe whatever may be fitting about the offerings and their inscriptions...” The only plausible reason to specify this detail would be to signal a loss of any record at all of the inscriptions; yet the rest of the Chronicle shows that most, if not all, of the texts in fact survived in some copy.²⁴

²³ Bresson (2006) 538–539. Though his proposal is bolstered by a precise and calculated rejection of previous versions on both epigraphic and thematic grounds, one cannot see it as a definitive restoration *per se*.

²⁴ As preserved either by the historians cited or in the *χρηματισμῶν* suggested in line 7 of the decree. A handful of entries do not mention inscriptions at all: it is not clear whether the headband Cleoboulus army gave (XXIII=C.1–5) had inscriptions or not. The other inscriptions on objects left unquoted are those not in Greek: that from the lebes of Cadmus

Moreover, to restore the possessive genitive *αὐτῶν* seems awkward at best, and relatively ungrammatical: inventories regularly denote inscribed dedications with a participle of *ἔχω* + *ἐπιγραφήν*.

I suggest that this line should express either the mere fact that the dedications in question were inscribed, or that the content of the inscribed text, the *ἐπιγραφή*, in fact does survive and will comprise some of the information on the present stele. A speculative restoration that maintains Bresson's *πολλά* but changes the preposition *μετά* to *πλάν* would reflect this sense: *συμβαίνει δὲ τῶν ἀνα[θεμάτων τούτων πολλὰ πλάν τᾶν ἐ]πιγραφᾶν διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐφθάρθαι*—"...and (since) it happens that the many of these dedications—except their inscriptions—have perished due to age." The votives themselves, but not the texts of the inscriptions associated with them, no longer exist.

When one reconsiders this line and its relationship to the rest of the stone, it becomes immediately apparent that the authors of the Chronicle and of the decree—regardless of the realities of the lacuna—have concerned themselves with the complex relationship of dedicated object and text. They have published a list that shares several distinguishing features of a Greek inventorying tradition almost three centuries old, yet exhibits an elevation of the archive to the status only of monument but also artefact.²⁵ If we subsequently return to the notion of the sanctuary as museum (seemingly so rational) it emerges somewhat distorted: imagine visiting a modern museum to observe a list of pieces it had once owned but were now missing, stolen, or repatriated. For the Lindians, though, textual collection, or connoisseurship through listing, is possible and acceptable. The dedicatory object, once something of prestige, becomes a perishable vehicle through which a dedicatory inscription moves from temporary surface to its final and permanent medium of the list on stone. We need not be limited, then, to seeing a grandiose nostalgic rationale for making such a list, for in many senses it is as natural as any other inventory. If Attic inventories in the fourth century can be displaced from what they describe, and if the second-century Milesians can commission and display a list of disintegrated dresses, the Lindians merely continue an archival tradition already bordering on the absurd, or at least far more concerned with cataloguing than object-based wealth. For them, though, the cycle is complete: in the total loss of the original offerings, the new monolithic list,

(III=B.15-17) with *φοινικικοῖς γράμμασι*, and a verse from one of Amasis' statues (XXIX=C.36-55), inscribed *διὰ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις καλουμένων ἱερῶν γραμμάτων*.

²⁵ Davies (2003) explores the monumentalization of the archive and alludes to its origin in dedicatory formats (335-337) such as public gravestones and manumission documents of the fifth and fourth centuries; his account, I think, applies equally well to inventory texts.

complete with dedicatory inscriptions, stands in their stead. We could conceive of a further recursive catalogue of all such lists, but this is a topic for a future study.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- Ainian, A.M. (2005). "Inside the adyton of a Greek temple: Excavations on Kythnos (Cyclades)." In Yeroulanou, M. and M. Stamatopoulou (2005) 87-103. BAR International Series 1455. Oxford: Archaeopress/British Archaeological Reports.
- Alden, M.J. (2000). *Homer Beside Himself: Para-Narratives in the Iliad*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aleshire, S.B. (1989). *The Athenian Asklepieion: The People, Their Dedications, and the Inventories*. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben.
- Allen, T.W. (1901). "The Euripidean Catalogue of Ships." *The Classical Review* 15 346-350.
- _____. (1910). "The Homeric Catalogue." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 30 292-322.
- _____. (1921). *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- Asheri, D. (2007). *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I-IV*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Asquith, H. (2006). *Listed Narratives in Greek Poetry from Hesiod to Callimachus: The Development of a Genre*. Dissertation, University of Cambridge.

- Auhagen, Ulrike, ed. (2001). *Studien Zu Plautus' Epidicus*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Austin, J.N. (1965). *Catalogues and the Catalogue of Ships in the Iliad*. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Bakewell, G. (2007). "Written Lists of Military Personnel." In Cooper (2007) 89-101. Leiden: Brill.
- Bakhtin, M. (1975) "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes toward a Historical Poetics." In Richardson (2002) 15-34.
- Bakker, E. J. H. van Wees, and I. J. F. de Jong, eds. (2002). *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bakker, E.J. (2010). *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*. Chichester, U.K., and Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- . (2010). "Pragmatics: Speech and Text." In Bakker (2010) 151-168.
- Barney, S. (1981). "Chaucer's Lists." In Wenzel and Benson (1982) 189-223.
- Beck, I. (1971). *Die Ringkomposition Bei Herodot Und Ihre Bedeutung Für die Beweistechnik*. Hildesheim: G. Olms.
- Beecroft, A. (2010). *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China: Patterns of Literary Circulation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Beer, H. (1914). *Aparchē Und Verwandte Ausdrücke in Griechischen Weihinschriften*. Würzburg: F. Staudenraus.
- Belknap, R.E. (2004). *The List: The Uses and Pleasures of Cataloguing*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Benjamin, W. (1986 [1931]). "Unpacking my Library: A Talk about Book Collecting." in *Illuminations*, ed. H. Arendt. New York: Schocken Books.

- Beye, C.R. (1964). "Homeric Battle Narrative and Catalogues." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 68 345-373.
- Bing, P. (2008). *The Scroll and the Marble: Studies in Reading and Reception in Hellenistic Poetry*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Blinkenberg, C. (1912). *La Chronique Du Temple Lindien. Exploration archéologique de Rhodes VI*. Copenhagen: B. Luno.
- . (1915). *Die Lindische Tempelchronik*. Bonn: A. Marcus and E. Weber.
- . and K.F. Kinch (1931). *Lindos: Fouilles Et Recherches, 1902-1914. Publications of the National Museum. Archaeological Historical Series 22. 1-2*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Boegehold, A.L, ed. (1984). *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on His Eightieth Birthday*. Durham, N.C: Duke University Press.
- Bookidis, N., and R.S. Stroud (1997). "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Topography and Architecture." *Corinth* 18 (3): iii-510.
- Bounia, A. (2004). *The Nature of Classical Collecting: Collectors and Collections, 100 BCE-100 CE*. Aldershot, Hampshire, U.K: Ashgate.
- Bowie, A. M. (1997). "Thinking with Drinking: Wine and the Symposium in Aristophanes." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 117 1-21.
- ., ed. (2007). *Herodotus Histories Book VIII*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bowman, A.K. and G.Woolf (1994). *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bradeen, D.W. (1963). "The Fifth-Century Archon List." *Hesperia* 32.2 187-208.
- Bresson, A. (2006). [Compte rendu]. *Topoi: Orient-Occident* 16.2 527-551.

- _____, A.-M. Cocula, and C. Pébarthe, eds. (2005). *L'écriture Publique Du Pouvoir: [table Ronde, Bordeaux, 14-15 Mars 2002]*. Pessac: Ausonius.
- Brosius, M., ed. (2003). *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, C.N. (1904). "Fragment of a Treasure List Found in the Acropolis Wall of Athens." *American Journal of Archaeology* 8.3 263-282.
- Brown, L.A. (2000). "From Discard to Divination: Demarcating the Sacred Through the Collection and Curation of Discarded Objects." *Latin American Antiquity* 11 (4) 319-333.
- van Buren, E. D. (1922). "Museums and Raree Shows in Antiquity." *Folklore* 33 (4) 337-353.
- Burns, A. (1981). "Athenian Literacy in the Fifth Century B.C." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 42 (3) 371-387.
- Calder, W.M. (1984). "Gold for Bronze: *Iliad* 6: 232-236." In Boegehold (1984) 31-35.
- Carey, C. (1994). "Comic Ridicule and Democracy." In Osborne and Hornblower (1994) 69-83.
- Carter, J.B, S.P. Morris, eds. (1995). *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- _____, E. Cohen, and L. Foxhall, eds. (2002). *Money, Labour and Land: Approaches to the Economies of Ancient Greece*. London: Routledge.
- Casson, S. (1914). "The Persian Expedition to Delphi." *The Classical Review* 28 (5) 145-151.
- _____. (1921). "ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ, 'Inventory,' in Herodotus and Thucydides." *The Classical Review* 35 (7/8) 144-145.
- Chaniotis, A. (1988). *Historie Und Historiker in Den Griechischen Inschriften:*

Epigraphische Beiträge Zur Griechischen Historiographie. [Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 4]. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden.

Christ, M.R. (1994). "Herodotean Kings and Historical Inquiry." *Classical Antiquity* 13 (2) 167-202.

Christensen, J. P. (2010). "First-Person Futures in Homer." *American Journal of Philology* 131 (4) 543-571.

Christesen, P. (2007). *Olympic Victor Lists and Ancient Greek History*. Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Clanchy, M. (2007). "Literate and Illiterate; Hearing and Seeing." In Graff (2007) 38-81.

Cleland, L. (2005). *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues: Text, Analysis, Glossary and Translation*. Oxford: John and Erica Hedges Ltd.

Clifford, J. and G. Marshall, eds. (1986). *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cole, S.G. (2004). *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space the Ancient Greek Experience*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Collins, D. (2008). *Magic in the Ancient Greek World*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Connery, C.L. (1998). *The Empire of the Text: Writing and Authority in Early Imperial China*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Cooper, C.R., ed. (2007). *Politics of orality*. Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum, 0169-8958 ; 280. Leiden: Brill.

Crane, S.A. (2000). *Museums and memory*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Crielaard, J.P., ed. (1995). *Homeric Questions: Essays in Philology, Ancient History and Archaeology, Including the Papers of a Conference Organized by the*

Netherlands Institute at Athens, 15 May, 1993. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben.

Crossett, J. (1969). "The Art of Homer's Catalogue of Ships." *The Classical Journal* 64 (6) 241-245.

D'Alessio, A. (2006). "Ordered from the Catalogue: Pindar, Bacchylides, and Hesiodic Genealogical Poetry." In Hunter (2006) 217-238.

Daube, D. 1974. "Withdrawal: Five Verbs." *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 7 93-112.

_____. 1977. "Counting." *Mnemosyne* 30 176-178.

David, E. (1984). *Aristophanes and Athenian Society of the Early Fourth Century B.C.* Leiden: Brill.

Davies, A. M. (1975). "Review: Madvig on Linguistics." *The Classical Review* 25 (2) 245-247.

Davies, J.K.. (1994). Accounts and Accountability in Classical Athens. In *Ritual, Finance, Politics: Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, 201-212. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

_____. (2003). "Greek Archives: From Record to Monument." in Brosius (2003) 323-343.

Davison, J. A. (1962a). "Literature and Literacy in Ancient Greece." *Phoenix* 16 (3) 141-156.

_____. (1962b). "Literature and Literacy in Ancient Greece: II. Caging the Muses." *Phoenix* 16 (4) 219-233.

Debord, P. (1982). *Aspects Sociaux Et Économiques De La Vie Religieuse Dans l'Anatolie Gréco-Romaine.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Deger-Jalkotzy, S., S. Hiller, and O. Panagl, eds. (1999). *Floreat studia Mycenaea: Akten des X. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom*

- 1.-5. *Mai 1995*. Mykenische Studien 18. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- DeMarrais, E., C. Gosden, and C. Renfrew, eds. (2004). *Rethinking Materiality: The Engagement of Mind with the Material World*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Detienne, M. (1999) *The Masters of Truth in Archaic Greece*, trans. J. Lloyd. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Dewald, C. (1993) "Reading the World: The Interpretation of Objects in Herodotus' Histories." In Ostwald et al. (1993) 55-70.
- Dewald, C. and J. Marincola, eds. (2006). *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Dignas, B. (2002a). *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*.
- _____. (2002b). "'Inventories' or 'Offering Lists'? Assessing the Wealth of Apollo Didymaeus." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 138 235-244.
- Dobrov, G.W., ed. (1995). *Beyond Aristophanes: Transition and Diversity in Greek Comedy*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- _____. (2010). *Brill's Companion to the Study of Greek Comedy*. Leiden: Brill.
- Donlan, W. (1989). "The Unequal Exchange between Glaucus and Diomedes in Light of the Homeric Gift-Economy." *Phoenix* 43 (1) 1-15.
- Dougherty, C., and L. Kurke, eds. (1998). *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece: Cult, Performance, Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- _____, eds. (2003). *The cultures within ancient Greek culture*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Dow, S. (1963). "Alphabetized Inscriptions from Smyrna in Bowdoin and Leyden." *American Journal of Archaeology* 67 (3) 257-268.

- Drozdek, A. (2008). *In the Beginning Was the Apeiron: Infinity in Greek Philosophy*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Dubois, B. and G. Laurent. (1995). "Luxury Possessions and Practices: An Empirical Scale." *European Advances in Consumer Research* 2 69-77.
- Edwards, A. T. (1991). "Aristophanes' Comic Poetics: Tryc, Scatology, Skwmma." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 121 157-179.
- Edwards, M.W. (1980). "The Structure of Homeric Catalogues." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 110 81-105.
- Elsner, J. and R. Cardinal, eds. (1994). *The Cultures of Collecting*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- English, M. (2005). "The Evolution of Aristophanic Stagecraft." *Leeds International Classical Studies* 4 (3) 1-16.
- Fehling, D. (1989). *Herodotus and His Sources*. Liverpool: Francis Cairns.
- Filbey, E.J. (1917). *The supplementary participle in Herodotus*. Dissertation: University of Wisconsin.
- Finley, M. I. (1999). *The Ancient Economy*, (updated edition). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Foley, J. M. (2004). "Epic as Genre." In Fowler (2004) 171-187.
- Foucault, M. (1994 [1996]). *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Fowler, R. L., ed. (2004). *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Fränkel, H. (1974). "Three Talks on Grammar." *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 7 113-153.

- Freire, P. (1987). *Literacy: Reading the Word & the World*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.
- Freund, T. (1993). *Objects of Desire: The Lives of Antiques and Those Who Pursue Them*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Fried, M. (1967). "Art and Objecthood." *Artforum* 5 12-23.
- . (1998). *Art and Objecthood: Essays and Reviews*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gaisser, J. H. (1969). "Adaptation of Traditional Material in the Glaucus-Diomedes Episode." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 100 165-176.
- Galbraith, J. K. (1975). *Money, Whence It Came, Where It Went*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Galjanić, A. (2007). *Three and then some : a typology of poetic enumeration in Greek and related Indo-European traditions*. Dissertation: Harvard University.
- Gelzer, T. (1996). "Some Aspects of Aristophanes' Dramatic Art in the Birds." In Segal (1996) 194-215.
- Gilula, D. (2000). "Hermippus and his Catalogue of Goods." In Harvey et al. (2000) 75-90.
- Gomme, A. W. (1945). *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Goody, J. (1977). *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- . and I. Watt. (1963). "The consequences of literacy." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5.3 304-345.

- Goold, G. P. (1960). "Homer and the Alphabet." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 91 272-291.
- Gordon, R. (1997). " 'What's in a List?' Listing in Greek and Graeco-Roman Malign Magical Texts." In Jordan et al. (1997) 239-277.
- Graff, H. J. (1987). *The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture and Society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- . (1995). *The Labyrinths of Literacy: Reflections on Literacy Past and Present*. (revised edition). Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- . (2007). *Literacy and Historical Development: A Reader* (revised edition). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Grafton, A. (2009). *Worlds Made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Grimes, R. L. (2006). *Rite Out of Place: Ritual, Media, and the Arts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Guarducci, M. (1987). *L'epigrafia greca dalle origini al tardo impero*. Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato.
- Günther, W. (1988). "« Vieux et inutilisable » dans un inventaire inédit de Milet." In Knoepfler and Quellet (1988) 215-237.
- Halverson, J. (1992). "Goody and the Implosion of the Literacy Thesis." *Man* 27 (2) 301-317.
- Hamilton, R. (2000). *Treasure Map: A Guide to the Delian Inventories*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Harris, D. (1988). "Nikokrates of Kolonos, Metalworker to the Parthenon Treasurers." *Hesperia* 57 (4) 329-337.
- . (1992). "Bronze Statues on the Athenian Acropolis: The Evidence of a

- Lycurgan Inventory.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 96 (4) 637-652.
- . (1994). “Freedom of Information and Accountability.” In Osborne and Hornblower (1994) 213-225. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . (1995). *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion*. Oxford monographs on classical archaeology. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Harris, W.V. (1989) *Ancient Literacy*. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press
- Harvey, F. D, J. Wilkins, and K. J. Dover, eds. (2000). *The Rivals of Aristophanes: Studies in Athenian Old Comedy*. London: Duckworth and the Classical Press of Wales.
- Havelock, E. A. (1980). “The Oral Composition of Greek Drama.” *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 6 61-113.
- . (1982). *The Literate Revolution in Greece and Its Cultural Consequences*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Hegel, G. W. F. (1956). *The Philosophy of History*. New York: Dover.
- Heiden, B. (2008). “Common People and Leaders in ‘Iliad’ Book 2: The Invocation of the Muses and the Catalogue of Ships.” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 138 (1) 127-154.
- Henderson, J. (1997). “The Name of the Tree: Recounting Odyssey XXIV 340-2.” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 117 87-116.
- Henrichs, A. (2003a). “Inscribed Texts, Ritual Authority, and the Religious Discourse of the Polis.” In Yunis (2003) 38-58.
- . (2003b). “‘Hieroi Logoi’ and ‘Hierai Bibloi’: The (Un)Written Margins of the Sacred in Ancient Greece.” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 101: 207-266.
- Heubeck, A., J. Russo, and M. Fernández-Galiano. (1992). *A Commentary on Homer’s Odyssey: Books XVII-XXIV*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Higbie, C. (2003). *The Lindian Chronicle and the Greek Creation of Their Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Holleaux, M. (1913). "Notes sur la 'Chronique de Lindos'." *Revue des études grecques* 26 40-46.
- Hömke, N., and M. Baumbach, eds. (2006). *Fremde Wirklichkeiten: Literarische Phantastik Und Antike Literatur*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1992). *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.
- Hout, M. van den. (1949). "Studies in Early Greek Letter-Writing." *Mnemosyne* 2 (1) 19-41.
- de Hoz, M.P. (2006). "Literacy in Rural Anatolia: The Testimony of the Confession Inscriptions." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 155 139-144.
- Hunter, R. ed. (2005) *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Constructions and Reconstructions*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Immerwahr, H.R. (1960). "Ergon: History as a Monument in Herodotus and Thucydides." *The American Journal of Philology* 81 (3) 261-290.
- _____.(1966). *Form and Thought in Herodotus*. Cleveland: Published for the American Philological Association by the Press of Western Reserve University.
- Jakobson, R. (1959) "Sign and System of Language: A Reassessment of Saussure's Doctrine." In Pomorska and Rudy (1985) 28-36.
- Jeffery, L.H., revised Johnston (1990). *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*. London: Oxford University Press.
- _____. and A. Morpurgo Davies (1970). "*Poinikastas and poinikazen*: BM 1969.4-2.1, A New Archaic Inscription from Crete," *Kadmos* 9 118-54.

- Johnson, A. C. (1914). "An Athenian Treasure List." *American Journal of Archaeology* 18 (1) 1-17.
- Jong, I. J. F. de. (2001). *A Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Jordan, D.R., H. Montgomery, and E. Thomassen, eds. (1999). *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the First International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4-8 May 1997*. Bergen: Norwegian Institute at Athens.
- Keesling, C. M. (2003). *The Votive Statues of the Athenian Acropolis*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Kenney, E. J. 1991. Review: "Small Writing and Less Reading." *The Classical Review* 41 168-169.
- Kirk, G.S. (1985). *The Iliad: a commentary. Books 1-4*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Klein, J. (1968). *Greek Mathematical Thought and the Origin of Algebra*. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press.
- Knoepfler, D., and N. Quellet, eds. (1988). *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque : actes du colloque international d'épigraphie tenu à Neuchâtel du 23 au 26 septembre 1986 en l'honneur de Jacques Tréheux*. Neuchâtel: Université de Neuchâtel.
- Knox, M. O. (1970). "'House' and 'Palace' in Homer." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 90 117-120.
- Konig, J. and T. Whitmarsh, eds. (2007). *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire*. Cambridge, U.K. and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Konstan, D. and M. Dillon (1981). "The Ideology of Aristophanes' Wealth." *The*

American Journal of Philology 102 (4) 371-394.

Kosmetatou, E. (2002). "The Athenian inventory lists : a review article." *AC* 71 185-197.

_____. (2003). "'Taboo' Objects in Attic Inventory Lists." *Glotta* 79 66-82.

Koumanoudes, S. N. and S. G. Miller (1971). "IG II² 1477 and 3046 Rediscovered." *Hesperia* 40 (4) 448-458.

Kurke, L. (1999). *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

_____. (2002) "Money and Mythic History: The Contestation of Transactional Orders in the Fifth Century BC." In Scheidel and von Reden (2002) 88-113.

_____. (2011). *Aesopic Conversations: Popular Tradition, Cultural Dialogue, and the Invention of Greek Prose*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Laird, A. G. (1921). "The Persian Army and Tribute Lists in Herodotus." *Classical Philology* 16 (4) 305-326.

Lalonde, G. V., M. K. Langdon, and M. B. Walbank. (1991). "Inscriptions: *Horoï, Poletai* Records, Leases of Public Lands." *The Athenian Agora* 19 iii-245.

Langdon, M. K. (1991). "On the Farm in Classical Attica." *The Classical Journal* 86 (3) 209-213.

_____. 1999. "Hymettiana III: The Boundary Markers of Alepovouni." *Hesperia* 68 (4) 481-508.

_____. 2000. "Mountains in Greek Religion." *The Classical World* 93 (5) 461-470.

Larsen, J. A. O. (1949). "The Origin and Significance of the Counting of Votes." *Classical Philology* 44 (3) 164-181.

Latacz, J., M. L West, and A. Bierl, eds. (2000). *Homers Ilias: Gesamtkommentar*.

München: Saur.

Lateiner, D. (1989). *The Historical Method of Herodotus*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

_____. (1990). "Deceptions and Delusions in Herodotus." *Classical Antiquity* 9 (2) 230-246.

Lazenby, J. F, and R. H. Simpson (1970). *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Leaf, W. (1922). "The Homeric Catalogue of Ships." *The Classical Review* 36 (3/4) 52-57.

Lefevere, A. (1992). *Translation, rewriting, and the manipulation of literary fame*. London and New York: Routledge.

Lewis, D. M. (1959). "Attic Manumissions." *Hesperia* 28 (3) 208-238.

_____. (1968). "Dedications of Phialai at Athens." *Hesperia* 37 (4) 368-380.

_____. (1986). "Temple Inventories in Ancient Greece." In Vickers (1986) 71-81.

Liddel, P. (2007). *Civic Obligation and Individual Liberty in Ancient Athens*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Linders, T. (1972). *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens*. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Athen 19. Lund: P. Åström.

_____. (1975). *The treasurers of the other gods in Athens and their functions*. Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 62. Meisenheim am Glan: Hain.

_____. (1988). "The Purpose of Inventories: A Close Reading of Delian Inventories of the Independence." In Knoepfler and Quenelle (1988), 37-47.

_____. (1992). "Inscriptions and Orality." *Symbolae Osloenses* 67 (1) 27-40.

Linderski, J. (1985). "The Libri Reconditi." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 89:

207-234.

Liverani, M. (2000). "The Libyan Caravan in Herodotus IV.181-185." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 43 496-520.

Lloyd, A. B. (2002). "Egypt." In *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*, 415-456. Leiden: Brill.

Luraghi, N., ed. (2001). *The historian's craft in the age of Herodotus*. Oxford University Press.

_____. (2006). "Meta-historiē: Method and genre in the Histories." In Dewald and Marincola (2006) 76-91.

_____. (2009). "The Importance of being λόγιος." *Classical World* 102: 439-456.

Lyons, D. (2003). "Dangerous Gifts: Ideologies of Marriage and Exchange in Ancient Greece." *Classical Antiquity* 22 93-134.

Macleod, C. (1984). *Homer, Iliad Book XXIV*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Marincola, J. (2005). [Review of Higbie (2003)]. *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2005.04.59.

Martin, R. P. (1989). *The Language of Heroes: Speech and Performance in the Iliad*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

_____. (1998). "The Seven Sages as Performers of Wisdom." In Dougherty and Kurke (1998) 108-128.

_____. (2005). "Pulp epic: the Catalogue and the Shield." In Hunter (2005) 153-175.

_____. (2008). "Words Alone Are Certain Good(s): Philology and Greek Material Culture." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 138 (2) 313-349.

- McGlew, J. (1997). "After Irony: Aristophanes' Wealth and Its Modern Interpreters." *The American Journal of Philology* 118 (1) 35-53.
- Meacham, S. J. (2000). "Literacy at the Crossroads: Movement, Connection, and Communication within the Research Literature on Literacy and Cultural Diversity." *Review of Research in Education* 25 181-208.
- Meiggs, R. and D. Lewis. (1969). *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* London: Oxford University Press.
- Meritt, B.D. (1968). [Review of *Études sur les inventaires Attiques.*] *American Journal of Philology* 89 (1) 105.
- Meskell, L. (2005a) "Objects in the Mirror Appear Closer Than They Are." In Steinmetz and Miller (2005) 51-71.
- _____, ed. (2005b). *Archaeologies of Materiality*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Meyer, E. A. (2010). *Metics and the Athenian Phialai-Inscriptions: A Study in Athenian Epigraphy and Law*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Michailidou, A., P. Kalogerakou, and K. Voutsas, eds. (2001). *Manufacture and Measurement: Counting, Measuring and Recording Craft Items in Early Aegean Societies*. Athens: Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation.
- Minchin, E. (1996) "The Performance of Lists and Catalogues in the Homeric Epics." In Worthington (1996) 3-20.
- Minton, W. W. (1962). "Invocation and Catalogue in Hesiod and Homer." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 93 188-212.
- Mitchell, L. G., and L. Rubinstein, eds. (2009). *Greek History and Epigraphy: Essays in Honour of P.J. Rhodes*. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.
- Morris, I. (1986). "The Use and Abuse of Homer." *Classical Antiquity* 5 (1) 81-138.

- _____, and Barry B Powell, eds. (1997). *A New Companion to Homer*. Leiden: Brill.
- Moulton, C. (1996). Comic Myth-Making and Aristophanes' Originality. In Segal (1996) 216-228.
- Muensterberger, W. (1994). *Collecting: An Unruly Passion: Psychological Perspectives*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Murray, O. (1987). "Herodotus and Oral History." In Luraghi (2001), 16-44. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Myres, J. L. (1906). "On the 'List of Thalassocracies' in Eusebius." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 26 84-130.
- Nagy, G. (1987). "Herodotus the λόγιος." *Arethusa* XX 175-184.
- _____. (1994). *Pindar's Homer*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Neer, R. (2003). "Framing the Gift: The Siphnian Treasury at Delphi and the Politics of Architectural Sculpture." In Dougherty and Kurke (2003) 129-152.
- Nicolas, D. (2008). "Mass Nouns and Plural Logic." *Linguistics and Philosophy* 31 (2) 211-244.
- Nims, C. F. (1950). "Egyptian Catalogues of Things." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 9 (4) 253-262.
- Noegel, S. (2010). "Greek Religion and the Ancient Near East." In Ogden (2010), 21-38.
- Ogden, D. (2010). *A Companion to Greek Religion*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell.
- Ogilvie, R. M. (1958). "Livy, Licinius Macer and the Libri Lintei." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 48 (1/2) 40-46.
- Olson, S. D. 1990. "Economics and Ideology in Aristophanes' Wealth." *Harvard*

- Studies in Classical Philology* 93 223-242.
- _____. 1992. "Names and Naming in Aristophanic Comedy." *The Classical Quarterly* 42 (2) 304-319.
- _____. 1996. "Politics and Poetry in Aristophanes' Wasps." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 126 129-150.
- Ong, W.J. (1982) *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London: Methuen.
- Ormand, K. (2004). "Marriage, Identity, and the Tale of Mestra in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women." *The American Journal of Philology* 125 (3) 303-338.
- Osborne, R. (2010). *Athens and Athenian Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. and S. Hornblower, eds. (1994). *Ritual, Finance, Politics: Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Palaima, T.G. (2003). "'Archives' and 'Scribes' and Information Hierarchy in Mycenaean Greek Linear B Records." In Brosius (2003) 153-194.
- Parry, A. (1972). "Language and Characterization in Homer." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 76 1-22.
- Parry, M, ed. A. Parry (1971). *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Pearce, S. M. (1992). *Museums, Objects, and Collections: A Cultural Study*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- _____. (1994). *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. Leicester readers in museum studies. London: Routledge.
- _____. (1995). *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*. London and New York: Routledge.

- . (1998). *Collecting in Contemporary Practice*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Pearce, S. M., A. Bounia, K. Arnold, and P. Martin, eds. (2000). *The Collector's Voice: Critical Readings in the Practice of Collecting*. Perspectives on collecting. Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Ashgate.
- Pébarthe, C. (2006). *Cité, démocratie et écriture: histoire de l'alphabétisation d'Athènes à l'époque classique*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Platter, C. (2007). *Aristophanes and the Carnival of Genres*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Poe, J.P. (2000). "Multiplicity, discontinuity, and visual meaning in Aristophanic comedy." *Rheinisches museum für philologie* 143 256-294.
- Pomorska, K. and S. Rudy, eds. (1985) *Verbal Art, Verbal Sign, Verbal Time* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Powell, J. E. (1938). *A lexicon to Herodotus*. Cambridge, UK: The University Press.
- Pritchett, W. K. (1971). *Ancient Greek Military Practices. Part I*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . (1977). "The Hellenotamiai and Athenian Finance." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 26 295-306.
- . (1993). *The liar school of Herodotus*. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- Pucci, P. (1996). "Between Narrative and Catalogue: the Life and Death of the Poem." *Mêtis* XI 5-24.
- Purcell, R. W. and S.J. Gould (1992). *Finders, Keepers: Eight Collectors*. New York: W.W.Norton.
- Quine, W. v O. (2001). *Word and object*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Raaflaub, K. (2002). "Herodotus and the Intellectual Trends of His Time." In Bakker et

- al. (2002) 149-186.
- Raubitschek, A. E. (1949). *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis; a Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B. C.* Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Institute of America.
- Redfield, J. M. (1995 [1975]). *Nature and Culture in the Iliad: The Tragedy of Hector* [expanded edition]. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- _____. (1985). "Herodotus the Tourist." *Classical Philology* 80 97-118.
- _____. (1992). "Drama and Community: Aristophanes and Some of His Rivals." In *Winkler and Zeitlin (1992)* 314-335.
- _____. (1994). *Nature and culture in the Iliad: the tragedy of Hector*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Reger, G., F. X Ryan, and T. F. Winters. (2010). *Studies in Greek epigraphy and history in honor of Stephen V. Tracy*. Études Ausonius Institute 26. Pessac: Ausonius Éditions.
- Rehm, A. and P. Herrmann, eds. (1997). *Inschriften Von Milet*. [Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.] Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Renfrew, C. (2004). "Towards a Theory of Material Engagement." In DeMarrais et al. (2004) 23-31.
- Rheims, M. (1959). *La Vie Étrange Des Objets; Histoire De La Curiosité*. Paris: Plon.
- Rhodes, P. J. (2001a). "Public Documents in the Greek States: Archives and Inscriptions, Part I." *Greece & Rome* 48 33-44.
- _____. (2001b). "Public Documents in the Greek States: Archives and Inscriptions, Part II." *Greece & Rome* 48 136-153.
- Richardson, B. (2002). *Narrative dynamics: essays on time, plot, closure, and frames*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.

- Robb, K. (1994). *Literacy and Paideia in Ancient Greece*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Robin W. (2009). "On 'Fussy Authorial Nudges' in Herodotus." *Classical World* 102 485-494.
- Rosen, R. M. and J. Farrell, eds. (1993). *Nomodeiktes: Greek Studies in Honor of Martin Ostwald*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Rotman, B. (1987). *Signifying Nothing: The Semiotics of Zero*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan.
- Rouse, W. H. D. (1976). *Greek Votive Offerings: An Essay in the History of Greek Religion*. Hildesheim: G. Olms.
- Ruijgh, C.K. (1988). "Sur la date de la création de l'alphabet grec." *Mnemosyne* 51 658-687.
- Rusten, J. (2006). "Who 'Invented' Comedy? The Ancient Candidates for the Origins of Comedy and the Visual Evidence." *The American Journal of Philology* 127 37-66.
- Sale, W. M. (1993). "Homer and Roland: The Shared Formular Technique, Part I." *Oral Tradition* 8 87-142.
- Sammons, B. (2010). *The Art and Rhetoric of the Homeric Catalogue*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Scheidel, W. and S. von Reden, eds. (2002). *The Ancient Economy*. New York: Routledge.
- Schwenk, C. J. (1985). *Athens in the Age of Alexander: The Dated Laws & Decrees of "the Lykourgan Era" 338-322 B.C.* Chicago: Ares.
- Schwink, F.W. (1999) "The Efficacy of Linear B as a Writing System." In Deger-Jalkotzy et al. (1999) 549-554.

- Scodel, R. (1998). "Bardic Performance and Oral Tradition in Homer." *The American Journal of Philology* 119 171-194.
- _____. 2008. *Epic Facework: Self-Presentation and Social Interaction in Homer*. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.
- Scott., M.C. [forthcoming] "Reading Responsibility For Design and Construction in Greek Inscriptions."
- Segal, E., ed. (1996). *Oxford Readings in Aristophanes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Seidenberg, A. (1962). "The ritual origin of counting." *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 2 1-40.
- Sergueenkova, V.V. (2009). *Natural history in Herodotus' "Histories."* Dissertation, Harvard University.
- Shapiro, H. A. (2007). *The Cambridge companion to archaic Greece*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Shaya, J. (2005). "The Greek Temple as Museum: The Case of the Legendary Treasure of Athena from Lindos." *American Journal of Archaeology* 109 423-442.
- _____. [dissertation]
- Sickinger, J. P. (1999). *Public records and archives in classical Athens*. Chapel Hill: UNC Press Books.
- Silk, M.S. (1996). "The People of Aristophanes." In Segal (1996), 229-251.
- _____. (2002). *Aristophanes and the Definition of Comedy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Slings, S. (2002). "Oral Strategies in the Language of Herodotus." In Bakker et al. (2002) 53-77.
- Sommerstein, A. H. (1996). "Aristophanes and the Demon Poverty." In Segal (1996),

252-281.

_____, ed. (2001). *Wealth*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

Sparkes, B. A. (1975). "Illustrating Aristophanes." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 95 122-135.

Steiner, G. (1975). *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*. London: Oxford University Press.

Steinmetz, G., and D. Miller (2005). *Materiality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Stewart, D. J. (1965). "Aristophanes and the Pleasures of Anarchy." *The Antioch Review* 25 189-208.

Stewart, S. (1993). *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Stieglitz, Robert R. (1981). "A Physician's Equipment List from Ugarit." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 33 52-55.

Svenbro, J. (1993 [1988]) *Phrasikleia: An Anthropology of Reading in Ancient Greece*, trans. J. Lloyd. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Swann, M. (2001). *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Tanselle, G. T. (1998). "A Rationale of Collecting." *Studies in Bibliography* 51 1-25.

Taplin, O. 1983. "Tragedy and Tragedy." *The Classical Quarterly* 33 331-333.

_____. 1992. *Homeric Soundings: The Shaping of the Iliad*. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 1996. "Fifth-Century Tragedy and Comedy." In Segal (1996), 9-28. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thomas, R. (2000). *Herodotus in context*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University

- Press.
- . (2001) “Herodotus’ *Histories* and the Floating Gap.” In Luraghi (2001) 198-210.
- . (2006) “The Intellectual Milieu of Herodotus.” In Dewald and Marincola (2006) 60-75.
- Threatte, L. L. (1973). “A Fragment of the Records of the Delian Amphiktyons IG II² 1641a .” *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 6 297-306.
- Totelin, L. M. V. (2009). *Hippocratic Recipes: Oral and Written Transmission of Pharmacological Knowledge in Fifth- and Fourth-Century Greece*. Leiden: Brill.
- Traill, A. (2004). “A Haruspicy Joke in Plautus.” *The Classical Quarterly* 54 117-127.
- Tréheux, J. (1965). *Études sur les inventaires attiques. Nouvelles épitaphes de Pamphylie*. Études d’archéologie classique 3. Paris: De Boccard.
- . (1988). Une nouvelle lecture des inventaires d’Apollon à Délos. In *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque*.
- Tufte, E. R. (2001). *The Visual Display of Quantitative Information*, 2nd ed. Cheshire, CT: Graphics Press.
- Tyler, S.A. (1986). “Post-Modern Ethnography: From Document of the Occult to Occult Document,” in Clifford and Marshall (1986) 122-140.
- Ussher, R. G, ed. (1973). *Ecclesiastical History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Vannicelli, P. (2001). “Herodotus’ Egypt and the Foundations of Universal History.” In Luraghi (2001), 211-240.
- Vansina, J. (1965). *Oral Tradition; a Study in Historical Methodology*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.
- Vickers, M. J, ed. (1986). *Pots & Pans: A Colloquium on Precious Metals and Ceramics*

- in the Muslim, Chinese and Graeco-Roman Worlds, Oxford, 1985.* Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies.
- _____. (1989). "Alcibiades on Stage: Aristophanes' 'Birds'." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 38 267-299.
- Visser, E. (1997). *Homers Katalog Der Schiffe*. Stuttgart: Teubner.
- Watkins, C. (1995). *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Weiner, A. B. (1983). "From Words to Objects to Magic: Hard Words and the Boundaries of Social Interaction." *Man* 18 690-709.
- Wenzel, S., and L. D. Benson, eds. (1982). *The Wisdom of Poetry: Essays in Early English Literature in Honor of Morton W. Bloomfield*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University.
- West, A. B., and A. M. Woodward. (1938). "Studies in Attic Treasure-Records (Continued)." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 58 69-89.
- West, S. (1985). "Herodotus' Epigraphical Interests." *The Classical Quarterly* 35 278-305.
- _____. (1991). "Herodotus' Portrait of Hecataeus." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111 144-160.
- _____. (1998). "Cultural antitheses: Reflections of Herodotus 2.35-36." *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 5 3-19.
- Whitehorne, J. (2002). "Aristophanes' Representations of 'Intellectuals'." *Hermes* 130 28-35.
- Whitley, J. (1995). "Review: Greek Literacy." *The Classical Review* 45 54-55.
- Wiemer, H.-U. (2001). *Rhodische Traditionen in Der Hellenistischen Historiographie*. Frankfurter althistorische Beiträge Bd. 7. Frankfurt am Main: Marthe Clauss.

- Wilhelm, A. (1930). “Zum Beschluss der Lindier über die Aufzeichnung der Weihgeschenke und der Epiphanien der Athana.” *Anz. Wien*: 88–108.
- Willi, A. (2010). “The Language of Old Comedy.” In Dobrov (2010) 471–510.
- Winkler, J. J., and F. I. Zeitlin, eds. (1992). *Nothing to do with Dionysos?: Athenian drama in its social context*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Worthington, I., ed. (1996). *Voice into Text: Orality and Literacy in Ancient Greece*. Mnemosyne, (Bibliotheca Classica Batava) Supplementum 157. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Yeroulanou, M. and M. Stamatopoulou, eds. (2005). *Architecture and Archaeology in the Cyclades: Papers in Honour of J.J. Coulton*. Oxford: Archaeopress/British Archaeological Reports.
- Yunis, H., ed. (2003). *Written texts and the rise of literate culture in ancient Greece*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Zeitlin, J.T., L. H. Liu, and E. Widmer, eds. (2003). *Writing and Materiality in China: Essays in Honor of Patrick Hanan*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute.
- Zumbrunnen, J. (2006). “Fantasy, Irony, and Economic Justice in Aristophanes' Assemblywomen and Wealth.” *The American Political Science Review* 100 319–333.