

THE LINDOS *ANAGRAPHE*:

“FORGING” A HEROIC PAST IN HELLENISTIC RHODES?

By

JULIA CLAIRE HERNÁNDEZ

(Under the direction of Charles Platter)

ABSTRACT

Modern scholarly approaches to Lindos *anagraphe*, a 1st century BC inscription recording votive offerings at the Rhodian temple of Athena Lindia, have used the anachronistic term “forgery” to refer to its chronologically impossible Heroic Era dedications. Using Paul Veyne’s theory of “sincere forgery” as an interpretive framework, this thesis evaluates the “epigraphic invention” of these votives according to Hellenistic rather than modern definitions of forgery. Chapter One reviews previous approaches to the text and problematizes the use of the term “forgery” to describe it. Chapter Two contextualizes the *anagraphe* within the ancient practice of displaying Heroic Era votives in temple settings and evaluates this practice vis-à-vis ancient definitions of forgery. Chapter Three uses Hans Joachim Gehrke’s theory of intentional history to explore how the *anagraphe*’s

Heroic Era votives, when considered as products of “sincere forgery,” grant new insight into the socio-political, intellectual, and religious contexts of the Hellenistic Rhodian milieu in which the text was created. An epilogue compares the *anagraphe* to the recent case of the Iruña-Valeia forgeries in Spain’s Basque Country, highlighting the contrast between ancient and modern perceptions of the technique of “epigraphic invention.”

INDEX WORDS: Lindos *anagraphe*, ancient forgery, sincere forgery, Hellenistic Rhodes, epigraphic invention, Heroic Era votives, dedicatory inscriptions, intentional history

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A. B., College of Charleston, 2005

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2014

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December 2014

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CHAPTER ONE
THE LINDOS INSCRIPTION AND ITS
“CHRONOLOGICAL INCONSISTENCIES”

During the 1902-1905 excavations at Lindos on the island of Rhodes, Danish archeologist Christian Blinkenberg uncovered a Hellenistic stele spoliated from the city's acropolis in late antiquity.¹ The stele's second life as a paving stone in the church of Agios Stephanos at the acropolis' base had left it worn from centuries of foot traffic. Despite centuries of wear and tear, the stele's inscription, designated *ILindos*.2 in Blinkenberg's epigraphic corpus, remains mostly legible, covering a surface area of 2.37 meters in height with a width of 0.85 meters, approximately 7.5 by 2.5 feet. The lengthy text of the inscription, roughly 2,800 words of which survive, is divided into four sections by three incised lines. A horizontal line marks off the top eighth of the stele as a unique discrete textual entity; below this section, the additional two lines form three distinct columns of equal width that run the remaining length of the stele. The following image (Figure 1), adapted from Blinkenberg, shows the location of these lines and their resulting divisions as well as Blinkenberg's letter designations for each column:²

¹ Blinkenberg's original publication of the stele appeared in 1912 in the Danish Royal

² Blinkenberg (1941), 160.

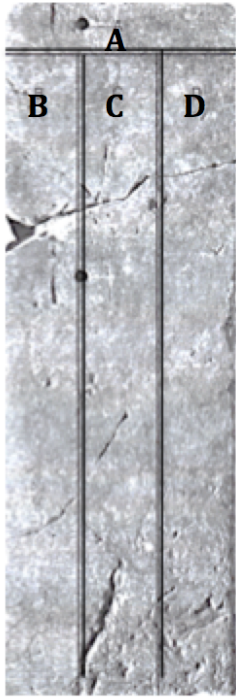


Figure 1: Column Divisions on the Stele

As the text itself states, the purpose of this carefully arranged, tetrapartite inscription is to glorify Lindian Athena and her venerable sanctuary. An official decree recorded in section A of the stele that Blinkenberg dates to 99 BC expresses this goal explicitly.³ Charging two Lindian citizens, Timachidas and Tharsagoras, with the creation of the stele, the decree enjoins these individuals to inscribe it with an accounting of ἅ κα ἦ ἀρμόζοντα περὶ τῶν ἀναθεμάτων καὶ τᾶς ἐπιφανείας [τ]ᾶς θε<ο>ῶ [A.8],⁴ “whatever things are fitting concerning the offerings and the epiphanies of

³ Blinkenberg establishes this date for the stele based by comparing the names of the individuals mentioned in the decree of section A, Timachidas, Tharsagoras, and Hagesitimos, with other epigraphic evidence from the sanctuary that is datable, in particular, with lists of priesthoods. See Blinkenberg, 1912, 343-345.

⁴ The text of the inscription used for the following study and quoted throughout is that of Blinkenberg’s 1941 edition. The Doric dialect of the inscription is typical of Rhodes and reflected throughout Lindian epigraphy.

the goddess.”⁵ In fulfilling their mission, the pair has created a composite text, distributed on the stele as follows:

A. Decree		
B. Offerings	C. Offerings	D. Epiphanies

Figure 2: Distribution of Text on the Stele

Two columns of the stele catalogue a series of remarkable donations made to the goddess over the course of the sanctuary’s history, while the third records a series of her epiphanies.

The previous overview of the stele and its inscription has been deliberately terse. Any discussion of the text that moves beyond simple description quickly runs up against a series of pitfalls encountered by investigators for over a century. The complex nature of the inscription eludes simple classification and even the seemingly simple act of determining what to call the text turns into an act of

⁵ Unless otherwise indicated, the translations of both ancient and modern languages provided throughout are my own.

interpretation, as is evident in the early controversy over assigning it a generic label.

In his original report, Blinkenberg coins the term “Chronique du Temple Lindien” to describe the text, suggesting a link between the inscription and the epigraphic form of the chronicle, an annalistic historiographic genre found throughout the Greek world in temple and other public settings. The title “Lindos Chronicle” quickly caught on among scholars, and, after a hundred years, the denomination remains conventional.⁶

For Felix Jacoby, however, Blinkenberg’s use of the term “chronicle” for the inscription is not only “unfortunate” but also “misleading.” While Jacoby counts the inscription among the local histories of Rhodes catalogued in the third volume of his *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, he distinguishes the text, with its “*mixtum compositum*” character combining votive inventory and epiphany narrative, from the distinct epigraphic genre of the “temple chronicle.”⁷ According to Jacoby, the latter, best exemplified by the lists of priests in the Athenian Askleion, relates a continuous narrative of a sanctuary’s past and takes as its

⁶ The three most recent studies of the inscription, those of Josephine Shaya, Carolyn Higbie, and Natcha Massar, all use some iteration of Blinkenberg’s original term. Shaya uses “Lindian Temple Chronicle,” Higbie “Lindian Chronicle,” Massar “Chronique du Lindos.” See Josephine Shaya, “The Greek Temple as Museum: The Case for the Legendary Treasure of Athena from Lindos,” *AJA* 109 (2005): 423-442; Carolyn Higbie, *The Lindian Chronicle and the Greek Creation of their Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Natcha Massar, “La ‘Chronique de Lindos’: un catalogue à la gloire du sanctuaire d’Athéna Lindia,” *Kernos* 19 (2006): 229-243.

⁷ The Lindos inscription appears in Jacoby’s third volume, *Geschichte von Städten und Völkern*, as entry number 532. See Jacoby, *Geschichte von Städten und Völkern (Horographie und Ethnographie)*, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* vol.3, (Leiden: Brill, 1955), 443-451.

chronological framework the yearly succession of priests since the sanctuary's foundation.

As the Lindos inscription does neither, Jacoby suggests instead the term *anagraphe* for the text, an epigraphic designation that indicates its list-like nature and its public display.⁸ Jacoby's term avoids the pitfall of forcing a generic label such as "chronicle" on the complex inscription and reflects the text's own language: the decree recorded in Section A describes the process of creating the inscription using the verb *ἀναγράφω* [A.6] and refers to the text of the inscription with the term *ἀναγραφή* [A.8-9].⁹ The present study will follow Jacoby's lead in using this descriptive rather than interpretive designation for the inscription.¹⁰

Despite the utility of Jacoby's terminology, his subsequent remarks on the Lindos text exemplify the problematic teleological approach that is often applied to it by modern scholars. For Jacoby, the failure of the term "chronicle" to describe the inscription adequately does not reflect the shortcomings of a misapplied generic label but rather the inability of the texts' authors, Timachidas and Tharsagoras, to

⁸ Liddell and Scott give the following for the term *ἀναγραφή*: "inscribing, registering, of properties, contracts, etc.," "register, esp. in pl., public records." See H. G. Liddell, and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon with Revised Supplement by Sir Henry Stuart Jones*, Ninth Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), s.v. "ἀναγραφή."

⁹ The *alpha* ending used here preserves the Doric dialect used in the inscription. The accusative form that appears in the text is *ἀναγραφάν*.

¹⁰ Angelos Chaniotis and Beate Dignas also use Jacoby's terminology in their studies of the Lindos inscription, see Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften, Epigraphische Beiträge zur griechischen Historiographie*. Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 4, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1988), 52-57; 265-273, and Dignas, "'Inventories' or 'Offering Lists'? Assessing the Wealth of Apollo Didymaeus," *ZPE* 138 (2002): 235-244.

write what Jacoby deems a proper chronicle in the first place. For Jacoby, Blinkenberg's application of "chronicle" to the text is problematic because it awakens "false hopes" that the reader will encounter a text rich with the chronological data useful for Jacoby's style of historiography. Jacoby laments the fact that one gets "no figs from a thornbush" and that no amount of calling the inscription a "chronicle" will make it one,¹¹ however much the modern scholar pursuing *Altertumswissenschaft* might wish it to be.

The issue of nomenclature is only one of many challenges that the Lindos inscription presents to the modern investigator. The focus of the present study will be the text's "chronological inconsistencies," problematic areas where the inscription's portrait of the sanctuary's earliest history does not match that revealed by modern archeological investigation. Over the course of the 102 years since the stele's discovery, scholars have yet to come to a consensus regarding how best to approach these "chronological inconsistencies," often interpreting this rich area of the text according to teleological or anachronistic schemata. The current investigation seeks to correct this by identifying and avoiding the limitations of previous scholarship to contextualize these "chronological inconsistencies" within the *anagraphe's* Hellenistic Rhodian milieu.

The first step in this process will be to identify precisely where these "chronological inconsistencies" occur in the text. The problematic areas in which the text does not line up with what we know to be true of the Lindian sanctuary's

¹¹ Jacoby, 445.

history all occur within the first fourteen entries of the inscription's catalogue of votives. These fourteen entries in the catalogue represent donations made in the pre-Trojan-War era, during the war itself, and from the post-war period of the *Nostoi*. These donations become problematic when considered in light of modern excavations of the site, which show that the Lindian sanctuary only came into use in the 10th century BC. The historicity of Homeric-Era figures such as Herakles (Entry V) or Menelaus (Entry X) aside, this simple archeological fact makes it an impossibility that any donations were made at the Lindian sanctuary prior to the Archaic Era, as there was no temple at Lindos prior to that time.

As in the case of the nomenclature debate outline above, discussion of these "chronologically inconsistent" votives runs the risk of devolving quickly into interpretation rather than description. Scholarly discussion of these "inconsistencies" has tended to describe them according to clear-cut dichotomies, ranging from Blinkenberg's seemingly benign distinction between the "mythologique" and "historique"¹² to Chaniotis' more charged distinction between "Echtheit" and "Fälschung."¹³ The difficulty and, perhaps, discomfiture, inherent in discussing these "inconsistencies" is evident in the fact that no one has yet approached this problem through a systematic investigation.

Blinkenberg initiated scholarly discussion of the phenomenon in his original 1912 study. Blinkenberg's analysis demonstrates an ambivalent approach to the *anagraphe*'s "chronologically inconsistent" votives, arguing for two distinct and

¹² Blinkenberg (1912), 388.

¹³ Chaniotis, 266.

seemingly incompatible interpretations of these elements in the text, one that imposes a rigid dichotomy of true/false on them, the other which cautions against anachronistically applying such dichotomies. Blinkenberg's dual interpretations merit attention, as they have established the terms of subsequent debate over the "chronologically inconsistent" votives and continue to inform current scholarly discussion regarding them.

Blinkenberg first alludes to the "chronologically inconsistent" votives in his chronological outline of the *anagraphe*. He designates the first fourteen entries as the "donations mythiques," which stand in contrast to those of the "temps historiques," (Entries XV-XXXIV) representing the "Archaic Era" and the "Hellenistic" (Entries XXXV-XLII). The former are offered by individuals who are "fictional," with the donations themselves representing "the purest of fantasy," and the latter by "real" individuals, with the objects themselves being "strikingly real" in nature, to the point that Blinkenberg surmises they are the type the authors would have seen "with their own eyes."¹⁴ In this way Blinkenberg establishes a dichotomy under which the mythical donations of the first fourteen entries are "fantasy," or "not real," while those of the subsequent entries are "real."

Blinkenberg goes on to explore in more detail the strategies the text employs to describe the "mythical" donations. Consider his discussion of the first offering in the catalogue, which records the donation of a *phiale* by the hero Lindos, a figure worshiped at the site as the eponymous founder of the Lindian city-state and said to

¹⁴ Blinkenberg (1912), 387.

be the grandson of Helios and the nymph Rhodos:¹⁵

Entry I

Λίνδος φιάλαν, ἄν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο γνῶμειν
ἐκ τίνος ἐστί, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπεγέγραπτο· "Λίνδος
Ἀθάναι Πολιάδι καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ", ὡ[ς] ἱστορεῖ Γόρ-
γων ἐν τῷ α τῶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γορ[γ]οσθένης ὁ ἱε-
ρεὺς τῆς Ἀθάνας ἐν τῷ ποτὶ τὴν βουλὰν ἐπι-
[στ]ολᾷ, Ἱερόβουλος ἱερεὺς καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπάρ-
χω[ν] ἐν τῷ ποτὶ τοὺς μαστροὺς ἐπιστολᾷ.¹⁶
[*Lindos.2.B2-8*]

Lindos, a phiale, which no one was able to
determine from what [material] it is [made],
on which had been inscribed: Lindos to
Athena Polia and Zeus Polieus," which
Gorgon recounts in the eleventh book of his
On Rhodes, Gorgosthenes the priest of
Athena in his letter to the council,
Heroboulos, himself also a priest serving in
his hyparchon-ship, in his letter to the
mastroi.¹⁷

According to Blinkenberg, Lindos' dedication of a *phiale*, along with the subsequent seven offerings of drinking vessels,¹⁸ mirrors the real the archeological record of the sanctuary. The archeologist's own excavations have revealed that drinking vessels of various shapes and classes were the dedication *par excellence* at Lindos, found

¹⁵ Diodorus Siculus gives this genealogy in his discussion of Rhodes [Diod.5.56.3-37], while Pindar states that Lindos was the son of Helios and Rhodos [Pind.O.7]. Epigraphic evidence from the sanctuary indicates that Diodorus' genealogy reflects local Lindian tradition. See Higbie, page 64 for further discussion.

¹⁶ The text used in throughout this study is that of Blinkenberg's 1941 redaction, which represented a more detailed reading of the text than the original 1912. Throughout this study, we follow the convention used by scholars of the text which was originally established by Blinkenberg's, using Roman numerals to designate the entries in the text.

¹⁷ The *mastroi* were a local administrative council in Lindos. See Higbie page 52 for a detailed description of the term and its usage in Lindos.

¹⁸ Excluding Entry V, a pair of shields dedicated by Heracles.

from the earliest strata of the site onward and frequently represented in decorative and votive art depicting life at the sanctuary.¹⁹ Blinkenberg argues that, for the “monotonous series” of “fictional” donations comprised by the first eight entries in the catalogue, the fact that the objects donated are drinking vessels lends these “mythical” offerings “a grain of reality itself” amidst what is otherwise “fantasy.”

This same entry contains a glaring chronological inconsistency in its dedicatory inscription, which names Athena Polia and Zeus Polieus as the recipients of the offering. As Blinkenberg notes, the cult of Zeus Polieus was not introduced in Rhodes until the beginning of the third century BC and epigraphic evidence from other sites on the island suggests that this epithet for Athena was not used before the late third century BC. Although Blinkenberg does not specifically use the term “anachronism” to refer to this epithet, he does deem it an “absurdité” whose “invention” is the product either of the text’s authors or the sources they choose to cite.²⁰ Blinkenberg’s emphasis on authorial role in this “invention, implies that he perceives a deliberate effort on the part of the authors to present this object in a calculated way. Blinkenberg’s interest in the author’s deliberate textual efforts regarding the “mythical” donations raises the intriguing question: do the text’s authors feel a need to convince the reader of the reality of the objects they describe, and if so, what strategies do they employ to do so?

Despite his imposition of “mythical”/“historical,” “true/ “false” dichotomies on the *anagraphē*’s “chronologically inconsistent” votives, Blinkenberg nevertheless

¹⁹ Blinkenberg (1912), 388.

²⁰ Ibidem.

simultaneously problematizes the application of such dichotomies to the text. In discussing the distinction between “mythical” and “historical” dedications in the *anagraphe*, Blinkenberg makes the following revealing statement: “des dédications de ce genre s’expliquent sans difficulté parce que le Grecs ne précisaient pas autant que nous la différence entre l’histoire et les traditions mythiques.”²¹ This statement is interesting for two reasons. First and foremost, the phrase “sans difficulté” reveals the fact that his modern reader might potentially encounter difficulty in interpreting the “mythical” donations, and in particular their “chronologically inconsistent” nature themselves. Secondly, Blinkenberg acknowledges the fact that differences between the ancient and modern definitions of “historical” and “mythical” should be taken into account when interpreting the text.

Blinkenberg’s two somewhat contradictory approaches to the *anagraphe*’s “chronologically inconsistent” votives may be summarized as follows: 1) the text’s authors actively work to emphasize the “reality” of the mythical objects which are “fantasies”; 2) the text operates according to different standards of “mythical” and “historical” than its modern readers do.

Subsequent scholarship on the inscription tends to adopt one of Blinkenberg’s two tacks. John Forsdyke and Angelos Chaniotis represent the scholarly camp that follows the first of the two approaches, focusing on the inscription’s textual strategies for presenting what is “mythical” as though it were “historical.” Both

²¹ Blinkenberg (1912), 353.

scholars, however, take Blinkenberg's dichotomy of "mythical/fantasy/not real" versus "historical/real" a step further. The issue at stake is no longer that of "real" versus "not real," but rather, "real" versus "fake," the latter implying a certain intention to deceive. Forsdyke alleges that the Lindos inscription represents "an entire catalogue of antiquarian forgeries," including "prehistoric" dedications "authenticated by fraudulent inscriptions."²² His use of the term "authenticate" expresses in no uncertain terms his belief in the authors' intent to deceive their readers. He argues that, as educated men who should have known what was true and what was not, the "forgers" of the text created a list of "prehistoric" donations whose dedicatory inscriptions were known to be "false" in order to convince the reader of the truth of the text.²³ For Chaniotis, the "Fälschung" inherent in the Lindos *anagraphe* is so manifest that the text presents an unparalleled opportunity for studying the "Technik" of ancient forgers.²⁴ Chaniotis uses the *anagraphe* as a case study for exploring the linguistic and epigraphic strategies used to create a sense of "Authentizität" for "forged" votives.

Several scholars, however, have adopted the second of the two stances outlined above, problematizing the application of schemata such as the "mythical"/"historical" or "real"/"fraudulent" dichotomies to the *anagraphe*. Carolyn Higbie and Tanja Scheer maintain that, as it is impossible to reconstruct the motivations of the *anagraphe's* ancient authors, arguing for or against such dichotomies is futile.

²² Forsdyke, 46.

²³ Forsdyke, 49.

²⁴ Chaniotis, 266.

While both acknowledge the possibility that Timachidas and Tharsagoras *could* have engaged in practices intended to deceive their readers, they hold that, due to the extreme gulf of time which stands between us and these authors, it is impossible to reconstruct their towards such dichotomies.²⁵ Having established this stance, both authors refuse to engage in any further discussions of the “mythical”/ “historical” or “real”/ “fraudulent” in their analyses.

Josephine Shaya, on the other hand, actively rejects these dichotomies as interpretive schemata for the *anagraphe* due to their inherent anachronism. She expresses this sentiment explicitly, arguing that “the very distinction between true and false history” pertains to a “modern perspective” and obscures what the stele reveals about its authors’ conceptions of the past and its remains.”²⁶ Shaya raises this issue only once in her introduction, and, having addressed it, does not return to it. The result is that she does not explore the phenomenon of the *anagraphe*’s “chronological inconsistencies” in any detail.

A third approach consists of simply maintaining silence on this issue, constituting a tacit refusal to engage with the controversial “chronological inconsistencies” of the *anagraphe*. Walter Burkert, who cites the text as a source for investigating ancient votive practices and temple *ἀναθήματα*, does not raise the

²⁵ Higbie, 163-64; Tanja Scheer, 1996. “Ein Museum greichischer ‘Frühgeschichte’ im Apollontempel von Sikyon,” *Klio* 78.2 (1996): 361-2.

²⁶ Shaya, Josephine L., “The Lindos Stele and the Lost Treasures of Athena: Catalogs, Collections, and Local History.” Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 2002, 27-28.

issue of “chronological inconsistencies” at all in his discussion.²⁷ More recently, Natcha Masser has explored the chronological distribution of votives in the *anagraphe* without acknowledging the fundamental problem of the text’s “chronological inconsistencies.”²⁸

There are limitations to both of the approaches outlined above. Those inherent in the approach taken by Forsdyke and Chaniotis are easily spotted. To begin, on the most basic level, the terms “fraud” and “forgery” are far from neutral designations in either English or German. Regardless of these scholars’ intentions in employing these terms, their negative connotation in regular usage presupposes the modern conception that to manipulate an object so that it will appear to be something that it is not is inherently “dishonest.” Moreover, using these terms suggests intentionality on the part of whoever is responsible for alleged “forgery,” that this party works to “authenticate” their text while at the same time seeking to mask their involvement in the process. This thinking is problematic, first, in that it assigns intentions to long dead authors, but also in that it assumes that they would have conceived of their actions according to our modern conception of “forgery.”

By resisting the application of the “true/fraudulent” dichotomy on the *anagraphe*’s “chronological inconsistencies,” scholars such as Shaya, Higbie, and Scheer, avoid the pitfall of anachronism altogether. In doing so, however, they appear to conflate any attempt at exploring of the “chronological inconsistencies”

²⁷ Burkert, Walter, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*. Translated by John Raffan, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1985), 94.

²⁸ Massar, Natcha, “La ‘Chronique de Lindos’: un catalogue à la gloire du sanctuaire d’Athéna Lindia, *Kernos* 19 (2006): 229-243.

with an anachronistic labeling of these votives as “false.” This reticence to even broach the topic of the “chronological inconsistencies” in the *anagraphe* leaves a potentially fruitful area of the text unexplored.

The present study maintains, however, that it is possible to reconcile these seemingly opposed approaches to the *anagraphe* in order to explore the phenomenon of the text’s “chronologically impossible” votives in a more comprehensive way than has been done before. This investigation will take Paul Veyne’s theory of “sincere forgery” as its framework. Veyne’s approach has the benefit of allowing for thorough exploration of the *anagraphe*’s “chronological inconsistencies” while simultaneously approaching the text on its own terms and eschewing anachronistically applied schemata.

In his essay *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes?*, Veyne problematizes the use of the term “forgery” in ancient contexts without dismissing the possibility that this phenomenon can be discussed effectively. For Veyne, what many modern observers call “forgery” may be described as the process of filling in the blanks of history *post eventum*, or “rétrodition historique,” a process which occurs universally across genres that treat the past, even modern historiography. This act only becomes forgery when it violates the expectations of one’s contemporaries.²⁹ As Veyne eloquently states, “un faussaire est un homme qui s’est trompé de siècle.”

²⁹ Veyne, 113.

That is to say, we cannot anachronistically apply the term “forgery” with all its modern baggage to an act carried out in antiquity.³⁰

Veyne does not dismiss the possibility that modern investigators can explore ancient techniques “*rétrodition historique*” without resorting to the anachronistic allegation of “forgery.” In fact, for Veyne, the phenomenon of “*faussaire sincère*,” acts of “*rétrodition historique*” carried out according to the norms of one’s contemporaries, represents one of the most bizarre and intriguing elements of Greek mentality and demands scholarly attention. As he states at the beginning of his chapter on forgery: “*cette historiographie de faussaires sincères est si étrange qu’il faut s’y arrêter.*”³¹

Using Veyne’s theory of “sincere forgery” as a guide, the present study will situate the Lindos *anagraphe* within what we know of contemporary Hellenistic practices of “historical retrodiction,” focusing in particular on those that pertain to religious and intellectual contexts. This analysis will reveal the rich textual strategies of “sincere forgery” employed by the *anagraphe*’s authors not only to create a portrait of the sanctuary’s most remote past, but also to connect that past in a vital and relevant way to their contemporary Hellenistic Rhodes.

The first task in evaluating the issues of “forgery,” “sincere forgery,” and “historical retrodiction” in the *anagraphe* is to determine what elements of the text may be considered potential “forgeries” and who the parties might be who are

³⁰ Veyne, 115.

³¹ Veyne, 113.

responsible for these “forgeries.” These questions prove to be much more challenging to answer than one might expect. Previous scholarship concerned with “forgery” in the *anagraphe* has tended to gloss over some of the more challenging aspects of the slippery text, leading to a wide divergence in opinions over these seemingly basic questions of “which objects may be considered ‘forged?’” and “who is responsible for perpetrating this ‘forgery?’” The *anagraphe*’s catalogic form, however, although formulaic and repetitive in nature, belies several layers of compositional complexity.

The root of much of this complexity can be traced to one central fact regarding the text’s composition: the majority of the objects catalogued in the text no longer exist in the temple at the time of the inscription’s creation. According to the *anagraphe*’s prescript, one of the central motivations for the creation of the text is the fact that many of the oldest and most impressive votive offerings from the sanctuary’s history have been lost to time. The text enjoins two selected citizens (Timachidas and Tharsagoras [A.12]) to carry out their work seeing that “*συμβαίνει δὲ τῶν ἀνα[θεμάτων] τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μετὰ τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐφθάρθαι*” (it happens that the oldest of the offerings, along with their inscriptions, have been destroyed over time) [A.4]. According to the *anagraphe*’s prescript, then, the inscription will stand as a testament to votive offerings that can no longer be seen in the sanctuary itself.

In compiling their list of votives, Timachidas and Tharsagoras obey the instructions of the prescript, including, for the most part, dedications which

linguistic evidence suggests do not exist at the time of the *anagraphe*'s composition. In his original commentary, Blinkenberg identifies a pattern in how the text describes certain votives and which indicates that, of the 42 items catalogued, at least 33 no longer exist at the time of its composition. This pattern involves the tenses in which the verb *ἐπιγράφω*, used formulaically to introduce dedicatory inscriptions on votives, appears in the text. The 37 votives for which the text records inscriptions fall into two categories, those whose inscriptions are introduced with the pluperfect *ἐπιτέγραπτο*, used exclusively up to and including Entry XXXIII, and those introduced with the perfect *ἐπιτέγραπται*, found only in the entries XXXVII and following.³² The contrast between the two verb forms may be seen when comparing the two entries that form the boundaries of each category, where the forms of *ἐπιγράφω* in question have been emphasized in boldface:

Entry XXXIII

Σολεῖς φιάλαν, ἣ εἶχε ἐμ μέσω<ι> Γοργόνα τετορευ-
 μέναν ἐπίχρυσον, ἐφ' ἧς **ἐπετέγραπτο**. "[Σολεῖς] Ἀθά-
 ναι Λινδί[αι] δεκάταν καὶ ἀπαρχὰν λαίας, ἂν ἔλα[βο]ν με-
 τὰ Ἀμφ[ιλόχ]ου ἀπὸ ΜΕΤΑΒΛΥΡΕΩΝ καὶ ΣΠΕ. . ΩΝ", [ὥς] ἰσ-
 τορεῖ Ξεναγόρας ἐν τῷ α τῶς χρονικῶς συντ[άξι]ος. [C.75-80]

Entry XXXVII

[ὁ] δᾶμος ἀσπίδα κατὰ [χρησμὸν] προσαμαίνοντα, ὅτι ἀ-
 νατεθείσας τῷ Ἀθάναι ἐσεῖται λύσις τοῦ τόκα ἐνε-
 στακότος ποτὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλάδελφον πολέμο[υ].
 καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἀποφαίνε[ται Τιμ]όκριτος [ἐν] τῷ δ
 τῶς χρονικῶς σ[υν]τάξιος. **ἐπι[τετέ]γραπται** δὲ ἐπὶ τῶς ἀσπίδος.

³² The verb *ἐπιγράφω* does not appear in Entries IIIIV, IIIV, and IIIVI are three of the five total entries in the text that do not include information on inscriptions and therefore do not include the verb *ἐπιγράφω*. The other two entries that lack inscriptions are XXIII and XXXII.

"ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ῥοδίων Ἀθάναι Λιν[δίαι κα]τὰ χρησμόν". [C.97-101]

Blinkenberg's interpretation of this data, now conventional among scholars of the *anagraphe*, is that the votives described with the pluperfect form of ἐπιγράφω were no longer extant at the time of the text's composition, while those with the perfect were.³³ The *anagraphe*'s catalogue of votives, then, for the most part presents a record of what could no longer be seen in the sanctuary rather than an accounting of what was currently on display.

The issue of the existence/non-existence of the objects catalogued in the *anagraphe* at the time of its composition has important implications for identifying what elements of the text might be deemed "forgery." If one assumes the most suspicious stance possible, all of the offerings described in the pluperfect become questionable. From this perspective, the fact that the text's ancient readers would have been unable to verify the existence of these objects through autopsy suggests that its authors had free rein to select whatever textual accounts of objects suited their needs or even to fabricate suitable textual accounts through fictitious source citation. The fabrication of fictitious source citations is not unprecedented in the ancient world, and, although the citation of Herodotus in Entry XXIX is legitimate,

³³ Blinkenberg link this divide in the use of ἐπιγράφω in the text to a particular destructive event that he posits occurred intervening years between Entries XXXIII and XXXIX that would have wiped out all of the previous dedications. He identifies this event as being the fire described in the third epiphany section D in the *anagraphe* which the text indicates destroyed an overwhelming number of votives in the sanctuary during the priesthood of one Eukles. Blinkenberg uses evidence from the epigraphic corpus of the sanctuary to estimate the year 392 for this priesthood and therefore for this purportedly devastating fire. See Blinkenberg (1941).

the remainder of the sources cited by the *anagraphe* represents texts that no longer survive to be consulted, leaving open the possibility that they are fabricated.³⁴ The question of which votives may be considered “forgeries,” then, is complicated by the fact that we have no way of knowing whether the items that Timachidas and Tharsagoras claim no longer exist in the sanctuary ever existed there at all.

For Forsdyke, the fact that some of the items in the *anagraphe* may be “forgeries” brings the entire text under suspicion. He argues that the inscription represents “a whole catalogue of antiquarian forgeries.”³⁵ Chaniotis is slightly more lenient. While he deems all of the no-longer-extant votives (Entries I-XXXIII) to be “forgeries,” he acknowledges that the remainder of the catalogue likely represents genuine dedications.³⁶ Robin Osborne and Carolyn Higbie, however, take the opposite approach in an attempt to be more circumspect. While both recognize that there are problematic “chronologically impossible” donations catalogued in the text, neither wishes to speculate about which donations may or may not be “forgeries”

³⁴ Fictive source citation is a trope found in a variety of prose genres, both fictive, in the case of the novel such as that of Dictys of Crete, and historiographic, as in the case of the This trope is discussed in detail in a monograph by Wolfgang Speyer. See Speyer, *Buecherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike: Mit einem Ausblick auf Mittelalter und Neuzeit*. Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht: Goettingen, 1970.

A particularly fascinating example of fictive source citation is the work of Ptolemy Chennus, a 2nd century AD pseudo-historian whose elaborate source “fictions” are discussed in detail by G.W. Bowersock. See Bowersock, *Fiction as history: Nero to Julian*, Sather Classical Lectures 58. University of California Press: Berkeley, 1997.

³⁵ Forsdyke, John, *Greece Before Homer: Ancient Chronology and Mythology*, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1957), 44.

³⁶ Chaniotis, Angelos, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften. Epigraphische Beiträge zur griechischen Historiographie*. Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 4, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1988), 268.

and both decline to push “too far” the question of the “plausibility” of the items catalogued.³⁷ Both scholars, therefore, refuse to call any of the votives “forgeries”

For the sake of present investigation, both approaches are too broad. The sweeping generalizations of Forsdyke and Chaniotis go too far in assuming that if some votives are “forgeries” then they must all be, while the more circumspect approach of Higbie and Osborne throws the baby out with the bathwater, leaving no “chronologically inconsistent” material left for consideration. In order to resolve this issue, it is necessary to return again to Blinkenberg’s initial publication of the *anagraphe*.

As noted previously, Blinkenberg recognizes a divide between what he calls the “mythological” and “historical” dedications found between XIV and XV.³⁸ At this point, the donors making offerings to Athena Lindia transition from being figures dating to the Heroic era to being figures which might plausibly be argued to belong to the archaic era. On one side of this divide, the Heroic era votives described, all include the “chronological inconsistency” of anachronistic dedicatory inscriptions, definitively making them “chronologically impossible” objects open to interpretation as possible “forgeries.” On the other side of the divide, things are much less clear. Beginning with Entry XV, a set of *pinakes* dedicated by the three *phylai* of the city of Lindos, the votives begin to contain details that might plausibly match documentary and literary evidence placing them within the eighth century

³⁷ Higbie, 164; Robin Osborne, “Relics and Remains in an Ancient Greek World Full of Anthropomorphic Gods.” In *Relics and Remains*, edited by Alexandra Walsham. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2010. 63.

³⁸ Blinkenberg (1912), 350.

and beyond,³⁹ meaning that these objects fall firmly on the far of the eighth century watershed event of the development of writing.

Unlike the first 14 dedications of the Heroic era, then, these objects do not include “chronological inconsistencies” which identify them as inherently “impossible” objects. There is no evidence to suggest that the inscribed *pinakes* of Entry XV or any of the subsequent votives in the catalogue are anything other than what the text describes them to be. The Heroic Era votives, on the other hand, with their anachronistic dedicatory inscriptions in the Greek alphabet, cannot have originated in the era in which the text alleges. The analysis of the Lindos *anagraphe* that follows, then, will confine its discussion of potential “forgery” to these first fourteen dedications which are the only items in the catalogue that can be definitively shown to be “chronologically impossible” objects.

In order to move forward with our evaluation of these first fourteen dedications as potential “forgeries,” it is necessary to determine more clearly who might be responsible for “forging” them. Here too the complexity of the text’s composition resists easy explanation and the issue of the existence/non-existence of the votives in 99 BC again becomes central.

Since the majority of the objects catalogued were no longer present in the sanctuary, Timachidas and Tharsagoras had to rely on written accounts of these objects rather than their own autopsy. The prescript itself alludes to this fact, enjoining the pair to consult whatever documents they need in order to fulfill their

³⁹ Blinkenberg (1912) 369-372; Higbie 93-94.

mission. As the text states, they are to draw their information from ἔκ τε τῶν [ἐπι]ιστολῶν καὶ τῶν χρηματισμῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων μαρτυρίων,) from the letters and archives and other testimonies) [A.7]. In creating their account, Timachidas and Tharsagoras follow these instructions, citing with great care the sources, both literary and documentary, that they have consulted for each item. This process is evident in catalogue's first entry, the donation of Lindos, discussed above on page 8, and is characteristic of how the text's compilers indicated their sources throughout the *anagraphe*:

(I) Λίνδος φιάλαν, ἣν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο γνῶμειν ἐκ τίνος ἐστί, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπεγέγραπτο· "Λίνδος Ἀθῆναι Πολιάδι καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ", ὡ[ς] ἱστορεῖ Γόργων ἐν ταῖς α τῶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργ[γ]οσθένης ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς Ἀθῆνας ἐν ταῖς ποτὶ τὴν βουλὰν ἐπιστολαῖς, Ἱεροβούλος ἱερεὺς καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων ἐν ταῖς ποτὶ τοὺς μαστροὺς ἐπιστολαῖς. [B.2-8]

Lindos, a phiale, which no one was able to determine from what [material] it is [made], on which had been inscribed: Lindos to Athena Polia and Zeus Polieus," which Gorgon recounts in the eleventh book of his *On Rhodes*, Gorgosthenes the priest of Athena in his letter to the council, Heroboulos, himself also a priest serving in his hyparchon-ship, in his letter to the *mastroi*.

In this entry, the text's compilers cite three sources from which they have drawn their information about Lindos' dedication, the local historian Gorgon's work *Περὶ Ρόδου* and two letters from the temple official Gorgosthenes, one he had addressed to the Lindian βουλή in his function as priest, the other to the Lindian *mastroi* in his function as ὑπάρχων. This mix of sources which we might call both literary, as in the case of the Gorgon text, and documentary, as in the case of the

letters, represents the typical pattern established by the text's compilers to cite their sources throughout.

As their task is one of research and compilation, Timachidas and Tharsagoras are relating second-hand information and are at least one step removed from any contact with the no-longer-extant dedications. In light of the fact, it is pertinent to consider whether they may be held responsible for the alleged "forgery" in the text or whether they, taking their sources at face value, are merely proliferating the "forgery" of their sources or even of their sources' sources. In other words, can the Lindos *anagraphe* even be considered to contain "forgery" when its authors are, presumably, merely passing along information related by others? This question is not merely one of semantics but rather, has important implications for evaluating the *anagraphe*.

Despite the centrality of this question, previous scholars, while acknowledging the separation between the *anagraphe*'s compilers and the objects they catalogue have, nevertheless, failed to develop a convincing means of relating this fact to the issue of "forgery." Forsdyke, for instance, makes no attempt to reconcile his allegation of "forgery" with the process by which the text was composed, acknowledging that Timachidas and Tharsagoras cull their information from previous sources while in the same breath referring to them as forgers.⁴⁰ Chaniotis, on the other hand, is inclined to absolve the pair completely, identifying the author Xenagoras, a key source cited consistently throughout the *anagraphe*, as

⁴⁰ Forsdyke, 44.

the perpetrator of the “forgery” which Timachidas and Tharsagoras unknowing proliferate.⁴¹ Detlev Fehling raises the issue of fictive source citation as a resolution to this problem, arguing that previous scholars are “far too credulous when they ascribe these fictions” (the “forged” votives) to the sources Timachidas and Tharsagoras cite for them.”⁴² He suggests that the pair have “forged” both the existence of the objects they describe and the existence of the written accounts they cite for their descriptions.

None of these approaches is particularly useful for the present study. Forsdyke simplistically glosses over this complicated aspect of the text and Chaniotis’ absolution of the *anagraphe*’s authors from any culpability in transmitting “forgery” does not take into account their active role in selecting what materials to include in their work. Although intriguing, Fehling’s theory cannot be verified and therefore does not further our understanding of the processes behind the text.

Higbie, however, proposes a hypothetical model for the creation of these texts that takes into account the relationship between the text’s descriptions of Heroic Era votives and their real-world counterparts, objects purportedly donated by heroes and displayed in sanctuaries throughout the Greek world. Higbie argues that the dedications of the first fourteen entries, “if they ever existed,” were “either forgeries or objects misinterpreted by the authors who serve as sources for the

⁴¹ Chaniotis, 278.

⁴² Fehling, Detlev, *Herodotus and his ‘Sources:’ Citation, Invention and Narrative Art*. Translated by J. G. Howie. ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 21. Francis Cairns: Leeds (1990), 168.

compilers.” She acknowledges the possibility that priests and sanctuary exegetes, or tour guides might have “embroidered” tales about votive offerings and other *ἀναθήματα*, either “wrongly” identifying these objects, or even “forging” them “to serve as props for their tales about the age and importance of the sanctuary.”⁴³

Higbie also admits that the sources cited by Timachidas and Tharsagoras may have fabricated accounts of objects designed to reflect their real-world counterparts.

Additionally, Timachidas and Tharsagoras themselves might have fabricated both the accounts of such objects and the sources they cite. Although Higbie expresses doubts that such arguments about these processes “can be taken any further” that this basic speculation, her model suggests the centrality of the interaction between votives as a physical object in Lindian sanctuary and votives as a textual constructs in the *anagraphe*. This model posits three levels at which “forgery” of the *anagraphe*’s votives might have occurred, the “forgery” of a physical votive with an anachronistic dedicatory inscription, the “forgery” of a textual account of such an object by an intermediary source, and the “forgery” of a textual account of such an object by Timachidas and Tharsagoras. Even though the second two levels involve the “forgery” of objects that are purely textual constructs, it is likely that they would nevertheless reflect the same processes used to “forge” the physical object, a strategy that would make their textually constructed “forgery” resemble more accurately the type of “real-world” Heroic Era votives their reader would have encountered in temple settings. This model may be summarized as follows:

⁴³ Higbie, 163-64.

- 1) An individual in the temple inscribes an object with a “forged” dedicatory inscription and attributes it to a heroic donor
- 2) An intermediary source later cited by Timachidas and Tharsagoras fabricates a textual account of the type of “forged” votive typically attributed to a heroic donor
- 3) Timachidas and Tharsagoras fabricate a textual account of the type of “forged” votive typically attributed to a heroic donor and attribute it to a false source through a fictive source citation

According to this model, even though it is impossible to determine whether Tharsagoras and Timachidas have themselves “forged” a “textually constructed” votive, whether they have transmitted a “textually constructed” votive “forged” by their sources, or whether their sources have faithfully described a “real-world” object “forged” by an individual in the temple, the *anagraphe*’s textually constructed Heroic Era votives are nevertheless informed on some level by their “real-world” counterparts.

For the present study, understanding this relationship between “real-world” votive and “textually constructed” votive will be crucial for evaluating the *anagraphe*’s “chronologically inconsistent” dedications as potential “forgeries.” This investigation will begin in Chapter Two by situating the Heroic Era within the context of the ancient religious practice of displaying the “real-world” practice of displaying purportedly Heroic Era votives that correspond to the *anagraphe*’s “textually constructed” votives. The chapter will go on to explore how Eugene Thompson’s theory of the “identity marking” of Heroic relics relates to the

anachronistic dedicatory inscriptions of the *anagraphe*'s Heroic Era votives.⁴⁴ The second half of Chapter Two will explore the question of whether the “epigraphic invention” of these anachronistic dedicatory inscriptions would have met ancient criteria for forgery, considering both ancient conceptions of forgery in both literary and religious contexts, the latter of which is particularly significant for understanding the *anagraphe*.

The third chapter will consider the *anagraphe*'s Heroic Era votives as “sincere forgeries” seen as “filling in the gaps” of tradition, focusing on the question of what role the text's status as “sincere forgery” might have played in shaping reader's experience of visiting the Lindian sanctuary. This chapter will begin by considering the socio-political impact of the text by evaluating it as an example of Hans-Joachim Gehrke's “intentional history.” The investigation will then focus the text's role in shaping religious experience for its Hellenistic reader, in particular the experience of religious awe or wonder. A comparison between the *anagraphe*'s Heroic Era votives and the genre of Hellenistic paradoxography, a genre dedicated to eliciting a sense of the wondrous in its readers, provides a model for understanding this process in the Lindos text.

The study will conclude with a brief epilogue reiterating our findings through a comparison with a relevant modern *comparandum*, the recent controversy over the archeological “forgeries” from the Roman villas at Iruña-Veleia in the Basque Country of Spain. The Iruña-Veleia *ostraka* like the Lindos *anagraphe*, employ the

⁴⁴ Thompson E. T., “The Relics of Heroes in Ancient Greece.” Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, Seattle, 1986, 12.

technique of appending of fabricated, chronologically impossible inscriptions to purportedly ancient artifacts of religious and historical import. The modern reaction to the unmasking of these “forgeries,” however, emphasizes the differences between the “sincere forgery” of the Lindos *anagraphe*, created according to contemporary expectations of “true” and “false,” and the modern criminal act “forgery” seen by its contemporaries as a violation of this dichotomy.

CHAPTER TWO

FILLING IN THE GAPS OF TRADITION IN THE LINDOS *ANAGRAPHE*: BETWEEN “EPIGRAPHIC INVENTION” AND “FORGERY” IN THE HEROIC ERA VOTIVES

The present chapter seeks to evaluate the Lindos *anagraphe*'s “chronologically impossible” Heroic Era votives according to ancient, rather than modern, criteria of forgery. A crucial first step in this process will be to contextualize these votives within the apparently widespread but little explored ancient religious practice of displaying purportedly Heroic Era votives. Exploring how the Lindos *anagraphe* works within and responds to this traditional practice will aid in isolating the textual strategies that will be evaluated as potential “forgeries” in the chapter's second half. An overview of ancient attitudes towards forgery will demonstrate that definitions of the practice were highly context-dependent, and, subsequently, that understanding the religious nature of the *anagraphe* is crucial for interpreting its relationship to contemporary conceptualizations of “forgery.”

An Overview of Heroic Era Votive Offerings in the Ancient World

Authors as early as Herodotus in the fifth century BC and as late as Pausanias and Lucian in the second century AD refer to the display of Heroic Era votives in contemporary temple settings, suggesting the longevity of the practice in antiquity.⁴⁵ Additionally, these sources show that the practice was geographically widespread, appearing at sanctuary sites both large and small, from well-known sites in mainland Greece and Asia Minor such as Thebes [Paus.9.16.3] and Didyma [Diog.Laert.8.1.4] to more far-flung minor sites such as Engyum in Sicily [Plut.*Vt.Marc.*20] and Euhesperis in North Africa [Diod.Sic.4.56.6].

Descriptions of Heroic Era votives appear in texts of diverse genres ranging from the historiographic/antiquarian works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Diodorus Siculus to Plutarch's biography of Marcellus to the anonymous Hellenistic paradoxography known as the *De mirabilibus auscultationibus*. In each case, the author has his own specific motivations for alluding to the display of Heroic Era votives and these motivations vary greatly from text to text. The following examples demonstrate two of the many ways ancient authors use references to the practice in furthering their literary goals.

In Lucian's *Πρὸς τὸν ἀπαιδέυτον καὶ πολλὰ βιβλία ὀνούμενον* (often known by its Latin title *Adversus indoctum*), a satirical attack on a bourgeois poseur turned bibliophile, the narrator mocks a philosophy-buff who avidly displays the staff of

⁴⁵ While the text of Diogenes Laertius' life of Pythagoras, with its description of the display of Menelaus' shield at Didyma, dates to the third century AD, the author's account does not relate the practice as a contemporary one, but rather one occurring many centuries earlier.

Cynic philosopher Peregrinus in the same manner that the Theban and Tegean sanctuaries display respectively the bones of Geryones and the Calydonian boar's hide [Luc.*Ind.*14]. As Neil Hopkins interprets this passage, Lucian uses the practice of displaying such objects in temples as a point of comparison in order to lampoon this individual's fixation on collecting and displaying the symbols of philosophy rather than engaging with it intellectually.⁴⁶ Interestingly, Lucian, a satirist famously critical of religion and religious practice, does not take the opportunity to mock the display of the boar's hide or bones directly. The author instead deploys the reference to the practice in order to make the collector look ridiculous.

Another interesting example is that of Menelaus' dedication of Euphorbus' shield at Didyma as described by Pythagoras in Diogenes Laertius' life of the philosopher. In relating the process of the transmigration of his soul, the Pythagoras recounts his previous life as the Trojan hero Euphorbus, who had died at the hands of Menelaus when fighting for Hector's body at Troy.⁴⁷ Later, the philosopher Hermotimus, to whom the soul of Euphorbus had transmigrated before reaching Pythagoras, was able to prove himself a reincarnation of the hero by identifying the shield that Menelaus had dedicated to Apollo at Didyma [Diog.Laert.8.1.4]. In this famous passage frequently cited by scholars interested in Pythagorean views on reincarnation, the traditional practice of displaying Heroic

⁴⁶ Neil Hopkinson, ed. *Lucian: A Selection*. Cambridge Greek and Latin Texts: New York, 2008. 130-131.

⁴⁷ An encounter described in the Iliad, see [Hom.*Il.* 17.9ff]).

votives is evoked in order to provide evidence for a radical doctrine that directly challenged the conventional Olympian religion's view of the soul.⁴⁸

As the above examples demonstrate, literary texts, even when they reference and describe the same phenomenon, do so with very different textual motives. It is, therefore, problematic to draw too many generalizations about the ancient practice of displaying Heroic Era votives and its context in sanctuaries based solely on the evidence of widely divergent literary texts. We are fortunate, however, to have one ancient source whose documentary motives for describing the practice match very closely our own: that of Pausanias. The author's consistent interest in giving detailed descriptions of sanctuary contexts and their content provides us with a great deal of information on the practices of votive dedication in general and the display of specifically Heroic Era votives in particular. K. W. Arafat argues that Pausanias' focus on antiquities found in temple contexts is representative of the contemporary Greek intellectual milieu under Hadrian's Panhellenion association of Greek states, when many Greek intellectuals sought to reconcile their ancient past within their contemporary Roman context. Arafat identifies Pausanias' particular approach as a unique mix of the detailed, systematic art historical approach of Pliny with Herodotus' method of autopsy and belief that the unique details of a sanctuary were key to understanding a local community's identity.⁴⁹ W. Kendrick Pritchett argues that, in light of Pausanias' near fixation with describing antiquities and

⁴⁸ Richard D. McKirahan, *Philosophy Before Socrates: An Introduction with Texts and Commentary*. Hackett Publishing: Indianapolis, 2011. 85-86.

⁴⁹ K. W. Arafat, "Pausanias' Attitude towards Antiquities." *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 87 (1992), pp. 387-409, 388.

their contexts, we might more appropriately refer to the *Περιήγησις τῆς Ἑλλάδος* as the *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων*.⁵⁰

The Heroic Era donors whose dedications Pausanias describes represent a wide variety of figures from the Greek mythological tradition. They range from the most famous of heroes, including Odysseus, to more minor mythological figures, such as Peirasos, one of the six sons of Argos [Paus.2.17.5]. Additionally, Pausanias describes not only male but also female donors from the mythological tradition, including Laodike, daughter of Agapenor [Paus.8.5.3] and the Danaid Hypermnestra [Paus.2.19.6].

With regard to the donations themselves, a number of the votives described are particularly noteworthy as objects, as in the case of the famed necklace of Harmonia received from Cadmus, said to bring misfortune to all who possessed it, which had been passed from Polyneices to Eriphyle and dedicated to Apollo at Delphi by their descendants, the sons of Phegos [Paus.9.41.2]. Others are in some way wondrous, as in the case of an amazingly long-lived fawn dedicated to Demeter at Lycosura by Agapenor, was still supposedly alive and on display at the sanctuary as late as the time of Augustus [Paus. 8.10.9]. Still others consisted of objects in some way associated with the legend of the hero, as in the case of a set of dice at the temple of Tyche at Nemea said to have been dedicated by the hero Palamedes, the famed creator of dice [Paus. 2.20.3]. The majority of the votives

⁵⁰ W. Kendrick Pritchett, "Pausanias on Greek Religion." In *Pausanias Periegetes* vol.1, Monographs on Ancient Greek History and Archeology 6. J.C. Gieben Publisher: Amsterdam, 1998, pp. 61-295, 61.

dedicated by the Heroic Era figures, however, represent objects that, aside from their association with famous donors, are otherwise unremarkable. These include statuary, such as a wooden image of Hermes dedicated by Cecrops at the temple of Athena Polias at Athens [Paus.1.27.1], spoils of war, such as Euphorbus' donation of Menelaus' shield at the Heraeum outside of Mycenae [Paus.2.17.3], and adornments for cult statues, such as Laodike's gift of a robe to Athena Alea at Tegea [Paus.8.5.3]. As Eugene Thompson notes, these examples, in addition to many of Heroic Era votives described by Pausanias and other sources, resemble the dedications we know to have been typical of visitors during historical times.⁵¹

Pausanias' descriptions of Heroic Era votive offerings is especially important for understanding the practice of displaying these items in temple contexts. Throughout his text, Pausanias frequently describes his interactions with priests and other temple exegetes who aid him in interpreting votives he encounters in sanctuaries. For instance, in describing the temple of Eileithyia in Athens, Pausanias relates that the old women in charge of the temple explained to him the history of the statues dedicated to the goddess, including one offered by Phaedra [Paus. 1.18.5]. At the sanctuary of Demeter at Phlisia, local exegetes indicated to him that a chariot displayed prominently on the roof of the temple is that of Pelops [Paus.2.14.4]. These descriptions suggest not only that Heroic Era votives were on display for visitors to see within these sanctuaries, but also that locals went out of their way to show them off to tourists such as Pausanias. The practice of displaying

⁵¹ Eugene Thompson, "The Relics of Heroes in Ancient Greece." Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, Seattle, 1986, 14.

notable votives of the type described by Pausanias has been explored in detail by both Josephine Shaya and Adrienne Mayor, who equate the experience of visiting the ancient sanctuary to that of the modern experience of visiting a museum, where the display of objects and mediation of guides creates a “curated” experience for the visitor.⁵²

The preceding exploration of Heroic Era votives has focused solely on literary evidence. This is because epigraphic and archeological evidence of such objects remains scarce. Votives attributed to heroes do not appear among the extant epigraphic inventories of sanctuary treasuries nor among artifacts excavated from sanctuaries. The following analysis will suggest some possible explanations for this lack of surviving documentary and physical evidence.

With regard to the lack of evidence for the practice in the archeological record, it is important to highlight that extant votives survived the centuries due to a fortuitous conundrum faced by ancient sanctuary officials. With temple display space at a premium and votive offerings piling up year after year, officials were forced to clear out older offerings to make room for new ones when the former were no longer of interest as display items.⁵³ However, these objects, technically the

⁵² For Shaya, this “museum experience” is comparable to the modern experience of visiting a history museum where the artifacts of the distant past are on display, while for Mayor, whose focus is prehistoric fossil remains, it is equated to visiting a natural history museum where the wonders of the physical world, i.e. fossils, strange stones, unusual animals, were on display. Adrienne Mayor, *The First Fossil Hunters: Dinosaurs, Mammoths, and Myth in Greek and Roman Times*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 2011; Josephine Shaya, “Greek Temple as Museum: The Case of the Legendary Treasure of Athena from Lindos,” *AJA* 109 (2005), 423-442.

⁵³ F.T. Van Straten, “Votives and Votaries in Greek Sanctuaries.” In *Le Sanctuaire Grec*, edited by Albert Schachter. Fondation Hardt: Geneva (1992), 271. Van Straten effectively

property of the gods to whom they had been dedicated, could not simply be destroyed or otherwise disposed of. Temple officials throughout the ancient world therefore solved this problem by the ceremonial interring of votives in pits within sanctuary *temenoi*, thus preserving them for modern archeologists.⁵⁴ Presumably remarkable, noteworthy, or extremely valuable votives were retained, especially those that could be melted down or otherwise repurposed within the sanctuary.⁵⁵ Due to the high symbolic value of Heroic votives, well-attested in the literary sources, it is logical that they would have retained their cachet as display items over time, avoiding this particular fate.

What initially appears more puzzling is the absence of any mention of such objects in the extant epigraphic record of sanctuaries.⁵⁶ We might ask, if the display of Heroic votives in temples was as common a practice in antiquity as our

demonstrates the ever-present problem of space caused by the piling up of votives in sanctuaries, cataloging a variety of fascinating temple decrees from throughout the Greek world detailing with great specificity when, where, and what type of votive offerings could be placed within the sanctuary.

⁵⁴ Van Straten, 272. See also Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*. Translated by John Raffan, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1985), 94.

⁵⁵ W. H.D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings: An Essay in the History of Greek Religion*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (1902), 246-7.

⁵⁶ The three most extensive finds of temple inventories are those associated with the Parthenon at Athens, the temple of Artemis Brauronia at Athens, and sanctuaries of Apollo and Artemis at Delos, each of which have been the subject of large-scale studies by Diane Harris, Tullia Linders, and Richard Hamilton respectively; minor finds from Didyma and other Asia Minor sites are the subject of Beate Dignas' briefer study. See: Harris (1995). *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion*. Oxford University Press: Oxford; Linders (1972). *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens*. Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae 4.29. Svenska Institutet i Athen: Stockholm; Hamilton (1993). *Treasure Map: A Guide to the Delian Inventories*. University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor; and Dignas (2002). "Inventories" or "Offering Lists?" Assessing the Wealth of Apollo Didymaeus." *ZPE* 138, 235-244.

literary sources suggest, why would these objects not appear among the various inscribed inventories of temple treasuries that survive? The answer likely lies in the surviving texts' emphasis on the financial rather than symbolic or religious value of the objects they catalogue.⁵⁷ The practice of creating annual temple treasury inventories, first developed in fifth century BC Athens, centered on the formal yearly transfer of the post of treasurer from one official to the next, the process of *παράδοσις* formulaically recorded in each inscription.⁵⁸ Epigraphers agree that the yearly creation of these inventories served two functions: 1) as a practical measure to put in order what Lewis calls the "financial machinery" of Athena Parthenos' sanctuary, the vast stores of wealth which would serve as the city's "reserve capitol" in times of crisis and 2) as a means of providing what Dignas refers to as bureaucratic "transparency," demonstrating that public officials charged with the enormous responsibility of handling the goddess' wealth from year to year were carrying out their duties in a responsible and trustworthy manner.

As the practice of creating such inventories spread throughout the Greek world to a variety of sanctuaries including those of Apollo Delos and Didyma, its emphasis remained on formulaic calculating of financial value and the process of

⁵⁷ D. M. Lewis, "Temple Inventories in Ancient Greece." In *Pots and Pans: A Colloquium on Precious Metals and Ceramics in the Muslim, Chinese, and Graeco-Roman Worlds*, edited by Michael Vickers. *Oxford Studies in Islamic Art III*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. 72. While Lewis' focus is on how temple inventories inform our knowledge of Greek metalwork, his chapter gives an excellent overview of the development of the temple inventory in the Greek world.

⁵⁸ Lewis 71-72; Dignas 235. While both view the two processes as being interdependent, Lewis stresses the financial aspect of the Athenian inventories, Dignas the importance of the process of *παράδοσις*.

παράδοσις.⁵⁹ Lewis notes the emphasis these inventories place on objects of immediate and tangible financial value and argues that they demonstrate a bias toward listing items made of precious metal and other expensive materials that could be easily melted-down into transferable raw resources, quickly mobilized in times of crisis. Even for items that were not made of precious metal, the inventories emphasize the ability of the objects they catalogue to be converted quickly into financial capital, almost universally recording items' specific value in silver or gold.⁶⁰

Since Heroic Era votives were usually composed of humble materials representative of their antiquity, such as wood and linen, temples would have found it difficult to place a concrete exchange value on them. Their value was cultural and historical rather than financial and thus tied to their place, circumstance, form, and narrative in a way that items that could be melted into bullion were not. For this reason, Heroic Era votives seem to occupy a liminal space among temple goods, possessing sufficient cultural value and display potential to avoid the fate of being discarded in pits when space became tight, but also not of such immediate and transferable financial use that they would enter into the detailed treasury inventories that served as ancient bank balances.

⁵⁹ Dignas, 242-243.

⁶⁰ Lewis, 72.

Interpreting the Heroic Era Votives: “Identity Markers” and “Forgery”

While the literary evidence surveyed above suggests that a visitor to an ancient temple could see votives purportedly dedicated by Heroic Era figures, we know that the majority of these votives could not have authentically originated in the that epoch. Any Heroic Era votive described as bearing an inscription in the Greek alphabet, such as Odysseus’ dedication of Meriones’ inscribed shield at Engyum [Plut. *Vt. Marc.*20], must necessarily be the product of later manipulation. The relationship between “chronologically impossible” Heroic Era votives and the processes of manipulation that lie behind their inscriptions, however, has been explored only sporadically by modern scholars and has yet to receive comprehensive study in its own right.

The most in-depth and sustained consideration of the phenomenon of Heroic votives come from two large-scale scholarly works which investigate the general practices of hero cult and votive dedication respectively, the former conducted by Friedrich Pfister, the latter by W.H.D. Rouse.⁶¹ Both early twentieth-century scholars, working in the vein of traditional *Altertumswissenschaft*, produced exhaustive, catalogic compendia of every potentially relevant ancient reference to the two practices.⁶² In both cases, purportedly Heroic Era votives, possessing the dual status of heroic relic (in that they were supposedly the original property of

⁶¹ Friedrich Pfister, (1912). *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 5 Giessen : Töpelmann; Rouse, W. H.D. *Greek Votive Offerings: An Essay in the History of Greek Religion*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. 1902.

⁶² Pfister’s two volume work totals 700 pages, Rouse’s 450.

heroes) and votive offering (in that they were dedicated by these figures), remained peripheral phenomena, acknowledged but de-emphasized by the two researchers. For Pfister, interested in the relationship between Heroic “relics”⁶³ and cultic practice, such votives, which did not generally play a role in the latter,⁶⁴ were marginally important to his investigation. For Rouse, interested in connecting the extant archeological record with ancient descriptions of votive practices, these objects, which lack extant archeological exemplars, offered little to his overall project.

Eugene Thompson’s exploration of the phenomenon of heroic relics treats some of the area left unexplored by Pfister and Rouse, considering in more detail the question of the chronological impossibility of the Heroic Era votives and the processes of manipulation that shaped them. In updating the catalogic work of Pfister and Rouse, Thompson seeks to refine our understanding of what Pfister dubbed the ancient “Heroic relic” by using what he calls “primitive psychological and theological models”⁶⁵ taken from comparative religious studies and anthropology, in particular the work of Mircea Eliade. According to Thompson’s definition, a “Heroic relic” consists of either 1) the physical remains of heroes, 2) an object belonging to or associated with them, or 3) a physical location associated with them (usually a gravesite). The “Type 2” relics, as Thompson refers to them

⁶³ A term he does not carefully define but which clearly refers to both physical remains and personal possessions.

⁶⁴The scepter of Agamemnon is a potentially interesting exception. See Thompson, page 40 for discussion of the possible “worship” of this relic.

⁶⁵ Thompson, 6.

throughout his study, are primarily found in descriptions of temple contexts and represent votive offerings made by heroes. Although “Type 2” relics are not Thompson’s focus and his discussion of them is distributed disparately throughout his work, he makes several pertinent observations about the role of Heroic Era votives in Greek religious life.

To begin, Thompson draws important distinctions between this class of relics and those of Type 1 and 3. Unlike relics relating to heroes’ physical remains or gravesites, the Type 2 relics were not used in cult or ceremony, nor were they fought over by city-states contesting claims to the hero or his cult. Additionally, this class of relic, unlike similar relics found in other world cultures, and, in particular the Christian tradition, were not considered to hold special powers nor were they used as amulets.⁶⁶

More significantly, Thompson notes that, in the case of many Heroic Era votives, the objects donated are not typically noteworthy in and of themselves. These objects reflect the classes of votives most typically excavated from or found depicted within ancient sanctuaries, including weaponry, ceramics, and personal effects. Votives such as the dice dedicated by Palamedes [Paus.2.20.3], the shield of Menelaus dedicated by Euphorbus [Paus.2.17.3], the robe dedicated by Laodike, [Paus.8.5.3], all represent donations of this type consisting of objects that are not especially noteworthy as objects but which become so due to their association with a remarkable donor.

⁶⁶ Thompson, 11.

According to Thompson, in the case of Heroic votives, it is this close personal association between the object and hero that gives an otherwise quotidian object its special status as “relic,” a status whose “essence” lies in the manifest “identification” between object and hero.⁶⁷ In other words, in order for a votive to be considered the genuine dedication of a hero, this association between donor and object would have had to have been obvious and unequivocal. In the case of Type 1 and 3 relics (physical remains and gravesites), the Homeric poems or oracles established the associative link between a particular hero and a set of physical remains or a gravesite unearthed in a particular location. Type 2 relics, however, which usually lacked Homeric or oracular traditions regarding their origins, would not have had obvious authoritative links to heroes. Thompson argues that, in order for these relics to have developed an association with a hero, they must have contained features which he dubs “identity clues” or “markers,” attributes that elicited a manifest association with a particular hero.

In the case of unique or noteworthy Type 2 relics, these “identity markers” might be remarkable features of the object itself, such as the unusual size of the egg displayed at the temple of Hilaria at Sparta, purportedly birthed by Leda [Paus 3.16.1]. The generally accepted scenario proposed to explain this object is that a remarkably large egg, possibly of an ostrich, found its way into the Spartan temple.⁶⁸ Leda’s association not only with eggs but also with the city of Sparta gave

⁶⁷ Thompson, 12.

⁶⁸ Thompson, 42.

rise her identification with it with the mythological figure in this particular temple setting.

Unlike Leda's egg at Sparta, however, the majority of the Heroic Era dedications described by Pausanias and other sources were items that were physically unremarkable. Although sometimes these objects are described as showing signs of aging or being archaic in style, Thompson argues that such indicators of antiquity would have been insufficient for creating an automatic association with a specific hero. As Thompson notes, in a temple setting there would presumably have been a multitude of votives bearing signs of great age, and, since not all of these came to be associated with notable Heroic Era figures,⁶⁹ some additional physical attribute or "identity marker" must have been necessary to elicit a specific connection for a given object. Thompson holds that the "identity marker par excellence," capable of instantly establishing such a relationship without any trace of ambiguity, was the dedicatory inscription. However, as Thompson acknowledges, dedicatory inscriptions on Heroic Era relics were necessarily anachronistic, and, as such, reflect a calculated manipulation of the "identity marker" principle in order to elicit an association between object and hero.⁷⁰

While Thompson's study of Heroic Era relics does not include discussion of the Lindos *anagraphe*, his theory of "identity marking," especially as it regards votive dedicatory inscriptions, is instructive for the present study. The following analysis will consider the dedicatory inscriptions of the *anagraphe*'s Heroic Era

⁶⁹ Thompson, 27.

⁷⁰ Thompson, 33.

votives as “identity markers” manipulated so as to link a given votive to a hero, and, subsequently, to link that hero to the Lindian sanctuary.

“Identity Markers” as “Forgery”: Inscriptions in the *anagraphe*

While our ancient sources reveal that inscriptions were frequently included on Heroic Era votives, nowhere is the importance of the relationship between inscription, donor, and offering more highlighted than in the Lindos *anagraphe* itself. The text, in fact, consistently privileges inscriptions as one of the most significant details of the dedications, not exclusively for the votives of the Heroic Era, but for all of the offerings it catalogues.

This emphasis on dedicatory inscriptions first appears in the prescript, which states explicitly the importance of inscriptions for establishing the donor/votive relationship. As noted, the prescript explains the *mastroi*’s motivations for ordering the creation of the *anagraphe*. According to the *ἐπεὶ* clause of lines A.3-4, one key impetus for the project is the fact that many notable donations have been lost to time. The text makes it clear, however, that it is not merely the loss of the objects themselves that is problematic. The clause cites the loss not only of the *τῶν ἀνα[θεμάτων τὰ ἀρχαιότατα*, the oldest of the offerings, but also of their accompanying inscriptions, indicated by the prepositional phrase *μετὰ τῶν ἐ[πιγραφῶν: ἐπεὶ . . . συμβαίνει δὲ τῶν ἀνα[θεμάτων τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μετὰ τῶν ἐ[πιγραφῶν διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐφθάρθαι* (since it happens that the oldest of the offerings along with their inscriptions have been destroyed over the course of time)[A.2-4]. According to the prescript, then, the

loss of the inscriptions is as unfortunate for the temple as the loss of the objects themselves.

In composing their catalogue of offerings, Tharsagoras and Timachidas follow the prescript's lead in privileging the dedicatory inscriptions of the objects they describe. The pair are enjoined by the *mastroi* to include in their descriptions ἄ κα ἧ ἀρμόζοντα περὶ τῶν ἀναθεμάτων [A.7], whatever information is ἀρμόζων or “fitting” regarding the votives. It is clear from an overview of their compilation that they consistently interpret the inclusion of inscriptions as fulfilling this requirement. Of the 42 offerings catalogued in the *anagraphe*, 37 are described as bearing dedicatory inscriptions, suggesting that the text's authors consider them to be not only “fitting” to include, but even as integral elements of the dedications.⁷¹

Further emphasizing the importance of these inscriptions is the fact that of the entries for the 37 inscribed votives, 33 directly quote the text of the inscription. Of the three entries that mention inscribed votives without quoting their text, two dedications, those of Cadmus' (Entry III) and of Amasis (Entry XXIX), pertain to untranslatable inscriptions written in foreign scripts, leaving Entry XL, the donation of Pyrrhos, as the only votive with a Greek inscription not transcribed within the *anagraphe*. These inscriptions range from the most basic two word formula of the donor's name in the nominative case with the recipient deities' name in the dative (e.g. Entry XI, the gift of Helen) to lengthier, more elaborate texts of

⁷¹ The entries that do not describe the presence on an inscription as a feature of the dedication are XXI, XXXII, XXXIV, XXXV, and XXXVI.

several lines (e.g. Entry XXXIII, the gift of the Soloians), with some even appearing in verse (e.g. Entry XXVI, the gift of Amphinomos).

According to the detailed analyses of both Chaniotis and Higbie, the inscriptions recorded in the *anagraphe*, even those of the “chronologically impossible” Heroic era votives, reflect the dedicatory conventions observed in the extant epigraphic corpus.⁷² The text’s emphasis on the inscriptions as integral elements of the dedications, however, presents a skewed portrait of ancient dedicatory practices when compared with our knowledge of votive practices based on literary and documentary evidence.

As Van Straten notes, the dedicatory process consisted of a personal interaction between a deity and a donor consisting of the exchange of property in fulfillment of a vow, from which we derive the term *ex voto* or “votive” to describe the object exchanged. This exchange was enacted between donor and deity through the transferal of the gift to the sanctuary site, where it became the property of the god. After the advent of writing the inscribing of these objects became a popular way of marking the transaction, but was always a secondary step in a process that was, implicitly, an unspoken arrangement between donor and deity.⁷³

The epigraphic and archeological evidence compiled by Rouse in his study of votive practices supports the idea that inscription was in no way a necessary step in

⁷² Higbie, in particular, compares the Lindos *anagraphe* data to Lazzarini’s comprehensive study of dedicatory inscriptions. Lazzarini, Maria Letizia, *Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica* Roma : Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1976.

⁷³ F. T. Van Straten, “Gifts for the Gods.” In *Faith, Hope, and Worship*, edited by H. S. Versnel. E. J. Brill: Leiden, (1981), 65ff.

the offering of a votive. Though Rouse's work is over a century old, it is by no means outdated, as it draws on the massive amount of epigraphic and archeological data compiled in the great European rush to excavate major Greek sanctuary sites at the end of the nineteenth century. After a substantial survey of literary, epigraphic, and archeological evidence of ancient votive practices, Rouse convincingly argues that inscribed votives, although well represented in the archeological record, do not constitute the majority of the offerings discovered in temple settings from across the Greek world.⁷⁴ By placing special emphasis on dedicatory inscriptions, then, the Lindos *anagraphe* appears to privilege a practice we know not to be an integral step in the votive process.

A closer look at the distribution of inscriptions among the votives catalogued in the *anagraphe* suggests a reason for the text's bias towards inscribed votives. Of the 37 inscribed votives, 31 consist of donations associated with notable figures, whether the donor was a remarkable individual themselves, a group led by the remarkable figure (Entry XVII), or an individual in some way closely associated with a remarkable figure, who is always named in such cases (Entries XXXI and XXXII). Of the six votives not associated with a notable individual, three represent donations made by colonies of Rhodes (Entries XXIV, XXV, XXXIII), one represents donations made by the Lindian demos (Entries XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI, and XXXVII), and only two appear to represent the donation of private individuals (Entries XVI and XXVI). On the other hand, of the five votives catalogued in the

⁷⁴ Rouse, 318ff.

anagraphe that lack inscriptions, only two are associated with notable figures (Entries XXIII and XXXII), with the remaining three being the donations of the demos.

These observations confirm the findings of previous scholars, including Shaya, Higbie, and Masser, regarding the mention of famous or noteworthy donors in the text. All three observe that the *anagraphe* privileges the donations of famous Greeks, thus painting a skewed portrait that downplays both the donations of more quotidian visitors to the site as well as those of famous Romans known to have made offerings.⁷⁵

More important for the present study, however, is a corollary observation: the gifts of notable or famous donors almost universally include inscriptions while the donations lacking them almost all pertain to general groups and private individuals.

The preceding analysis has highlighted these two interrelated trends in the *anagraphe*, namely its bias towards cataloguing the gifts of notable Greeks rather than less noteworthy donors and its bias towards cataloguing gifts bearing inscriptions rather than those without. When considered in conjunction, these two trends suggest that *anagraphe's* compilers value dedicatory inscriptions as the most effective way to highlight these noteworthy individual's association with the sanctuary. These dedicatory inscriptions, then, serve as "identity markers" authenticating the link between donor and donation, not only for the votives

⁷⁵ Higbie, 244; Shaya (2004), 435.

purportedly dating to the Heroic Era but also for those from the Archaic Era and later periods. While, with regard to the *anagraphe*'s post-Heroic Era donations, it is not unreasonable to assume that the visitors in question might have, in fact, offered their votives as the *anagraphe* describes, with regard to the Heroic Era offerings, we know this to be an impossibility, as their dedicatory inscriptions are anachronistic inventions.

Scholars both of Heroic Era votives in general and of the Lindos *anagraphe* in particular have identified this practice of inventing anachronistic dedicatory inscriptions for purportedly Heroic Era votives as “forgery.”⁷⁶ Robin Osborne, on the other hand, uses less charged language, describing the practice simply as “the appending of dedicatory inscriptions” to votives that “cannot have, in fact, been dedicated by the figures alleged on the occasions alleged.”⁷⁷ In an effort to mirror Osborne’s more neutral language, the present study proposes the term “epigraphic invention” to describe this process.

While it is clear that the process of “epigraphic invention” lies at the core of the *anagraphe*'s Heroic Era votives, it remains to be seen whether this type of “epigraphic invention” would have met with the same allegations of forgery in the ancient world as it does in the modern. While in many modern contexts, “epigraphic invention” would be considered forgery, there exist modern contexts in which it would constitute something more akin to historical fiction. For the modern

⁷⁶Forsdyke 43; Chaniotis, 164; Higbie, 267; Scheer, 362; Thompson 33-34.

⁷⁷Robin Osborne, “Relics and Remains in an Ancient Greek World Full of Anthropomorphic Gods.” In *Relics and Remains*, edited by Alexandra Walsham. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2010, 63.

reader, distinguishing between these modes would depend both on their expectations upon encountering the “epigraphic invention” and on the context in which it appears. As the following analysis will show, the role of reader expectation and context for interpreting “epigraphic invention” according to contemporary definitions of “forgery” would have been no different in the ancient world.

Defining Forgery in the Hellenistic World

Traditionally, scholarly discussion of ancient forgery has fallen under the umbrella of the more general study of ancient pseudepigraphy. This phenomenon, widespread throughout the ancient world, may be defined in the simplest terms as the misattribution of a text to an author or vice versa. Such misattribution could arise as a natural byproduct of ancient book technology, what Bruce Metzger dubs the “fortuitous mechanical accidents of copying,”⁷⁸ or from textual misidentification in a variety of forms. Modern investigators have devoted a great deal of energy to taxonomizing the possible causes of misattribution, including scribal error, homonymy between authors, and failure to recognize the true nature of mimetic rhetorical exercises, or *prosopopeia*.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Bruce Metzger, “Literary Forgeries and Canonical Pseudepigrapha,” *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 91 (1972), pp. 3-24; 10.

⁷⁹ Studies of ancient literary forgery seem to consistently fall into the habit of taxonomizing the phenomenon as they question the efficacy of the approach. Wolfgang Speyer’s elaborate classificatory system remains the most specific, while Antonio Guzmán Guerra’s the most simplified and generalizing. See Guzmán Guerra, “Problemas teóricos de la falsificación literaria,” in *Falsificaciones y falsarios de la Literatura Clásica*, ed. Javier Martínez, Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 2011; and Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung in heidnischen und christlichen Altertum*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Series 1, Section 2. C.H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung: Munich, 1971.

Within the discourse of pseudepigraphy studies the term “forgery” refers to a special case of the phenomenon, representing a particular “species” of the pseud epigraphic “genus,” to use Wolfgang Speyer’s decidedly Linnaean terminology.⁸⁰ Scholarly consensus characterizes this particular “species” of misattribution according to intentionality: a pseudepigraphic text is considered a forgery when its misattribution has been carried out with the intention to deceive. In other words, forgery occurs when someone deliberately presents as the work of one author a work which they know to be of another (or themselves).

According to conventional scholarly wisdom, while pseudepigraphy in general proliferated hand-in-hand with the spread of literacy in the Archaic and Classical Greece, forgery in particular began to flourish during the Hellenistic era when the issue of textual authenticity became hotly debated in intellectual circles. Ronald Syme and Anthony Grafton view this boom in forgery as a direct result of the new intellectual culture that had coalesced around the royally funded libraries at Alexandria and Pergamum.⁸¹ As the curators of these collections engaged in a heated race to acquire the best and rarest texts, accepted literary canons began to crystalize around certain authors. This process created a demand for texts by canonized authors and, therefore, a market for texts attributed to these authors. Forgery proliferated as booksellers and other enterprising individuals created or

⁸⁰ Speyer, 3.

⁸¹ Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ, 1990, 10-11; Ronald Syme, “Fraud and Imposture,” in *Pseudepigrapha I: Pseudopythagorica, lettres de Platon, littérature pseudépigraphique juive*, ed. by Ronald Syme. Fondation Hardt: Genève, 1971, 16.

repurposed texts and falsely attributed these works to such authors in order to meet the demand. Scholars in charge of library collections “fought back,” to use Grafton’s term, “honing” the “weapons” of textual criticism to weed from the canon texts falsely attributed to famous authors. A feedback loop ensued whereby, as forgers’ textual techniques became increasingly more elaborate, the textual criticism to root out their work did too. According to Grafton, modern critical practices are the direct result of this feedback loop of forgery and criticism that began in the Hellenistic intellectual milieu. Like Laocöon and his serpents, Grafton argues, forgers and critics have been entangled through the years, with their ensuing struggle shaping much of modern philological scholarship.

According to this account of the rise of forgery in the Hellenistic world, ancient textual critics conceived of “forgery” as a decidedly linguistic process in which texts were intentionally manipulated to elicit false links with canonical authors. Chaniotis argues that the *anagraphe*’s “epigraphic invention” employs nearly identical linguistic techniques as those used to “forge” works of canonical authors in antiquity. Closely evaluating the linguistic data of the *anagraphe*’s dedicatory inscriptions, Chaniotis applies his epigraphic expertise to identify terminological and stylistic anachronisms in the text, not the least of which is the inclusion of inscriptions on objects purporting to date to an era before the dawn of writing. Additionally, Chaniotis finds what he considers to be a calculated use of archaisms, such as the use of the term *ἀκροθίτια* for war spoils [Entries IX, XIII, XXV, and XXX], a term typical of archaic era inscriptions rarely used in Hellenistic

contexts. Chaniotis identifies these as two characteristic techniques of literary forgery: archaism representing the strategy of establishing the antiquity of a text by deploying language that the reader will recognize as old-fashioned, anachronism ensures that the text is not so linguistically foreign to the reader that they are unable to interpret it in the way the forger intends.⁸²

Although Chaniotis demonstrates that the technique used in the *anagraphe's* “invented” dedicatory inscriptions mirror those used to “falsely misattribute” texts to canonical authors, it remains to be seen whether the *anagraphe's* “epigraphic invention” would have been evaluated in the same way.

Grafton argues that the *anagraphe* and its “epigraphic invention” do indeed constitute the type of practice recognized as forgery in the Hellenistic world. Grafton identifies the common Greek civic practice of “inventing” of epigraphic evidence to document the pasts as a type of “forgery.” Among Grafton’s list of these “forged” epigraphic texts displayed in public settings, the Lindos *anagraphe* is one of the prime examples.⁸³ Grafton argues that epigraphic texts of this kind would have been subject to the same type of scrutiny and textual criticism as texts which appeared in non-literary form.

In arguing this, however, Grafton fails to take into account the basic definition of “forgery” he and other scholars have established, that, in order to be “forgery,” deliberate misattribution of a text to an author must be in some way problematic to the author. As Grafton notes, this practice only came to be

⁸² Chaniotis, 55; 65-67.

⁸³ Grafton, 10.

considered problematic in the ancient world, and, subsequently, labeled “forgery,” with the rise of the literary canon, an organizational schema that reached a critical mass in the Hellenistic Era when it began to shape ancient concepts of author hood. In determining what texts should be included in authors’ canons, ancient critics began to conceptualize the genius of a particular author as being a quality that should be manifest in any of his work. “Forgery” of works falsely attributed to an author were potentially damaging not only in the tangible sense in that they might cheat him out of his financial due, but also in the fact that, if they were of low quality, they might damage his reputation.⁸⁴ Moreover, such works violated the organic relationship between the creative genius of the author and his text, a relationship conceived of in terms of a paternity. This is evident in the fact that, as Grafton shows, in Hellenistic catalogues of authors’ works, canonical works were designated *γνήσιοι*, or legitimate heirs, while known forgeries were referred to as *νόθοι*, or bastards.⁸⁵

While the “epigraphic invention” of the *anagraphe* does involve the false attribution of a text to an author, namely, the false attribution of a dedicatory inscription to a Heroic Era donor, it does not have the potential to damage the alleged author of the inscription in any way. Unlike the work falsely attributed to a canonical author, these “epigraphic inventions” do not have the potential to damage the hero’s literary reputation nor cheat him out of any financial gain. Moreover, for the heroes described in the *anagraphe*, the majority of whom were not famed for

⁸⁴ Grafton, 11.

⁸⁵ Grafton, 12.

their literary genius; this misattribution does not violate any perceived organic link between the author and his canon. According to this ancient conceptualization of “forgery,” then, the “epigraphic invention” of the Lindos *anagraphe* and the other monumental inscriptions cited by Grafton do not constitute the practice.

Moreover, when the *anagraphe*’s “epigraphic invention” is considered as a function of the text’s religious motivations, an altogether different interpretation of the practice of “misattributing” dedicatory inscriptions to heroes emerges. Within ancient discourse on “forgery,” texts using “inventive” techniques were not considered to engage in the practice when they applied these techniques to further religious goals. That is to say, texts attributed falsely to figures of religious significance were not generally considered to be forgeries in the ancient world. Texts of this type come from the traditions of both the Greek mystical sects, such as the Orphics and the Pythagoreans, and a variety of Hellenized Near-Eastern groups.

The most famous examples of this class of text come from Hellenistic Alexandrian Jewish milieu. Newly Hellenized, the intellectuals of this group sought to contextualize their own religion within the Greek literary, and in particular, philosophical tradition they had come to admire. In the third and second centuries BC, a fascinating series of purportedly ancient or authoritative but clearly “invented” Greek texts surface in Alexandria and other Hellenistic cultural centers, of which the second century BC “Letter of Aristeas” is the most famous. Grafton argues that these “invented” authoritative texts sought to normalize Jewish ritual

practice for the Greek audience and to demonstrate that the Jewish Bible was older than and even potentially the source of Greek philosophy.⁸⁶ The “Letter of Aristeas,” an elaborate epistolary “invention” that consists of a letter within a letter, presents “invented” documentary evidence of the elaborate process of textual criticism by which the Septuagint was translated.⁸⁷ Werner Schmidt provides a detailed study of the “inventive” linguistic and textual techniques the author uses to link his work to its purported authors, who include the Alexandrian librarian Demetrius of Phalerum. According to Schmidt, this “invention” is designed to persuade two potential audiences, a Greek audience, for whom it intellectualizes Talmudic law, and a Hellenized Jewish audience, for whom it argues that the Septuagint is textually superior to Near Eastern translations of the Hebrew Bible.⁸⁸

Although modern scholars disagree on many aspects of ancient literary forgery, there is remarkable consensus with regard to evaluating these religious texts as something other than literary “forgery.”⁸⁹ For Syme, this practice is not forgery but rather “imposture,” a benign impersonation of the authority;⁹⁰ for Speyer, it is “true religious forgery” in which the author’s motivations for deliberately misattributing his work are virtuous because they derive from sincere religious belief. Scholars agree, however, that the key difference between “literary

⁸⁶ Grafton, 14.

⁸⁷ According to the “Letter,” 6 translators from each of the 12 tribes of Israel, 72 translators total, congregated at the Library of Alexandria and hammered out the translation in 72 days.

⁸⁸ Werner Schmidt, *Untersuchungen zur Fälschung historischer Dokumente bei Pseudo-Aristaios*, Habelt: Bonn, 1986.

⁸⁹ Metzger, 7; Grafton, 5-6; Syme 14; Speyer 35-36.

⁹⁰ Syme, 13.

forgery” and these types of religious texts is that the authors of the former do not seek any personal gain from attributing their work to persons other than themselves.⁹¹ Rather, they attribute their work to notable religious authorities in order to lend “documentary authority of a sacred character”⁹² to their writing. These authors “invented” authoritative texts in order to validate the new religious practices or revelations and to demonstrate the continuity between their teachings and the orthodox doctrine or canonical tradition of their particular religious practice.

Returning our focus to Lindos *anagraphe*, it is possible to draw several key points of comparison between these “invented” religious texts and the “epigraphic invention” of the Heroic Era votives in the inscription. To begin, both texts engage in the process of attributing “invented” texts to a notable figure, in the case of “invented” religious texts, to a religious authority, in the case of the *anagraphe*’s votives, to a Panhellenically recognized Heroic figure. Additionally, the establishment of this “invented” textual link furthers the goal of the text, in the case of the “invented” religious texts to validate the author’s interpretation of religious practice, in the case of the *anagraphe*, to demonstrate that the manifest power of Athena has been recognized since the earliest era of Greek history.

Most importantly, in both cases, the process of “invention” works within the framework of an established religious textual tradition, not “inventing” texts *ex nihilo*, but rather “filling in gaps,” to use Grafton’s term, left by these textual

⁹¹ Syme, 14.

⁹² Grafton, 16.

traditions. Grafton argues that, in the case of the “invented” religious texts, such as those of the Hellenistic Jewish tradition, the era’s characteristically apocalyptic narratives “fill in the gaps” in the transmitted historical tradition left blank by the cessation of prophecy while “invented” lists of biblical patriarchs created accounts of individuals to flesh out the historical tradition where the canonical texts were sparse.⁹³

In the Lindos *anagraphe*, we see a similar process of “filling in the gaps” of tradition through the process of invention. This is evident in the case of the donation made by Herakles in Entry V, the shields of Eurypylos and Laomedon, which he offered to the goddess as spoils of his battles with these figures. As Carolyn Higbie outlines, Herakles had a special relationship with Rhodes where the hero was celebrated with rites that included curses.⁹⁴ The traditional *aetia* for these rites, related by Apollodorus [2.5.11], involved the hero’s visit to the island’s harbor, Thermydrae. There the hero sacrificed and ate the oxen of a local cattle driver who subsequently cursed him, giving rise to this peculiar rite. According to mythological tradition, then, Herakles had been present at Lindos during his travels in the Eastern Mediterranean. This tradition, however, says nothing about the hero visiting Athena’s Lindian sanctuary. By inventing the dedication catalogued in the *anagraphe* and appending anachronistic inscriptions linking the hero to these objects, however, the creators of these votives, whether they existed as concrete objects at some point or were only ever textual constructions, posit that

⁹³ Grafton, 6.

⁹⁴ Higbie, 74.

Herakles visited Athena's sanctuary while on Rhodes. The "invention" of Herakles' donation works within the established mythological tradition of the hero's visit to Rhodes while at the same time expanding upon this tradition so that it now includes a visit to the sanctuary. In this way the "invented" votives of Herakles "fill in the gaps" left in the account of the hero at Lindos, fleshing it out with plausible detail. The "epigraphic invention" of these votives' dedicatory inscriptions, serving as identity markers linking hero and the donation, becomes the central mechanism for this process of "filling in the gaps" in tradition.

By filling in such "gaps," both the "invented" authoritative religious texts and the Heroic Era votives of the *anagraphe* participate in the same process which Paul Veyne describes as "historical retrodiction." This process, which Veyne argues is equally at home in the realm of religious texts as it is in the realm of historiography, involves what Veyne refers to as "reverse prophecy" or "*post eventum* prediction." That is to say, knowing the outcome of a historical event, the practitioner of "historical retrodiction" works backward to fill in the blanks of how this outcome came about, what Veyne calls a process of the "fleshing out" of a historical narrative.⁹⁵ For Veyne, the ancient practice of "historical retrodiction" *par excellence* is the creation of mythological genealogies which are first seen in Hesiod and which later, in inscribed form, become staples of spaces, as in the case of the genealogy of the kings of Arcadia seen by Pausanias [Paus.9.1.1].

⁹⁵ Paul Veyne, *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes? Essai sur l'imagination constituante*, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1983.

“Historical retrodiction” is the process that lies behind what Veyne calls “sincere forgery,” a process of creation that uses the same techniques that modern observers would consider to be forgery but which, when considered in an ancient context, constitute something else entirely. We may argue, then, that the “invented” authoritative religious texts and the “epigraphic invention” of Heroic Era votives, so deeply rooted in the practice of “historical retrodiction,” represent “sincere forgery.” Though the techniques behind this practice resemble our modern concept of “forgery,” the practice is distinguished, according to Veyne, by the fact that it does not work within the modern framework that centers on the issues of intentionality, deceit, credibility, and belief. Working outside of this framework, the observer of “sincere forgery” might ask an entirely different set of questions than the modern observer. Our concerns over credibility, authenticity, and veracity may not be applicable in the presence of ancient “sincere forgery.” As Veyne articulates this point, “if Livy did not question the authenticity of the lists of the kings of Rome, why would Pausanias question the royal lists of Arcadia?”⁹⁶

In certain ancient contexts, then, in particular, the literary milieu, the set of questions asked of an “invented” text would approximate our own scrutinizing approach in rooting out what was recognized to be forgery. In other contexts, in particular within the religious context of “invented” authoritative texts or the “invention” of inscribed Heroic Era votives in temples, a different set of questions

⁹⁶ Veyne, 102.

might be asked which do not center on determining truth value. In these contexts, the act of “invention” becomes “sincere forgery.”

CHAPTER THREE

“SINCERE FORGERY” AS “INTENTIONAL HISTORY”:

SOCIO-POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXTS

FOR THE HEROIC ERA VOTIVES

Whereas Chapter Two established that the “epigraphic invention” of the *anagraphe*’s Heroic Era votives represented a form of “sincere forgery,” employing techniques similar to modern “forgery” but approached by the ancients with a different set of expectations, the following chapter will consider what purposes this “sincere forgery” may have served within the greater schema of the text. Hans-Joachim Gehrke’s theory of “intentional history” will provide an interpretive framework with which to explore this question more deeply, revealing that the *anagraphe*’s use of the “sincere forgery” tactic of “historical retrodiction” presents its reader with a “curated” or “intentional” vision of the Lindian sanctuary’s past. This vision of the past is both “selective,” according to Gehrke’s model, in that it portrays only the parts of that past which support its vision, and “inventive,” in that it uses “historical retrodiction” to “invent” documentary sources (i.e. the Heroic Era votives and their dedicatory inscriptions) to fill in gaps in this vision. The subsequent “intentional history” shaped by these “selective” and “inventive”

processes presents a portrait of the Lindian sanctuary's past retroactively informed by its Hellenistic present, a "curated" vision charged with both socio-political and religious implications for its contemporary reader. While the former sets of implications have received attention from scholars of the *anagraphe*, the latter remain relatively unexamined. The present investigation will attempt to correct by exploring how the text uses intentional history strategies to elicit a sense of religious awe or wonder in its Hellenistic audience, revealing that these tactics are closely linked to those used in eliciting pseudo-scientific wonder within the contemporary genre of paradoxography.

Gehrke's "Intentional History" and the Lindos *Anagraphe*

Gehrke first coined the term "intentional history" to describe a unique set of Hellenistic inscriptions from Magnesia on the Menander.⁹⁷ In 208 BC, in order to expand the local cult of Artemis Leukophryene in response to a Delphic prophecy, the Magnesians petitioned other Greek *poleis* to grant their city *asylia*, a status of religious truce and inviolability, during a newly instituted festival that included PanHellenic games. The Magnesian petition included a dossier of purportedly ancient documents detailing the traditional relationships between the city and her Greek neighbors based and in large part on Homeric tradition. To commemorate

⁹⁷ Gehrke first describes "intentional history" in "Myth, History, and Collective Identity: Uses of the Past in Ancient Greece and Beyond," in *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus*, ed. Nino Luraghi, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001, 286-313. Since then the term has been applied to a variety of texts and practices from the Classical world and from other cultural contexts. See *Intentional History: Spinning Time in Ancient Greece*, Lin Foxhall, H. Gehrke, and Nino Luraghi, eds. Franz Steiner Verlag: Stuttgart, 2010.

this petition for *asylia*, the Magnesians inscribed this set of documents in the city's agora. Like the Lindos *anagraphe*, these purportedly ancient documents, now known to be Hellenistic "inventions," have been called "forgeries."⁹⁸

According to Gehrke, the Magnesian inscriptions represent an "intentional history" of the city in which its citizens create a portrait of their own past according to their contemporary sense of identity.⁹⁹ This type of history brings a group's present and past into relationship in two important ways. It not only projects the present into the past by taking the present as a starting point and working backward to create history, it also provides evidence validating this vision of history. In essence, "intentional history" consists of marshaling and demonstrating a group's past to justify its present.

What Gehrke identifies as the "intentional" aspect of this type of history derives from its use of two strategies: 1) the "preservation of certain facts and selective forgetting of others," and 2) the invention and transmission of new facts when needed, whether these new facts are "historical" according to our contemporary sense (i.e. true) or not.¹⁰⁰ The only stipulation for the creation of these invented "facts" is that they be presented as "mythico-historical events" integrated into the existing framework of established tradition. "Intentional

⁹⁸ Federica Pezzoli explores in more depth the "invented" aspects of the Magnesia dossier as a part of intentional history. In particular she outlines this process of document fabrication in one of the most famous of these documents, the so-called "Founding of Magnesia [IMag.17]. See Pezzoli, "Un caso de historia "re-creada": la fundación de Magnesia del Meandro," in *Mundus vult decipi: estudios interdisciplinarios sobre falsificación textual y literaria*. Edited by Javier Martínez, Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 2012, 285-295.

⁹⁹ Gehrke, 298.

¹⁰⁰ Gehrke, 306.

history” then, does not involve the invention of new “facts” out of whole cloth, but rather “invents facts” to fill in gaps where tradition is silent or to flesh out tradition with new detail. Gehrke specifically selects the term “intentional” to describe this process in order to avoid the value judgment inherent in terms like “forgery,” “fictive history,” and “believed history” often applied by modern scholars to describe this practice.¹⁰¹

Although no one has yet used the specific term “intentional history” to describe the *anagraphe*’s “inventive” practices, Josephine Shaya and Carolyn Higbie nevertheless present an interpretation of the inscription’s socio-political context that in many ways reflects Gehrke’s approach. Both scholars identify the text’s strategy of “selective forgetting” to emphasize Rhodes’ past international political and cultural clout, both of which had waned significantly due to Roman ascendance in the Eastern Mediterranean.¹⁰²

According to Shaya and Higbie, the *anagraphe* is “selective” in that it omits from its list of votives donations made within recent history: the latest entry recorded among the votives and epiphanies is the donation of Philip V of Macedon (Entry XLII), which dates to roughly 202 BC, an era Shaya identifies as the most prosperous period in Rhodian history. The *anagraphe*’s account of the sanctuary’s history thus ceases over 100 years before its composition, leaving the reader with

¹⁰¹ Gehrke, 298.

¹⁰² Carolyn Higbie, *The Lindian Chronicle and the Greeks’ Creation of Their Past*. Oxford University Press: Oxford (2003), 244; Although Shaya introduces this interpretation in her dissertation, it appears in a much more developed form in her 2004 study. See Shaya, “Greek Temple as Museum: The Case of the Legendary Treasure of Athena from Lindos” *AJA* 109 (2004), pp 423-442; 435.

the image of Lindos at the height of her prosperity and shifting focus away from her more recent decline in international power. Additionally, the text presents a skewed view of the sanctuary's history by conspicuously excluding notable Roman donors. Despite the text's failure to mention Romans at Lindos, we know from archeological and epigraphic evidence that they made frequent and sometimes noteworthy donations at the sanctuary. Plutarch, for instance, mentions Marcellus' 211 BC donation of spoils from his victory at Syracuse along with a large statue, apparently still on display at the site when Plutarch was writing [Plut. *Vit. Marc.* 30.6].

Shaya and Higbie maintain that this "selective" view of the sanctuary's history represents an attempt by the Lindians to reconcile their powerful international status in the past with their waning influence in the present, a process undertaken by many Greek states in response to their loss of political and military power to Rome. Higbie argues that this process, which reached its culmination in the Second Sophistic, was already evident in the Hellenistic era and is the driving force behind the *anagraphe*.¹⁰³ For Shaya, the *anagraphe*'s selective vision of a Lindian history without Romans asserts the city's continued cultural power "without offering a direct challenge to Rome" politically.¹⁰⁴ As Rhodes was a center of rhetorical training that attracted many Romans and as the sanctuary constituted an important tourist stop for visitors to the region, this selective

¹⁰³ Higbie, 243.

¹⁰⁴ Shaya (2004), 435.

portrait of Lindos' powerful, internationally prominent past would have been transmitted not only to a Greek but also a Roman audience.

As Gehrke shows, however, “inventive” processes are just as important for “intentional history” as the type of “selective” processes Shaya and Higbie have identified in the *anagraphē*. Consequently, the “epigraphic invention” of the Heroic Era votives plays an equally important role in Timachidas and Tharsagoras’ “curated” view of the sanctuary’s past. In order for this portrait of the past to be a Panhellenically significant one, it was necessary that the pair tie their sanctuary to the great heroes of the Homeric poems and Epic Cycle. The process of “epigraphic invention,” which established links between heroes and votives through “invented” dedicatory inscriptions, aided in this process, as can be seen in the example of Herakles described in Chapter Two. The “creation” of a votive purportedly offered to Athena by the hero, along with an “invented” dedicatory inscription making the link between hero and sanctuary manifest, tied the Lindian sanctuary into the shared Greek Heroic tradition. However, this “inventive” process did not create from whole cloth an account of just any hero, but rather, worked within established tradition that already placed Herakles in the region. This use of “epigraphic invention” to flesh out established tradition with evidence that Herakles visited the temple represents an important strategy in Timachidas and Tharsagoras’ socio-politically informed “intentional history” which seeks to link the sanctuary to the most noteworthy Greeks of the distant past.

While the previous analysis has shown Gehrke's "intentional history" model to be an effective tool in interpreting the socio-political implications of the anagraphé's "inventive practices," his approach is also useful for understanding the religious implications of these practices. The importance the *anagraphé*'s status as a religious text cannot be understated. Any ancient reading of the text would have necessarily been informed by the stele's physical location within a temple context. Moreover, the prescript of Section A establishes the goal of the text as being a religious one: the demonstration of Athena's long *ἐπιφάνεια* as demonstrated by the offerings her visitors have made at the temple [A.2]. Additionally, the prescript officially binds an agreement between goddess and the text's authors: if they fail in their duties they are accountable to Athena herself [A.10].

Any effective interpretation, then, must take into account the religious nature of the text when considering the relationship between the practice of "intentional history" and the *anagraphé*'s Heroic Era votives. As Thompson states, it is imperative to remember that Heroic relics in general "were not simply embodiments of local history . . . they were objects in which the supernatural entered the human world."¹⁰⁵ Thompson therefore warns against strictly "secular" approaches that emphasize the socio-political context of such relics alone. The following analysis will serve as a compliment to Shaya and Higbie's socio-political reading of the *anagraphé*'s "intentional history" of the sanctuary, considering more

¹⁰⁵ Eugene Thompson, "The Relics of Heroes in Ancient Greece." Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, Seattle, 1986, 222.

fully the religious implications of the text's use of "inventive" and "selective" to portray the past.

The *anagraphe* as an "intentional history" of religious expression

It is important to begin by recalling that in order to depict the sanctuary's history, the *anagraphe* does not annalistically record events or successions of priesthoods, as many epigraphic genres that treat the past do.¹⁰⁶ Rather, by cataloguing votives and epiphanies, the *anagraphe* creates a record of the interactions between Athena Lindia and her worshipers, in essence, a history of religious expression and religious experience at the sanctuary over its lifetime. This religious history relies on the same "selective" and "inventive" processes it uses to shape its reader's interpretation of Rhodes' socio-political status. Exploration of the relationship between the votives and epiphanies catalogued in the *anagraphe* will demonstrate that the text envisions an intimate link between the two that has its basis in the experience of religious awe or wonder. The "intentional history" processes of "selection" and "invention" play an integral role in eliciting this experience of religious wonder in the reader.

The *anagraphe* establishes from the outset that it considers the votive offerings it catalogues and Athena's continuous presence in her sanctuary to be intimately linked. In Section A, the prescript to the catalogue, the text reveals the two motivating factors behind its creation. These two factors, outlined by the *ἐπει* clause introduced in A.2 and its two finite verbs coordinated by the *δέ* of A.4 are as

¹⁰⁶ See Chapter One, page 4.

follows: 1) the sanctuary's long history of votive offerings made due to the Athena's *ἐπιφάνεια* at Lindos and 2) the fact that the oldest offerings have been lost to time [A.2-4]. The coordination of these two ideas suggests that they are of equal importance to the *anagraphe*. The text's goal is not merely to serve as a testament to the lost votives, but to demonstrate the fact that the votives are directly related to the *ἐπιφάνεια* of Athena. This relationship between votive and epiphany is made explicit through the prepositional phrase *διὰ τὰν τᾶς θεοῦ ἐπιφάνειαν* [A.3]. As the text states, the temple has been adorned from ancient times due to Athena's *ἐπιφάνεια*: *τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς Ἀθήνας τᾶς Λινδίας . . . τὸν ὑπάρχον πολλοῖς κ[αὶ καλοῖς ἀναθέμασι ἐκ παλαιστ]άτων χρόνων κεκόσμηται διὰ τὰν τᾶς θεοῦ ἐπιφάνειαν* [A.3-4] The temple has been adorned from the beginning with many beautiful offerings from the most ancient of times due to the *ἐπιφάνεια* of the goddess).¹⁰⁷ Later, in its instructions to Timachidas and Tharsagoras, the text establishes the goal of their compilation to be the cataloging both of votives and of *ἐπιφανείαι* of the goddess, enjoining the pair to compile whatever information they find suitable regarding both Athena's *ἀναθήματα* and her

¹⁰⁷ It is important to note that, according to the mythological tradition related by Pindar in Olympian 7, the relationship between Athena and the island of Rhodes dates to Athena's birth, when the Rhodians, enjoined by Helios, were the first to offer her sacrifices famous for being fireless. According to Pindar, Athena, in turn, bestowed the Rhodians with the art of metalworking. While this early myth indicating reciprocal gift-giving between the people of Rhodes and the goddess is not addressed by the *anagraphe*, the text does link the earliest pre-history of the island with metallurgy and smithery: in Entry II, the Telchines are said to offer the goddess a traditional *dekate*, or "one-tenth" offering of their metalwork. The Telchines, who, like the Cyclopes, are famous for their metalwork, remain mysterious figures in Greek mythology for whom we have few attestations, although Pindar's fifth paeon an important source. The Telchines are linked to the Lindian *demos* in Entry XV which indicates that they were the founders of one of the three *phylai* of the polis.

ἐπιφανείαι (as the text states, *ἃ κα ἦι ἀρμόζοντα περὶ τῶν ἀναθεμάτων καὶ τᾶς ἐπιφανείας/[τ]ᾶς θε<ο>* [A.7-8]).

It is important to note that the text of the prescript uses the term *ἐπιφάνεια* in two senses. In the first [A.3], it denotes, as Higbie suggests, a general sense of Athena's continued presence at her sanctuary over the course of time.¹⁰⁸ The second [A.8], reflecting more the frequently used sense of the term, relies more heavily on the *ἐπί* prefix, emphasizing the suddenness of a specific instance of her appearance at a particular moment in time. These *ἐπιφανείαι*, then, are specific events that, along with the *ἀναθήματα*, reflect the more general *ἐπιφάνεια* of the goddess in her sanctuary. Each event constitutes an individual data point to be catalogued alongside the votives using the same presentational format. Entries for both votives and epiphanies are distributed across the face of the stele within the shared visual framework of its three equally spaced columns. Although the offerings constitute two of the three columns, the visual continuity of the text nevertheless emphasizes the link between epiphanies and offerings as two indicators of the same phenomenon.

An examination of the first epiphany not only makes the relationship between epiphany and votive offering explicit, it also highlights another concept key to understanding the text: both epiphany and votive offering are phenomena integrally related to the concept of the wondrous.

¹⁰⁸ Higbie, 19.

Of the three epiphany narratives of Column D, the first, at the top of the column where the stele is the least damaged, is the best preserved and has the most complete narrative of the three. This narrative, which comprises the first 59 lines of Column D, relates the events of the siege of Lindos by Darius' forces, commanded by Datis, in either 494 BC or 490 BC. According to the account, at the moment when the Lindians are on the brink of exhausting their water supply and considering surrender, Athena Lindia appears to one of the city's archons, instructing him to hold the siege while she seeks aid in bringing rain from her father, Zeus. Based on Athena's instructions, the Lindian's request a temporary truce from the Persians, explaining that Athena is working to intercede on their behalf and that if she is unsuccessful in bringing rain within five days they will surrender. A miracle occurs when the next day, a storm appears over exactly one half the besieged acropolis, raining only on the fortifications protecting the Lindians and leaving the area held by Persians dry. Upon seeing this, the Persian commander immediately calls off the siege, forms a treaty of friendship with the city, and makes lavish donations to Athena at her sanctuary.

The language used by the *anagraphe* to express the miracle of the selective rainstorm emphasizes the wondrous nature of the event. The text describes the occurrence as follows: *καταραγέν[τ]ος ὄμβρου κατὰ μέσον ο[ὔ]τ<ω>ς παραδόξως τοὶ μὲν πολιορκούμε/νοι δαμιλὲς ἔσχον ὕδωρ, ἃ δὲ Περσικὰ δύνα/μις ἐσπίνιζε* (and when the storm burst such that, paradoxically, the besieged had abundant water and the Persian force was lacking)[D.31-33]. Here, the adverb *παραδόξως* appears in an emphatic

initial position, introducing the coordinated *μὲν . . . δὲ* construction indicating the result of *οὕτως*. In this way, the text highlights the miraculous contrast between the outcome of the storm for the besieged Lindians and for the Persians. The text leaves no doubt that this miracle is a direct manifestation of the power of Athena, in line D.34; it refers to the event as *ἡ τᾶς θεοῦ ἐπιφάνεια*, an epiphany of the goddess. This epiphany is twofold, consisting of not only the miraculous physical appearance of the goddess to the archon, but also of the miracle of her divine intervention in creating a wondrous, supernatural event.

Of particular importance for the present study is the direct link that the text draws between this manifestation of the wondrous and the act of dedicating votive offerings. This is evident in the reaction of Datis to the appearance of the storm. According to the text, the Persian commander, who had originally scoffed at the Lindians' faith that Athena would intervene [D.26-7], is struck with amazement at the miracle: *καταπληγεις ὁ βάρβα[ρος]/τὴν τᾶς θεοῦ ἐπιφάνειαν* [D.34]. The use of the verb *καταπλήσσω* is significant here. The verb typically indicates a state of sudden wonder or amazement with an element of fear and, as the case of Datis, often appears in military contexts.¹⁰⁹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for example, uses the verb to express the sense of astonishment the Volscians experience in the face of the Servilius' remarkably swift and sudden assault on their city. As the text states: *τότε δὴ καταπεπληγότες τὸ τῶν Ρωμαίων τάχος, ἰκετηρίας ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων οἱ γεραίτατοι προήεσαν ἐπιτρέποντες τῷ Σερουίλιῳ* (Then, astonished at the speed of the Romans, the

¹⁰⁹ H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, and Sir Henry Stuart Johnes, *A Greek-English Lexicon Ninth Edition with Revised Supplement*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1996, s.v. *καταπλήσσω*.

elders came forth from the city, having taken up olive branches, surrendering to Servilius) [Dion.Hal.Ant.Rom.6.25.1]. Datis is struck with a similar sense of awe and fear that also leads him to surrender on the spot.

This intense reaction also accounts for Datis' second response to the miracle, which is to remove his own personal adornments, symbols of his rank and distinctive markers of his Persian identity,¹¹⁰ and send them to the sanctuary as offerings to the goddess on the spot: *κατὰ ἀφελόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν περὶ τὸ σῶμα κόσμον εἰσέπεμψε ἀναθήσειν τὸν τε καὶ στρεπτόν τε καὶ ψέλια* [D.34-37], (and he removed his own adornments from around his body and sent them to offer them, including his cloak, torque, and armlets). In addition to these, Datis also sends various offerings of carriages and other distinctively Persian military equipment [D.37-39]. Although the text makes it explicit that these offerings no longer exist due to a devastating fire during the priesthood of Eukles [D.40],¹¹¹ these items are well documented in at least nine literary sources [D.47-59].¹¹²

Further emphasizing the centrality of Datis' votive offerings to the process of marking the wondrous epiphany is the fact these offerings are wondrous in and of themselves. The highly specific, detailed account emphasizes the "Persian-ness" of the gifts given. As Carolyn Higbie notes, objects of Persian origin were considered

¹¹⁰ Josephine L. Shaya, (2002). "The Lindos Stele and the Lost Treasures of Athena: Catalogs, Collections, and Local History. Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; 108.

¹¹¹ Using epigraphic evidence, Blinkenberg dates this to roughly 392 BC. See Chapter Two note 2.

¹¹² The inscription cites the works of the following authors: Eudemos, Ergias, Polykalos, Hieronymos, Myron, Timokritos, Hieron, Xenagoras, and Ariston.

by the Greeks to be quasi-wondrous in and of themselves due to the lavishness of their manufacture.¹¹³ Moreover, the sheer number of dedications is emphasized by the listing of the items and in particular the polysyndeton effect of the description of Datis' personal effects: *τόν τε καὶ σ[τ]ρε/[ι]τ[τ]ὸν καὶ ψέλια* [D.36-37]. Finally, the detailed listing of the sources that record both the miracle and the subsequent votives suggests that these objects were particularly noteworthy; the piling up of citations that describe these votives indicates that they were considered to be deserving attention by a variety of authors working in variety of genres.

The first epiphany, then, reiterates the central argument of the prescript that the votive offerings made to Athena Lindia are linked to her manifest presence at the sanctuary, representing the direct result of the interaction between the goddess and her worshippers. Since the individuals involved in these interactions and their experience of awe in the goddess presence are not permanent, votive offerings such as Datis' and the others catalogued in the *anagraphe* become symbols of these interactions, serving as lasting testaments to Athena's long relationship with worshippers at the site. Objects, however, are not permanent, and, as both Shaya and Higbie note, once they have been lost to time, textual accounts of them such as the *anagraphe* carry on the task of representing the relationship between goddess and worshiper as symbols of these symbols in a chain of signification.¹¹⁴

It is this symbolic power of votive offerings that the *anagraphe* exploits in creating a "selective," "intentional history" of religious experience at the sanctuary.

¹¹³ Higbie, 146.

¹¹⁴ Higbie, 247; Shaya (2004), 162.

As noted in Chapter Two, the text does not focus on just any votive offerings made to the goddess, but, rather, presents a “selected” or “curated” view of past visitors that is biased toward noteworthy and remarkable donors, both from the Heroic Era and from historically-documented times. This bias towards famous donors enhances the *anagraphe*’s portrait of Athena’s powerful presence in the sanctuary, as these figures lend authority to the text’s claims regarding the goddess’ long *ἐπιφάνεια* at the site. That is to say, the fact the most revered of figures from throughout the Greek past have visited the sanctuary, felt Athena Lindia’s presence, and marked the occasion by offering votives demonstrates the goddess’ continued *ἐπιφάνεια* to the text’s contemporary reader.

Additionally, through their physical association with remarkable donors, these votives become more than mere symbols of the wonder their donors experienced in the presence of the goddess, they become wondrous themselves. This is particularly true of the *anagraphe*’s Heroic Era votives, which, as relics of heroes, stood as symbols of instances “in which the supernatural had entered the human world,” to use Thompson’s phrasing.¹¹⁵ According to Thompson, such relics, through their physical association with semi-divine Heroic Era figures, marked the intersection between the “possible” of the physical world “unfathomable” of the divine. Within the context of the *anagraphe*, the Heroic Era votives hold the unique power not only to serve as symbols of Athena’s past interactions with her worshippers at Lindos, but also, through their association with semi-divine

¹¹⁵ Thompson, 22.

individuals, to become objects worthy of wonder in and of themselves. This process, in turn, reflects favorably on the goddess herself, who appears all the more powerful because she has been honored by these semi-divine individuals. In this way, the *anagraphe*'s Heroic Era votives enhance its "selective" creation of an "intentional history" of the sanctuary's past, showing that the site was visited by wondrous individuals whose offerings to Athena, in turn, became wondrous themselves.

The practice of "epigraphic invention," however, also plays a central role in the creation of the *anagraphe*'s "intentional history" of religious experience at the sanctuary. The following analysis will show that the "invented" dedicatory inscriptions of the *anagraphe*'s Heroic Era votives, the crucial "identity markers" establishing the link between hero and votive, are intimately involved in conveying the great antiquity of Athena's *ἐπιφάνεια* at Lindos. By emphasizing these "invented" dedicatory inscriptions, the *anagraphe* tailors its presentation of Heroic Era votives in order to maximize its Hellenistic audience's experience of wonder, appealing to their specific, contemporary expectations of what should constitute such an experience. A comparison between the *anagraphe* and contemporary Hellenistic strategies for describing the wondrous, particularly as found in the pseudo-scientific genre of paradoxography, reveals that the text's appeal to "invented" dedicatory inscriptions in presenting the wondrous is typical of the era and reflects a characteristically Hellenistic taste for literary descriptions of the wondrous.

This comparison will begin with an overview of the Hellenistic fascination with wondrous phenomena, a trend that has been documented by prominent investigators of this era, including Emilio Gabba¹¹⁶ and P. M. Fraser.¹¹⁷ These scholars recognize the fact that the recording of wondrous phenomena had been a distinctive feature of Greek literature since its inception,¹¹⁸ reflecting what Gabba calls the “healthy spirit of curiosity and inquiry that was the hallmark of Ionian culture from Homer onward.”¹¹⁹ In the Hellenistic Era, however, this interest in the wondrous reached a critical mass and accounts of wondrous phenomena rocketed into the spotlight, receiving much greater attention in genres ranging from local historiography, mythography, and the burgeoning novel, to the scientific texts of the Peripatetic school. Nowhere, however, is this more evident than in the development of the genre of paradoxography, devoted solely to recording wondrous

¹¹⁶ Emilio Gabba, “True History and False History in Classical Antiquity,” *JRS* 71 (1981) Vol. 71, 1981, pp. 50-62.

¹¹⁷ P.M. Fraser, “The Horizons of Callimachus,” in *Ptolemaic Alexandria* vol. 1, Oxford Clarendon Press: New York, 1972.

¹¹⁸ Alessandro Giannini, who calls Homer the true father of paradoxography, argues that the Homeric epics foreshadow many classic paradoxographic *topoi*: Giannini cites instances of miraculous rivers as in Homer’s description of the source of the Scamander, which runs hot and cold [Hom.*Il*.22.147-151], reports of unusual phenomena of the animal world at Odyssey 4.55, where oddities of Libyan sheep are described, accounts strange herbs such as the famous *moly* of Odyssey 10.303, and ethnological curiosities regarding the Ethiopians [Hom.*Od*.1.23-4], and the lotus eaters [Hom.*Od*.9.83-104].(1963). See Giannini, “Studi sulla paradossografia greca I. Da Omero a Callimaco: motivi e forme del meraviglioso,” *RIL* 97, 1963; 251.

¹¹⁹ Guido Schepens and Kris Delcroix, “Ancient Paradoxography: Origin, Evolution, Production and Reception,” in *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo greco-latino*, edited by Pecere, Ortonzo & Antonio Stramaglia Cassino: University degli Studi di Cassino, 1996, pp. 373-460; 380.

phenomena. Scholarly speculation about why we observe this explosion in the Hellenistic era identifies two main developments that may help to account for it.

With the eastern conquests of Alexander the Great, the horizons of the Greek world expanded almost overnight. The result was a sudden and unprecedented influx of information about the exotic far reaches of the world previously unknown to the Greeks, now confronted with never-before-observed flora and fauna, natural phenomena, and social practices. Fraser argues that the Greek fixation on the wondrous developed as a response to this influx of information, representing the Greeks attempts to process and interpret this new data.¹²⁰

Another key development potentially tied to the Hellenistic fascination with the wondrous is the development of literary criticism centered on newly founded royal libraries. Within this context, scholars and scholiasts actively pursued and compiled obscure and recondite information about any and everything in order to have all of the details necessary to thoroughly interpret literature. Fraser and Gabba agree that through this pursuit of obscure detail, Hellenistic intellectuals developed a taste not only for the antiquarian factoids but also for those concerning the wondrous.¹²¹ This taste subsequently shaped trends in the literature of the day. Schepens argues, additionally, that the institution of the library allowed for the

¹²⁰ Fraser, 773-774. For Gabba, this historical development helps to explain a shift in historiography away the Thucydidean model of focused political analysis to the Herodotean model of universal history and a focus on the non-Greek world, in particular its focus on wonders. Schepens argues, additionally, that this focus on the strange, wondrous, and novel is a product of potential alienation experienced by dislocated Greeks who found themselves in far-flung foreign lands in the Near East. See Gabba, 53 and Schepens, 402.

¹²¹ Fraser, 774; Gabba, 55.

proliferation of information about the wondrous, as scholars now had unprecedented access to a variety of texts all assembled in one location and easily compared. With this wealth of sources on hand, a greater database of information was available to scholars, not only allowing for the advances in scientific research of the Peripatetics but also for the dissemination of newly culled data on wondrous phenomena.¹²²

In this climate, the dedicated genre of paradoxography appeared as an outgrowth of the pinacographic work pioneered and popularized by Callimachus. The 3rd century BC Alexandrian librarian and poet turned the *pinax*, or catalogue, into a literary form, publishing *pinakes* of the canonical works of authors and gradually expanding his project to include catalogues reflecting a multitude of subjects, including rare words, European rivers, the names of months used by different cities, and many more.¹²³ Working in this vein, Callimachus created the first paradoxographical work, the *θαυμάτων τῶν εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν κατὰ τόπους ὄντων συναγωγή*, a work which in many ways set the standard for the genre that would

¹²² Schepens, 403.

¹²³ The Suda entry for Callimachus lists the following titles for pinacographical works by the author: *Πίνακες τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμψάντων, καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν, ἐν βιβλίοις κ καὶ ρ, Πίναξ καὶ ἀναγραφὴ τῶν κατὰ χρόνους καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενομένων διδασκάλων, Πίναξ τῶν Δημοκράτους γλωσσῶν καὶ συνταγμάτων, Μηνῶν προσηγορίαι κατὰ ἔθνος καὶ πόλεις, Κτίσεις νήσων καὶ πόλεων καὶ μετονομασίαι, Περί τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ ποταμῶν, Περί τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ θαυμασίων καὶ παραδόξων, Περί μετονομασίας ἰχθύων, Περί ἀνέμων, Περί ὀρνέων, Περί τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένη ποταμῶν, μάτων τῶν εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν κατὰ τόπους ὄντων συναγωγή.*

(Pinax of Distinguished Men in Every Branch of Learning and their Works (in 120 books); Pinax and Description of Teachers in Chronological Order from the Beginning; Pinax of Democrates' Rare Words and Compositions; [5] Names of the Months according to Nation and City; Foundings of Islands and Cities, and their Changes of Name; On the Rivers in Europe; On Wondrous and Paradoxical Things in the Peloponnese and Italy; On the Changes in the Names of Fish; On Winds; On Birds; On Rivers in the Inhabited World; Compilation of Marvels in the Whole World According to Place.”

remain in place for at least six hundred years.¹²⁴ While the work has not survived, its basic pinacographic format of culling citations from learned works, mainly those of the Peripatetics, a format maintained throughout the seven extant paradoxographies.¹²⁵ With Callimachus' work, the genre became popular so quickly that Giannini's catalogue of *testimonia* for the genre identifies eleven known paradoxographical works dating to the second half of the third century BC, a figure representing roughly one third of Giannini's entire catalogue of attested paradoxographic texts.¹²⁶

Shaya has argued that the paradoxographic genre provides an important backdrop against which to read the *anagraphe*, noting key overlaps in content between the inscription and the genre which point to the fact that, for the Greeks, the subject matter of the two were thematically linked.¹²⁷ Shaya presents evidence

¹²⁴ The latest known paradoxography is the extant text of the "Palatine paradoxographer" which has been dated to the third century AD. See Giannini (1964), 138.

¹²⁵ These texts are the anonymous third century BC *Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*, often misattributed to Aristotle in antiquity, the third-century-BC *Ἱστοριῶν παραδόξων συναγωγή* of Antigonas of Carystos, the second century BC *Ἱστοριῶν παραδόξων συναγωγή* of Apollonius, the second-century-AD *Περὶ θαυμασίων* of Phlegon of Tralles, and three anonymous texts known by the location in which their manuscripts are housed: the second-century-AD Florentine Paradoxography, the second-century-AD Vatican Paradoxography, and the third-century-AD Palatine Paradoxography. The most famous of the extant texts is that of Phlegon of Tralles, who records a series of *paradoxa* in epistolary form, including well-known ghost story of Philinion, the basis for Goethe's gothic ballad, *The Bride of Corinth*.¹²⁵ While the texts that are preserved treat all manner of marvels, from wondrous stones and metals to strange flora and fauna to exotic foreign cultural practices, we know from the attested titles of paradoxographies that they often focused on one specific category of wonder. The third-century-BC *Παράδοξα Γεωργίας* of Aristandros treated only marvelous agricultural wonders, while the second-century-BC *θηβικὰ παράδοξα* of Lysimachus solely on wonders associated with Thebes.

¹²⁶ Alessandro Giannini, "Studi sulla paradossografia greca II. Da Callimaco all'età imperiale: la letteratura paradossografica," *Acme* 17.1, 1964; 129-140.

¹²⁷ Shaya (2002), 34.

to show that the 1) extant paradoxographies include accounts of wondrous votive offerings and 2) that the *anagraphe* describes votives with wondrous features of the type recounted in the paradoxographies. With regard to presence of wondrous votives in paradoxographies, she cites the third-century-BC *Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*,¹²⁸ which notably includes two Heroic Era votive offerings among its many wonders a statue made of exceptionally fine bronze dedicated by Herakles to Apollo at Sicyon [*Mir.Aus.58*] and a collar placed as a dedication on Diana's sacred deer in her sanctuary in the city of the Peucetini, purported still to have existed in the time of the Hellenistic Sicilian tyrant Agathocles [*Mir.Aus.110*]. Within the context of the *Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*, these votives, both of which bear dedicatory inscriptions linking them to their Heroic Era donors, are wondrous because of their great antiquity.

Returning to the *anagraphe*, Shaya argues that the first two donations catalogued in the text possess wondrous qualities of the same type documented in the paradoxographies. The text describes these objects as being made of mysterious materials that no one was able to identify while the objects still existed. Regarding the *φιάλη* dedicated by the city's eponymous founder, Lindos in Entry I, the text states: *οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο γνῶμειν/ἐκ τίνος ἐστὶ* [A.2-3] of the *κροσός* donated by the Telchines in Entry II, that *οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο/ἐπιγ[νῶμειν ἐκ] τίνος ἐστὶ* [A.9-10]. According to Shaya, the unidentifiability of these objects lends them “uncanny, preternatural

¹²⁸ See note 25 above.

nature” equivalent to the wondrous phenomena described in paradoxographies.¹²⁹ Additionally, although Shaya does not explore the point further, it is worthwhile to note that mysterious metals, stones, and artisanal materials with wondrous properties were a common theme of paradoxographies. The *Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*, for instance, includes 16 paradoxa regarding wondrous metals among its 178 entries. Finally, Shaya argues that these wondrous, “semi-divine” objects, positioned as the first items in the list, establish the tone or “controlling principle” for the rest of the text, bringing its content in line with that found in paradoxography.

The links between the *anagraphe* and the extant paradoxographies are even more substantial upon closer inspection. To begin, in the case of the first epiphany, which demonstrates the close relationship between the votives and the wondrous, the text’s language suggests its close thematic ties to paradoxography. As noted above, in relating the miraculous “selective” rainstorm caused by Athena, the text’s description of the event hinges on the adverb *παραδόξως*. While the root of this adverb, the adjective *παράδοξος*, in its most basic sense implies something that is simply contrary to expectation or “paradoxical” in the modern sense of the word, its more extended meanings evoke the realm of the wondrous. This is particularly evident in abstract nouns based on the root, such as *παραδοξία*, a sense of the “marvelous” and a synonym for *θαυμάσια*.¹³⁰ Terminology based on *παράδοξος* was, in fact, used interchangeably with that based on *θαυμάσιος* such that, among the

¹²⁹ Shaya (2002), 145.

¹³⁰ Liddell, Scott, Jones, s.v. *παραδοξία*.

various ancient *testimonia* for literary works which treat the topic of the wondrous, there are an equal number of works referred to with terms based on *παράδοξος* as there are on *θαυμάσιος*.¹³¹ For example, despite close similarities in subject matter and source material, the title of the third century BC text of Antigonas of Carystos and that of the second-century-BC text of Apollonius differ in how they refer to the wondrous: the former text being the *Ἰσχοριῶν παραδόξων συναγωγή*, the latter the *Ἰσχορία θαυμάσια*. The link between the word *παράδοξος* and the type of wondrous phenomena recorded in texts such as these was, in fact, strong enough that twelfth-century-AD Byzantine philologist John Tzetzes coined the term paradoxography still used today for the genre based on the association of the two [Tz.H.2.151].

With the use of this adverb, the miraculous “selective” rainstorm, then, effectively becomes a *paradoxon*, as modern scholars of paradoxography denominate a wondrous phenomenon recorded in the paradoxographic text. In addition to this linguistic link, this miraculous storm is typical of many of the *paradoxa* recorded in the genre. As a description of a wondrous hydrological event, it reflects one the favorite themes of paradoxography, miraculous waters and their related phenomena. The importance of wondrous hydrological phenomena in the genre can be seen in the Florentine Paradoxography, whose content focuses almost entirely on the theme, and in the surviving titles of the lost works of Callimachus

¹³¹ Giannini (1964), 139.

and Philostephanus, the *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ ποταμῶν* and the *Περὶ παραδόξων ποταμῶν*, respectively.

While these thematic links between the *anagraphe* and the genre of paradoxography are compelling, of even greater significance to the present investigation are the textual strategies the two share for presenting the wondrous. A particular strategy employed both by the *anagraphe* and by the extant paradoxographies is the practice of source citation. As mentioned, the basic task of the paradoxographer was to cull and compile accounts of wondrous phenomena from other sources, the process of *ἐκλογή*, creating “a book made from books” in Schepens’ terminology. An integral part of this practice was the citation of the sources from which the account of the wondrous phenomenon in question was taken, often with little or no evaluation of the material, a feature which Schepens refers to as a “marginalization of personal inquiry” that privileges the original source.¹³²

As demonstrated Chapter Two, the *anagraphe*, much like the paradoxographic texts, devotes a great deal of textual attention to citing its sources. This process of source citation is consistent throughout the text’s accounts of votives and epiphanies: for each entry in the catalogue, at least two written sources are cited, whether documentary sources from temple archives or literary sources, and

¹³² Schepens, 389. As Schepens notes, the author’s own voice is typically submerged in the paradoxographical text, which consistently presents data quoted directly from the source in *oratio obliqua*. This practice of terse reporting without evaluation is what leads to the frequent modern accusations of what William Hansen deems the supposed “credulousness” on the part of paradoxographer, an allegation used to discredit the “seriousness” of the genre.” See Hansen, *Phlegon of Tralles’ Book of Marvels*, Exeter University Press: Exeter, 1996, pg. 9.

often sources of both types. As seen in the case of the Datis epiphany, there is often “piling up” of multiple citations for the same item or event. The process of source citation is, in fact, so pervasive throughout the *anagraphe* that certain early scholars of the text argued that, the content of the text itself might, in fact, be of less importance than the citations themselves, which show off of the erudite research behind the creation of the text.¹³³ If, however, the *anagraphe*’s use of citation is interpreted according to what we know to be true of paradoxography, it becomes possible to read the practice as an important strategy for creating a sense of wonder specific to the text’s contemporary Hellenistic audience.

With regard to paradoxography’s use of source citation, scholars of the genre, in particular Gabba and Schepens, have proposed the following interpretation of the practice as a technique for eliciting a sense of the wondrous in its readers. Gabba includes paradoxography among a series of the typically Hellenistic genres, such as mythography, local history, and the novel, which he dubs the term “false history.”¹³⁴ The term “false” here, rather than passing a judgment on these genres, is intended to indicate the modern rejection of these texts for their failure to privilege the Thucydidean historical inquiry that forms the basis of our own historiography.

According to Gabba, none of our “normal [i.e. modern] critical yardsticks is

¹³³ Blinkenberg, Jacoby, and the majority of scholars of the first half of the 20th century, argue for what we might call “the Timachidas hypothesis,” identifying the text’s Timachidas with a roughly contemporary Rhodian grammarian of the same name and positing that the *anagraphe* represents the fruit of a local history research project brought about by this presumed provincial dilettante. According to this theory, the scholarly citations are meant to show off the in-depth, Alexandrian-style research the author has undertaken in creating his list. As Blinkenberg argues, this research made it onto the Lindos *stèle* due to the machinations of this Timachidas’ father, the Hagesitimos named in the text [A.2], who proposed its creation as a ploy to publish his son’s work.¹³³

appropriate to such literature,” which employs a characteristic “dramatic approach to history” designed “to involve the emotions of the reader.”¹³⁵ This literature privileged the eliciting of an emotional response in the reader over the establishment of the true versus the false. As Gabba states, “the problem of truth or credibility of the phenomena or facts was simply not raised, since the question of truth was not present in the minds of the readers.”¹³⁶ That is to say, the authors of such works were more likely focused on the experience their texts would elicit in their readers rather than in the veracity of the information they contained. For this reason, the “false history” text was dressed in “pseudo-historical” (or “pseudo-scientific”) trappings in order to convey an “impression of” or “verisimilitude to” scholarship. This “impression of scholarship” was of the utmost importance to creating a “lively” and “high-colored” experience for the reader.¹³⁷

Schepens, focusing more closely on paradoxography, identifies the practice of source citation as the genre’s key pseudo-scholarly technique for shaping the reader’s experience. He identifies a direct link between the “pseudo-scientific” practices and the “ultimate goal” of the genre “to arouse and keep alive throughout the whole text.”¹³⁸ In this context Schepens uses “pseudo-scientific” to refer to the process of dressing a paradoxographic text in the same outward trappings of the scientific text, specifically the type of source citation representative of Peripatetic

¹³⁵ Gabba, 54.

¹³⁶ Gabba, 53.

¹³⁷ Gabba, 55.

¹³⁸ Schepens, 391; 399.

texts. The key difference in the two practices, however, is that the scientific text engages in a critical dialogue with the texts it cites, while the paradoxographic texts reports information from its sources without evaluation. Schepens interprets paradoxography's pseudo-scientific source citation, characterized by its lack of "any attempt at rational exegesis," to be an "intrinsic part of the endeavor to inspire wonder in the reader the true sense of the marvelous."¹³⁹

Gabba and Schepens' approach provides a useful framework for interpreting the *anagraphe's* practice of source citation in the *anagraphe*, which so closely resembles that found in the pseudo-scientific genre. Just as paradoxography's citation of scientific texts to create a "pseudo-scientific" or "scholarly" apparatus that imbues it with a "flavor of learning," so too does the *anagraphe's* citation of literary and documentary sources create a similar effect for its reader. While the citation of literary sources in the *anagraphe* creates a "pseudo-scholarly apparatus" that is a close analog to that found in paradoxography, the citation of documentary sources adds an additional dimension not emphasized by paradoxography. The citation of temple archives and letters so prevalent in the *anagraphe*, a feature not found as prominently in paradoxography, creates a "documentary" apparatus that imbues the text with a slightly different "flavor of learning," one that speaks of archival research so important to the creation of authoritative local history.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Schepens, 394.

¹⁴⁰ See Higbie, 287ff. for the importance of archival research for scholarship in the Hellenistic Age. Despite the importance of archival research and the use of documentary

While paradoxography provides genuine citations for the works it cites, the *anagraphe* relies on “invented” documentary evidence for Heroic Era votives where such evidence does not otherwise exist. This is because, whereas paradoxography invokes the fame of the scholarly works it cites in order to create this apparatus, the *anagraphe* invokes the fame of the donor. As a result, were paradoxography to “invent” source citations, it would diminish the power of its scholarly apparatus because its readers would not recognize the works being referenced. For the *anagraphe*, on the other hand, the “inventive” processes behind the votives’ dedicatory inscriptions serve to enhance its “documentary apparatus,” creating link between remarkable donors at the sanctuary for whose visits there would otherwise be no evidence.

As is the case in paradoxography, the *anagraphe*’s use of “scholarly” and “documentary” apparatus of source citation serves less to authenticate information and more to create a certain response in the reader. For the reader who approaches the *anagraphe* without the expectation of scrutinizing it for its truth-value, this “scholarly apparatus” of textual citations creates a sense of verisimilitude to the experience of reading a certain type of erudite work. Additionally, by directly quoting the dedicatory inscriptions of the votives it catalogues in *oratio recta*,¹⁴¹ the

sources in texts of the era, it is important to distinguish this practice from our own modern citation practices, a fact which Higbie fails to recognize. For more on ancient source citation and documentary evidence, see Paul Veyne, *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes? Essai sur l'imagination constituante*, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1983, 6ff; See also Stephanie West, “Herodotus’ Epigraphical Interests.” *Classical Quarterly* 35, 1985, 278-305.

¹⁴¹ The exceptions being the two foreign language inscriptions in the texts, found on the dedications of Cadmus (Entry III) and Amasis (Entry XXIX).

anagraphe's "documentary apparatus" which approximates the experience of reading dedicatory inscriptions on extant votives within the sanctuary. Although the votives described, along with their dedicatory inscriptions, no longer exist, the quotation of these inscriptions creates the sense for the reader that they have come into some kind of contact with the votive, and, by extension, with the object's remarkable donor.

The *anagraphe*'s reliance on "epigraphic invention" to create this "documentary apparatus" for the Heroic Era votives, then, is intimately linked to its creation of an "intentional history" of religious experience at the sanctuary. Regardless of whether Timachidas and Tharsagoras are responsible for the original act of "inventing" these votives' dedicatory inscriptions or whether they merely transmit accounts of inscriptions "invented" by others, the two nevertheless engage in a process of "selection" which privileges these inscriptions as the crucial link between the remarkable heroes of the Greek past and the Lindian sanctuary of the present. The various processes of "selection" and "invention" which shape the creation of Timachidas and Tharsagoras' "intentional history" of Athena Lindia's long and wondrous presence at her sanctuary are tailored to elicit a specifically Hellenistic sense of awe in their contemporary reader.

EPILOGUE

THE “EXCEPTIONAL” *OSTRAKA* OF IRUÑA VELEIA, THE LINDOS *ANAGRAPHÉ*, AND “EPIGRAPHIC INVENTION”

The present study began by problematizing modern scholars’ anachronistic use of the term “forgery” to describe the Lindos *anagraphe*, and, in particular, its chronologically impossible Heroic Era votives and “invented” dedicatory inscriptions. The subsequent analysis attempted to show the limitations of this anachronistic approach, which fails to take into account ancient definitions of “forgery,” the process of “epigraphic invention,” and the power of these “invented” votives to create “intentional histories” of the *anagraphe*’s socio-political, religious, and intellectual milieux.

This investigation will now close with a twenty-first-century example of “epigraphic invention” in many ways comparable to that found in the *anagraphe*. The recent case of the so-called “exceptional” *ostraka* from Iruña Veleia in Spain’s Basque Country serves as a fitting coda to this study, dramatically illustrating the gap between ancient ideas of forgery and our own while highlighting precisely how problematic anachronistic interpretations of the *anagraphe*’s “invented” inscriptions can be.

In the midst of the 2006 field season at the Villa of Pompeia Valentina located outside of Iruña Veleia, a suburb of the city of Vitoria in the Basque province of Álava, lead investigator Eliseo Gil went public with a series of sensational epigraphic finds at the site. According to Gil, a chair-holder in linguistics from the Universidad del País Vasco, the team had unearthed a set of third-century-AD *ostraka* bearing remarkable inscriptions. These *ostraka*, which the team dubbed “los excepcionales,” were noteworthy for their inscriptions in languages and scripts otherwise unprecedented in Roman epigraphy, notably the Basque language *euskera* and Egyptian written in hieroglyphs. The discovery quickly made headlines in Basque Country and throughout Spain. The *euskera ostrakon*, bearing the simple phrase *ian edan lo, or “eat, drink, sleep,”* was especially newsworthy, as it predated the first known attestation of the language, the *Glosas Emilianenses*, by a staggering 700 years.¹⁴²¹⁴³ Additionally, the “*excepcionales*” captured public attention for a depiction of the crucifixion found on one of the *ostraka*, representing the earliest known Christian iconography in Iberia.¹⁴⁴

As Michael Elkin notes, the *ostraka* had the potential to shift the entire scholarly paradigm for the Roman town of Veleia and the province of Hispania in the late Roman period. Overnight, the town no longer appeared to be a backwater

¹⁴² ¹⁴² “Los textos hallados en Iruña-Veleia están escritos ‘inequívocamente’ en euskara,” *Gara: Euska Herriko Eugunkaria*, last updated June 6, 2006, <http://gara.naiz.eus/idatzia/20060616/art169077.php>

¹⁴³ Elola, Joseba, “Iruña-Veleia, culebrón arqueológico,” *El País*, last updated December 6, 2008. http://elpais.com/diario/2008/12/06/cultura/1228518001_850215.html

¹⁴⁴ Elkin, Mike, “The Veleia Affair,” *Archeology* 62, 2009. <http://archive.archaeology.org/0909/insider/>

stopover on the road from Asturica Augusta (modern Astorga) to Burdigala (modern Bordeaux) but rather, may have represented a “cultural crossroads” in the region. This new revelation held the power to “revolutionize our understanding of almost the entire ancient Mediterranean region.”¹⁴⁵ The discovery of the hieroglyphic inscriptions and Egyptian names transliterated in Latin characters, in particular, held potentially groundbreaking implications. If Gil’s hypothesis that a grammarian had been teaching the ancient script and language at the site was correct, the *ostraka* would represent not only an unprecedented use of hieroglyphs in any late Roman context, but also an unprecedented translation of Egyptian names into Latin.¹⁴⁶

The discovery of the “exceptional” *ostraka*, however, held implications that extended far beyond the scholarly sphere. The *ostraka* also represented a major paradigm shift for the history of the Basque ethnic group in the region.¹⁴⁷ What had once been thought to be a minor provincial site suddenly appeared to be a third-century “cradle,” to use Joseba Elola’s words, not only of Classical culture but also of the early Christian faith.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, in this new alleged cultural center, it appeared that euskera was not only used alongside Latin among educated elites, but also deemed worthy of being committed to writing alongside the Classical language.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Elkin, “The Veleia Affair.”

¹⁴⁷ Elola, “Iruña Veleia.”

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

The appearance of the *ostraka*, then, provided important evidence for the cultural and linguistic antiquity of the Basque ethnic group. For the contemporary Basques fighting for political and cultural autonomy after decades of oppression under the Franco dictatorship, the *ostraka* affirmed their sense of group identity. The euskera *ostrakon* in particular quickly became a symbol of Basque ethnicity, which is tied intimately to the group's linguistic heritage.¹⁴⁹ The *ostrakon's* text, *ian edan lo*, served as a rallying point for speakers of the marginalized, non-Indo-European language. According to Elola, writing for Spain's leading news outlet, *El País*, these three simple words caused a *volantzo*, an abrupt 180-degree swerve, in the Basques' self-perception, affirming their place within the history of the Iberian peninsula and, subsequently, their ancient claim to autonomy.¹⁵⁰ Elola describes the sense of patriotic furor caused by the discovery, evidenced during the 2006 Holy Week in Álava's capital, Vitoria, where the streets were awash with revelers wearing T-shirts bearing the purportedly ancient phrase.

However, while the public continued to laud the discovery, the scholarly community was more skeptical, questioning the authenticity of the *ostraka* almost from the moment of Gil's announcement. Universidad del País Vasco researchers such as Joaquín Gorrochategui, soon followed by others in Spanish and international archeological communities, raised doubts about the *ostraka's* inscriptions, and in January of 2008 a commission was formed by the Diputación

¹⁴⁹ Montrul, Silvina. *El bilingüismo en el mundo hispanohablante*. Wiley-Blackwell: Malden, MA, 2013, 62ff.

¹⁵⁰ Elola, "Iruña Veleia."

Foral de Álava to investigate the find. Their November 19, 2008 report officially declared the *ostraka* to be forgeries.¹⁵¹ While scientific testing showed the pottery sherds onto which the inscriptions were etched to be authentic, experts determined that the inscriptions themselves, which contained a host of historical oddities, linguistic problems, and glaring anachronisms, were added to these ancient artifacts after the fact.¹⁵² Of the problematic inscriptions cited by the commission, notable examples included the grammatically incorrect “*ENIIAS ANCHISIIS ET VENUS FILI*”¹⁵³ and the chronologically impossible “*OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS*.”¹⁵⁴

The most dramatic problems with the text, however, were anachronisms easily identifiable to scholars and laypeople alike. The report notes the following: the use of modern Castilian forms for Roman names, such as Baco for Bacchus and Esculapio for Aesculapius,¹⁵⁵ the appearance of the nineteenth-century Celtic name Diedre,¹⁵⁶ the use of commas and lower case letters,¹⁵⁷ and references to Middle

¹⁵¹ Lopez de Lacalle Arizti et al. “Acta de la reunión de la comisión científico-asesora de Iruña-Veleia.” Departamento de Euskera, Cultura, y Deportes de la Diputación Foral de Álava: Vitoria-Gastiez: Álava, 2008.

¹⁵² Lopez, 18.

¹⁵³ The use of the cursive form “II” to indicate “E” is attested in other Roman graffiti from throughout the Iruña Veleia site, including the parietal graffito *POMPIII* *VALIINTINAI*, from which the name of the villa was given its modern name. See Elkin, “The Veleia Affair.”

¹⁵⁴ As the report notes, the timeline doesn’t add up here, after his posthumous adoption by Julius Caesar in 44 BC, the future emperor, born Octavianus, assumed the name of Caesar. He would not be granted the honorific Augustus until 27 BC. See Lopez, 12.

¹⁵⁵ Lopez, 10.

¹⁵⁶ Lopez, 7.

¹⁵⁷ Lopez, 17.

Kingdom Egyptian dynastic figures such as Nefertiti, unknown before the modern era.¹⁵⁸

Most importantly for the present study, the findings of the special commission revealed that the inscriptions on the “exceptional” *ostraka* were the result of “epigraphic invention” in many ways similar to that found in the Lindos *anagraphe*. As outlined in Chapter Two, investigators of purportedly Heroic Era votives posit that the “invention” of such objects involved two steps: 1) the selection of an object whose antiquity was manifest either in style or level of wear and tear, and 2) the “appending” of an “invented” anachronistic inscription to this object in order to link it to a purported donor of the Heroic Era. The *anagraphe*’s accounts of Heroic Era votives reflect this process either in that they faithfully transmit accounts of concrete physical objects “invented” in this way or in that the text’s authors themselves create accounts of such objects, effectively “inventing” textually constructed votives that mirror their real-world “invented” counterparts.

The commission’s findings suggest that an almost identical process was used in creating the “exceptional” *ostraka* at Iruña Veleia. The commission granted that, in terms composition and style, the pottery sherds bearing the sensational inscriptions resemble authentic artifacts of the third century found in the same stratigraphic levels of the site and from other sites in the region.¹⁵⁹ Although the commission’s scientific testing was unable to specify whether sherds were excavated from the site, they determined that they had been interred at some point. It

¹⁵⁸ Lopez, 26.

¹⁵⁹ Lopez, 22-25.

appears, then, that the individual responsible for “creating” the *ostraka* strategically selected materials for his project from genuine excavated artifacts. This “inventor” then appended anachronistic inscription to the sherds according to the same process used to “create” the Heroic Era votives described in the Lindos text and found throughout the ancient world. In both cases, it is anachronism that has revealed this “epigraphic invention” to critical observers versed in historical linguistics and ancient writing systems: the “invention” inherent in the *ostraka* having been unmasked by the myriad linguistic problems outlined in the report, the Heroic Era votives by the fact that the Greek alphabet had not been invented at the time of their purported donation.

The similarities between the *anagraphe* and the Iruña Veleia *ostraka*, however, extend beyond their shared use of the technique of “epigraphic invention.” In both cases, this technique has been used to create documentary evidence supporting a particular view of the past, an “intentional history,” to use Gehrke’s term. In the case of the *anagraphe*, the “invented” dedicatory inscriptions are appended to votive items to create documentary evidence that Panhellenically famous heroes venerated Athena at the site. Donations such as that of Herakles described in Entry V work established tradition regarding heroes. With regard to Herakles, tradition held that the hero had visited the harbor at Lindos. By “inventing” a dedicatory inscription, attributing it to the hero, and appending it to a votive (textually constructed or otherwise), someone, whether a temple official, an intermediary author, or Timachidas and Tharsagoras themselves, “filled in” a “gap”

in this tradition to show that Herakles had also visited Athena's sanctuary while in the region. This "epigraphic invention" had important socio-political as well as religious implications for the Lindian temple: it emphasized Rhodes' Panhellenic status in the past as a response to her waning power in the Roman-dominated present and enhanced the reader's sense of wonder when contemplating the *anagraphe's* portrait of the vast antiquity of Athena's sanctuary and her long *ἐπιφάνεια* there.

In much the same way, the "exceptional" *ostraka* of Iruña Veleia present an "intentional history" of the Basque people in the late Roman world. As outlined above, they paint a specific portrait of this era that reflects contemporary concerns about Basque cultural and linguistic autonomy within the Spanish republic. The "invented" inscriptions project these concerns backward, "filling in gaps" of what is known of Basque history with documentation supporting contemporary claims to the group's ancient heritage in the region. Much as in the case of the Lindos *anagraphe*, the "invented" inscriptions of the *ostraka* also have important religious implications. The *ostrakon* depicting the earliest Iberian image of the resurrection suggests the Basque's early adoption of the Christian faith, a claim with the potential to enhance the community's prestige within the highly religious culture of contemporary Spain.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that both the Lindos *anagraphe* and the Iruña Veleia *ostraka* make use of the same technique of "epigraphic invention" to create "intentional history," there are major differences between how each relates to

definitions of “forgery” held by its contemporaries. As the present study has shown, the practice of “epigraphic invention” used in the *anagraphe* does not meet ancient definitions of “forgery,” a term applied specifically to texts of a literary nature in the ancient world. The use of “inventive” techniques in the *anagraphe* resembles much more closely the practices of “historical retrodiction,” or “filling in gaps” used both in authoritative religious traditions (such as the Pythagoreans or Alexandrian Jews) and in the creation of “intentional history” (such as the epigraphic dossier of Magnesia on the Menander). It is likely that the reader of these “sincere forgery” texts, to use Veyne’s term, was much more concerned with the *experience* these “inventive” practices created in connecting them with an authoritative religious tradition or with a “curated” view of their own past than they were with the question of their “truth” or “falsehood.”

For the modern observer of the Iruña Veleia *ostraka*, however, whether a member of the scholarly community or the general public, the question of the “truth” or “falsehood” of the purportedly ancient artifacts was of the utmost importance for interpreting the vision of the Basque past they portrayed. This question of authenticity was, in fact, so important to citizens of the region that the Álavese government spent \$80,000 of taxpayer money on the commission that investigated the *ostraka*.¹⁶⁰ When the “inventive” processes behind the *ostraka* were revealed and the inscriptions deemed inauthentic, the “intentional history” of late Roman Basque these artifacts portrayed was negated. With this declaration of

¹⁶⁰ Elkin, “The Veleia Affair.”

inauthenticity, in turn, the “inventive practices” behind the *ostraka*’s anachronistic inscriptions were stigmatized as “forgery” and held extreme consequences. Even before the publication of the commission’s findings, accusations had begun to spread that the *ostraka* were not genuine, and Gil and his team had come under suspicion as the only individuals having had the opportunity to alter *ostraka* excavated from the site. When the findings were published, Gil was sued for fraud in civil court by both the Álavese government and by private donors who had given money to fund the excavation. Although still pending, these suits, if successful, would require Gil to repay close to a million dollars of funding he had accepted for the excavation.¹⁶¹ These suits, however, are not the gravest consequences Gil faces. Shortly after the publication of the commission’s findings, the government brought criminal charges against the archeologist, alleging that the forgery of the *ostraka* was a crime against the Basque national patrimony.¹⁶² As of 2014, these charges have yet to be resolved, and Gil has yet to admit culpability in the matter.¹⁶³

In the context of this modern Basque example, then, the use of “epigraphic invention” to create “intentional history,” rather than enhancing the contemporary ethnic group’s sense of cultural identity, has in fact, been seen as being so detrimental to its credibility as to be criminalized. In considering the consequences of the Iruña Veleia *ostraka*’s “intentional history,” it is useful to recall Paul Veyne’s

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Elola, “Iruña Veleia.”

¹⁶³ “El arqueólogo Eliseo Gil insiste en su inocencia y ataca a de Andrés,” *El Mundo*, last modified February 14, 2014, <http://www.elmundo.es/paisvasco/2014/02/15/52ff56a622601d14168b4571.html>

assertion that a “forger” is only considered such when he practices his “inventive” arts in the wrong century. Eliseo Gil, if guilty of being the “forger” behind the Iruña Veleia *ostraka*, has suffered the misfortune of being an “intentional historian” working in the wrong century.

The extremity of the modern reaction to the Iruña Veleia *ostraka*’s “epigraphic invention” stands in stark contrast to what the present study has attempted to show would have been the ancient reaction to the Lindos *anagraphe*’s use of the same technique. The comparison between the “exceptional” *ostraka* and the *anagraphe*’s “invented” Heroic Era votives highlights the fact that a set of practices considered to be not only questionable, but even criminal in the modern world may have been considered perfectly legitimate in an ancient context. While failure to recognize such gaps between ancient and modern thinking always has the danger interfering with investigation of the ancient world, this has been particularly true in the history of scholarship on the Lindos *anagraphe*. The present study has attempted to correct this by contextualizing the text’s use of “epigraphic invention” in its Heroic Era votives within ancient definitions of “forgery” rather than evaluating them according to the modern standard. In rejecting this anachronistic approach, this investigation has demonstrated that the *anagraphe*’s “inventive” processes of “sincere forgery” and “historical retrodiction” hold a wealth of information regarding its contemporary Hellenistic Rhodian context. Considering the text as an “intentional history” rather than “forgery” has provided new vistas from which to examine how the authors of the text, Timachidas

and Tharsagoras, conceived of the socio-political and religious history of their local sanctuary.

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APPENDIX A
The Lindos *Anagraphē*

A.1

[ἐ]π' ἱερέως Τεισύλ[ου τοῦ Σωσικράτους, Ἄρτα]μιτίου δωδεκάται ἔδοξε μαστροῖς καὶ
Λινδίο[ις].
[Α]γησίτιμος Τιμαχίδα Λ[ινδοπολίτας εἶπε· ἐπεὶ τὸ ἱερό]ν τᾶς Ἀθάνας τᾶς Λινδίας ἀρχαιότατόν
τε καὶ ἐντιμό[τα]-
τον ὑπάρχον πολλοῖς κ[αὶ καλοῖς ἀναθέμασι ἐκ παλαιοτ]άτων χρόνων κεκόσμηται διὰ τὰν τᾶς
θεοῦ ἐπιφάνειαν,
συμβαίνει δὲ τῶν ἀνα[θεμάτων τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μετὰ τᾶν ἐ]πιγραφῶν διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐφθάρθαι,
τύχαι ἀγαθαῖ δεδόχθαι

5

[μ]αστροῖς καὶ Λινδίοις κυρ[ωθέντος τοῦδε τοῦ ψαφίσματος ἐλέ]σθαι ἄνδρας δύο, τοὶ δὲ
αἰρεθέντες κατασκευάζαντω στάλαν
[λ]ίθου Λαρτίου καθ' ἃ κα ὁ ἀρχ[ιτέκτων γράψῃ καὶ ἀναγραφάν]τω εἰς αὐτὰν τόδε τὸ
ψάφισμα, ἀναγραφάντω δὲ ἕκ τε τᾶν
[ἐπ]ιστολῶν καὶ τῶν χρηματ[ισμῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων μαρτυρί]ων ἃ κα ἦ ἀρμόζοντα περὶ τῶν
ἀναθεμάτων καὶ τᾶς ἐπιφανείας
[τ]ᾶς θε<ο>ῦ ποιούμενοι τὰν ἀ[ναγραφὰν παρεόντος καὶ τοῦ γρ]αμματέως τῶν μαστρῶν τοῦ
νῦν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐόντος, τοὶ δὲ ἱεροτα-
μίαι τελεσάντω τοῖς αἰρεθεῖσι [τέλεσμα εἰς τὰν κατασκευὰν τᾶ]ς στάλας καὶ τὰν ἀναγραφὰν μὴ
πλεῖον οὐ ἀποφαίνεται Πυργο-

10

τέλης ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων δραχμῶν διακοσιῶν· [ἀποδειξάντω δὲ τόπον ἐν] τῷ ἱερῷ τᾶς Ἀθάνας τᾶς
Λινδίας ἐν ᾧ σταθῆσῃ ἡ στάλα τοὶ ἐπιστάται
ἐν τῷ εἰσιόντι Ἀγριανίω. ὅ,τι δὲ κά τις μὴ ποιήσῃ [τ]ῶν [ἐν τῷδε τῷ] ψαφίσματι
γ[ε]γραμμένων, ἀποτεισάτω ἱερὰς Ἀθάνας Λινδίας δραχμὰς
πεντακοσίας. ἀρέθεν Θαρσαγόρας Στράτου Λαδά[ρμιος καὶ] Τιμαχίδας Ἀγησιτίμου
Λινδοπολίτας.

col. B.1

τοῖδε ἀνέθηκαν τᾶι Ἀθάναι·
(I) Λίνδος φιάλαν, ἣν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο γνώμειν
ἐκ τίνος ἐστὶ, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπεγέγραπτο· "Λίνδος
Ἀθάναι Πολιάδι καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ", ὡ[ς] ἱστορεῖ Γόρ-

5

γων ἐν τᾶι α τᾶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γορ[γ]οσθένης ὁ ἱε-
ρεὺς τᾶς Ἀθάνας ἐν τᾶι ποτὶ τὰν βουλὰν ἐπι-
[στο]λοῦν, Ἰερόβουλος ἱερεὺς καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπάρ-
χω[ν] ἐν τᾶι ποτὶ τοὺς μαστροὺς ἐπιστολοῦν.

_____	9
(II) Τελχεῖνες κροσόν, ὄν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο	10
ἐπιγ[νώμειν ἐκ] τίνας ἐστί, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπεγέγρα- πτο· "Τελχε[ῖν]ες Ἀθάναι Πολιάδι καὶ Διὶ Πο- λιεῖ δεκάταν τῶν ἔργων", ὡς ἀποφαίνεται Γόργων ἐν τῷ α τῶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθένης ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολᾷ[i], Ἰερόβουλος ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολᾷ.	
_____	15
(III) Κάδμος λέβητα χά[λ]κεον φοινικικοῖς γράμμα- σι ἐπιγεγραμμένον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Πολύζα- λος ἐν τῷ δ τῶν ἱστοριῶν.	
_____	18
(IV) Μίνως ἀργύρεον ποτήριον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπεγέγρα- πτο· "Μίνως Ἀθάναι Πολιάδι καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ", ὡς φατι	20
Ξεναγόρας ἐν τῷ α τῶν χρονικῶς συντάξις, Γόργων ἐν τῷ α τῶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθένης ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολᾷ, Ἰερόβουλος ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολᾷ.	
_____	23
(V) Ἡρακλῆς γέρρα δύο, τὸ μὲν ἐν περιεσκυτωμέ- νον, τὸ δὲ κατακεχαλκωμένον, ὧν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ	25
ἐσκυτωμένου ἐπεγέγραπτο· "Ἡρακλῆς ἀπὸ Μερόπων τὰν Ε[ὐ]ρυπύλου", ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ κατακε- χαλκωμένου· "τὰν Λαομέδοντος Ἡρακλῆς ἀ- πὸ Τεύκρων Ἀθάναι Πολιάδι καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ", ὡς ἀποφαίνεται Ξεναγόρας ἐν τῷ α τῶν	
_____	30
χ[ρ]ονικῶς συντάξις, Γόργων ἐν τῷ α τῶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Νικασύλος ἐν τῷ γ' τῶν χρο- νικῶς συντάξις, Ἠγησίας ἐν τῷ Ῥόδου ἐνκω- μίωι, Αἰέλουρος ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ποτὶ τοὺς Ἐξαγιάδας(?) πολέμου, Φάεννος ἐν τῷ περὶ	
_____	35
Λίνδου, Γοργοσθένης ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολᾷ,	

Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολῷ.

_____	37
(VI) Γλαπόλεμος φιάλαν, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπεγέγραπτο· "Γλαπόλεμος Ἀθάναι Πολιάδι καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ εὐχάν", ὡς φασι Γόργων ἐν τῷ α τῶν περὶ	40
Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθένης ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολῷ, [Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολῷ.	
[_____]	42
(VII) [Ῥῆσ]ος χρύσειον ποτήριον, ἐφ' [οῦ] ἐπεγ[έγραπτο]· ["Ῥῆσου] παραθήκα· λαβέτω ὅ[ς κα — — — — —]α12. . . . #7#7#7#7 [— — — — —, ὡς ἀπ]οφαί-	45
[γεται ὁ δεῖνα — — — — —, Ἱέρ]ων δὲ [. . . .12. . . .] τῶν περὶ Ῥόδ[ου φατὶ μετ]ὰ τοῦ [ποτηρίου κ]αταθέσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ παιῖδα Θραῖκα.	
_____	48
(VIII) [Τήλ]εφος φιάλαν χρυσόμορφον, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπεγέ- [γρ]απτο· "Τήλεφος Ἀθάναι ἰλατή[ρι]ον, ὡς ὁ Λύκιος	50
Ἀπόλλων εἶπε". περὶ τούτων ἰστ[ορ]εῖ Ξεναγόρας ἐν τῷ α τῶν χρονικῶς συντάξις, Γόργων ἐν τῷ α τῶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθένης ἐν τῷ ἐ- πιστολῷ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τῷ ἐπ[ιστολῷ].	
_____	54
(IX) τοὶ μετὰ Γλαπολέμου εἰς Ἴλιον [στρατευσά]-	55
μενοι ἀσπίδας ἐννή, ἐνχειρίδια [ἐννή, κυνᾶς] ἐννή, κναμίδων ζεύγη ἐννή· ἐ[πεγέγραπτο] δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων· "τοὶ μετ[ὰ Γλαπολέμου] εἰς Ἴλιον στρατευσάμενοι τ[ῶν Ἀθάναι τῶν] Λινδαίαι ἀκροθίνια τῶν ἐκ Τρο[ίας]", ὡς φασι Γόρ]-	60
γων ἐν τῷ α τῶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γ[οργοσθένης] ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολῷ, Ἱερόβουλος [ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολῷ].	

(X) Μενέλαος κυνᾶν, ἐφ' ᾗς ἐπεγέγρα[απτο]·
"Μενέλας τὰν Ἀλεξιά[ν]δρου", ὡς ἱ[στορεῖ Ξεναγό]-
ρας ἐν τᾷ α τᾷς χ[ρονικ]ᾶς συντ[άξι]ος, Ἡγησίας]

62

ἐν τῷ Ῥόδου ἐγκωμῖω[ι, Ε]ϋδημος ἐν τ[ῶι] Λινδια-
κῶι, Γόργων ἐν τᾷ α τᾷ[ν] περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθέ-
νης ἐν τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τᾷ ἐπισ-
τολᾷ. Θεότιμος <δ>ὲ λέγει ἐν τᾷ α τᾶν κατὰ Αἰε-
λούρου ἀναθέμειν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγειρίδιον.

65

(XI) Ἑλένα ψελίων ζεῦγος, ἐφ' ᾗν ἐπεγέγραπτο· "Ἑλένα
Ἀθάναι", ὡς φασι Γόργων ἐν τᾷ α τᾶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργο-
σθένης ἐ[ν] τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ.

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(XII) Κάνωπος ὁ [Μ]ενελάου κυβερνάτας οἶακας, ἐφ' ᾗ[ν]
ἐπεγέγρα[π]το· "Κάνωπος τᾷ Ἀθαναίαι καὶ Ποτειδᾶνι",

73

ὡς ἀποφαίνεται Ξεναγόρας ἐν τᾷ α τᾷς χρο-
νικᾶς συντάξι]ος, Γόργων ἐν τᾷ α τᾶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργο-
σθένης ἐν τᾷ ἐπισ[τ]ολᾷ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ.

75

(XIII) Μηριόνης φαρέτραν ἀργ[υ]ρέαν, ἐφ' ᾗς ἐπεγέγραπτο·
"[Μ]ηριόνης Μόλου υἱὸς ἀ[κρο]θίνια τῶν ἐκ Τροίας", ὡς

78

φασι Γόργων ἐν τᾷ [α τ]ᾶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθένης
[ἐν] τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ.

80

(XIV) [Τε]ϋκρος φαρέτραν, ἐφ' ᾗς ἐπεγέγραπτο· "Τεϋ[κρ]ος
τὰν Πανδάρου", ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ξεναγόρας ἐν τᾷ α τᾷς χρο-
νικ]ᾶς συντά[ξι]ος, [Γόργ]ων ἐν τᾷ α τᾶν π[ερ]ὶ Ῥό[δου],

82

Γοργοσθένης ἐν τᾷ ἐπιστο[λᾷ], Ἱερ]όβουλος ἐν
τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ. Θεότιμος δὲ [ἐ]ν [τᾷ α τᾷ]ν κατὰ Αἰε-
λούρου φασι ἀναθέμειν αὐτὸ[ν] καὶ τό]ξον.

85

_____		88
(XV) τᾶν φυλαῶν ἐκάστα πίνακα [παναρχ]αῖκόν, ἐν ᾧ ἦν ἐξωγραφημένος φύλαρχος καὶ δρομεῖς ἐννῆ		
		90
πάντες ἀρχαῖκῶς ἔχοντες τοῖς <σ>χήμασι, ὧν ἐκάστου ἐπεγέγραπτο τ[ᾶ]ι εἰκόνι τὸ ὄνομα, κ[αῖ] ἐπι μὲν τοῦ ἐνὸς τῶν π[ι]ν[ά]κ[ων] ἐπεγέγραπτο· "Ἀλιαδᾶν φυλὰ νικάσ[ασ' ἀν]έθηκε τᾷ Λινδίαι Ἀθάναι", ἐφ' ἐτέρου δέ· "Νίκας τόδ' ἐστὶ σᾶμα· τῶν		95
Ἀὐτοχθόνων φυλὰ κρατήσασ' ἀγλάϊ<ξ>ε τὰν θεόν", ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου· "Τελχεῖνων φυλὰ νικῶσ' ἀνέθ[η]-κεν Ἀθάναι, Λυκωπάδας δέ ὁ Λυγκέως παῖς ἐλαμπαδάρχει". περὶ τούτων ἱστορεῖ Γόργων ἐν τᾷ α τᾶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Ξεναγόρας ἐν τᾷ α τᾶς χρονικᾶς		100
συντάξιος.		
_____		101
(XVI) Ἀρετάκριτος καὶ τοὶ υἱοὶ ἐχινέαν, ἃ τὸν πυθμένα κρατῆρος εἶχε, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ χεῖλους αὐτὰς ἐπεγέγρα[πτ]ο· "παλτοῦ Ἄδραστος ἔθηκε ἄθλον ἐπ' Αἰγιαλεῖ", ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πυθμέ-		105
νος· "Ἄρετος καὶ παῖδες Ἀθαναῖαι Λινδίαι δεκάταν ναὸς τᾶς ἐκ Κρήτας", ὡς ἀποφαίνεται Ξεναγόρας ἐν τᾷ α τᾶς χρονικᾶ[ς] συντάξιος, [Γό]ργων ἐν τᾷ β περὶ Ῥό[δου].		
_____		109
(XVII) Λινδίων τοὶ μετὰ τῶν Πάγκιος παίδων		110
Κυράναν οἰκίζαντες σὺν Βάττωι Π[α]λλάδα καὶ λέοντα ὑ[πὸ] Ἡρακλεῦς πνιγόμενον, ταῦτα δ' ἦν λώτ[ι]να, ἐφ' ᾧ [ἐ]πεγ[έ]γρα[πτο]· "Λινδίων τοὶ μ[ε]τὰ τῶν Πάγκιος παίδων Κυράναν κτίσαντες σὺν Βά[τ]τω[ι] Ἀθαναί-		115
αι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ [δ]εκά[ταν ἀπὸ] λαίας ἂν ἔλ[α]-βον ἀ[πὸ] Ι . . . Σ . . Ι]ων", ὡς φασι Ξενα-		

	21
(XXVII) Φάλαρις ὁ Ἀκραγαντίνων τυραννεύσας κρατῆ- ρα οὗ ἐτετόρευτο ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐτέρῳ μέρει Τιτανο- μαχία, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ Κρόνος λαμβάνων παρὰ Ῥέας τὰ τέκνα κ[α]ι κ[α]ταπεινῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ	
	25
χειλέυς ἐπεγέ[γρ]απτο· "Δαίδαλο[ς] ἔδωκε ξεινί- όν με Κωκάλωι", [ἐπ]ι δὲ τῆς βάσιος· "Φάλαρις ἐξ Ἀ- κράγαντος τᾶ[ι Λι]νδ[ί]αι Ἀθάναι", ὡς ἀποφαίνεται Ξεναγόρας ἐν τ[ᾶ]ι α τῆς χρονικᾶς συντάξις.	
<hr/>	
	29
(XXVIII) Δεινομένης ὁ Γέλωνος καὶ Ἰέρωνος καὶ Θρα- συβούλου καὶ Π[ο]λυζάλου πατὴρ Λίνδιος ὑπάρχων καὶ συνοικίζα[ς] Γέλαν μετὰ Ἀντιφάμου Γοργόνα κυπαρισσίναν [λ]ίθινον ἔχουσαν τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπεγέγραπτο· "Δεινομένης Μολοσσοῦ [ἀνέθηκ]ε τᾶι Ἀθαναίαι τᾶι Λινδίαι τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας [δεκάτ]αν", ὡς	30
	35
ἱστορεῖ Ξενα[γ]όρας ἐν τᾶι α τῆς χρονικ[ᾶς συ]ντάξις.	
<hr/>	
	36
(XXIX) Ἄμασις Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς θώ[ρακ]α λίνεον, οὗ ἑκάστα [ἄρ]πεδόνα εἶχε στά[μον]ας τξ, περὶ οὗ μ[αρτ]υρεῖ Ἡρόδοτος [ὁ Θ]ούριος ἐν τᾶι β τᾶν ἱστο[ρι]ᾶ[ν, Πολύζαλος ἐ]ν τᾶι δ. Ἰέρω[ν δὲ]	40
	45
ἐ[ν] τᾶι [α τᾶν π]ερὶ Ῥόδου φατὶ ἀναθέμειν α[ὐτὸν] [μετὰ τοῦ] θώρακος καὶ ἀγάλματα χρύσεια [δύο], [Ἀγέλοχο]ς ἐν τᾶι α τῆς χρονικᾶς συντά[ξις], [Ἀρι]στίων ἐν τᾶ[ι α τ]ᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξις, Ἀριστώ[ν]υμος ἐ[ν] τᾶι συναγωγᾷ τῶ[ν χ]ρόνων,	
	45
Ἄνομασ[τ]ος ἐν τᾶι α τῆς χρονικᾶς συντάξις. Ξεναγόρας δὲ ἐν τᾶι α καὶ δ τῆς χρονικᾶς συντάξις λέγει μετὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἀναθέ- μειν αὐτὸν καὶ μετ[ὰ] τῶν δύο ἀγαλμάτων φιά- λας δέκα, ἐπιγεγράφθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶ[ν] ἀγαλμάτων	
	50
στίχους δύο, ὧν τὸν μὲν οὕτως ἔχει· "Αἰγύπτου βασιλ[εὺς] τηλεκλυτὸς ὄπασ' Ἄμασις", τὸν δὲ ἔτε-	

ρον ἐπιγεγράφθαι διὰ τῶν παρ' Αἰ[γ]υπτίοις κα-
λουμένων ἱερῶν γραμμάτων· Ἱερόβουλος δὲ
καὶ αὐτὸς λέγει ἐν τῷ ποτὶ τοὺς μαστροὺς

55

ἐπιστολᾷ.

(XXX) [Ἀκρα]γαντῖνοι [Παλ]λάδιον, οὗ ἦν τὰ ἀκρωτήρ[ι]α ἐλε[φ]άν-
[τινα, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπεγέ]γραπτο· "Ἀκραγαντ[ῖ]νοι τᾶ[ι] Ἀ[θά]ναι
[τῷ Λινδίαι ἀκρο]θίνιον ἐκ Μινώιας", ὡς ἀποφαίνε-
[ται Ξεναγόρας ἐν] τῷ α τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξις.

56

(XXXI) [Πόλλις ...8....]εὺς θίας τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος ἐν
[Συρακούσαις ἀγάμ]ατα, ἃ ἐκαλεῖτο Δαιδάλεια, ἐ[φ'] ὧν
[ἐπεγέ]γραπτο· "Πόλλις ὁ Σωσίλα υἱὸς Ἀθάνα[ι Λι]νδί-
[αι εὐχάν, αὐτὸς τ' ἡδ' υ]ϊώ, τάδε δαιδάλε' ἔργ' ἀνέθηκε",
[ὡς φατι Ξεναγόρας] ἐν τῷ α τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξις.

60

(XXXII) [Ἄρταφέρνης ὁ στ]ραταγὸς τοῦ Περσᾶν βασιλέως
[Δαρείου ἐνωτίδι]α καὶ στρεπτόν καὶ τιάραν καὶ ψέ-
[λια καὶ ἀκινάκαν κα]ὶ ἀναξυρίδας, ὡς φατι Εὐδημος
[ἐν τῷ Λινδιακῷ, Μύ]ρων ἐν τῷ α τοῦ Ῥόδου ἐγκωμίου,
Τ[ι]μό[κριτος ἐν] τῷ α τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξις. [Ἰ]ερώ-

65

νυμος δὲ ἀποφαίνεται ἐν τῷ α τῶν Ἡλιακῶν μετὰ
τούτων ἀναθέμειν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀρμάμαξαν, περὶ ἃς
λέγει καὶ Πολύζαλος ἐν τῷ δ τῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ
Ἀριστίων ἐν τῷ α τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξις,
Ἱερῶν ἐν τῷ α τῶν περὶ Ῥόδου.

70

(XXXIII) Σολεῖς φιάλαν, ἃ εἶχε ἐμ μέσω<ι> Γοργόνα τετορευ-
μέναν ἐπίχρυσον, ἐφ' ἃς ἐπεγέγραπτο· "[Σολεῖς] Ἀθά-
ναι Λινδί[αι] δεκάταν καὶ ἀπαρχὰν λαίας, ἂν ἔλα[βο]ν με-
τὰ Ἀμφ[ιλόχ]ου ἀπὸ ΜΕΤΑΒΛΥΡΕΩΝ καὶ ΣΠΕ. . ΩΝ", [ὡς] ἱσ-
τορεῖ Ξεναγόρας ἐν τῷ α τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντ[άξι]ος.

75

80

(XXXIV) Λίνδιοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ Κρήτας λαφύρων δεκάταν
τάν τε χρυσέαν στεφάναν καὶ τοὺς ὄρμους καὶ
τοῦ ἄλλου κόσμου, ὃν εἶχε τὸ ἄγαλμα, κατεσκευά-
ξαντο τὸν πλεῖστον, ὡς ἀποφαίνεται Ξεναγό-
ρας ἐν τῷ δ' τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξιος.

85

(XXXV) ὁ δᾶμος, οἷς ἐτίμασε αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς Περσᾶν Ἀρταξέρ-
ξας, στρεπτόν χρύσ[εο]ν, τιάραν, ἀκιν[άκ]αν λιθόκολ-
λον, μᾶλα ποτ' αὐτῷ, ψέλια χρύσεια λιθόκολλα, τὰ
πάντ[α] ἄγοντα χρυσοῦς χιλίους τριακοσίους ἑβδο-
μ[ά]κοντα πέντε, καὶ τὰν βασιλικὰν στολάν, ὡς φατι

90

Ἔργ[ίας ἐν] τῷ γ βύβλωι τᾶν [ισ]τοριᾶν, Ζήνων ἐν
τῷ [·] τᾶς χρ]ονικᾶς συντάξι[ος], Τιμόκριτος ἐν τῷ β
τᾶς [χρονικᾶς] συντάξι[ος], Ἰέ[ρ]ων ἐν τῷ γ τᾶ[ν π]ερί Ῥό-
δου, Ἀγ[έ]στρατος ἐν τῷ β τᾶς χρονικᾶς [σ]υντάξι[ος].

94

(XXXVI) Λίν[διοι] χαριστήριον Νίκαν ἄγουσαν χρυσοῦς

95

[χιλίους] τριακοσίους, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἀγέλοχος ἐν τῷ ι
[τᾶς χρ]ονικᾶς συντά[ξι]ος.

97

(XXXVII) [ὁ] δᾶμος ἀσπίδα κατὰ [χρησμὸν] προσαμαίνοντα, ὅτι ἀ-
νατεθείσας τῷ Ἀθάναι ἐσεῖται λύσις τοῦ τόκα ἐνε-
στακότος ποτὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλάδελφον πολέμο[υ].

100

καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἀποφαίνεται Τιμ]όκριτος [ἐν] τῷ δ
τᾶς χρονικᾶς σ[υν]τάξι[ος]. ἐπι[γέ]γραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τᾶς ἀσπίδος·
"ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ῥοδίων Ἀθάναι Λιν[δία]ι κατὰ χρησμὸν".

103

(XXXVIII) βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξαν[δ]ρος [β]ο[υ]κέφαλ[α], ἐφ' ὃν [ἐ]πιγέγραπται·
"βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξαν[δ]ρος μάχαι κρατήσας Δα-

105

ρεῖον καὶ κύριος γε[ν]όμενος τᾶς Ἀσίας ἔθου-
σε τ[ᾶ]ι Ἀθάναι τῷ [Λι]νδίαι κατὰ μαντεῖαν

ἐπ' ἰε[ρέ]ως Θευγέν[ε]υς τοῦ Πιστοκράτευσ". πε-
ρι [τ]ούτων το[ι] Λινδί[ων] χρηματισμοὶ περ[ι]έχοντι.
ἀν[έ]θηκε δὲ καὶ [ὄ]πλα, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπιγέγραπται.

110

(XXXIX) βασιλεὺς Πτ[ολ]εμαῖος προμετωπίδια βοῶν εἵ-
κοσι, ἐφ' ὧν ἐ[πιγ]έγραπται· "βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος
ἔθυσε Ἀθά[ν]αι Λινδίαι ἐπ' ἱερέως Ἀθ[α]νᾶ τοῦ Ἀθανα-
γόρα", ὡς μα[ρτ]υροῦ[ν]τι τοὶ Λινδ[ί]ων χρηματισμοί.

114

(XL) βασιλεὺς Πύρρο[ς] βουκ[έ]φαλα καὶ ὄπλα, οἷς

115

αὐτὸς ἐ[χρ]εῖτο ἐν τοῖς κινδύ[ν]οι[ς], ἀνέ[θη]κε κα-
τὰ τὰν ἐκ Δωδώνας μαντεῖαν, ὡς περιέχοντι
τοὶ Λινδίων χρηματισμοὶ καὶ [ἱ]στορεῖ Ζήνων
[ἐ]ν τᾷ β τᾷς χρονικᾷς συντάξ[ι]ος, Ἀγέλοχο[ς]
[ἐ]ν τᾷ β τᾷς χρονικᾷ[ς] συντάξιος, Ἀγέστρα-

120

τος ἐν τᾷ β [τ]ᾷς χρονικᾷ[ς] συντάξιος. ἐπιγέ-
[γραπ]ται δ[ὲ] ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων. *vac.*

122

(XLI) βα[σ]ιλεὺς Ἰέρω[ν] ὄπλα, οἷς αὐτὸς ἐχρε[ῖ]το, ὡς μαρ-
[τυρο]ῦντι τοὶ Λι[ν]δίων χρη[μ]ατισμοὶ καὶ ἰσ[το]ρεῖ
Ἀγέ[στ]ρατος ἐν τᾷ β τᾷς χρον[ι]κᾷς συν[τά]ξιος,

125

. . 5. .ς ἐν τοῖς Χρόνοις. ἐπιγέγρα[π]τα[ι] δὲ ἐπὶ τῶ[ν]
ὄ[πλων]· "β[ασ]ιλε[ὺς] Ἰέρων Ἱεροκλεῦς Ἀθάναι Λι[ν]δίαι".

127

(XLII) [βα]σιλεὺς Φίλιππος πέλτας δέκα, σαρίσας δ[έ]κα, π[ε]-
[ρικεφαλ]αίας δ[έ]κα, [ἐ]φ' ὧν ἐ[πιγ]έγραπται· "βα[σ]ιλεὺς
[Μακεδ]ό[ν]ω[ν] Φίλιππο[ς] βασι[λ]έως Δημη[ητρί]ου νι-

130

κάσας Δα[ρ]δ[ανί]ου[ς] καὶ Μαίδους Ἀθάναι Λινδίαι", [ὡς μαρ]-
[τυρο]ῦντι τοὶ Λινδίων χρ[ημ]α[τι]σ[μ]οί.

{*sequuntur vestigia versuum aliquantum incerta*}²

col. D.1

(I) ἐπιφάνειαι.

Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει
τᾶς Ἑλλάδος ἐκπέμπαντος μεγάλας δυνάμεις
ὁ ναυτικὸς αὐτοῦ στόλος ταῦται ποτεπέλασε

5

πράτα<i> </i> τᾶν νάσων. καταπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν κατὰ
τὰν χώραν τὰν ἔφοδον τῶν Περσῶν καὶ συν-
φυγόντων μὲν ἐς πάντα τὰ ὀχυρώματα, τῶν
πλείστων δὲ ἐς Λίνδον ἀθροισθέντων, ποθε-
δρεύσαντες ἐπολιόρκευ αὐτοὺς τοὶ

10

βάρβαροι, ἔστε οὗ διὰ τὰν σπάνιν τοῦ ὕδα-
τος τοὶ Λίνδιοι θλιβόμενοι διενοεῦντο
παραδιδόμενι τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὰν πόλιν.
καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον ἂ μὲν θεὸς ἐνὶ τῶν ἀρ-
χόντων ἐπιστᾶσα καθ' ὕπνον παρεκάλει

15

θαρσεῖν ὡς αὐτὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αἰτησευ-
μένα τὸ κατεπεῖγον αὐτοὺς ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ τὰν
ὄψιν ἰδὼν ἀνάγγειλε τοῖς πολίταις τὰν πο-
τίταξιν τᾶς Ἀθήνας. οἱ δὲ ἐξετάξαντες,
ὅτι εἰς πέντε ἡμέρας μό[νο]ν ἔχοντι διαρ-

20

κεῦν, ἐπὶ τῷσαύτας μό[νο]ν αἰτήσαντο
παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς ἀνοχάς, λέγοντες
ἀπεστάλκειν τὰν Ἀθάναν ποτὶ τὸν αὐτᾶς
πατέρα περὶ βοαθείας, καὶ εἴ κα μὴ παραγέ-
νηται κατὰ τὸν ὄρισμένον χρόνον, παρα-

25

δωσεῖν ἔφασαν αὐτοῖς τὰν πόλιν. *vac.*
Δᾶτις δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ναύαρχος παραχρῆμα
μὲν ἀκούσας ἐγέλασε, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τᾷ
ἔχομεναι ἡμέραι γνόφ[ο]ν μείζ<ο>νος
περὶ τὰν ἀκρόπολιν συσστάντος καὶ πολ-

30

λοῦ καταραγέ[τ]ος ὄμβρου κατὰ μέσον
ο[ῦ]τ<ω>ς παραδόξως τοὶ μὲν πολιορκεύμε-
νοι δαψιλῆς ἔσχον ὕδωρ, ἂ δὲ Περσικὰ δύνα-
μεις ἐσπᾶνίζε, καταπλαγεὶς ὁ βάρβα[ρος]
τὰν τᾶς θεοῦ ἐπιφάνειαν κα[ὶ ἀφελ]όμε-

35

νος αὐτοῦ τὸν περὶ τ[ὸ σ]ῶμα κόσμον εἰσέ-
πεμψε ἀνα[θ]έ[μ]ειν τὸν τε φαρεὸν καὶ σ[τ]ρε-
[π]τ[ὸν] καὶ ψέλια, ποτὶ δὲ τούτοις τῖάραν τε
καὶ ἀκινάκαν, ἔτι δὲ ἀρμάμαξαν, ἃ πρότε-

ρον μὲν διεσώζετο, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἱερέως	40
τοῦ Ἀλίου Εὐκλεῦς τοῦ Ἀστυανακτίδα ἐμπυρισθέντος τοῦ ναοῦ κατεκαύσθη μετὰ τῶν πλείστων ἀναθεμάτων. αὐτὸς δ[ἐ] ὁ Δᾶτις ἀνέζευξε ἐπὶ τὰς προκειμέ- [ν]ας πράξεις φιλίαν ποτὶ τοὺς πολιορ-	45
[κ]ηθέντας συνθέμενος καὶ ποταποφω- [νῆ]σας, ὅτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους θεοὶ φυλάσσουσι. περὶ τούτων ἀποφαί- νεται Εὐδήμος ἐν τῷ Λινδιακῷ, Ἐργίας ἐν τῷ δ τᾶν ἱστοριᾶν, Πολύζαλος ἐν τῷ δ	50
τᾶν ἱστοριᾶν, Ἰερώνυμος ἐν τῷ β <i>vac.</i> τῶν Ἡλιακῶν, Μύρων ἐν τῷ α τοῦ Ῥόδου ἐγκωμίου, Τιμόκριτος ἐν τῷ α τᾶς χρο- νικᾶς συντάξις, Ἰέρων ἐν τῷ α τᾶν πε- ρὶ Ῥόδου. Ξεναγόρας <δ>ὲ λέγει ἐν τῷ δ	55
τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξις τὰν μὲν ἐπιφά- νειαν γηγόνειν, Μαρδονίου μέντοι ἔξαπο- σταλέντος ὑπὸ Δάτιος. λέγει δὲ περ[ὶ] τᾶς ἐπιφανείας καὶ Ἀριστίων ἐν [τᾶ]ι α [τ]ᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξις.	
_____	60
(II) ἑτέρα. ἐπ' ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀλίου Πυθαννᾶ τοῦ Ἀρχιπόλιος ἐν Λίνδῳ συνκατακλαιχθεὶς τις λάθραι νυ- κτὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρέμασε ἐκ τῶν ἀντηρί- δων τᾶν κατὰ νότου τοῦ ἀγάλματος	65
ποτηρισμένων τῷ τοίχῳ, καὶ Λινδί- ων δηλομένων εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστεῖ- λαι καὶ διερωτᾶσαι περὶ τοῦ συ[μ]βεβακό- τος τί δεῖ ποιεῖν ἅ θεὸς ἐπιστᾶσα τῷ ἱερεῖ καθ' ὕπνον ποτέταξε ἠσυχίαν	70
ἔχειν περὶ αὐτᾶς, τᾶς δὲ ὀροφᾶς γυ- μῶσαι τὸ ἐπάνω τοῦ ἀγάλματος μέ- ρος καὶ εἶσαι οὕτως ἔστε κα τρεῖς ἄλ[ι]- οὶ γένωνται καὶ τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς	

