The Prytaneion Treasure and the Paradox of the Delian Inventories

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THE PRYTANEION TREASURE
AND THE PARADOX OF THE DELIAN INVENTORIES

While Delos was under Athenian control, the inventories listing the dedications in the various temples conformed to the simple 5th cent. Athenian model of repeating the previous year's list of objects with additions (epeteia) placed at the end. When Delos obtained independence in 314 BC, Delian officials took control of the temple treasures and adopted a totally different system, which, once it became «fully operational»², involved regularly reweighing and reordering the objects³. So, instead of a list plus additions followed the next year by the same list plus more additions, now the arrangement of each list was totally different. This new system continued for half a century or more, but then the quantity of items being added each year became too great and the system collapsed--reweighing disappeared and the order no longer changed. When the Athenians again took control of Delos in 166 BC, the 5th cent. Athenian model of repeated lists with additions at the end reappeared⁴. The question is why the Delians reweighed and reordered the dedications.

To begin answering that question we must decide which was more important, reweighing or reordering. It seems reasonable to assume that the reordering of

1. I am grateful to Elizabeth Kosmetatou and her Leuven colleagues for inviting me to their Colloquium on «Archives and Inventories in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean (23-24 January 2004)», which allowed me to revisit the Delian temple inventories and think about the larger issues I neglected. This is also the chance for me to correct my earlier dismissal of the brief archons' inventories of the Prytaneion treasure, which seem never to have been studied as a group. I am grateful as well to Clarisse Prêtre for commenting on an early draft of this essay and to Jie Yuan for commenting on the penultimate draft.
2. For the stages leading to this system see the summary of Treheux’s analysis in Richard Hamilton, Treasure Map: A Guide to the Delian Inventories, Ann Arbor 2000, 26, which will be abbreviated hereafter as Treasure Map.
3. Even items mounted on the walls, such as the gold crowns in the Athenian Temple, are reweighed in the Independence period (and 81 of the 104 weights there differ).
4. The only difference is that in this last period the officials list every movable object in a sanctuary, including statues and doors, with the result that these latest, most careless and least legible inventories tell us far more than the others about the look of a sanctuary.
objects was an incidental by-product of the reweighing—each object or group of objects would have been brought out to the scale for weighing and after weighing each object would have been brought back. It is less easy to imagine how reordering would entail reweighing, and there is no obvious other action, like temple cleansing, that would have led to both at the same time.

If the reweighing is primary, we need then to ask why the objects were reweighed. The answer seems intuitively obvious to anyone who has read about Enron, Parmalat and other recent accounting scandals: to insure the objects had not lost weight through wear-and-tear or theft. And elsewhere we find some evidence of discrepancies in weight being noted, particularly in Athens. In the inventories of the Athenian Asclepieion, we read about the priest Diokles being required to repay the 3 drachmas missing from the 10 that Mnesarete had dedicated (III.3), about Polyxenos paying back the 4 drachmas missing from the 12 dedicated by Onasos (III.6) and about three objects that were short in weight and therefore kept by the priest (IV.119-121), one explicitly said to have been «weighed against silver» (IV.121). An Acropolis inventory speaks of lacks in five weights (IG II² 1440.30-45) and another speaks of at least five lacks in weights of hydriai revealed by an exetasmos (IG II² 1463.13-21) while a third lists necklaces lacking gold (IG II² 1524A58).

In the Delian inventories, on the other hand, we hardly ever find notes about errors in the weight listed in an inventory. The one case I have found occurs in the fragmentary part of a late inventory, during the Athenian period, where the weight of an object given as 8 drachmas is said to be short 3 obols (ID 1444Aa40). What is

5. So, recently, B. Dignas has argued that «the striking accuracy in reporting dedications surely emphasizes accountability» (Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor, Oxford 2002, 17). Another possible explanation for reweighing would be for borrowing but, though that was occasionally done in Athens (see e.g., D. Harris, The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion, Oxford 1995, 28-29), it seems not to have been done in Delos. The Delian temples had sufficient income through property rentals, and this is what we find extensively described in the accounts published along with the inventories. See now C. Prêtère, Nouveau choix d’inscriptions de Délos: Lois, comptes et inventaires (Études Épigraphiques 4, Athens, 2003) 258-62.

6. The Asclepieion inventories are cited from S.B. Aleshire, The Athenian Asclepieion, Amsterdam 1989, who notes «it was apparently common practice for dedications about which some discrepancy existed in the record of paradosis to be placed in the keeping of the priest» (240). The closest I can come to such activity in the Delian inventories is ID 1432AbII26-27, where it is said the priest Philon restored (apokastēsen) one of the two kotylai.
more often noted, instead, is a discrepancy between inscribed weight and actual weight, in the case of the crowns in the Athenian treasure on Delos (ID 161B108-14), or the lack of (presumably precious decorative) nails in a door (ID 1403Ab184 etc.) or table (ID 1441A161 etc.) or ornaments on Leto’s chiton (ID 1428II54)\(^7\). But these are simply more precise renderings, mostly by the obsessive later Athenian officials, of what we commonly find in the earlier Delian inventories when an object is said to be «unsound» \(^8\). That is, what these notes of missing elements record are visible defects in the objects themselves (the labels belonging to the objects not the lists) not deficiencies in the listing. And these remarks are confined to the latest inventories, when there is no reweighing.

It is not as if there were no discrepancies. We can observe hundreds of them in the Delian inventories, especially during Independence, where fully a third of the

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7. These lacks are marked by the word \textit{elleipei} (or \textit{enleipei}); interestingly \textit{enlei} is common in Athens but never found in Delos. (Other terms like \textit{ouk echei} and \textit{ouk hygiës} describe missing parts of statues or vessels.) I think the 2 tetradrachmas missing from Diophantos’ deposit of 4500 dr. (ID 1421Ab15) are objects rather than weights. I continue here my practice of identifying the Delian inventories in IG XI.2 as ID (see \textit{Treasure Map} xii).

8. Linders claims that these descriptions of damage are not done systematically «as it ought to be if the exoneration should be effective» because «the fragments of gold and silver which from time to time came off the precious objects are regularly recorded, but rarely related to their origin... the hieropoioi only seldom made attempts to follow the «history» of the objects» (T. Linders, «The purpose of inventories: A close reading of the Delian inventories of the Independence», in: D. Knoepfli (ed.), \textit{Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque}, Neuchâtel 1988, 40). Hence the act of handing over the treasure, the paradoxis, rather than an exhaustive and correct inventory, was the proof that the officials had performed their office correctly. But this is to conflate paradoxis and audit (\textit{exetasmos}): IG II\(^2\) 120 makes it clear that in Athens the previous inventories (\textit{paradoses}) were to be compared to the present examination (\textit{exetasmos}) to see what was missing and the officials in charge of those previous inventories were to be present. Obviously, an item missing from the present treasure would be traced back until it could not be found and the officials in whose inventory it could not be found would be liable. The same would be true of objects that had become damaged, hence the importance of noting all damaged items. As C. Vial notes, «il n’y a qu’un point sur lesquelles hiéropes ont constamment montré de la précision: ils signalaien les objets abîmés, incomplets ou brisés» (C. Vial, \textit{Délis Indépendante}, \textit{BCH} Supp. X, Paris 1984, 220). The history of the fragments of gold and silver is irrelevant until there is an audit, and in anticipation of an audit each official will want to be sure the present inventory accuates describes what is presently in the treasure, damage and all.
weights recorded differ (324 of 901 weights)\(^9\). But these differences are almost impossible to find without tedious analysis since reordering makes it very difficult to compare one inventory with another: «if it is required of inventories that it must be possible with their aid to check the objects and compare the lists, it is clear that the Delian inscriptions do not fulfill these conditions»\(^10\). So, we have on the one hand careful reweighing every year and on the other a listing that makes comparison virtually impossible. Hence my title, «the Paradox of the Delian Inventories».

It looks as if the question should be what is the point of weighing, not what is the point of reweighing.

I think we can get a useful perspective on this question by looking at the inventories of the Prytaneion treasure, which show a remarkable variety of arrangements and a very selective use of weighing, a use that suggests that the crucial factor is size of the treasure rather than reweighing.

The Prytaneion treasure is described in two dozen often fragmentary inscriptions as part of a larger record the archon made each year. The record includes the choregoi for various festivals (Apollonia; Dionysia) and the various competitors in aulos, kithara-singing, kithara, comic (acting), comic writing, tragic (acting), and magic tricks (thaumatopoios)\(^11\). For the first years this is all that we find, but, beginning with \(ID\) 110, dated to 268 BC, there is also a list of silver, with the explanation «I gave over the following silver» \((ID\) 110, 111)\(^12\). Our first example that includes the Prytaneion treasure dates to 268 BC and our last to 170 BC so they are roughly contemporary with the inventories made by the hieropoioi during

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10. Linders (above n.8) 40.
11. These are oddly displayed: \(ID\) 105/6/7/8/10/11/13 are all carved on the same column, though they cover thirteen years. \(ID\) 112 (pre-263) and \(ID\) 116 (254) are carved on the same stele. \(ID\) 109 and 114 are carved on their own stele. \(ID\) 114 may be a multiple year listing).
12. Later the next year’s archon is named as recipient, «I gave over the following silver to \(x\)» \((ID\) 113, 115, 116) and then with an even fuller formula, «I took over the following silver from \(x\) and gave (it) over to \(y\)» \((ID\) 122, 124). Thereafter the addition of a gold item (Philip’s gold phiale) seems to have caused various accommodations: first, «I took over the following gifts from \(x\) in accord with the decree of the demos» (126); then, with the gold phiale isolated at the end, simply «I took over the following silver» \((ID\) 128); and finally «I took over the following from \(x\) and gave (it) over to \(y\)» \((ID\) 134).
Independence, the earliest of which is 279 BC (ID 161) and the latest 169 BC (ID 461)\textsuperscript{13}.

The key question here is how the form of the archon inventories maps onto that of the hieropoioi inventories and whether weighing plays the same role. In the appendix I have given translations of the complete archon inventories, arranged chronologically and divided into four self-evident groups («types»).

In Type A each of the first three inventories repeats the previous list with virtually no additions and in the same order. In the appendix the objects are listed and numbered in the left column and then given their order in the following inventories in the remaining columns. (If there is more than one of an item I have put the quantity preceded by a slash, so for instance #8 in ID 110, «another rhodiakon», becomes «three rhodiakai» in ID 111 and 112, five in ID 113 and six in ID 115, 116.) We can see that the order shifts only once, in ID 113. As for additions, it may look as if there are yearly additions but many of them are re-groupings: #21 «another skyphos» has been joined to #14 in ID 111 so that there are two skyphoi and #12 «another plateia» has been joined to #11 in ID 111 in the same way. ID 112 actually loses an object. In ID 113 #18a apothereutes could be the spondochoe #16 that disappears at the same time, and #1a kanoun looks like a new item, but it may well have been produced by melting down the manes, plateia, two antipatrides, skyphos, hedypotis and aparustron, that go missing at the same time. If we look at ID 124 in Type B we can see that the second item is a kanoun with precisely the number of archons (7) as would be represented by these seven missing vessels. As Tréheux long ago noted, multiple archons listed for one object not in chronological order could only be the product of a melting\textsuperscript{14}. This melting, representing the first «rationalization» of the treasure, would explain the one major shift in order we find in this whole series. That would leave only four true additions over these 15 years, an oinochoe and three rhodiakai. In any case the total hardly changes, as one can see, and objects are identified simply by shape.

Of the B type only one complete example remains, ID 124, but we can still see that the form changes completely. We begin with objects found in the A list, thymaterion, kanoun, kados and oinochoe, presumably all products of meltings given their non-chronological grouping of archons, who are not consecutive and not

\textsuperscript{13} Before 279 BC, the hieropoioi inventories are very irregular (see Treasure Map, 25-29).

\textsuperscript{14} J. Tréheux, «Études d’épigraphie délienne», BCH 69 (1945) 280. These non-consecutive lists are to be distinguished from cases where two years’ funding is required for a dedication and so two consecutive archons are listed.
in order except for those listed on the thymiatieron. They are followed by further vases with multiple archons (only once consecutive) and then several chronological runs of vases (mostly skaphia, though one set is of phialai), increasingly short and increasingly complete, and the list ends with what look like epeteia. Two of the three runs are easily identifiable: skaphia dedicated by Philonis and phialai dedicated by Gorgias. We know from ID 320B79 that a man named Gorgias established an endowment of 6730 dr in 229 BC, and we can see from the end of ID 124 that the endowment is producing a phiale a year\textsuperscript{15}. If we consider for a moment the Type D lists, we can see in ID 133 annual dedications not only of gorian phialai but also of vessels from three other endowments, philonidean and mikitheian and stesilean, and it is clear that in ID 124 we have not only the gorian but, right before it, a list of philonidean vessels, again annual. Since the vessels from the much older stesilean endowment, begun around 300 BC, were kept elsewhere, it is likely that the first chronological run is of the mikitheian vessels\textsuperscript{16}. It is striking that the dates for the vessels with multiple archons at the beginning of the inventory mesh chronologically almost perfectly with this mikitheian list, and that led Tréheux to argue that the whole first part listed mikitheian dedications and that the mikitheian endowment went back to the beginning of Delian Independence in 314 and so we have here a complete list from 307 to 225. The list does begin with the thymiatieron dedicated by Miktos, which seems to support Tréheux, but there are several problems, most obviously a number of gaps in the chronology and the double and sometimes triple occurrence of some archon names\textsuperscript{17}. It seems more likely that the mikitheian list

\textsuperscript{15} The phiale for 224 BC was presumably one of the two gorian phialai listed at the end of the inventory, the other being the new phiale for the year.

\textsuperscript{16} There is a separate heading for «Stesileia from the Aphrodision» in ID 226 and 253, and this group is later listed at the end of the Apollo treasure (ID 287, 298, 313, 320). Another endowment, established by the trittys Mapsidikai, exists already in 240 BC (ID 298A70) but these, like the steisileia, do not seem to stay long in the Prytaneion treasure.

\textsuperscript{17} The chronological gaps are: 296, 294, 293, 286, 278, 273, 267, 265, 261, 259, 258, 253, 245, 240, 236 BC; the doubling of archons includes Demeas, Kyrbelion, Theoprotos and the tripling Antigonos and Elpines. Tréheux (above note 14) thought that gap and doubling cancelled out: where there was a gap, it was covered by a doubling the next year, but this works only for Demeas, Kyrbelion, and Theoprotos. Tréheux also argued that we can see the two therikleiai of ID 124 labelled as mikitheion in ID 127, but I am fairly certain there are three therikleiai in ID 124 not two; and, in any case, the archon names do not fully match. The thymiatieron, which begins the inventory and is the only multiple-archon dedication with the archons arranged chronologically, suggests that the mikitheian dedications started in 289 BC,
begins after the multiple-archon dedications but includes the thymiaterion at the beginning of the list. In any case, Type B inventories are totally different from Type A in description (by date) and arrangement (by endowment).

If we turn next to Type C, the inventory of 216 B.C., ID 126, and its fuller mate of 201 BC, ID 128, we can see that the format is again quite different. Whereas the B and D inventories gave most or at least much of the inscription on an object but no description of it, here we have only description, primarily weight. It looks as if if the object is described beyond weight only if it is defective, and so the Type C inventories best illustrate the efficiency and compactness of using weight for description. In addition, whereas the A and D inventories had hardly any gatherings and B inventories had none at all, in ID 128 half of the objects have been gathered in standard lots of 5 or 10 (or once 25), and these are weighed. The inventory ends with epeteia but here given with weights as well as date and the name of the epistates; these epeteia are clearly only one year's worth, since the previous item is the gold phiale of Philip which we see already in ID 126. Just before the epeteia in ID 128 we can see a number of familiar items that have been in the treasure from the very beginning (libanotis, kanoun, thymiaterion), though the order is clearer in ID 126 where after Philip's gold phiale we have a list very much like that of Type A: thymiaterion (= Type A #1), libanotis (= #2), kados (= #5), and

but we cannot make the remaining anonymous dedications fit. Even the more limited assumption that all the dedications from Kallimos to Anektos are mkýytheia must acknowledge that the series includes a phiale whereas mkýytheian dedications are otherwise cups and skaphia and that the epeteia in ID 128 apparently include three mkýytheian skaphia for the year whereas the list in ID 124 works out to only one a year.

18. ID 127 is extremely fragmentary but looks like a Type B inventory, even though it is dated after 209 BC. There are no weights but simply object and date (not in chronological order), and v.5 can be restored on the basis of v.45 of ID 124, which has no parallel in the C inventories.

19. Even if two weights of similar objects are the same, an auditor will still know if one of the objects is missing, and it seems that the presence of the object is more important than its condition and that notes about condition are probably simply for identification. But clearly weighing is not simply for identification because then all objects in a treasure would be weighed, or at least all objects of a certain class (e.g. «silver»), and this is hardly ever the case on Delos, except for the very small, very short-lived treasure of the Temple of the Delians.

20. In ID 128 alone do we find extensive descriptions describing appearance (with handles and bases, with nail) and condition (broken, handles fallen off).
oinochoe (= #6), though the overlap is not perfect. Thus Type C appears to be the original A treasure plus endowment vessels (mikytheian skphia, gorgean phialai, philonidean skphia) grouped either before it (ID 128) or after it (ID 126), plus epeteia at the end. Type C, then, has quite a different format than A and B; only here are the objects weighed and their inscriptions (except for the epeteia) ignored.

By the time of our last inventories, there are quite a few items added each year, from the various endowments that have started up. In the appendix we can see that Type D lists are simply gatherings of annual epeteia, with ID 133 giving the epeteia for each year from 179 to 171 BC. They are preceded by the one gold item and a gathering of the gorgean phialai. Here we have only epeteia, and we can see what happens to them by looking at the inventory of the Temple of Apollo for 179 BC (ID 442B 142ff). There we find record of a paradosis of objects received from the archon of 181 BC (Telesarchides) containing 15 gorgean phialai dating 196 to 182 BC, 15 philonidean tray dating 196 to 181 BC and 13 mikytheian trays and kylizes dating from 197 to 181 BC, and it looks like ID 133 is a similar gathering, perhaps the next in line. The items in the first archon inventory of 268 BC and still traceable in part in the inventory of 216 BC (ID 126) have disappeared. For our purposes the more important point is that the format is a year-by-year listing for the most part, and the objects are identified by inscription (archon, epistates, sometimes hieropoioi) rather than description.

21. There are no epichytai, hypotis (a mistake for hegyptos?), statos, or therikleioi in the A list; and, conversely, a number of A list objects are apparently not found in (fragmentary) ID 126: kanoun, psykter, dinos, aryxas, apothecutes, 2 teiourge, chioruge, 2 kapelika (though both kanoun and psykter are found in ID 128).
22. It is not clear why these alone are gathered, perhaps to join Philip's gold phiale (though the latest gorgean phialai have not yet been added).
23. The listing ends with three years' worth of epeteia for Apollo (181-179 BC). It is slightly mysterious why about half the objects are dated to the decade before—perhaps that was the first shift after they gave up grouping by weight. One might want to see the group of 12 gorgean phialai in ID 126 becoming the group of 26 gorgean phialai in ID 442 (Apollo C269 in Treasure Map) but the numbers do not quite match. If we add the 26 of C269 and the 15 of C322 we get 41 which, at one a year, should take us back only to 220 or so whereas the gorgean endowment starts, as we have seen, in 229 BC (320B79). The 12 gorgean phialai of ID 126, on the other hand, match precisely since the inscription dates to 216 BC. and another gorgean phiala is listed in the epeteia. In ID 128 the gorgean phialai number 25, one more than expected (plus one in the epeteia).
24. As Vial (above n.8) already suggested (205-207).
The Prytanieon Treasure and the paradox of the Delian Inventories

So, what can we say about the formal development of the Prytanieon inventories? First, we have to separate off the D inventories from the others since as far as we can tell they are only of epeteia. Possibly the permanent treasure was judged already adequately marked by the earlier inventories and so omitted, perhaps under financial constraints, though whatever the constraints, the endowments continued to produce vases. Or the permanent treasure could have already been absorbed into the Apollo treasure, though there is virtually no trace of it in the Apollo inventories. If we consider the other three types of archon inventory we find that, though there is a base treasure visible in all three, there are three quite distinct formats within half a century:

A= no weight, arranged by object, few epeteia, order has one major shift
B= no weight, arranged older vases first, followed by newer vases arranged by endowment and date; no obvious shift in order.
C= by weight, often grouped; order shifts.

Does this development fit with that of the hieropoioi inventories? Here is a diagram giving an overview of the different inventory formats in the two series:

Hieropoioi Inventories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>date</th>
<th>367-341 BC</th>
<th>279-234 BC</th>
<th>194-140 BC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>format</td>
<td>same weight</td>
<td>changing weights</td>
<td>same weights (mostly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>same order</td>
<td>changing order</td>
<td>same order</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25. \textit{ID} 133 is complete, and it seems unlikely there is another stone that lists the permanent treasure since we find in \textit{ID} 133 both the full paradosis formula and the usual other lists, choregoi and contestants.

26. The one exception is the arysas of Klaizomenian Metrodoros, fully described only in \textit{ID} 442.97 but found as the arysas of Metrodoros in \textit{ID} 124.61, the something of Metrodoros in \textit{ID} 118.8, the something of the Klaizomenian in \textit{ID} 117.18 and simply the arysas in the Type A archon inventories. None of the «permanent» items in Prytanieon treasure shows up in the Apollo treasure as far as I can tell.
We see first that, though reweighing was being practiced by the hieropoioi from at least 279 BC to at least 234 BC, the archons do not avail themselves of that possibility during that whole period. So, there was no single decision on the island to change the way of doing inventories.

It is only later that the archons resort to weighing, and this is the period in which we see a tremendous jump in the size of the treasure and also the period in which we can see other efforts to impose order besides weighing: similar objects are arranged in weighed lots; objects are described not only by form, weight, endowment but also by condition. We may speculate that the influx of dedications led to chaotic storage and random location and this led to identification by weight as a means of quickly describing objects as they were brought out, often in lots in the case of endowment vessels. So, rather than reweighing leading to reordering we might wish to conclude that disorderly storage led to weighing in the first place.

27. Since there is no apparent overall logic to the reordering, we can assume that the repositioning of the objects was somewhat random and that they were stored in a way that would allow them to be shuffled. Certain objects are consistently grouped together and were presumably stored together: for instance, in the Artemision B #17-31 the unweighed phialai have variable order but are always the same objects, and the miscellaneous unweighed items (#14-16) can occur before (ID 161/162) or after (ID 164/199) them but are not mixed with them and themselves are a unit ("broken silver"?). For these objects see the relevant charts in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type A</th>
<th>Type B</th>
<th>Type C</th>
<th>Type D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>268-254 BC</td>
<td>236-221 BC</td>
<td>216-200 BC</td>
<td>169-166 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Format</td>
<td>no weight same order</td>
<td>no weight same order?</td>
<td>weight changing order</td>
<td>no weight same order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrangement</td>
<td>by position</td>
<td>by endowment / date begin with old epeteia at end</td>
<td>in lots begin with old epeteia at end</td>
<td>by date epeteia only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>by object</td>
<td>by object, endowment, date</td>
<td>by object, endowment, weight, condition</td>
<td>by object, endowment, date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of objects</td>
<td>34-39</td>
<td>70+</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The situation is quite different in the inventories of the hieropoioi. There the huge increase in the treasures caused the collapse of the system of reweighing, and there it seems that a vessel on first entering the treasure has its weight recorded. We almost never find an initially unweighed object later getting weighed, though, conversely, a weighed object is sometimes not weighed in a later inventory.

This is perhaps the most interesting revelation, that in the archon inventories the weighing does not exist from the beginning. The weight of endowment vessels is recorded only in the Type C inventories, and that is where the weight of the recast vessels, like the thymiatierion, kanoun and kados, is recorded.

Comparison of the two sets of inventories, then, reveals that there is no single answer. One must allow for historical factors ranging from the size of the treasure over time down to the presence or absence of an inscription recording an object's weight. The most we can say about the weights in the various Delian inventories is that they are never used for banking, rarely for audit, at least sometimes for description.

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*Treasure Map.* Indeed, in the one case we know of an audit on Delos, the officials in charge of the annual inventory complain that order of objects has been totally destroyed by the audit: «these we did not present in this way but as the groups had been inscribed on account of the fact that the men were sent ... to examine the material in the sanctuaries according to the paradox of Mikion and once they had placed (them) as they had earlier been told we were no longer able to find the placement of the bronze in the Opithodomeos» *(ID 1403Bh1.26-28).*

28. See *Treasure Map*, 409 n. 3 and 410. One might think that the Prytaneion treasure was essentially temporary storage, like the Hieropoion/Andrian treasure, but the latter shows radical shifts virtually every time we have complete listings: *ID* 199 (274 BC) shows no overlap with *ID* 154 (296 BC), and by 250 BC (*ID* 287) the contents have again changed almost entirely. The earliest lists (*ID* 154, *ID* 224) have weighing; *ID* 287 weighs only the gold and the later lists (*ID* 336-461, 207-169 BC) have no weights.
Appendix: Archon Inventories of the Prytaneion Treasure

(\(^b\) = beginning extant, \(^e\) = end extant; @ = added [epeteia]; objects underlined)

**Type A** ID 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116 (268-254 BC): unweighed with same order; arranged by object; regrouped in 263 BC; described by object only (quantity after slash)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID 110(^b) (268 BC)</th>
<th>ID 111(^e) (265 BC)</th>
<th>ID 112(^b)</th>
<th>ID 113(^e) (263 BC)</th>
<th>ID 115(^b) (259 BC)</th>
<th>ID 116(^b) (254 BC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 thymiaterion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 a kanoun</td>
<td>@</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 paryx</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 kados</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 oinochoe</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6/2</td>
<td>5/2</td>
<td>5/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 two rhodiakai</td>
<td>7/2</td>
<td>7/2</td>
<td>12/2</td>
<td>12/6</td>
<td>12/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 another rhodiakon</td>
<td>8/3</td>
<td>8/3</td>
<td>13/5</td>
<td>11/6</td>
<td>12/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 two manai</td>
<td>9/3</td>
<td>9/3</td>
<td>18/2</td>
<td>18/2</td>
<td>18/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 two teiourge</td>
<td>10/2</td>
<td>10/2</td>
<td>14/2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 five plateiai</td>
<td>12/6</td>
<td>12/6</td>
<td>16/5</td>
<td>13/5</td>
<td>15/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 another plateia (^a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 two antipirates</td>
<td>13/2</td>
<td>13/2</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 skyphos</td>
<td>11/2</td>
<td>11/2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 kampilikon</td>
<td>14/5</td>
<td>14/2</td>
<td>19/2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 spondochne</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 chytis</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 arysas</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18(^a) apothereutes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 two kvathoi</td>
<td>20/2</td>
<td>20/2</td>
<td>8/2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 kampilikon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 another skyphos</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 kedrepotis</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 phiale</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 chiourges</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 aparastron</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 another rhodiakon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>vase total: 35</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Type B ID 118, 119, 120?, 121, 122, 124, 125 (236-221 BC): unweighed, with same order(?); arranged by endowment and date, beginning with old treasure and ending with epeteia; described by object and date

ID 124[bc] (221 BC)

(25) thymiaterion Miskyos ded. archons Theodotos (289), Aphthonetos (288), Timothemis (287), Aristokritos (284), Poseidikos (283), Kleostatos (282) kanoun w. three cylinders in (year of) Demonax (299), Antigonos (274), Demeas (277), Glaukiades (281), Phillis (275), Antigonos (274), Polybos (264)

(30) kados archons Demokritos, Lysixenos (301), Ktesikles (300), Kleokritos (298), Pyrrides (297), Telemnestos (271), Melichides (270), Kyrbelion (272), Archeopolis (313-308)
oinochoe archons Onomakleides (309-3), Stesileos (309-3), Timothemis (309-3), Demeas (277), Kyrbelion (272)

---Antigonos (274)

(35) ---Kokon (290)

another w ithout inscription

inochoe in Kalliphan

another [in . . . ] Elpines (262), Prostatos (313-08)

another in Androthalo (292), Olympiades (291)

hedypotis in Diodotos (295)---Philios (285)

kapelike in Charmos (280)

hedypotis in Hypsokles (279)

(40) another in Sosimachos (276)

manes in Melichides (270), Echmaintis (266)

another in Antigonos (274), Anaxanthemis (253)

antipatris in Elpines (262), Theoprotos (257), Phillis (275)

skaphion in Elpines (262)

29. ID 117 is anomalous: it seems to have the same order as the others of this group (117.14= 124.53; 117.17-18 = 124.60, though the order of the two arysai is reversed) and the contents are described by object and date, but it has weights and some of the items do not fit: the ethmos of Pr[okles] in v.11 is not found in ID 124 and the three archons listed in vv.9-10 with a gap are found consecutively in v.32 of ID 124 and nowhere else. We should note also the explicit reference to fabricating a dedication (kateskeus[-] v.15), suggesting old dedications have been melted down.
therikleioi two in Artyseleos (251), Sositheis (250), Ankitheides (241), Prokles (264), Archedamas (263)
(45) another in Antichares (256), Badros (248), Paches (254), Archias (249), Amphikles (260)
another without archon

skaphion in Kallimos (268) skaphion in Theoprotos (257)
rhodiaka without inscription rhodiaka in Phanes (252)
manes in Parmenion (247) skaphion in Eidokritos (246)
(50) another in Xenokrates (244) plateia in Dionysios (243)
manes in Orthokles (242) rhodiaka in Agatharchos (239)
skaphion in Dorieus (238) rhodiaka in Timagenos (237)
skaphion left over from the cups vac.
skaphion in Sosikos (235)
(55) another in Anaxithemis (233) rhodiaka in Dexikles (232)
phiale in Philoxenos (231) skaphion in Skyllichos (230)
another two in Menethales (229) another in Amphoteros (228)
another in Lykades (227) another in Polybros (226)
another in Anektos (225)
another [two] in Phillis (275) and--- part of old treasure?
(60) skaphia two of the Mapsichidae in---
arysas of Metrodoros another of Herakleides
thymiatieron Delians ded.
spondochoidion insc. hieron of Hestia

skaphia two Philonis ded. in Anaxithemis (233) (philonidean skaphia)
another in Dexikles (232)
(65) another in Philoxenos (231)
another in Skyllichos (230)
another two in Menethales (229)
another in Amphoteros (228)
another two in Lykades (227)
another in Polybos (226)

phiale Gorgias ded. in Amphoteros (228) (gorgeian phialai)
another in Lykades (227)
another in Polybos (226)
another in Anektos (225)

(70) skaphion of Philonis in Anektos (225) and in Timoxenos (224) (epeteia?)
skaphion ded. Philonis in Timoxenos (224)
phiale Gorgias ded. in arch. Xenomedes (223)
[kad?]jos ded.
Mikythos ded.
(75)---Gorgias ded. in ---
---phiale Gorgias----
[vac.] in Mennis---[vac.]
[vac.]

Type C ID 126, 128 (216-200 BC): weighed with changing order; often grouped in lots, beginning with old and ending with epeteia; described by object and weight (with defects noted); rubric changed to reflect gold phiale

ID 126b (216 BC)
(11) gold phiale of king Philip, thymiateria 2, libanosis
kados, oinochoai 2, kyathos, manai 2, statos, therkleoi 2, rhodiakai 6, epichytais 2
manai 2, plateiai 9, epichytae, spondochoidion, hedypotis, mikytheia s[kaphia, others small 12? PALMATE skaphia 8, others small 13
(15) ---small 2---phiale of Mikythos, mikytheios(?), kana 5
---73 dr, others 5 weight 380 dr
---oinochoe whose weight 169 dr
---weight 237 dr, rhodiakai
---weight 430, thymiaterion
(20) ---105+ spondochoidion, chyris, epichytae
--- 102, weight 290+
--- weight 722 dr, philonideia ska[phia]
--- phialai of Gorgias 12 weight 1000+
--- weight 38+++-
(25) --- in my arche @ skaphion philo[nideion
--- @ phialle of Gorgias, @ mikytheion with epistates Hedy---

_ID 128\textsuperscript{be} (201 BC)_

(25) mikytheia skaphia 5, weight 464 dr
another 5, 468 dr, another 5, 462 dr
another 5, 464 dr, another 5, 468 dr
another 5, 472 dr, another 5, 456 dr
philonideia 5 weight 464, another
(30) 5 weight 464, another 4 weight 370 dr
gorgieioi phialai 25 weight 2328 dr
another 2 weight 198 dr, and mikytheion 1
weight 97 dr, _psyker_ with handles fallen off
without base, _kados_ with handles, without
(35) base, weight of these both 1140 dr
argyris weight 241 dr, another 274 dr, skaphia
small philonideia 10 weight 407 dr, others small 10
weight 440 dr, another 4 weight 181 dr, other
mikytheia small 7 weight 323 dr 2 1/2 ob, of the Mapschidai
(40) 2 weight 80 dr, small crowned weight 96 dr
another small 92 dr, another small weight 115 dr 1 ob
another with one handle weight 116 dr, therikleioi 4
two of these with handles and bases
one without embolion and two with
(45) bases and broken off handles
weight 880 dr, rhodiakai 8 with bases
and handles broken off weight 792 dr
plateiai 6 one without base
weight 496 dr, karchesion
(50) without base weight 73 dr, arysas
weight 33 dr, escharis weight 46 dr, _libanotis_ weight
72 dr, kyathos broken without head
The Prytaneion Treasure and the paradox of the Delian Inventories

weight 28 dr, kanoun broken with pieces
weight 520 dr, thymiaterion with
(55) the bronze nail weight 656+ dr
and phiale gold which king Philip dedicated
and in my arche hieropoioi Poly xenos, Sokritos
@philonideion skaphion 100 dr and @gorgieion
phiale 100 dr, @skaphion arch. Telemnestos (202)
(60) epist. Echekratides 100 dr, @another mikytheion epist.
Aristokudos wt 100 dr, @another mikytheion epist.
Leothalos 100 dr [vac.]

Type D ID 132, 133, 134: no weight, same order; epeteia only, arranged by date, with full inscription (archon, epistates, hieropoioi)\(^{30}\)

ID 133\(^{b}\) (170 BC)
(15) gold phiale which king Philip dedicated
(17) 7 gorgieoi silver phialai arch. Telesarchides (181) Phokaieus (180), Demares (179), Xenotimos (178), Oineus (177), Phokaieus (176), Poly xenos (175)
(25) mikytheion arch. Xenotimos (178) epist. Mei lichides, mikytheion arch. Xenotimos (178) hier. Amphoteros Poly xenos Slenos Philippos
(28) philonideion arch. Oineus (177) epist. Philonymos, mikytheion arch. Oineus (177) hierop. Demetrios Mei lichides, philonideion arch. Oineus (177) hier. Amnos, Charkleides, Agorallos, Charilas, philonideion arch. Oineus (177)

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30. The text shows signs of carelessness: v.61 Demokritos son of Demokratos is presumably a mistake for Demokritos son of Timokratos, as in v.59; several times one dedication will have two archon-dates, either by dittography (v.48 Parmenion/Par menion; v. 57 Periandros / Periandros) or separated by several years (v.22 Demares / Phokaieus; v.55 Polybos / Theodoros), never separated by one year as we find when two years’ funding is required for a dedication.
(41) philonideion arch. Polyxenos (175) hierop. Timoxenos, Theodoros, philonideion of Boule arch. Polyxenos (175)
(44) two stesileia of Boule arch. Polybos (174), stesileion arch. Polybos (174)
ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ
Ο ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΟΥ

Οι κατάλογοι του θησαυρού του Πρυτανείου που συνέτασαν οι ἀρχοντες τῆς Δήλου ἀκολουθοῦν τρεῖς διαφορετικούς τύπους: κατά τὸ δεύτερο μισό τοῦ 3ου π.X. αἰῶνα. Μόνον ὁ τρίτος τύπος ἀναφέρει τὸ βάρος τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, παρά τὸ γεγονός ὅτι στὸ πρώτο μισὸ τοῦ αἰῶνα οἱ ἱεροποιοὶ, στοὺς ἰδιούς τους καταλόγους, ζύγιζαν τακτικά τὰ ἀντικείμενα καὶ τὰ ἀνακατέτασαν. Ἐφόσον οἱ ἀρχοντες ἀρχικά νὰ καταγράφουν τὸ βάρος τῶν ἀναθημάτων τήν ίδια ἑποχή ποὺ παρατηρεῖται καὶ αἴξεισι στὸ μέγεθος τοῦ θησαυροῦ, μποροῦμε να ύποθέσουμε ὅτι ἡ αἴξεισι τῶν ἀναθημάτων ὀδήγησε σὲ χαστικὲς συνθήκες ἀποθήκευσης, μὲ ἀποτέλεσμα νὰ εἶναι ἀπαραίτητη ἡ πλήρης ταυτίσια τῶν ἀντικειμένων μὲ βάσι τὸ σχῆμα, τὸ βάρος καὶ τὴν κατάστασι τους. Ἄκριβῶς τὸ ἀντίθετο ἴσχυε στὴν περίπτωσι τῶν ἱεροποιῶν, ὡς τὸ σύστημα τοῦ ἐπιστού ἕξισσαμα τῶν ἀντικειμένων, μᾶλλον γὰρ λόγους ταυτίσιας, ἐξαφανίζεται ἄκριβος τὴν ἑποχὴ ποὺ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ θησαυροῦ αἴξανε δραματικά. Ὅπως φαίνεται, δὲν ὑπάρχει κάποια ἀπλὴ ἀπάντησι στὸ ἔρωτιμα γιατί οἱ Δήλοι ἔκαναν ἅρμις τὰ ἀντικείμενα τῶν διαφόρων θησαυρῶν τους.