Kweku A. Garbrah

On the Enumerative Use of te

On the Enumerative Use of τε[*]

The particle τε,[1] as is well known, is used to link together words, phrases or parts of a sentence as well as main or subordinate clauses in a sentence. In Hellenistic inscriptions,

[1] See especially:

J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, Oxford[2] 1954, 495f.; 497f.;

J. Gonda, "The History and Original Function of the Indo-European Particle *K^uE* especially in Greek and Lat–in", *Mnemosyne* ser. IV, vol. VII, 1954, 177-214, 265-296;

O. Szemerényi, "The Syntax, Meaning and Origin of the Indo-European particle *k^we*," *Scripta Minora* (ed. P. Considine and J.T. Hooker) I, Innsbruck 1987, 365-395;

H Schäfer, *De nonullarum particularum apud Antiphontem usu*, Diss. Gottingae 1877, 6-22;

H. Hoefer, *De particulis Platonicis capita selecta*, Diss. Bonnae 1882, 5-18;

C. Schmidt, *De usu particulae TE earumque quae cum TOI compositae sunt apud oratores Atticos*, Diss. Rostochii 1891, 5-39;

B. Hammer, *De TE particulae usu Herodoteo Thucydideo Xenophonteo*, Diss. Lipsiae 1904.

See in general:

K. W. Krüger, *Griechische Sprachlehre für Schulen*, II. Teil, 6. Aufl. besorgt von W. Pökel, Leipzig und Würzburg 1891, 359f. §§69, 59;

R. Kühner / B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* II. Teil. *Satzlehre*, 2. Bd., Hannover u. Leipzig[3] 1904, 235f. esp. 241f.;

K Brugmann / A. Thumb, *Griechische Grammatik*, München[4] 1913, 612-613, 626, 653;

K. Meisterhans / E. Schwyzer, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, Berlin[3] 1900, 249-250;

F. Blass / A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, bearbeitet von F. Rehkopf, Göttingen[14] 1976, §§ 443-445; cf. F. Blass / A. Debrunner, *A Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* trans. from the 9th/10th German edn. by R. W. Funk, Chicago and London 1961 (1970) 229-231;

L. Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik. Das Griechisch des neuen Testaments in Zusammenhang mit der Volkssprache*, Tübingen[2] 1925, 5-6;

A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar chiefly of the Attic Dialect*, London 1897, §§1704-1710;

E. Schwyzer / A. Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik*, 2. Bd. *Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik*, München[2] 1959, 573f.

B. Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen* IV, *Die Grundlagen der griechischen Syntax*, Halle 1879, 144-145;

J. Humbert, *Syntaxe Grecque*, Paris[3] 1960, 434-440;

E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Bd. II. 3. *Satzlehre, synthetischer Teil*, Berlin/Leipzig 1934, §164.24 (pp. 155-157);

H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* rev. by G. M. Messing, Cambridge, Mass. 1956, 666-669;

J. Carrière, *Stylistique Grecque*, Paris 1967, 119 (§85).

On epic τε see in addition:

D. B. Monro, *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect*, Oxford[2] 1891, §§263, 266, 269, 270, 272, 331, 332;

J. Van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium Dictionis Epicae*, Lugduni Batavorum[2] 1918, 396-397;

A. Minard, "Deux Relatifs Homériques," *Revue de Philologie* (3e ser.) XI, 1937, 239-264, 348-376; *ibid.* XII, 1938, 20-55;

A Bloch, "Was bedeutet das 'epische' τε?", *Museum Helveticum* 12, 1955, 145-153;

P. Chantraine, *Grammaire Homérique* II, *Syntaxe*, Paris 1963, 168 Rem. II, 239-246, 252, 286, 340-345, 356;

however, there are instances where τε seems to have been used less as a co-ordinating conjunction than as a label: that is, it is used to distinguish clauses of a document or items in an inventory or a series in much the same way as the letters (a), (b), (c), (d) etc. or the Roman numerals (i), (ii), (iii), (iv) etc. are used at the present time. This we may call the enumerative or serial use of τε.[2] It has never been recognized as a legitimate idiom in its own right. I propose to illustrate this usage by examining and commenting in detail on two kinds of text: (A) some lengthy Hellenistic inscriptions, and (B) passages from classical Greek poets. In conclusion, (C) I shall discuss an additional example of the idiom from a Christian story of the late Roman imperial times. These examples are, of course, not meant to be exhaustive.

(A) Hellenistic Inscriptions

The idiom is clearly recognizable in Hellenistic decrees passed in honor of various individuals who had deserved well of their cities. I shall comment on five of them and examine them in detail to show how the enumerative or serial τε operates.[3]

I. Samian Decree in Honor of Bulagoras (243-242 B.C.)[4]

Bulagoras son of Alexis is to be honored by the council and people of Samos for the following reasons:

§1 (lines 5-20): appointed ambassador to King Antiochus he was able to effect restitution of property unjustly appropriated in Anaia by the most illustrious of the friends of Antiochus:

ἐπειδὴ Βουλαγόρας ἔν **ΤΕ** τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις γενομένων αἰτησίμων κτημάτων ἐν τῆι Ἀναΐτιδι χώραι τῆι τασσομένηι τότε ὑπ᾽ Ἀντίοχον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τῶν ἀφαιρεθέντων πολιτῶν τὰ κτήματα καταφυγόντων ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ πρεσβείαν αἰτησαμένων πρὸς Ἀντίοχον, ὅπως κομίσωνται τὰ αὑτῶν, ἀποδειχθεὶς πρεσβευτὴς

L. R. Palmer, "The Language of Homer", chapter 4 of *A Companion to Homer* ed. A. J. B. Wace / F. H. Stubbings, London 1962, 176;

C. J. Ruijgh, *Autour de 'TE Épique'*, Amsterdam 1971.

[2] W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum* I[3] (1915), No. 349 note 2 (= *Syll.*[2] No. 170 note 3) seems to have recognised this type of **τε** but attributed it to the carelessness of the person who composed the inscription: *"Huic* **τε** *nihil respondet; id quod non potest nisi ad neglegentiam eius qui composuit referri, nam supplementa ita adornare ut alterum membrum respondens exsistat, spatii rationes omnino vetant'*. On the other hand, J. Humbert, *Syntaxe Grecque*, Paris[3] 1960, 436 surely ignores this phenomenon when he states: "il est certain que l'emploi de la particule répetée pour unir des membres de phrases ou des objets qui ne sont pas naturellement liés n'a pu se développer que plus tardivement. En tout cas, *jamais* **τε** ne peut être répété plus de deux fois consecutives: la langue n'admet pas la possibilité de *τε...τε...τε mais a recours à d'autres particules, dont καὶ est la plus importante, mais aussi à δέ."

[3] In presenting the texts I have marked the end of each item in an enumeration with a colon (**:**) or, where I wished to distinguish the main from the subordinate items in an enumeration, with a double or even triple colon (**::** or **:::**). In quoting inscriptions I have written out the text continuously like the text in ordinary prose, i.e. without any division of lines corresponding to those on the stone. In general I have also omitted the usual epigraphical conventional signs or sigla as unessential for my purpose; only in exceptional cases, where the reconstruction is partricularly uncertain, have I retained the square brackets to indicate that the text is lost or has been destroyed ([   ]).

[4] M. Schede, *Ath. Mitt.* 44, 1919, p. 25 No. 13; *SEG* I, 1924, No. 366; J. Pouilloux, *Choix d'inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1960, pp. 27-32 No. 3.

καὶ ἀποδημήσας τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν εἰς Ἔφεσον, ἀναζεύξαντος δὲ Ἀντιόχου συνακο-
λουθήσας ἕως Cάρδεων τὴμ πᾶσαν ἐποιήσατο cπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἀντικαταστὰς
ἐν τῆι πρεσβείαι τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις τῶν Ἀντιόχου φίλων οἳ ἐτύγχανον ἔχοντες τὰ αἰ-
τήσιμα, ὅπως ἀνακομισάμενος ὁ δῆμος τὰς κτήσεις τὰς αἰτηθείσας ἐν ἐκείνωι τῶι
χρόνωι ἀποκαταστήσηι τοῖς ἀδίκως ἀφαιρεθεῖσι, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐκόμισεν ἐπι-
στολὰς παρ' Ἀντιόχου πρός τε τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἀναίοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
τεταγμένον φρούραρχον καὶ πρὸς τὸν διοικητήν, δι' ὧν οἵ τε τότε ἀφαιρεθέντες
ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο τῶν ἰδίων, καὶ εἰς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον οὐθεὶς ἐνεχείρησεν
οὐκέτι τῶν παρ' Ἀντιόχωι τασσομένων αἰτεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπάρχοντα:

§2 (lines 20-23): often chosen to be advocate in public trials Bulagoras continued to ap-
ply himself with energy and won many benefits and advantages to the city from the verdicts:

προχειρισθεὶς **TE** πλειονάκις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προήγορος ταῖς δημοσίαις δίκαις
ἐκτενῆ καὶ πρόθυμον ἑαυτὸν παρεχόμενος διετέλεσεν καὶ πολλὰ τῶν χρησίμων καὶ
συμφερόντων περιεποίησεν ἐκ τῶν κρίσεων τῆι πόλει:

§3 (lines 23-25): elected director of the gymnasium Bulagoras supervised with fairness
and excellence the good conduct of the ephebes and the young men:

τοῦ **TE** γυμνασίου χειροτονηθεὶς κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐπιστάτης ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου διὰ
τὸ ἐγλιπεῖν τὸν γυμνασιαρχοῦντα ἴσως καὶ καλῶς προέστη τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ νέων
εὐκοσμίας:

§4 (lines 25-36: when a delegation of sacred envoys (theoroi) had to be dispatched to
Alexandria, Bulagoras provided from his own pocket money required by the leader of the sa-
cred embassy and the sacred envoys for their travelling expenses:

ἔν **TE** τῶι ἐνεστηκότι ἐνιαυτῶι καθηκούσης τῆς τῶν θεωρῶν ἀποστολῆς εἰς Ἀ-
λεξάνδρειαν εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ δῆμος περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖται τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου
τιμὰς καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης, ἐπειδὴ εἰς μὲν τοὺς θεωροὺς ἐν
Ἀλεξανδρείαι περιωρισμένα ὑπῆρχεν χρήματα, εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐφόδια τῶι ἀρχιθεωρῶι καὶ
τοῖς θεωροῖς, ὑφ' ὧν ἔδει τοὺς στεφάνους ἀποκομισθῆναι καὶ συντελεσθῆναι τὰς θυ-
σίας, οὐχ ὑπῆρχεν οὐδ' ἦν ὅθεν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος πορισθήσεται, βουλόμενος μηθὲν
ὑπολειφθῆναι τῶν προεψηφισμένων τιμίων τῶι βασιλεῖ καὶ τῆι βασιλίσσηι καὶ τοῖς
γονεῦσιν καὶ προγόνοις αὐτῶν ὑπέσχετο τὸ εἰς ταῦτα ἀργύριον αὐτός προχρήσειν ἐκ
τοῦ ἰδίου οὐ πολλῶι ἔλασσον ὂν δραχμῶν ἑξακισχιλίων:

§5 (lines 36-49): when the city was gripped by a shortage of corn and the citizens in the
emergency elected three corn commissions in order to purchase grain, Bulagoras showed no
lack of zeal for the city and love of honor by providing loans for three separate purchases:

κατασχούσης **TE** τὸν δῆμον σιτοδείας καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τῆς
χρείας τρεῖς προχειρισαμένων σιτωνίας ἐν πάσαις αὐταῖς οὐθὲν ἐνέλιπεν σπουδῆς καὶ
φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν πρώτης σιτωνίας πᾶν τὸ εἰς τὴν ὑποθήκην ἀργύριον

προέχρηcεν, καθότι ὁ δῆμοc ἐψηφίcατο, εἰc δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἴcον ἐπηγγείλατο τοῖc τὸ πλεῖcτον εἰcευπορήcαcι· τῆc δὲ τρίτηc οὐ μόνον τὰ εἰc τὴν ὑποθήκην χρήματα εἰcήνεγκεν πάντα ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταχθέντοc τοῦ cίτου εἰc τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῦ cιτώνου δάνειον ἔχοντοc ἐπ᾿ αὐτῶι παρελθὼν εἰc τὴν ἐκκληcίαν ἐπηγγείλατο, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἦν ὅθεν ἀποδοθήcεται τὰ χρήματα, αὐτὸc καὶ τὸ δάνειον ὑπὲρ τῆc πόλεωc καὶ τοὺc τόκουc καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναλώματα πάντα ἐπιλύειν, καὶ τοῦτο ἔπραξεν κατὰ τάχοc καὶ ἀπέλυcεν τὸν δανειcτὴν οὔτε cυγγραφὴν οὐδεμίαν θέμενοc πρὸc τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων οὔτε προεγγύουc ἀξιώcαc ἑαυτῶι καταcταθῆναι, ἀλλὰ περὶ πλείcτου ποιηcάμενοc τὸ κοινῆι cυμφέρον καὶ ἵνα ὁ δῆμοc ἐν εὐβοcίαι διαγένηται:

§6 (lines 49-52): finally, on all other occasions Bulagoras continues to show himself kind and well-disposed to the people publicly, and privately to every individual citizen:

ἔν **ΤΕ** τοῖc λοιποῖc διατελεῖ πρόθυμον καὶ εὔνουν ἑαυτὸν παρεχόμενοc καὶ κοινῆι τῶι δήμωι καὶ ἰδίαι ἑκάcτωι τῶι πολιτῶν cυμβουλεύων τὰ ἄριcτα καὶ διαλύων τοὺc διαφερομένουc καὶ πολλοῖc τῶν πονούντων ἐρανίζων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων – – –.

II. Decree Passed by the City of Araxa in Honor of her Citizen Orthagoras (2nd century B.C.)[5]

Orthagoras the son of Demetrius is to be honored by the people and magistrates of Araxa because, from his youth on, he has demonstrated his benevolence towards the city:

§1 (lines 8-11): appointed commander of the people of Araxa in the war against Moagetes and the city of Bubon he championed the cause of his city without flinching from dangers and difficulties of all kinds:

πολέμου **ΤΕ** γὰρ ἡμεῖν ἐνcτάντοc πρὸc Μοαγέτην καὶ Βουβωνεῖc, αἱρεθεὶc ἡγε-
μὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου διετέλει πρωταγωνιcτῶν, πάντα κίνδυνον καὶ πᾶcαν κακο-
παθίαν ὑπομίναc**::**

§2 (lines 11-14): dispatched twice as an envoy to the city of Cibyra to complain of the actions of Moagetes and Bubon, and after the war to Moagetes himself, he arranged every-thing to the advantage of the people:

ἀποcταλείc **ΤΕ** πρεcβευτὴc δὶc κατὰ Μοαγέτου καὶ Βουβωνέων πρὸc Κιβυρά-
ταc ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πάντα τὰ cυμφέροντα τῷ δήμῳ cυνκατεcκεύαcεν**::**

§3 (lines 15-25) when the war against Moagetes was called off and Moagetes sent out raiders and carried off a considerable number of citizens from Araxa, Orthagoras was chosen by the people as ambassador to bring the matter before the federal government; after he had given a detailed explanation of the matter he was chosen by the federal government to go as an

---

[5] G. E. Bean, *JHS* 68, 1948, 46-56; L. Moretti, *Riv. di fil.* 78, 1950, 326-350; J. Pouilloux, *Choix d'inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1960, pp. 32-36 No. 4; *SEG* 18, 1962 No. 570.

ambassador to the city of Cibyra to lodge a complaint against Moagetes, and to Moagetes himself to negotiate about what he had carried off and the unlawful acts he had committed against the city of Araxa; in all these missions he conducted himself in a manner worthy of the people and the nation:

λυθέντος **ΔÈ** τοῦ πρὸς Μοαγέτην πολέμου καὶ πάλιν τοῦ Μοαγέτου ἐπαποcτείλαντος κλωπείαν καὶ ἀπαγαγόντος ἱκανοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποcταλεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρεcβευτὴς πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν καὶ ἐμφανίcας τὰ κατὰ μέρος εἱρέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ πρεcβευτὴς πρὸς Κιβυράτας καὶ κατὰ Μοαγέτου καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Μοαγέτην ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκλωπευμένων καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἦν ἀνομημάτων ἐπιτετελεcμένος καθ᾽ ἡμῶν, πάντα κίνδυνον καὶ κακοπαθίαν ὑπομένων ἐπρέcβευcεν ἀξίως τοῦ τε ἡμετέρου καὶ τοῦ ἀποcτείλαντος ἔθνους**::**

Attention is drawn to the use of the particle δέ in place of τε as an enumerative device in this particular section.[6]

§4 (lines 25-29): looking the tyrants in the face, he lost no opportunity to oppose them and in consequence often found himself in many dangers and exposed to plots on account of his struggles on behalf of his fatherland:

καθόλου **ΤΕ** τοῖς τυράννοις ἀντιβλέπων οὐδένα καιρὸν παραλέλοιπεν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐμ πολλοῖς κινδύνοις καὶ ἐπιβουλαῖς γέγονεν διὰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνας**::**

§5 (lines 29-31): in the war against Cibyra which developed he continued to lead and champion the cause of the city, serving as a cavalry officer:

ἔν **ΤΕ** τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ ἐνcτάντι ἡμεῖν πρὸς Κιβυράτας ἔφιππος ὢν διετέλει πρωταγωνιcτῶν**::**

§6 (lines 31-36): and moreover, he was several times dispatched as an envoy to the federal government of the Lycians to secure the help of that nation against Cibyra because the land and the suburb of the city were being laid waste and goods being carried off:

ΚΑÌ ἀποcταλεὶς **ΔÈ** πρεcβευτὴς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Λυκίων κατὰ Κιβυρατῶν πλεονάκις ὑπὲρ τῆς κεκομμένης χώρας καὶ τοῦ προαστίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀναχθέντων, τὴν καθήκουcαν πρόνοιαν ἐποιήcατο, ὅπως τύχωμεν τῆς παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους βοιηθείας**::**

In this section the connective is καὶ — δέ, or δέ instead of the postpositive τε which has been commonly employed in this inscription.[7]

---

[6] Cf. below, section IV §§3-5 and 7, and for καὶ — δέ cf. § 6 in the present section.

[7] On the phenomenon of beginning a sentence with καί to indicate a more marked transition see especially S. Trenkner, *Le style καί dans le récit attique oral*, Assen 1959, passim. For δέ alone see above, section II § 3 with n. 6.

§7 (lines 36-41): when Lysanias and Eudemus seized the city of Xanthus and staged massacres and attempted to establish a tyranny, Orthagoras served as the head of a contingent of young men from the city and took part in the campaign with the Lycians to prevent the establishment of tyranny there:

Λυcανίου **ΤΕ** καὶ Εὐδήμου καταλαβομένων καὶ ἐπὶ τυραννίδα ἐπαναcτάντων, ἀποτέλειοc ὢν καὶ ἀποcταλεὶc ἐπὶ τῶν νεανίcκων cυνεcτράτευcεν μετὰ Λυκίων κατὰ τῆc τῶν τυράννων ἀναιρέcεωc**::**

§8 (lines 41-46): when Eudemus seized also the city of Tlos, staged a massacre, and attempted to set up a tyranny, Orthagoras campaigned with the Lycians and assisted in the struggle until the city of Tlos was recovered and the tyranny put down:

Εὐδήμου **ΤΕ** καταλαβομένου τὴν Τλωέων πόλιν καὶ cφαγὰc ποηcαμένου καὶ ἐπὶ τυραννίδα ἐπαναcτάντοc, cυνεcτράτευcεν μετὰ Λυκίων καὶ cυνηγωνίcατο ἐπάνδρωc μέχρι τῆc παραλήνψεωc τῆc Τλωέων πόλεωc καὶ καθαιρέcεωc τῆc τυραννίδοc**::**

§9 (lines 46-49): in the war between the Lycians and the people of Termessus, he served at his own expense as a cavalry officer and campaigned with the Lycians in the land of Termessus and continued to champion their cause:

    ἐνcτάντοc **ΤΕ** Λυκίοιc πολέμου πρὸc Τερμηccεῖc ἔφιπποc ὢν cυνεcτράτευcεν δωρεὰν καὶ cυνεcτρατοπέδευcεν μετὰ Λυκίων ἐν τῇ Τερμηccέων χώραι καὶ πρωταγωνιcτῶν διετέλει**::**

§10 (lines 49-54): in a dispute between the people of Araxa and their opponents over a piece of land in Soasa, Orthagoras was sent as an envoy to the federal government and proved such a good pleader in word and deed that he secured everything that was advantageous to the people:

ἐνcτάντοc **ΤΕ** ἡμεῖν ἀγῶνοc περὶ τῆc ἐν Σοάcοιc χώραc πρὸc τοὺc ἀμφιβητοῦνταc ὑπὲρ αὐτῆc, ἀποcταλεὶc πρεcβευτὴc πρὸc τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸc ἀγωνιcτὴc ἐγένετο καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ εἰc τὸ πάντα τὰ cυμφέροντα τῷ δήμῳ ἡμῶν περιγενέcθαι καὶ ἐν μηδενὶ ἐλαττωθῆναι**::**

§11 (lines 54-62): he was sent as an envoy to the individual cities in Lycia and to the federal government of the Lycians to bring about the freedom of Orloanda, a neighboring city, and her admission into the alliance of the Lycians:

(α) Ὀρλοανδέων **ΤΕ** ὄντων ἀcτυγιτόνων θεωρῶν τὸν δῆμον cπεύδοντα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ὅπωc ἐλευθερωθέντεc προcληφθῶcιν εἰc τὴν τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνουc cυμπολιτείαν, ἀποcταλεὶc πρεcβευτὴc ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατ' ἰδίαν τε πρὸc τὰc ἐν Λυκίαι πόλειc καὶ πρὸc τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λυκίων διετέλεcεν τὰc πρεcβείαc ἀξίωc τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνουc**:**

(b) cυνκατεcκεύαcεν τε εἰc τὸ προcληφθῆναι αὐτοὺc εἰc τὴν Λυκίων cυνπολι-
τείαν::

Since the last sentence deals with the same situation as the preceding and illuminates only a more concrete aspect of Orthagoras' embassy to the federal government of the Lycians, it may be advisable to keep the two sentences together. The second τε adds an item at a subordinate level in the entire enumeration. This will be found in other texts as well, most clearly in our quotation from the *Prometheus* (see below, §13 and part B, section IV). But such subordinate enumeration is not formally distinguished from an item in an enumeration proceeding at the same level.

§12 (lines 62-68): sent as an envoy to the ambassadors from Rome, first to the delegation under the leadership of Appius, and then again, to the one under the leadership of Publius, he carried out both missions in a manner worthy of his people and nation and secured everything that was advantageous to his city:

ἀποcταλείc **ΤΕ** πρεcβευτὴc πρὸc τοὺc παρὰ Ῥωμαίων πρεcβευτὰc τοὺc περὶ Ἄππιον καὶ πάλιν ἀποcταλεὶc πρεcβευτὴc πρὸc τοὺc παρὰ Ῥωμαίων πρεcβευτὰc τοὺc περὶ Πόπλιον ἐπετέλεcεν ἀμφοτέραc τὰc πρεcβείαc ἀξίωc τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τοῦ ἔθνουc, καὶ πάντα cυμφέροντα περιεποίηcεν τῆι πόλει:

§13 (lines 68-75): (a) he has also carried out many missions at his own expense as part of his public duty without asking for reimbursement of his expenses; (b) and, specifically, sent as a sacred envoy to the first celebration of the quadrennial festival established by the commonwealth of the Lycians in honor of Roma Goddess Manifest, he and his colleagues performed sacrifices in a manner worthy of the city and the nation:

(a) ἄλλαc **ΤΕ** πολλὰc πρεcβείαc ἄνευ μεθοδίων λελειτούργηκεν:

(b) τοῦ **ΤΕ** κοινοῦ τῶν Λυκίων ἄγοντοc πανήγυριν κατὰ πενταετηρίδα Ῥώμῃ Θεᾷ Ἐπιφανεῖ ἀποcταλεὶc θεωρὸc εἰc τὴν πρώτην πενταετηρίδα τάc τε θυcίαc ἐπετέλεcεν μετὰ τῶν cυναιρεθέντων καλῶc καὶ πρεπόντωc, καὶ τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἐποιήcατο ἀξίωc τῆc τε πόλεωc ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἔθνουc::

Again, their is some ambiguity as to whether the second τε introduces an item that is closely united with the preceding sentence and, therefore, proceeds at a subordinate level in the entire enumeration, or whether both items contain statements independent of each other. ἄλλαc, however, seems to anticipate the following embassies, and for this reason one may keep the two sentences closely connected (cf. especially below, B section 1.12 a and b).

§14 (lines 75-77): for the second celebration of the festival by the commonwealth in honor of Roma, Orthagoras was chosen as a sacred envoy , and he and his colleagues performed certain services at their own expense:

ἔν **ΤΕ** τῇ δευτέρᾳ πανηγύρει τῇ ἀχθείcῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῇ Ῥώμῃ αἱρεθεὶc θεωρὸc cυνεπέδωκεν δωρεὰν μετὰ τῶν cυναιρεθέντων κα [– – –, καὶ τὴν ἐπιδημί]αν [ἐποιήcα]το ἀξίωc τῆc τε πολέωc – – –.

III. Decree of the Athenian Cleruchy in Delos in Honor of Eubulus of Marathon (between 159/158 and 151/150 B. C.)[8]

Eubulus the son of Demetrius of Marathon is to be honored for the following reasons:

§1 (lines 6-8): he served with distinction in the offices to which he was elected and conducted himself irreproachably:

ἔν **ΤΕ** ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἔφ᾽ ἃς ἐχειροτονήθη καλῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως ἀναστραφείς, ἀνέγκλητον ἑαυτὸν παρέσχετο**:**

§2 (lines 8-14): chosen as the leader of the sacred mission to the festival of the Panatheneia, he along with his son and the other members of the delegation carried out their duties excellently and brought it about that for the first time the Athenians resident at Delos were honored with a golden crown:

ἀρχεθέωρός **ΤΕ** αἱρεθεὶς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συνθεώρων πάντα καλῶς καὶ πρεπόντως βραβεύσας τότε πρῶτον Παναθηναίοις ἐποίησεν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐν Δήλωι τιμηθῆναι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀνηγορευμένωι ἐν τῶι ἐν ἄστει θεάτρωι**:**

§3 (lines 14-16): having served as ambassador on many occasions and exerted himself strenuously he had secured many benefits to the Athenians resident at Delos:

πρεσβεύσας **ΤΕ** πλεονάκις καὶ ἀγωνισάμενος ἐκτενῶς πολλὰ τῶν χρησίμων Ἀθηναίοις τοῖς ἐν Δήλωι περιεποίησεν**:**

§4 (lines 17-22): becoming a priest of the Megaloi Theoi and again of Asclepius, and again being chosen as a priest of Dionysus he paid all expenses out of his own pocket and helped to conduct the processions and to perform the sacrifices on behalf of the Athenians and the Romans excellently and in a manner befitting a priest:

ἱερεύς **ΤΕ** γενόμενος τῶμ Μεγάλων Θεῶν καὶ πάλιν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ πάλιν αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ λαχὼν τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πάσας δαπανήσας τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων καλῶς καὶ ἱεροπρεπῶς συνετέλεσεν – – –.

IV. Istrian Decree in Honor of Agathocles Son of Antiphilos (ca. 200 B.C.)[9]

Agathocles the son of Antiphilos has always acted for the good of the city and is honored specifically for the following reasons:

---

[8] F. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, Paris 1921, p.125f. No. 79 and pp.279-280; *Inscriptions de Délos* edited by P. Roussel/M. Launey, Paris 1937, p. 4 No. 1498; J. Pouilloux, *Choix d'inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1960, p. 37f. No. 5.

[9] S. Lambrino, *Revue des Études Roumaines* 5-6, 1960, 180-217; D. M. Pippidi, *Studii Clasice* 5, 1963, 137-163; idem, *Contributii la Istoria Veche a Romaniei*, Bucarest 1967, 187-221; *SEG* 24, 1095; L'Institut Fernand-Courby, *Nouveau Choix d'inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1971, 49-53 No. 6; D. M. Pippidi, *Scythica Minora*, Amsterdam 1975, 30-55; L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche* II, Firenze 1976, 155-160 No. 131; *Inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris Antiquae* edendas curaverunt D. M. Pippidi et I. Russu, ser. alte-

§1 (lines 8-14): when the city was in a state of confusion and hordes of Thracian pirates were harassing the city and the countryside, he was elected commander of the archers and with a detachment of mercenaries both defended the land and enabled the citizens to gather in the crops in safety:

τῆϲ **ΤΕ** πόλεωϲ οὔϲηϲ ἐν ταραχῆι καὶ πειρατευόντων Θραικῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων τήν τε χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, τῶν δὲ θερῶν ὄντων ὑπογύων καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν ἀγωνίαι καθεϲτώτων, αἱρεθεὶϲ τοξάρχηϲ καὶ λαβὼν ϲτρατιώταϲ μιϲθοφόρουϲ διεφύλαξε τήν τε χώραν καὶ τὰ θέρη ἐποίηϲεν τοὺϲ πολίταϲ ἀβλαβῶϲ ϲυναγαγεῖν:

§2 (lines 14-25): when the Thracians under Zoltes arrived with a larger force and invaded Scythia and the Greek cities subject to the rule of King Rhemaxus, he was elected ambassador and travelled through hostile territory and persuaded the barbarians to desist from using force against our city, but to seek out and return all the flocks previously seized by the pirates under the command of King Zoltes:

Θραικῶν **ΤΕ** τῶν περὶ Ζόλτην μετὰ ϲτρατοπέδου μείζονοϲ παραγινομένων εἰϲ τε τὴν Ϲκυθίαν καὶ τὰϲ ἑλληνίδαϲ πόλειϲ τὰϲ ταϲϲομέναϲ ὑπὸ βαϲιλέα ῾Ρήμαξον αἱρεθεὶϲ πρεϲβευτὴϲ ἀπεδήμηϲεν διὰ τῆϲ πολεμίαϲ, ἔθνη πλείονα διελθών, ο[ὐδένα κίν]δυνον ὑποϲτειλάμενοϲ, καὶ ἔπειϲε τοὺϲ βαρβάρουϲ μὴ μόνον [μὴ βιά]ϲαϲθαι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ [τὰ κτή]ν[η τὰ πρ]ότε[ρ]ον ὑπ[ὸ πει]ρατῶν ϲυναπηγμέ-να τῶν ὑπὸ βαϲιλέα Ζόλτην τεταγμένων ἀναζητήϲανταϲ [ἀποδοῦναι π]άντα, [κα]ὶ μ[ετὰ τ]ούτων ἔϲπευϲεν αὐτοὺϲ [ca. 25 letters] τὴν πόλιν δοῦναι πέντ[ε τ(άλαντα) ὥ]ϲτε ϲυνθέϲθαι πρὸϲ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ βίου:

§3 (lines 25-33): thereafter, when the same enemy invaded the land, besieged Bizone and ravaged the countryside while the crops were still unharvested, he was elected ambassador and travelled to the enemy camp and by paying a ransom persuaded Zoltes and the Thracians not to invade the land or come near the city:

μετὰ **ΔῈ** ταῦτα, ἐμβαλόντων αὐτῶν εἰϲ τὴν χώραν καὶ Βιζώνην μὲν πολιορ-κούντων τήν τε χώραν πορθούντων, τῶν δὲ θερῶν ἡμῖν ὄντων ὑπογύων, αἱρεθεὶϲ πρεϲβευτὴϲ καὶ ἀποδημήϲαϲ ἐπὶ τὸ ϲτρατόπεδον τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτῶι πρόϲταγμα δόντων πάντα τρόπον ἐξαγοράζειν τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ θέρη, ἔπειϲε Ζόλτην καὶ τοὺϲ Θρᾶικαϲ ἀπὸ χρυϲῶν ἑξακοϲίων μὴ ἐμβαλεῖν εἰϲ τὴν χώραν μήτε ἐγγίϲαι τῆϲ πόλεωϲ, δι᾽ ὃ ϲυνέβη τοὺϲ πολίταϲ κυριεῦϲαι πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆϲ χώραϲ καρπῶν:

§4 (lines 33-39): when elected ambassador to Thrace and to its ruler Zoltes, Agathocles renewed the existing agreements and treaties concluded with them and observing that a larger force of pirates was assembling he informed Zoltes, and on his return, also told the citizens why the attack had been aborted:

───────────────

 ra: Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae, I. Inscriptiones Histriae et Viciniae collegit etc. D. M. Pippidi, Bucurestiis 1983, 82f. No. 15.

πάλιν **ΔÈ** αἱρεθεὶc πρεζβευτὴc εἰc τὴν Θραίκην καὶ πρὸc τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Ζόλτην ἀνενεώcατο μὲν τὰc γεγενημέναc ὁμολογίαc καὶ cυνθή[καc πρὸc α]ὐτούc· αἰcθόμενοc δὲ cυναγωγήν τινα γινομένην πειρατῶν πλειόνων ἐνέδειξεμ μὲν τῶι Ζόλτηι, ἐνεφάνιcεν δ' ἀνελθὼν καὶ τοῖc πολίταιc, δι' ὃ cυνέβη τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῶν ἄπρακτον γενέcθαι**:**

§5 (lines 40-46): and when the Thracians broke their oath and the agreements and con- tinued to make raids, he was elected by the people general over the land with full powers, and with a volunteer force recruited from among the citizens and the barbarians who had taken refuge in the city, he patrolled the land and protected the flocks and the crops until the arrival of King Rhemaxus:

[παραβά]ν[τ]ων **ΔÈ** τῶν Θραικῶν τοὺc ὅρκουc καὶ τὰc ὁμολογίαc καὶ ποιου- μένων ἐπιδρομὰc cυνεχεῖc αἱρεθεὶc ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου cτρατηγὸc ἐπὶ τῆc χώραc αὐτο- κράτωρ, λαβὼν τ[ῶν τε] πολιτῶν ἐθελοντὰc cτρατιώταc καὶ τῶν cυμφευγόντων βαρ- βάρων εἰc τὴν πόλιν διετήρηcεν ἀcφαλῶc τήν τε χώραν καὶ τὰ κτήνη καὶ τὰ θέρη μέχρι τῆc διαβάcεωc τῆc τοῦ βαcιλέωc Ρημάξου**:**

§6 (lines 46-51): and when king Rhemaxus withdrew to the other side of the river and, out of fear, did not keep a garrison in Istria but sent messengers to ask for the tribute, although the land was at war, Agathocles was appointed envoy and went by boat to the king and persuaded him to provide one hundred cavalrymen to serve as an advance guard:

διαβάντοc **ΤΕ** τοῦ βαcιλέωc εἰc τὸ π[έρα]ν, φυλακὴν δ[ὲ διὰ δέο]c οὐ καταλι- πόντοc, ἀποcτείλαντοc δὲ ἀγγέλουc καὶ ἀπαιτοῦντοc τὸν φόρον τῆc χώραc οὔcηc ἐμ πολέμωι αἱρεθεὶc πρεζβευτὴc καὶ ἀποδημήcαc κατὰ πλοῦν ἔπειcε τὸν βαcιλέα Ῥήμαξον δοῦναι εἰc προφυλακὴν ἱππεῖc ἑκατόν**:**

§7 (lines 51-55): when a larger force of Thracians fell upon the garrison and, out of fear, they too withdrew to the other side of the river leaving the land unguarded, Agathocles was chosen ambassador to the king's son whom he persuaded to provide an advance guard of six hundred cavalrymen:

ἐφόδου **ΔÈ** μείζονοc τῶν Θραικῶν προcπεcούcηc τοῖc προφύλαξιν καὶ ἀναχω- ρηcάντων αὐτῶν [εἰc τὸ π]έραν διὰ τὸμ φόβον, τῆc δὲ χώραc οὔcηc ἀφύλακτου, αἱρεθεὶc πρεζβευτὴc πρὸc τὸν υ[ἱὸ]ν τοῦ βαcιλέωc Φράδ[μονα (?ῶ) ἔπειcε α]ὐτὸν δοῦναι προφυλακὴν ἱππέων ἑξακοcίων· οὗ[τοι δὲ κρατήcα]ντεc τῶν cτρατοπέδω[ν κατενί]κων τόν τε [βαcιλέα αὐτῶν Ζόλτην καὶ π – – –.

This inscription shows a mixed usage of the particles **τε** and **δέ** in their enumerative function: §§1, 2, and 6 employ **τε**; the rest (§§3, 4, 5, 7) employ **δέ**, which probably reflects a period of transition in the use of the two particles (see also above, nn. 6 and 7).

V. Decree of Smyrna on the Treaty with the Inhabitants of Magnesia Near Mt. Sipylus (shortly after 243 B.C.?)[10]

This inscription shows a remarkable use of the particle **τε** to indicate a long range connection between sentences separated by several lines:

§1 (lines 1-12): Ἔδοξε τῶι δήμωι, ϲτρατηγῶν γνώμη· ἐπειδὴ πρότερόν **ΤΕ** καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ὁ βαϲιλεὺϲ Σέλευκοϲ ὑπερέβαλεν εἰϲ τὴν Σελευκίδα πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων περιϲτάντων τὴμ πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν διεφύλαξεν ὁ δῆμοϲ τὴμ πρὸϲ αὐτὸν εὔνοιάν τε καὶ φιλίαν οὐ καταπλαγεὶϲ τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἔφοδον οὐδὲ φροντίϲαϲ τῆϲ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀπωλείαϲ, ἀλλὰ πάντα δεύτερα ἡγηϲάμενοϲ εἶναι πρὸϲ τὸ διαμεῖναι ἐν τῆι αἱρέϲει καὶ ἀντιλαβέϲθαι τῶμ πραγμάτων κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν καθότι ἐξ ἀρχῆϲ ὑπέϲτη· διὸ καὶ ὁ βαϲιλεὺϲ Σέλευκοϲ εὐϲεβῶϲ τὰ πρὸϲ τοὺϲ θεοὺϲ διακείμενοϲ καὶ φιλοϲτόργωϲ τὰ πρὸϲ τοὺϲ γονεῖϲ, μεγαλόψυχοϲ ὢν καὶ ἐπιϲτάμενοϲ χάριταϲ ἀποδιδόναι τοῖϲ ἑαυτὸν εὐεργετοῦϲιν, ἐτίμηϲεν τὴμ πόλιν ἡμῶν διά τε τὴν τοῦ δήμου εὔνοιαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἣν ἐπεποίητο εἰϲ τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸμ πατέρα αὐτοῦ θεὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ τὴμ μητέρα τὴν τοῦ πατρὸϲ θεὰν Στρατονίκην ἱδρῦϲθαι παρ' ἡμῖν τιμωμένουϲ τιμαῖϲ ἀξιολόγοιϲ καὶ κοινῆι ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθουϲ καὶ ἰδίαι ὑφ' ἑκάϲτου τῶμ πολιτῶν καὶ ἐβεβαίωϲεν τῶι δήμωι τὴν αὐτο-νομίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν, ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ πρὸϲ τοὺϲ βαϲιλεῖϲ καὶ τοὺϲ δυνάϲταϲ καὶ τὰϲ πόλειϲ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἀξιώϲαϲ ἀποδέξαϲθαι τό τε ἱερὸν τῆϲ Στρατονικίδοϲ Ἀφρο-δίτηϲ ἄϲυλον εἶναι καὶ τὴμ πόλιν ἡμῶν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄϲυλον:

§2 (lines 12f.): νῦν **ΤΕ** ὑπερβεβληκότοϲ τοῦ βαϲιλέωϲ εἰϲ τὴν Σελευκίδα οἱ ϲτρα-τηγοὶ ϲπεύδοντεϲ διαμένειν τῶι βαϲιλεῖ τὰ πράγματα ϲυμφερόντωϲ διεπέμψαντο πρὸϲ τοὺϲ ἐν Μαγνηϲίαι κατοίκουϲ καὶ πρὸϲ τοὺϲ ὑπαίθρουϲ ἱππεῖϲ καὶ ϲτρατιώταϲ καὶ ἀπέϲτειλαν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἕνα Διονύϲιον τὸμ παρακαλέϲοντα αὐτοὺϲ διαφυλάϲϲειν τὴμ φιλίαν καὶ ϲυμμαχίαν βαϲιλεῖ Σελεύκωι εἰϲ πάντα τὸγ χρόνον, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι δια-τηρούντων αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸγ καὶ φίλον ἡγουμένων ὑπάρ-ξειν αὐτοῖϲ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ βαϲιλέωϲ Σελεύκου πάντα τὰ φιλάνθρω-πα καὶ καλῶϲ ἔχοντα καὶ ἀποδοθήϲεϲθαι χάριταϲ αὐτοῖϲ ἀξίαϲ τῆϲ αἱρέϲεωϲ κ.τ.λ.

πρότερον **τε** in line 1 and νῦν **τε** in line 12 clearly separate two different stages in the relations between Seleucus and the city of Smyrna.

The instances of the enumerative use of the particle **τε** in these inscriptions are remark-able, especially since there seems to have been a general decline in the use of that particle in prose after the fourth century B.C. (See Denniston: *The Greek Particles*, 497).

---

[10] W. Dittenberger, *OGIS* I, Leipzig 1903, No. 229; H. H. Schmitt, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* III, *Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v. Chr.,* München 1969, No. 494; T. Ihnken (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Sipylos* (I.K. 8), Bonn 1978, No. 1; G. Petzl (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* II 1, (I.K. 24), Bonn 1987, No. 573.

(B) Passages from the Classical Poets

The enumerative use of **τε** is not confined to Hellenistic inscriptions: it is also found in poets of the classical period, almost two hundred years earlier than the time when the inscriptions were written. I shall now present some instances of the idiom from the classical poets.

I. Euripides:

A very clear instance of the enumerative use of **τε** may be seen in Euripides' employment of the particle to enumerate the successive labors of Heracles in his play *Hercules Furens*. An examination of the passage in question (lines 359-435) will be instructive here. The chorus sings (*lines 348-358*): "A cry of anguish Phoebus utters after a happy song, striking his beautiful-sounding lyre with the golden key. But to him who went to the darkness of the earth and of the nether world, my eulogy wishes to weave a hymn for his labors, whether I should call him the son of Zeus or of Amphitryon. The virtue of noble deeds is glory to the dead." Then follows an enumeration of the twelve deeds of Heracles: after the first labor, which is introduced by πρῶτον μέν, the rest are introduced by the particle **τε**:[11]

359	ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ Διὸς ἄλcος	(1) capturing the Nemean Lion
360	ἠρήμωcε λέοντος,	
	πυρcῶι δ᾽ ἀμφεκαλύφθη	
362	ξανθὸν κρᾶτ᾽ ἐπινωτίcας	
	δεινοῦ χάcματι θηρός::	
364	τάν **Τ᾽** ὀρεινόμον ἀγρίων	(2) defeating the Centaurs
	Κενταύρων ποτὲ γένναν	
366	ἔcτρωcεν τόξοιc φονίοιc,	
	ἐναίρων πτανοῖc βέλεcιν·	
368	ξύνοιδε Πηνειὸc ὁ καλ-	
	λιδίναc μακραί τ᾽ ἄρου-	
	ραι πεδίων ἄκαρποι	
370	καὶ Πηλιάδες θεράπναι	
	cυγχορτοί θ᾽ Ὁμόλαc ἔναυ-	
372	λοι, πεύκαιcιν ὅθεν χέραc	
	πληροῦντεc χθόνα Θεccάλων	
374	ἱππείαιc ἐδάμαζον::	
	τάν **ΤΕ** χρυcοκάρανον	(3) slaying the golden-antlered hind
376	δόρκα ποικιλόνωτον	
	cυλήτειραν ἀγρωτᾶν	
378	κτείναc θηροφόνον θεὰν	
	Οἰνωᾶτιν ἀγάλλει::	

---

[11] This was noticed as a peculiarity by Paley in his edition of the play (*Euripides with an English Commentary* III, London 1860, p. 34 note on line 391), and recently by G. W. Bond in his commentary on the same play (1981).

380	τεθρίππων **Τ'** ἐπέβα	(4) taming the Thracian mares
	καὶ ψαλίοιc ἐδάμαcε πώ-	
382	λουc Διομήδεοc, αἲ φονίαιcι φάτ-	
	ναιc ἀχάλιν' ἐθόαζον	
384	κάθαιμα γένυcι cῖτα,	
	χαρμοναῖcιν ἀνδροβρῶcι	
386	δυcτράπεζοι. πέραν	
	δ' ἀργυρορρύτων Ἕβρου	
	διεπέραcεν ὄχθων,	
388	Μυκηναίωι πονῶν τυράννωι::	
	ἅν **ΤΕ** Μηλιάδ' ἀκτὰν	(5) slaying Cycnus
390	Ἀναύρου παρὰ παγὰc	
	Κύκνον ξεινοδαΐκταν	
392	τόξοιc ὤλεcεν, Ἀμφαναί-	
	αc οἰκήτορ' ἄμεικτον::	
394	ὑμνωιδούc **ΤΕ** κόραc	(6) fetching the apples of the Hesperides
	ἤλυθεν ἑcπέριόν ἐc αὐ-	
396	λὰν χρύcεον πετάλων ἄπο μηλοφό-	
	ρων χερὶ καρπὸν ἀμέρξων,	
	δράκοντα πυρcόνωτον,	
398	ὅc ⟨cφ'⟩ ἄπλατον ἀμφελικτὸc	
	ἕλικ' ἐφρούρει, κτανών::	
400	ποντίαc **Θ'** ἁλὸc μυχοὺc	(7) clearing the seas
	εἰcέβαινε, θνατοῖc	
402	γαλανείαc τιθεὶc ἐρετμοῖc::	
	οὐρανοῦ **Θ'** ὑπὸ μέccαν	(8) supporting the heavens in place of Atlas
404	ἐλαύνει χέραc ἕδραν,	
	Ἄτλαντοc δόμον ἐλθών,	
406	ἀcτρωπούc τε κατέcχεν οἴ-	
	κουc εὐανορίαι θεῶν::	
408	τὸν ἱππευτάν **Τ'** Ἀμαζόνων cτρατὸν	(9) taking the Amazon's girdle
	Μαιῶτιν ἀμφὶ πολυπόταμον	
410	ἔβα δι' ἄξεινον οἶδμα λίμναc—	
	τίν' οὐκ ἀφ' Ἑλλανίαc	
412	ἄγορον ἁλίcαc φίλων—	
	κόραc Ἀρείαc †πέπλων	
414	χρυcεόcτολον φάροc†	
	ζωcτῆροc ὀλεθρίουc ἄγραc·	
416	τὰ κλεινὰ δ' Ἑλλὰc ἔλαβε βαρ-	
	βάρου κόραc λάφυρα καὶ	
418	cώιζεται Μυκήναιc::	

	τάν **TE** μυριόκρανον	(10) killing the Lernaean hydra
420	πολύφονον κύνα Λέρνας	
	ὕδραν ἐξεπύρωσεν**::**	
422	βέλεςί **T'** ἀμφέβαλ᾽ ⟨ἰόν⟩,	(11) defeating Geryon
	τὸν τρισώματον οἷςιν ἔ-	
424	κτα βοτῆρ᾽ Ἐρυθείας**::**[12]	
	δρόμων **T'** ἄλλων ἀγάλματ᾽ εὐτυχῆ	(12a) other deeds
426	διῆλθε**:**	
	τὸν ⟨**TE**⟩ πολυδάκρυον	(12b) final journey to Hades
	ἔπλευς᾽ ἐς Ἅιδαν, πόνων τελευτάν,	
428	ἵν᾽ ἐκπεραίνει τάλας	
	βίοτον οὐδ᾽ ἔβα πάλιν.	
430	ςτέγαι δ᾽ ἔρημοι φίλων,	
	τὰν δ᾽ ἀνόςτιμον τέκνων	
432	Χάρωνος ἐπιμένει πλάτα	
	βίου κέλευθον ἄθεον ἄδι-	
434	κον· ἐς δὲ ςὰς χέρας βλέπει	
	δώματ᾽ οὐ παρόντος.	

"(1. *Capturing the Nemean lion* [lines 359-363]) First he cleared Zeus' grove of the lion, and, putting the skin on his back, he had his fair head covered with the tawny gaping mouth of the grim beast. (2. *Defeating the Centaurs* [lines 364-374]) Then, on one occasion, he laid low the mountain-ranging race of wild Centaurs with his murderous bow, destroying them with flying shafts. Peneus with beautiful eddies is witness thereto, as were the extensive but barren fields of the plains and the abodes on Mt. Pelion and the neighboring shelters of Homole from which they armed their hands with pines and by riding kept in subjection the land of the Thessalians"

"(3. *Slaying the golden-antlered hind* [lines 375-379]) Then after having slain the dappled hind with golden antlers, which plundered the country folk, he paid honor to the animal-slaying goddess, the mistress of Oenoe (Artemis)."

"(4. *Taming the Thracian mares* [lines 380-388]) Next he mounted the four-horse chariot and with the curb-chains tamed the mares of Diomedes which in their murderous manger used to despatch with unbridled zest their gory fodder with their jaws, with horrible glee feeding on human flesh; and he crossed the banks of the silver stream of Hebrus, toiling for the lord of Mycenae."

"(5. *Slaying Cycnus* [lines 389-393]) Then, up the Melian coast by the streams of Anaurus he destroyed with his bow Cycnus, the murderer of guests, the unsociable dweller of Amphanaia."

---

[12] Here, as G. W. Bond pertinently points out (*op. cit.*, p. 175 note ad 423f.), "The scheme of the ode requires that this labor should begin with βέλεςί τε."

"(6. *Fetching the apples of the Hesperides* [lines 394-399]) Then, he went to the singing damsels, into their abode in the West, to pluck with his hand the golden fruit from the apple-bearing leaves, killing the red-backed serpent which guarded them, coiled round in unapproachable coils. (7. *Clearing the seas* [lines 400-402) Next he entered the deep corners of the sea water, calming them for men to row."

"(8. *Supporting the heavens in place of Atlas* [lines 403-407]) Next he thrust his hands beneath the central seat of heaven, when he came to the home of Atlas, and held the starry home of the gods by his manly strength."

"(9. *Taking the Amazon's girdle* [lines 408-418]) Then, to the riding host of the Amazons somewhere around lake Maeotis with its many rivers he came through the Euxine sea surge—what company of friends did he not assemble from Greece?—for the cloth of the daughter of Ares, decked with gold, the deadly prey of the girdle.[13] Greece took the famed spoils from the barbarian maiden, and they are preserved in Mycenae."

"(10. *Killing the Lernaean hydra* [lines 423-424]) Further, the many-headed hydra of Lerna, the murderous water serpent, he burnt to ashes; (11. *Defeating Geryon* [lines 423-424]) and, next, he smeared the poison on the arrows with which he killed the triple-bodied herdsman of Erytheia."

"(12a. *Other deeds* [line 425]) And he accomplished the happy glory of other contests; (12b. *Final journey to Hades* [lines 425-435]) and sailed to the much-lamented Hades, the completion of his labors, where he ended his suffering life and has not come back again. Your house is bereft of friends, and the bark of Charon awaits the children's journey from life, god-forsaken and unjust, without return. Yet it is to your hands that your house now looks, absent though you are."

II. Sophocles:

The particle TE is again used as an enumerative device by Sophocles in a passage in the *Trachiniae* (lines 1089-1102) where a selection of Heracles' glorious exploits is recounted. It is instructive to note that while in the preceding section it is the chorus which makes use of the particle in recounting Heracles' exploits, in the present passage it is the hero himself who uses the same device to describe his own glorious exploits. Naturally, in his present agony, Heracles does not list exhaustively all his exploits; he gives only a selection. But it is clear that the particle TE is the usual device for enumerating the exploits of a hero, whether the enumeration is done by others or by the hero himself, exhaustively or in part.

---

[13] G. W. Bond, *Euripides Heracles*, Oxford 1981, p. 172 reads: κόρας Ἀρείας πέπλων χρυσεόστολου ⟨δρέπειν⟩ ζωστῆρος ὀλεθρίους ἄγρας and translates: 'to pluck the deadly prey of the gold-decked girdle from the tunic of the daughters of Ares'. I tentatively construe the accusative φάρος with the appositive ὀλεθρίους ἄγρας as dependent on ἔβα. This view was considered and rejected by Wilamowitz in his commentary *ad loc.*, but may be possible if τιν᾽ — φίλων is parenthetical. There remains the problem of φάρος, which should denote a coat or a large piece of cloth. The word may be used for its archaic and poetical sound and to establish the girdle as a veritable piece of clothing. If the audience was surprised by this word, it was hardly confused since the explanation followed immediately: ζωστῆρος - - - ἄγρας.

In a pathetic scene, Heracles, close to death, apostrophizes his own shrivelled hands, chest, back, and arms, the tools of his exploits—the physical symbols of his former strength—and recounts a selection of six of his glorious deeds, with allusion to others which they performed in their better days:

1089	ὦ χέρες χέρες,	(A) Introduction
1090	ὦ νῶτα καὶ ϲτέρν᾽, ὦ φίλοι βραχίονες,	
	ὑμεῖϲ ἐκεῖνοι δὴ καθέϲταθ᾽, οἵ ποτε	
1092	Νεμέαϲ ἔνοικον, βουκόλων ἀλάϲτορα,	(B) List: (1) the Nemean lion
	λέοντ᾽, ἄπλατον θρέμμα κἀπροϲήγορον	
1094	βίαι κατειργάϲαϲθε,	
	Λερναίαν **Θ᾽** ὕδραν,	(2) the Lernaean hydra
	διφυᾶ **Τ᾽** ἄμεικτον ἱπποβάμονα ϲτρατὸν	(3) the Centaurs
1096	θηρῶν, ὑβριϲτήν, ἄνομον, ὑπέροχον βίαν,	
	Ἐρυμάνθιόν **ΤΕ** θῆρα	(4) the Erymanthian boar
	τόν **Θ᾽** ὑπὸ χθονόϲ	(5) Cerberus
1096	Ἅιδου τρίκρανον ϲκύλακ᾽, ἀπρόϲμαχον τέραϲ,	
	δεινῆϲ ἐχίδνηϲ θρέμμα,	
	τόν **ΤΕ** χρυϲέων	(6) the serpent in the garden
1100	δράκοντα μήλων φύλακ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἐϲχάτοιϲ τόποιϲ·	of the Hesperides
	ἄλλων **ΤΕ** μόχθων μυρίων ἐγευϲάμην	(7) other deeds
1102	κοὐδεὶϲ τροπαῖ᾽ ἔϲτηϲε τῶν ἐμῶν χερῶν.	(C) Conclusion

"(A. *Introduction* [lines 1089-1091]) My hands, my hands, my back and chest, my dear arms, you are indeed those famous ones which once did subdue by force (B *List:* 1. *the Nemean lion* [lines 1092-1094]) the dweller in Nemea, the scourge of herdsmen, the lion, the unapproachable creature not to be accosted; (2. *the Lernaean hydra* [line 1094]) and the Lernaean hydra; (3. *the Centaurs* [lines 1095-1096]) the unapproachable host of beasts: of double nature, horse-footed, violent, lawless, pre-eminent in might; (4. *the Erymanthian boar* [line 1097]) and the Erymanthian beast; (5. *Cerberus* [lines 1098-1099]) and the three-headed whelp of Hades beneath the earth, a monster not to be tackled, the offspring of terrible Echidna; (6. *the serpent in the garden of the Hesperides* [lines 1098-1100]): and the serpent that guarded the golden apples in the farthest places; (7. *other deeds* [line 1101]) and countless other deeds did I have experience of, (C. *Conclusion* [line 1102]) and no one erected a trophy in triumph over my hands."

III. Bacchylides:

The same particle is used to enumerate the exploits of a hero by Bacchylides in the second strophe (lines 16-32) of a lyric dialog in dramatic form (*Dith.* 18 Snell-Maehler²).[14]

---

[14] Both H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, New York 1963 (1899) p. 442 and R. C. Jebb, *Bacchylides: The Poems and Fragments*, Cambridge 1905, note on line 18, observe the repetition of τε without further comment.

Aegeus speaks: 'Just now came a herald, having completed on foot the long journey from the Isthmus. And he speaks of the ineffable deeds of a mighty man'.

	τὸν ὑπέρβιόν **Τ'** ἔπεφνεν	(1) Sinis
20	Σίνιν ὃc ἰcχύι φέρτατοc	
	θνατῶν ἦν, Κρονίδα Λυταίου	
22	cειcίχθονοc τέκοc:	
	cὺν **Τ'** ἀνδροκτόνον ἐν νάπαιc	(2) the Cremmyonian sow
24	Κρεμμυῶνοc:	
	ἀταcθαλόν **ΤΕ**	(3) Sciron
	Cκίρωνα κατέκτανεν:	
26	τάν **ΤΕ** Κερκυόνοc παλαίcτραν	(4) Cercyon
	ἔcχεν:	
	Πολυπήμονόc **ΤΕ** καρτεράν	(5) Procoptas
28	cφῦραν ἐξέβαλεν Προκόπ-	
	ταc ἀρείονοc τυχών	
	φωτόc: ταῦτα δέδοιχ' ὅπαι τελεῖται.	Conclusion

"(1. *Sinis* [lines 19-22)]) He killed the violent Sinis, who was the greatest of mortals in strength, the offspring of the Earthshaker, the Lytaean son of Cronus (Poseidon). (2. *The Cremmyonian sow* [lines 23-24]) Further, he slew the man-killing sow in the woods of Cremmyon (3. *Sciron* [lines 23-24]) and the wicked Sciron. (4. *Cercyon* [lines 26-27]) He put an end to the wrestling school of Cercyon. (5. *Procoptas* [lines 27-30]) And Procoptas dropped Polypemon's mighty hammer when he met a stronger man. (*Conclusion* [line 30]) I fear how this will end."

IV. *Prometheus*

The same enumerative device is again found in the *Prometheus Vinctus*. In a conversation with the chorus the hero lists his numerous benefactions to mankind:

476	τὰ λοιπά μου κλύουcα θαυμάcηι πλέον,	(A) Introduction
	οἵαc τέχναc τε καὶ πόρουc ἐμηcάμην:::	
478	τὸ μὲν μέγιcτον, εἴ τιc ἐc νόcον πέcοι,	(B) List: (1) medicine
	οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξημ' οὐδέν, οὔτε βρώcιμον	
480	οὐ χριcτὸν οὐδὲ πιcτόν, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκων	
	χρείαι κατεcκέλλοντο, πρὶν γ' ἐγώ cφιcιν	
482	ἔδειξα κράcειc ἠπίων ἀκεcμάτων,	
	αἷc τὰc ἀπάcαc ἐξαμύνονται νόcουc:::	
484	τρόπουc **ΤΕ** πολλοὺc μαντικῆc ἐcτοίχιcα	(2) divination by
	κἄκρινα πρῶτοc ἐξ ὀνειράτων ἃ χρὴ	(a) dreams
486	ὕπαρ γενέcθαι::	
	κληδόναc **ΤΕ**	(b) omens
	δυcκρίτουc	(i) acoustic

ἐγνώρισ᾽ αὐτοῖς:

ἐνοδίους ΤΕ ϲυμβόλους::   (ii) visual

488 γαμψωνύχων ΤΕ πτῆϲιν οἰωνῶν ϲκεθρῶϲ   (c) augury from the flights of birds
     διώριϲ᾽

οἵτινεϲ ΤΕ δεξιοὶ φύϲιν: (i) that are favorable by nature

490 εὐωνύμους ΤΕ: (ii) that are sinister and,

ΚΑῚ δίαιταν ἥντινα   (iii) from their habitat and be-
ἔχουϲ᾽ ἕκαστοι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τίνεϲ   havior towards one another

492 ἔχθραι τε καὶ ϲτέργηθρα καὶ ξυνεδρίαι::
ϲπλάγχων ΤΕ   (d) extispicy from

λειότητα: (i) the victim's entrails

ΚΑῚ χροιὰν τίνα   (ii) the color of bile

494 ἔχουϲ᾽ ἂν εἴη δαίμοϲιν πρὸς ἡδονὴν
χολή:

λοβοῦ ΤΕ ποικίλην εὐμορφίαν::   (ii) the liver-lobe

496 κνίϲηι ΤΕ κῶλα ϲυγκαλυπτὰ καὶ μακρὰν   (e) ignispicy from (i) the victim's
ὀϲφῦν πυρώϲας δυϲτέκμαρτον εἰϲ τέχνην   bones and fat

498 ὤδωϲα θνητούς:

καὶ φλογωπὰ ϲήματα   (ii) signs from the flames
ἐξωμμάτωϲα πρόϲθεν ὄντ᾽ ἐπάργεμα:::
τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ ταῦτ᾽· ἔνερθε δὲ χθονὸϲ   (3) mineralogy
κεκρυμμέν᾽ ἀνθρώποιϲιν ὠφελήματα
χαλκόν, ϲίδηρον, ἄργυρον χρυϲόν τε, τίϲ
φήϲειεν ἂν πάροιθεν ἐξευρεῖν ἐμοῦ;
οὐδεὶϲ, ϲαφ᾽ οἶδα, μὴ μάτην φλύϲαι θέλων:::
βραχεῖ δὲ μύθῳ πάντα ϲυλλήβδην μάθε·   (C) Conclusion
πᾶϲαι τέχναι βροτοῖϲιν ἐκ Προμηθέωϲ.

Prometheus proceeds to enumerate his benefactions. "(A. *Introduction* [lines 476-477]) Hear the rest from me and you will marvel even more at what sort of skills and means I planned." Just as in the Euripides passage discussed above (section B I), the first benefaction (1. medicine) is introduced by the particle μέν, then, in the second part of the list (2. divination), he changes to **τε** (484 τε, thus in manuscripts M and O; δέ in the others).

"(B. *List:* 1. *medicine* [lines 478-483]) The most important—if ever anyone fell ill, there was no protection either to be eaten as food or rubbed on the body or to be drunk, but through lack of medicines they became like skeletons, until I showed them modes of compounding soothing medicines by means of which they ward off all illnesses."

"(2. *divination* [lines 484-499]) The many ways of the art of interpreting the meaning of divine signs I classified, ([a *by dreams* [lines 485-486]) and I was the first to interpret from dreams what must happen during waking hours; ([b] *by omens* : [i] *acoustic* [line 486]) and to point out to them the signs contained in chance utterances hard to interpret ([ii] *visual* [line 487]) and symbolic encounters on a journey; ([c] *by augury* from the flight of birds [lines 488-499]) and I defined exactly the flight of birds with crooked talons, ([i] *that are favorable*

[line 489]) which ones by nature are favorable ([ii] *or sinister* [490]) and those that are sinister, ([iii] *from their habitat and behavior* [lines 490-492]) and what habitat each kind has, and what animosities and mutual attachments and sittings together there are. ([d] *by extispicy* (lines 493-495): [i] *from the victim's entrails* [line 493]) Also I explained the smoothness of the entrails, ([ii] *from the color of the bile* [lines 493-495]) what color the bile should have to give satisfaction to the gods, ([iii] *from the liver-lobe* [495]) and the various shapes of streaks in the liver-lobe. ([e] *ignispicy* [lines 496-499]: [i] *from the victim's thigh bones and fat* [496-498]) And burning the thigh bone covered with fat caul and the long chine I put mortals on the path to a craft difficult to make out from signs; ([ii] *from signs from the flames* [498-499]) and I made clear signs able to be seen from flames which were previously dim."

With the completion of the second part of the list (on divination) the poet ends the use of enumerative τε. A transitional formula, summarizing the long list on divination (2) introduces the third part of the list on mineralogy (3): "Such are these things, but (there is more). Who would claim to have discovered before me the things useful for men that are hidden away beneath the surface of the earth, copper, iron, gold, and silver? Nobody, I know for sure, unless he wishes to babble idly." A final statement (C. Conclusion) brings the entire list to an end: "In a brief word, learn everything at once: all arts and crafts for mortals are from myself, Prometheus."

In our example from the *Prometheus* the use of the enumerative is **τε** restricted to its middle and longest portion, which forms a veritable list on its own. Throughout this passage (2. divination) it is used predominantly, but in two instances (c iii) and (d ii) **καί** is employed.

(C) Survival of Enumerative τε in Imperial Times.

It appears that the enumerative use of **τε** was not entirely forgotten in imperial times. As an example I refer to the Christian legend of the virgin Justina,[15] in which it is related how she hears a Christian deacon, Praylios by name, preaching about the main events in Jesus' life as in a creed. In the passage in question, the great deeds (τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ) of Jesus are enumerated in the same way as those of Heracles in the passage from Euripides or as the benefactions conferred on mankind by the hero of the *Prometheus* (above B, sections I and IV):

Introduction: ἔστι δέ τις πάρθενος ὀνόματι Ἰουςτῖνα Αἰδεςίου πατρὸς καὶ Κληδονίας μητρὸς ἐν πόλει Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς πρὸς Δάφνην· ἀκούσασα αὕτη Πραϋλίου τινὸς διακόνου ἀπὸ τῆς σύνεγγυς θυρίδος αὐτῆς τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ.

"There is a maiden by the name of Justina, the daughter of Aedesius and Cledonia, in the city of Antioch, in the district near Daphne. This maiden heard from her window close by one

---

[15] L.Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen zur Faustsage. Der Zauberer Cyprianus* etc., Wien u. Leipzig 1927, 76. The story seems to have been composed in the fourth century.

Praylios, a deacon, narrating the mighty deeds of God." The "mighty deeds" (τὰ μεγαλεῖα) which Praylios narrates are:

§1.   τήν **ΤΕ** ἐνανθρώπηϲιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰηϲοῦ Χριϲτοῦ**::**
§2.   τήν **ΤΕ** τῶν προφητῶν ἔνδειξιν**::**
§3.   τήν **ΤΕ** ἐκ Μαρίαϲ γέννηϲιν**::**
§4.   τήν **ΤΕ** τῶν μάγων προϲκύνηϲιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀϲτέρων φανέρωϲιν**::**
§5a.   τήν **ΤΕ** τῶν ἀγγέλων δόξαν**:**
§5b.   τῶν **ΤΕ** ϲημείων καὶ τεράτων αὐτοῦ**::**
§6.   τήν **ΤΕ** τοῦ ϲταυροῦ δύναμιν**::**
§7.   τήν **ΤΕ** ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάϲταϲιν**::**
§8.   **ΚΑΙ** τὴν πρὸϲ τοὺϲ μαθητὰϲ διαθήκην**::**
§9.   **ΚΑΙ** τὴν εἰϲ οὐρανοὺϲ ἀνάληψιν**::**
§10.   **ΚΑΙ** τὴν ἐκεῖ ἀνάπαυϲιν**::**
§11.   **ΚΑΙ** τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν καθέδραν**::**
§12.   <**ΚΑΙ**> τὴν ἀκατάλειπτον βαϲιλείαν.

"(§1) our lord Jesus Christ taking on human form, (§2) the sign of the prophets, (§3) the birth by Maria, (§4) the worship of the Magi and the manifestation of the stars, (§5a) the glory of the angels, (§5b) and of his miracles and portents, (§6) the power of the cross, (§7) the resurrection from the dead, (§8) and the covenant with the disciples, (§9) and the ascension into heaven, (§10) and the eternal rest there, (§11) and the throne on the right (hand of the father), (§12) and the indestructible kingdom."

As in some of the inscriptions discussed in the first part of this paper (Hellenistic Inscriptions, e.g. section IV), the author of this passage does not use the particle **τε** consistently, and towards the end of the passage he employs **καί** instead of **τε**, but it is clear that he is aware of the enumerative force of **τε**.

D. Conclusion

The passages from both Hellenistic inscriptions and classical poetry which we have examined make it quite clear that the enumerative or serial use of **τε** is a legitimate idiom in its own right and should be recognized as such. The idiom was used in enumerations of deeds or actions but not the deeds or actions of ordinary people. Its association with the names of such great figures from mythology as Heracles, Theseus and Prometheus shows that it was reserved especially for the enumeration of extraordinary deeds performed by extraordinary characters. It was undoubtedly for this reason that the idiom is employed in the enumeration of the mighty deeds of Jesus Christ by the author of the Christian legend of the virgin Justina, who obviously considered Jesus to be greater than all those mythological heroes. The same reason may account for use of the idiom in the enumeration of the benefactions of the various important individuals to their respective cities in the Hellenistic inscriptions.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor   Kweku A. Garbrah